REPUBLICAN SPACES

AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF POSITIVIST URBAN SOCIOLOGY IN BRITAIN, 1855-1920

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Matthew Wilson, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

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A B S T R A C T

Witnessing the wide-reaching repercussions of the French and Industrial Revolutions, Auguste Comte and his British followers organised a concerted effort to answer 'the question of modern times,' the 'incorporation of the proletariat into modern society'. This dissertation presents the Positivists' different contributions to urban sociology as a collective response to this dual revolution. They endeavoured to see through the transformation of Western empires into a vast network of city-states or republics. The British Positivists developed an intellectually critical survey practice, and with this empirical evidence, they composed a series of republican planning programmes. With these comprehensive programmes, they aimed to ameliorate the proletariat by realising an alternative to global consumer culture, local environmental degradation and widespread indifference to public life. This dissertation traces the growth of the sociological survey alongside discussions of planning idyllic republican communities. It demonstrates how this Positivist theory and practice informed the rise of modern British town planning and city design.

We will see that from the agitation of the 1830s, the historical and geographical surveys of Comte, and later Richard Congreve, tracked the links between domestic decline, militancy and contrived imperial unions. They devised policies to facilitate pacific international relations. Their intention was to expedite a moral urban revolution led by scientific and industrial institutions. From the 1860s social war between capital and labour, the industrial and social surveys of

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Frederic Harrison and Charles Booth fortified schemes for national regionalisation. With the opening of local government by the 1890s, the rustic and civic surveys of Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford aimed to bind town and country units into Garden City-states. By the 1920s they had outlined the basis for a 'higher art of polity-making' called 'City Design'. Effectively, this dissertation explores the Positivist roots of the modern British town planning and city design movement.

ABBREVIATIONS

Add.MS	British Library Additional Manuscript
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
AM	*Autobiographic Memoirs*
BA	*British Architect*
BS	*Before the Socialists*
BH	*The Bee-Hive*
BIL	Bishopsgate Institute Library
BL	British Library
BLPES	British Library of Political & Economic Science
BMJ	*British Medical Journal*
BO	*The Bradford Observer*
CPR	*The Catechism of Positive Religion*
BP	Charles Booth Papers
CAC	*Correspondance inédite d'Auguste Comte*
CC	Cities Committee
CD	*City Development*
CE	*Cities in Evolution*
CP	Richard Congreve Papers
CR	*Contemporary Review*
CTP	*The City of Tomorrow and its Planning*
DN	*Daily News*
DR	*Dublin Review*
DT	Vernon Lushington manuscripts, in the possession of Dr David Taylor
DUCLO	Duke University, The Carlyle Letters Online
E.Rev.	*Economic Review*
Eco.	*The Economist*
EH	Ebenezer Howard Papers
EHR	*Economic History Review*
ER	*Edinburgh Review*
Ex.	*The Examiner*
FR	*Fortnightly Review*
FT	*Fabian Tracts*
GA	*General Appendix*
GCA	Garden City Association
GCT	*Garden Cities of To-morrow*
GCTPA	Garden City and Town Planning Association
GH	*Glasgow Herald*
GHP	George Howell Papers
GJ	*Geographical Journal*
GV	*General View of Positivism*
HALS	Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies
HCPP	House of Commons Parliamentary Papers
HP	Frederic Harrison Papers
HPE	*History of Political Economy*
I&F	*Interpretations and Forecasts*
ICPD	Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration
IP	*International Policy*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JRSS	*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*
JSS	*Journal of the Statistical Society*
JSSL	*Journal of the Statistical Society of London*
KU-LP	Keele University, Le Play Collection
L&LP	*Life and Labour of the People in London*
LC	*Leicester Chronicle*
LCC	London County Council
LEWJR	*The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*
Liv.M	*Liverpool Mercury*

LM	*Leeds Mercury*
LMU	London Metropolitan University
LoE	*Les ouvriers Européens*
LP	Vernon Lushington Papers
LPC	London Positivist Committee
LPS	London Positivist Society
LQR	*London Quarterly Review*
LSE	London School of Economics
LTC	London Trades' Council
MA	Macmillan Archive
MAC	Maison d'Auguste Comte
MHC	Mansion House Committee
MP	*Morning Post*
NA	*New Age*
NAPSS	Social Science Association
NC	*Nineteenth Century*
NCT	*A Nineteenth-Century Teacher*
NE	*Northern Echo*
NHM	*The National Housing Manual*
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMW	*New Moral World*
NR	*National Review*
NSP	*National and Social Problems*
O&P	*Order and Progress*
OSI	*Our Social Inheritance*
OSS	*Oeuvres de Saint-Simon*
OUBL	Oxford University Bodleian Library
OUWS	On the Origin and Use of the Word "Sociology"
PftP	*Papers for the Present*
PlP	*Planning Perspectives*
PMG	*The Pall Mall Gazette*
PPAC	*The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*
PP	Positivist Papers
PR	*Positivist Review*
QR	*Quarterly Review*
RC	*Royal Commission*
RSF	*La réforme sociale en France*
RN	*Reynolds's Newspaper*
S&RI	*Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*
SHL	Senate House Library
Soc.Rev.	*The Sociological Review*
SP	*Sociological Papers*
SPP, System	*System of Positive Polity*
SR	*Saturday Review*
SS	Sociological Society
ST	*Seed-Time. The Organ of the New Fellowship*
TCP	*The Coming Polity*
TG	*The Galaxy*
TL	*The Leader*
TM	*Tinsley's Magazine*
TMH	*The Meaning of History*
TOL	*The Organization of Labour*
TPTCD	*Town Planning Towards City Development*
TPR	*Town Planning Review*
TR	*The Reasoner*
TS	*The Standard*
TT	*The Times*
US.T-GED	University of Strathclyde, Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes
VS	*Victorian Studies*
WR	*Westminster Review*

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INTRODUCTION

The true principle of republicanism is, that all forces shall work together for the common good. With this view we have on the one hand, to determine precisely what it is that the common good requires; and on the other, to develop the temper of mind most likely to satisfy the requirement. The conditions requisite for these two objects are, a recognized Code of principles, an adequate Education, and a healthy direction of Public Opinion. For such conditions we must look principally to the philosophic body which Positivism proposes to establish at the apex of modern society.[1] – Auguste Comte, 1848.

Liberty may be so understood as to imply liberty to do what you please, whether it hurt your neighbour or not, liberty to sell adulterated wares and measures, liberty to poison your neighbour by depriving him of air, light, and water, liberty to add acre to acre, to rule a vast estate or a manufactory …, to leave your property by will under any injurious conditions, or to enjoy what accident or inheritance has given you without any thought of good on the public. That is the liberty of the strong alone, the liberty of the rich, the liberty of the men of high birth or high place, and that is not liberty as it should be in the republic.[2] – Frederic Harrison, 1870.

We find that there was one single, concrete, and definite community which was at once religious, political, and vital. That community was the City. By some curious turn of history, the city, in this Greek sense, has practically dropped out of religion and out of politics; while as for modern science, the city has not yet come within its field of observation, still less of vision. … The city of the ideal is in the passion of citizenship … Hence the need to develop the observational and theoretical study of cities in harmonious interaction with the arts, crafts, and technologies of a practical civics.[3] – Victor Branford, 1918.

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[1] Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (1875), I, pp. 123-4. Full titles are given in the first citation of every work in this dissertation and an abbreviated title in subsequent citations.
[2] BLPES-HP 2/2, ff. 58-9 (1870).
[3] Victor V. Branford, 'A Craft University', *Athenaeum* (1918), 79-82.

With these three testimonies on liberty, community and environment, written by

thinkers affiliated to Positivism,[4] it is conceivable to reconstruct an intellectual

history of 'Republican Spaces'. Witnessing the wide-reaching repercussions of the

French and Industrial Revolutions, these Positivist sociologists and their peers

made a concerted attempt to answer 'the question of modern times'. The question

of dire importance to them was 'the incorporation of the proletariat into modern

society'.[5] Their answer entailed the transformation of Western empires into a vast

network of city-states or republics. The British Positivists developed an

intellectually critical survey practice and, with this empirical evidence, produced a

series of planning programmes that offered a set of interconnected reforms for

realising these independent communities.[6] The aim of this dissertation is to

demonstrate that the Positivists' republican theory and scientific survey practice

served as an impetus to the rise of the modern British town planning movement.

We will see that the language and practice of creating and maintaining the 'good

life' of participatory citizenship in the small sovereign community gradually

percolated from Positivist republicans and urban sociologists and on to town

planners and city designers.

The eighteenth-century French philosopher Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-

1825) outlined a classification of the Positive sciences. His acolyte Auguste

Comte (1798-1857) detailed a Positive philosophy and introduced a new, modern

'master-science' called sociology. This dissertation focuses on the work of

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[4] My use of the word 'Positivism,' written with a capital 'P,' refers to Auguste Comte's scientific and humanist thought as a whole.
[5] Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (1876), III, p. 523.
[6] These 'programmes' appeared as a series title, a book or pamphlet title or an idiom, was associated with an identifiable set of urban social reform components.

Comte's leading British advocates, starting with the Oxford don and founder of the British Positivist Society, Richard Congreve (1818-99). Following Comte's sociological system, Congreve developed historical and geographical surveys that tracked the links between domestic decline, militancy and contrived imperial unions. Comte and Congreve used these surveys to devise community-planning programmes to facilitate pacific international relations for realising republics.

Congreve's student Frederic Harrison (1831-1923) carried this budding system of Positivist thought and action into his investigations of national industrial problems. He contended that active 'spiritual institutions' were vital to establishing collective responsibility, a living wage and environments with a sense of place. Influenced by the Positivists' gospel of industry, Charles Booth (1840-1916) set out to examine and eliminate the evils of overcrowding, poverty and unemployment. Comparable to their seniors Harrison and Booth developed industrial and social surveys of British towns and used sociological 'facts' to substantiate programmes for national reorganisation. These programmes coordinated a series of reforms such as educational institutes, home colonies, trade unionism and infrastructural improvements to foster life compatible with that of an industrial republic.

The Positivist Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) synthesised his seniors' sociological methods and used them as a preparatory for urban redevelopment schemes. His work helped to spur a renaissance of town and country planning. Geddes' student Victor Branford (1863-1930) subsequently developed his master's applied sociology in the direction of 'City Design'. Geddes and Branford's work aimed to emancipate the citizenry from the fetters of the

'dubious abstractions' of political economy, empire, nation and parliament.[7] Like their predecessors, they developed rustic and civic surveys, which informed civic programmes designed to bind town and country units into Garden City-states.

As indicated, Positivism linked these intellectuals together. In this study, Positivism is understood as a holistic, humanist outlook based on a scientific synthesis of demonstrable certainties, which offers a systematic process for creating a new civic polity based on Comte's *System of Positive Polity* (1848-54).[8] Although 'positivism' was a word commonly associated with objective science during the early nineteenth century, for Comte 'Positivism' came to be identified with an endeavour to achieve social justice via his republican theory and sociological practice.[9] From the mid 1850s and through the 1900s, Comte's British followers defined Positivism as being 'at once a scheme of Education, a form of Religion, a school of Philosophy, a method of Government, and a phase of Socialism'.[10] In other words Positivism was 'a complete, universal, and religious socialism … a whole scheme of life, of education, and of Industry'. Positivism was a 'socialism founded on social science and inspired by religion'.[11] As such, there were intellectual, cultural, political and economic aspects of Positivism. This dissertation focuses on the development of two of these four interconnected facets of Positivism, its republican (cultural, religious) theory and its scientific (intellectual, social science) survey practice. In other words,

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[7] Victor Branford, *Interpretations and Forecasts* (1914), p. 13; Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution* (1915), p. 232; SS, *Sociological Papers* (1905), I, p. 117.
[8] Henry Tompkins, *The Human Universe* (1930), p. 5.
[9] Mary Pickering, Auguste Comte (1993), I, p. 3, 694-5.
[10] Frederic Harrison, *The Philosophy of Common Sense* (1907), pp. 44-5.
[11] Frederic Harrison, *National Social Problems* (1908), p. 428.

Positivism is presented here as an empirical form of survey and as a 'Religion of Humanity,' which together informed a functionalist approach to regional 'City Design'.

In this study we will see that the Positivists' sociological investigations examined the antagonistic power relationships between diverse social groupings situated across different spatial scales. They developed historical and geographical, industrial and social, and civic and rustic types of sociological surveys to analyse the respective spatial scales of international, national and regional levels of human relations. They thought of their survey practice as a virtuous, civic-scientific activity. It was thought of as both an act of scientific investigation and an act of patriotic watchfulness for the common good. As suggested, these urban sociologists developed surveys to inform and support a series of civic programmes for social reorganisation, a schema for realising republics.

This study examines organised Positivism through the lens of modernist design. The twentieth-century 'pioneers' of architecture and urbanism held deep-seated aspirations about the transformative nature of the designed environment. Like the Positivists, they produced programmes and manifestos under the premise that their implementation would advance a step in the direction of the transformation of society.[12] I thus wish to show how the language and practice of Positivism helped to underprop the role of these public professions.

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[12] See, for instance, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture,* ed. Ulrich Conrads (1971).

Effectively, we will see that the Positivists' language of republican morality, combined with their intellectually critical survey practice, can be thought of as a framework for implementing structured social change, or reconciling the *idea* of the republic with the *reality* of the late modern era. Their motivation was to ameliorate the proletariat by realising an alternative to global consumer culture, local environmental degradation and widespread indifference to Victorian public life. They hoped to witness the transformation of each British conurbation into a city-state, also known as a free state, small state republic, self-governing city-region or, perhaps, Positivist metropolis. Their aim was to coordinate science and industry to realise small sovereign city-regions, whose form and feeling are shaped by local resources and technologies and perpetual altruistic, active participation in public life.

Republicanism

It would be well to begin with Comte's conception of the terms republic and republicanism. For Comte, republicanism was a way of regional life if, perhaps predominately, a state of mind. His ideas about republics and republicanism are irrevocably intertwined with what he called the 'Positive sciences'. During the 1840s, for instance, Comte was using sociological laws to construct a vision of future society called the Positive Era. He was also detailing a civic planning programme, entitled the Occidental Republic, to usher in this new era. The complete programme can be found in his magnum opus, the four-volume 'treatise

on sociology' named *System of Positive Polity*.[13] Here, Comte explained in detail what republicanism meant to him and how citizen-sociologists could plan republics. His comprehensive system of planning included a new secular religion, pedagogical method, calendar, festivities, ceremonies, iconography, and flag and currency designs.

Comte's programme also specified the ideal area and numbers of the future Positivist city-region. A populace of no more than three million but no fewer than one million would inhabit each republic, containing a land area comparable to Belgium. He also specified the layout of a number of architectural typologies, including temples, schools, homes and hospitals. These were the essential institutions for making and maintaining the urban fabric of the ideal city, and they were therefore thought of as embodying a spiritual character. The home, for instance, was thought of as a moralising space, where men and children were to be inculcated with republican manners.

Comte's programme for the Positive Era called on citizen-sociologists to unite to establish a Positivist Society within each major town throughout the West. This network of spiritual institutions would disseminate republican principles and organise the affairs of civic-scientific life. Their aim was to systematically moralise capitalism and thus to moralise space by integrating the sciences of sociology and secular morality into public life. They equally sought to methodologically break-up factitious empires and create the vast confederation of

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[13] The 'Occidental Republic' is referred to as the 'Republic of the West' in English translations of Comte's *System of Positive Polity,* a work that I will refer to as *System.*

pacific, industrial republics that Comte envisioned for the Positive Era.[14] These Positivist Societies could help create a system of city-states where a balance exists between order and progress or liberty and authority.

Comte wrote that his Positivist Societies were to be guided by the 'true principle of republicanism,' which was a state where 'all forces … work together for the common good'.[15] The proclamation of a republic, Comte maintained, meant that each citizen altruistically devotes 'all his faculties' to 'the public welfare'. In this sense the 'Positivist school' sought to 'widen the scope' of 'Communism' by

showing its application to other departments of human life; by insisting that, not wealth only, but that all our powers shall be devoted in the true republican spirit to the continuous service of the community.[16]

Comte believed that this form of communism would not 'supress individuality' or the free press.[17] In fact it would 'protect free thought,' 'resist political encroachment' and corruption.[18] Achieving this mode of republicanism, indeed, required something like what Marx and Engels called the 'withering away of the state'.[19] It necessitated the deconstruction of the spiritual and temporal powers that took the form of global empires.

For Comte, the community 'spirit of devotion to the public welfare' could only be kindled in republics of a limited spatial scale. His republics were to comprise spaces conducive to a particular type of private and public life, places

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[14] Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (1877), IV, pp. 432, 565.
[15] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 123-4.
[16] Ibid., 124-7.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 93-6.
[19] Richard Vernon, 'Auguste Comte and the Withering-Away of the State', *JHI* (1984), 549-66.

enabling citizens to fulfil their human potential.[20] Here, determining 'precisely what it is that the common good requires' was the work of historical, geographical and social investigation. Citizen-sociologists would thus play a pivotal role in the republic, providing 'facts' to establish a 'recognized Code of principles, an adequate Education, and a healthy direction of Public Opinion'.[21]

Comte believed that the organisation of different types of citizens into sets of functionally differentiated roles would produce the urban social fabric of the republic. For instance, spiritual types such as teachers would group into their institutions and participate in directing aspects of spiritual life within the metropolis. In a like manner, scholars of republicanism note that the public thing, the *'res publica* or the *polis,'* operated according to a functional mode of *partecipazione* where 'public authority' was a matter of 'public right'. Life involved 'participation, equality, and ruling and being ruled' in turn between different civic actors. This process framed the public lifestyle of the citizen as *zoon politikon*.[22] In such a case the lifestyle produced was not only a matter of politics. It was a matter of urbanism or the production of space resulting from the public lifestyle of the body politic.

As suggested, the making of the republic was a public affair that involved the premier sciences of sociology and morality. Comte explained that, by 'consecrating all human forces of whatever kind to the general service of the community, republicanism recognises the doctrine of subordinating Politics to

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[20] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 267.
[21] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 123-4.
[22] J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (2002), p. 42.

Morals'.[23] Referring to his famous sociological Law of Three Stages[24] he rejected the notion of returning to 'the supernatural idea' of Christianity that underpinned the 'Divine Right' of monarchy. He equally rejected the idea of basing morality on the modern metaphysical or 'negative doctrine' that supported the absolute democratic rights of the people.[25]

By the 1840s Comte was discussing the details of his system of republican morality called the Religion of Humanity. Its purpose was not to reinforce the inward-looking life of private individuals yearning for the City of God. Rather, its commitment was to inculcate subjects with humanist gratitude for science, a passion for citizenship, cooperation and communitary life and a drive to produce the experience of idyllic cities on earth. This was a religion founded on Comte's philosophy of the sciences. It was to serve as the single bond between republican city-states. The universal 'spiritual power' of Positivism was thus to be *separate* from the local 'temporal power' of industry.

Effectively, the Positivists' intellectual and cultural structure was to provide citizens with an emotional identity, kindling in them the 'feelings of patriotism' for their republic. The republic was thought of as a regional unit or 'union formed by the grouping of the rural population round one paramount city'.[26] Comte's republicanism represented a systematic synthesis of the intellectual and cultural conventions of his era. With this in mind, we should now turn to existing treatments of republicanism.

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[23] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 55-6.
[24] This law stated that all societies pass from a theological, to metaphysical and to a Positive state.
[25] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 548-9; Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 512.
[26] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 267.

The Republican Tradition

Scholars have defined republic and republicanism in a multiplicity of ways. They often conjugate these words with a qualifying expression, to root them into different historical and social contexts. J.G.A. Pocock, for instance, provides a groundbreaking account of Florentine political thought and its impact on the 'Atlantic Republican' tradition. He traces how the conceptual vocabularies within Machiavelli's treatises, particularly those stemming from the confrontation of 'virtue' with 'fortune' and 'corruption,' percolated into a wide range of political texts.[27] This discourse of republican civic virtue played a significant role in revitalising active citizenship in the northern Italian republics. Although not without modification, it likewise fortified the works of 'commonwealthmen,' such as James Harrington, who vindicated Britain's mid-seventeenth century revolution. Pocock shows that the idiom again played a significant role in attempts to expunge the constitution of corruption during the rise of the commercial 'Whig Oligarchy' from the 1710s. It served to justify the American War of Independence and survived well into the 1830s. In these many and more scenarios, the virtue of the ruling elite was motivated by their love of country. But both the liberty and authority of this elite was derived from their ownership of 'land, or real property'.[28] On such grounds rested the assumption that they could remain free of patronage and vested interests, and achieve a balanced constitution.

The language of modern republicanism diffused across vast territories over the course of at least three centuries of Western civilisation. This republican

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[27] J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975), pp. 115, 202.
[28] Pocock, *Virtue*, pp. 37-50, 145.

language inevitably cross-pollinated and evolved into myriad vernacular dialects. Following Pocock's seminal works, scholars have shown how a broad spectrum of republicanisms flourished throughout Europe and the Americas. Within this spectrum, there has been some use of the phrases 'republican Positivism' and 'Positivist republicanism'. It was not slaves, arms or property that made the Positivists think of themselves as civic actors or even an elite worthy of acting for the common good. As indicated, in Britain in the very least, it was rather a republican morality built from the assumptions of having acquired a scientific and intellectual authority derived from sociological knowledge. Perhaps too few accounts of republican Positivism have been produced considering that a world Positivist network of institutions thickened during the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each national movement used Comte's principles differently, and thus their work took on its own distinctive character.

Studies of nineteenth-century Positivism in North America have concentrated on the United States. Gillis Harp's narrative on the 'Positive Republic' links Comte's work to an Atlantic liberal republican perspective on progressive reform. When Congreve's British mentee Henry Edger moved to America during the 1850s, he began promoting a 'positivist gospel' for a 'Comtist colony'. Edger united with Herbert Croly, Thaddeus Wakeman and others as the New York Positivist Society. Wakeman polemicised against 'political corruption' and commercial monopolies as a member of nationalist clubs, which spawned after Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) began to popularise altruistic aspects of Comte's utopia. Wakeman remained motivated to employ sociology to stimulate and 'republicanize' national social development, as did his affiliate,

Lester Ward. Ward recapitulated Positivist precepts from within scientific institutions that were linked to the circles of government in Washington. Aspects of his theory and praxis of 'dynamic sociology' carried into the institutionalisation of the discipline. While founding academic sociology in America, Albion Small and E.A. Ross elaborated on Ward's idea of sociological planning. They suggested that sociology was at once 'synthetic, rigorously scientistic, and reformist'.[29]

Several texts address the wide-ranging consequences of Positivism in Latin America. In particular, Positivism had an impact of mythical proportions in Brazil – a nation whose flag still bears Comte's famous motto, 'Order and Progress'. From the 1860s a generation of intellectuals, such as Júlio de Castilhos, saw in Positivism arguments against slavery and church-state corruption. By the 1880s the leaders of the widely popular Brazilian Positivist movement, notably Miguel Lemos, Teixeira Mendes and Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães, separated from the direction of the central French Positivist Society. However, they continued to confer with the British group. After the *coup d'état* of 1889 Lemos and Mendes called for a republican dictatorship following Comte's *System*, which was a move that Congreve hailed with satisfaction.[30] The 'positivist constitution' of 1891 was based on Castilhos' draft framework for a federal republican government.[31] Constant and Demétrio Ribeiro began to impart Positivist

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[29] Gillis J. Harp, *Positivist Republic* (1995), pp. 23-30, 51-3, 88, 91-6, 107, 20-1, 55-81.
[30] Richard Congreve, *Essays, Political, Social, and Religious* (1892), II, pp. 520, 92, 844.
[31] Helgio Trindade, 'La république positiviste chex Comte', in *Auguste Comte*, ed. Annie Petit (2003), pp. 363-400.

principles to members of the Ministries of War and Agriculture.[32] The naval revolt of 1893, organised in reaction to the spread of Positivist doctrine, resulted in neither the restoration of the 'privileges and monopolies' of monarchy nor a true Positivist dictatorship. The central leadership in the Brazilian Positivists' 'Church of Humanity' began to disintegrate during the late 1890s, but the movement continued to construct Temples of Humanity well into the 1910s. The government's consolidation of 'republican institutions' also continued.[33] During the 1900s the president of Rio Grande do Sul organised 'official tributes' to the 'saints' of Positivism in the state library.[34]

In European countries, Positivist ideas are known to have influenced thinkers involved with Italian unification. The philosophy helped to propel German philosophical thought away from Hegelianism. Positivism is also known to have played a pivotal role in the events of the Paris Commune and the founding of the Third Republic.[35] However, Comte's *System* had the lengthiest and widest impact in Britain.[36] T.R. Wright's *The Religion of Humanity* (1986) provides a thorough account of Comte's 'complete' and 'incomplete' British followers.

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[32] Rodney Rhodes Gallo, 'The Birth of a New Political Philosophy', in *Latin American Positivism*, ed. Gregory D. Gilson and Irving W. Levinson (2013), pp. 153-71.

[33] João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil* (1964), pp. 177-83.

[34] Joseph LeRoy Love, *Rio Grande Do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism* (1971), p. 104.

[35] Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic* (2011), pp. 343-87; W.M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), p. 361; D.G. Charlton, *Positivist Thought in France during the Second Empire, 1852-1870* (1959); Sudhir Hazareesingh, *Intellectual Founders of the Republic* (2001); Michael Sutton, *Nationalism, Positivism and Catholicism* (1982); Jean-Claude Wartelle, *L'héritage d'Auguste Comte* (2001); Mirella Larizza-Lolli, 'La République', in *Auguste Comte*, ed. Annie Petit (2003), pp. 221-8.

[36] W.M. Simon, 'Auguste Comte's English Disciples', *VS* (1964), 161-72; Simon, 'Comte's Orthodox Disciples', *French Historical Studies* (1965), 42-62; Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics, 1870-1914* (1967), pp. 84-104; Daniel Bequemont, 'Auguste Comte', in *Auguste Comte*, ed. Annie Petit (2003), pp. 317-32; Thomas Dixon, *The Invention of Altruism* (2008); David Taylor, 'Vernon Lushington' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis 2010); Mary E. Farmer, 'The Positivist Movement', *Soc.Rev.* (1967), 5-20; John Edwin McGee, *A Crusade for Humanity* (1931), pp. vii, 39-129; F.S. Marvin, *Comte* (1936), pp. 162, 69-70, 84.

Wright shows that Comte's work was popularised within the scientific and philosophical circles of Alexander Bain, J.S. Mill, G.H. Lewes and Harriet Martineau. Their activities inspired the rise of a second generation of followers who founded the British Positivist Society in London. Congreve's Society captured the imagination of Annie Besant, George Eliot, George Gissing, Sydney Olivier, John Ruskin and Beatrice Webb. Positivist centres formed throughout the country, some of which held regular meetings until the mid twentieth century. Although he does not refer to Positivist republicanism, Wright offers numerous glimpses into what Britons thought Comte's work was about. British sympathisers of Positivism held a 'belief in universal regeneration to be brought about by the new "master-science" of sociology'. This belief was expressed in terms of 'an international level opposition to imperialism, and on a national scale raising the dignity of labour' via trade unionism.[37]

If the relationship between republicanism, sociology and organised Positivism were further explored, then it might shed new light on our understanding of Victorian life. Yet, as indicated, scholars have unearthed a broad variety of republicanisms. It would be well to examine how Comte's work fits within the republican tradition in France and Britain.

French Republicanism

Late Enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau discussed the idea of the 'republic' as a city of citizens. However, by the late 1780s France

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[37] T.R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity* (1986), pp. 66, 110, 219, 55.

was a densely populated nation with a centralised and corrupt government.[38] Throughout the century, France had been transforming from an agricultural to a commercial economy. Its subjects subsisted under the burdens of an indifferent monarchy and tax-exempt nobility. Its proletarian mass was plagued by the threat of famine, extensive unemployment and encumbered by payments for a series of costly military campaigns.

Turgot, the *philosophe* whose reforms and theory of human perfectibility earned him a place in Comte's republican calendar,[39] organised a series of city improvement projects. Turgot and Idéologues such as d'Alembert, Sieyès and Condorcet, envisioned a state in which a group of public-minded savants would represent a 'republic of science'.[40] As such, they sought to shape 'public opinion' and to 'open rational discussion of the public good'. These activities, scholars suggest, played an important role in the revolutionary *mentalité*.[41]

Towards the late 1790s Louis XVI was under increasing pressure not only to convoke the Estates General but also to double the delegates representing the Third Estate. Sieyès wrote that the Third Estate was a fettered and oppressed mass, but if guided by the clergy, they were capable of constituting a separate and 'complete nation'.[42] During the revolution, Sieyès became an early proponent of a 'republican constitution'.[43] He introduced to the popular mind the notion of

[38] Martin Thom, *Republics, Nations and Tribes* (1995), pp. 1-29.
[39] Auguste Comte, *Cours de philsophie positive* (1839), IV, p. 253.
[40] Roger Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution* (1971), pp. 35-57.
[41] Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (1990), pp. 153-99; Johnson Kent Wright, *A Classical Republican in Eighteenth-Century France* (1997), pp. 198-211; Richard Whatmore, *Republicanism and the French Revolution* (2000), p. xi.
[42] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers état?* (1789), pp. 10, 144.
[43] Pasquale Pasquino, 'The Constitutional Republicanism', in *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (1994), pp. 107-17.

government by 'social science'. Sieyès later sketched ideas about a government by sociology called a 'sociocracy' – a term Comte adopted.[44] However, during the revolution, Sieyès also proposed the transformation of the provinces into a politically redistributed system of departments to weaken provincial royalism. As indicated, Comte believed that Positivist Societies would emerge in each department. These institutions would commence on the work of transforming the departments into the regional republics of the Positive Era.[45]

During the revolutionary period, a large number of republican clubs appeared. Comte praised the revolutionary republican schools that Diderot's encyclopaedic thought had produced. Two 'worthy types' of thinkers represented these schools: Danton of the Cordeliers Club,[46] and Condorcet of the Girondists.[47] Scholars often note that the former group supported the implementation of a political framework associated with the small agrarian republic, while the latter upheld one associated with the large, modern commercial republic. It was probably from these groups that Comte forged his vision of nested republics. As for the most infamous revolutionary school, the Jacobins, Comte called them 'vile instruments of royalism' and 'false revolutionaries'.[48]

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[44] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Political Writings* (2003), pp. ix-xxx, 15-16.
[45] Ibid.; William Hamilton Sewell, *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution* (1994), pp. 186-8; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 401-4.
[46] Auguste Comte, *Passages from the Letters of Auguste Comte* (1901), p. 22; Comte, *Correspondance inédite d'Auguste Comte* (1903), I, pp. 121, 335; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 338-43, 405-6; Comte, *SPP*, III, pp. 513-6; Rachel Hammersley, *French Revolutionaries and English Republicans* (2005), pp. 14, 159-61; Hammersley, 'The Harringtonian Legacy in Britain and France', in *European Contexts for English Republicanism*, ed. Gaby Mahlberg and Dirk Wiemann (2013), pp. 197-210.
[47] *Le Patriote français,* 20 Jan. 1793; Patrice Gueniffey, 'Cordeliers and Girondins', in *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (1994), pp. 86-106.
[48] Cited in Mary Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, I, p. 35.

The Girondist leaders were either imprisoned or executed *en masse* by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror. Condorcet's posthumously published *Esquisse* was circulated during the mid-1790s as a programme for realising a modern republic. While tracing Western progress in nine epochs, Condorcet praised the English commonwealth tradition. He forecast in the tenth epoch the demise of 'Machiavellian governments'.[49] Institutions of 'social power,' motivated by progressive republican principles, would decimate gender inequality, poverty, ignorance, sickness, enslavement and the subjection of the body politic to kings and monks. These institutions would produce the culture necessary for cities of happy, virtuous citizens with 'no master but reason'.[50] Comte claimed that Condorcet was his 'spiritual father' because he had proposed to found a republican 'polity upon history' towards the 'regeneration of society'. And this, he claimed, 'indicated the true foundation of Sociology'.[51]

During the time between the National Convention and the French Consulate, 1794 to 1803, the Idéologues and their sympathisers took a leading role in French public life. Political leaders such as Sieyès, Lakanal and de Tracy, along with the political economist, Say, and the philosopher of the 'positive sciences,' de Staël, contributed to the founding of a new system of education, the *Écoles Centrales*.[52] The *Institut National* was also founded. It served as a meeting ground for these 'pioneers of social science'[53] – the Idéologues – who discussed the integration of

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[49] M. de Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), pp. 201, 47, 322.
[50] Ibid., 318-72.
[51] Comte, *SPP*, III, pp. xviii, 523-4, 27.
[52] James Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (2001), pp. 172-97.
[53] Brian William Head, *Ideology and Social Science* (1985), pp. 1-11, 43, 56, 65, 205-6.

the art of social science into legislation on urban social policies. The result of the Idéologues' efforts was the founding of academies, hospitals, museums and scientific institutions to uphold 'republican manners'.[54] Like the Idéologues' planning system, Comte's Occidental Republic specified the ideal ratio of 'republican institutions' for each region's numbers and area.

It seems that the Idéologues' interventions were tied to what has been described as the underlying 'religious problem' of the revolution, 'republican morals'. The only way to find closure to the revolutionary period was to set out a new rational, ethical code with which to replace Christianity. Between 1793 and 1799 several new religions had appeared. Among them were the Cult of Reason, the Cult of the Supreme Being, Theophilanthropy and Cult Decadiare.[55] However, the subsequent governments opened the *lycée* system of education, reinstated Catholicism and the empire and censored republican publications. The quest to resolve the revolution and, at the same time, to unify the sciences for practical applications in public life had nonetheless captured the imagination of thinkers such as Fourier, Saint-Simon and, later, Comte.

British Republicanism

In Britain, the activities of the Positivist Society fit within a wider heritage of British republicanisms.

Some people chose the small-state community as an approach to resolving social problems. Robert Owen's 1817 Plan for a self-sufficient village proposed to

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[54] Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet* (1975), pp. 55, 371-82; Andreas Kalyvas and Katznelson, *Liberal Beginnings* (2008), pp. 118-45; Whatmore, *Republicanism*, pp. 111-45, 71; Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, I, pp. 63-5.
[55] Henri Gouhier, *La jeunesse d'Auguste Comte* (1970), II, pp. 58-61; III, 407.

contain agricultural, mechanical and manufacturing capabilities, community institutions and private homes. Owen was seeking to demonstrate that, when organised within small social groupings, humankind could easily be 'trained to be industrious, intelligent, virtuous, and valuable members of the state'.[56] From the 1820s Owenites such as A.J. Hamilton and G.J. Holyoake established co-operative societies, which helped to fund the realisation of communitarian experiments in England and America. By 1849 Owen was advocating the acquisition of land by the 'governing authority' to make it 'public property'. He proposed that 'when the numbers increase' authorities should set out 'a new township or republic' on a new site. This planning practice would continue until 'all the land of the earth shall be covered with these federative townships or republics'.[57] The notion of implementing a new, secular moral system for realising small-state communities was common to both Owenites and Positivists.

In response to Owenite development the Chartists Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones devised their Land Plan scheme of 1842. The motivation here was to not only help rural peasants become independent smallholders, but also enable them to meet the suffrage requirement. Such schemes commenced with the cooperative purchase of land, which was then divided into private properties following a community masterplan. The Chartist Land Company realised five

[56] Gregory Claeys, *Citizens and Saints* (1989); Robert Owen, *A New View of Society* (1991); R.G. Garnett, *Co-operation and the Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain, 1825-45* (1972), pp. vii-x, 39-49, 96, 224-5.
[57] Robert Owen, *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race* (1849), pp. 121-2.

village schemes by 1850. O'Connor hoped that these small communities would gradually grow, village-by-village, into a 'Chartist empire'.[58]

On the eve of the great Chartist demonstration, 9 April 1848, Comte's admirer G.J. Holyoake lectured on 'The Chances of Obtaining an English Republic by Moral Means' rather than by 'physical force'. Holyoake exclaimed 'Diffuse education! ... Education begets self-government, and self-government begets public government. The genealogy of knowledge ends in republicanism'.[59] Secular moral education, freely and broadly dispersed, was thought by many to be the means to achieve a republican balance of civic virtue and individual liberty. Along these lines, the British Positivists opened a 'People's School' in 1870.

By the mid 1850s the radical artisan and Positivist sympathiser W.J. Linton established the organ called *The English Republic.* Linton explained that the making of a republic entailed the 'radical reorganisation of society' to attain the 'equal right of all men to well-being and well-doing'.[60] He aimed to transform the spatial levels of human association – the nation, country, commune, city and village – into a set of nested republics, beginning with the making of the republic of the home.[61] Linton accordingly called the 'countrymen of Milton and Cromwell' to implement a programme based on republican principles.

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[58] *The Labourer,* ed. Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones (1847), I, pp. 61, 238.
[59] G.J. Holyoake, 'The Chances of Obtaining an English Republic by Moral Means', *TR* (1848), 281-5; 'People's Charter Union', *TR* (1848), 263-4. Holyoake was affiliated with Thomas Cooper's People's Charter Union, which formed on a specifically 'republican basis'.
[60] *The English Republic,* ed. W.J. Linton and Kineton Parkes (1891), pp. xii-xiii.
[61] *The English Republic,* ed. W.J. Linton (1851), pp. 8-35.

Significantly, Linton's programme proposed to establish a national education system according to the 'religion of Humanity'.[62]

The British Positivist Society was shaping public opinion on political and social questions by the early 1860s. During the American Civil War, they organised meetings attended by liberals, trade unionists and republicans. Together with workingmen they expressed sympathy for American republicans and slave emancipation. Along these lines, the Positivists indicted the royal family for neglecting the plight of the starving Lancashire districts during the 'Cotton Famine'. They also played an important role in the founding of the International Working Men's Association.[63]

From the late 1860s a number of events amplified republican discourse. For some radicals the Queen had remained for far too long outside the public eye (following Albert's death in 1861). Meanwhile, the royal family had been enjoying a conspicuously luxurious lifestyle on the public purse. The reform agitation, the Irish question, large-scale unemployment and parliamentary procrastination fomented political unrest. The result of such circumstances, scholars often note, was that the first aggressively anti-monarchist republican clubs appeared in Britain.[64]

The founding of the French Third Republic in 1870 also fortified British republicanism. The Positivists and trade unionists supported French republicans'

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Royden Harrison, 'E.S. Beesly', *IRSH* (1959), 22-58.
[64] Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown* (1997), pp. 1-73; Antony Taylor, *Down With the Crown* (1999), pp. 11-51; Miles Taylor, 'Republics versus Empires', in *Republicanism in Victorian Society*, ed. David Nash and Antony Taylor (2000), pp. 25-35; Royden Harrison, 'The Land and Labour League', *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History* (1953), 169-95; Edward Royle, *Radicals, Secularists, and Republicans* (1980), pp. 194-206.

struggle to maintain the political size and civic liveliness, or 'municipal rights,' of the Paris commune.[65] By January 1871 C.C. Cattell, the commune supporter and secularist, set up the Birmingham Republican Club. Two years later Cattell's famous colleague Charles Bradlaugh announced that he sought to link British republican clubs as a network called the National Republican League. Controversially, he suggested that revolutionary republicans should refrain from militantly haranguing about social and economic reorganisation. They should instead plan to 'overthrow the Government' via the 'purely legal and moral means' of parliamentary politics.[66] The League expanded rapidly because Bradlaugh's National Secular Societies identified themselves with the republican cause. However, the League dissolved in the face of external defences of the monarchy and internal conflict over its policy of nonviolence.[67] The language of republicanism did not die here.

Scholars note that in between the decline of Chartism and the rise of socialism in Britain, roughly 1861 to 1881, Positivism became the predominant language of Victorian politics. The Positivists injected 'republican sentiments' into discussions on domestic labour and urban social reform. The discourse of 'social responsibility' and the 'moralisation of capital' passed from Comte, to the British Positivists and into the works of H.M. Hyndman, E. Belfort Bax and Edward Bernstein.[68] Along these lines, Comte's republican ideas served as the

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[65] *The English Defence of the Commune, 1871,* ed. Royden Harrison (1971), pp. 7-28; Fergus A. D'Arcy, 'Charles Bradlaugh', *The Historical Journal* (1982), 367-83; F.B. Smith, *Radical Artisan* (1973), p. 175.
[66] *RN,* 18 May 1873; *DN,* 12 May 1873.
[67] Christopher Rumsey, *The Rise and Fall of British Republican Clubs* (2000), pp. 81-93.
[68] Royden Harrison, *Before the Socialists* (1965), pp. 3-4, 210-2, 337-9.

impetus to the British Positivists' unparalleled critique of the British Empire. These discussions not only couple to later socialist debates, but also led Comte's sympathisers to believe that his republican ideas were 'spatial formulae' for a 'realisable eutopia'.[69] For instance, Edward Pease of the Fabian Society wrote that Comte's *System* had rendered a complete image of 'a new earth, free from all the inequalities of wealth, the preventable suffering, the reckless waste of effort, which we saw around us'.[70]

This dissertation fits within a larger narrative in which the language and beliefs of republicanism percolates through the works of radicals, to Chartists, to Positivists and on to socialists.[71] As indicated, one of my interests in this study is to connect the Positivists' language about the comprehensive planning of the republic to the sociological survey practice.

Positive Sociology

In his famous six-volume *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830-42) Comte introduced the phrase 'positive sociology'. The word positive connoted '*reality* and *usefulness*' and '*certainty* and *precision*'. In addition to these attributes, Positivism would encompass '*organic* and *relative*' to signify the union of intellectual (critical) and moral (organic) qualities.[72] An assumption central to Positivism was nonetheless that there 'can be no real knowledge but that which is

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[69] Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics* (2010), pp. 3, 102-17, 273-84.
[70] Edward R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society* (1916), p. 18; *Fabian Essays,* ed. G.Bernard Shaw (1889), pp. 31, 46, 160.
[71] Mark Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism* (2011), pp. 3-9.
[72] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 44-5.

based on observed facts'.[73] As such, Comte first defined 'positive sociology' as a 'complementary part of natural philosophy which relates to the positive study of all fundamental laws of social phenomena'. 'Positive sociology' dealt with 'discovering or perfecting the exact coordination of all observed facts'. These truths would offer the 'human imagination the largest and most fertile field' for development.[74]

For Comte, sociology could emerge as a true science only if it employed methodological approaches of observation, analysis, experimentation and comparison compatible with other 'positive sciences'. In his hierarchy of the sciences, biology was the premier positive cosmological science. It served as the foundation to the premier human sciences of sociology and morality.[75] However, Comte stated that the 'positive constitution' of 'Sociology' had also been 'designed to rest immediately on all *historical* facts'. He claimed that the principles of this design were evident in the republican social science works of Montesquieu, Turgot and Condorcet. Condorcet's work was a particularly important precedent of sociology for Comte because it had introduced the 'scientific concept' of facilitating the 'social progress of humanity'.[76]

In his *System of Positive Polity* Comte further explained why Positivist sociology would emerge from historical and biological science. (And this will shed further light on this dissertation's title, Republican Spaces.) Comte wrote that two aspects of 'social sympathy' drove the agenda of Positivist sociology.

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[73] Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (1896), I, p. 3.
[74] Comte, *Cours*, IV, p. 294.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 252-3, 63.

The first aspect was that of time (history), being 'Continuity, or union with the Past'. The second aspect was that of contemporaneous space (biology), being 'the feeling of Solidarity, or union with the Present'. The historical past always had a bearing on the space of the living present. Space facilitated the 'most prominent' feature of the republican spirit of Positivism, cooperation: cooperation between past and present, for the future.[77]

Furthering these ideas in his *Subjective Synthesis* (1856) Comte presented Positivism as a 'Trinitarian' system of 'reverence' for the sciences of 'Space, Earth and Humanity'.[78] Of these, the 'Institution of Space' was to be studied using the 'deductive' method with the aid of 'signs' following a doctrine of 'logic'. This 'Great Milieu' was comprised of sympathy.[79] Space was the medium in which all 'social purpose prevails,' where humanity expressed that it was 'driven by sympathetic instincts'. Space was the 'great regulator of the human organism,' where natural science and law were discovered and developed for the improvement of humankind.[80]

Effectively, space was not to be a medium for mere passive observation, but a creative and moral construct. The 'Great Milieu,' Comte wrote, 'will always be designed either philosophically or poetically'.[81] The Positivists anticipated that citizens' participation in the study of the space of the townscape would best facilitate the sentiments of social sympathy. Congreve accordingly explained to

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[77] Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 291.
[78] Harrison, *The Philosophy of Common Sense*, p. xxviii.
[79] Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 333; Comte, *Subjective Synthesis* (1891), pp. 39-43.
[80] Auguste Comte, *Correspondance inédite d'Auguste Comte* (1903), II, p. 376; Comte, *Synthèse subjective* (1856), pp. 25-35, 99, 354, 738.
[81] Auguste Comte, *Correspondance inédite d'Auguste Comte* (1904), III, pp. 306-7.

the members of the Positivist Society that space held the 'seat of abstraction, the seat of the higher laws which collectively constitute the Destiny of Man, and is introduced as such in all our intellectual and moral training'.[82]

The Positivist sociologist would observe how the intellectual, cultural, political and economic organisation of different communities emerged as an extension of their immediate natural environment. They would compare the evolution of these communities' social structures to verify sociological laws. They could then accurately forecast which principles might be employed to benefit these societies, which provided the rationale for their civic programmes. This scientific survey-design process would spread from town-to-town, making republic-by-republic. The cumulative result would be the formation of a 'universal Republic,' a 'regenerated globe'.[83]

British Statistical & Social Science

From the mid nineteenth century, networks of statistical and social science societies thickened, and their members increasingly discussed the merits of Comte's treatises. Examining how these groups positioned their work in relation to the agenda of sociology will help us to appreciate the discipline's distinctive place within Victorian society.

Perhaps the most influential British statistical science group was the Statistical Society of London. The Society was founded during the year of the Poor Law Commission, 1834, but they were known as the Royal Statistical Society from 1887. The group's associates included Florence Nightingale,

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[82] Richard Congreve, *Essays, Political, Social, and Religious* (1900), III, pp. 13-4.
[83] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 309.

Southwood Smith, Francis Galton and Charles Booth.[84] The first eponymous journal publications produced by the Society explained that the objective of their statistical science was to 'collect, arrange, and compare' the 'positive facts of experience'.[85]

By the 1840s the group announced that a kingdom-wide network of statists were tabulating field survey evidence under the heads of physical geography, production, instruction, protection, and consumption and enjoyment. While dealing with the 'raw material' of statistical data, the Society was motivated to 'illustrate the condition and prospects of society'. Their purpose was to 'determine those principles upon which the well-being of society depends' and to 'form the basis of correct conclusions with respect to social and political government'.[86] The Society thereafter instructed its members 'should ourselves be the architects of a science or of sciences'. The statist was to be concerned with the 'science of the arts of civil life' and accordingly 'selects from the facts' of the natural sciences as they 'bear on the welfare of the human race'.[87]

At their outset, the Society acknowledged that they had the same end in view as political economy.[88] The precepts of this science of wealth had shaped policy decisions on subjects as diverse as the Poor Law, trade unionism, infrastructural improvements, philanthropic housing scheme-designs, edification and emigration.[89] Comte told J.S. Mill, who popularised the positive philosophy

[84] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914* (1968), pp. 8-52.
[85] *JSSL* (1838), I, pp. 1-9.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *JSSL* (1840), 3, pp. 1-6.
[88] *JSSL*, I, pp. 1-9.
[89] Ibid., 48, 259-60; *JSS* (1875), XXXVIII, pp. 33-63.

in Britain during the early 1840s, that the political economy of Benthamism had provided the country with the 'immediate preparation' for the social economy of 'sociological positivism'.[90]

As early as the mid 1850s statistical societies across Great Britain were citing Comte's works. They praised his rigorous methods of observing and classifying facts to verify scientific laws. But they were confounded by his 'new' religious science of morality.[91] Through the 1860s scientific truths were increasingly wielded not only by advocates of the science of wealth, political economy, but also by socialised collectives. These collectives sought to ameliorate the poor via reform, or industrial reorganisation. During the social distress of the mid 1880s, for instance, the Statistical Society organised a conference on industrial remuneration in association with republicans, social scientists, sociologists and trade unionists. Here, the Positivist Frederic Harrison claimed that the best use of facts was their promulgation from the pulpits of religion and social science – to 'moralise society'.[92]

Another prominent group that the Positivists became involved with was the Social Science Association. Founded in 1857 this organisation sought to advance the use of social science to explain, support or stimulate legislative reform. The Association provided a forum for the 'actual experience of social reformers'. They aimed to present a view of 'social economics as a great whole'.[93] The Association was affiliated to the *Société d'Économie Sociale,* which was founded in France in

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[90] Auguste Comte, *Lettres d'Auguste Comte à John Stuart Mill* (1877), pp. 4-5.
[91] *Journal of the Dublin Statistical Society* (1856), I, pp. 322-23; *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1859), pp. 70-1.
[92] *Industrial Remuneration Conference,* ed. Charles Dilke (1885), p. 462.
[93] NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1857* (1858), p. xxi.

1856 to further the working methods of the Saint-Simonian, Frédéric Le Play (1806-82).[94] Contributors to the Association's proceedings included scientists and intellectuals, such as Benjamin Ward Richardson, Ruskin, Owen, Holyoake and Harrison.

Not unlike the Statistical Society, the Social Science Association emphasised the collection of 'local statistics' and 'the recording of social progress made in various parts of the kingdom'.[95] A network of social science centres of 'information and of action' formed in major British cities.[96] A different city hosted the Association's national conference each year. The Association's congresses comprised five focus departments – education, public health, punishment and reformation, jurisprudence and social economy. These departments, scholars suggest, served as a 'functional substitute for a party system' of the government. They became a kind of 'outdoor parliament' staffed by volunteer social science legislators. The Association's congresses were used to determine which social and political policies held the public's support.[97]

The advocacy of sociology was 'constantly being repudiated' if constantly discussed by the Association's members. By 1861 the president Lord Brougham announced that the use of the word sociology was forbidden at the Association's congresses.[98] Yet, through the decade physicians insisted that not only was the Association indebted to Comte and Mill, but their function was to 'follow in the

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[94] Ibid., xxi-xxiii; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1858* (1859), p. xx; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1884* (1885), p. xx.
[95] NAPSS, *Transactions, 1858*, p. xxvii.
[96] Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain* (2004), pp. 86-7.
[97] Ibid., 1, 61.
[98] NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1861* (1862), p. 3.

path he and his disciples have opened for us'. Physicians and 'sanitary sociologists' thought that the vast popular support for the Association's conferences justified the creation of an institute of 'comparative sociology' to direct the work of its departments. This institute would create, as the 'basis for experiments in sociology,' a comprehensive programme to 'promote education, to heal disease, or to relieve poverty'. Like Benjamin Ward Richardson's utopia 'Hygeia,' the Association's sociologists suggested that 'public functionaries' would implement such a programme to further the 'elevation of character and the general happiness of man'.[99]

By the 1870s the simmering debate between political economists, social scientists and sociologists had boiled over. The president of the Irish Statistical Society J.K. Ingram opined that the 'economic phenomena of society ought to be systematically combined with that of the other aspects of human existence'.[100] What he meant was that all practical scientific activities should be coordinated by 'sociologists' to achieve social reorganisation. Members of the Social Science Association openly challenged Ingram's reasoning as being 'rotten with sociological disease'. Political economists and natural scientists fretted that their work would be 'suffocated' by the 'decrees' of sociologists, posing as the 'makers of society'. Critics demanded to know 'where room will be found for what are now regarded as economic problems in a *science* which is to embrace everything

[99] NAPSS, *Transactions, 1858*, p. 697; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1865* (1866), pp. 58-9; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1869* (1870), pp. 136-7; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1876* (1877), p. 77.
[100] John K. Ingram, *The Present Position & Prospects of Political Economy* (1878), p. 28.

from physics to the Religion of Humanity?'[101] Branford later explained that unlike true sociologists, the Association's work remained 'unilluminated by reference to the constructive and directive formulae of the main founders of sociology … they put to sea without a compass'.[102]

Humanity, Sociology & the British Positivists

When scholars make excursions to the Positivist universe they usually return with a narrative about one of Comte's 'two careers'.[103] They discuss his early intellectual-scientific world[104] of the *Cours*, or his later republican-humanist world[105] of the *System*. Portrayals of Comte precipitously rejecting science and turning to a faith in humanity has ultimately meant that his contribution to sociology has been reduced to passing phrases, or it is overlooked altogether.

Along similar lines, sociologists and philosophers such as Anthony Giddens, Steve Fuller and Robert C. Scharff have suggested that Comte's 'sociological imagination'[106] is no less relevant to the tradition of empirical sociology than it is to logical positivism.[107] Mary Pickering's *Auguste Comte* (1993-2009) has established that through the 1850s the philosopher was systematically fulfilling

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[101] NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1878* (1879), pp. 127-31.
[102] Branford, *I&F*, p. 373.
[103] Henri Gouhier, *La jeunesse d'Auguste Comte* (1970), I, pp. 5-30.
[104] Ted Benton, *Philosophical Foundations of the Three Sociologies* (1977), pp. 18-45; *The Crisis,* ed. Ronald Fletcher (1974); H.S. Jones, *Comte* (1998); Arthur Elley Finch, *On the Inductive Philosophy* (1872); Christopher Kent, *Brains and Numbers* (1978).
[105] Gillis J. Harp, 'The Church of Humanity', *Church History* (1991), 508-23; Andrew Wernick, *Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity* (2001); Charles D. Cashdollar, 'Auguste Comte', *JHI* (1978), 61-79; Smith, *The London Heretics*, pp. 84-103; Peter Melville Logan, *Victorian Fetishism* (2009), pp. 30–33, 43, 90–100; Gladys Bryson, 'Early English Positivists and the Religion of Humanity', *American Sociological Review* (1936), 343-62.
[106] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (1867), pp. 6, 15.
[107] Steve Fuller, *The New Sociological Imagination* (2006); Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* (1971), pp. vii, 65-91, 115, 33; Robert C. Scharff, *Comte After Positivism* (1995).

the agenda he had set out for himself during the 1820s.[108] Similarly, Mike Gane demonstrates that the cardinal assumptions of Comte's early sociological essays can be found in the offerings of Littré, Herbert Spencer and Émile Durkheim.[109] Yet, no study has presented a full account of how Comte's lifework can be thought of as that of a republican sociologist. If this was Comte's single vocation, then his closest British 'disciples' perhaps merit a place in the history of sociology. As indicated, Comte's and his follower's work is presented here as an empirical form of survey and as a 'Religion of Humanity', which together informed a functionalist approach to 'City Design'. Therefore, Positivism should not be understood here to mean fetishism for science, technology and industry, but a love of humanity, and the use of science and industry to improve the lot.

As indicated, the leader of organised Positivism in Britain was Richard Congreve. This dissertation takes the opportunity to trace Congreve's transformation from being that of a scholar of Aristotelian social science to a Positivist sociologist. Congreve and his Oxford students – Frederic Harrison, John Bridges and Edward Beesly – were also key figures within the second generation of British Positivism. Their theory and praxis percolated into the work of a third generation of *sympathisers,* not usually identified as 'complete' Positivists, who are sometimes credited as being pioneers of British sociology and town planning – Charles Booth, Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford. They passed the Positivist outlook on to the likes of Lewis Mumford and Patrick Abercrombie. A number of

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[108] Mary Pickering, *Auguste Comte* (2009), III, pp. 358-9.
[109] Mike Gane, *Auguste Comte* (2006), pp. 1-12, 128-34.

scholars have explored the life and labour of these intellectuals, but their accounts make almost no reference to organised Positivism.

This dissertation reassesses the travails of one of the most eminent Victorians, Charles Booth. Mary Booth's *Charles Booth* (1918) clearly states that Comte's industrial system deeply affected the sociologist.[110] However, nearly all versions of Booth's life appearing since the Simeys' biography of the 'social scientist' have refashioned his investigation as the work of an unbiased, innovative statistician. Some studies assert that Booth was a steady Christian conservative who despised the poor, trade unionists and socialists. Scholars claim that his intellectual development was derivative, generalist and, therefore, inconsequential to his social investigation. They disconnect Booth from his affiliation to the sociology of the British Positivist Society.[111] A deviation from this trend is found in Gertrude Himmelfarb's *Poverty and Compassion* (1991), which shows that Booth was dedicated to the Religion of Humanity during the early 1880s.[112] This dissertation suggests, not affirms, that Booth's allegiance to Positivism survived well into the 1890s findings of his monumental London survey and influenced the findings.

A number of studies have examined the activities of other key affiliates to the British Positivist Society. Susan Liveing's 1926 biography on the life of J.H. Bridges offers glimpses of the urban physician engaged with health surveys,

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[110] Mary Booth, *Charles Booth* (1918), pp. 8-9, 95-98.
[111] Thomas Brydon, 'Christ's Last Ante' (unpublished Ph.D. 2007); Rosemary O'Day and David Englander, *Mr Charles Booth's Inquiry* (1993); Trevor Lummis, 'Charles Booth', *EHR* (1971), 100-05; Martin Bulmer, and others, *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective* (2011); Philip Waller, 'Charles Booth', in *Founders of the Welfare State*, ed. Paul Barker (1986), pp. 37-44; Albert Fried and Richard Elman, *Charles Booth's London* (1968); Kevin Bales, 'Early Innovations in Social Research' (unpublished Ph.D. 1994); John Brown, 'Charles Booth', *EHR* (1968), 349-60.
[112] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion* (1991), pp. 79-85.

public education and home design. Patrick Geddes accordingly remembered Bridges as a 'true sociologist'. Bridges equipped Geddes and L.T. Hobhouse with the 'pro-synthesis' of Positivism.[113] Philip Boardman's *Patrick Geddes* (1944) is highly useful for detailing the sociologist's life. However, it is in the company of many studies[114] that cautiously disentangle Geddes and his partner Branford from their 'Comtism'.[115] More recently, Volker Welter's *Biopolis* (2002) presents the Geddesian 'view of history' as the study of 'spiritual and temporal powers'. This dissertation suggests that as sympathisers of Positivism Geddes and Branford based their theory of civic sociology, in part, on Comte's work. After all Geddes' outlook, Welter suggests, was shaped by Frederic Harrison's studies of cities in evolution. [116] Martha Vogeler's *Frederic Harrison* (1984) illustrates how Congreve's acolyte held a variety of vocations, including that of a barrister and journalist.[117] This dissertation shows how Harrison's involvement with industrial surveys, trade union legislation and urbanism projects can be understood as the work of a citizen-sociologist attempting to realise a republic.

Indeed, none of the intellectuals discussed in this dissertation explicitly labelled themselves as a 'Positivist'. I am arguing that these figures nonetheless articulated a pattern of language that was associated with the sociological system

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[113] Susan Liveing and Patrick Geddes, *A Nineteenth-Century Teacher* (1926), pp. xiii-xv, 1-19, 90-95; Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology* (1983), pp. 149-52, 205-8.
[114] Maggie Studholme, 'Patrick Geddes', *Journal of Classical Sociology* (2008), 367-91; Maggie Studholme, and others, 'Doppelgängers and Racists', *Soc.Rev.* (2007), 816-22; John Scott and Christopher T. Husbands, 'Victor Branford and the Building of British Sociology', *Soc.Rev.* (2007), 460-84; John Scott and Ray Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology* (2013); Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology* (1957); Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes* (1990); John Patrick Reilly, 'The Early Social Thought of Patrick Geddes' (unpublished Ph.D. 1975).
[115] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, pp. 9, 14.
[116] Volker M. Welter, *Biopolis* (2002), pp. 84-92.
[117] Martha S. Vogeler, *Frederic Harrison* (1984), pp. 196-211, 352-54, 80.

of ideas expounded by Comte. They propagated these ideas from within a number of institutions. Above all, they acted as representatives of the Positivist Society and, later, the Sociological Society. At the latter, they contributed to important discussions interrelating republicanism, urban sociology and town planning.

Positivist Urban Sociology & 'Town Planning'

The first British intellectual institution with the word 'sociology' in its name was the Sociological Society. Founded in 1904, the organisation sought to develop sociology in the direction of a modern disciplinary science of society. Their popular discussions paved the way for the first academic courses in sociology offered in Britain, which were organised by the London School of Economics. The Society served as the meeting ground for economists, geographers, politicians, philosophers and writers. Their three-volume *Sociological Papers* (1905-7) thus illustrates the nature of sociology, as perceived by the likes of Durkheim, Hobhouse, Bertrand Russell, William Beveridge and H.G. Wells. At the Society, parties of eugenicists, town planners and ethical evolutionaries debated the meanings and methods of sociology. Scholars attribute the immediate origins of the first party to the sociological works of Charles Darwin and Galton; the second, to Booth and Geddes; and the third, to Spencer and Hobhouse.[118] As indicated, this dissertation aims to link Comte's republican language to the origins of this town planning or applied school of urban sociology.

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[118] A.H. Halsey, *A History of Sociology in Britain* (2004), pp. 9, 11, 248; Chris Renwick, *British Sociology's Lost Biological Roots* (2012), pp. 3-8; Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology*, pp. 101-43; R.A. Kent, *A History of Empirical Sociology* (1981), pp. 91-98.

As a founding member of the Sociological Society, Victor Branford thought of the sociologist as a social architect who coordinates the activities of the 'lower sciences' for humanist purposes.[119] He suggested that the sociological 'methods of observation and interpretation' could reveal to citizen-sociologists the 'unity of place'. The practice of sociology could inspire the citizen to accept the vocation of making the city into a 'living work of art'. The contradictions and inadequacies of urban life, Branford claimed here, justified Comte's efforts to found sociology on the natural sciences and the humanities. In this way, applied sociology was a discipline seeking the 'common good'.[120] Branford was speaking of sociology as being founded on biological knowledge, to address public health, and on history, which represented the moralising, collective memory of human existence. Overall, Comte's followers thought that sociology could organise communities, morally and spatially, as a kind of town planning.

But how does Positivist urban sociology fit within narratives on the emergence of modern British town planning? The phrase 'town planning' scarcely if ever crops up in nineteenth-century printed matter. During the age of the British Empire, vindications of the idea of creating salubrious, self-governing cities were obscured by the reality of unregulated industrial and imperial expansionism. Criticism and action concerning 'town building' and 'speculative development' was distinct from 'town planning'. English manufacturing complexes surfaced, as the historian P.J. Corfield notes, without a 'conscious policy objective' or programme for growth. Any vague notions of 'town planning' remained entirely

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[119] Victor V. Branford, 'On the Origin and Use of the Word "Sociology"', *AJS* (1903), 145-62.
[120] Victor Verasis Branford, *Science and Sanctity* (1923), pp. 1-33, 185-253.

'partial and incomplete'. Planting plantations, colonies or new districts as the nucleus of 'community' was an essentially foreign or historical concept to the landed aristocracy.[121]

Nineteenth-century British towns materialised neither as planned entities, nor were they built or extended as a configuration of district and neighbourhood communities. They stood as moderately incoherent amalgams of stately administrative edifices, idyllic parks, elegant mansions, airy exhibitions and romantic theatres. These elements were situated amongst standardised workhouses, hellish factories, compacted quarters, dank alleyways, shady gambling dens, dark courts and smoggy, soiled streets, passing into a maze of speculative-built suburbs. Scholars have provided a number of explanations about how the design disciplines incrementally imagined and constructed the modern world.

A broad range of historians and designers – including Theo van Doesburg, Walter Gropius, Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Kenneth Frampton, Peter Eisenmen and Anthony Vidler – have explained the underlying development of modern architecture and urbanism in terms of some form of 'positivism'.[122] In his often-cited piece 'Post-Functionalism' (1979) Eisenman, for instance, suggests that 'ethical positivism' produced the functionalist approach; the two are linked together by an 'idealist view of reality' associated with the 'idealisation of technology' and 'simulation of

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[121] P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (1982), pp. 172-4.

[122] Theorists and historians of design sometimes refer to Comtean 'positivism' rather than 'Positivism'. Throughout this and the following section, I will highlight how a pattern language of aspects of 'Positivism' appears within the design disciplines, but will follow the editorial conventions each scholar has chosen with regard to the capitalisation of the word.

efficiency'. Functionalism continued the 'idealist ambition of creating architecture as a kind of ethically constituted form-giving,' states Eisenman. As such, functionalism was essentially a 'phase of humanism'.[123]

Architectural theorists and historians have suggested that positivism served as the link between eighteenth century gothic-rationalist and primitivist architectural theories of Viollet-le-Duc [124] and Gottfried Semper [125] and the twentieth century humanist-functionalist practices of Le Corbusier and Patrick Abercrombie. Of particular importance for David Smith Capon, for instance, is the Positivist discourse of shifting and evolving 'scientific and industrial relationships' between humanity, nature and the machine. In this sense, as an architectural theory Positivism is understood as an explanation of the world through a 'doctrine of relationships'.[126] Comte's 'new humanism,' Capon adds, aimed to 'counteract the dehumanizing influence of industrial society'.[127] The Positivists and early modern designers alike were confronted with the consequences of industrialisation, standardisation and the annihilation of community life during the nineteenth century.

Historians of urban-cultural history have connected Saint-Simon and Comte's ideas to left-leaning urban avant-garde movements that emerged in continental Europe from the early twentieth century. In *The Seduction of Place* (2000), the architectural historian Joseph Rykwert argues that this history begins

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[123] Peter Eisenman, 'Post-Functionalism', in *Theorizing a New Agenda For Architecture*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (1996), pp. 78-83.
[124] *Architectural Theory,* ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave (2006), 1, pp. 353-4, 59, 90-4, 506-15. Also see Alan Colquhoun, *Collected Essays in Architectural Criticism* (2009), pp. 167-8.
[125] David Smith Capon, *Architectural Theory* (1999), 2, pp. 285-6.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid. 1, 140.

with the vision of Saint-Simon, a founding father of social democracy, who also proposed several now-realised transnational urban infrastructural projects. Saint-Simon also forecast that science and industry would bequeath a 'meritocratic, managerial, free-market society'.[128]

One of Saint-Simon's most significant contributions to the intellectual discourse of modern town planning and architecture, however, was probably his ideas about scientific progress and defence of the social relations of medieval community life. Saint-Simon discussed the idea of incorporating the pre-capitalist social relationships of the gothic into modern industry and stressed the importance of upholding the relationship between 'community' and urban units such as city, town and country. Along these lines, the cultural historian Donald Drew Egbert explains similarities between the architectural ideas of Viollet-le-Duc and Congreve; he writes that the latter

sought to form a priesthood which in positivistic fashion would see to it that science and technology were used for the good of all, for in his highly clerical thought, medievalism and technology were used for the good of all.[129]

Like the architect Viollet-le-Duc, who expounded one of the first significant theories of modern architecture rooted in the gothic characteristics of honesty, organicism and authenticity, the 'founder of English positivism,' Congreve, believed that 'medievalism and technology were interrelated'.[130]

Along these lines, Rykwert suggests that Saint-Simon's ideas carried into Comte's sociology and a 'church of the Great being'. These Congrevean 'missions' sought to encourage a historically based view of social progress where

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[128] Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place* (2000), p. 62.
[129] Donald Drew Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (1970), p. 417.
[130] Ibid.

'the social peace essential to progress' depended on and altruistic 'acceptance by the body politic of a socioeconomic hierarchy' based on science and industry.[131] As suggested, Positivist 'missions' were in Britain, Russia, America and continental Europe. Alan Colquhoun, for instance, writes that the Russian avant-garde theorist Bogdanov believed that the 'progress of the proletariat towards socialism would have to take place' in a planned fashion, 'simultaneously on the political economic and cultural planes'. These ideas, remarks Colquhoun, were in fact 'closer to those of Saint-Simon than those and Marx, particularly in their called for a new "religion" of positivism'.[132]

As indicated, Positivism was thought to offer a systematic, humanistic method for transforming society. Building 'community' within industry was central to this process. Like the Positivists, late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban social reformers believed that the organisation of the great mass of workers into trade unions was a pivotal step to realising new urban visions, a new culture reflecting modern life in a post-laissez-faire society. For the Positivists, however, trade unions, or 'the People' as called them, were also critical to initiating the devolutionary framework to unbuild Empires into planned city-states. The Positivists and many modernist designers supported the formation and coordination of guild-like communities to participate in comprehensive or 'total design'. These themes were rooted in discussions of the spiritualisation of science and the humanisation if moralisation and rationalisation of industry. The

[131] Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place*, p. 62.
[132] Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (2002), pp. 120-1.

following section will offer a critical overview of how the masters of modernism drew on the Positivist language of environmental and social justice.

Positivism and the Masters of Modernism

The famous functionalist architect Louis Sullivan expressed a positivist view of history, politics and science. In his *Democracy: A man-search* (1908)*,* Sullivan wrote that science was the 'power to put forth our WILL – in place of Destiny. This is the spiritual dawning power of Democracy'.[133] Similar to the Positivists, Sullivan believed that sociology would become the 'gravitational center of all the sciences; and [at the same time] a philosophy of [the] gospel of democracy, the motive power of the world'.[134] For Sullivan sociology offered a 'salvation of man and society'.[135] Sociology could make democracy a 'living thing' that would transform architecture, which had been 'made a plaything for long enough,' into a 'living force,' an art for the people, and by the people.[136]

Sullivan's student Frank Lloyd Wright likewise challenged all romantic ideas about escaping from the machine age. He described the machine as a creative tool for the work of total design. Like the Positivists, Wright provocatively asserted that machine age technology would greatly increase the leisure hours available to workers, altering the lives of their families and just as radically altering the appearance of buildings. Similarly, he believed that the home was essential to the internalization of modern social manners and values in children, which is reflected in the central position of the hearth in his prairie style

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[133] Louis Sullivan, *Democracy* (1961), pp. 135-7.
[134] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings* (1968), pp. 65-6, 101-2.
[135] Paul Sherman, *Louis Sullivan* (1962), p. 93.
[136] Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, pp. 65-6, 101-2.

plans. Wright was also an advocate of decentralisation like the Positivists, and he equally took a cautious position about urban industrialisation. Wright explained during his Hull House lectures that in 'spite of prevalent and profitable abuses Standardization and the Machine are here to serve Humanity … human imagination may use them as a means to more life, and greater life, for the Commonwealth'. The machine, as such, could be used to 'conquer human drudgery' and was a symbol of 'spiritual liberation,' collectivism and a tool of democracy.[137]

According to the architectural historian Reyner Banham the 'father' of modern architecture in Amsterdam, Hendrik Petrus Berlage, held political and architectural ideas about 'community' that were 'almost Positivist'. Berlage supported the establishment of an 'ethical settlement' founded on the spiritual ideas of scientific progress.[138] He believed that it would foster the emergence of a 'new age of culture, focused on socialist principles of fraternity'. Along these lines, Berlage wrote that the 'fragmentation in the artistic production of the present can be explained through the absence of a generally accepted vision of the world'.[139] Over all, writes the historian Iain Boyd Whyte, Berlage's explicit support of 'utopian socialism' appears in the vestibule of his most famous work, the Amsterdam Stock Exchange. Here, Berlage commissioned the artist Jan Toorops to create *opera sectilia* reliefs that depict in a seemingly Comtean fashion 'the feudal order succeeded by the class society of nineteenth-century capitalism, which itself would be succeeded by a new age of harmony and religiosity'. Along

[137] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Modern Architecture* (2008), pp. xi, 23, 97.
[138] Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960), p. 144.
[139] Hendrik Petrus Berlage, *Thoughts on Style* (1996), pp. 60-3, 313.

these lines, Berlage's arts curator on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, Albert Verwey, suggested that in the 'postcapitalist age of the future, the building would assume its true function as a temple to the new humanity'.[140] Berlage later carried on discussions of the 'religion of the new humanity,' and during the Great War he designed a *Pantheon der Menschheid*, or 'Pantheon of Humanity'. He specified that it would be built on a scale of 'architectural prominence' to 'command respect, and which can only be approached along a triumphal axis'. Comparable to Comte's 'Temple of Humanity,' Berlage's pantheon was to provide an architecture that reflects an altruistic outlook, where the 'virtues of the community will be represented in niches and on pedestals'.[141]

Similar to the Positivists and the Ruskin-inspired Arts and Crafts movement, the German Deutscher Werkbund polemicised against the effects of laissez-faire capitalism. Supporting the organisation of guild-communities to connect morality and aesthetics, the Positivists and Werkbunders held that true architecture was beautiful through-and-through if it were ethically produced. Similar to the Positivists, the Werkbund aimed to become the 'sole arbiters of taste' by coordinating a socialist system of trade unions into a national industrial planning scheme that would mass-produce objects of a high moral and cultural value.[142] Along Deutscher Werkbund lines, the 'master of the moderns' Peter Behrens had designed a corporate architectural identity to envelope AEG's large-scale industrial processes. His AEG Turbine Factory took a form that the

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[140] Ibid., 37-8.
[141] Ibid., 60-3, 313.
[142] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 68.

architectural theorist Stanford Anderson has designated as a monumental 'factory-temple,' an 'endorsement of industrial civilisation'.[143]

The famous modernist architect Walter Gropius, who had interned at Behren's office alongside Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, carried out Deutscher Werkbund ideas before he had been appointed to lead the Bauhaus. His celebrated 1911 Fagus Shoelast Factory articulated the Werkbund idea of synchronizing the processes of resource allocation, preparation, processing, packaging and distribution within a light and airy monument to modern industry. In response to the Marxist theory of alienation, Gropius held that such environments designed on modern principles could compensate workers who, owing to specialisation and machinery, were being alienated from the products of their labour. Writing about the 'cultural obligations of the architect' Gropius claimed that the architect had been 'put into this world to remake humanity'.[144] In his words:

Work must be established in palaces that give the workman, now a slave to industrial labour, not only light, air, and hygiene, but also an indication of the great common idea that drives everything.

The architectural historian Alan Colquhoun concludes, as such, that Gropius believed that 'the machine could be spiritualised,' a sentiment shared by the Positivists.[145]

Utilizing the Positivists' idea of harmonizing 'social order and social progress,' the members of the Dutch De Stijl group believed that their

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[143] Stanford Anderson, *Peter Behrens and a New Architecture for the Twentieth Century* (2000), p. 145.
[144] Walter Gropius, *Apollo in the Democracy* (1968), p. 61.
[145] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 68. Also see Colquhoun, *Collected Essays*, p. 260.

theosophical art expressed a new utopia based on 'dynamic equilibrium' or the balancing of opposing forces in nature and society. The machine and mechanization would pave the way to achieving social equilibrium. In a positivist fashion, De Stijl aimed to establish an 'objective universal means of creation' for a new visual environment designed for living.[146] Machinery could tend to automated processes and decrease intellectual and physical drudgery, which would create greater opportunities to make society more spiritual. In essence De Stijl had already expressed support for the notion that life leading up to World War I represented the 'old consciousness' associated with individualism, ancient absolutism and nationalism. Like the Positivists they claimed that modern art, science and machinery represented the foundations of a 'new consciousness' directed towards a life and culture of universal collectivism.[147] Along these lines, the figurehead of De Stijl, Theo van Doesburg, put forward a manifesto in 1924 called 'Towards a Plastic Architecture'. It postulated that 'new architecture develops out of the exact determination of practical demands,' and would be 'anti-decorative' and 'anti-formalist' to reflect these universalizing aims.[148] De Stijl artwork, after all, had aspired to scientifically represent a view of the world liberated from its old complexities, and in its place a pure version of a new modern reality. By the mid 1920s, De Stijl's universal had outlook infiltrated the Bauhaus.

Prior to this point, when Gropius created the Bauhaus pedagogy in post-World War I Germany, he sought to unite 'guild of craftsmen without the class

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[146] *Programs,* ed. Conrads, pp. 64-5.
[147] Ibid., 39-40.
[148] Ibid., 78-80.

distinctions,' to participate in the design of 'complete' environments.[149] The 1919 Bauhaus manifesto announced that the school was a nexus for those who wanted to build a 'cathedral of Socialism'.[150] Although Comte was not explicitly forming a 'design school,' but a group of urban sociologists, he aimed to achieve remarkably similar things, such as drawing plans for a 'Temple of Humanity'.

The British Positivists and early modernist designers seem to share a commonality in that they appreciated the notion of the 'administration of things' or 'total architecture,' particularly the coordination of science and industry for the improvement of the lot of humankind.[151] During the late 1920s, the functionalist Bauhaus and 'logical positivists' united in the common belief that 'architectural novelty would underwrite a broader reformation of social and political existence'.[152] Similarly, Comte and Congreve thought that artists producing a 'novel architecture' of the future could help ease the implementation of a wider technical, socially driven agenda. The Bauhaus removed from their outlook a concern with the 'decorative, mystical and metaphysical' to create an international or universal 'anti-aesthetic aesthetic that would prize functionality'.[153]

At the Bauhaus, Gropius and his colleague Moholy-Nagy maintained that design was about solving functional problems and that the 'problems of the modern world are too unprecedented to solve with past solutions and are too complex to solve with personal intuitions'. [154] Hans Meyer, the egalitarian

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[149] Ibid., 49-53.
[150] Ibid., 69-70.
[151] Mark Wigley, 'Whatever Happened to Total Design?', *Harvard Design Magazine* (1998), 1-8.
[152] Peter Galison, 'Aufbau/Bauhaus', *Critical Inquiry* (1990), 709-52.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Mark Gelernter, *Sources of Architectural Form* (1995), pp. 260-3.

collectivist and Bauhaus director of architecture, similarly commented that the 'artist's studio is for all … Dead is the work of art [and architecture] as a "thing in itself," as "art for art's sake",' for the privileged collector. He held that the architects and artists' studio had become a 'scientific and technical laboratory' and was conducting research into the 'scientification' of architecture'.[155] Meyer opened the Bauhaus doors to lectures by the leading figures of the Vienna Circle's logical positivist group. It was believed that the scientific-intellectual outlook of positivism and the cultural aspirations of the Bauhaus mutually re-enforcing. The designs of the Bauhaus' 'new objectivity' reflected the 'inner and outer life' of positivist modernity.[156]

Before being closed by the Nazi regime, the Bauhaus influenced design schools in Scandinavia, particularly their intellectual 'move away from aesthetic ideals as the basis for design'. Scandinavian designed moved towards the more functional, that is, the 'effective, rational and objective,' as a blend between the humanistic and technocratic tendencies.[157] Scholars write that the 'dominance of positivism in Sweden can be placed into the functionalist context,' as seen in the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930. Here, the exhibition organisers, Gunnar Aslpund and Gregor Paulsson, advocated functionalist design to reflect a social democratic manifesto called *Acceptera.* This manifesto encouraged Swedes to accept modernism as the mass production in the direction of an egalitarian way of life.[158] In terms of the modern functionalist discourse, 'amelioration was conceived as

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[155] K. Michael Hays, *Modernism and the Posthumanist Subject* (1995), p. 103.
[156] Galison, 'Aufbau/Bauhaus', *Critical Inquiry*, 709-52.
[157] Frida Rosenberg, 'Science for Architecture', *Footprint* (2012), 97-112.
[158] Franz-Xaver Kaufmann, *Variations of the Welfare State* (2013), p. 119.

achievable through design interventions'. As the cultural theorist Gretchen Gasterland-Gustafsson notes, functionalist designers 'aimed to improve everyday living for the largest possible number of people by implementing national, scientific methods,' which is comparable to the Positivists' goals. This 'utopian ideal was appealing and contagious: adequate, economical, rational, hygienic spaces, utilizing modern materials with the attendant modern conveniences for everyone, regardless of means or social standing'. [159] Regionally oriented positivism in the Nordic countries perhaps carried as far into the twentieth century as the humanist 'counter modernism' of Alvar Aalto.

Le Corbusier, who was the most celebrated architect of the twentieth century, held like the Positivists that physical and moral health depended on the reorganisation of cities via comprehensive planning programmes.[160] The 'most rigorous economic, sociological and technical programs can become the solid foundation of architectural and civic splendour,' he maintained.[161] Thus, the purpose of the science of 'town planning' was to make noble attempts to 'create happiness and expel misery'. Town planning could thus make an 'important evolution in the social system'.[162] After all, Le Corbusier claimed, cities were 'civic organs,' beacons of progress, 'spiritual workshops in which the work of the world is done'. They were civic places that could renew a whole country.[163] 'Civic pride,' as such, 'becomes incarnate in the material achievements of

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[159] Gretchen Gasterland-Gustafsson, 'Design for Living' (unpublished PhD 2008), pp. 11-2.
[160] Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and its Planning*, trans. Frederick Etchells (1987), pp. 110, 32.
[161] Le Corbusier, *New World of Space* (1949), p. 49.
[162] Corbusier, *CTP*, p. 59.
[163] Ibid., 85, 130.

architecture'.[164] He thought that his modern urban visions could propel the masses from the epoch of the 'pre-machine age' to the 'machine age'.[165] Like Comte he believed that an architectural revolution, not a violent social revolution, was necessary.[166]

Thus, like the Positivists, Le Corbusier held that urban plans of ideal types of architecture (with specific socio-spatial arrangements) had the potential to guide the course of civilisation if affect human behaviour and improve personal relations.[167] His *Ville Contemporaine* and the subsequent Radiant City, comprised the incremental construction of an array of steel and glass high-rise cruciform office buildings and mid-rise residential blocks within a large park, to eradicate the 'tuberculosis, demoralization, misery and shame' of the 'pre-machine era'.[168] Like Comte, Le Corbusier believed the formation of a direct system of government via trade guilds would be indispensible to maintaining social peace in these urban schemes and that these multinational places would, in their very nature, prevent warfare.[169] Scholars appropriately claim that Le Corbusier's architectural theory was derived from a Positivist vision society.[170]

Architectural and urban historians believe that the Positivist influence also percolated into Le Corbusier's post-war activities, including his theory behind the design of *Unité de Habitation*, a quasi-city-in-the-sky tower scheme for 3,000 inhabitants. Along these lines, the historian Eric Mumford states that the 'avant-

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[164] Ibid., 242.
[165] Ibid., 85, 297.
[166] Mary McLeod, 'Architecture or Revolution', *Art Journal* (1983), 132-47.
[167] William J R Curtis, *Le Corbusier* (1986), pp. 60-5.
[168] Corbusier, *CTP*, p. 284.
[169] Corbusier, *CTP*, pp. 85, 297; Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture* (1980), p. 185.
[170] Curtis, *Le Corbusier*, pp. 60-5.

garde' and 'anti-traditionalist' innovations of the *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne* (CIAM) held strong 'historical links' to Positivists, such as Saint-Simon, thanks to Le Corbusier. These groups seemingly both 'believed that developments in industry and in the scientific understanding of human history and society were making possible a new social system based on universal human association'.[171]

City Design

Prior to affecting the 'masters of modernism,' Positivism inspired a sociological practice that underpinned an identifiable mode of town planning in Britain called 'City Design'. By the British Town Planning Act of 1909 architects claimed that theirs was *the* discipline for coordinating the arrangement of regional communities. Yet, from the early 1910s British architecture and civic design schools organised sociological surveys to attain an accurate estimate of housing, agricultural and industrial requirements. Increasingly, 'town planners' such as H.V. Lanchester stated that 'we have been gradually reaching the conclusion that sociology is the principal basis for Town Planning'. Sociology was necessary for 'analysing all the influences that dictate the city's structure and govern its development'.[172]

Town planners increasingly thought of themselves as members of a virtuous technocratic elite – facilitating liberty and community through the conscious arrangement of variegated industrial, intellectual, social, natural and transport

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[171] Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism* (2000), p. 2.
[172] H.V. Lanchester, *Town Planning in Madras* (1918), p. 18; Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning Towards City Development* (1918), I, pp. 12, 19-25.

spaces. Progressive planning for the 'common good' was publicised by the 1910s. [173] As local authorities gained increasing control over metropolitan government, and with the spread of town planning schools and sociology clubs, Branford and Geddes announced that the 'stimulus and guide of sociology is developing town planning towards *the higher art* of City Design'.[174] Geddes clarified that city design was to be understood as the 'returning co-ordination' of all specialisms 'towards civic-wellbeing'.[175] City design was the process of the comprehensive planning of the city as a community, as a Garden City-state.

Like the British urban discourse of Comtean thought, the realisation of Howard's eutopia necessitated a 'cadre of selfless, enlightened businessmen to direct social change by reconciling social inequities'.[176] This dissertation offers a comparative analysis of the machinery of Comte's Republic and Howard's Garden City. It reveals that a range of commonalities exist between the two sociologist's schemes. It also shows that as a sociologist and Positivist sympathiser, Howard lectured on the Religion of Humanity at the first Garden City at Letchworth.

As stated, affiliates to Positivism supported the Garden City idea. Geddes and Branford's Sociological Society Cities Committee was committed to diffusing Garden City principles throughout the British Empire. The Committee taught and practiced the sociological survey method as a preparatory for either setting out

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[173] Frederic C. Howe, *European Cities at Work* (1913), p. x; Patrick Geddes, *City Development* (1904), pp. 34-5.
[174] KU-LP/11/4/25, ff. 5-6 (n.d.); Geddes, *CE*, p. 205.
[175] SSCC, *Papers for the Present, 6* (1917-9), p. 5.
[176] Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners* (1990), pp. 34, 170.

new Garden Cities, Suburbs and Colonies, or for transforming existing towns at home and abroad into virtuous, self-governing communities.[177]

After the Great War, sociologists and town planners thought that national prosperity depended on the 'regrouping of the country' into self-contained regional units or, perhaps, Garden City-states. Along these lines, Geddes and Branford's colleagues, notably Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Abercrombie and G.D.H. Cole, worked under the moniker The New Townsmen. Putting emphasis on the home as the unit of community-making, (which the Positivists thought of as the spiritual building-block of the republic), these Townsmen declared:

It is very slowly being realized that housing has close connections with many other matters of social interest; with public health, with transit, with the problem of industrial and agricultural organization, with child welfare and education, with national and local government, and with *every aspect of the civic life of the community.* We have left this vital branch of activity almost wholly to the land-jobber and the speculative builder, who do not and cannot take any account of its infinite social ramifications. *Housing is a matter in which collective foresight and collective design are essential.*[178]

Like the Positivists, planning theorists called out the need for working from a 'theory of civic planning'. They made use of Howard's Garden City network scheme as a prototypical pattern 'to promote and stimulate a vivid, creative life throughout a whole region'.[179] Following Comte's notion of founding modern 'temples' of rational, ethical and humane thought and culture, they thought of the school as the nucleus of the local community.

[177] SSCC, *City Survey* (1911), pp. 1-6.
[178] New Townsmen, *New Towns After the War* (1918), pp. 1-8. Emphasis added.
[179] Victor Verasis Branford and Patrick Abercrombie, *The Coal Crisis and the Future* (1926); L. Mumford, 'Regions to Live in', *Survey Graphic* (1925), 151-2; Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1970), pp. 143, 53.

The 'world's foremost prophet and practitioner' of planning,[180] Patrick Abercrombie, conveyed that such community design and sociological survey concepts had passed from the 'French school' of Comte and Le Play and on to regional planners in Europe and the Americas. Abercrombie's celebrated *Town and Country Planning* (1933) commenced with a historical survey of town development, which contrasted two modes of buildout: 'Planning or laissez-faire'. While we have seen Comte's triad of 'Space, Earth and Humanity,' Abercrombie posited here that direct correlations stood between Geddes' Positivist formula of 'Place, Work, Folk,' or 'Environment, Function and Organism,' and the integral disciplines of 'Geography, Economics and Sociology'. Planners employed these sciences to realise cities of 'Beauty, Health and Convenience'.[181] Perhaps these triads have something to do with Comte's 'Space, Earth and Humanity'.

Significantly, like the Positivists, Abercrombie sought to coordinate the rise of a national network of Civic Societies. By organising sociological surveys for town improvement projects he aimed to engage the public in the matter of city design, to encourage local patriotism and self-government. The language of his comprehensive planning agenda was not far removed from the Positivists' programmes. It entailed 'outlining an economic system of scientific, artistic and hygienic municipal reconstruction'; the 'conservation of citizen life and natural resources'; and 'the total abolition of slum conditions'.[182]

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[180] Gerald Dix, 'Patrick Abercrombie', in *Pioneers in British Planning*, ed. Gordon E. Cherry (1981), pp. 103-31.
[181] Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (1959), pp. 9-27, 54-5, 103-4, 26-30.
[182] Ibid.; Patrick Abercrombie, and others, *Dublin of the Future* (1922), pp. v-x, 5-6, 39, 49, 55; Patrick Abercrombie and T.H. Johnson, *The Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme* (1922), p. 13.

Effectively, in this dissertation I aim to show how the British Positivists served as a cogent force for re-imagining the modern metropolis.

C H A P T E R   O V E R V I E W   &   M E T H O D

With little-used primary source materials, this dissertation attempts to recover the various ways that the Positivists understood themselves to be and acted as republicans, sociologists and, later, town planners. Using an interdisciplinary method, I hope to show that these three modes of Positivism linked together in a fluid way. The Positivists' assumptions, procedures, diagnoses and prognoses of Victorian life can thus be thought of as being expressed in terms of making Republican Spaces.

The Positivists' work appeared in a variety of manuscripts, monographs, lectures, letters, pamphlets, journals and exhibitions. They actively engaged in the transactions of the London Trades' Council, Social Science Association, Royal Statistical Society, Sociological Society, Garden City Association, Royal Institute of British Architects and the Town Planning Institute. They corresponded with trade unionists, scientists, industrialists, architects and planners under the rubric of Positivist sociology.

Chapter 1 focuses on the making of Comte's civic programme called the Occidental Republic. It presents this programme as a product of Positivist sociology. Based on a historical civic survey of spiritual and temporal institutions, Comte's programme positioned the metropolitan region as the grounds for sociological investigation and community making. The chapter examines the communitarian aspects of his scheme in relation to other responses to the dual

revolution. It also presents alongside Comte's investigations the rural geographical survey of Frédéric Le Play. The chapter outlines in what way their complementary works informed the discourse of modern regional planning.

Each subsequent chapter in this dissertation focuses on how one key Positivist developed a sociological method (historical and geographical, industrial and social, and rustic and civic) in response to different but overlapping socio-spatial contexts (international, national, and regional), in a nested chronological fashion, from imperial level relations, down to personal relations [Fig. 1].

Ideal, or 'republican space'	Social chaos of 'real space'	Evolution of Positivist Sociology		Civic reconstruction of 'real space'
Time scale	1850s · 1870s	1890s	1900s	1920s
Sociologist	**Comte & Congreve**	**Harrison**	**Booth**	**Geddes & Branford**
Spatial framework	International & National	National & Regional	Regional & Civic	Civc & Personal
Sociological survey method	Historical & Geographic survey	Industrial survey	Social survey	Regional survey (Civic & Rustic)
Diagnostic of social conditions: 'facts' collected are used to shape public opinion.	Historical view of imperial subjugation, militancy & mercantilism.	National industrial competition, strikes and lock-outs.	Present view of the conditions of overcrowding, poverty & unemployment.	Physical, mental, & moral degredation in the city-region, past & present.
Theoretical interest	Spiritual realm institutions (Intellectuals & Emotionals)	Temporal realm institutions (Capital & labour)	Comte's industrial system. Le Play's survey method. Seeking to redress poverty & industrial mismanagement.	Spiritual & Temporal. Synthesis of Comte, Le Play & Booth methods.
Programmes and manifestos towards 'ideal space'.	**'Occidental Republic'** 'Social Reform'. 'Systematic Policy'. Anti-imperialist polemics, popular education and civic rites of passage.	'Industrial Republic'. 'Social Programme'. Promoting civic awareness and social action via trade unionism. Urban regeneration schemes.	'Limited Socialism'. 'Gospel of Industry'. Urban social mappings. Industrial decentralisation & social responsibility via survey work & infrastructural improvements.	'Civc Sociology.' 'The Third Alternative'. Town planning & survey to foster citizenship & resorption of govt. City-region as community.

Figure 1 *Republican Spaces, nested spatial chronology table.*

Chapter 2 examines the work of Richard Congreve, the Aristotelian scholar who instituted the British Positivist Society as a 'spiritual institution'. Working under the premise that imperialism adversely affected the processes of urbanisation, Congreve used historical and geographical surveys to substantiate his Systematic Policy. This programme was to begin with a guardianship of nations. It entailed the implementation of a domestic republican culture policy that

provided practical education to encourage 'social action' in the direction of enacting the good life of citizenship and self-government.

The protagonist of chapter 3 is Congreve's eminent student Frederic Harrison, the social investigator who developed an industrial survey to treat national labour crises. Harrison's surveys sought to vindicate and unite workers under the banner of the 'temporal institution' of the Occidental Republic, trade unionism. He believed that unions could help implement his Social Programme, which proposed to coordinate secular religion, popular education, national industrialisation and urban social improvements. This programme, along with other writings on the ideals of cities and citizenship, opened to Harrison opportunities to lead urban design projects.

Chapter 4 reconstructs the labours of Charles Booth, the Positivist sociologist. Booth developed an urban-regional social survey to methodologically diagnose and treat national problems relating to the 'bitter outcast,' the sick, elderly and the unemployed. I will show how the social economy of Comte's civic-industrial plan and Le Play's ideas about rustic family life, served as templates for Booth's social investigation. The survey results substantiated Booth's civic programme called Limited Socialism. This programme included home colonies, new unionism, old aged pensions and a town planning policy of infrastructural urbanism.

The fifth chapter reconnoitres 'applied sociology' as conducted by Patrick Geddes. Geddes' regional (civic and rustic) survey built on the traditions of Comte's historical, Le Play's geographical and Booth's social survey techniques. He sought to organise the compilation of synoptic analyses of the past and present

of city-regions to create Encyclopaedia Civicas. These encyclopaedic survey findings were to be used to create a 'Policy of Culture,' or civic programme, tailored to realising active, self-sufficient communities. The chapter shows how this Positivist theory and practice played an appreciable role in deliberations connecting local government and town planning.

The last chapter scrutinises the activities of the organiser of the Sociological Society, Victor Branford. He sought to integrate sociology, civics and town planning to create city design. Branford organised city design around the sociological survey, which he saw as a way to strengthen the personal bonds between cities and citizens. The survey became both an apparatus for linking science and faith, and a practical and pedagogic method for the coordination of cooperative economics and cultural development projects. During the 'Great War' Branford imbedded these strategies into a post-war reconstruction programme. Entitled the Third Alternative, Branford's scheme proposed city design under three heads: Garden City regeneration, individual re-education and republican renewal.

C O N C L U S I O N

This dissertation traces the development of the Positivists' language of republican morality in relation to their intellectually critical survey practice. I wish to show that this theory and praxis percolated into the works of reformers, architects and town planners, who sought to harmonise liberty, community and environment. For these purposes, this dissertation presents republicanism as an endeavour to achieve a cooperative mode of public life, or as an intellectual, cultural, political

and economic process for making a republic. The republic is understood here as being a potentially realisable place. As such, we will examine in what ways Positivist sociology was used to reconcile the *idea* of the republic with the *reality* of the effects of the dual revolution.

CHAPTER 1

Auguste Comte
Planning the Occidental Republic

The first condition of mental harmony: thought depends on sensation, or more broadly, on the environment.[1]

Cities are, in truth, themselves beings; so organically complete that, as each is capable of separate life, it instinctively aspires to become the centre of the vast organism of Humanity.[2] – Auguste Comte.

Auguste Comte's civic programme, called the Occidental Republic, situated the metropolitan region as the space for social investigation, civic duty and improvement for the commonweal. My intention in this chapter is to trace the making of this planning manifesto and explain how its different aspects can be understood as a product of Positivist sociology.

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[1] Comte, *SPP*, III, pp. 15-6.
[2] Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (1875), II, p. 240.

This chapter opens with a critical account of Comte's formative years collaborating on texts with Henri de Saint-Simon. An in-depth analysis of their works will reveal that a historical survey of 'spiritual and temporal powers' – Christianity and monarchy – laid the foundations of Positivist sociology. Comte expounded sociological laws that pointed to the emergence of an incipient Positive Era of Western society. This era, led by science and industry, would entail the founding of a global network of five hundred peaceful, hygienic and ethical greenbelt city-communities. Comte's *System of Positive Polity* (1848-54) accordingly detailed the Occidental Republic programme. This manifesto for civic reconstruction outlined how citizen-sociologists could facilitate the break-up of empires and realise the system of regional republics that he envisioned. It not only called for the founding of a new humanist religion but also an institutional system of urban civic virtue. Here, Comte and his followers organised the creation of new spiritual institutions and encouraged different types of citizens to 'rule and be ruled in turn' in relation to different urban spaces. He believed that in this way they could help transform towns into idyllic, virtuous communities.

This chapter situates Comte's programme within the context of other communitarian and social science responses to the French and Industrial Revolutions. It also scrutinises the rural geographical survey method and social reform principles developed by the Saint-Simonian, Frédéric Le Play. Comte and Le Play's social explorations are presented as two halves of Positivist sociology, where the town and country are understood as comprising a united, planned, self-sufficient unit. We will thus see how their work informed the critical regionalist discourse of comprehensive planning.

At the very beginning of the regionalist movement, intelligent observers like Auguste Comte and still later, Le Play, not merely observed that it was bound to take place, because it satisfied the ultimate conditions of political existence … the fact is that there are now a greater number of states than there were in the middle of the nineteenth century; and what is more important, perhaps, a greater number of national languages are now in existence than were on the tongues of men a century ago. Political consolidation, in indifference to regional realities, has met with unexpected obstacles: under the even whitewash of "national unity" the colors of the underlying geographic, economic and cultural realities are beginning to show through.[3]

From within the Regional Planning Association of America, founded in 1923 by Clarence Stein and Benton MacKaye, Lewis Mumford served as a well-versed expert in regionalism. He wrote urban policy programmes and histories of cities, which earned widespread appeal for their criticisms of the brutality of industrial megalopolitan life. An admirer of the sociological works of Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard, Mumford promoted regional autonomy and diversity in greenbelt city-communities. In the above quote we can see that he traced the origins of critical regionalism to the work of the nineteenth-century sociologists, Comte and Le Play.[4]

Scholars offer contrasting interpretations of Comte and Le Play's standing within the historiography of urban design. Franck Alengry speculates that Comte envisioned a 'city of the future,' but he does not explore its impact on the regional planning movement.[5] Clyde Weaver offers a cursory glance at Comte, Le Play and Geddes as key sociological thinkers. But he emphasises that 'utopians,

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[3] Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, p. 351.

[4] B. MacKaye and L. Mumford, 'Regional Planning', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. James Louis Garvin (1929), pp. 71-2.

[5] Franck Alengry, *Essai historique et critique sur la sociologie chez Auguste Comte* (1900), pp. 261-9.

anarchists, and geographers,' namely Owen, Fourier, Kropotkin, Bellamy and Howard, stood as 'the precursors of regional planning' [Fig. 2].[6]
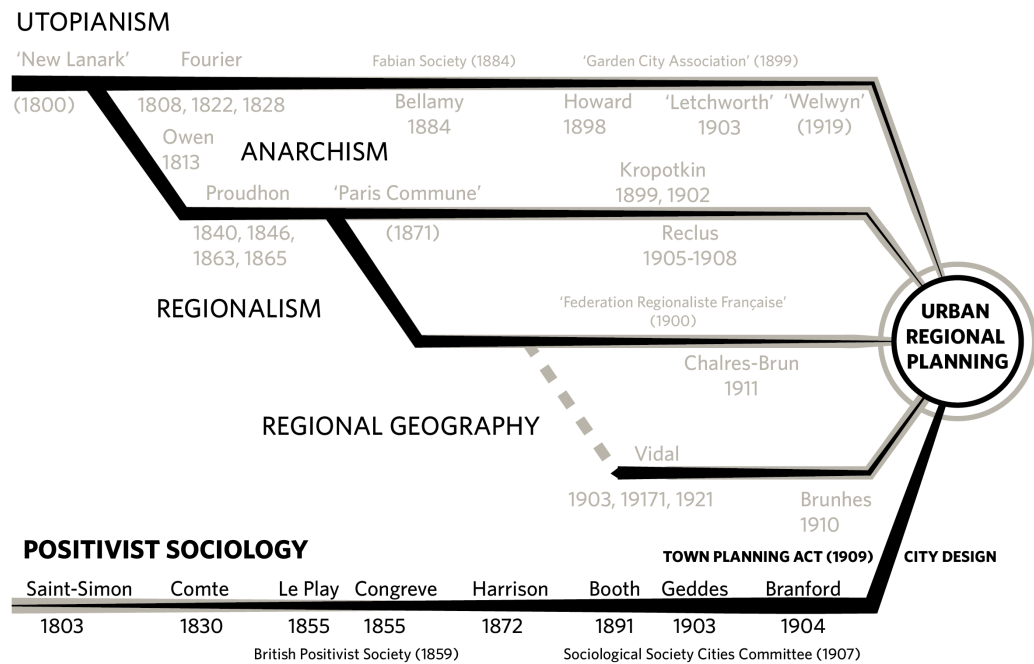
Figure 2 *'Precursors of Regional Planning,' from Weaver's Regional Development and the Local Community (1984), pp. 31. Revised and redrawn by the author (2012) to show the Positivist sociologists discussed in Republican Spaces.*

Catherine Bodard Silver asserts that it would be a 'mistake' to identify Le Play with any of his contemporaries, including Fourier, Saint-Simon and Comte.[7] Yet, others suggest that Comte's work had been 'usefully assimilated' by Le Play's socio-economic survey movement by the 1890s.[8] Meanwhile, Mary Pickering lambasts Comte for entertaining 'antirural prejudices,' thus suggesting that his ideas had little to do with town *and* country.[9] Stephen Moore maintains that Comte was a conservative who loathed modern cities and lamented the dissolution

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[6] Clyde Weaver, *Regional Development and the Local Community* (1984), pp. 31-2.
[7] Frédéric Le Play, *On Family, Work, and Social Change* (1982), pp. 28-9.
[8] Sutton, *Nationalism*, p. 14.
[9] Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, III, p. 430.

of the 'traditional village form'.[10] Others such as Julian Wright claim that Comte's system of sociology made no contribution to regionalism.[11]

Mumford's colleague Patrick Abercrombie averred that it was Geddes who was the 'first to direct attention to the need to classify and study the functions of the several components of complex communities' and, as such, provided the footing for regional planning.[12] However, Geddes and Branford conceded that Comte's civic-humanist and Le Play's rural-geographical conception of sociology informed their survey-design activities.[13] In 1919 they described Comte's sociological system as the study of 'social formations' or citizens and architecture. It was the way the 'sociologist looks at the world'.

This way of regarding a community as a two-in-four fold working system – of Temporal and Spiritual Powers was understood in the medieval past … and made explicit by Comte who defined any complete and full-orbed society as consisting of two co-relative hemispheres … The Temporal Power has also always its directive and executive elements, in plainer phrase (that of Comte), its "Chiefs and People": and the Spiritual Power similarly its respective predominance of thought and of expression, and this in all ages. For these two perennial elements of a Spiritual Power, we have always with us. We may call them monks and priests, or the Regulars and the Seculars with the medieval catholic, or divine and pastor with the reformed churches, or social philosopher and orator with the Industrial Revolution. Or again, researcher and popularizer in science, thinker and journalist with our own times. These are but the changing manifestations of the "Intellectuals and Emotionals". Tabulate now all these representative groups and types of action, of thought and expression as conspicuous in contemporary life. Set down also their respective Institutions. We see these primarily as Organizations, yet let us also visualize them, in their characteristic Buildings and Monuments.[14]

[10] Stephen Moore, 'Technology', in *Architectural Regionalism*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (2007), pp. 432-45.
[11] Julian Wright, *The Regionalist Movement in France, 1890-1914* (2003), p. 141.
[12] Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, pp. 22, 103-4, 28-30.
[13] Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, *The Coming Polity* (1917), pp. xv-53.
[14] Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, *Our Social Inheritance* (1919), pp. 35-7.

Using this mode of sociological observation [Fig. 3] to organise spiritual urban institutional interventions, Geddes and Branford's work intended to transfigure manufacturing centres into 'working models of social life'.[15]
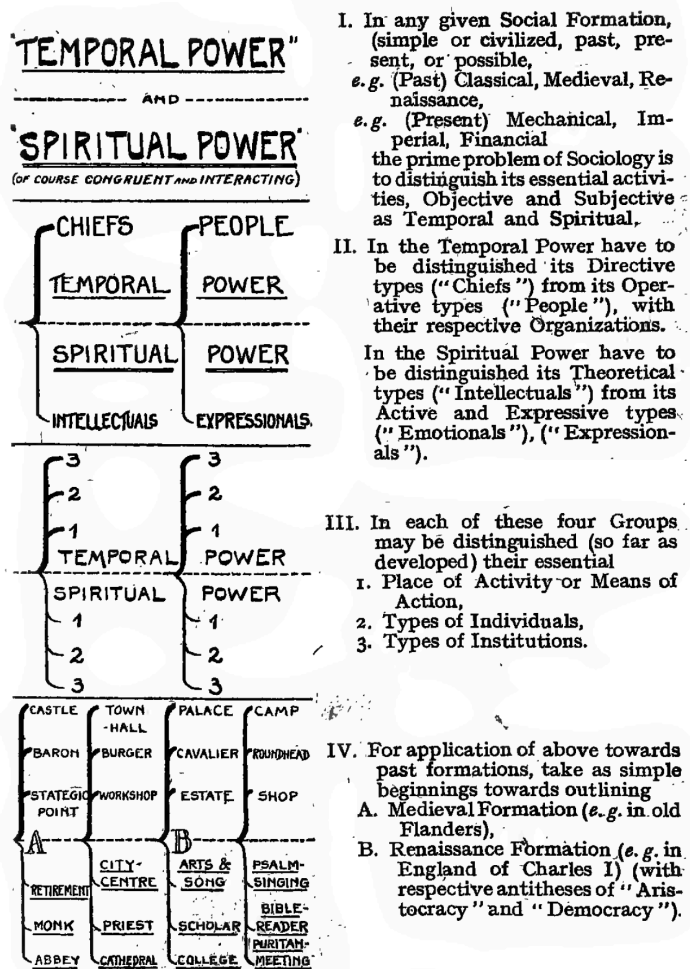

TEMPORAL POWER"

------- AND -------

'SPIRITUAL POWER'

(OF COURSE CONGRUENT AND INTERACTING)

CHIEFS	PEOPLE
TEMPORAL	POWER
SPIRITUAL	POWER
INTELLECTUALS	EXPRESSIONALS

3	3
2	2
1	1
TEMPORAL	POWER
SPIRITUAL	POWER
1	1
2	2
3	3

CASTLE	TOWN-HALL	PALACE	CAMP
BARON	BURGER	CAVALIER	ROUNDHEAD
STRATEGIC POINT	WORKSHOP	ESTATE	SHOP
A	B		
RETIREMENT	CITY-CENTRE	ARTS & SONG	PSALM-SINGING
			BIBLE-READER
MONK	PRIEST	SCHOLAR	PURITAN-MEETING
ABBEY	CATHEDRAL	COLLEGE	

I. In any given Social Formation, (simple or civilized, past, present, or possible,
   e.g. (Past) Classical, Medieval, Renaissance,
   e.g. (Present) Mechanical, Imperial, Financial
   the prime problem of Sociology is to distinguish its essential activities, Objective and Subjective as Temporal and Spiritual,

II. In the Temporal Power have to be distinguished its Directive types ("Chiefs") from its Operative types ("People"), with their respective Organizations.
   In the Spiritual Power have to be distinguished its Theoretical types ("Intellectuals") from its Active and Expressive types ("Emotionals"), ("Expressionals").

III. In each of these four Groups may be distinguished (so far as developed) their essential
   1. Place of Activity or Means of Action,
   2. Types of Individuals,
   3. Types of Institutions.

IV. For application of above towards past formations, take as simple beginnings towards outlining
   A. Medieval Formation (e.g. in old Flanders),
   B. Renaissance Formation (e.g. in England of Charles I) (with respective antitheses of "Aristocracy" and "Democracy").

Figure 3 *Geddes and Branford's 'Scheme for the Study of Social Formations,' based on Comte's historical survey. Branford and Geddes, OSI, p. 36.*

Scarcely any text has examined how Comte used sociology to expound a republican planning formulae for addressing modernity's 'community' crisis. It has nevertheless been suggested that his work aimed to facilitate a constant source of work, housing and an education equivalent to the 'essential results of the

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[15] KU-LP/11/2/15/3, ff. 1-5 (n.d.).

scientific, intellectual, and artistic merits of humanity'. The motivation here was to deliver the proletariat a social role worth fulfilling.[16] Comte's works were imbued with the republican ideas he had encountered since his youth, particularly under Saint-Simon.

Saint-Simon's Shadow

Over the next twenty years Comte became enamoured with the American republic; launched his fundamental essays; formed links to radicals, liberals and counter-revolutionaries; looked to harmonise the theories of Joseph de Maistre and Condorcet; and delivered systematic, 4-hour long scientific lectures from memory. Most importantly, Comte met Saint-Simon, who equipped Comte with the impetus and apparatus – the historical survey – for sociology. The elements of Saint-Simon's social system, which we will now examine, will reoccur in permutations throughout this dissertation.

Scholars point to 1798 as the year of Saint-Simon's conversion from noble and speculative financer to theoretician. The philosopher committed to germinating an advanced scientific school. While Ted Benton cites Comte as the founder of 'Positivist sociology,' Saint-Simon outlined the nature of the discipline. Saint-Simon announced during the early 1800s that his scientific school aimed to guide the 'progress of knowledge' and lead 'the amelioration of the lot of mankind'.[17]

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[16] R. Paula Lopes, *Auguste Comte* (1946), p. xix.
[17] Benton, *Philosophical Foundations*, pp. 18-45; Frank Edward Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris* (1962), pp. 106-7; Arthur John Booth, *Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism* (1871), pp. 7-8; Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, *New Christianity* (1834), p. vii.

In *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève* (1803), for instance, Saint-Simon questioned the war for supremacy waged between neighbouring cities and their desire to exploit the hinterlands. This war of competition spread through each Western nation and drove the quest for colonial possessions. The act of plundering humanity for the benefit of a select few signalled the ascendancy of an unsustainable era of colonial aggrandisement and communitary decline. [18] Certainly, it seems, Saint-Simon was commenting on the nature of uneven geographical urban development.

For the purposes of reconciling these fractures in human relations, Saint-Simon organised a subscription to the memory of Isaac Newton, the famous natural philosopher. Saint-Simon chose to honour Newton because he had discovered the law of gravity, 'the single act by which God governs the universe'. He entreated academics to use this law as the basis to coordinate the natural and social sciences. This classification of the sciences would form a positive philosophy, representing the canon of a Newtonian elite. The fund would support this independent 'spiritual power' – a *conseil de Newton* – consisting of twenty-one European intellectuals. Entrusted with their encyclopaedic philosophy of science, Newtonians would become a socially active spiritual power, filling the void left by the medieval church. From within 'Temples of Newton,' they would counsel society on behalf of the general good. Saint-Simon specified the basic elements of the urban plan for the Newtonians' intellectual community.[19]

In the vicinity of the temple will be built laboratories, workshops and a college: all the luxury is reserved for the temple; the laboratories, workshops, college, and

[18] Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon* (1868), I, pp. 11-96.
[19] Ibid.

housing of the counsel members … will be built and decorated in a simple manner. The library will contain never more than five hundred volumes.[20]

By 1813 Saint-Simon declared that the sciences of astronomy, physics and chemistry had reached their positive state. When psychology and social physiology were based entirely on 'observed and analysed facts' they would have reached their positive state as well, meaning that a scientific doctrine could then be assembled.[21] Saint-Simon believed that teaching the positive philosophy of social physiology would transform religious, political and educational systems. This, in turn, would lead to the reorganisation of European life.

Saint-Simon outlined ideas about the future of Europe in his collaborations with the historian, Augustin Thierry. Their *De la réorganisation de la société Européenne* (1814) appeared before the Congress of Vienna, a conference held for redrawing the map of Europe to reconcile international disputes. They called on Europe to adopt the 'parliamentary regime invented by the English'; it was 'the best possible modification of the feudal system'. An initial peace treaty between Europe's two greatest rivals, France and England, would set the basis of this parliamentary union. Representing a comity of nations, European parliamentarians would function as *the* link between international, national and local levels of human relations.[22]

It was suggested that the positive doctrine would authorise the powers vested in these (Newtonian) parliamentarians, who would draft resolutions to sustain pacific European affairs. Saint-Simon anticipated that the creation and

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[20] Ibid., 53.
[21] Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon* (1876), XI, pp. 17-8; Emile Durkheim, *Socialism* (1962), p. 134.
[22] Saint-Simon, *OSS*, I, pp. 210-4.

implementation of the positive doctrine and its associated European policy would mark a new paradigm. The high level of cooperation required to achieve these activities would ultimately mean that the patriotism associated with 'national citizenship' would spread 'beyond the bounds of the homeland' and to the 'interests of Europe'.[23] This kind of patriotism would spur a moral 'revolution in finance,' allowing economics to become an instrument for large-scale international urban development and infrastructure projects.[24]

H I S T O R I C A L   S U R V E Y

From 1817 Comte worked as Saint-Simon's secretary on essays for publications that were financed by scientists and industrialists. He came to believe that history was a science for tracing the evolution of the structure of society. In other words, from Saint-Simon Comte learned to elucidate how urban centres came about and how they operated as a community of institutions. This historical survey method provided him with glimpses of how society would function in the future. The events of the French and Industrial Revolutions had much to do with Comte's ideas.

For Comte, the French Revolution represented the culmination of a five-century endeavour to answer 'the question of modern times, the incorporation of the proletariat into modern society'.[25] Modern Europe – empire, country and family – suffered from a sweeping deficiency. With the waning of medieval Christian morality and dissolution of institutions upholding social accountability,

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[23] Ibid., 176-99.
[24] Henri de Saint-Simon, *Selected Writings* (1975), p. 222; Saint-Simon, *OSS*, I, pp. 193-4, 210-4.
[25] Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 523.

community life in cities had evaporated. For Comte, the French Revolution was thus lamentable but inevitable. He anticipated that the age of revolutions would soon close with a 'moral revolution' stanchioned by a 'demonstrable faith'. This final revolution would thus close the late modern era and open the Positive Era.[26] Comte came to these conclusions after working with Saint-Simon.

In their earliest collaborative works, Saint-Simon and Comte drew public attention by challenging the role of the existing institutions of church and state. This challenge began during deliberations of the Concordat of June 1817, which aimed to fortify the Catholic Church with state-aided assistance. That year the third volume of Saint-Simon's *L'Industrie* discussed modern society and paths to 'terrestrial morality'. Comte's entry demanded the disunion of church and state. Subscribers were stunned, but the article in the *L'Organisateur* of 1819 infuriated them.

The 1819 article hypothesised about the consequences of a great national accident entailing the loss of thirty thousand French nobles, including bishops, cardinals, judges, marshals, princes and the officers of the crown. It claimed that such idle officials did not directly contribute to the progress of the nation and were of 'purely sentimental' import when compared to the loss of thirty thousand scientists, artists and labourers. This leisure class of nobles, in fact, 'strove to extend their dominance'. They amassed unearned 'pensions, gratuities, and allowances,' which harmed workers and stifled the advancement of the 'speculative theories of positive knowledge'. The 'glorious civilisation and

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[26] Comte, *SPP*, II, pp. 107, 251-2, 379; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 283-4, 622; Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (1896), III, pp. 277-8; Comte, *Appel aux conservateurs* (1855), p. 84.

prosperity' of France could only result from the free and legitimate progress of the 'sciences, beaux arts, and arts and crafts' – the 'soul of French society'. Massive controversy surrounded the piece because a radical, Louvel, assassinated Charles Ferdinand, Duke of Berry, one of ten nobles *L'Organisateur* of 1819 listed. Saint-Simon was tried and acquitted of treason in February 1820.[27]

Comte's *A Brief Estimate of Modern History* (1820) employed a historical survey to frame a republican political science. Like Saint-Simon, he insisted that the 'emancipation of the commons' and the Arabs' induction of the 'Positive sciences' into Europe during the Middle Ages marked the lapse of ancient regimes. Peaceful travail supplied the evidence that the 'feudal and military' power 'must be replaced by the industrial capacity'. The 'positive capacity' of the 'sciences of observation' would supplant the 'papal and theological' power.[28] Comte designated scientists and industrialists as being in the role of 'capacities' rather than 'powers'. In other words, their leadership would remain relative to society, or be put to rout.

Comte's *Plan of the Scientific Operations Necessary for Reorganising Society,* written in 1822, built on Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748). Montesquieu held that the spirit of relations between humans, geography and climate produced distinctive variations in a community's size, economic structure, culture, political principles and constitution. He praised the 'political virtue' of republicanism, which could only be kindled within the scale of the city-region,

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[27] Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon* (1868), IV, pp. 11, 17-26.
[28] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 500-2; GA ii; Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, *Catéchisme des industriels* (1823), p. 59; Saint-Simon, *Du système industriel* (1821), pp. iii-x, 22, 61-2; Saint-Simon, *Du système industriel, 2e partie* (1821), pp. 8-10.

where 'the public good is better felt, better known, lies nearer to each citizen'.[29] Comte similarly argued that variegated communities materialised owing to different kinds of human interaction within heterogeneous biomes.[30]

Comte's *Plan* was controversial amongst his colleagues, the Saint-Simonians. After a two-year delay the work was made available under a new title, *Système de politique positive* (1824). Saint-Simon renamed the piece and cautioned readers that he remained incredulous of the essayist's outline of future society. By the early 1820s Saint-Simon had already schematised the machinery of a new industrial system, consisting of three links. An innovative community of artists would envision cultural and industrial proposals. A community of scientists would analytically work out the feasibility of plans. And a community of industrialists would manage productive forces to construct social projects. However, Comte's *Système* subordinated industry to science, while artisans came last. The Saint-Simonians protested this social ranking. They also rejected his famous, first sociological Law of Three Stages – that all societies would pass from theological, to metaphysical and to a positive state. Comte was a heretic who had brought Saint-Simon much pain and embarrassment for claiming that the Positive Era would be 'entirely extricated from theology'. This did not 'speak of the progress of man's sympathies'. That 'mankind had no religious future' contradicted historical knowledge.[31] Comte quit his apprenticeship over the

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[29] Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (2002), pp. xli, 10-48, 126-32, 67.
[30] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 549, 68-9; Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 504.
[31] Saint-Amand Bazard and Prosper Enfantin, *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon* (1958), pp. 1-25, 228-43.

dispute. Following Saint-Simon, however, Comte would soon determine to transmute politics into 'a simple moral movement'.[32]

G E O G R A P H Y ,   A L T R U I S M   &   C O M M U N I T Y

Comte acquired from Saint-Simon his sociological method – the historical survey – for studying society. With his survey evidence, he engaged in what he called 'political science' and, within a few years, 'social systems'. From the mid 1820s, during the rein of the Bourbon, reactionary regime of Charles X, Comte was accordingly discussing the separation of the powers with reference to national monopolies. He fretted about provincial corruption and promoted the benefits of 'separate communities' in a regionalist fashion. National 'centralisation has increased in proportion as ethical disorganisation has become more complete and obvious,' he wrote.[33] Comte was envisioning the organisational structure for planned, free city-communities set amidst agricultural belts. In his words, such an industrial 'social system … aims definitively at directing all special forces towards … combined activity'.[34] Ronald Fletcher intimates that through his 'fundamental essays,' Comte was siting 'ground for deliberate planning and policy'.[35]

During this time, many European social thinkers were devising communitarian schemes based on the principles of a new secular morality derived from an ethical 'social science'. Many of these theorists, Comte included, had

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[32] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 560-9.
[33] Ibid., 626; Comte, *SPP*, II, p. 285.
[34] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 538.
[35] *The Crisis,* ed. Fletcher, pp. 29-40.

been influenced by Saint-Simon's final humanist exegesis, *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825). The tract exclaimed that 'religion must direct society towards the great end of the most rapid possible amelioration of the condition of the poorest class'. All 'new Christians' should deepen 'social happiness' by behaving as brothers. Castigating socially aloof institutions, Saint-Simon accused the Vatican of heresy, 'giving bad education,' monopolising cultivation, letting arable land fall to ruin and neglecting 'the moral and physical welfare of the indigent class'. He censured Protestants for 'having adopted an inferior morality,' a 'bad form of worship' and a 'bad dogma'. He stressed the urgency of returning to 'the science on which society is founded, namely ethics,' and thus 'a social state in which science will again assume a religious character'.[36]

Following Saint-Simon's death in 1825 the Saint-Simonians Prosper Enfantin and Saint-Amand Bazard deduced their 'religion' from *Nouveau Christianisme*.[37] The Saint-Simonians and Charles Fourier incorporated the ideas of 'New Christianity' and his *Théorie des quatre mouvements* (1809). The Saint-Simonians sought to interjoin thought, imagination and love by setting up a communistic community in Ménilmontant, Paris. They helped Fourier with *La réforme industrielle ou le phalanstère*. This journal publicised Fourier's 'universal guaranteeism,' which was to offer communal training and attractive work for all, and thus an alternative to the 'poverty and loss, ignorance and immorality' of urban centres.[38]

[36] Saint-Simon, *New Christianity*, pp. 7, 9-32, 44-8.
[37] Bazard and Enfantin, *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, pp. 229-30.
[38] Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier* (1986), p. 422; P.M. Pilbeam, *French Socialists Before Marx* (2000), p. 40.

For these reasons, Fourier's *Theory* of 1809 outlined designs for a federation of communities rooted in 'scientific observation'. While Comte urged scholars to catalogue the sciences for the principles of love, order and progress, Fourier prompted metaphysicians to categorise the senses and the passions. Fourier asserted that 'social order and happiness' was contingent on the desires. His social science[39] therefore aimed to broaden the Newtonian 'theory of material attraction' to incorporate 'passional attraction'. He relayed these ideas into his Phalanstery design. Observing that private, monogamous family life perpetuated social injustice, economic jealousy and public strife, he partitioned the Phalanstery according to seven age groups. He believed that his design would kindle public passion for 'social virtue' or 'the performance of deeds of kindness and justice'.[40] The socialist thinker Albert Brisbane later established Fourierist communities in America. He described them as a 'practical attempt' to realise Fourier's theory – to use 'social science' to practice the 'theory of universal unity'.[41]

The Saint-Simonians presented their reconstituted philosophy to the *École Polytechnique* and other schools. The young social economist Frédéric Le Play attended the polytechnic and later the *École des Mines*. The latter school focused on the physical and chemical sciences and the methodological observation of trades, geographical resources and family types. The Saint-Simonian 'social

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[39] Fourier rebuked the 'absurd schemes and visionary plans' of sociology.
[40] Charles Fourier, *The Passions of the Human Soul* (1851), I, pp. iv, xxxi, 339; Fourier, *Social Science* (n.d.), p. 18; Fourier, *The Social Destiny of Man* (1857), pp. iii-9, 25, 40-1, 56, 77, 131.
[41] *The Circular,* 12 July 1869; Fourier, *Social Science*, p. 18.

fathers,' Enfantin and Bazard, delivered speeches there.[42] Le Play's colleagues, the confessed Saint-Simonians Chevalier and Reynaud, encircled him with dialogue and debate vis-à-vis the ideas of Comte and Saint-Simon. By 1829 Le Play had decided to spend his *École des Mines* research trip, which was an independent research component within the school's curriculum, on testing the theory of the Positive Era. Accompanied by Reynaud, Le Play travelled 6,800 kilometres, documenting the lives of rustic families in Brunswick, Hanover, Prussia and Saxony. They carried the routines of classifying plant and mineral life into analysing layers of social phenomenon.

Witnessing the bloodshed of the Revolution of 1830 Le Play recommenced his survey to seek the 'secrets of government that provide happiness founded upon peace'. He committed to a lifelong project to amassing and classifying economic, social and domestic statistics. Le Play concentrated on discerning the 'nuances between peace and disharmony, prosperity and pain evident in contemporary European society'.[43] Half his yearly schedule went to these excursions. It was also a chance to 'preach everywhere' the Saint-Simonian faith. English journals distributed his survey writings as early as 1835. Some of these early essays concluded with surrealistic anecdotes that are similarly found in Fourier's works. Notwithstanding, the Russian Tsar chose Le Play to conduct a study for a national

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[42] Frédéric Le Play, *Les ouvriers Européens* (1877), I, p. 10; Le Play, *La Constitution Essentielle de l'Humanité* (1893), pp. 1-15.
[43] Le Play, *LoE*, I, p. viii.

railroad. This tie led to an introduction to the Bonaparte family, which opened advisory roles to Le Play during the Second French Republic.[44]

Meanwhile, Comte's six-volume *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830-42) codified the compartments of science, ethics and industry into a historical narrative on human progress. Here, he introduced the word 'sociology' and fulfilled Saint-Simon's appeal for a Newtonian doctrine of the sciences. The work was warmly received. The Russian anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin,[45] for instance, asserted that Comte's *Philosophy* liberated knowledge in a way the Encyclopaedists 'vaguely foresaw'. Kropotkin explained that Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen built on the Encyclopaedists' social reasoning, lending Comte the substructure in which 'to unite, to strengthen, and to affirm his positivist philosophy'. For Ernest Belfort Bax, Comte was synchronising facts to extrapolate a 'reorganisation of human life and society'. The purpose, Kropotkin added, was to 'increase the welfare of societies'.[46]

Comte's and the Saint-Simonians' published material not only pervaded French academia during this interval but also infiltrated the British intelligentsia.[47] The Saint-Simonians Fontana and Prati initiated controversial public gatherings. Their *Saint-Simonism in London* (1833) promoted women's equality, economic justice and abolition of a privileged class. They justified these suggestions by citing examples of living in 'Christian communion,' as seen in the works of More,

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[44] Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play* (1970), pp. 9-12, 55-8, 166-7; Charles de Ribbe, *Le Play, d'après sa correspondance* (1884), p. 430.
[45] Mary Alice Bridges, *Recollections of John Henry Bridges* (1908), p. 256.
[46] Prince Kropotkin, *Ethics* (1924), pp. 249-51; Ernest Belfort Bax, *A Handbook of the History of Philosophy* (1886), p. 368.
[47] Richard Pankhurst, 'Fourierism', *INRS* (1956), 398-432; W.H.G. Armytage, *Heavens Below* (1961), pp. 134-7.

Campanella, Mably, Montesquieu and Owen.[48] Along these lines, the Scottish social critic Thomas Carlyle dedicated time to translating Saint-Simon's *Nouveau Christianisme*, but he failed to find a publisher. The editor of Owen's *The Crisis* James Elishama Smith printed *New Christianity* in 1834.[49]

Robert Owen experimented with social theory at his New Lanark mills and was respected across Europe for the social improvements he demarcated in *New View of Society* (1813). Owen's work was as much of a 'social science' as Britain had seen.[50] He had determined that the formation of character was detached from individual will. Like Comte he held that the environment was the key to 'mental harmony'. As such, Owen advocated home colonies as a modification of the Poor Law.[51] In these communes or 'quadrangular paradises' a secular training for life in socialised mills meant shorter operational hours, higher wages, lower food costs and family life in private flats. Owen tabulated the working practices of life in his paternalistic villages to compare with existence in British manufacturing enclaves.[52] Owen's followers set about proliferating communities in England and America, a movement fortified by the Home Colonisation Society.

Owen promoted simple secularism, but following the creation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834 he introduced himself as the 'social father' of the Association of All Classes of All Nations.[53] Owen's own 'terrestrial morality' surfaced as a 'Rational Religion' in his 1830s lectures and *The Book of*

[48] Fontana and Prati, *Saint-Simonism in London* (1838), pp. 3-7, 22-3.
[49] DUCLO, lt-18311003-TC-GE-01; CL 6: 3-4, ff. 103 (1831).
[50] Claeys, *Citizens*, pp. 16, 76.
[51] Ian L. Donnachie and George R. Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark* (1993), pp. 72, 85; Owen, *A New View*, pp. vii-xxi; Beatrice Webb, *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* (1904), pp. 15-6.
[52] Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen* (1907), I, p. 276; Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen* (1858), I, pp. 60, 89, 116; GA 92; *LM,* 23 Aug.
[53] Owen, *A New View*, pp. vii-xxi.

the New Moral World (1836). Owenite newspapers issued essays on Comte's maxim, 'live for others'. G.J. Holyoake propagated the religion in 'Halls of Science'. He edited *The Reasoner: Journal of Freethought and Positive Philosophy*, which copiously cited Comte's *Philosophie positive*.[54] Comte praised the radical quality of Owen's experiments, particularly his New Harmony in Indiana. It disposed the egotistic with something of 'high moral value': a sense of moderation.[55] Richard Congreve referred to Owenites as a 'most receptive audience' to Comte's religion.[56]

Comte's tenets on regionalised social systems co-mingled and cross-pollinated with other collectivist movements. By 1840 the French lawyer Etienne Cabet observed that popular discontentment with the July Monarchy emanated from a stagnating economy, political corruption, the misuse of property, the persistence of disease and overcrowding. Cabet remained circumspect toward Fourier's segregated community and Saint-Simon's theocracy. His solution – an ideal city called Icaria – drew on the works of More, Babeuf and Owen.[57]

The making of Icaria was to entail a popular revolution and the rise of a dictatorship (along the lines of a 'benevolent Napoleon or super-Robespierre'). This autocrat would implement a programme of 'radical reform,' precipitating an era of peace, equality and happiness. This era was to be sustained by a regimented system of censorship.[58] Cabet also sought to instate the 'true Christianity' of communism, which was to entail 'material abundance,' art for city beautification

[54] George Jacob Holyoake, *The History of Co-operation in England* (1879), II, p. 145.
[55] Comte, *CAC*, III, p. 328.
[56] Harrison, *BS*, p. 353.
[57] M. Cabet, *Douze lettres d'un communiste* (1841), p. 164.
[58] H.A.C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy* (1988), pp. 67-8, 345-75.

and the 'thousand moral pleasures' of marriage and family life.[59] Indefatigably advocating the French suffrage, Cabet later urged his followers to elect and install a communist autocracy for a fifty-year transition to an Icarian state.[60] Approximately 100,000 devotees read his egalitarian publications during the 1840s. Cabet sought out Owen's guidance on the best approach for founding a colony. He thereafter announced a subscription of funds for an Icarian settlement in Texas. However, only a small fraction of Cabet's followers ventured out into the frontiers of the new republic. Comte sought to convert the remainder to Positivism via shared themes, notably family life, moral superintendence over wealth and provisional dictatorship to self-determination.[61]

Another significant figure in this scenario is the young Karl Marx. Young Marx believed that 'true communism' could win the 'battle of democracy' via the dissemination of humanism. Humanism would free the individual from the chains of the contradictions and antagonisms of industrial monopoly and class discrimination. Denouncing false class-consciousness, Marx wrote that the 'only wheels which political economy sets in motion are greed and the war of the avaricious − competition'. Like Comte he affirmed, 'As the revolution began in the brain of the *monk*, so now it begins in the brain of the *philosopher*'.[62] The revolutionary tenacity of the masses alone could not guarantee universal prosperity.

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[59] M. Cabet, *Le vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ* (1846), pp. 3-5; Etienne Cabet, *Le Foundateur D'Icarie aux Icariens* (1856), p. 5; Cabet, *Prospectus emigration Icarienne* (1852), pp. 2-6.
[60] Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France* (1974), pp. 59-119.
[61] Mary Pickering, *Auguste Comte* (2009), II, pp. 266-308.
[62] Karl Marx, *Early Writings* (1992), pp. 323-95.

Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* (1848) proposed a graduated income tax, free education and the negation of private property and inheritance rights. Centralised banking, communications, transportation and industry could generate a 'common plan' to unify town and country. Engels sketched a system of communist home colonies to be built on national estates in early drafts of the *Manifesto*, but Marx removed the suggestion. He derided the isolated experiments of Fourier, Owen and Cabet as socialist 'utopias'. Such 'castles in the air' were 'compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois'. Like Comte, Marx and Engels were convinced that reconstruction should address the realities of 'enormous cities'.[63] Engels had already described British manufacturing zones as impoverished, unhygienic, overcrowded instances of 'Hell upon Earth'.[64]

Into the 1850s Comte proceeded to systematise and synthesise Saint-Simon's precepts relative to the patient observation of historical and contemporaneous events. As a permutation of the Newtonian elite, Comte's institution took the name, the Positivist Society. This society sought to convey the communitarian disposition to the real problematic – urban centres. Comte's acolytes subsequently instituted Positivist agencies in towns across the world following his Occidental Republic programme. A critical account of the sociological theory of this programme is offered in the following sections. What is critical to appreciate here is that the initiation of the 'urban planning' machinery Occidental Republic was predicated on the notion of citizens upholding their duties to one other and the different spaces of the city-region.

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[63] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (2002).
[64] Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (1943), p. 53.

CONSPECTUS OF SOCIOLATRY,
OR
SOCIAL WORSHIP.

Love as the Principle; Order as the Basis; | Live for Others. (The Family, Country,
Progress as the End. | Humanity.)

Embracing in a series of Eighty-one Annual Festivals the Worship of Humanity under
all its aspects.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL RELATIONS.

1st Month.—
HUMANITY —
- New Year's Day { Synthetical Festival of the Great Being.
- Weekly Festivals of the Social Union — { religious. historical. national. municipal.

2nd Month.—
MARRIAGE — { complete. chaste. unequal. subjective.

3rd Month.—
The PATERNAL RELATION —
- complete — { natural. artificial.
- incomplete — { spiritual. temporal.

4th Month.—
The FILIAL RELATION { Same subdivisions.

5th Month.—
The FRATERNAL RELATION — { Same subdivisions.

6th Month.—
THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SERVANT —
- permanent — { complete. incomplete.
- temporary — Same subdivision.

PREPARATORY STATES.

7th Month.—
FETICHISM —
- spontaneous — { nomad .... (Festival of the Animals.) sedentary .... (Festival of Fire.)
- systematic — { sacerdotal .... (Festival of the Sun.) military .... (Festival of Iron.)

8th Month.—
POLYTHEISM —
- conservative .... (Festival of Castes.)
- intellectual (Salamis) — { esthetic .... (Homer, Æschylus, Phidias.) scientific and philosophic .... (Thales, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Archimedes, Apollonius, Hipparchus.)
- social .... (Scipio, Cæsar, Trajan.)

9th Month.—
MONOTHEISM —
- theocratic .... (Abraham, Moses, Solomon.)
- catholic .... { (St. Paul.) (Charlemagne.) (Alfred.) (Hildebrand.) (Godfrey of Bouillon.) (St. Bernard.)
- Mahometan (Lepanto) .... (Mahomet.)
- metaphysical .... { (Dante.) (Descartes.) (Frederic II.)

NORMAL FUNCTIONS.

10th Month.—
WOMEN
-Moral Providence. — { mother. wife. daughter. sister.

11th Month.—
The PRIESTHOOD
Intellectual Providence. —
- incomplete .... (Festival of Art.)
- preparatory .... (Festival of Science.)
- definitive — { secondary. principal .... (Festival of Old Men.)

12th Month.—
The PATRICIATE
Material Providence. — { banking .... (Festival of the Knights.) commerce. manufactures. agriculture.

13th Month.—
The PROLETARIATE
General Providence. —
- active .... { (Festival of Inventors: Gutenberg, Columbus, Vaucanson, Watt, Montgolfier.)
- affective.
- contemplative.
- passive .... (St. Francis of Assisi.)

COMPLEMENTARY DAY.............................Festival of ALL THE DEAD.
The additional Day in LEAP YEARS ....General Festival of HOLY WOMEN.

Paris, Saturday, 7 Archimedes, 66 (1 April, 1854).

AUGUSTE COMTE (10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.)

Figure 4 *Comte's 'Conspectus of Sociolatry'. Note that Comte's four civic types appear as the 'Normal Functions' following his Occidental Republic. Comte, SPP (1877), IV, p. 141.*

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As suggested, Comte's work analysed the dynamic structuring and restructuring of societies and their social formations, or citizens and architecture. Via historical survey, he had observed that all societies since time immemorial were comprised of four civic types of citizens, two spiritual (Intellectuals and Emotionals) and two temporal (Chiefs and People). The priesthood, women, patriciate and proletariat thus had their own providence in creating the Positivist city-region [Figs. 3, 4]. Comte believed that the revolutionary period was the result of an on-going power struggle between ancient and modern social formations. The result would be the inauguration of the Positive Era. Here, science and industry typified the new sacred and profane realms of future republican city-states. He had discussed these interpretations and forecasts as being the work of political science, 1820; social physics, 1822; social systems, 1826; and sociology, 1838.

We will now examine Comte's observations about these social formations during the revolution of 1848. The revolution was an event of agitation and angst, and optimism and enthusiasm. During this time, Comte produced his Occidental Republic programme. This programme included designs for a new civil calendar [Fig. 5] and republican festivities, ceremonies, flags, currencies and architecture. He thought that these ingredients could help citizens adhere to his vision that science and industry were ascending as the new powers of modern society. The programme called for spiritual and temporal citizen-types to unite and adhere to an institutional system of urban civic virtue. In his vision, each civic type was to empower and be empowered by specific urban forms and rule only as a representative of their institution. Political, economic, religious and cultural

spaces vested the corresponding civic types of People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals. People and Chiefs held social responsibility over politics and finances in urban forms such as manufactories, fields, workshops and union lodges. Intellectuals and Emotionals held providence over edification and cultivation in temples, schools, salons, marketplaces and homes. Thus, these four civic types of citizens would take different roles – of rule or being ruled – according to the urban form. Comte believed that if each of these types acted together according to a set of social duties, then they could expedite the process of urban social reorganisation and thus a state of 'universal morality'.[65]

Figure 5 *'Positivist Calendar'. Comte, SPP (1877), IV, p. 348.*

People

On the civic type People, this section examines how Comte believed Positivism could unite workers and realise a specific mode of government. He hoped to

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[65] Comte, *SPP*, II, p. 253; Comte, *A General View of Positivism* (1908), pp. 317, 50-1.

connect the revolutionary role of proletarian dictatorship to the institution of trade unionism to establish the temporal government of a French Positivist republic. This process, it seems, was to serve as a template for use throughout the West. Here, education was also to play a central role in republican reorganisation.

Establishing a seventeen-year commitment to popular instruction (1830-47) Comte gained a following for his scientific lectures. During this time he observed a 'private morality' developing in his proletarian followers. The 'habits of order and labour,' he wrote, were leading to the 'softening of manners' and counterbalanced 'the absence of fixed principles of conduct' prevalent in daily life.[66] Like the Saint-Simonians, he proclaimed that Positivism would reach the masses 'in the same way as Christianity crept into Greco-Roman society,' through the education of 'the "slaves" of our industrial association, the wage-workers'.[67]

Comte instituted religious Positivism to unite intercontinental operatives via a pedagogic preparation for a virtuous industrial life on 16 May 1845. He established the 'Free Association for the Positive Instruction of the People in Western Europe' on 25 February 1848. 'Popular education is becoming the first condition of true character to the termination of the great revolution,' he wrote. The Association was subsequently known as the 'Positivist Society'; this group of citizen-sociologists represented the institutional node of Comte's sociology, led by Intellectuals.[68] As suggested, Comte hoped these Societies would appear in towns across the globe, and in numerous cases, they did. Following his Occidental

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[66] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 624-5.
[67] Bazard and Enfantin, *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, p. 230.
[68] Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, II, p. 288; Auguste Comte, *Discours sur l'esprit positif suivi de cinq documents annexes* (1963), p. 157.

Republic programme, they sought to provide education and unite workers under the banner of Positivism.

It is vital to note the concurrent activities of Le Play here, as they parallel Comte's thinking. During the revolution Le Play was an advisor for schemes installed by the provisional dictatorial administration. Nearly two decades after his social exploration with Le Play, the Secretary of State, Reynaud, endorsed his old companion's studies as 'a means of salvation'.[69] While Comte launched Positivism, Le Play contributed to Louis Blanc's Luxembourg Commission. A group of labour theorists, social scientists and socialists convened to mediate friction between capital and labour.

The Commission discussed ways to 'proportion supply to demand, stabilize prices, suppress competition, and raise the price of labour realising liberty, fraternity and equality for all'.[70] Le Play debated in favour of implementing a 'system of association,' or trade unions, similar to the ones he had observed during his recent Russian infrastructure survey. Utilised by mining communities, associations paid workforces equal wages, permitting them to 'live happily'. The commissioners resolved to reduce working hours and to establish cooperative associations and national workshops.[71] Contented that Le Play rendered an option allied with neither the laissez-faire of the July Monarchy nor communism,

[69] Le Play, *LoE*, I, pp. 2-42.
[70] L. Blanc, *La révolution de Février au Luxembourg* (1849), pp. 58-9.
[71] *Transactions of the NAPSS* (1860), pp. 587-93; Brooke, *Le Play*, p. 50; Louis Blanc, *1848* (1858), p. 162; Louis Blanc, *Organisation du travail* (1841), p. 81.

François Arago encouraged Le Play to publish an anthology of his rural geographical surveys.[72] We will return to this work below.

One month after the Luxembourg Commission first met, Comte announced that the Second French Republic's consolidation of local finance cued the 'arrival of proletarians as a supreme political authority'.[73] The idea of instating an autocrat with 'plenary authority,' Harrison later explained, emulated the anecdotes of the ancient Roman Republic, where during a 'season of imminent peril' a dictatorship superseded the senate.[74] A French potentate, Comte held, could efficiently organise work.

The Positivist Society broadcast these ideas in their *Report on the Labour Question* (1848), being a response to the widespread agitation and joblessness that plagued Paris. Industrial life, the report claimed, had been for too long afflicted by the 'want of foresight in the management of labour and public wealth'.[75] Through the reorganisation of finance, state assemblies could plan social projects. Comte pointed to the pre-eminence 'architecture possesses of bringing all the arts together into a common centre'. Throughout the revolution he was drafting blueprints for a 'Positivist Temple'.[76]

During the autumn of 1848 the Positivist Society convened to assess 'transitional regimes,' which became an important aspect of Comte's Occidental Republic. By transitional regimes, Comte was referring to a government to segue between the state of existing political and economic affairs to the ideal city-states

[72] Le Play, *LoE*, I, p. 42.
[73] Auguste Comte, *Rapport à la société Positiviste* (1848).
[74] BLPES-HP 2/2, ff. 52 (1870).
[75] Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 184-9.
[76] Comte, *GV*, p. 217.

of the Positive Era. For these purposes, Comte had referred to dictatorial government and trade unions in his lectures of 1847. He now elaborated on the prospects of the 'practical and progressive' reign of 'eminent proletarians'.[77] In his mind, a proletarian dictator would rule from a benevolent bottom-up and top-down point of view. One could easily identify with the needs of the proletarian masses and thus receive their cooperation. If this proletarian president and trade unions, as a temporal realm, accepted the counsel of the spiritual realm of Positivism, then towns would be swiftly furnished with the spaces of moral and intellectual cultivation. Comte estimated that after a new moral generation was raised the dictator would step down from national rule. In place of the dictator, a triumvirate of moral patricians would be nominated from this generation, by merit alone, to direct each regional republic. As such, the spiritual institution of the home was one of the most critical spaces for creating and maintaining a republic. Like Le Play, Comte's reasoning was that all youths, some of whom would grow into altruistic Chiefs, would have their character shaped by the moral environment of the home.

Effectively, it was the People's duty to form into the institution of trade unionism and support a Positivist, proletarian dictatorship organising the reconstruction of towns. This association was one way to ensure that the newly elected Chiefs emerged from an even playing field. Moreover, unions offered one of the superlatives of self-help and community life. They could not only countervail the powerful institutions of capitalist Chiefs when it came to time and

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[77] Comte, *Rapport*, pp. 1-3.

wages, but they also offered practical training. Capital was nonetheless to be employed in a more equitable way during the Positive Era.[78]

Chiefs

As indicated, capital and labour were to empower the temporal realm institutions of the Positivist republic. The former, Chiefs, included occupations such as industrialists and patricians organising work via institutions such as banks, exchanges, mills, coal pits, farms, factories and warehouses. Comte divided the organisation of his republican Chiefs into three branches: commercial, agricultural and mechanical. However, he anticipated that the highest-ranking Chiefs of the Positive Era would assume roles in a new financial structure.

Two thousand bankers, a hundred thousand merchants, two hundred thousand manufacturers, four hundred thousand agriculturists … to provide industrial chiefs for the hundred and twenty millions who inhabit Western Europe. In the hands of this small number of patricians will be concentrated the capital of the West. Their task is to direct its employment. They … must act on their own moral responsibility, and in the interest of a proletariate of thirty-three times their number. In each separate republic, the government properly so called, that is to say, the supreme temporal power, will be vested exclusively in three bankers. The three will have their separate departments; they will represent commerce, manufactures, agriculture. Before these two hundred triumvirs the Western priesthood, acting under the direction of the High Priest of Humanity, will lay in proper form the legitimate claims of an immense proletariate.[79]

For Comte, the Chief would be the only type that would hold the privilege of accepting inheritance. Knowing best the duties of their occupation, Chiefs were also to choose their own successors. Nevertheless, their choice was subject to the

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[78] Auguste Comte, *The Eight Circulars of Auguste Comte* (1882), pp. 1-4.
[79] Auguste Comte, *The Catechism of Positive Religion* (1858), pp. 345-6.

'sanction of the superior' and was to be ratified by the unionised People.[80] Any such industrial disputes were to likewise be arbitrated by Intellectuals.

Furthering his comments on Chiefs, Comte denounced modern anti-social theories of production and exchange. Witnessing the consequences of social hostility, endemic joblessness and homelessness, Comte observed that modern capitalism alienated workers. Industry was 'consequently blind, inspired by merely personal motives … seldom indeed directed with a view to the general whole'.[81] He maintained that all capital and property was the product of the 'co-operation of the public'. It should not be the 'absolute right' of the possessor. He maintained that in the Positive Era 'all powers' would be concentrated in the republican spirit towards 'social questions'. Positivism would ensure the 'presentation in a systematic form … the spontaneous principle of Communism'. This principle was that capital and the means of production were in their very nature social and needed moral control.[82]

Effectively, in each republic it was the duty of Chiefs to collect and redistribute capital and to organise the workforce. They would procure materials for workers to craft beautiful things and earn a living wage for property, family and leisure. The larger purpose of his regional socio-economic arrangement, it seems, was to dually rectify uneven expansion and temper social antagonism by linking the productive organisation of town and country. Urban and rural occupations would receive equal payment for a five-day workweek. This wage levelling would attenuate the influx of labour into overpopulated cities. It would

[80] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 135, 224, 91, 540.
[81] Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 323.
[82] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 123, 298.

also yield horizontal and vertical social mobility, allowing workers to switch or alternate careers without detriment to the wellbeing of their family. Along these lines, Comte held that the 'grand instrument of civilisation consists in the Division of Labour and the Combination of Efforts'.[83]

For Comte, the division of labour fostered cooperation and 'social solidarity'. Sociologists such as Durkheim similarly held that the 'governmental organ develops with the division of labour'.[84] The most developed division of labour facilitated socialism, a mode of life where 'community of beliefs and sentiments' and 'social needs' precede the division of labour. Here, economics was to be connected to, and moralised by, a government that orients public production towards the 'collective needs' of the body politic. Durkheim agreed with Comte's warnings about a highly evolved system of the division of labour being coupled to a government focused on economics alone.[85] It might metamorphose citizens into mere machines who know nothing other than making pinheads, or classifying bugs. For Comte, the measures of republican morality, secular education, trade unionism and sociological investigation would help maintain unity in society, ensure social mobility and, likewise, counteract the 'fundamental dispersion of ideas' resulting from the division of labour.[86]

Intellectuals

According to Comte's Occidental Republic programme, Intellectuals had obligations to the mental and physical welfare of towns and townspeople.

[83] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 540.
[84] Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (1933), pp. 62, 277-9.
[85] Durkheim, *Socialism*, pp. 39-63.
[86] Durkheim, *The Division of Labor*, pp. 357-8, 70.

Education was to be framed by Comte's synthetic doctrine of philosophy and extend to practical social life. The main concepts and outlook of this Positivist education in the sciences of space, earth and humanity are worth reconstructing here.

The intellectual courses that Comte delivered to workers traced the historical interactions between mysticism, science and sedentary life. He wrote that during ancient times elders of primitive tribes gave meaning to the human-made world. Tribal seniors offered incomplete, quasi-scientific explanations of natural patterns in organic phenomena. They relied on supernaturalism and fetishism to fill the gap between the known and the unknown. Ancient communities declared sacred landscapes with unique or unexplainable qualities; abundant nutritive resources; natural protection from enemies; topographic conditions simplifying the domestication of agriculture; a history of victorious battles; the burial shrines of primogenitors; and loci of trade and teamwork. Like later planning historians Comte acknowledged that 'fixed centres of population' evolved in correlation to their sociocultural institutions.[87] Human civilisation emerged in concert with religious, scientific and practical life, which gave way to the urban progression of encampments to villages, to towns and on to cities.

Since time immemorial, communities of thinkers had contributed to the intellectual and practical activity of constructing a scientific body of demonstrable certainties, which steadily dismantled ancient supernatural superstructures built from the unknown. Comte's narrative on the human place in the natural world, as

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[87] H.Inigo Triggs, *Town Planning* (1911), pp. 57-8; Comte, *SPP*, II.

such, began with an account of the emergence of the rudimentary, cosmological sciences. He claimed that the sciences evolved hierarchically and sequentially from simple abstractions to concrete complexities: from basic astronomy and mathematics to physics, chemistry and biology.[88] The science of biology represented the link between the cosmological sciences and the studies of the organisation of human society, sociology and morality.

An encyclopaedic, secular education in the history of the sciences and humanities, administered by Intellectuals and Emotionals, was to function as a transformative induction to public life, encouraging social affection, contemplation and cooperative action. This Positivist education aimed to encourage citizens to build on the collective memory left by their ancestors and to bestow on posterity a social inheritance.[89] Science, property and the means of production were presented as the artefacts of generations upon generations of creatures toiling with earthen materials in search of a finer quality of life. Comte's acolytes asserted that their worldview was justified because modern life made use of the gamut of these sciences, from mathematics to morality. A Positivist education linked space and society via scientific knowledge in 'attempts to explain the world' from a strictly human viewpoint.[90]

This moralising historical outlook was to be taught within Positivist Society temples and encourage rule and ruling in turn amongst citizens. As indicated, Comte associated Positivist Intellectuals with the space of the temple. For these

[88] MAC, 4b. Economie politique, (n.d.); A.W.D., *The Elements of Organization* (n.d.), p. 4.
[89] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 13-15 (1860-1); BLPES-HP 2/14, ff. 5 (1914).
[90] Comte, *SPP*, II, p. 297.

reasons, he named the Panthéon the intellectual nerve centre of Positivism.[91] His Occidental Republic programme recommended that a temple dedicated to the global and local heroes of humanity be built in major towns across the world. These temples would serve as the hub of each local community. Hence, Comte offered an urban social plan that connected an immaterial architecture to a spatial architecture.

During the revolution Comte drafted blueprints for a Positivist Temple for a city (with a nave seating 5,000 males and a choir of 1,000 females) and a town (2,000 males and 500 females). He suggested a planning ratio of one city temple per urban district of 35,000 people.[92] The T-shaped city temple plan [Fig. 6], measuring 100m x 40m, was inspired by the French Gothic design of the Notre Dame de Paris. Unlike the Notre Dame plan, it contained no transept. Comte's design included seven 10m wide side chapels. Each side chapel was dedicated to a hero of humanity – Aristotle, Charlemagne, Shakespeare, etc. – correlating to his calendar. The choir was to be located at the front in the apse, rather than the rear nave. The apse was to be flanked by symmetrical spaces separated by a courtyard: a 'Positivist school' on the east and a 'presbytery of seven philosophers' on the west.[93] All temples were to be surrounded by a 'sacred forest' containing the tombs of the 'eminent dead'. All sanctuaries were to be aligned on an axis facing Paris.[94]

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[91] Comte, *Subjective Synthesis*, p. xiii; Comte, *CAC*, I, p. 196.
[92] Republics would contain no larger than 3 million people.
[93] MAC, M.COM.87, (1848).
[94] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 139; MAC, M.COM.87, (1848).
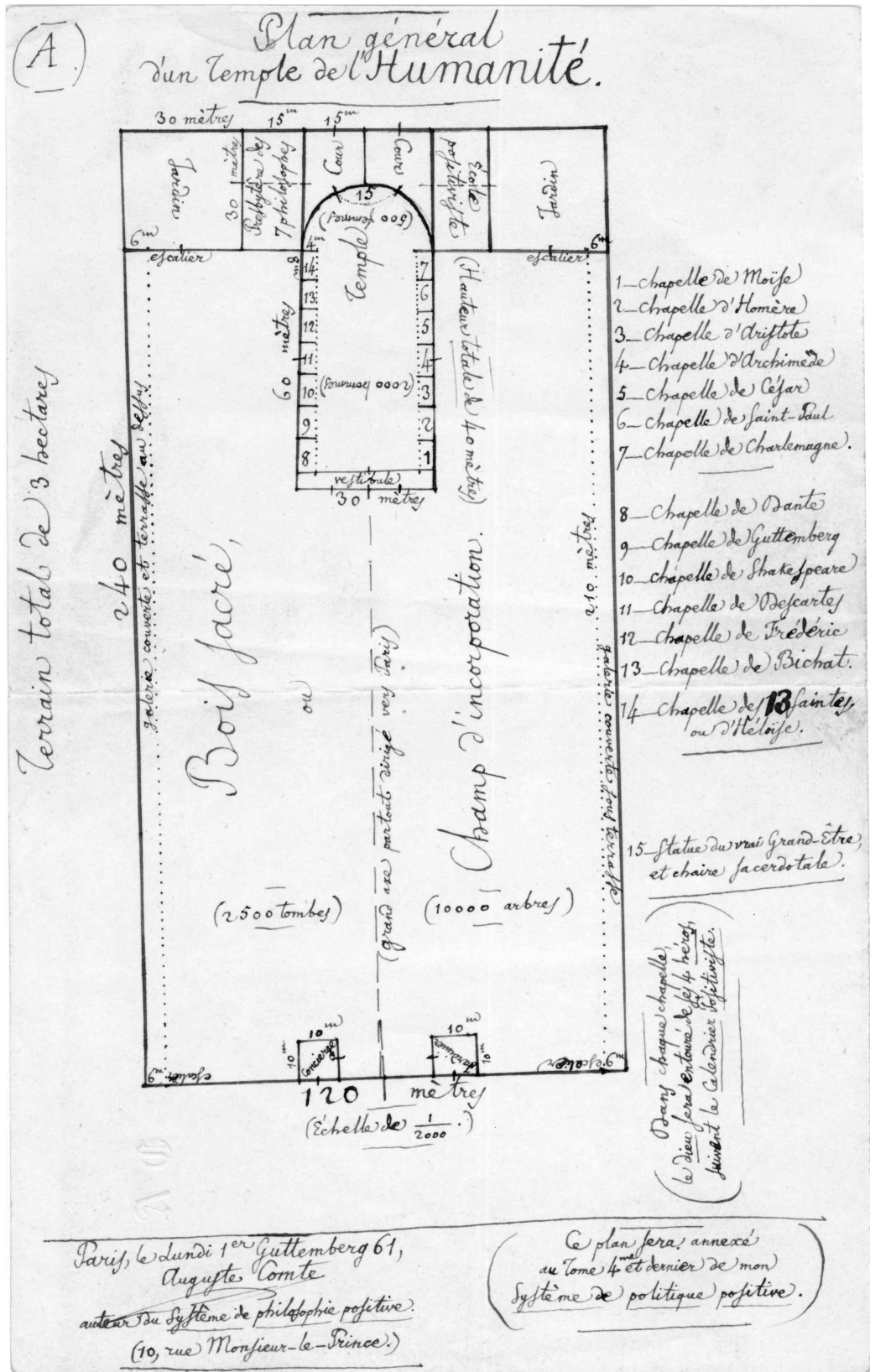
Figure 6 *Comte's 'General Plan of a Temple of Humanity' (1848). MAC, M.COM.87.*

Comte maintained that of the various Intellectuals, those who held the qualification of physician stood as the highest-ranking Positivists (complete sociologists). Geddes offered an interesting justification for Comte's choice. He wrote that 'explanations of divine will' relating to epidemic disease, biological calamity and natural disaster dissolved proportionate to the physician's study of the Positive environment.[95] Conceivably, the pioneering health investigations of Southwood Smith, Florence Nightingale, Edwin Chadwick and John Snow spurred Comte to position physicians in a leading role in the Positive Era. Comte believed that Positivist sociologists should hold 'moral and physical' providence over 'civic hygiene'. They should engage with the 'Sociological Morality' of the streets.[96] Unsurprisingly, the Occidental Republic manifesto also specified the attributes of a hospital typology.

The hospital will be in three storeys, each storey with seven wards, with no communication between the wards except by a common corridor, spacious enough to serve as a walk for the convalescents who are unable to go down into the garden. Each ward is to be broken up into thirteen rooms by fixed partitions, with a window for each of the thirteen. The chief town of each province (or intendancy) will have three hospitals thus arranged, so providing for the separate treatment of the sexes, and of children and old men.[97]

These 'spiritual' buildings, among others, would help to inaugurate the Positive Era. As suggested, during the revolution, Comte used historical and social observation to substantiate his programme, which entailed a comprehensive republican 'policy of culture'. The idea here, Geddes and Branford intimated, was not the geometrical bulldozing of urban centres for political and social control over the People. The idea was rather to introduce a range of urban spiritual

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[95] NLS, MS.10616, ff. 191 (n.d.).
[96] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 539-40.
[97] MAC, M.COM.76, (1848); Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 372-80.

institutional interventions to see through the transformation of towns into 'great fields of culture'.[98]

Emotionals

In his early essays Comte stated that social restructuring demanded the ruling elite forgo power struggles; they should join the moral revolution. This urban revolutionary process would begin with artisans, or cultural leaders who would create a 'vivid picture' of social projects. Intellectuals would then furnish the technical framework for their realisation. Chiefs would thereafter pull together the productive body of labour to see through the construction of a new social paradigm. Geddes and Branford labelled the artisan civic type Emotionals. Representing the creative vocations, they would originate a 'policy of culture' for each city-state.

During the 1840s, however, Comte referred to 'Emotionals' as the *femme* gender. He asked women to lead the 'moral revolution'. *En masse,* if willing, they would join Intellectuals as the morally superior component of the 'spiritual' realm. As the 'bearers of humanity,' he portrayed women as objects for 'personal worship' and 'heartfelt adoration'. Comte stressed that 'moral existence always commences in the family, under the teaching of the mother, the source of all education'.[99] Emotionals would thus have liberties and responsibilities to uphold the spirit of life from within homes, temples, colleges, salons and markets.

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[98] NLS, MS.10612 ff. 25 (1903).
[99] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 96, 349; Comte, *SPP*, II, pp. 302-6, 49.

Comte was entertaining wildly optimistic views about education and home life – particularly with regard to the dilapidated dens inhabited by outcast families and discarded youth.[100] After one of his walking surveys of Paris, he observed:

Many estimable men are not owners of the furniture they daily use, some not even of the clothes they wear. As for their dwellings, you well know that, in our anarchical towns, most proletaries are rather in the position of soldiers under tents, than citizens with houses.[101]

During Haussmann's famous urban renovation of Paris, Comte's Positivist Society held public meetings on the housing question. Comte did not feel that aristocratic Chiefs were taking responsibility for the 'nomadic sedentary' life of the workers. He longed to see families in 'a permanent home immune to the whims or calculations' of proprietors. Comte upbraided the capitalists' provocation of revolution, evidenced in their casual use of authority to 'legally evict … the largest mass and more respectable inhabitants of our cities'. Modernisation would decongest the city, but the process was disconcerting because it destroyed hundreds of buildings, erasing parts of the historic urban fabric. Comte believed that Haussmann's work could open an opportunity for new housing arrangements to enable the proletariat to own property. Comte forwarded his disciple Pierre Laffitte this urban 'innovation' to promote at their Positivist Society meetings:

Even without changing the mass and house construction in Paris, they could sell apartments, large or small. It would combine the vertical division of properties with their horizontal division, the only one admitted thus far.[102]

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[100] Comte, *CPR*, p. 349.
[101] Comte, *CAC*, II, pp. 39-40; GA 567; Comte, *Lettres à John Stuart Mill*, p. 113.
[102] Comte, *CAC*, II, pp. 39-40, 305-6.

Furthering these suggestions, Comte's Occidental Republic programme advised the construction of three-story, mixed-use, multifamily urban housing blocks. This architectural typology was best suited to opening the republican nature of the Positive Era. By designating the inner workings and adjacencies of the home, he was tending to matters of 'paramount importance for all as the best security for public order'. The ground floor would function as a concierge and patrician's residence, or it would be appropriated for occupational employment. Six families would own the top two floors. Each standard apartment would have seven rooms. But the apartments of Intellectuals and Chiefs would have ten and thirteen chambers respectively. Such a 'social law' would inhibit jealousy and excess and permit servants to become family members. Each domicile would include two additional areas: an oratory, as a place for study; and a woman's salon, as a 'direct and powerful aid to public life'. The male's salary would afford the purchase of such a capacious home to suit a partner, children, servants and the husband's parents.[103] Comte romanticised its psychological effects:

Everyone thus connects his family's past with the apartment in which he was born … the fact that this apartment is an integral part of a larger building represents for him the solidarity of the citizen, nay even his connection with mankind.[104]

The domus was to become the setting for extended family life, as 'the natural school of the social virtues'. Apologists such as Vernon Lushington and S.H. Swinny explained that this was an alternative to obliging the elderly, women and children to participate in 'gang labour'.[105] This institution was where Emotionals

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[103] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 256-96.
[104] Ibid.
[105] DT-LP, 'The State', ff. 10-30 (1889); S.H. Swinny, 'Comte's View of the Future of Society', in *Utopian Papers*, ed. Dorothea Hollins (1908), pp. 102-21.

(and elders) had the duty to moralise men and children for their 'convergence towards the promotion of the common good' in the city.[106] Each citizen had a role in realising the plan of an ideal city-region.

T O W N & C O U N T R Y

Urban housing reconstruction was important because cities were home to the majority of the population. For Comte, urban housing of a low to mid-rise, multi-family and multi-use type held social advantages; exurban housing, on the other hand, fostered individualism. Comte maintained that one could check the spread of individualist sentiments by ensuring rural cottage designs incorporated substantial gardens or commons. The optimal urban or exurban condition was nonetheless where the design of the home complemented the 'type of village'. In other words, Comte advised that the architectural language and layout befit the natural topography, climate and urban grain. Moreover, housing should emerge from local industry and building materials.[107] In this section we will examine how Comte's followers used the comprehensive, regional community-planning advice of the Occidental Republic programme.

The village Modern Times was founded in 1851 in Long Island, New York by the ex-Owenite Josiah Warren and the anarchist Stephen Pearl Andrews. A strong individualist philosophy imbibed the populace. The English immigrant Henry Edger scouted the village while staying in Brooklyn, New York during the early 1850s. He considered life in Cabet's and Fourier's colonies in Illinois and

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[106] Richard Congreve, *The Politics of Aristotle with English Notes* (1855), p. xviii.
[107] Comte, *CAC*, III, p. 326; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 256-95.

New Jersey. However, by mid-decade he had adhered to Positivism and moved to Modern Times. Involved with designing and building the streets and cottages there, he turned to Comte as an advisory for both planning the town's streets and the construction of his Positivist temple.

As indicated, Comte recommended that temples and oratories be situated on an axis with Paris. Edger anticipated that building a temple following this guidance would affect the street layout of Modern Times. He wished to submit his design-plans for Comte's approval. Edger queried Comte on the optimum orientation for all new structures and lanes. The villages' libertarian ethos, Comte replied, 'confirms the need for natural order in less disciplined minds' and thus in its physical layout. Orienting the village's buildings towards Paris was 'preferable to purely arbitrary'. But he advised an alternate, localised solution. Recommending design with nature, Comte told Edger to 'vary the layout of streets and houses following the winds that dominate in each place'. This strategy would facilitate the passive ventilation of the town and its buildings and reduce atmospheric pollution.[108] Comte also advised Edger to attach an oratory and steeple to his home at Modern Times – a hybrid dwelling-temple typology – which he did, and to administer Positivist rites, scientific lectures and art lessons there. Here, Edger preached on the 'Positive community' and the 'regenerated future'. The overarching strategy was to make Long Island into a 'positivist

[108] Henry Edger and M.John Metcalf, *Lettres d'Auguste Comte à Henry Edger et à M. John Metcalf* (1889), pp. 13-4; Comte, *CAC*, III, pp. 327-8.

island,' a 'separate state in the Union' with Modern Times as its capital.[109] Although he won the sympathy of Fourierists there, Edger's Positivist movement at Modern Times ultimately dwindled.[110]

Comte also counselled one of Congreve's Oxford students, J.B. Winstanley, on his community planning projects in England. In 1855 Winstanley inherited an expansive estate in Braunstone, Leicester. He wrote to Comte determined to build housing for destitute workers. Comte told Winstanley that each residence ought to accommodate an oratory, or to follow Edger's example. Founding local Positivist institutions, as such, could later link into the activities of a city temple. (This advice emulated the Catholic diocesan and perhaps Anglican metropolitical models of planning regionalised institutional networks.) Comte anticipated that Winstanley's 'noble project' would cultivate the 'paternal solitude of a worthy chief of agricultural industry'.[111] Cognisant of the moral and material links between town and country, he anticipated that the rural homestead or village would form the character of youths migrating to the city.

Winstanley commissioned William Butterfield, a Victorian architect acclaimed for his gothic revival style, to build 1-6 Cressida Place in Braunstone village. The terrace of six two-storey garden cottages, each containing a salon, was completed in 1859. Winstanley appointed the architect to build a similar set of residences at 77-83 Main Street in nearby Kirby Muxloe. He met Butterfield through local intellectual societies. A High Sheriff and trustee to the Wigston's

[109] Harp, *Positivist Republic*, pp. 23-30; Gane, *Auguste Comte*, pp. 7, 88; Roger Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York* (1992), pp. 164-71; Henry Edger, *Modern Times* (1885), pp. 1-3; Edger, *The Positive Community* (1864), pp. 1-4.
[110] MAC, Henry Edger to Pierre Laffitte (40e.), ff. 6 (1859).
[111] Comte, *CAC*, III, p. 326; Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 295; Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, III, p. 430.

Hospital, Winstanley was also a philanthropist who championed various local literary and scientific clubs. He was inspired by Comte's idea that the chapel was the secularist school – the kernel of a community. Winstanley had the architect see through the construction of a school in each village. During the twentieth century, Winstanley's home, Braunstone Hall, was converted to a school. The grounds opened to the public as a park and were used for agricultural production during World War I.[112]

As indicated, Comte believed that there were important links between town and country. He postulated that working the rustic landscape involved the individual with community membership. It represented 'continuity with the past' and provided 'a local basis for our traditions [to] take root'. 'Fresh fields are at once opened for the growth of the spirit of solidarity,' he wrote. 'Property, family, and language' signified the boundary, or 'suitable territory,' for the 'community, or city'. The city-region personified the 'true organ of Humanity' – the object of 'Positive adoration'. Comte wrote:

I shall treat the social organism as definitely composed of the families which are the true elements or cells, next of the classes or castes which are its proper tissues, and lastly of the cities and communes which are its real organs … The fatherland establishes a relation between the soil and social order; and thus the organs of the great being can only be cities, the root of the word being the nucleus of the term civilisation.[113]

Organicism like this had been reinvigorated by advances in nineteenth-century biology, a discipline that served as one of the scientific bases of Positivist

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[112] *LC,* 15 Feb. 1879; Nikolaus Pevsner, and others, *Leicestershire & Rutland* (2001), pp. 194, 269-70; *LC,* 5 July. 1862.
[113] Comte, *SPP*, II, pp. 237-42.

sociology.[114] In the *System* Comte linked his social theory to Franz Joseph Gall's new biological 'science' of phrenology. Comte associated Gall's localisations of the brain to the roles of his four civic types. He then projected this division outward, linking these roles to the different spaces of the city.

Along the lines of this organicist perspective, Comte held that town and country were parts of a larger regional body and should form productive interregional networks. A European or perhaps world union of city-states would deter aggression and civil war, eliminate standing armies, mobilise active citizenship and preserve regional cultures.

C O M T E & L E P L A Y

This section returns to the work of Le Play, comparing and contrasting it with Comte's ideas. We will then examine how their works combined might have catalysed Positivist sociology as a comprehensive planning discourse.

Following the Luxembourg Commission, Le Play assembled his six-volume *Les ouvriers Européens* (1855-78). It charted comparisons of rural European life: occupations, population and country; religion; cleanliness and social class; property ownership; working status; meals; furnishings and clothing; recreation; personal history; education; and family budgets.[115] The favourable reception to Le Play's study occasioned the *La Société Internationale des Etudes practiques d'Économie sociale.* This Society formed to undertake the 'direct observation of facts, in all regions concerning the physical and moral conditions of employment

[114] Giddens, *Capitalism*, pp. 65-6, 72.
[115] Frédéric Le Play, *Les ouvriers Européens* (1877), II, pp. 1-34.

for manual workers, and the relationships that bind classes to one another'.[116] Aside from this group Le Play was developing a social theory.

Perceiving the family as the basic unit of society, Le Play's survey identified three family-types: patriarchal, stem (*famille-souche*) and unstable. He paid closest attention to the ideal arcadian unit, the stem-family. He believed, or he observed, that stem-families raised 'social authorities'. Le Play used the survey findings to substantiate his 'Social Reform,' which sought to sustain the life of these 'guardians of custom' who lived in the rural provinces. He presented stem-families as those who 'constitute our social hierarchy and highest order of nobility'. They upheld six customs for social concord. The first five abided by Positivist principles. They included the mutual acknowledgement of duties between capital and labour; fair remuneration; interlinking rural-agricultural and civic-industrial production; making the hearth the centrepiece of domestic life; and upholding chivalric behaviour towards women. Unlike Comte, Le Play backed pecuniary saving, stating that it would nurture family life.[117]

Like Saint-Simon, Le Play cast aspersions on the institutions of the church and state. Infected with corruption, these establishments remained obstacles to stability. Le Play's reforms had the objective to renew the 'prosperity' of Christian feudalism. Social contentment could be found by 'daily bread' and the application of the 'moral law' in social life. Putting trust in a moralised, rural bourgeoisie, Le Play maintained that these 'social authorities' would govern the

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[116] *Les Ouvriers des deux mondes* (1857), p. 19.
[117] Frédéric Le Play, *La réforme sociale en France* (1872), II, pp. 209-306; Le Play, *The Organization of Labour in Accordance with Custom and the Law of the Decalogue* (1872), pp. 37–40, 312-30.

body of the local parish. They would practice the Christian socialist formula of 'equal rights and reciprocal duties laid down in the New Testament'. He claimed that new, Positivist social truths built from the physical sciences were 'doomed to oblivion'. Building a syncretic religion was futile. 'Countless thinkers' had attempted but 'added nothing to the Decalogue of Moses' and the 'sublime teachings' of Jesus Christ. Le Play claimed that the Ten Commandments – the elemental 'constitution of all prosperous races' – constituted the bedrock of European law. His survey work nonetheless confirmed that privation and degeneration persisted amongst the masses despite the wealth of industrial capitalists and the ancient nobility. But his argument here was that reaching or maintaining a 'positive state' of society was impossible.[118]

As indicated, Le Play determined that social disorder was the result of the dissolution of the stem-family unit. One reason was that the spectacles of profit and productiveness drew adolescents into cities. A second was French inheritance laws, which obliged parents to bequeath a balanced distribution of assets to children. He attributed the closure of many family workshops to these laws. Like Comte, Le Play scoffed that the greater share of inheritors grew into the 'idle rich'. Le Play therefore pushed inheritance law reforms to permit the father – the 'household authority' – to entail the ablest male heir to resume the operations of the family workshop. This would secure the stem-family types' tradition of organising local work, preserving custom and conserving authority over the 'rule of law'. Because Comte rebuffed orthodox inheritance and birth privileges, Le

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[118] Le Play, *TOL*, pp. 32-75, 248-95; Le Play, *La réforme sociale en France* (1874), I, pp. 16-27, 75, 454; Le Play, *LoE*, I, pp. 91-149.

Play denounced Positivism as a 'false doctrine'. With the 'help of time,' he maintained, it would destroy 'moral traditions in the education of children and the government of men'.[119]

Le Play's studies also compared the nature of industry in England and France. In the former, hired workshops and workplaces stood separate from tenements. In the latter, familial and vocational spaces more often integrated as mixed-use buildings or stood adjacent to one another.[120] Like Comte, Le Play held that the soil, climate, flora and fauna differentiated development patterns, however. Agriculture and industry yielded raw materials for creating regional culture-products, which interlaced the country landscape with urban epicentres in a metropolitan economy. His Social Reform suggested that the first step to the moral reform of the nation was the creation of wholesome family life in the rural single-family home, to remove 'proletarians from the evils of urban society, and link workers to the established order'.[121]

Le Play effectively supported the French custom of *patronage* and the *fabrique collective*, where the bourgeoisie was charged with organising public life within the village landscape of single-family home and garden.[122] He held that the small neighbourhoods of the countryside held the greatest potential for regenerating the country, as rustics commonly acknowledged the pre-eminence of the aristocratic leadership based on talent, virtue, and birth and fortune.[123]

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[119] Le Play, *TOL*, pp. 38-9.
[120] Le Play, *LoE*, I, p. 456; Le Play, *Les ouvriers Européens* (1877), III, pp. 319-21.
[121] W. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning, 1940-1968* (2009), pp. 14-5.
[122] Helen Meller, 'Philanthropy and Public Enterprise', *PIP* (1995), 295-310.
[123] Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Housing the Poor of Paris, 1850-1902* (1985), pp. 89-90.

Le Play's reputation as a social investigator and reformer, and connections with the Saint-Simonians and state officials such as Napoléon III opened to him the opportunity to work on the design of aspects of the Universal Exhibitions at Paris (1855, 1867) and London. The universal exhibition plan at Paris in 1867 comprised a central exhibit space surrounded by garden landscapes, which represented *urbs in rure*. Architectural historians have pointed out the parallels between the concentric circle plans of Tommaso Campanella's 1602 City of the Sun, Le Play's exhibition design and Howard's Garden City diagram.[124] While the geometry is similar to innumerable antecedents, the common geometric armature of these plans draws our attention to the institutions at the heart of the plan, which, arguably, empower the body politic.

For the 1867 exhibit design, Le Play included a demonstration of the ideal single-family home, which his followers Émile Cheysson and Georges Picot saw as an 'excellent agent of working-class moralization and social peace'. The low-cost housing exhibit was a response to the recent housing crisis. Le Play 'called on the wealthy to meet their moral obligation to their social inferiors by funding the construction of workers' housing' as opposed to state intervention.[125] The Exhibitions served as a venue for dialogue on the nature of industrial life. Le Play thought of the exhibition as an ideal meeting ground for foreign and domestic workers, a place to facilitate the growth of international trade unionism. As a commissioner-general of the Exhibits, he awarded exhibitors displaying the 'history of labour' and the work crafted by 'social authorities' in agrestic

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[124] Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture/ 1* (1976); Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight* (2001), pp. 246, 328, 726n33.
[125] Newsome, *French Urban Planning*, pp. 14-5.

workshops. [126] These were 'industrial establishments where there prevailed prosperity, stability, and harmony of workpeople and employers'. [127] Comte and Le Play thought of industrial exhibitions as potentially representing 'spiritual institutions' – temples of industry – but they equally warned about how such shows could become spectacles of 'universal materialism'. [128]

How do Comte's and Le Play's ideas contribute to the discourse of sociology? Le Play conducted a geographical social survey, observing rural types. Comte traced the evolution of ancient settlements into cities via a historical survey of civic types. The Positivists depicted Comte's civic types of the city as complementary to Le Play's rustic types of the countryside: miners, woodsmen, hunters, shepherds, peasants, farmers and fishermen. Branford portrayed the rustic types as the 'connecting links between Nature and man,' and civic types as the 'carriers of that social heritage of civilisation which puts man above and beyond Nature'. [129] Thus, Comte studied the morphology of the mother city of the regional republic. Le Play inspected its adjoining landscape of villages, workshops and agrarian fields. Comte created a civic sociology of city progress, while Le Play enlarged a rural sociology of order. The two halves formed the working practice of Positivist urban sociology. [130]

[126] *Royal Commission: Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867* (1868), I pp. 82-105; Frédéric Le Play, *La constitution de l'Angleterre* (1875), p. 221.
[127] Mabel Atkinson, 'Domestic Life and Consumption of Wealth', *Soc.Rev.* (1912), 17-28.
[128] Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, III, p. 522.
[129] Le Play, *LoE*, I, pp. 84-131; Victor V. Branford, 'The Regional Survey as a Method of Social Study', *The Geographical Teacher* (1915), 97-102.
[130] 'Comte and Le Play', *PR* (1917), 223-31.

This chapter examined the making of Comte's civic programme, the Occidental Republic. We saw commonalities between the language and methods used by Comte and those of a range of social thinkers. Comte left ample documentation on how a republican community could be planned. He delineated the qualities of its spiritual architecture and the duties of its civic types.

The core body of Positivist thinking on urban planning is best understood in terms of regional community making. Planning would be focused on establishing a network of spiritual institutions that bind together the distinct localities of neighbourhood, town and country. A 'mother city' would be surrounded by a group of peripheral towns and a provincial landscape. There would thus be a clear distinction between town and country. Spiritual and temporal institutions in the provinces would uphold custom and tradition. Here, schoolhouses and small detached homes with oratories or salons for study would be arranged around a community garden and overlook the temporal spaces of agricultural fields, factories and workshops. These spaces were all intended to internalise in men and children moral and pacific-patriotic sentiments.

Spiritual and temporal institutions in the urban realm would facilitate innovation. Urban neighbourhoods would have sets of spiritualising spaces, such as schools, libraries, parks, hospitals and homes; along with the nexus of the community, the humanist university or temple, these spaces would reflect the cultural and intellectual identity of the people. Urban housing would chiefly consist of mixed-use, multi-family, mid-rise urban housing blocks. Temporal spaces, such as banks, factories and exchanges, would reflect the political and

economic order of the city and would be run by trade unionists and moralised Chiefs.

In town and country, spaces would be: rationally planned, enveloped using native industrial and natural materials, responsive to the existing urban fabric, oriented to exploit the best of the site and local climate, and proudly and ethically fabricated by local trade unionists. Urban sociologists, trained as physicians, would continually lead surveys and prepare programmes for redevelopment, reorganisation or reconstruction to suit the common good. Humanism, rationalism and functionalism would serve as the immaterial and material basis of love, order and progress. All this was predicated on participatory citizenship; each citizen would uphold their altruistic duties to each other and the city-region.

Comte believed, as such, that republican social formations would produce the city-regions of the future. He wrote:

Long experience has proved that the city, in its full completeness and extent of surrounding country, is the largest body politic which can exist without becoming oppressive. To extend the range of material force beyond this, its natural limit, would require violent and arbitrary procedures, the effect of which is always uncertain. But besides this, the Positive Faith, with its calm grasp over human life as a whole, will be sufficient to unite the various cities in the moral communion of the church.[131]

One important step to planning 'complete' city-region was the dissolution of Western empires. We will therefore now turn to the anti-imperialist works of Comte's faithful follower, Richard Congreve.

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[131] Comte, *SPP*, II, p. 251.

CHAPTER 2

Richard Congreve
A Systematic Policy for
Imperial Devolution

The history of our civilization is essentially identified with that of great cities.[1]

As the national feeling superseded the imperial, the city will in its turn supersede the nation.[2] – Richard Congreve.

We have seen that Comte's Occidental Republic programme set out the principles

for the 'incorporation of the proletariat into modern society'. Our focus now turns

to the work of the Oxford don and physician, Richard Congreve. Working under

the premise that imperialism impinged on the urban condition, Congreve

instituted the British Positivist Society. From within this spiritual institution he

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[1] Richard Congreve, *Essays, Political, Social, and Religious* (1874), I, p. 524.
[2] Congreve, *Essays*, III, p. 524.

introduced a sociological method for devolving or breaking-up the British Empire into a network of independent communities.

This chapter traces the transformation of Congreve as scholar of Aristotelian social science into a Positivist sociologist. Congreve used historical and geographical surveys to examine the structure and function of both the ancient polis and the modern industrial centre. He came to believe that Comte's *System* was a sociological treatise for reconstituting the idea of the *polis* in the form of a modern, self-governing city-region or metro*polis*. Along these lines, Congreve demanded that England dissolve its bonds with Gibraltar, India, Ireland and Egypt. Alongside these enquiries into the virtue and corruption of church, state and mercantilist classes, he was setting out a civic programme called Systematic Policy. The Policy comprised three components to shift public opinion on the British Empire. It utilised sociological surveys to justify a guardianship of nations, to open an era of pan-European peace. Secondly, the programme imparted workers with an intellectual and moral education to moderate the powerful economic forces driving imperialism. Thirdly, it concatenated instruction with a broader republican culture policy of civic rites of passage, festivals and social activism. These three components intended to mend the fractures between foreign and domestic human relations, initiate internal social reorganisation and inculcate citizens with a sense of accountability for their cities. Effectively, the purpose of this chapter is to examine how Positivist sociology informed the design of Congreve's republican community-planning programme.

Is this any other than a national crime, a crime in the civil government, a crime in the Church, a crime in all the wealthy and intelligent part of the English people … In every corner of the kingdom … the bishops in particular are now assailed … and most loudly in the great manufacturing districts. … Is it not because in our large manufacturing towns the National Church has allowed thousands and tens of thousands … to grow up in misery and in ignorance?[3]

The works of eighteenth-century liberal economists suggest that the commixture of mechanical innovation, consolidated finance capital and free trade, cultivated mutually beneficial relations between different social groupings. The classical economist Adam Smith, for instance, observed the 'happy consequences' of the disengagement of Britain from her colonies. As the example of American Independence displayed, home rule helped cities, near and away, to prosper. Following the Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume, Smith wrote that towns contributed to the 'improvement of the country'. Local commerce and manufacture introduced 'good order and government' to flourishing self-determining regional communities.[4] Hence, the liberal, free trade idea was to allow town and country to interknit and work out their own salvation.

Alternatively, social groupings were forced into a state of dependency on a foreign administration and obliged to stock it with cut-price mono-crop harvests. Imperial subservience entailed occupation by armed forces exercising the divine right of a mother country. Its intervention could curtail industrial, agricultural or socio-cultural development and include taxation and mandates on production,

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[3] Thomas Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (1845), p. 210.
[4] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1827), pp. 167-72, 203-4.

exchange, import and export. On the other hand, its rule could extend to full financial and governmental regulation.

The restoration of the alliance between the church and state during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has led some scholars to portray Britain as a reincarnation of the Roman Empire, with latifunda strewn across the world.[5] Others such as the English historian J.R. Seeley traced the transformation of England from that of a 'slave-trading power' to its exploits under the pretext of Christian 'civilising pursuits'. The persistent rebellion of the 'backward races' to the offering of 'civilisation' provoked Britain to militantly retaliate and annex territories. It was only by such 'accidents' that Britain had grown into a 'World-Empire': a 'network of dependencies and colonies and islands covering every sea'. Such commentary nevertheless seemed to justify the continued armed protection of British vessels and the enforcement of commercial trade.[6]

The colonies fed cut-rate agricultural supplies into a cash nexus of English manufacturing complexes, churning out taxable exports. The radical statesman Richard Cobden protested that the motto 'Ships, Colonies, and Commerce,' as 'borne upon the national escutcheon,' meant nothing other than 'Men of war to conquer colonies, to yield us a monopoly of their trade'.[7] The political historian E.S. Cayley warned that having the colonies feed resources into British industrial zones seriously affected the land and livelihood of rural agriculturalists and artisans at home. The relationship, he wrote, 'supersedes the necessity of their

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[5] Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire c.1700–1850* (2007), pp. 150-63; C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian* (1989), p. 11; J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832* (2000), pp. 300-1.
[6] J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (1883), pp. 32-3.
[7] Richard Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (1903), I, pp. 123-5; Cobden, *Speeches of Public Policy by Ricahrd Cobden, M.P.* (1908), I, p. 172.

existence'.[8] Multitudes of rural workers were stripped of their livelihood and had few options but to emigrate to urban industrial centres.

By the 1900s the liberal sociologist L.T. Hobhouse concluded that the British Empire operated according to a 'civilisation' pattern. The policy was to extend the Empire by provoking a sequence of militancy, conflict and contrived imperial union. However, it was the sheer necessity of escaping the economic ruin of one of its other territories that drove this pattern of adding 'fresh conquests'.[9] As such, it was not until the twentieth century, Bernard Porter writes, when Western nations 'were overspilling … into the waste places of the earth,' that British critics of empire penetrated the facade of unanimity securing the 'political necessity' and 'moral duty' of refining the 'backward countries'.[10] Critics remarked that the quest for offshore gains put questions of 'property before humanity' and thus distracted the aristocracy from its basal civic responsibilities.[11] Such responsibilities might have included the prompt establishment of systems of public education, healthcare and old aged pensions or improved housing, wages and working conditions.

How do the Positivists square within this period and subject matter? Gregory Claeys demonstrates that from the 1850s Auguste Comte's school was *the* exception to rather 'isolated sentiments' concerning British expansionism.[12] As the architect of British Positivism, Congreve declared that anti-citizenship and

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[8] E.S. Cayley, *On Commercial Economy in Six Essays* (1830), p. 2.
[9] Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, pp. 32-3; L.T. Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction* (1904), pp. 5, 55, 78-79.
[10] Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire* (1968), pp. 1-19.
[11] J. Morrison Davidson, *The Annals of Toil* (1899), p. 457.
[12] Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*, p. 47; Porter, *Critics of Empire*, pp. 9-12; Cayley, *On Commercial Economy*, pp. v-vii.

imperialism factored into the debauchery, pauperism, idleness, illiteracy and hunger of slum-life at home and abroad. Empire, as he saw it, had few worthwhile benefits. However, scholarship on Congreve often focuses on his eccentric religious observances at the Church of Humanity. No account has shown how Congreve's diagnosis and treatment of the complexities of imperialism germinated the discourse of Positivist sociology in Britain. Congreve's acolyte Frederic Harrison shed light on his master's proposition for cultivating a 'truly industrial, peaceful, cultured' city-region:

The Republic, reduced to a manageable size and population, freed from all warlike ambition and from all fear of attack from its neighbours, will have little to do but to allow the moral and intellectual life of its citizens to develop in a healthy way, to prevent the encroachment of any on the lives and labours of others, and to furnish forth the material life of all with adequate means. The citizens will not want to burn down capitals, to blow up public buildings, to have a revolution.[13]

Although Congreve lacks a modern biography, historians trace the tentative outlines of his life stance to the influence of his Rugby headmaster, Thomas Arnold. A controversial figure within the Broad Church movement, Arnold composed diatribes against social authorities, as seen in the quote that sets out this section. By 1843, however, Congreve had moved from under Arnold's watch, had taken an M.A., and become an ordained Church of England minister and tutor at Oxford, his alma mater. By the revolution of 1848, during which time Comte formed the Positivist Society, Congreve had absorbed the Positivist influence through the works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and also his Oxford cohorts John Blackett and Arthur Clough.

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[13] Frederic Harrison, *On Society* (1918), p. 80.

The revolution of 1848 not only shook the continent but also catalysed Chartist demonstrations at home. Congreve spent that summer abroad, observing the founding of the Second French Republic. In 1849 he visited France to obtain a copy of Comte's *Discours sur l'ensemble* (1848), a work that outlined a philosophy of science connected to previsions for a modern republican Europe. The search ended at the philosopher's apartment, where Comte lectured the Anglican minister on the 'science' of morality.[14]

Congreve preached the Whitsunday sermon at Oxford in 1850. He was already ruminating in his journal about the 'philosophic priesthood'. In Montmorency that summer he wrote, 'we *must* brace up morality from the Positivist standpoint'.[15] In 1852 Comte published the *Catechism of Positive Religion*. He thereafter received his second visit from the Anglican minister, to whom he spoke with about international affairs. That year, Congreve took the title of 'Humanity Lecturer' at Wadham.[16] By this point Congreve had begun to test Comte's sociological laws.

HISTORICAL & GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Constructing a 'sociological law' Comte traced the cyclical rise and fall of empires throughout the distant past. Their inexorable collapse was consistent with foundering institutions, and this symptom he detected in late modern life. His *System* scientifically forecast the fall of Western empires. Along these lines, Congreve's pupil J.H. Bridges explained that the aim of 'science is to discover

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[14] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,259, ff. 4-6 (n.d.); Kent, *Brains*, p. 6.
[15] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.c.349, ff. 75 (1850).
[16] *The Oxford University Calendar* (1852), p. 375.

natural laws, and by means of such laws to predict phenomena before their occurrence or before opportunity for direct observation of them has been afforded. Prediction … is the test of science'.[17] Congreve used historical and geographical surveys to test Comte's ideas. He, too, predicted the fall of the British Empire, this outlook framed his Systematic Policy programme for social reorganisation. My aim in the following sections is to connect a more detailed discussion of these ideas to Congreve's transformation from scholar of Aristotelian social science to Positivist urban sociologist.

Devolutionary Framework

In chapter 1 we saw that Saint-Simon's Newtonian outline for 'terrestrial morality' debuted in 1803. By the 1810s he had suggested that a Newtonian elite could design the architecture of a pan-European comity of nations. He referred to this schema as completing the work of Charlemagne, the founder of the 'Western Republic'. While developing sociological science via the historical survey method, Comte observed that during the Carolingian Empire Western Europe escaped the Papacy's 'forcible incorporation'. Seated in Paris, the 'spiritual capital' of Europe, Charlemagne had formed a 'voluntary association of independent States, whose only bond of union was a common spiritual organisation'.[18] Europe coexisted peacefully for a brief time. While the Middle Ages bore the fruits of the decomposition of the West, induced by Charlemagne's work of separating the temporal and spiritual powers, the country was too vast to kindle citizenship and 'civic existence'. Catholic feudalism gave way to the

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[17] John Henry Bridges, *Illustrations of Positivism* (1915), pp. 105-6.
[18] Comte, *CPR*, p. 389.

Reformation and the Enlightenment. From this period nation-states – or 'factitious aggregations' – grew into domineering empires.[19]

As suggested, Saint-Simon and Comte used historical surveys of social formations and predicted the collapse of the ancient social structure. Comte's *System,* the title pages of which display the heading 'The Republic of the West,' offered perhaps the most evidence regarding this sociological law. In particular, it was the American War of Independence and recent conflicts over Irish home rule that led Comte to anticipate the 'gradual break-up of the colonial system'. American independence represented 'only the first step towards a final disruption of all the overgrown kingdoms which arose on the dissolution of the [medieval] Catholic bond of union'.[20] For such reasons, Comte constructed a devolutionary framework for systematically un-building empires into republics, to establish Occidental peace.

Apart from the work of Charlemagne, Saint-Simon and Comte offered a number of additional precedents for establishing pacific international relations, primarily the 'admirable utopias' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of particular interest here, were Henry IV's plan for a Christian republic and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace or 'confederation of all the sovereigns of Europe'.[21] It was no coincidence that Congreve also examined these designs in his *General Western History* (1853), which appeared the year France and England united in the Crimean War. He thought that a union of warfare could

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[19] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 267, 432, 565.
[20] Comte, *CPR*, pp. 337, 57.
[21] Saint-Simon, *OSS*, I, pp. 176-7; Francis Harry Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (1980), pp. 102-4.

stand as a union of peace. Congreve thus put particular emphasis on the plan composed by the King of France Henry IV because it captured the sympathy of Elizabeth, the Queen of England. Congreve explained that Henry's plan aimed at 'ordering the states of Europe in one great federal system, *the Republic of the West,* a modification of the policy of Charlemagne, but essentially a continuation of it'.[22]

So what were the foreign policy objectives of the devolutionary framework of Comte's Occidental Republic programme? Beginning with an Anglo-French alliance, signalling peace between the West's two fiercest Empires, all five nations of 'Christendom'[23] would return their territorial exploits to one another as propitiatory gifts. This process would institute a rationalist union of Westerndom. Following the example of France, each nation would become engrossed with devolving its centralised administration, commencing with a dictatorship of the proletariat. Intellectuals and Emotionals, inaugurating spiritual institutions – Positivist Societies – in each region, would guide this transition by moralising People and Chiefs.[24]

Following this sequence, Comte projected that France would devolve into seventeen republics, each embodying five of the existing departments by 1900. All nations, Comte claimed, 'are now too large'. They would all relinquish imperial rule and unbuild their national political systems. He anticipated that Western nations would regionalise into sixty 'free and durable states' by the 1960s. Five hundred city-states (or perhaps metropolises) would cover the earth

[22] Congreve, *Essays*, III, p. 651. Emphasis added.
[23] France, Italy, Spain, England and Germany.
[24] Comte, *SPP*, III, pp. xxxiii-v.

by the year 2000.[25] A populace of no more than three million but no fewer than one million would inhabit each of these republics, containing a land area comparable to Sicily or Tuscany.[26] It was a formula for the geography of even development. Thus, in lieu of hectare upon hectare of sprawl and wasteland, Comte positioned the city-state as the prototypical cell to proliferate across the world, each representing a manageable unit of investigation and improvement. It was in this way that Congreve's work connects to the discourse of 'urban planning'.

System of Positive Politics

The year of 1854 marked the appearance of Comte's final volume of the *System*. This same year, Congreve resigned from his duties as Anglican minister and Fellow and tutor at Wadham College. By the time Congreve had finished reading the volume, he had resolved to 'abandon prospects, everything, for the sake of the truth,' as he later recalled in 1882.[27] Comte's 'sociological treatise' of the 'truth' contained all the details of the devolutionary framework discussed above. Unsurprisingly, Congreve's *The Roman Empire of the West* (1855) concluded with the following critique of British expansionism:

The larger kingdoms of modern Europe, with no exception as to our own country, are not fit subjects for the constitutional system … it is failing you now, in the presence of real dangers and war … The poor of this country feel the effects, though they may not be aware of the cause, of the want of a vigorous central executive – of a government, in short, in the place of parliamentary no-government.[28]

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[25] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 267-9; Comte, *CPR*, pp. 337-9, 57.
[26] Comte, *CPR*, pp. 337-9, 57.
[27] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.c.349, ff. 52-3 (1882).
[28] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 701-4.

The obstinate state of war, he submitted, led to 'absolute inattention' to the 'grievous distress in the large towns of England,' which was 'indefensible in principle'.[29] As shanty urbanism infiltrated courts and gardens, the proletarian family persevered without due regard to a respectable quality of life. Like Comte's Occidental Republic, Congreve proposed that England should instate a provisional dictatorship to guide social progress. It could direct industrial logistics for liberating and reconstructing cities. Furthering this argument, Congreve issued *The Politics of Aristotle with English Notes* (1855). Congreve forecast the delegation of power or the dispersal of 'the great kingdoms of modern Europe … into smaller wholes, more analogous in size and requirements to the states of Greek experience'. This process would permit an 'increase of vitality in the parts which compose them'.[30]

As indicated, since the 1840s Congreve had been evaluating Comte's civic-scientific method and his theory of the Positive Era. His method was to use surveys founded on a synthesis of history and geography. He accordingly baulked at the study of 'English History from a purely national point of view'. Instead, he advocated a form of moral geography where history and international relations were studied from a humanist perspective with 'a map without names'.[31] The 'Positive method of study, historical observation,' he maintained, should be used to trace the evolution of world cities and civilisation. He attributed these ideas to Aristotle and Comte, who had both used the empirical 'experience of the past' to

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 490, 524, 746; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.c.346, ff. 272 (n.d.); *TL,* 12 May 1855.
[31] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 529-769.

construct their philosophies.[32] Congreve esteemed Aristotle's *The Politics* as the 'foundation and ancient master-work' of 'social science,' a discipline that 'exercises its legitimate control over all subordinate studies'. Yet, Aristotle's synoptic viewpoint of the *polis* in *The Politics* did not serve 'as a guide or type for the re-organisation of society'. It was not 'sociology'. Comte's Occidental Republic in the '*System of Positive Politics*' detailed interlocking mechanisms for guiding the devolution of empires into a city-state system.[33]

Polis and Metropolis

Examining the connection between the works of Comte and Aristotle, Congreve juxtaposed the morphology of the ancient *polis* with the modern 'mother city' or metropolis. He was studying the evolution and function of the city as a 'community'. The ancient *polis*, he wrote, was once the expression of the 'human family'. It was comprised of the dynamical communications between individuals, socio-cultural institutions and the natural ecological systems of a region. These evolutionary 'associations' generated the variegated material and immaterial architecture of urban forms – their economic, cultural and social codes and physical arrangement. Minus this set of 'live' associations between individuals, institutions and environment, a discussion about villages, towns and cities was, in reality, merely a discussion about material form. On the *polis,* Congreve observed:

The first association is that between male and female, the second that between master and servant. Both are based on the natural wants of man, and the two together form the family. This increases and forms the village. Multiply villages over the face of a district, and you have the tribe, an aggregate of equal units capable of indefinite extension. Draw the bond of union tighter, concentrate or

[32] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 4 (1860).
[33] Congreve, *The Politics*, pp. x-xviii; Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 356.

enlarge the village, and you have the state or city, the highest social organization.[34]

The family home was the unit that fulfilled the preconditions for everyday life. The family expanded via human-ecological relationships, with community members engaging with the natural and manmade environs of the *polis* and *chora*. Institutions acted as binding agents of community by creating places that mediate between individuals and their milieu. For these reasons, Aristotle specified that the population and geographical boundary of the polis should be neither too large nor too small. 'It must have the largest population consistent with catering for the needs of a self-sufficient life, but not so large that it cannot be easily surveyed,' he wrote.[35]

Like Congreve, Edwardian scholars identified an ancient social grouping as a 'civilised community' if they found evidence of the use of an 'urban system' and a sustained 'bond of union'. The archaeologist Percy Gardner pointed to Hippodamus of Miletus as a founding father of town planning due to his systematic procedure for setting out city-states. Ancient Greece flourished as self-governing townships encompassed by forests and fields.[36] Along these lines, the classical scholar Francis Haverfield observed that the Romans developed an orthodox planning methodology for setting out and extending *colonias*. They regarded the following as the ingredients of an urban system for social happiness: a rational, geometric street armature (ex. orthogonal grid); a methodical approach to planning units city-by-city, or district-by-district; integrated urban forms replete

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[34] Congreve, *The Politics*, p. 1; Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 76; Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 317; Aristotle, *The Politics* (1992), p. 391.

[35] Aristotle, *The Politics*, p. 405.

[36] RIBA, *Transactions* (1911), pp. 61, 113.

with housing, courtyards and agoras or forums, including markets, temples, amphitheatres and baths. (Haverfield attributed both the disuse of these measures, and the demise of early modern city-states, to the rise of monarchic rule.[37]) The sociologist R.M. MacIver later decoded the implications of the ancient city-community:

In classical Greece and republican Rome, the civic grouping [region] was not clearly distinguished from the kinship grouping [family] … Not even the fact of participation in common nationality, culture, religion, and speech, not even the experience of common danger scarce outlived and the knowledge of common danger still impending, not even the recognition of the endless disaster of intranational division could break the exclusiveness of the city-community.[38]

So what did Congreve have to say when comparing the polis to the metropolis? He conceded that planning 'complete' communities had not been 'the great question of political science' since classical antiquity.[39] The practice was nevertheless of 'direct political interest' to Victorian society. He determined that the foremost challenge to 'the republic' was relinking its 'associations'. In the modern metropolis a disconnect between the associations of family, property and governing bodies resulted from the respective 'evils' of seclusion from communal concerns, mismanagement and corruption. He asserted that the capitalist class had 'recklessly' neglected their 'sense of social duty' to the city. Like Saint-Simon, Congreve held that it was necessary to revise the 'moral standard of the nation'. The wealthy should be 'devoting themselves to the cause of the poorer classes'. However, it was 'hopeless' to rely on them to do this unattended.[40] New republicanised institutions, as urban interventions, were necessary to mould

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[37] F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning* (1913), p. 16.
[38] R.M. MacIver, *Community* (1917), pp. 227, 81.
[39] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 488-9.
[40] Congreve, *The Politics*, pp. xviii-xxxvi, 499.

cultural perceptions and to mediate between individuals and their milieu. Wholesome housing and edification were rudimentary to the 'good life'. They would facilitate the function and beauty of the city. He continued:

Right education should form right habits, and the sway of those habits should be riveted by right social institutions. The result of such education, habits, and institutions should be that the selfish use of property should be corrected.[41]

These corrections could initiate 'pacific activity' or using 'the resources the earth places at man's disposal' for the common good. The economic and ecological specificities of place would enable planned communities to craft products of material culture for local exchange, or for mutual betterment via trade with other communities.[42]

From Congreve's analyses Positivist sociology was emerging in Britain as a science of the intercommunication, inter-dependence and mutual interest of town and country as complete states.[43] Later, Congreve's student Patrick Geddes discussed 'civic sociology' as the means to 'treat each city as a social integrate' with its region.[44] A comparable verve ricocheted around town planning discussions well into the 1920s. Here, it was still thought that the family home and school were the primary institutions for transforming the city-region. For instance, the town planner Henry Aldridge noted:

Civilisation can never be aught else than a mockery and a sham to the family which is not provided with a wholesome dwelling in which to live. It is on the family unit that civilisation is built, and the future will not be safe for civilisation until great housing and town planning programmes are fully evolved and

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 107-18.
[43] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 523-3, 331; Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 21.
[44] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 216 (1911).

resolutely carried through to success in every country throughout the civilised world.[45]

From the 1850s and for the next forty years of his life Congreve's primary impulse was to utilise Positivist sociology for preparing Victorians for future life within 'small independent states – the republics of the future'.[46] He celebrated the rise of Positivist sociology as the means to change the world.

G I B R A L T A R

The formal introduction of the Positivists' devolutionary framework into discussions about the British Empire was marked by the publication of Congreve's *Gibraltar: or, The Foreign Policy of England* (1857). Victorians thought of Gibraltar as symbolic of British sea power. The peninsular safeguard included a naval base, telegraph hub and steamship coaling station. It was the 'key to the Mediterranean' and the signpost of 'the military highway' to India.[47] The question of the ownership of Gibraltar had been a font of friction with Spain since the early 1700s. The example of Britain's conduct towards Spain over Gibraltar was a 'spectacle of brute violence,' Cobden complained, but it was only a footing of rock for the body of 'our monstrous empire'.[48]

Comte during the 1850s offered a commission to his disciples to compose a pamphlet demanding the British aristocracy 'revise its external no less than its internal policy'. He called them to put 'an end to the insulting anomaly' of an

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[45] Henry R. Aldridge, *The National Housing Manual* (1923), pp. 11-12.
[46] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 107-18.
[47] Richard Cobden, and others, *The Letters of Richard Cobden* (2007), p. 79; *S&RI,* 10 Jan. 1857; E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (1987), p. 67; Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital* (1975), p. 76.
[48] Richard Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (1903), II, pp. 153, 200; John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (1908), II, pp. 220, 53.

English Gibraltar.[49] He entreated French Positivists to petition for the restoration of France's 'Algeria to the Arabs'. The 'double manifestation' would 'inaugurate Positivist diplomacy' and initiate 'internal regeneration'.[50]

During the month of June in 1856 Congreve visited Paris to accept Comte's commission. By December he had completed the manuscript, which was dedicated to his late friend, John Blackett. Since Oxford, Blackett had gained notoriety in the House of Commons for his 'strenuous appeals to justice and humanity in our taxation and general treatment of the natives of India'.[51] As far as the pamphlet was concerned, Congreve imagined that its contents warranted his 'universal condemnation as a madman'. However, Comte maintained that 'the English opinion is open to change'. But Congreve recollected 'for the immediate result my own estimate was true'.[52] He was, after all, confronting Britain's foreign policy and even suggesting that its government was 'by all foreign nations considered as Machiavellian'.[53]

Like Saint-Simon and Comte, Congreve held that Britain had been an integral part of the European state-system since the Carolingian Empire. And the rule of Charlemagne positioned France as the premier European nation. Any British political leader who claimed their nation ruled supreme but refused to endorse pacific international policies should be 'disqualified from office'.[54] The British aristocracy's preoccupation with commercial profits meant that war was

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[49] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 429-30; BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,259, ff. 8-9 (n.d.); Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 162.
[50] Comte, *Passages*, pp. 162-3.
[51] *MP*, 30 Apr. 1856.
[52] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,259, ff. 16-7 (n.d.); OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.c.349, ff. 60, 71 (n.d.); Congreve, *Essays*, I, p. 2.
[53] Congreve, *Essays*, I, p. 38.
[54] Ibid., 9-43.

'calculated to extinguish any discussion' of national social problems. British workers had been prodded into a global system of cheap production that induced mass pauperisation, triggered revolutionary sentiment and decimated the urban fabric at home and abroad. All European nations suffered from a 'disease' of distrust, evidenced in 'diplomatic ruptures' and 'mutual jealousy' over trade and rights to foreign assets, which sparked explosive international conflicts. Congreve concluded that a union of European nations was necessary to protect Humanity from remote tyranny and internal exploitation. As a conciliatory deed to Europe for its aggressiveness, and to restore its leadership role in Europe beside France, Congreve advised Britain to return Gibraltar to Spain. The offering would symbolise the commencement of a new Positivist foreign policy. This policy would affirm that Britain entertained 'no mere insular or national interests, but our obligations to Europe and to the whole of mankind'.[55]

Comte declared that Congreve's 'eminent pamphlet' was 'dominated by a strong combination of nobility and wisdom'.[56] But Congreve's associates expressed reservations about the sanity of his explicit demand of British statesmen to adopt Comte's framework as the nation's foreign policy. Critics maintained that if France was the nation supreme, then the onus was on it to 'begin the work of self-spoliation'.[57] Congreve's complaint that commercial self-interest stood as 'the

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[55] Ibid.
[56] Auguste Comte, *Lettres à Richard Congreve* (1889), p. 34; Philip Thomas, *Auguste Comte and Richard Congreve* (1910), p. 8.
[57] 'Politics and Education', *WR* (1857), 262-70.

greatest source of darkness' was docketed an 'extremist form of national and international morality'.[58]

I N D I A

Following the Mutiny of 1857 Congreve began catechising English ruling elites for impressing their spiritual and material providence on the people of India. The Rebellion was thought to be an effect of longstanding grievances over the social, political and economic marginalisation of Indians, and disregard of their steadfast Hindu and Muslim observances. The mood was one in which even anti-expansionist stalwarts, notably Cobden, condoned Indian suppression. This section examines Congreve's assessments of Anglo-Indian relations, and the sources he used for his sociological survey.

Dedicated to Comte, Congreve's pamphlet *India* (1857) targeted the union of Samuel Wilberforce and William Gladstone, who had voiced the popular reaction to the Mutiny. The pair spoke in October 1857 to resounding cheers at the Society for the Aid of Foreign Missions. Gladstone insisted that England must perform its 'Christian duty' towards the '200 millions of [God's] creatures' in India. He vowed to organise 'extended exertion and support from Englishmen, to further the spread of the Gospel, notwithstanding the present trials and difficulties'. Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, preached that 'God has entrusted India to us … we should try all possible means to convert the people to his truth'. England must 'hold India' for God.[59]

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[58] 'Essays', *Athenaeum* (1874), 9-10; *S&RI*, 10 Jan. 1857.
[59] *Ex.,* 17 Oct. 1857.

From historical survey and recent accounts of Anglo-Indian relations, Congreve concluded that the Mutiny stemmed from a 'long sense of humiliation' suffered by the victims of religious and race oppression. To Gladstone's remark that Britain had duties to 'God's creatures,' he declared the nation's ruling elite had abandoned its responsibility to uphold the human condition. To Wilberforce's mission to Christianise India, he re-joined with moral geography:

Open any map of the world, and see the relative position of the two countries: it constitutes a strong presumption against their union. Then estimate their relative population, their differences of climate, language, religion, manners and customs, and have you not so many additional presumptions?[60]

It was imperative for Britain to withdraw from India without unwarranted impediment. Congreve proposed that a protectorate of seven nations could oversee the formation of an Indian government to establish a 'wholesome commercial and moral connection between West and East'.[61]

Social critics, too, opined that neither the Queen nor the East India Company should administer Indian affairs. John Bright, for instance, seemed to expand on the suggestions in Congreve's pamphlet. Before the Government of India Act of 1858, Bright aired the case for supplying 'a little more daylight' to India in the House of Commons. He put forward the idea that Britain countermand 'at once and for ever' its oppressive scheme of taxation, which caused Indians to endure 'great impoverishment,' 'great dejection' and 'great suffering'. The hallmark of Bright's proposal was to institute five presidential republics of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra and Lahore.[62]

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[60] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 74-80.
[61] Ibid., 78; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. GA 497-8.
[62] J. Bright, *Speech on Legislation & Policy for India* (1858), pp. 8, 13, 20.

Convinced that his old acquaintance concurred with Positivist foreign policy, Congreve forwarded Bright his publications on India and Gibraltar. Bright responded, 'my opinions are much in harmony with your own as regards our course in the present position of affairs'. During this time, Congreve was conducting a historical survey of the English Revolution. He informed Bright that since 1688 the monarchy had diverted national interest to 'foreign wars and colonial aggrandisement'. He counselled Bright to endorse Parliamentary focus on national problems instead of taking on Indian administration.[63]

After meeting with Congreve, Bright delivered a speech in Birmingham that traced the impact of England's international policy on domestic relations since the Revolution of 1688. Bright claimed that it was not 'un-English' or 'anti-national' to question the succession of military campaigns following this date. 'If Europe is no better, and the people of England have been so much worse, who had benefited by the new system of foreign policy?' he queried. The policy was 'a gigantic system of out-door relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain,' he answered.[64]

Congreve perhaps felt vindicated by Bright's comments. On the Queen's proclamation of an 'Indian Thanksgiving' for 1 May 1859, Congreve placarded the streets with a protest of Britain's celebration of the 'triumph of force over right'. He stated that the

victory is but the source of many evils to us as a nation, involving a further pressure on the already overtaxed and suffering industrial poor of this country and the sacrifice of the lives of English soldiers drawn from the same class.[65]

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[63] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.185, ff. 168-72 (1858-9); OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.e.69, ff. 27-8 (1858).
[64] John Bright, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* (1869), II, pp. 373-82.
[65] Congreve, *Essays*, I, p. 107.

Indeed, over the next few decades Congreve continued to issue a number of addresses on Anglo-Indian relations.

While compiling 'facts' on India from public officials, political theorists and social scientists, Congreve also gathered information from newspapers, journals, blue book reports, social inquiries and historical texts. As an ex-civil service examiner he held correspondences with numerous civil servants and concerned subjects in India. They fed him field observations, which filled his tracts and talks that revealed life abroad to uninformed Britons. Congreve guided his contemporaries in India, such as Amrita Lal Roy and Henry John Stedman Cotton, on how to initiate a Positivist movement there. Also swayed by *India,* was James Cruickshank Geddes, a magistrate of the Bengal civil service. Cruickshank Geddes sustained extended correspondence with Congreve and also contributed several Positivist articles to the *Calcutta Review*. H.M. Hyndman, the leader of the Social Democratic Federation, admitted that Cruickshank Geddes opened his eyes to the problems India faced.[66]

Congreve shaped his ex-Oxford students into fierce and 'consistent anti-imperialists'. [67] Harrison excoriated 'conquest by terrorism,' claiming it indoctrinated the afflicted with the British 'creed of the pirate'.[68] Beesly echoed the pronouncements of Cobden, Congreve and the historian W.E.H. Lecky, arguing that 'to the working man it is of little consequence whether the Union

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[66] Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 61-3, 735-64; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.184, ff. 44 (1894); Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*, p. 67; H.M. Hyndman, *The Bankruptcy of India* (1886), pp. 34, 134, 55; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.e.71, ff. 59-73, 112 (1882).
[67] Frederic Harrison, *Autobiographic Memoirs* (1911), I, p. 181.
[68] Harrison, *NSP*, p. 169.

Jack flies at Gibraltar, Quebec, and Calcutta'.[69] But with its 'cheap wheat,' Bridges maintained, India represented a 'formidable rivalry' to British labour. Competition with India, where 'stands an avenging angel with sword unsheathed,' meant there was little hope of recovering from an agricultural depression at home.[70] Patrick Geddes also suspected that importing cut-rate international yields forced redundant British agriculturalists to leave their verdant fields for life anew in 'doomed cities'.[71] The Positivists gained increasing support for Indian home rule. After a protracted resistance mustered by others, India achieved independence in 1947.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY

By 1866 Congreve had produced the opening treatise in *International Policy*. The volume included essays by Harrison, Beesly, Bridges, Ingram and other Positivists. In this section, I wish to examine how aspects of the collective effort fortified the discourse of sociology in transnational affairs.

In *International Policy* Congreve maintained that imperialism for England's sake impeded even geographical development, leaving little chance for 'the harmonious adjustment of all human difficulties'. He was not advocating an outright 'rupture with the past, with all our historic tradition'. Britain's intellectual, social and cultural inheritance had grown via trade, exploration and cooperation. It would be a travesty to ignore these filaments of mutual

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[69] Edward Spencer Beesly, *Home Rule* (1886), p. 7; W.E.H. Lecky, *The Empire* (1893), pp. 3-48; Cobden, *Political Writings*, I, p. 229.
[70] Bridges, *Recollections*, pp. 145-7.
[71] Patrick Geddes, 'City Deterioration and the Need of City Survey', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1909), 54-67.

interdependence materialising the 'collective personality' of human knowledge. Congreve was referring to Aristotle's notion of 'coming into existence' and Comte's sociological Law of Three Stages. He added, however, that if Western nations were 'civilised,' or superior in 'civilisation,' then their citizens should act in a 'civilised' manner. Such a 'highly social existence' should be expressed by 'perpetual duties' and 'perpetual sacrifices' to humanity. Fulfilling these obligations was more important than, say, surplus value and capital accumulation.[72]

Bridges' essay also discussed 'sociological laws' and international development, particularly with regard to the West and its relationship with the East. He wrote:

The nations of the world differ, as each nation at different stages of its own growth has differed, in their mode of regarding the relation of their own life to the Universe around them … Each community offers a vast mass of concrete details, in which it is impossible to discover any scientific law of development. The first object of the sociologist is to abstract the details of race, climate, &c, and discover the laws of social development common to all. To see how those laws are arrested or developed in any special case is a subsequent question. Thus the grand characteristic of Western speculation has been the creation of abstract science.[73]

For Bridges and other Positivist sociologists such as F.S. Marvin, Eastern civilisation held pre-eminence in concrete thought, while Western civilisation held pre-eminence in abstract thought. East and West, they maintained, should thus be understood as having been complementary and mutually beneficial to one another since time immemorial.[74] On these grounds, Bridges made a focused call for a 'total change' in Britain's current 'Oriental policy' to one based on 'admiration

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[72] *International Policy* (1866), pp. 1-41; Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics* (2004), pp. 31-2; Aristotle, *The Politics*, pp. 59-61; Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 222.
[73] *IP*, pp. 396, 426.
[74] F.S. Marvin, *India and the West* (1927).

and respect'. It would put humanity in all its so-called states of 'civilisation' on the same plane of understanding. Britain should thus refrain from: annihilating Chinese institutions to make room for trafficking opium and 'commercial enlightenment'; throwing 'contempt on their religion' as a 'preparation' for Christian missionaries; and bringing 'desolation everywhere' and calling it peace.[75]

International Policy was received as a controversial exposition in avant-garde politics. In 1899 the liberal MP Justin McCarthy reminisced:

What surprised people at first was the singular combination of literary culture and ultra-Radical opinion … which made Bright look like a steady old Conservative; invited Mill to push his ideas a little farther; and poured scorn upon the Radical press for its slowness and its timidity.[76]

Certainly, Congreve's critique of imperialism had not only led his students to help him break the nation's silence on the Empire, but also contained the embryo of new civic ideas. Within the next few years he would become something of a celebrity, touring the country to preach the word of Humanity. An important step in this direction was his response to the Irish question.

I R E L A N D

The Positivists' *International Policy* lightly touched on the subject of Irish liberation. Harrison, Beesly and Henry Hutton cast Ireland as a 'subjugated nation' in an entanglement that 'may one day call for the interference of Europe'.[77] However, by 1867 the Positivists were embroiled in the question of

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[75] *IP*, pp. 390-426.
[76] Justin McCarthy, *Reminiscences* (1899), II, p. 209.
[77] *IP*, pp. 104-5, 58, 217, 569.

Irish nationalism under the moniker, the 'Irish Society'. The group aimed to disestablish Irish Protestant institutions and set up home rule. One of its first actions was the drafting of a petition that Bright presented to the House of Commons in May 1867. Eleven 'citizens of England' signed in favour of the ethical treatment of political prisoners associated with the Irish republican 'Fenian Brotherhood'. The detained had killed a police officer while attempting to free the leaders of their movement, whom had been incarcerated at Manchester. Rumours of their imminent execution moved Bridges to write to the *Bradford Review*. He exclaimed: '*We cannot permanently govern Ireland against the will of the majority of the Irish people*'.[78] The Positivists' call to save these 'Manchester Martyrs' was ignored.

By March 1868 Congreve had distributed a pamphlet entitled *Ireland,* which preceded a second called *The Irish Crisis.* Bright had worked with him on the petition and the first pamphlet, expecting that it would open fruitful controversy.[79] Congreve introduced aspects of *Ireland* at the Liberation Society in December 1867. The media cynically reported that he carried a 'true policy' by proposing to transfer tithes to property owners to buy their consent to abolish the State church. Henry VIII used the same 'great reform'. Like the French revolutionists, Congreve proposed to sell church land to peasant proprietors.[80] His pamphlets included the provision of free education and government grants to strengthen Irish

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[78] J.H. Bridges, *The Home Rule Question Eighteen Years Ago* (1886), p. 4.
[79] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.185, ff. 182 (1867).
[80] *PMG,* 12 Dec. 1867.

industries. These reparations would 're-marry the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland,' setting the basis for the constitution of a new government.[81]

Congreve believed that true national unions exist only when they 'work together as fellow-citizens linked by common memories and common political objects'. 'Union in political action is the essential characteristic of a nation,' he professed.[82] Fenianism was 'convincing proof' of a broken political agreement. Congreve revived his moral geography:

 The difference of feelings, habits, association aid history, may make two nations as distant, though contiguous in space, as if they were locally thousands of miles apart … It would be wise if in regard to states, we allowed something for that which we tend to exaggerate in the case of individuals – the importance of respecting their individuality.[83]

Congreve held that English administration and industrial strife prevented polity at home and abroad from self-realisation.[84] Overseas governance enervated Irish citizenship and Ireland's unique sense of place. Rendering expansionism in terms of urbanisation, he wrote:

The bulk of the nation would have its condition bettered by the removal of the competition with another nation which, under the pressure of its actual social state, acquiesces in a lower kind of existence than is healthy for any civilized man. Few things would be of more service to our manufacturing and artisan population, than to stop at the fountain-head the stream of ragged pauperism which overflow the towns of England, as it does the eastern sea-board of America.[85]

The Positivists' Irish Society anticipated by nearly two decades the Home Rule Bill of 1886. By 1869, however, other republican groups had joined in the defence of Irish independence, notably the International Democratic Association

[81] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 183-90.
[82] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.185, ff. 180 (1867); Harrison, *AM*, I, pp. xvi, 323-4; Congreve, *Essays*, I, p. 209; Henry John Stedman Cotton, *New India or India in Transition* (1904), p. 1.
[83] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 183-90.
[84] Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 583.
[85] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 201-8.

and the Land and Labour League. Throughout this time, the Positivists continued to publish recommendations on Anglo-Irish affairs. Amongst these proposals issued by Congreve's followers was Charles Booth's *England and Ireland* (1886). Calling to repeal the act of union, he proffered a ten-point strategy for self-government. The establishment of an Irish Parliament, with all legislation temporarily subject to Royal sanction, would initiate the changeover. Ireland would compensate 'displaced officials' and English landholders wishing to return their land via an English loan repaid by the Irish Exchequer. It would pay import and customs taxes to England, including half the cost of an English Army occupation to 'preserve order' during the crossover to self-rule. Ireland was thereafter free to 'develop her own fashion.' Like Comte's *System*, Booth wrote that he regarded any successful template for Irish independence as a worthy model for Scottish and Welsh sovereignty.[86]

As indicated, the Positivists maintained that agrarian reconstruction was an important step towards planning a new Irish administration. Similarly, from the 1890s Plunkett's Irish Agricultural Organisation Society did much to spur exurban reconstruction via the cooperative movement. It passed on the 'spirit of relief-reliance' kindled by co-operators in England and America to Ireland. The Society encouraged farmers to combine to share the costs of machinery to boost productivity. The cooperative movement soon opened banks, stores and industries. This provided peasants with opportunities to own smallholdings and

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[86] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/28/11, i-ix (n.d.); C.B., *England and Ireland* (1886), pp. 1-8; Comte, *CPR*, p. 338.

houses.[87] Positivist sociologists such as Victor Branford later exercised Plunkett's practices in South America and the West Indies as a preparation for home rule.[88] Congreve's acolyte Henry Hutton stressed, however, that only 'profound mental and moral changes,' brought about by education, would produce a world of healthy cities and happy citizens.[89]

SYSTEMATIC POLICY

By 1870 the seven elected leaders of the 'Positivist Society of England' had launched a popular pedagogical agenda. This agenda was inspired by Congreve's 1860s Positivist Society lecture series. The lectures outlined a comprehensive programme for civic modernisation, entitled 'Systematic Policy'. This section examines the contextual origins and substance of his programme in relation to British foreign policy.

Congreve's promotion of the 'science of sociology,' as related to the 'science of morality,' was widely known from the late 1850s. When his translation of Comte's *Catechism of Positive Religion* (1858) appeared Harriet Martineau, who was a major figure in popularising British Positivism, explained Congreve's motivation. Martineau wrote that he aimed to see through the transformation of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales into sets of independent communities or republics.[90] Congreve told Bright how he intended to do this: 'I am engaged in qualifying myself for teaching or preaching gratuitously' to the

[87] Horace Plunkett, *The New Movement* (1899), pp. 1-19; C.R. Fay, *Co-operation at Home and Abroad* (1908), pp. 103-4; Horace Plunkett, 'Co-operation in Ireland', in *Co-operative Labour Upon the Land*, ed. J.A. Hobson (1895), pp. 35-47.
[88] Victor V. Branford, *An Undeveloped Estate of the Empire* (c. 1899), pp. 3-6.
[89] Henry Dix Hutton, *A Letter on the Irish Crisis* (1882), pp. 16-7.
[90] 'The Religion of Positivism', *WR* (1858), 305-50.

'working men of London'.[91] Following Comte's *System,* he became 'qualified' as a sociologist by becoming a registered physician (in 1866). He 'preached' by lecturing on republicanism via press and platform. Along these lines, Congreve had inaugurated the Positivist Society and the 'Church of Humanity' on 19 January 1859 in Southfields, London. The Wandsworth church had a ritual, he maintained, and they would soon meet in the architecture of the future.

Through the 1860s Congreve delivered lectures from within a basement of a building located on Cleveland Street, in London. This was an inner-city area of mixed character – blocks of comfortable middle class families interspersed with the poor and very poor. Here, Congreve's addresses followed the monthly festivals in Comte's *System.* They focused on separate but interdependent themes, namely humanity, human nature, religion, society, capital, labour and education. They came together under the rubric of 'Systematic Policy' in 1869, two years after the Positivists had moved into their first proper urban intervention, called Chapel Street Hall, located on Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit, London.

The Hall was situated in the inner-city slums of London, amidst those suffering from chronic want. The hall was of importance materially because its unique intellectual and moral architecture could not be experienced anywhere else. At the front of the parlour was a platform on which stood an altar, two lecterns and a pedestal. On the pedestal rested a marble bust of Comte. A copy of the Raphael's Madonna di San Sisto, the woman and child representing the 'Great Being' of Humanity was hung on the wall behind the altar. Along the front wall

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[91] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.e.69, ff. 30 (1858).

hung marble tablets commemorating the late Positivists of their group, such as the ardent anti-imperialist James Cruickshank Geddes and the physician Evan Buchanan Baxter. (This was Congreve's substitute for a 'sacred forest'.) Along the side and back walls of the parlour were hung etchings of the thirteen monthly heroes of the Positivist calendar [Fig. 7]. Chapel Street Hall also housed a complete Positivist library, consisting of some 270 standard works that Comte deemed to be a meaningful alternative to disparate and desultory reading.

At the Hall, which was thought of as a 'spiritual' institution, Congreve officiated Sunday morning meetings and encouraged his Oxford alumni to implement his Systematic Policy of education. This policy stressed a top-down and bottom-up strategy for modifying the social structure: education (homes and schools) and social action. Congreve aimed to provide the proletariat with a republican cultural identity by officiating intellectual lectures, cultural festivals and civic rites of passage. He imparted workers with a scientific education rooted in the humanities. This 'common faith and common principles of action' was intended to empower workers to bring 'moral pressure to bear upon the wealthy'. As such, they denounced the militancy of imperialism, the exploitation of industry and the indifference of the crown and clergy.[92]

[92] Richard Congreve, *Two Addresses* (1870); BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 3-9 (1860).

Figure 7 *Chapel Street Hall. BLPES-LPS 5/4, (? 1874).*

Insofar as the civic rites of passage Congreve administered, they adhered to the practices Comte had sanctioned from the civil services of republican Rome. The Positivists offered them to those with a 'decided preference of action to speculation, and its constant subordination of private to public life'.[93] These rites sought to give meaning to key stages in personal development in seven-year increments.[94] Harrison explained that they prompted one to accept

the public profession of the citizen in the peaceful cause of modern industry to be true to the cause of country, to the cause of Western civilisation in its noblest sense, and above all, and in all, to be true to the paramount claims of Humanity.[95]

[93] *TR,* 5 May 1861; Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 771-83; Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 262; Comte, *SPP*, III, pp. 398-9; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 13, 226, 449, 541.
[94] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 43,844, ff. 3-34 (1861-); *TG,* March 1869.
[95] Frederic Harrison, *The Creed of a Layman* (1907), pp. 293-4.

Along these lines, the Positivists spoke of the need to establish a 'People's School' in connection with their lecture series and cultural festivals. Congreve's annual 'Festival of Humanity' address in January 1870 denounced Forster's Endowed Schools Bill of 1869 for being written 'in the interest mainly of the middle class'. It should have been written 'mainly and primarily for the poor – for the benefit of those who have no means of getting instruction'. Congreve recommended that their Society intervene by offering courses in mathematics, biology and history in the 'Positivist spirit'. The Positivists believed that the 'great modifier of the inevitable social distinction is Education'. As such, their school would seek to 'destroy intellectual inequality' and thus 'obviate the deplorably brutalizing influences of our actual social order'.[96] Congreve noted that their peoples' school would be 'free from the curse of privileged classes and churches … No class distinction. No sex difference. Universal. Gratuitous'. Such edification would prompt 'unity in family, unity in classes, unity between nations, international, bringing the true social point of view … true republican bearing in the present … to meet actual wants and occasions'.[97]

The Positivists' 'free elementary school' at Chapel Street Hall opened its doors to forty pupils in April 1870. The curriculum initially entailed reading, writing and arithmetic. But Congreve wanted to reinforce 'complete Positivism'. In this sense, his Systematic Policy was to encompass the gamut of the sciences, from mathematics to sociology to morality. The Policy intended to connect learning to practical activities and social deeds (particularly in relation to the

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[96] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 375, 79, 83; S.H. Swinny, 'The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Positivist School', *PR* (1920), 273-80.
[97] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 56-8 (1868).

devolutionary framework described above). It was to entail the 'abstract and concrete worship' of the 'Great Milieu,' the 'Great Fetich' and the 'Great Being' – Comte's sciences of Space, Earth and Humanity.[98] Most importantly, the 'political theory of education,' Congreve wrote, should augment the powers of observing the environs as opposed to merely 'the study of words'.[99] The scope of the school widened to include outdoor studies, social investigations, pilgrimages to historical places and drawing lessons. Indeed, Congreve had been long interested in educational reform.[100] He endorsed the establishment of learning institutions as the local centre of each community. As such, the Positivists' school offered recourse to the 'systematic attack' on family life and the 'moral alienation' of boarding schools.[101] Congreve thought of the Positivist school as a prototypical modern learning institution, a free university of sorts.

The activities at the Positivist Society captured the imagination of Annie Besant, George Eliot, George Howell, George Gissing, Sydney Olivier, John Ruskin, John Bright and Beatrice Webb. Positivist centres formed throughout the country. Positivist halls were established in Birmingham, Cambridge, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, north London and Newcastle [Figs. 8-12]. Of these groups, the most successful was the Liverpool branch, which sustained activity well into the 1940s. They built the 'novel' architecture that Congreve hoped to see.

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[98] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.184, ff. 1-3 (1870); OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.d.489, ff. 7 (1873); Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 437.
[99] Congreve, *Essays*, III, p. 524.
[100] See E.G.W. Bill, *University Reform in Nineteenth-Century Oxford* (1973), pp. 118-23.
[101] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 521-4.
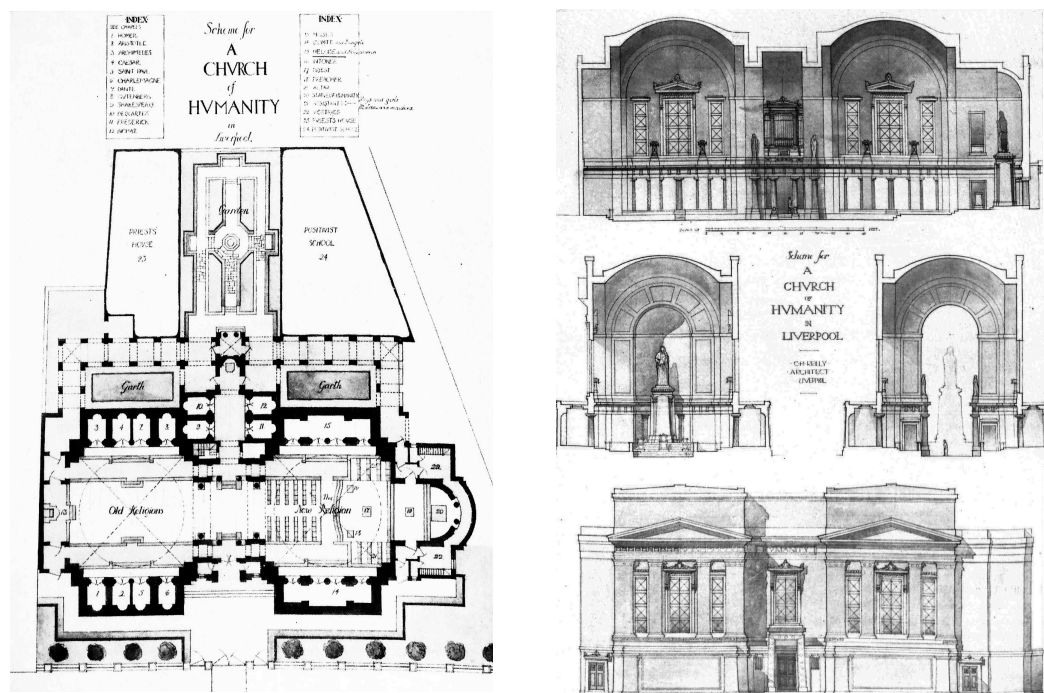
Figure 8 *Charles Reilly's Liverpool Church of Humanity proposal. Edmund Rathbone, 'Current Architecture', Architectural Review (1911), 148-50.*

Gradually, a number of institutions also emerged to support the 'service of man' tradition, not limited to the Charity Organization Society, Toynbee Hall, University Hall and Outlook Tower.[102] The Positivists and their halls or churches thus became part of a wider civics movement. But their outlook gazed far beyond the immediate city and province. They sought to link scientific education and patriotism for town and country to a wider love of humanity.

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[102] Frederic Harrison, *Moral and Religious Socialism* (1891), p. 7.

Figure 9 *Church of Humanity, Liverpool, designed by W.H. Ansell. BLPES-LPS 5/4, (c. 1913).*

Figure 10 *St. Pius X Church, formerly the Church of Humanity, Liverpool. Photo by KayDawn Wilson (2014).*

Figure 11 *St. Pius X Church, formerly the Church of Humanity, Liverpool. Photo by KayDawn Wilson (2014).*

Congreve's intentions seemed to parallel the young Karl Marx's comment that only 'fully developed humanism' would enable all to coexist as social beings.[103] Perhaps Congreve's views also approximated those of the socialist pamphleteer James Leatham. Leatham anticipated that the 'social and civic instincts will be developed in the man of the future in much the same way as they were developed in the men of the Greek and Roman cities,' through participatory citizenship in public life.[104] The polemicist Wilfrid Scawen Blunt also shared the Positivists' feeling that it was a matter of urgency to link civic education and international affairs. Blunt stated that if the English public did not awaken to 'the danger of its indifference' at home, then 'the irreparable results of race hatred' would continue to fill British officers returning to India with a 'renewed stock of

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[103] Marx, *Early Writings*, p. 348.
[104] James Leatham, *Socialism and Character* (1897), p. 138.

western prejudices'.[105] The foreign relations pamphleteer Augustus Granville Stapleton also referred to the need to improve the conduct of the 'representatives of Great Britain abroad'. Through their dubious exploits, 'the British Government is brought into disrepute, … the nations of the world are taught no longer to trust in British honour and good faith'.[106]

Figure 12 *Church of Humanity, Newcastle. BLPES-LPS 5/4, (n.d.).*

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[105] Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *Ideas About India* (1885), pp. 43-6.
[106] Augustus Granville Stapleton, *Intervention and Non-Intervention* (1866), p. 250.

Congreve's Systematic Policy was rooted in an education for republicanising human relations. It was intended to provide citizens with a complete intellectual and cultural identity linked to Comte's utopia.

Cities, Empire & the Western Republic

During the establishment of their new school the British Positivists were entangled in heated disagreements about the Franco-Prussian War. Here, Congreve's Systematic Policy garnered the support of his affiliates, both on the level of international relations and from a perspective of civic patriotism. As we will see, the Positivists' response to war was linked to shifting public attitudes towards empire and cities generally.

In 1868 the government of the Second French empire relaxed oversight over journalism, which opened the gates to a swathe of new radical publications. French republicans denounced Napoleon III's imperial regime and began to expose corruption and agitate for reforms. The prosecution of republican journalists stirred popular demonstrations, which were supressed by armed troops. A number of reports appeared during this time; they shifted national attention to Prussia's growing ties with Spain. This situation exacerbated French anxieties about being surrounded by, and subjected to the demands of, allied sources of external oppression. The French military pre-emptively struck Prussia, and the results humiliated Napoleon's administration, bringing about the 'bloodless revolution'.[107] However, the new French Government of National Defence was unable to counter the relentless Prussian offensive.

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[107] J.P.T. Bury, *France, 1814-1940* (2003), pp. 84-95.

Even before 'the roar of the Prussian guns before the walls of Paris' [108] the

Positivists implored Britain to acknowledge the *de facto* government of the

French Third Republic. And it stressed Britain's obligation to call on Prussia to

cease the war. Congreve placarded London and Paris with denunciations of the

British government, stating that 'the soul of England, nowhere has the

indifference and passivity' of its leaders.[109] Following Congreve's Systematic

Policy, the Positivists petitioned to establish a 'guardianship of nations'. They

anticipated that joining England and France in this Occidental union would be the

United States, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Holland. Here again, the

process was to begin with the conciliatory restoration of Gibraltar to Spain,

Heligoland to Denmark and Nice to Italy.[110]

Along these lines, Congreve was determined to rally support of the French

Republic. He organised meetings convened by trade unionists and members of the

Reform League, including Charles Bradlaugh and other English republicans.[111]

Harrison announced here that if Prussia insisted on the 'dismemberment of

France,' then 'England should call upon the neutral Powers to unite with her in

resisting it'. Other convenors denounced Gladstone for congratulating the

Prussian King on acquiring the title of 'Emperor' of France. Some two million

Parisians, after all, had been 'reduced to misery and starvation'. With 'execrations

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[108] *MP,* 27 Sept. 1870.
[109] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.Misc.a.10, ff. 45 (1870).
[110] *BH,* 7 Jan. 1871; Henry Dix Hutton, *Europe's Need and England's Duty* (1870), p. 35; E.S. Beesly, *A Word for France* (1870), p. 8; *GH,* 27 Sept. 1870.
[111] *National Reformer,* 25 Sept. 1870; Charles Bradlaugh, *The Autobiography of Mr. Bradlaugh* (1891), p. 22.

and curses' they rejected Prussian rule.[112] The Positivists saw no alternative but military intervention to resolve the conflict. British journalists and groups such as the Workmen's National Peace Association condemned this resolution. The Association labelled the Positivists, particularly Congreve, as warmongering elitists because they demanded the state deploy British workingmen to fight in the name of French sovereignty.[113] Critics stated that Congreve had not taken one step to soothe 'antagonism to class interests and personal selfishness'.[114]

With the armistice of spring 1871 came the election of a conservative, royalist French government and the vote of surrender to Prussia. This move confounded the radicalised, patriotic republican national guard of Paris. These citizen-soldiers were determined to defend the city from foreign rule. The new government attempted to dissolve the guard with a stop payment, which gave way to the French civil war.[115] The Paris Commune was thereafter established. It was thought of as a new model social organisation of a communist republic. French and British Positivists supported the commune as a working model of the dictatorship of the proletariat of Comte's Occidental Republic. Royden Harrison describes the commune as embodying the unmistakable character of

the rule of the Democracy; of the exploited rather than the exploiter; of the workman rather than the employer; of the tenant rather than the landlord; of the hard-pressed debtor rather than the well-heeled creditor.[116]

The Positivists' Chapel Street Hall became an English training refuge for French exiles after the commune's fall to the conservative government. French

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[112] *MP,* 11 Jan. 1871.
[113] *BH,* 7 Jan. 1871; *DN,* 7 Jan. 1971; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.Misc.a.10, ff. 32 (1870).
[114] 'Essays', *Athenaeum*, 9-10; *MP,* 29 Aug. 1874; *Ex.,* July 1874.
[115] Bury, *France*, pp. 102-10.
[116] *The English Defence,* ed. Harrison, pp. 7-28, 79-88.

activists later praised these 'English Republicans,' loyal to 'Paris, the immortal capital of the Western Republic'. They plastered the city with broadsheets encouraging voters to elect Congreve for honorary membership to the National Assembly. In their eyes, he had admirably called his Positivist Society, and British workers generally, to polemicise against Prussian expansionism to protect a small state.[117]

In response to his critics, Congreve released a serial dubbed 'Religion of Humanity or Human Catholicism, The Western Republic'. It included Henry Crompton's tract retracing Congreve's twenty-five year effort to mollify racial hostility, ethnocentrism and commercial greed. He communicated that Congreve's 'Systematic Policy' engaged with the 'greatest political question of modern times': imperialism.[118]

The Positivists viewed imperialism as an inherently *urban* question. They venerated cities as physical records, or the embodiment, of human relations. They protested against Victorian urbicide – the killing of cities. Harrison, for instance, denounced the British fleet that 'shelled, destroyed, and burnt' the Japanese municipality of Kagoshima in 1863 The non-stop bombardment of the temple city of 180,000 inhabitants brought it to a smouldering 'mass of ruins' within forty-eight hours. During the Franco-Prussian War the Positivists censured the Germans for 'plundering citizens,' 'ransacking the villager's homes' and the 'burning of towns and villages wholesale'.[119] Congreve similarly had chastised the 'mania' of Britain's aggressiveness – its campaigns of 'shelling towns and villages' during

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[117] *DN,* 24 Sept. 1872; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.Misc.a.10, ff. 46 (1871).
[118] Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 105-11.
[119] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 292; Harrison, *NSP*, pp. 16-9; Harrison, *On Society*, p. 16.

the third Ashanti War. He likewise contested Britain's various annexations of the 1870s.[120]

Positivists apart, few nineteenth-century groups offered such a systematic response to imperialism. Yet, the history of their group was scarred by internal friction. During the late 1870s Congreve became determined to override the authority of the international Positivist movement in Paris. He viewed Comte's successor, Pierre Laffitte, as an ineffectual leader and supporter of the French Empire. Congreve's attempts to take over the international society shocked his old Oxford students, Harrison, Beesly and Bridges. Geddes knew that an irreparable clash of unbending personalities was 'inevitable'. The famous Positivist 'schism' occurred in 1878.[121] Repelling his old Oxford pupils, Congreve led a youthful group of 'co-religionists' as the 'Church of Humanity' at Chapel Street Hall in London. Harrison led the splinter group at Newton Hall in London; here, he increasingly portrayed Positivism as a 'new theology'.[122] Newton Hall practiced Positivism in a 'far more tentative and experimental way,'[123] but there was no significant deviation from the standards Congreve had established, only room to expand.

[120] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 99-106, 216-57, 536-38; Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 1-3, 105-8, 456; Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 33-4.
[121] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, pp. 1-19.
[122] BL-MA, Add.MSS, 55,037, ff. 97 (1907).
[123] Frederic Harrison, *The Industrial Republic* (1890), p. 5.

Figure 13 *Newton Hall, London. BLPES-LPS 5/4, (1906).*

Figure 14 *Newton Hall, London. BLPES-LPS 5/4, (1906).*

From an architectural point of view, Newton Hall [Figs. 13-4] was the closest thing to Comte's Positivist temple design that London had seen. Harrison was the designer of the Newton Hall interior, which was long rectangular room

painted in the colour of 'progress,' pale celadon green. Four structural bays of cream-coloured Composite Order pilasters modulated the space of the hall. Each bay contained a large Roman arch window, and on each side of the window was hung a marble bust of one of the thirteen heroes of humanity. The front of the room was adored with three large wall panels containing formal dedications to the axioms of Comte. On the centre panel hung a copy of the painting Madonna di San Sisto. A lectern and a piano stood on a small platform at the front of the room. At the back of the hall one could find an official Positivist Library. Newton Hall operated as a humanity chapel, sociological school and republican club. Here, the Positivists administered their atheistic civic sacraments and systematic courses in sociology.

Despite their minor differences, the British Positivist groups continued to produce unified denunciations of imperialism, the first being a response to the Egyptian crisis. Here, Congreve continued to stress the adoption of a 'Pacific Policy'. He and his Positivist peers joined the Anti-Aggression League, which convened with 'obedient members of Parliament' to discuss the arbitration of international affairs. Congreve traced this aspiration back to the 'guardianship of nations' in his very own, and once controversial, *Gibraltar*.[124] Above and beyond this, Congreve continued to believe that maintaining 'active duty' to the practice of citizenship, and putting human interests ahead of economic and supernatural constructs, could manifest communities with the substance of 'place'.[125]

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[124] *DN,* 23 Feb. 1882; 'An Anti-Aggression League', *SR* (1882), 224-5; Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 453; *DN,* 12 Jan. 1886.
[125] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 107-18.

Congreve set an important example by establishing the first of many republican 'spiritual' institutions, which together comprised the British Positivist Society. As the architect of organised Positivism in Britain, Congreve set out the example of providing spaces that were at once centres for utopian sociology, institutes of humanist scholarship and republican halls of social action. His work as the leader of the Society connected together the questions of empire, civics and the urban condition. In this way he influentially set both the groundwork for later socialist criticisms of empire and social investigations into the civic quality and social life of British industrial towns, in the direction of self-government and regional planning. At the Positivist Society, Congreve promoted the culture necessary to create the citizens of idyllic modern city-states. He disseminated Comte's republican theories with practical instruction and civic rites of passage to facilitate critical thinking and active citizenship. He used historical and geographical types of sociological surveys to investigate the detriments of imperialism and continually sought to use his findings to substantiate a guardianship of nations to oversee the devolution of empires. This republican theory, pedagogy, rites of passage and survey practice comprised the components of Congreve's Systematic Policy for realising republics or city-states.

However, breaking up empires was not the Positivists' only priority. Uniting national industrial 'temporal' institutions was proportionately important to their social project – the incorporation of the proletariat into modern society. We will therefore turn to their plans for national renewal, which are exemplified by the Social Programme created by Congreve's student, Frederic Harrison.

CHAPTER 3

Frederic Harrison
A Social Programme for the
Industrial Republic

Our social and industrial system, under the expansion which followed the removal of its fetters, has thrown out new and appalling forms of misery, strife, and anarchy. There grows, festers, and reproduces itself that dismal pauper population, filling half counties, quarters of cities, a huge tumour in the body politic, which it eats up with its parasitical swarm. There is the housing of our crowded poor, forced by the palaces of wealth into closer and more poisonous quarters. How long is society to continue inactive in the presence of a disease so odious and so dangerous? The great sanitary question at which we have as yet but timidly nibbled, the whole question of preventing epidemics and providing the first necessaries of health, grows ever more pressing and more difficult. Then there is the vexed question of the land. It is no use disputing it, the people have made up their minds that the soil of this country shall no longer be held on its present irresponsible tenure.[1] – Frederic Harrison.

Congreve's British Positivist Society was a scientific, republican institution. His

activities on an international level were driven by the findings of historical and

[1] Frederic Harrison, *Order and Progress* (1875), p. 189.

geographical surveys. For the like reasons of fostering self-government and substantiating civic programmes for reconstruction, the affiliates to the Society also conducted national level industrial surveys of the temporal institutions that were making British towns.

The protagonist of this chapter is Congreve's eminent student Frederic Harrison, the Positivist sociologist who developed an industrial survey to treat national labour crises. After meeting Comte during the 1850s and subsequently auditing Congreve's Ruskinesque lectures, Harrison came to believe that the missing link between squalid manufacturing centres and virtuous city-states described in Comte's *System* was the united body of labour. Trade unions stood as a fundamental 'temporal power' in Comte's Occidental Republic programme, being the hands that would build the ideal city. However, during Victorian times, unions were criticised as being a menace to society. To legitimise, systematise and strengthen the institution of trade unionism, he collected sociological data relating to their activities in locales dispersed throughout the nation. His industrial survey findings appeared in the popular press, scientific journals and Royal Commission proceedings. Harrison also delivered educational lectures to unite workers under the banner of Positivism. He relayed the notion that unions could orient the focus of the British aristocracy away from offshore exploits to a civilising mission at home. As such, he wrote a framework to found an industrial republic entitled the Social Programme. It called for a combination of interlocking proposals relating to religion, social investigation, popular instruction, the nationalisation of industry and urban social improvements. My intention in this chapter is to reconstruct the making of this scheme, and demonstrate that its agenda was directly inspired by

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Congreve's 1860s lectures during the industrial crisis. Supplemented by studies for an ideal city during the Local Government Act of 1888, this programme qualified Harrison to partake in designing urban renovation schemes for the London County Council. These projects permitted trade unionists to rebuild a district of their city and spurred important urban housing and Garden City debates. We will therefore see that Harrison contributed to the Positivist roots of town planning by connecting the survey process to urban regeneration schemes.

MACHINERY, MONEY & BUILDINGS

Scholars observe that during the late eighteenth century a number of significant advancements were made in building construction systems, industrial manufacturing, shipbuilding and milling technology. With these advancements, the quest to realise previously inconceivable production capabilities and profit margins came to the fore. A rising industrial aristocracy cleared space and implanted the heart of British urban centres with new temporal institutions – mills, factories, storehouses and exchanges. During the nineteenth century a multiplicity of British urban centres materialised to suit the demands of expanding industrialisation. The construction of new docks, warehouses, shipyards and barracks facilitated and protected waterborne commerce. Imperial seaports connected to a growing logistics network feeding inland county seats and market towns.[2] From the late 1830s advances in locomotion and the construction of rail

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[2] P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation* (1983), pp. 1-23. Also see Christopher Chalkin, *The Rise of the English Town 1650-1850* (2001), pp. 1-26.

infrastructure networks linked national urban centres via a new architectural typology – the grand rail terminal.

The admixture of sea power, commercial trade, mechanical invention and architectural innovation thus accelerated the growth of the global economy. The destinations of Liverpool, London, Manchester and other conurbanising regions generated different kinds of work, social spaces and ailments. These British urban centres drew in redundant farm labourers, artisans, foreigners, non-skilled workers and beggars into what some perceived as a condensing arrangement of mass exploitation. Subjugated peasants and slaves in the colonies yielded cheap agricultural resources. British urban centres received these resources and transformed them into taxable goods. A global network of economically and socially dependent settlements was obliged to import these commodities. This system of production and exchange raised a wealth of profits for the old and new aristocracies. The rapidly forming cash nexus is thus thought to have undermined social kinship and the charm of towns and cities at home and abroad.

Cumulatively, these advances presented new potentials and challenges in organising the population. Sordid proletarian rents coagulated between expansive manufacturing complexes. Rail developments transported the contented classes from industrial junctions to manor estates and speculative-built suburban housing. The lives of the landed-gentry and the middle class were segregated from those of the inner city poor. Nevertheless, British towns continued to self-organise and expand. The social investigator James Grant calculated the extent of London's uncontrolled and unparalleled stage of enlargement. From 1830 to 1837 alone its circumference dilated from 30 to 35 miles. Contorting into an inescapable 'world

of houses,' London was not alone.[3] By the 1840s the Victorian historian Robert Vaughn remarked that 'Our leading towns in the provinces equal the capitals of ordinary kingdoms'.[4]

This kind of growth had repercussions. Impoverished urbanites faced an arduous amalgam of crowded quarters, industrial pollution, waterborne diseases, contaminated goods, extortionate prices and pests. Airborne toxins coated the cityscape. Operatives also bore the brunt of commercial rivalry. They fought amongst themselves for the opportunity to work to feed their families. Social commentators, such as Archibald Alison, described British towns as 'charnel-houses of mortality'.[5]

The introduction of new 'temporal' architectural typologies into the urban fabric transformed the experience of the city and its collective relations. Throughout the nineteenth century the rank and file contested deprivation from the spaces of intellectual and cultural refinement. The Positivist sociologist Victor Branford deemed this a call for 'spiritualising institutions'. He designated such places as local schools, libraries and universities; music halls, exhibits and theatres; community centres, bathhouses, parks, gardens and wholesome homes.[6] Along these lines, operatives also disputed diminishing wages, extended working hours, lack of legislative protection and, as such, political and socio-economic inequality.

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[3] James Grant, *The Great Metropolis* (1837), I, pp. 1-22.
[4] Robert Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities* (1843), p. 92.
[5] Archibald Alison, *The Principles of Population* (1840), I, p. 4.
[6] KU-LP/11/2/16/1, ff. 40a (n.d.).

With the intensification of Chartist agitation during the 1830s, urban centres became the battleground for attaining mutual liberties and responsibilities. Asa Briggs mentions that cities became the normal home of radical, 'irresponsible demagogues, who would have been thrown out of the village or small town'.[7] However, W.J. Linton, the republican Chartist, explained that disquiet roused proportionate to 'the great unwashed' being treated akin to harnessed, subhuman 'beasts of burden'.[8] Chartists solidified consensus on political equality in the press and platform. The cooperative movement instituted stores, credit unions and halls. Among other institutions and benefit societies, these groups offered both social and material comforts to otherwise uneducated and unrepresented minions.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb remarked that the re-emergence of trade unionism following the Chartist movement produced 'extraordinary propagandist activity'. From the 1840s trade unionists enjoined their members to seek social improvements. The immediate purpose of a general strike by unionists was higher wages and shorter hours. However, during this period, the poor management and internal friction plaguing unions intensified relative to external conflicts in the popular press. The media syndicated demonising portraits of unionists' exclusiveness, hostile ultimatums and destructiveness.[9]

From the late 1850s Harrison and his colleagues sought to help trade union politics segue into a wider urban social agenda, to moralise capital and rebuild cities. Positivists, social scientists and reformers saw that disparate housing experiments, parks and exhibitions demonstrated the potentialities of scientific,

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[7] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (1990), p. 65.
[8] *The English Republic,* ed. Linton and Parkes, p. 161.
[9] Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (1920), pp. 171-6.

industrial and mechanical progress. They agreed that it was necessary to organise

urban interventions for the public welfare. Optimists anticipated that eventually,

during this era of unimpeded development, industrialists would in some way

redeem the masses, the sick and the elderly. By the 1860s, however, John Ruskin

reprimanded the 'newly-risen power of democracy and the departing power of

feudalism' because it had opened a fresh crisis – 'wealth and pauperism'.[10]

Branford likewise observed

there has gone on the organized sacrifice of men to things, a large scale
subordination of life to machinery … [and a] growing tendency to value personal
worth in terms of wealth. To the millionaire has, in effect, passed the royal
inheritance of "right divine".[11]

Too few studies have examined the correlation between industrial chaos, the

decline of socially responsible institutions and the gradual ascendency of

republican Positivism in Britain. Rehabilitating housing, sanitation, working

conditions and the public life of citizenship necessitated the rise of institutions

with the scientific authority, propagative literary prowess and systematic

programmes for civic modernisation. Scholars have observed that from the 1860s

to the 1880s, apart from Positivism, 'there was no political philosophy which

influenced working men, or won adherents among them by assigning to the

working class a distinctive political function of independent role'.[12] Comte's

British followers appreciated that industry embodied a productive political force

made tangible through urbanisation. At the outset of their movement, they trusted

trade unions to represent the commonweal. Harrison endeavoured to vindicate

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[10] John Ruskin, *LEWJR* (1903-12), XVIII, p. 494.
[11] Patrick Geddes and Gilbert Slater, *Ideas at War* (1917), p. v.
[12] Harrison, *BS*, pp. 2-5.

trade unionism in modern society via the sociological survey practice. His mentor

at Oxford, Richard Congreve, explained the Positivists' wider motivation:

For Morals and Industry, both in theory and practice, to one who attentively considers our difficulties, personal and social, in the present transitional time, are the two cardinal points on which all turns. … Who can doubt but that, the proletariate once duly organised, possessed of homes in the true sense, and with fixity of conditions of labour, consequently with the opportunity for family life, the enormous majority of the nation or nations … will find the difficulties at present raised gradually disappear. … The full citizenship of the workers, whether in town or country, being granted as the object to pursue, its attainment is evidently impossible without security for the family life in an equal degree with the security already reached by the classes which have long had such citizenship, and had a monopoly of it.[13]

FELLOWSHIP, SOCIAL SCIENCE & SOCIAL WAR

Entering under the aegis of Congreve at Oxford, Harrison was oblivious to

Positivism. He had since his youth been under the influence of Ruskin, who like

Comte believed that the questions of morality and materiality were irrevocably

intertwined. Harrison departed Wadham 'a republican, a democrat, and a free-

thinker,' taking an honorary fourth-class degree in 1853. Here, he had gone so far

as to speculate that the 'future of Philosophy seems destined to be the Positive

philosophy'.[14] It was not until Harrison assisted Congreve with *The Politics of*

Aristotle with English Notes (1855) that he learned of Comte's *System*. He wrote

to the Frenchman 'begging' for an interview.[15] Harrison returned from Paris

deeply moved by Comte's vision of nested republics.

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[13] Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 651-706.
[14] Harrison, *AM*, I, pp. 87, 95.
[15] Ibid., 87-99, 265.

After joining his Oxford cohorts – Congreve, J.H. Bridges and E.S. Beesly – who had recently moved to London, Harrison recalled that 'our joint fellowship in the social and religious movement of Positivism was fully and irrevocably established'. They witnessed Congreve christen the 'Church of Humanity' and the Positivist Society in 1859.[16] It was largely in response to the industrial crisis of 1859, which is examined in this section, that they united and offered support to labour organisations. They had the making of the 'temporal power' of Comte's Occidental Republic – the People – in mind and accordingly became outspoken supporters of the Conference of United Building Trades, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the London Trades' Council.[17]

Just as the case with the Positivists' anti-expansionist debates, Congreve served as the trailblazer when it came to the labour question. What he had in mind was to have the Positivist Society act as an independent arbitrator of social affairs – like the medieval church, Newtonian elite, or Positivist Intellectuals. The Society disseminated scientific knowledge to unite and liberate international workers, but they were not immediately successful. Harrison nonetheless expressed a certain enthusiasm about their activities as being the synthesis of a 'debating society and a scientific body'.[18]

In London, Harrison also joined the faculty at Working Men's College. According to F.D. Maurice, the head of the College, the faculty sought to transform the proletarian mass into 'good and brave citizens'.[19] Harrison

[16] Bridges, *Recollections*, p. 79.
[17] See Harrison, *BS.*
[18] BLPES-HP 1/7, ff. 32 (1860).
[19] *BH,* 25 Oct. 1862.

attempted to integrate the Positivists' view of history into the College curriculum. He also made contacts with social investigators, Christian socialists and reformers, who introduced him to London's scientific and intellectual circles. Among these forums, the most popular was the Social Science Association. Working Men's College faculty members, notably Ruskin and Maurice, stood among the Association's founding officers. Harrison used the Association's platform to vindicate the Positivists' view of trade unionism.

The Association explored topics such as ethics, education, jurisprudence and public health. Following the acute ruptures between capital and labour that occurred in 1859, which led *The National Review* to describe London as a 'huge metropolis of a social war,' the Association convened to discuss trades' societies and strikes.[20] This war centred on the scuffles between the Master Builders' Society[21] and trade union operatives working on architecture and urbanism projects in preparation for upcoming exhibitions and festivities. Workers were being pushed to toil long hours without compensation and against their will. Fatigue led to carelessness and caused several incidents of injury and accidental death. Among them, the severest incident was the scaffolding collapse at the construction site of the Westminster Palace Hotel in May 1859.[22]

The Master Builders' Society continued to ignore communications from union leaders about their 'nine hours movement'. Unionists agreed in October that the only option was to go on strike. Congreve wrote to George Potter, the

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[20] 'Builders' Combination', *NR* (1860), 314-29.
[21] NAPSS, *Transactions, 1860*, p. 54. The Master Builders' Society formed in 1834 to supress trade union activities.
[22] Harrison, *BS*, p. 3.

secretary of the Conference of United Building Trades, about the international

Positivists' aspirations to represent workingmen. He agreed with Potter that the

'introduction of machinery should have, or begin to have, its proper result' of

increasing salaries, cutting the hours of work and creating opportunity for better

housing and time to enjoy the city.[23] Congreve and Harrison's sentiments coincide

with the remarks made by the Scottish social democrat, James Leatham. Leatham

suggested that labourers' repulsion to profiteering and capitalism was the result of

their being required to produce works of great 'ugliness, monotony, and

unworthiness,' works unworthy of an ideal city.[24] The romantic desire to craft

elegant things, to celebrate individuality and to enjoy social happiness, led

workers to join trade unions and socialist groups.[25] Wishing to assist the

Conference with their struggle, Congreve suggested that unions should open their

parliament to the Positivists' support. Unlike Christian theology, their republican

morality dealt 'directly with social questions':

It is applicable to all, but it considers as the most urgent of all, the following: –
How are the working classes to be made, in the fullest sense of the term, citizens;
how are they to be incorporated into the existing social order, so as to have their
due share of its benefits?[26]

By November 1859, however, the Master Builders' Society initiated a

lockout. The trade union fund was not ample enough to sustain its members

through the vicious wintry months. Amongst the families of bricklayers,

carpenters, masons, painters and plasterers, 449 men, 170 women and 725

children perished. For the next forty-five years in the very least, trade union

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[23] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 109-11.
[24] Leatham, *Socialism and Character*, pp. 98-9.
[25] Robert F. Gleckner and Gerald E. Enscoe, *Romanticism* (1962), pp. 105-16.
[26] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 109-11.

leaders, notably Howell, Potter and Shipton, were known to seek and accept the Positivists' counsel.[27]

Sociological Agenda et Legenda

In this section we will see that, inspired by Congreve's civic activism and Ruskinesque lectures, Harrison set out on social investigations into industrial extremity. These investigations were part of his 1860s 'Agenda et Legenda' to vindicate British operatives. This Agenda later served as the basis for Harrison's Social Programme.

As indicated in Chapter 1, G.J. Holyoake endorsed the fledgling 'Positive Religion' in a popular workingmen's periodical called *The Reasoner*. Its nameplate included a tagline, the 'only field of progress is now that of the Positive Philosophy,' taken from Comte's *Cours*. During the 1860s the journal printed abridged versions of Congreve's lectures, which later appeared as Systematic Policy.[28] Within, Congreve promoted 'the progressive improvement of the human world, and of the local habitation in which that world is placed'. He contended that moral education was the *sine qua non* of ethical entrepreneurship. Education would enable capitalists to appreciate the 'sacred deposit' of wealth they administered at the behest of the community. Congreve expressed these ideas in Ruskinian terms.

The true object of human society is the production of men, not human animals as the implements of material production, but of men in the true, proper sense,

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[27] *Transactions, 1860*, pp. 54-60; 'Secret Organisation of Trades', *ER* (1859), 525-63; George Howell, *Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders* (1902), p. 128; *Reports from Commissioners, 1868-9* (1869), xxxi.
[28] *TR*, 5 May 1861; *TR,* 9 June 1861; Comte, *PPAC*, I, p. xv.

formed and fashioned and disciplined agents, men adequately equipped for the right conduct and true enjoyment of life.[29]

Inspired by Congreve's lecture series, Harrison noted down an 'Agenda et Legenda' of four interrelated components that he deemed to be necessary to remake urban life: religion, knowledge of the working classes, popular education and social improvements. Sociology would be used to assess and redress 'social evils' within the following subsets

the relations of capital and labour; the hours of labour; the labour of women and children; the lodgings of the labourers; the provisions for paupers, criminals, and sick; sanitary reform; domestic improvement; social intercourse between classes; sobriety, cleanliness, health.[30]

While Congreve was directing his Positivists to take 'social action,' Harrison set out on an industrial survey in the summer of 1861 to gain knowledge of the working class.

This investigation was arranged in response to yet another industrial dispute caused by the Master Builders' Society. This time it concerned their stonemasons, who were the sole craft of the Conference of United Building Trades on strike. The masons sought to curtail the standard of working in excess of twelve hours *per diem.* They proposed to establish a simple, fixed daily schedule of 'ten hours' work for the first five days of the week' and 'a half holyday after five and a half hours' work on Saturday'.[31] During this time, Harrison visited job sites and attended trade union meetings. He recorded the testimonies of union leaders and members, and he inspected their financial accounts, proceedings, documents and

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[29] Congreve, *Essays*, I, pp. 63-5, 341-72.
[30] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 251.
[31] *TT,* 15 July 1861.

reports. He tabulated information on items such as the masons' wages, hours and the circumstances of workplace incidents.

From July 1861, a series of letters signed by Harrison, Beesly, T.H. Hughes and Godfrey Lushington appeared in *The Times*. They disputed the manipulation of public opinion on trade unionism in the media and also took issue with the master builders' humiliation of their masons. An intense rally between these social actors and master builders publically unfolded in an extraordinary way. Master builders were shocked to have their private business practices exposed like never before. Notwithstanding, the master builders again refused to liaise with the labour force. Again they staged a lock out, which carried into the autumn months of 1861.[32]

This situation impelled Congreve to issue a two-piece manifesto called *The Labour Question* (1861), which was written by the French Positivist, Fabian Magnin. The first part was the 'Report on the Labour Question,' which Comte had authorised during the Luxembourg Commission in 1848. Congreve commissioned the new portion called 'Letter on the London Building Strike'. It extended international commiseration to the victims of the lockout and included a subscription to the London Trades' Council fund. Magnin's letter urged industrialists to end the lockout and to do their duty as citizens, to utilise the 'immense mass of capital, material, intellectual and moral' – the public's social inheritance – for the public good.[33]

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[32] Ibid.; *TT,* 22 July 1861; BLPES-HP 1/8, ff. 17-20 (1860-1?).
[33] Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 177-91.

Harrison soon determined that a more comprehensive industrial survey would produce the necessary evidence to achieve national, 'formal recognition' of overtime. Being the 'great lever of all shortening of hours,' trade unionism would open time to experience the cerebral and social conveniences of the city. Harrison aimed to treat the subject of trade unionism 'fuller and more controversial or argumentative' than any other work at the Social Science Association.[34] These efforts seem to corroborate the argument that Harrison was attempting to use surveys and polemics to unify 'the People' as trade unions, for the purpose of creating the 'temporal power' of Comte's urban vision, the Occidental Republic.

Social Science Association

In 1862 Harrison took the platform at the Association's congress to discuss his survey of the stonemasons' strike, to articulate the social value of trade unionism. He congratulated the 'severe loss and future privation' unionists were willing to sustain to acquire the time for the formation of character that they desired. Their timely victory was the result of Congreve and the Positivists' public defence of labour, which spurred the stonemasons to renew their claims in an opportune moment. This moment was taken during a peak demand for labour on large scale urban, civil, landscape and architectural projects for London's International Exhibition of 1862. Reinforcing the masons' triumph were 60,000 London Trades' Council supporters who 'actively maintained' the strike. A national network of 10,000 Stone Masons' Society lodges, each subscribing £100 weekly

[34] BLPES-HP 1/8, ff. 21, 28-31 (1860-1?).

to the strike fund, corroborated this industrial action.[35] Harrison commended these activities organised by trade union parliaments. Their parliament was a 'system of self-government so orderly and so independent'. It benefitted unionists and non-unionists alike. Yet, he added that continued mediation took priority over new legislation

only by recognising the legality of unions can this action be made healthy and useful; unless the great benefits they confer be admitted, their many inherent evils cannot be rectified … in their gradual improvement and expansion is to be found the best means for the progress of the industrial classes, and the best guarantee of social and political order.

A heated controversy ensued. In Harrison's defence, the Positivist Godfrey Lushington argued that if combinations were truly lawful, then workers should be safeguarded from minimum rates over maximum hours:

If the hours were limited the man's habits would become regular, and he would have an inclination to bestow himself upon his general improvement and the happiness of his family. Beside the masters and men, there is another party interested, that is, the public.[36]

The Positivists' message – that higher wages and shortened hours would lead to better housing and civic spaces – was thereafter understood by the convenors. Harrison would later discuss the implications of uniting Chiefs and People in cooperation, an ideal city. But more immediately, the Positivists' concerted efforts first aimed to reconnect the severed lines of communication between capitalists, the press and workingmen.[37]

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[35] F.H.W. Sheppard, *Survey of London* (1975), pp. 134-47; *Transactions, 1861*; Brooke, *Le Play*, pp. 17, 61-8.
[36] *Transactions, 1861*, pp. 717-21, 95-6.
[37] Howell, *Labour Legislation*, pp. 142-3.

LANCASHIRE

In this section we will see that during the 'Cotton Famine' Harrison began to link an expanded industrial survey of cities and citizens to projects for civic resuscitation.

During the early 1860s the Positivists were watching the American Civil War and its repercussions – the Cotton Famine – on Northern English mill towns. The American North's naval blockades and its capture of key Southern port cities provoked slave owners to destroy wharves and ships. They also sunk myriad bales of cotton, destined for England and France, in the Mississippi River Delta.[38] With new spinning technology, English districts overproduced in the years preceding the American Civil War. The conflict thinned the stream of American cotton and sunk English operatives' wages. Auxiliary crops were provided from India. However, due to differences in climate, soil and the species of cotton yielded, the Indian harvest had a structure and density that was virtually incompatible with new textile machinery. Production costs increased beyond profit margins.

Within sixteen months of the conflict, 300,000 operatives stood redundant without subsistence. British and colonial newspapers collected relief funds for the bedraggled multitudes in Lancashire and other counties. Many 'grudgingly and grumblingly' resisted aid giving as compensation for 'the manufacturers and others in the North … not doing their duty'.[39] The Positivists denounced such sentiments and also exposed the corruption of relief administrators. They

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[38] Chester G. Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie* (1997), pp. 67, 176.
[39] *TT,* 20 Nov. 1862.

polemicised against disinterested clerics, cotton lords and the governing elite.[40]

Witnessing operatives plunging into the 'abyss of pauperism,' Bridges administered relief and health services as an extension of his medical practice sited in Bradford.[41] Conjuring up images of the French Revolution, Beesly agitated that the 'socially mischievous' monarchy blew £40,000 on Prince Albert Edward's wedding while ignoring the Lancashire calamity.[42] Harrison explained

a noble part of the population is at the point of starvation, and is being goaded by ill-treatment into resistance; and not one effort to meet these increasing dangers come from government or parliament.[43]

By March 1863 Beesly announced the agenda for a 'Working Men's Emancipation Meeting' in London. Statesmen such as John Bright, the Positivists and trade unionists met and levelled to rouse the state into action on Lancashire and the American Civil War. They convened to represent the 'working mass expressing sympathy for all oppressed workers, and in full support of Abraham Lincoln and slave emancipation'. The Positivist sympathiser and trade union leader George Howell condemned the English 'public men, capitalists and journalists' for neglecting the plight of cotton operatives living in poverty. Howell portrayed them as corroborating with the confederates who had alienated themselves from the 'great *Republic of the West*'.[44] Beesly attributed slavery to the political economist's commodification of labour. He observed

that like other commodities, if it is very cheap in one place it will have a tendency in the long run to sink in value in other places also. It is not our interest that

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[40] *BH,* 13 Dec. 1862; *BH,* 3 Jan. 1863; *BH,* 28 Mar. 1863.
[41] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, pp. 95-98.
[42] *BH,* 7 Mar. 1863.
[43] *BH,* 7 Mar. 1863.
[44] *BH,* 14 Mar. 1863. Emphasis added.

labour should be cheap here or anywhere else, much less that it should be absolutely unpaid.[45]

Following Comte's 1848 *System,* Beesly rallied for the unification of international workingmen. The Positivists were instrumental to the organisation of the First International.[46] They also took direct action on the national level with regard to the Cotton Famine.

Harrison set out to conduct an industrial survey of the Lancashire region. With introductions from Cardinal Newman, Holyoake and London trade union leaders, he embarked on a survey of sixteen localities. These localities included Manchester, Rochdale, Blackburn, Bolton, Stockport, Preston and Bacup. Here, he recorded the experiences and activities of Central Relief Committee directors, cooperative shopkeepers, abolitionists, machinists, charitable society leaders, factory and poor law inspectors, schoolmasters and trade union delegates. He also 'collected facts' by interviewing ex-operatives concerning wages, relief received and employment history. He took down home addresses and logged housing conditions. Via these house-to-house surveys, he encountered myriad abandoned cottages and compiled emigration statistics.[47]

When Harrison narrated his industrial survey results, he expressed a growing concern for the cotton districts. He was motivated to make all mindful of the repercussions that international discord and the free market had on urbanisation. Harrison forecast that the aftermath of the American Civil War would affect the future of England's northern cities for generations. He declared

[45] Ibid.
[46] Royden Harrison, 'E. S. Beesly and Karl Marx', *International Review of Social History* (1859), 24-58; 208-38.
[47] BLPES-HP 2/1, ff. 1-26 (1863).

that without the provision of American cotton, these towns 'have neither object

nor reason of existence'. The fall of financially strapped cooperative societies and

civic institutions, he claimed, would leave the Lancastrian districts in decay. He

dwelled on the state of play:

Everyone who has visited the cotton districts even curiously knows that those great and wealthy towns are in all the outwards signs of civilization far below the rest of the country. The meanest and poorest country town is often better paved, better drained, and better provided as a habitation of civilized man than the great centres of industry which constitutes so large a part of the wealth, influence, and energy of England. A mill has been built, and a swarm of cottages have clustered round it. More mills and more cottages have been added. So have gone on being crowded more and more closely, without attention to convenience, health, or comfort.[48]

Harrison lamented that apropos of their political and pecuniary power, most

industrialists held little esteem for humanising the urban way of life. Adults and

adolescents lived in environments detrimental to their health. For parsimonious

reward, they manufactured commodities with materials cultivated by slave labour.

They travailed long hours in unsafe manufactories built in small towns with death

rates greater than London. During the 1880s Harrison reiterated that 'it would be a

sort of public scandal' if towns lingered on, 'repulsive and depressing as the

average cotton mill of Lancashire'.[49] Still, in 1909 the planning historian H.Inigo

Triggs polemicised against laissez-faire urbanisation:

The structure of our towns, the development of our suburbs and the creation of entirely new districts have been with us nearly always pure matters of chance. What was a village expands to a town, which in its turn becomes a populous city without any preparations being made for the great change. As each difficulty arises it has been either quite left to chance, or solved in the best manner of which the circumstances of the moment permit, with little thought for the requirements of succeeding generations. We are beginning to see what the consequence of this

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[48] Frederic Harrison, 'Lancashire', *WR* (1863), 191-219. Cf. Abercrombie's triad of 'Beauty, Health and Convenience'.

[49] Frederic Harrison, *The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces* (1894), pp. v, 247.

state of affairs has been and to gradually realise that a city is not, and ought not to be, a chance aggregation of so many houses, any more than a rational dwelling is a fortuitous collection of bricks and mortar.[50]

For Harrison, Lancashire was a microcosm of life in England, where 'the honour as well as the stigma of industry' prevailed. Concluding his survey report, he wrote that operatives lived

almost without streets, without water-supply, without a public place or walk, with an unbanked river, half watercourse half drain, winding through them, with open spaces piled with rubbish or cinders, broken roads, unpaved alleys, and open sewers. Nothing so wretched, unclean, and unsightly is to be found in civilised Europe.[51]

He pointed to new legislation[52] for consolidating funds for public works loans to install sewage, drainage, lighting and paving for improving roads, waterways and open spaces. Authorities soon appointed the landscape architect Edward Milner to plan and design Avenham, Moor and Miller Parks for Lancashire. These projects put ex-operatives to work and furnished them with places to revel in contact with the sublimity of nature. They opened in 1867. Overall, the region's economic and industrial recovery took decades.

By the 1860s the Positivists were conducting sociological investigations into the condition of cities. Harrison, Bridges and others organised Poor Law inspections and health surveys. Like Comte, they offered design guidance on building healthy streets and homes. For instance, they advised building societies on the detrimental affects of certain building types, notably Bradford's back-to-

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[50] Triggs, *Town Planning*, pp. v-vi.
[51] Harrison, 'Lancashire', *WR*, 191-219.
[52] Public Acts 24 and 25 Vict. c. 80

back houses.[53] The following sections suggest how Harrison continued to enlarge the theory and praxis of Positivist sociology.

INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

Harrison's industrial surveys were innovative owing to their breadth and practical application in public life. To gauge the functional processes that generated urban centres, he inspected the inner workings of 'temporal institutions'. He visited iron works, construction sites, coalmines, mills, factories, agricultural fields, workshops and commercial kitchens. He tabulated the strike history, working hours, remuneration and the 'risks, changes and unhealthiness' of trades. Harrison observed how the unemployed and labouring classes occupied their leisure time. He jointly investigated the workhouse and outdoor relief systems and documented the actions, regulations and funds of trade unions, cooperative associations and benefit societies.[54]

During 1865 the Positivists helped found *The Fortnightly Review*. Harrison's survey conclusions filled the pages of the periodical. Here, because of 'the stagnation of actual politics,' Harrison welcomed the rise of the 'institution, growth and power of Trade-unionism,' which was 'one of the true public questions of the day'.[55] In his article 'The Iron Masters' Trade Union,' for instance, Harrison explained that when masters colluded to impose a ten per cent pay cut on their ironworkers it instigated the strike of 1864 to 1865. The iron

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[53] Bridges, *Recollections*, p. 101; Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, pp. 91-95. Bridges, *Essays and Addresses* (1907), p. 68.
[54] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 274; Harrison, *NSP*, pp. 411-23; BLPES-HP 2/1, ff. 1-27 (1863).
[55] Frederic Harrison, 'The Iron-Masters' Trade-union', *WR* (1865), 96-116; Harrison, 'The Good and Evil of Trade-Unionism', *FR* (1865), 33-54.

masters' attempts to compensate for the falling value of their goods caused a 'great branch' of industry to collapse. A 'civil war' raged across the nation, with 200,000 operatives fighting 'wars of classes for rights, institutions and power,' which occasioned a series of punishing lockouts. Due to the nature of urban 'complex cooperation,' England was stricken by 'another Lancashire famine, self-imposed, and self-maintained'. It was not until almost all work in associated trades had ceased, and the pauperisation of town and country commenced, that capital compromised on a five per cent reduction in wages.[56]

Harrison used his sociological survey findings to show how industry affected all aspects of social life. One of his aims in discussing trade unionism in the *Fortnightly* and elsewhere was to deconstruct the conventions of orthodox political economy. Harrison wrote that there was 'no existing evil in the world'

so urgent as the depressed state of the labouring masses. This depression is in part due to the anarchy which reigns in things religious and social, but largely to this, that a "Devil's Gospel" in Political Economy has been formed in order to justify and give system and force to all the other influences which crush the workmen. To argue with economists is mere wrangling and word-splitting. The only effective reply to them is *to make a full and true picture of the workmen's life.*[57]

Insofar as the 'trash of political economy,' he postulated that international unionists could disrupt its unwavering universal 'laws of competition'. Following Comte's sociological laws, he stated that 'civilisations vary in degree'.[58] Unions could temper persistent overproduction and the subjugation of diverse cultures. He asserted that the trade union movement could shatter the bonds of slavery and

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[56] Harrison, 'The Iron-Masters' Trade-union', *WR*, 96-116; John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (1849), II, pp. 143-4.
[57] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 274. Emphasis added.
[58] Frederic Harrison, 'The Limits of Political Economy', *FR* (1866), 356-76; Harrison, 'The Iron-Masters' Trade-union', *WR*, 96-116; Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 253; Paul Adelman, 'Frederic Harrison', *HPE* (1971), 170-89.

serfdom and eradicate 'every remnant of privilege, of caste, of monopoly' in modern society.[59]

During this period of economic stagnation and social strife Archibald Alison spoke of relieving the nation of the 'burdensome and poorest classes of the community'. He suggested that heretics, redundancies, bastards, addicts, unwed mothers, prostitutes and convicts should be shipped to foreign territories where 'return is impossible' and 'towns are few'.[60] Contesting this stratagem, Harrison wrote that unions could thwart the 'whole sale eviction of a starving population or the deportation of a county'. He maintained that unions could purge capitalists of 'the detestable aim of piling up fortunes and securing personal enjoyments'. Unions could drive them to 'raise the condition of the workers'.[61] They could protect working families from homelessness, having wages docked or redundancy during cycles of economic decline. The individual labourer, 'without combination, without a reserve fund, without the means of existence,' was 'practically at the mercy of a capitalist, just as a starving man in a prison is at the mercy of a man who offers him a loaf'.[62] Observing the chiefs' control over *homes, industry and civic life,* Harrison wrote:

Nothing is more fallacious than to call labour questions simply a matter of wages or money … Every time he has to change his employer … *the workman has to give up his home, break up his household,* separate from his wife, draw his children from school, and suffer infinite differences affecting his comfort, health, and plans. A few weeks out of work may ruin the prospects of his son, injure his family's health, *turn them out of a familiar home, and change him to a broken*

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[59] Frederic Harrison, *George Washington and other American Addresses* (1901), p. 25.
[60] Archibald Alison, *The Principles of Population* (1840), II, pp. 149-51, 352; *BH,* 4 Oct. 1862.
[61] Harrison, *The Creed*, p. 241; *BH,* 3 Jan. 1863.
[62] Harrison, 'The Iron-Masters' Trade-union', *WR*, 96-116.

man. Let us remember that this competition implies the constant locomotion of families.[63]

Harrison's independent urban industrial enquiries into the nature of industry made him an authority on labour questions and British towns. His scientific survey and republican polemic put him in the centre of one of the most definitive events of the 1860s: the Royal Commission on Trades Unionism. The inquiry was thought of as 'a symptom of the enormous social revolution' of modern times.[64] There were, indeed, wide concerns about the growing power of trades unions throughout all of Europe. The British government fretted that trade unions, in combination with reform agitators and republicans, would upend the social structure. Harrison's Minority Report sought to substantiate trade unions as independent, legally binding and functioning entities.[65] His recommendations, though not without modification, served as the basis for trade union law from 1868 to 1906. The new legislation assigned unions independence and the same legal protection as friendly societies. The truth, however, is that Harrison and his fellow Positivist colleagues held little interest in legislation or any parliamentary acts, or political politics.

When the government and employers' unions demanded a second Royal Commission on Trade Unionism during the 1880s, Harrison proposed that a group of philosophers – the Positivist Society, perhaps – should be appointed as an independent industrial arbiter. Harrison's offer only gained traction with union leaders who understood Harrison's urbanistic agenda – to have Intellectuals help

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[63] Harrison, 'The Good and Evil', *FR*, 33-54.
[64] Edward Spencer Beesly, 'The Trades' Union Commission', *FR* (1867), 1-18.
[65] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 323.

the People see through the ethical creation of humane places for all to enjoy.[66]

Harrison reminisced in 1908: from the 1860s, 'I continually put forward the industrial scheme of Auguste Comte [the Occidental Republic] on the platform and in the Press'.[67] Long these lines, he passed favourable comment on 'new unionism' or 'socialist unionism' during the 1890s and portrayed Positivism as complete socialism thereafter.[68]

POPULAR EDUCATION

Thanks to the Positivists' tireless exertions to substantiate the claims of labour, the London Trades' Council invited them to deliver lectures at their meetings. The lectures appeared during a range of calamities: an economic depression, a cholera outbreak, the Abyssinian War, the Sheffield Outrages and the Jamaican Mutinies. The 1860s were a time of wide discontentment due to the Queen's withdrawal from public life and the royal family's excessive use of the public purse for private affairs. These conditions framed the revival of two points of the 1848 People's Charter and, thereafter, an upsurge of anti-monarchical republicanism. Supported by trade union leaders, secularists and republicans, the Reform League orchestrated demonstrations for demanding election by ballot and universal manhood suffrage. With the failure of the Reform Bill of 1866 came a shocking display of discontentment in Trafalgar Square. The government issued firm warnings about the illegal nature of reform protests to be held at Hyde Park.

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[66] Frederic Harrison, 'The Trades-Union Bill', *FR* (1869), 30-45; LMU-LTC, 2/2, ff. 174 (1974); *TT,* 14 March 1874; *BO,* 20 Mar. 1874; BIL-GHP 1/11, ff. 20 (1874).
[67] Harrison, *NSP*, p. 262.
[68] Harrison, *The Philosophy of Common Sense*, pp. 44-5.

Conservatives forecast further violence and even rebellious riots. Congreve observed that Bright, the wellspring of the Liberal party, was achieving unprecedented working class support during his reform speeches of 1866. Unsuccessfully, he encouraged Bright to speak in favour of inaugurating an English republic.

So, what did Harrison have to say to trade unionists about the Royal Commission and the New Charter? Standing before the London Trades' Council in 1868, Harrison suggested that workers carry the advantages afforded by the Royal Commission into the implementation of a programme of urban social reforms. Such reforms could be obtained by moral determination rather than the suffrage. He warned, after all, that the electoral process was subject to 'bribery, fraud, trickery, and distortion of facts, – to prevent the real opinion of voters being known'. Not only this, it was futile to bother with (what he saw as) a waning political system. Workers had already entrusted trade union representatives to act on their behalf. This body stood as the productive force of society and thus as the most powerful modern political body. Harrison was indeed selling his auditors the essentials of Comte's Occidental Republic, where the institutions of capital and unionised labour took the shape of the new profane realm of the state.[69]

Harrison plotted out the notion that each citizen serves the general good according to the best of his ability, as a member of 'free and progressive nations of Europe'. The machinery of a republic, he submitted, was operating in parallel with the superfluous, ancient church and state.[70] Along these lines, political

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[69] Harrison, *O&P*, pp. 152-8, 227-56; Harrison, 'Our Venetian Constitution', *FR* (1867), 261-83.
[70] BLPES-HP 2/2, ff. 16-7 (1870).

historians commonly remark that this mode of republicanism – 'republic-by-stealth' – was common from the 1870s.[71] The defining attribute of the industrial republic, Harrison maintained, was civil activity 'devoted to the welfare of the community itself'. Secular education was the 'first element' of 'the very conditions of the life of the citizen'.[72] The Positivists work at Chapel Street Hall, indeed, was to be thought of as 'thorough training in science, and in moral and religious ideals as a new mental and spiritual habit': as a preparation for enacting civic life – the creation of republican spaces.[73]

Harrison's lectures to workingmen stressed two interconnected points on popular education and republics that are worth repeating here. A scientific education in connection with trade unionism would engender a measure of equality between citizens, giving them liberty to contribute to society. Only by merit could they gain full entitlement to the 'gratitude and honour of their fellows'.[74] Along these lines, the community of trade unionism was important to protecting individual liberty and the environment of the ideal republican city-state. They could safeguard the health of the masses by refusing to be involved with the production of 'adulterated wares' and the poisoning of the land, homes, food, air and water, as seen in the Harrison quote on the first page of the Introduction.[75]

Secondly, Harrison held that if the People adhered to the Positivists' gospel of industry, then they could check the 'overgrowth of ancient absurdity,' meaning

[71] David Nash and Antony Taylor, *Republicanism in Victorian Society* (2000), p. 2.
[72] BLPES-HP 2/2, ff. 16-7 (1870); Harrison, *O&P*, pp. 236-7.
[73] BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 57-8 (1868); Harrison, *O&P*, p. 236; OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.c.346, ff. 171-5 (n.d.). The trade union leader George Howell supported the Positivists' schema of general education.
[74] BLPES-HP 2/2, ff. 64-72 (1870).
[75] Ibid., ff. 58-9 (1870).

the absurdity of the 'monopoly of a family or the monopoly of a class'. He anticipated that if they did not adhere to this gospel, then the course of foreign and domestic relations and city development would remain a 'pathway chilled and darkened from above by the shadow of the Throne'.[76] As such, he compelled trade unionists to speak out for international workingmen as agents of liberty, community and environment. He compelled them to 'speak out plainly' against Britain's nefarious 'system of extending commerce at the cannon's mouth'. To contest the 'jingo spirit' was to contest its detriments on cities and citizens everywhere.[77]

SOCIAL PROGRAMME

As we have seen, Harrison urged trade unionists to use 'moral determination' to achieve systematic social reforms in the direction of realising an industrial republic. Along these lines, he published his Social Programme in 1872. Like his Agenda et Legenda, it focused on four interconnected components: religion, knowledge of the working class, popular education and social improvements. This section scrutinises the Programme's background, the reception to its principles and its pertinence to other urban social schemes.

During 1871 the trade union leader George Potter issued a pamphlet called the 'First point of the New Charter'. It represented the first of seven reform points made by the Council of Skilled Workmen of the New Social Movement. The Movement was collaborating with John Scott Russell, an affiliate of the Universal

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[76] Ibid., ff. 64-72 (1870).
[77] Harrison, *AM*, I, p. 286; Harrison, 'Foreign Policy', in *Questions for a Reformed Parliament*, ed. Frank H. Hill (1867), pp. 233-59.

Exhibition of 1851. Using Russell's connections, the Movement purportedly reached an understanding between Tory 'peers and the proletariat'. Philanthropic proprietors had agreed to help resolve housing issues by allocating portions of their land for development. Potter's opening point was thus 'improved dwellings for the people … in and around towns of large size'. He aimed to establish a system of home colonies:

To rescue the families of our workmen from the dismal lanes, crowded alleys, and unwholesome dwellings of our towns, and plant them out in the clear, where, in the middle of a garden, in a detached homestead, in wholesome air and sunshine, they may live and grow up strong, healthy and pure, under the influence of a well-ordered home.[78]

Potter, who was a friend of Positivism, was keen to draw out the republican sentiments circulating throughout the national network of trade unionism. He questioned why families had suffered grave inequalities and then proffered a working model for an idyllic social organisation.

Is it because of the difference between a monarchy and a republic, that these matters are so much better attended to in Switzerland than in Great Britain and Ireland? If they cannot be attended to under a monarchy, the alternative is inevitable.[79]

Potter's idea was to make the English city emulate a Swiss canton. This same urban social form had been romanticised by Rousseau, re-envisioned as a city-state community by Comte and Ruskin and propagated as an industrial republic to the London Trades' Council by Harrison.

One result of the New Charter was that Benjamin Disraeli took the 'New Social Movement' under the Tory wing. In his Tory National Party campaign of

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[78] George Potter, 'The First Point of the New Charter', *CR* (1871), 547-58.
[79] Ibid.

1872 Disraeli insinuated that workingmen merited a reward for keeping their token of troth to crown and cleric. The people therefore deserved to have government entertain a dialogue regarding drastic legislative action on 'pure air, pure water, the inspection of unhealthy habitations, [and] the adulteration of food'.[80] Notwithstanding its widespread appeal, press inquiries revealed that Tory support of the New Social Movement did not exist. The reality was that conservative Peers wanted nothing to do with trade unionists, a New Charter, old French 'utopian' ideas or any other 'string of feeble concessions to communism'.[81]

Harrison quickly interjected with his pamphlet, 'Our Social Programme'. As indicated, the programme focused on four interconnected and components: religious humanism, social investigation, popular education and urban social improvements. Here, Harrison stated that the proletariat would never be a 'free man or a full citizen until his home is his own'. He went into little detail here about the nature of housing. Instead he suggested, as Ebenezer Howard would later, that trade unionists use their strike fund for urban-regional regeneration – to redevelop both urban and exurban housing. The 'home of each labouring family shall satisfy health, the conditions of morality, decency, and, finally, of self-respect and convenience for cultivated life,' he wrote. As an alternative to suburbanism, and probably with Comte's mid-rise housing typology in mind, Harrison advocated urban surgery to 'economise space by loftier buildings'. Restructuring public service and industry would open a 'true' solution to national

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[80] 'Mr. Disraeli at Manchester', *SR* (1872), 419-20; Benjamin Disraeli, *Selected Speeches of the Late Right Honourable the Earl of Beaconsfield* (1882), II, p. 511.
[81] *Liv.M,* 11 Oct. 1871; *DN,* 13 Oct. 1871; 'The New Social Movement', *SR* (1871), 542-3.

social problems. Harrison's programme accordingly recommended the national municipalisation of factories, post office and rail, road, harbour, pier, dock, bridge and lighthouse. The operations of the city-region, conducted by unionised workforce, would furnish the capital to expedite urban renovations.[82] Harrison was thus outlining a national industrial planning scheme, which seems similar to the work of the Deutscher Werkbund.

However, Harrison emphasised that civic humanism and scientific education was the linchpin of his programme. The pamphlet expected that these universal elements would root into localities in different ways but nevertheless remedy intellectual, industrial and moral questions. For instance, educational and socio-cultural societies could create and implement regional policies prioritising community concerns in relation to the specificities of place. Harrison nonetheless discussed common national attributes like shortened working hours, public holidays and equitable remuneration. Overall, these suggestions were to deliver families the time and space to celebrate their cultural identity and to partake in active citizenship – to prepare citizens to produce create idyllic cities. The Social Programme thus presented national regeneration through metropolitan redevelopment. Harrison's programme later served as the basis for an essay printed in the *Positivist Review* in 1897. The essay took the title 'The Incorporation of the Proletariate into Modern Society,' which, as we will remember, Comte called 'the question of modern times'.[83] Indeed, in his many subsequent publications, Harrison would continue to work within the framework

[82] Frederic Harrison, 'Our Social Programme', *PR* (1894), 1-5.
[83] 'The Incorporation of the Proletariate into Modern Society', *PR* (1897), 68-72; Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 523.

of suggestions within the Social Programme. He would delve into what he thought

cities meant, and what an ideal Positivist city would be like.

CIVIC OBSERVATIONS

From the 1860s but most evangelically during the 1880s Harrison published

works on the urban condition, historic cities, and industrial agglomerations. These

studies focused on emergent scientific, 'spiritualising' institutions – libraries,

parks, museums, culture boulevards, temples, and exhibitions – and the distinctive

local culture emerging within cities across the world. From his international

surveys, he produced narratives on the Council Hall and Louvre of Paris as

generating a 'scientific history of the city'; Rome as the 'microcosm of the world';

Constantinople as the 'eternal link between east and west'; the invaluable

'collective force' necessary to build New York; the 'vast edifices' and 'enormous'

scientific associations of Chicago; and Washington D.C. as a meticulously

planned but 'artificial experiment in city architecture'.[84]

These writings appeared interspersed with his texts on the brutal and

aleatory nature of urbanisation in Britain. 'The whole country from York to

Manchester is one enormous city – factories, towns, railroads, canals, furnaces,

and mines – all throbbing, revolving, and whirring furiously,' he wrote. Like

Ruskin and the Christian controversialist G.K. Chesterton, Harrison distrusted the

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[84] Frederic Harrison, 'Historic London', *Macmillan's* (1884), 401-11; Harrison, 'On Music and Great Cities', *Musical World* (1886), 775; Harrison, 'The Municipal Museums', *FR* (1894), 458-67; Harrison, 'Constantinople as an Historic City', *FR* (1894), 438-58; Harrison, 'Ideal London', *CR* (1898), 139-52; Harrison, 'Impressions', *NC* (1901), 913-30.

mechanic tedium of modernity, stating that 'present life is undermining our health, our sanity, and our civilisation'.[85] He observed:

Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow (and the same is more or less true of Birmingham, Newcastle, Leeds, and Bristol), have enlarged their boundaries so rapidly and so entirely under the dominant passion of turning over capital and increasing the output – that beauty, dignity, culture, and social life have been left to take care of themselves, and the life of the labouring masses … is monotonous to all and to many almost bereft of physical comfort and moral elevation.

The 'monstrous, oppressive, paralysing bulk of modern London is becoming one of the great diseases of English civilisation,' he added.[86] London was not a city but a 'wilderness of houses' with 'huge areas of ugliness, and portentous piles of brick and iron which modern ideas of progress have given it'.[87] Like Engels, Harrison berated the isolating, 'colossal centralisation' of the metropolis and protested its slum conditions.[88] Revisiting the family cottage of his youth on Muswell Hill, Harrison discovered that it had become 'engulphed in the advancing suburbs of London'. Because of the 'incessant growth' of 'every city of the kingdom,' the city's indwellers could no longer experience a leisurely half-hour stroll out to 'open fields' and 'breathe the air of the country, or see its freshness'. Recalling his childhood he wrote, we 'did not live in a pall of smoke and yellow fog; and we did not hurry to catch trains, nor struggle to save our lives from motors when we crossed a street'.[89]

Harrison nevertheless refuted claims that cities epitomised anything less than the pinnacle of collective human achievement. He revered as sacrosanct

[85] Harrison, *AM*, I, pp. 13, 228; Gilbert K. Chesterton, *Heretics* (1905), pp. 96-7; Harrison, *Autobiographic Memoirs* (1911), II, p. 316.
[86] Harrison, *TMH*, p. 242.
[87] Frederic Harrison, *The Choice of Books and Other Literary Pieces* (1886), pp. 233-56.
[88] Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class*, p. 23; Harrison, *TMH*, p. 282.
[89] Harrison, *AM*, I, pp. 2-47.

historic cities, ancient sites and sacred buildings. As early as the 1880s Harrison organised pilgrimages to such localities for the Positivist Society, which was a tradition adopted by Geddes and Branford.[90] Harrison depicted tours of 'historic London' as promenades through an open-air museum. Cities amassed a 'monumental record' of social interaction. One could witness 'the succession of all the ages, in the variety, the mass, the human vitality' – the city as a collage of ancient and modern culture. Architecture articulated the meaning of space, ordering centuries of 'court pageants and state trials, speeches and judgments of famous men, [and] scenes and sayings which are embedded in our literature'. Like Ruskin, Harrison railed against aesthetic tinkering that buried artistry 'beneath the monkey-like tricks of the restorer'.[91] In what scholars call a 'future oriented move,' the Harrison allied with Morris, C.R. Ashbee and Raymond Unwin as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, or Anti-scrape.[92] Harrison instructed Anti-scrapers on the Sacredness of ancient edifices. On the urban subcomponents that sanctify the city, he reflected

there are three main grounds which make the ancient building more sacred than any other work of man's art. First, it alone has the true *religio loci.* Secondly, it is a national creation, a social work of art, in the supreme sense. Thirdly, it is a national record, in a way that no other work of art is, because it is almost always both a collective and a continuous record.[93]

To study architecture was to study the discursive, evolutionary structuring and restructuring of socio-spatial relations. He wrote:

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[90] MAC, Frederic Harrison to Pierre Laffitte. (1885-1889), ff. 77 (1886); David Matless, 'Forms of Knowledge', in *The City After Patrick Geddes*, ed. Volker Welter (2000), pp. 92-111.
[91] Harrison, *The Choice of Books*, pp. 233-56; Harrison, *John Ruskin* (1902), p. 62.
[92] Charles Dellheim, *The Face of the Past* (1982), pp. 5, 77-89.
[93] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 445-6.

A building is indeed rather an institution than a work; and, like all institutions, it has its own evolution, corresponding with the social evolution on which it depends, and of which it is the symbol. Our Tower, Abbey, Palace of Westminster, and Windsor Castle are much more like our Monarchy, Parliament, and Judicial system than they are like a Madonna by Raphael, or a statue by Pheidias. They are not objects to be looked at in museums. They are organic lives, social institutions, historic forces.[94]

This was all a grand commendation of artisans (and trade unionists) for their collective contributions to city building, which was not unconnected to Comte and Geddes' discussion of how social formations, or citizens and architecture. It was no less a continued defence of their successors.

Ideal City

The Positivists worshiped the city-region, being the intersection of 'Space, Earth and Humanity'. Harrison delivered lectures expressing such sentiments not only at Anti-scrape but also at Toynbee Hall and the London Institution. He published these lectures in *The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces* (1894). Like Congreve, here he put forward the characteristics of the ancient sacred city-space as a precedent for the future development of British cities [Appendix, 1].[95] Here and elsewhere Harrison wrote that it was

one of the weak sides of modern civilization that [London] failed to set any limits to city life, as they were known to the medieval world … Of all nations the English took the least pride in her cities.[96]

Harrison used a historical survey of life in Greek, Roman, medieval and modern eras to outline the character of a recombinant 'Ideal London'. Inhabited by less than two million people, London in its ideal state 'must be controlled by

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 228-9.
[96] Frederic Harrison, 'Civic Ideals', *Annals* (1898), 141-51.

limits of numbers and area,' wrote Harrison. It must 'provide for its citizens air, water, light absolutely pure, unlimited in quantity and gratuitous to all'.[97] Here again, Harrison anticipated that trade unions would shape civic consension on the positive environment. Their end would be the flattening of the 'blind accumulation' of 'old, poisonous, and crumbling' suburban ghettos, thereby permitting the country to 'invade' the town.[98] Like Comte, who outlined a 'collective system' of mixed-use, multi-family housing blocks, Harrison described 'the future working homes of our great cities' as 'a scientific system of tenements'.[99] Unlike model dwellings, those 'cheerless, huge, monotonous barracks,' he recommended the planning of

detached blocks of not less than five or six stories, each housing not less than twenty or thirty families, with common appliances for cooking, washing, bathing, exercising, playing, and reading, which would supplement, not supersede, the appliances of each apartment.[100]

As we have seen in chapter 1, Comte referred to the virtues of urban housing owing to their ability to accommodate the extended family. Here, Harrison suggests a similar set of socio-spatial relationships, but within a hybrid building. He anticipated that the spaces of education, medicine, craft, family life, interment and worship could be combined in the form of mid-rise blocks. Arrays of such semi-closed buildings would plug into larger shared civic spaces, playgrounds and transport links, which would together comprise neighbourhood units. The idea seems to parallel later and much more grandiose urban visions of

[97] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 267-8; Harrison, 'Ideal London', *CR*, 139-52; Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 244-51, 412-55.
[98] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 244-51, 412-55.
[99] Comte, *SPP*, IV, p. 380; Frederic Harrison, *Memories and Thoughts* (1906), p. 284.
[100] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 414-31.

Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation or Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin-like social condensers, which were perhaps inspired by the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier. Of those with a more compatible view with Harrison was probably William Morris. Morris anticipated that the London of the future would contain 'very pleasant' but dense urban zones. He wrote that citizens 'got used to living thicker on the ground' or in loftier buildings thanks to the 'splendour of the architecture'.[101] Morris, who was well-versed in Positivist ideas, anticipated that there would be no

> difficulty in accepting the religion of humanity when the men and women who go to make up humanity are free, happy, and energetic at least, and most commonly beautiful of body also, and surrounded by beautiful things of their own fashioning, and a nature bettered and not worsened by contact with mankind. This is what this age of the world has reserved for us.[102]

Harrison's thinking was rooted in the potentials of the Parliamentary Reform of 1885, which divided London into sixty local constituencies. He perhaps envisioned that the London region would soon be planned as 'an aggregate of cities … real civic organisms of a manageable size'.[103] Insofar as forming the basic character of such cities, he took the same position of Patrick Geddes. Geddes commended how priests and guilds united to produce the scale, character and lifestyle of the medieval cathedral city, creating close-knit 'centres of moral and spiritual education.[104] Geddes' follower Lewis Mumford similarly stated that from 'its foundation and through most of its existence,' the medieval city offered 'a higher standard [of life] for the mass of the population than any

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[101] William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (1901), p. 93.
[102] Ibid., 176-7.
[103] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 414-31.
[104] Ibid., 236.

form of town, down to the first romantic suburbs of the nineteenth century'.[105]

The Positivists anticipated that a pact between themselves and trade unionists likewise produce great cultural centres. Thus, while the Webbs disputed Lujo Brentano's readings of trade unions as the descendants of guilds, the Positivists traced the vestiges of modern industrial strikes to those organised by such medieval artisans and civic functionaries.[106]

Harrison believed that ancient cities and the future Positivist city would provide 'the constant sense of each citizen having his place in a complex whole'.[107] The unification of workers and the re-emergence of the republican city-state stood as both the 'issue of all modern history' and the 'condition of all future progress'.[108] Harrison's manifold programmes for ideal cities, the nationalisation of industry or the 'Transformation of London' always had one common, fundamental requisite. That requisite was a 'higher social morality, an enlarged conception of human life' and 'a more humane type of religious duty'.[109] This duty, it might be suggested, was carried out in Harrison's effort to raise the Victorian consciousness of the city – its underlying meaning, structures and processes – but also in his contribution to urban design projects.

URBAN IMPROVEMENTS COMMITTEE

Through the 1880s social critics, including the Positivists and the Fabians, rallied 'Home Rule' for London. Martha Vogeler notes that the measure approximated

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[105] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1940), p. 44.
[106] Lujo Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds* (1870), pp. 100-34; Webb and Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, pp. 1-12; Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 134.
[107] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. ii-iii, 54-8.
[108] Harrison, *NSP*, p. 103.
[109] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 244-51, 412-55.

Comte's republican idea of inaugurating 'municipal life' between family and humanity. [110] By 1888 the Local Government Act designated metropolitan counties across England and Wales. (Sanitary boundaries set in 1872 had already determined the confines of local administration, dividing urban from rural county districts.) This Act empowered municipalities to appoint medical officers of public health; to borrow money; buy land; build county institutions, notably courthouses and police stations; establish 'industrial schools'; and upgrade transport infrastructure. [111] The upshot of this home rule movement was the formation of the London County Council in 1889. This section explores Harrison's Council work in connection to housing and urbanism projects, with a focus on his urban design for the St. Giles ward.

From the 1880s Charles Booth, the Positivist sociologist, charted countless 'evils' in London. He put the findings at the disposal of the London County Council and other reform groups. His team noted that with the incremental demolition of inner city slums, families migrated as cheaply as possible to the closest hovel they could afford. The unfortunate crowded between Holborn and the Strand, St. Giles [Figs. 15-6]. In 1891 Booth's survey colleague Octavia Hill, who was famous for her philanthropic housing reforms with Ruskin, observed:

We have at any rate nothing worse to encounter, but it is to be feared that the clearances made … will be, paid for by the further degradation of the district towards the Strand, and that the patches of dark-blue which may there be seen on the map will tend to become black. They must then in their turn be scheduled and pulled down. [112]

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[110] Vogeler, *Frederic Harrison*, p. 208.
[111] HCPP, *Local Government Act, 1888. [51 & 52 Vict. Ch. 41.]* (1888), pp. 7-10.
[112] Charles Booth, *Labour and Life of the People* (1891), II, pp. 262-96.
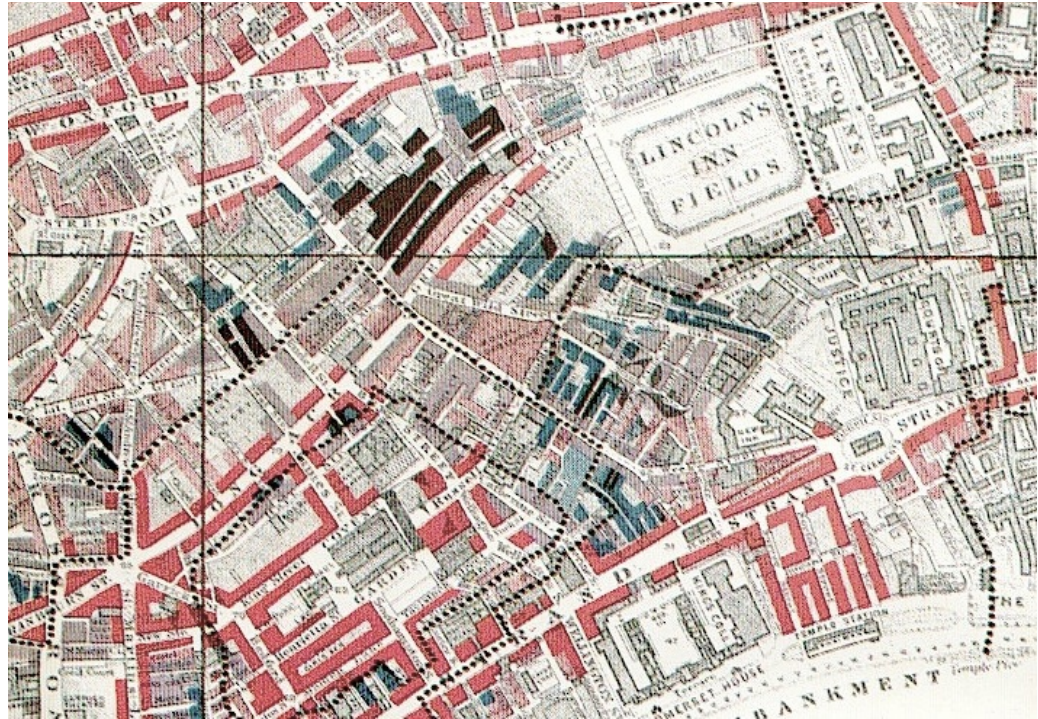
Figure 15 *St. Giles area of the 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty, 1889'. Charles Booth, Labour and Life of the People (1891).*

Since the 1830s authorities had discussed constructing a north-south thoroughfare to connect the parallel commercial streets Holborn and the Strand. These streets were separated by the densely overdeveloped coagulation of rookeries that Hill described above. By the 1880s the maze of narrow streets meandering past decrepit quarters stood as a matter of urgency, but burdening ratepayers with financing a new street barred further deliberation. Following the Local Government Act, the London County Council recommenced its consideration of developing a Holborn-Strand thoroughfare scheme.

From 1889 to 1893 Harrison was engaged with planning projects as chairperson of the London County Council Improvements Committee. As the Council Chair, he took the role of a kind Vitruvian coordinator of social and material resources. Following this successful realisation of a smaller Council

project,[113] Harrison was charged to design the 'Holborn to Strand improvement'. This site was within a stone's throw of his flat in Lincoln's Inn.

Figure 16 *Windsor Court (c. 1890s, demolished during the Kingsway Boulevard renovation). LCC, Opening of Kingsway (1905), p. 24.*

The London County Council Working Classes Committee met with Harrison's Improvements Committee to develop a general plan and section for reconfiguring the area's transport, commerce and housing. A conceptual design came to fruition in mid 1892. It entailed the demolition of ratty rents and the construction of a new mixed-use thoroughfare to improve transportation circulation and sanitation. The 30m wide by 548m long boulevard, later named 'Kingsway,'[114] would connect the tram system to the Strand on the south, and

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[113] Harrison's first undertaking with the Council was for the design of a minor avenue to be situated in the borough of Southwark in south London. Southwark was the poorest and also one of London's most overpopulated boroughs. The Council's solution connected the Tower Bridge Road with Old Kent Road to reduce traffic congestion for commuting to the north bank.

[114] These are the built dimensions.

Holborn to the north. In Harrison's scheme, the view down the new tree-lined, Parisian-style thoroughfare would open onto an attractor, the historic church, St. Mary le Strand. The Kingsway armature would intersect a new crescent-shaped street named Aldwych, bifurcating off the existing Strand. Aldwych would define the edge of a small half-circle enclave, a civic plaza fronting the church.

In response to Harrison's proposal, the Council asked the Improvements Committee to develop design options with architects, corporations and property holders. The latter wished to augment the design's projected revenue. The Council unsuccessfully sparred with developers over proposed building-height restrictions for the boulevard. There was no issue with his idea of a tree-lined boulevard, but developers commanded that the design committee to rework Harrison's small 'open crescent' civic plaza scheme. Offset and augmented in size, the revised crescent geometry would accommodate a sizable block of commercial development instead of a public plaza [Figs. 17-9].

Figure 17 *Kingsway Boulevard plan. LCC, Opening of Kingsway (1905), p. 2.*

Figure 18 *Kingsway Boulevard under construction, (c. 1900s). LCC, Opening of Kingsway, p. 8.*

Figure 19 *Kingsway aerial, (1946). http://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/eaw000649*

Harrison criticised the new design decisions. The huge new buildings would not only devour his 'lighter and more graceful' open civic space design. The new plan modifications also tripled cost estimates based on Harrison's design. He remarked: 'London, I fear, has been saddled with a costly incubus by the ambition of the architect, the adventurous spirit of the Council, and the commercial hopes of the speculative builder'. Harrison resigned from the Council.[115] However, his decision was determined not only by the design changes, but also because a great perturbation surrounded the project. The Council proposed to remove those residing in the wake of the Kingsway redevelopment project into cramped, costly model housing blocks.

The plague of overcrowding, poverty, riots and unemployment made talk of different solutions commonplace. There is one special response to the Kingsway project worth examining here: Ebenezer Howard's Individualistic Socialism. Estimates that the Kingsway-Aldwych budget exceeded £2 million, stirred Howard to compose 'The Key Move, or The One Solution of Many Problems' in 1896. Although the editors of the *Contemporary Review* rejected the essay, quipping that 'they did not have enough space' to publish it, the same argument appeared in Howard's *To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898). Howard remarked that 'while we are educating the child, the slums are defiling them'.[116] He calculated that it was more economical and moral to construct his 'Garden Cities' rather than new housing near the Kingsway project. The London

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[115] Martha Salmon Vogeler, 'Frederic Harrison', in *Victorian Writers*, ed. Jean Paul Hulin and Pierre Coustillas (1979), pp. 91-112; Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900* (2001), pp. 21-22; James Winter, *London's Teeming Streets* (2001), pp. 207-13; Harrison, *AM*, II, pp. 240-1.
[116] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F3/2, ff. 7-9 (1896).

County Council allotted £1,400 to rehouse each proletarian family affected by the

Kingsway project. This figure became the benchmark for Howard's scheme,

which included:

A comfortable six-room cottage each, and with a nice little garden; and,
manufacturers being concurrently induced to build on the sites set apart for them,
each breadwinner would be placed within easy walking distance of his work.[117]

The effect would be the 'gradual reconstruction of the entire social fabric'.[118] To

'save England,' each new harbinger city would

introduce its own domestic legislation; start a reform of the land laws; control in a
reasonable way the liquor traffic; regulate its own growth; lay out its own area in a
systematic way; and absolutely prevent overcrowding.[119]
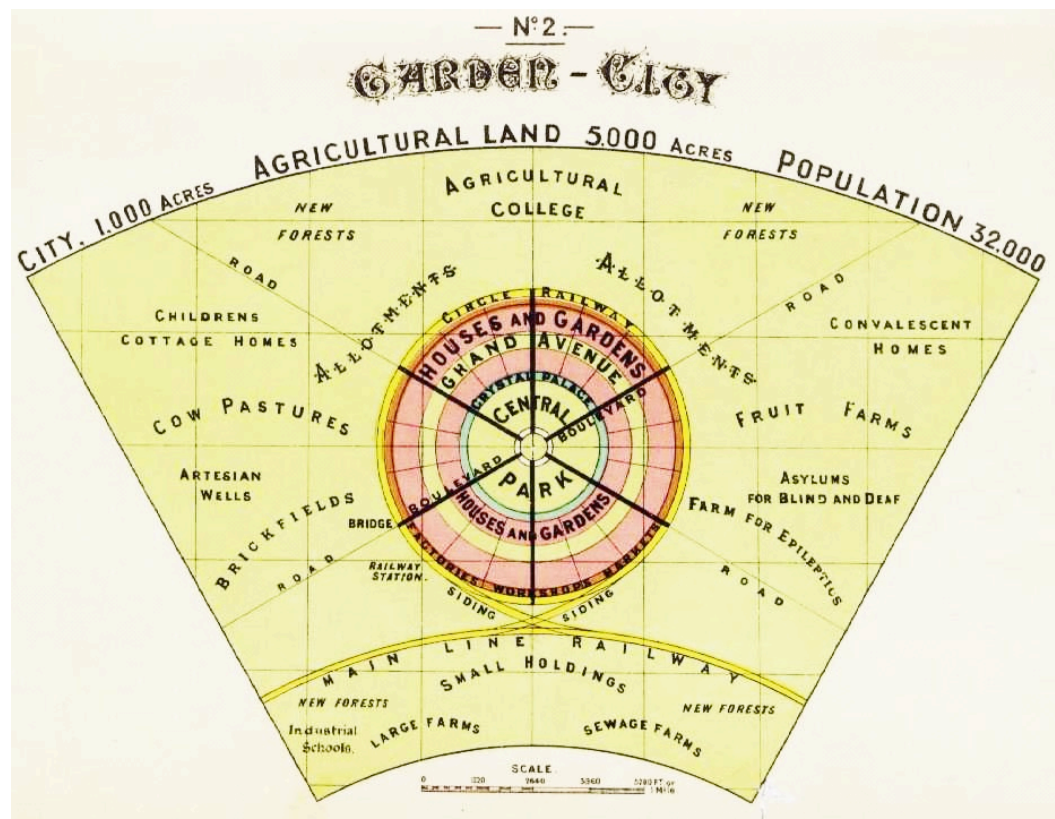
Figure 20 *Ebenezer Howard's Garden City diagram, (c. 1890s). HALS-EH, DE/HO/F1/2-4, (n.d.).*

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[117] Howard, *GCT*, pp. 78-9.
[118] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F10/1, ff. 1 (1905).
[119] Howard, *GCT*, pp. 78-9 (1892); HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F3/30, ff. 30 (1892).

The 'Garden City' [Fig. 20] ignited public spirit for 'City Design' if 'town planning'. Yet, the movement would not gain an audience until the Council's Kingsway project was well under development.

The Council acquired and demolished over 600 properties on 11.3 hectares of inner city land. Over 3,000 individuals moved into a small selection of the Council's estates and lodging houses. Kingsway and Aldwych opened on 18 October 1905. The Kingsway-Aldwych project was the 'largest scheme of town improvement that had ever been placed before Parliament, and it involved the principle of "recoupment" to a larger extent than in any previous case'.[120] (The only other nineteenth-century urbanism project implemented in London of this magnitude was Regent Street, built in 1820.) Patrick Geddes considered the Kingsway project an ode to Christopher Wren, and a 'great blessing' on modern London.[121] This project permitted trade unionists to rebuild part of their city and also opened important discussions on the matters of urban housing and Garden Cities.

While Harrison's civic plaza design – perhaps thought of as a republican space – was not realised, the Kingsway design served as an important precedent. Scholars have suggested that the idealist-humanistic outlook of 'ethical positivism' served as a guiding force for later gradualist social reformers and

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[120] LCC, *Opening of Kingsway and Aldwych by His Majesty the King* (1905), pp. 3-5.
[121] GCA, *Housing in Town and Country* (1906), p. 22.

functionalist designers who worked with the LCC to carry out large-scale urban programmes during the rise of the welfare state.[122]

M I L L I O N A I R E T O P A U P E R

This chapter analysed Harrison's industrial surveys of British towns with respect to the making of his Social Programme. This programme situated religion, social investigation, popular instruction, the nationalisation of industry and urban social improvements as a formula for regenerating urban centres. Following Comte's Occidental Republic he turned to trade unions, as a 'temporal power,' to help implement his urban vision and the true character of a Positivist republican city-state. Yet, outside questions of employers and trade unionists there remained, for these reasons, other critical issues to address. Harrison proclaimed that the 'solution of the industrial problem is a moral, social and religious question. Industry must be MORALISED – infused with a spirit of social duty from top to bottom, from peer to peasant, from millionaire to pauper'.[123] A decade before his social surveys with the Mansion House Committee, which influenced the work of Charles Booth, Harrison wrote the quote at the head of this chapter.

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[122] See, for instance, Joan Ockman, 'Toward a Theory of Normative Architecture', in *Architecture of the Everyday*, ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke (1997), pp. 122-52; Eisenman, 'Post-Functionalism', pp. 78-83.

[123] Harrison, 'Our Venetian Constitution', *FR*, 261-83.

CHAPTER 4

Charles Booth
Moralising Space,
Positivist Sociology &
Limited Socialism

I have painted these evils as they are, having first sought to trace their origin or their causes, and to study the efforts made to deal both with these causes and with their effects. At every turn I have been forced to recognise that evils driven under or driven out at one place, reappear at another, and are barely kept at bay by all our efforts. I have seen, too, how the causes and consequences of poverty hang together and interact for evil, and how at the root of all that is both best and worst, lies home life. To improve these conditions, engrained as they are in character, every effort of every agency will still be needed, but the task will become more possible if the standard of the home rises. … Wherever a man may go to find his work, it is near home that he will seek his pleasure, and his wife will find her shopping, and thus a local centre is formed. Such centres are to be found now all round London, with brilliant shops, streets full of people, churches, and chapels certainly, perhaps a Town Hall, and probably a theatre. … in conclusion I would emphasize once more the point to which they lead: the crying necessity for forethought and plan in the arrangement of our metropolis, with its great past and, I hope, still greater future.[1] – Charles Booth.

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[1] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902), XVII, pp. 198-9, 215-6.

We have seen that Comte's affiliates organised urban intellectual and cultural interventions to recast the roles of economic and political institutions of capital and unionised labour in Victorian society. Yet, they acknowledged that it was likewise necessary to redress wider 'social evils'.

This chapter traces the development of Charles Booth's urban-regional social survey, which he used for diagnosing and treating problems relating to the 'bitter outcast,' the sick, elderly and the unemployed. Booth's tripartite social survey series of London – focusing on poverty, industry and religion – expanded the Positivists' empirical analyses of 'temporal' and 'spiritual' institutions. This chapter commences with an account of his affiliation to Positivism and involvement with secular education and trade union initiatives. Seeking out solutions to the economic and social calamities of the late nineteenth century, the Religion of Humanity became Booth's lodestar, illuminating the sociological survey as 'service to man'. We will see that Comte's urban industrial system and Le Play's study of rural family budgets served as theoretical and methodological impetuses for Booth's investigation. By compiling studies of 'urbanisms in embryo,' poverty mappings and housing conditions, Booth shaped public consensus on an evolving civic programme entitled Limited Socialism. The programme's interconnected components of home colonies, new unionism, old age pensions and a town planning policy of infrastructural urbanism, sought to abate the cause of social 'evil' in urban centres – overcrowding. In this way, Booth was motivated to mend the associations between family, city and country. The aim of this chapter is to trace the creation of Booth's programme, Limited Socialism, which is presented as a product of Positivist Sociology.

The cumulative events of the late modern era radically transformed the processes of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Natural, human and urban ecological systems were forever changed. This era of commercial expansionism, political strife, civilising pursuits and international militancy dragooned distant cultures into a state of formal or informal dependency on foreign administration and taxable imports. Many appreciated the benefits of mutual intellectual and cultural exchange and protection. However, to critics, carrying the yoke of imperialism meant the reins of the Crown, the bearing of Christian dogma and the bulk of arduous, profit-driven travail.

In Victorian Britain, industrial chiefs and the press contested and suppressed trade unionists' objections to the effects of rapid urbanisation and international competition. Workers challenged the fact that old and new aristocracies raised a wealth of profits but neglected their responsibilities for a sundry range of subjects. For example, the historian Max Beer calculated that a fraction of this revenue

> might have been sufficient to lay the foundation of a healthy social reform, to provide for old age and illness of the factory workers, to regulate child labour, to assist the small farmers and handicraftsmen, to protect agricultural labour, and generally to render the social readjustment [of the Industrial Revolution] less fortuitous and, therefore, less painful.[2]

Instead, these profits financed further conflict and colonialism.

The emergence of the global economy drew unprecedented numbers of workers into British urban centres, particularly to London, the mother city of the Empire. Between 1800 and 1881, London's population grew from 1 to 4.5 million

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[2] M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (1923), p. 99.

people. The city-region transformed into a kind of urban wilderness. Overcrowding, industrial pollution, urban internment, open sewers and graves, miasma, adulterated food, contaminated water and high mortality rates affected town life. From the late 1820s these unfavourable conditions exacerbated the ramifications of a string of epidemics: typhus, yellow fever, scarlatina, synochus, cholera and consumption.[3] With the Poor Law of 1834 and Municipal Reform Act of 1835, the government intervened in 'unrestricted enterprise,' tenement housing conditions and the spread of infectious diseases. It was sometimes remarked that these disorders had been 'too often treated as the mysterious dispensations of Providence'.[4]

During this period urban health surveyors made it plain that noxious industrial growth was no more self-regulating than housing development or population growth. The physicians Thomas Southwood Smith and Edwin Chadwick witnessed abominations such as '45 to 60 persons of all ages under one roof'. These persons were living in mouldy, reeking rooms packed corner-to-corner with beds full of unwashed strangers, and sometimes in 'rooms over a crowded burial-ground'.[5] John Hogg, the naturalist and physician, observed that 'trees, shrubs and plants … nursed in the squares and conservatories, dwindle and die in frequent succession'. The cause, London's 'impure atmosphere,' he added, shortened human and animal life spans.[6] Measures to check London's 'dense and

[3] HCPP, *HC Deb 08 April 1845 vol 79 cc328-58* (1845), pp. 328-58; Southwood Smith, *Treatise on Fever* (1835), pp. 9-12.
[4] F.H. Millington, *The Housing of the Poor* (1891), pp. 1-15.
[5] HCPP, *Sanitary Inquiry* (1842), pp. 10, 32.
[6] John Hogg, *London As It Is* (1837), p. 201.

persistent' yellow haze[7] were not enacted until the first Smoke Nuisance Abatement Act of 1853. However, the urban health surveys of the 1830s and 1840s gave way to the 'Health of Towns Commission'. The Commission vouched for providing public baths, permanent boards of health and inspectors to regulate sanitation.[8]

From the 1830s a number of prominent scientific societies emerged. The Statistical Society and the British Association began collecting facts to shape public consensus and governmental policies on health, education and development. Statists employed social cartography and house-to-house surveys to record the number of inhabitants per house, their occupations, habits, rent, wages and character. Their surveys sought to determine, for instance, if the number of scholars and learning institutions within a district had an impact on its economic prosperity. Alternatively, they indicated which districts were the least connected and the most impoverished. They helped to determine where railway communications should be introduced for the 'greater good'.[9] Statists also tabulated facts on model housing blocks, notably those arranged by the Peabody Trust and the Metropolitan Association. The 'less space occupied' by families or 'inmates,' the more efficient 'inquiry and inspection' and the 'suppression' of crime and disease was for superintendents, they claimed. This 'proved' that overcrowding (if the smallest possible room provided per each family) had a 'beneficial effect on health and morals'.[10] These scientific statistical groups

[7] R. Russell, *London Fogs* (1880), pp. 3-13.
[8] George Rosen, *A History of Public Health* (1993), pp. 191-2.
[9] *JSSL*, I, pp. 48, 259-60.
[10] *JSS*, XXXVIII, pp. 33-63.

claimed that their intention was to use 'facts' to 'stimulate benevolence' in philanthropists, influence social reform legislation and, overall, to increase the 'mass of social happiness' following the principles of political economy.[11]

Political journalists, social scientists and literary savants also collected empirical evidence on the spectacles of industrial town life. Sometimes, it seems, their common intention was to rouse public consciousness and sympathy for housing and social reforms. For instance, during the 1840s Frederick Engels recounted the homes of the 'poorest of the poor' tucked behind the 'gay world of London'. To enter the rookeries of the St. Giles district, indigents passed through dank passages opening onto a 'whirlpool of moral ruin,' he wrote. They witnessed grimy courts that playing children shared with 'thieves and the victims of prostitution'.[12] By the 1850s the editor and social investigator Henry Mayhew was documenting the 'industry, the want and the vice' of London. He composed literary portraits of street life, detailing the character and pecuniary circumstances of coal porters, artificers, drunken drifters and professional rat-catchers. [13] Towards the end of the decade, popular conferences organised by the Social Science Association focused on the questions of public health, pauperdom and housing congestion. The founding member of the Association John Ruskin exclaimed that London had become a 'great foul city'. As a result of the pointless play of money getting, it had become a 'rattling, growling, smoking, stinking, – a ghastly heap of fermenting brickwork, pouring out poison at every pore'.[14] Still,

[11] *JSSL*, I, p. 190.
[12] Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class*, pp. 27-8.
[13] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861), I, pp. 1-15.
[14] Ruskin, *LEWJR*, XVIII, p. 406.

into the 1880s the minister and social investigator Andrew Mearns was able to shock his readers with an account of the ghastliness of proletarian family life. He described 'rotten and reeking tenements' that accommodated a haphazard collection of children, raw sewage, human corpses, livestock and vermin.[15] Of the many commentaries on London life, Booth praised the accuracy of George Gissing's book *Demos* (1886). Gissing, the Positivist novelist, discerned that the 'poorest street in the East End' contained as much laughter and gaiety as 'any thoroughfare in the West'. Booth nevertheless encouraged his colleagues to know towns and townspeople instead of books; Comte called this practice 'cerebral hygiene'.[16]

The works of a variety of social thinkers thus provided glimpses into London's glee and misery. Few works had attempted to methodologically set out a comprehensive view of London with the specific purpose of scientifically redressing its larger social questions. Booth's work as a Positivist sociologist marked a critical turning point in Victorian attitudes towards urbanisation. In his seventeen-volume *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889-1902), Booth deduced that 'great centres of population are an evil peculiarity'. Overcrowding was an 'evil' – 'the great cause of degeneracy'. There were few means of escape from the mildewed rents and soiled streets. Overcrowding was the chief 'source

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[15] Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), pp. 9-11. Health surveyors noted that many poor families did not have the financial savings necessary to give their loved ones a proper burial.
[16] George Gissing, *Demos* (1908), pp. 1-2, 283-4; Charles Booth, *Labour and Life of the People* (1889), I, pp. 157-8.

for demoralization' within the body politic. This 'moral weakness' in the urban fabric, Booth wrote, 'is the prolific, if not the main source of unemployment'.[17]

Much disagreement surrounds Booth's work. Researchers depict him as a conservative Christian and business executive who was disinterested in intellectual ideas and workers' movements alike. He is sometimes portrayed as a cool, objective statistical scientist of society, or as an ameliorist, applied social reformer concerned with redeeming individuals. This chapter demonstrates that Booth employed the 'science' of Positivist sociology to reinforce proposals for moral and spatial reorganisation.

P O S I T I V I S M

Facts cannot be observed without the guidance of some theory.[18] – Auguste Comte

Writing about the life of her husband, Mary Booth reminisced that whenever Booth met with his cousins, 'the three talked over continually, both with one another and with Dr. Congreve, the system of *Positive Philosophy* in all its various aspects'. Comte's precepts had Booth 'fairly captivated … affected him powerfully, and *ever kept an influence over his mind*'.[19] Booth's cousins Albert and Henry Crompton helped found what T.R. Wright describes as the 'most successful' attempt to sustain a Positivist movement in Liverpool.[20] They engaged with Booth on Comte's sociology, as did Harrison and Beesly of the London

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[17] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London. Comparisons, Survey and Conclusions* (1904), IX, pp. 234-80, 309.
[18] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/26/15, ff. ii (1883?); Comte, *PPAC*, I, p. 3.
[19] Emphasis added. Booth, *Charles Booth*, pp. 8-9.
[20] Wright, *The Religion of Humanity*, pp. 255-6.

Positivist Societies. As the historian David Taylor has shown, Booth lost his Christian faith after reading Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859); and while Booth was not elected to join the Positivist Society, he and the Positivist Vernon Lushington have been described as 'kindred spirits' in their world outlook.[21] Not only did Mary Booth suggest that her husband was committed to Positivism, the *Positivist Review* in 1919 made a similar claim – that Booth lead a faithful life.[22] It is plausible that Booth hid his Positivist faith from public view to refrain from being subjected to ridicule and to protect the supposed objectivity of his survey findings. Around the mid 1880s, Booth copied the quote at the head of this section, taken from Comte's *Cours,* into his personal journal, and it is the objective of the next few sections to suggest that Booth would collect facts like Le Play but was guided by the theory of Comte, to elucidate and redress the exigencies of modern life.

One of the earliest examples of Booth's interest in social questions can be found in his remarks about a door-to-door campaign promoting the Liberal Party for the General Election of 1865. Booth witnessed the 'bare ignorance, poverty, and squalor' of Liverpool. Such conditions existed 'on a scale hitherto neither seen nor imagined'. Outlining a brief history of property, paucity and production in *The Colony*, he wrote that ground rent was 'robbery':

How did it begin? Was it not extortion? Was it not plunder? Did not some leader of cut throats set himself down on the land, and build a castle … the robbers grew

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[21] Taylor, 'Vernon Lushington' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), pp. 213-4; DT-LP, 'Industry', ff. 1-50 (1887). Lushington, at times, reported on Booth's survey at the Positivist Society.
[22] S.H. Swinny, 'Two Faithful Lives – Charles Booth and Alasdair Geddes', *PR* (1919), 286-7.

stronger and combining together and made laws to perpetuate their plunder, and laws to collect it, and the people paid the cost.[23]

The social clashes between capital and labour during the 1860s brought Booth to conclude that 'poverty in reality is the curse of modern society and of all societies it is a social evil and not a natural evil'. The proletariat did not wish to be 'a destructive agent,' Booth claimed, but 'demands' the 'reorganisation of labour'. Like Harrison, Booth remarked that a greater sense of moral duty, industrial education and legislation could resolve 'the great problem' of 'proletarianism'.[24]

From the late 1860s Booth helped govern, support and promote intellectual and political institutions. He organised the Liverpool Education Aid Society, which levelled to 'provide education for 6000 destitute children at 5s. a head per year'. These children were 'otherwise neglected and receive no education at all'.[25] The Society shared an agenda similar to Joseph Chamberlain's National Education League and the Positivists' 'People's School'. The League advocated a 'free, universal, compulsory, and secular system of education' as an alternative to Forster's Endowed Schools Bill of 1869.[26] Chamberlain, J.S. Mill and Congreve supported empowering local authorities to organise this elementary education, assessment and accommodation, using local rates and government grants.[27] The League's opposition construed it as waging war against the ancient social structure. The League held that using public money for an Anglican pedagogy

[23] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/1, ff. 49 (1866).
[24] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/2, ff. 4-10 (1867).
[25] *Liv.M,* 27 May 1869; T.S. Simey and M.B. Simey, *Charles Booth* (1960), p. 45.
[26] *TS,* 13 Oct. 1869.
[27] 'Popular Education', *DR* (1868), 375-83.

trampled on liberty of conscience.[28] For Mill the Bill neither addressed 'education destitution' nor stimulated the nation's creative diversity or inventiveness.[29] The resulting Elementary Education Act of 1870 established nondenominational schools, administered by local school boards. Their records proved instrumental to Booth's survey work.

Booth also supported the Liverpool Operatives Trades Hall. Founded in 1869 it sought the unification, 'co-operation and welfare of labourers'. As an alternative to the public house, the Hall buttressed 'modern social life' by providing community spaces in the form of a library, seminar rooms and trade union offices.[30] Booth probably learned of Le Play's survey method through the Hall's president, James Samuelson. Samuelson was a member of the First International and editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Science* and *The Popular Science Review*. Samuelson publicised Le Play's earliest geological studies and his later surveys of the European provinces. Samuelson's own survey method in *The German Working Man* (1869) built on the works of Le Play and statisticians such as Victor Bœhmert and Gustave Moynier. Samuelson's book compared working life in Germany and England by tabulating the customs, beliefs, occupations and salaries of trade union operatives.[31]

Booth's manuscripts and early printed essays show that from the 1870s he increasingly promoted Positivism. His article 'Reign of Law,' for instance, upheld scientific relativism over theological absolutism. 'Science destroys the ground on

[28] *TS,* 6 Nov. 1869; *LM,* 18 June 1870.
[29] John Stuart Mill, *Speech by John Stuart Mill, Esq.* (1870), pp. 1-4.
[30] *Liv.M,* 4 Aug. 1869; *Liv.M,* 6 Oct. 1869.
[31] *Liv.M,* 28 Dec 1869; James Samuelson, *The German Working Man* (1869).

which religion builds,' he contended. 'No compromise is possible' until religion discovers the 'faculties of worship in the recognised order around us and the great example of progress in the order presented by the Human Race'. Congreve's Positivist lectures similarly had claimed that 'Science is inherently destructive of theology ... Industry is essentially antagonistic to militarism'. However, Booth simply queried, 'will a religion arise which can accept science and assist progress and satisfy the heart of man for a time at least?'[32]

Contesting Booth's 'anti-theological' stance Alfred Booth, his brother and business partner, proclaimed that science simply exposed 'God's working,' being the 'immutable laws of nature'. Booth's response to Alfred, entitled 'Positivism,' stated that he was 'speaking only to those who believe the Human race is capable of improvement and tending, however slowly, to its perfection'.[33] Booth was allied neither with those who see the poor as 'hopeless of all improvement,' nor with 'those who seem to delight in tracing the finger of mysterious providence in undeserved misery'. He entrusted 'industry and science' to the correlative attributes of 'order and progress'. Yet, Booth lamented that the proletariat, who fell into either a military or industrial mould, lived in 'a condition little raised above slavery'. Like Congreve, he held that the 'confounding of the spiritual and temporal' powers left few options but 'to cry aloud for a despot'. A despot would 'maintain liberty' by acting according to 'organised public opinion'. Booth felt

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[32] Congreve, *Essays*, III, p. 248; SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/5, ff. 22-31 (1869).
[33] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/6, ff. 7, 15-19 (1870).

'assured' that Positivism would lead humanity to 'the true solution of the problem

of government'.[34] In 1883 he affirmed:

I am a Positivist – by which as to religion, I mean that I worship Humanity. By Humanity I mean the human race conceived as a great being – and by worship I mean that I feel for this being love, gratitude and reverence. By religion I mean the double bond to the object of my worship and to others similarly bound. And to this bond and this worship I look for hopefulness, strength, and constancy in seeking and holding fast to the higher life. By higher life I mean that individual life which is in harmony with the collective life.[35]

Booth went so far as writing a 'Positivist Prayer' [Appendix, 2]. In the following

section, we will see how Positivism framed Booth's view of economics and social

distress.

S O C I A L   E C O N O M Y   &   S O C I A L   A C T I O N

Political economy is like medicine, a science of health overwhelmed by the treatment of disease … its professors mere quacks but while it becomes everyday easier to see the limitations of Adam Smith, the fallacies of Malthus, the narrowness of Ricardo, the hollowness of Mill, the folly of the German 'socialists,' the shallowness of the Cobden club – we discard them all – what have we to put in their place?[36]

Booth regretted that the promulgation of 'fatal competition' had become the 'only

guides of human life'. He described Malthusianism and forced expatriation as

'immoral' antidotes to Victorian hardship. Adding to the quote above Booth stated

that it 'is a hard road over which men are asked to travel, through the wilderness

which they must pass to gain the Promised Land; they have no Moses to sustain

their hearts, and political economy is a cold faith'.[37] His compeer Vernon

Lushington remarked that as a 'true solution' the religion of Positivism 'will treat

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[34] Ibid.
[35] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/26/15, ff. vii, ix (1883).
[36] SHL, BP, MS.797/II/27/9, ff. i-iv (n.d.).
[37] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/16b, ff. 1-5 (n.d.).

political economy as a part of sociology and uphold the rightful influence of affection over activity'. Like Lushington, Booth reckoned that 'nothing will suffice except an organised religious influence' to guide social affairs.[38]

Endorsing the 'social economy' of Positivism, Booth wrote that it furnished a 'true forecast' for the 'true welfare and right progress of the human race'.[39] While he was Comte's follower Mill explained that the 'science of social economy embraces every part of man's nature, in so far as influencing the conduct or condition of man in society'.[40] Political economy, per contra, was a branch of social economy that pertained only to the pursuit of wealth. Booth developed his own schema of social economy, which comprised five sciences. The activities of these sciences seem comparable to Comte's civic types and their economic, political, intellectual and cultural functions. Economic science (People) would ensure the 'efficiency of service'. Legal science (Chiefs) would facilitate the 'appropriation of service'. Social science (Intellectuals) would determine 'the terms of exchange'. Moral science (Emotionals) would preside over 'the character of services'. Booth added a fifth role that mirrored the part played by sociologists. Here, a political and religious science would oversee the 'balance of forces,' counteracting the formation of monopolies by capital or labour.[41]

As indicated, Booth believed that political economists too often derived their theories from 'figments of the imagination'. He underpinned the idea of constructing a theory of social economics based on empirical social

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[38] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/6, ff. 15-19 (1870); DT-LP, 'Industry', ff. 34-6 (1887).
[39] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/24/6, ff. 15-19 (1870).
[40] John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (1844), pp. 136-9.
[41] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/12, ff. 1 (1883); SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/13, ff. ii (? 1883); SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/16b, ff. 1-5 (n.d.).

investigation.[42] The methodological observation of demonstrable certainties informed Booth's civic programme, Limited Socialism. The programme served as a response to the economic and industrial context of the late nineteenth century.

Extreme seasonal fluctuations, a collapse of a variety of trades, the misuse of charity, high rent and mass unemployment: all these circumstances characterised the 1880s. Self-help institutions such as Toynbee Hall and Oxford House surfaced during this time, as did the Fellowship of the New Life and the Fabian Society. A number of social investigators associated with these clubs sympathised with Positivism and would later contribute to Booth's London survey.[43] In addition, during the 1880s the National Democratic Federation, which was subsequently known as the Social Democratic Federation, formed and gained the support of Henry Hyndman and Positivists such as Beesly and Crompton.[44] Notably, the Federation also conducted social surveys during the late 1880s.

What inspired Booth to take social action via sociological investigation? After moving to London during the 1870s, he witnessed the influx of unskilled casual labours crowding near the docks in search of work. His personal papers show that he lamented the plight of the poor. He fretted that a violent revolution was near. He acknowledged his 'debt to humanity' – to centuries of scientists,

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[42] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/5, ff. ii (1877); OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.lett.c.182 ff. 96 (1897); Alfred Marshall and Mary Paley Marshall, *The Economics of Industry* (1879), p. 149. Booth was seemingly referring to the Positivists' and Alfred Marshall's economic ideas. They commonly seemed to support planning for the decentralisation of urban centres.

[43] Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (1926), pp. 145-6; Margaret Cole, *Beatrice Webb* (1945), p. 23. The friends of Toynbee Hall, notably Henry Higgs and Earnest Aves, joined Booth's survey team. They shared his interest in Le Play's work. Octavia Hill, C.S. Loch and Beatrice Webb also made important contributions to Booth's survey and sociology. Scholars note that Webb was indebted to Harrison, Spencer and Booth.

[44] Mark Bevir, 'Republicanism', in *Republicanism*, ed. David Nash and Antony Taylor (2000), pp. 73-90; Harrison, *BS*, p. 336; Congreve, *Essays*, II, pp. 482, 570; LPC, *Positivist Comments on Public Affairs* (1896), p. 49.

inventors, artists and labourers who built the human domain. In this sense, he applied his knowledge as a Chief, a Captain of Industry, to begin his career as a sociologist. Following through with the claims he made in his article entitled 'Positivism,' Booth decided to use his 'surplus income' in attempts to ameliorate lives 'made miserable by want'. His civic 'service to man' became a sociological enquiry into the urban condition.[45] By the 1980s, Booth had adopted Le Play's survey method and began to set out a seemingly Positivist-inspired programme called Limited Socialism.

However, Booth first became involved with the work of the Mansion House Committee. The Committee members included trade unionists, clergymen, social scientists and sociologists. During this time Frederic Harrison, a Committee researcher, estimated that 'one-tenth of the whole proletarian population' subsisted as 'destitute outcasts'.[46] (Harrison was probably Booth's introduction to the Committee.) By August 1885, Booth was discussing a 'social diagnosis' for the Committee's East End inquiry with Beatrice Potter. 'Plenty' engaged in the 'examination of facts,' she professed, but this kind of 'personal investigation' was necessary to avoid 'shallow and sensational' conclusions.[47]

Investigating the 'facts,' the Mansion House Committee conducted interviews and examined poor law returns, employment statistics, and reports from docks officials, relief ministers and school boards. The Committee aspired to reveal the causes of poverty and to proffer the 'best means of remedying' distress. They claimed in 1886 that the state of the 'residuum' was 'almost hopeless'. The

[45] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/26/15, ff. xi-xiv (n.d.).
[46] Harrison, *NSP*, pp. 368-9.
[47] BLPES, Passfield 1/2, ff. 425, 660 (1886).

Committee hoped to save their children 'through Industrial Schools ... or possibly by emigration, to take them away from evil example and influence'. The poor, unemployed and working classes would benefit from 'benevolent interference'. Interference should take the form of charity, trade union pressure and the cooperation of dock authorities. The downtrodden would also benefit from time and space for 'spiritual and moral improvement'. The Committee recommended the organisation of state-organised education and work. It was also collecting a relief fund for these purposes. However, a more in-depth and impartial investigation, one that would establish a clearer definition of poverty, was necessary.[48] As we will see, Booth's work took heed of these suggestions.

E M B R Y O N I C   U R B A N I S M S

During the Mansion House study, Booth was using occupational census records to conduct a historical, industrial survey of the national context. He presented his findings to the Statistical Society in 1886. This national level study framed the outlook of his subsequent social survey of London.

For Booth, addressing social questions required an understanding of national population distribution in relation to occupations, housing and social institutions. Along these lines, the Empire and even Britain alone encompassed a multiplicity of topographies, geologies, floras, faunas and microclimates. During Britain's period of radical urban expansion, the specificities of place emerged in relation to divergent natural, financial and socio-cultural circumstances. These variegated contexts called for highly nuanced construction techniques and

[48] MHC, *Report of the Mansion House Committee* (1886), p. 13; *TS,* 22 April 1885.

architectural typologies.[49] The omnifarious attributes of each region affected the way urban centres organised, distended and logistically networked via rail, road and water to constitute an industrialised nation.[50] Industrial 'nodal points' took a variety of forms. They multiplied in the form of iron and steel-producing centres, railway-workshop centres, shipbuilding centres, glass and chemicals towns, coal entrepôts, fishports, light engineering towns and seaside and pleasure resorts.[51] This network of complex cooperation occasioned different kinds of local culture, custom, poverty and malady.

Booth was tracking urban-regional development in the United Kingdom from 1801-81. 'England has changed from a population half agricultural and half manufacturing, to one in which manufacture is double,' he wrote. The number of mining and angling occupations rose swiftly while agricultural employment remained steady. Industry provided work for a population increase of 8.5 million people. The *sforzando* of industrial towns explained what seemed to be an erroneous reading of agrarian decline.[52]

There were a number of different readings of national development. The statistician Anda Weber produced county-level statistics showing that rural agricultural and artisan occupations diminished in correlation with increases in urban educational, clerical and medical professions. The physician William Ogle registered sustained agricultural employment despite the population increase. Like Weber, Ogle traced the internal removal of workers from the farming villages and

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[49] On architectural types and their contextual variations see, for instance, Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance* (1995).
[50] Waller, *Town*, pp. 1-24.
[51] Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, pp. 19, 44, 94-109.
[52] Charles Booth, 'Occupations of the People of the United Kingdom', *JSSL* (1886), 314-444.

hamlets to labour in small towns within their respective counties. Weber warned that the 'decay of villages' would eventuate national ruin. The provinces would host the competition of the 'survival of the unfittest,' she claimed. The 'more energetic' classes were moving into urban areas, which not only stunted child development but also produced high death-rate figures.[53]

The British naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace provided a broader interpretation. He observed that imperialism, expenditure on armaments and excessive foreign loans preoccupied the government. These external concerns impoverished the nation and initiated agricultural decline, which in turn yielded the 'forced migration' of two million Britons into cities over a ten-year course.[54] Booth contested this view. He showed that the population increase distributed evenly throughout the country, not least because of commercial fishing and the ever-widening colliery industry. He wrote that

the greatest influx into urban areas is into comparatively new places, while the next greatest movement is that into the country districts surrounding the present centres of population, and especially adjacent to the new urban districts. These rapidly increasing non-urban places are doubtless *urban places in embryo*.[55]

Booth observed that throughout the nineteenth century the outer ring of towns – suburban areas outside of the 1872 sanitary boundaries – had developed in conjunction with transformations to the urban core. In the urban core, 'cottages and poor dwellings were pulled down, and large shops and warehouses built in their places'. This process had pushed housing construction outside the sanitary boundary and away from workplaces. The condition of the overdeveloped urban

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[53] Anda Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899), p. 189; William Ogle, 'Depopulation', *JRSS* (1889), 205-40.
[54] Alfred Russel Wallace, *Bad Times* (1885), p. 42.
[55] Booth, 'Occupations', *JSSL*, 314-444. Emphasis added.

core, encompassed by suburban housing, led industrialists to begin removing their operations to rural areas. These embryonic urbanisms emerged owing to the 'rural advantages' of fresh air, uncontaminated water and low rates. Booth concluded that the 'want of employment in large towns is in part due to the removal of industries into country or quasi country quarters'.[56] However, similar to Wallace, who radically advocated reconstruction via land nationalisation in town and country, Booth would soon propose state-planned home colonisation. Depopulating cities, in some form or fashion, was their common goal. We will now turn to Booth's social survey of London.

S O C I A L   S U R V E Y

Distress plagued London during the late 1870s and early 1880s. One factor was that competition amongst trade rivals, particularly Germany and the United States, had become insurmountable.[57] A sequence of unforgiving winters attenuated British agricultural production, which moved labourers to seek employment in London. However, as noted, unskilled day labourers amassed near the docks in the East End. The construction of new docks upstream thinned local employment opportunities. Ice blockading the Thames obstructed ports, debilitating material distribution and manufacturing production.[58] Beatrice Potter explained that the previous years of technical and industrial innovation on land and water spurred overproduction, leaving warehouses without manufacturing materials to sustain

[56] Ibid.
[57] Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform* (1968), p. 9.
[58] Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (1971), pp. 48-57, 88-97, 109-18, 291.

work.[59] The weather, the new dock construction, the dislocation of trade and overproduction, affected entire branches of industry, closing warehouses, manufactories and shops. This, in turn, transformed the character of the streets. Workers stood without access to the surplus capital accumulated by managing directors. The restlessness, anxiety and agitation of the jobless led many to expect an uprising.[60] The Social Science Association reported that the proletariat was 'separated from starvation by a single day'.[61] These circumstances set the stage for the dock strike and new unionism of 1889.

So within this context, how did Booth build on the work of the Mansion House Committee and the Statistical Society using Le Play's method? The docks on the East End of London represented a 'distress meter' for measuring wider deprivation. This district became Booth's first field of investigation. He sought to build a scientific system to record 'social facts' and delineate a 'true picture of the modern industrial organism'. In this way he aimed to define poverty and remedy distress. Booth and his team compiled data from five local school board district returns, documented personal interviews and logged social observations.[62]

By May 1887 Booth read 'The Inhabitants of Tower Hamlets' before the Royal Statistical Society. He presented a social classification comprised of eight occupational classes, subdivided into thirty-nine occupational descriptions. The 'Means and Position of Heads of Families' illustrated both the indistinct 'dividing lines' between the 'Lowest' to 'Upper Middle' classes and the amount of want for

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[59] Beatrice Potter, 'Dock Life of East End London', *NC* (1887), 483-99.
[60] *The Great Dock Strike,* ed. Terry McCarthy (1988), pp. 7-14.
[61] NAPSS, *Transactions, 1884*, p. 726.
[62] Booth, *L&LP*, I, p. 42.

each subdivision. Booth asserted that 'those who have a fairly regular though bare income, such as 18s. to 21s. per week for a moderate family,' lived outside of poverty. Although this wage standard was arbitrary, he maintained that those falling below this 'line of poverty' lived in a state of 'chronic want'.[63] This standard, and the classification discussed below, served as the basis for his entire London survey. Thus, like Le Play, he began with the family as the economic unit and established a classification with which to examine the social structure.

Booth defined the character of the eight classes according to their typical earnings. The 'Lowest Class' (A) consisted of the 'homeless outcasts of the streets'. With alcohol use as their 'special luxury,' they lived a 'savage life' as 'the beggar or the bully'. Booth dismissed Class A, stating that the 'true problem of poverty' was found in the next three classes. The 'Casual Earnings' Class B was 'always poor'. Due to 'physical, mental or moral reasons,' they remained 'incapable of better work'. This 'leisure class amongst the poor' worked only as needed. The 'Intermittent Earnings' Class C lived as the 'struggling, suffering, helpless … victims of competition'. They predominantly toiled in seasonal industries and lacked 'provident thrift'. This class was the 'proper field for systematic charitable assistance'. The 'Small Regular Earnings' Class D consisted of poor artisans of the home industries, who deserved 'greater sympathy' than any other. Only with the help of their children could they hope to rise from poverty. The largest share of the Tower Hamlets population, 45½%, lived as the 'Regular Standard Earnings' E (middle) Class. Booth reserved the 'Higher Class Labour' F

[63] Charles Booth, 'Inhabitants of Tower Hamlets (School Board Division)', *JRSS* (1887), 326-401.

section for the 'well-to-do' and 'contented' foremen and artisans of the design and construction trades. The 'Lower Middle' Class G included shopkeepers, small employers and clerks. The 'Upper Middle' Class H was identified as being the 'servant keeping' class.[64]

Booth concluded that 65% of the Tower Hamlets lived above the line of poverty and 22% stood on the line. Thirteen per cent of the district's inhabitants fell into the 'region of distress,' which included 'the class for whom decent life is not imaginable'.[65] As for the docks, he calculated that they employed no more than 6,000 but as few as 1,000 'casual men'. Yet, some 10,000 'casual men' were chiefly dependent on dock labour for their week's income. For any solution to the East End question, wrote Booth, the 'problems of human life must be better stated'. They must be stated according to the 'observed facts of life,' rather than the 'assumptions' of political economy.[66] As we will see, this work was not well received.

Mapping the 'Starving Millions'

Booth was not only aware of other social analyses appearing during the 1880s but also challenged their findings. Determined to record 'scientific truths' on the urban condition, the Social Democratic Federation carried out their own house-to-house unemployment census during the wintery months of 1886. Their surveyors found that from Clerkenwell to Holborn, '40 per cent of the bread winners in the

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[64] Ibid.; Booth, 'Condition and Occupations of the People of East London and Hackney', *JRSS* (1888), 276-339; Booth, *L&LP*, II, p. 20; Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 595-7.
[65] Booth, 'Inhabitants', *JRSS*, 326-401.
[66] Ibid.

350 families visited' were unemployed.[67] With the Federation's speeches citing 'starving millions,' the famous riots ensued. The Mansion House Committee Relief Fund soared from £3,000 to £30,000. 'Universal discontent' ignited over how best to use the capital.[68] The Federation's Tom Mann favoured public works in lieu of charity. Public works would 'obtain in the end food for the hungry, clothes for the naked, and healthy occupations for all men … nothing else would content them'. Before the riot Mann declared: 'In the West-end people were revelling in luxury … at the expense of the starving millions'.[69] In response Booth's Tower Hamlets study countered

it is the plan of agitators and the way of sensational writers to confound the two in one, to talk of "starving millions," and to tack on the thousands of the working classes to the tens or perhaps hundreds of distress … I am deeply in earnest in my desire that the conditions under which the mass of the people live should be improved, as well as that of those who now suffer actual distress.[70]

The *Pall Mall Gazette* observed that the throngs rallying under the Federation's black flag amounted to 'mostly professional vagrants'. But it was 'sad' to peruse Booth's 'sneering tone of current phrases such as "starving millions" – in fact, his entire pamphlet reads too much like a complacent and comforting bourgeois statement of the situation'.[71] In November 1887 the *Gazette* circulated the results of its own 'unemployment census'. Out of sixty constituencies, the *Gazette's*

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[67] *MP,* 4 Feb. 1886.
[68] *TT,* 19 Feb. 1886; *TT,* 11 Mar. 1886.
[69] *PMG,* 16 Feb. 1886; *PMG,* 12 Dec. 1887; Henry H. Champion, *The Facts about the Unemployed* (1886).
[70] Booth, 'Inhabitants', *JRSS*, 326-401.
[71] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/7, ff. 1-24 (n.d.); Henry Mayers Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), pp. 304-5; Booth, *Charles Booth*, p. 15; Booth, 'Condition and Occupations', *JRSS*, 276-339; *PMG,* 13 Oct. 1887. Booth scholars often claim that neither the *PMG* nor the Social Democratic Federation conducted surveys. It was probably during this time that Booth visited with Hyndman about the Federation's survey, but most Booth scholars deny the visit ever occurred. It was probably during this time that Booth held three meetings on socialism at his home.

surveyors tabulated that 7,917 jobless family heads, with 17,030 dependents, were unwaged.[72]

Booth clarified that he aimed to discern the nuances of the phrase, the 'starving millions': how they lived, what brought about their condition and how sociology might influence social change. Beesly concurred, stating:

When we bear in mind that social phenomena have at last begun to be studied by scientific methods, we may hope that here too agreement will gradually be reached … a sound public opinion will soon be formed, and we shall then have the means we want for influencing the possessors of wealth.[73]

In 1887 Booth issued his study on the East London and Hackney, which provided statistical data on trades, unemployment, poor relief, immigration and the sweating system. It included a 'Map of East End Poverty' that linked destitution to the focal point of Positivist republican reconstruction, the institution of the home. Booth's team hatched the plan with colours corresponding to the eight social classes. They ranged from pink, where he observed the spaces of the Upper Middle Class, to black, the locales where the Lowest Class persevered.[74]

As indicated, Booth was unconcerned with the 'semi-criminal' lives of Class A, the lowest class. He declared it to be a 'fact' that the two classes situated above them – the Casual Earnings and Intermittent Earnings Classes – worked only half time. Casual Earners were 'industrially valueless as well as socially pernicious'. They either became a 'constant burthen' to society after being crushed by competition, or they worked 'inefficiently … badly and slowly' due to ineptitude or old age. A 'semi-socialistic' solution was necessary to assist Casual

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[72] *PMG,* 29 Nov. 1887.
[73] LPC, *Positivist Comments*, p. 40.
[74] Booth, 'Condition and Occupations', *JRSS*, 276-339; Booth, 'Inhabitants', *JRSS*, 326-401.

Earners, a solution that would not increase the numbers to be dealt with. His solution would in its very nature also help his 'client' – the Intermittent Earnings and Small Regular Earnings classes. It would help all three classes attain permanent work and a more comfortable living.[75] He entreated the Regular Standard Earnings class, who represented the 'springs of socialism and revolution,' and to their 'leaders' the High Class Labour, to inaugurate his Limited Socialism. This was 'a socialism which shall leave untouched the forces of individualism and the sources of wealth'.[76] We will now turn to the first two components of his programme for Limited Socialism: home colonies and new unionism.

HOME COLONIES

To bring class B under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism; hence what I have to propose may be considered as an extension of the Poor Law. What is the Poor Law system? It is a limited form of Socialism – a Socialistic community (aided from outside) living in the midst of an Individualist nation … My idea is to make the dual system, Socialism in the arms of Individualism, under which we already live, more efficient by extending somewhat the sphere of the former and making the division of function more distinct. Our Individualism fails because our Socialism is incomplete.[77]

The first component of Booth's Limited Socialism was state planned villages, or home colonies, for the casualties of competition. The idea of setting out home colonies, labour communities or industrial villages saw numerous revivals throughout the nineteenth century. Robert Owen popularised the idea via his industrial village at New Lanark and 1817 plan to modify the Poor Law to include

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[75] Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 152-64, 596; Booth, *L&LP*, II, pp. 300-2, 591-2.
[76] Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 597-8.
[77] Ibid., 166-8. Emphasis added.

home colonies of 'unity & mutual cooperation'. [78] Despite the lack of governmental support the matter of setting out small communities, of an Owenite or other nature, remained a matter of public discussion.

Discussions surrounding the value of home or labour colonies carried on from the 1820s and into the 1880s thanks to Owenites, Chartists, Christian socialists, trade unionists, New Chartists and Positivists, as seen in chapter 3. Henry Solly's *Home Colonisation* (1884), for instance, maintained that overcrowding was the 'great national evil'. 'Horrors' unknown to primitive societies, such as life 'crushed together' in slums, were being 'nursed in the very heart of our civilisation,' he wrote. Forty thousand individuals immigrated to urban centres annually. They lived in 'habitations unfit for human or even animal existence'. If property was a right, then it came with duties, Solly maintained. Ignoring that inner-city environments were 'terribly ruinous to workers,' metropolitan manufacturers exploited the inner city's 'superabundant supply of labour'. Solly thus claimed that new 'village communities' stood as the critical alternative to the 'frightful immorality' of urban centres.[79]

During the 1880s groups such as The National Association for Promoting State Colonization presented the home colony as the solution to the East End question. Its studies spoke of the docks as a place of daily 'conflict for employment'. Some 20,000 'half-starved men struggle and fight … like wild animals, scrambling over the heads of one another' for the opportunity for day labour. State-sponsored home colonisation was a 'self-evident' solution, as some

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[78] Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen (Supplementary Appendix)* (1858), pp. 53-63.
[79] Henry Solly, *Home Colonisation* (1884), pp. 3-25.

7,500 labourers were turned away from the dock gates daily. By February 1887 a home colonisation committee had already formed in both houses of Parliament.[80]

As indicated, in his *Life and Labour* survey results, Booth recommended the establishment of a system of state-planned communities. These 'labour colonies' would offer edification, work and leisure for the small Casual Earnings class (B). These new urbanisms in embryo were to yield skilled, unionised citizens. They also held the potential to help recuperate the character of existing cities. The redistribution of the population would thus enable slums and pauperism to be 'improved off the face of the earth'. Booth wished to draw redundant workers to home colonies by curbing unscrupulous charity, 'making life otherwise impossible'. It would oblige class B to 'conform to standard' life and 'accept the relief of the State in the manner prescribed by the State'. Booth admitted that the recruits to these industrial armies, who would battle nature in setting out new colonies, would be dependent on the state, and thus they would be its 'slaves'.[81] Booth's positive conception of liberty differed from conservatives, such as Lord Brassey. Brassey recommended the idea of physically forcing impoverished and unemployed males into labour penitentiaries, where they would be 'deprived of all comforts'.[82] But Booth avowed:

People should be allowed to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building materials were cheap; being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work, indoors or out, for themselves or on Government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of clothes, or in the

[80] MHC, *Report*; C. Rowe, 'State-Directed Colonisation', *Our Corner* (1887), 368-72; Brabazon, 'State-directed Colonization', *NR* (1887), 525-37; J.F. Boyd, 'The Depression of Trade', *NR* (1886), 40-53.

[81] Booth, 'Condition and Occupations', *JRSS*, 276-339.

[82] *TT,* 18 Nov. 1892; Earl of Meath, 'State Colonization', *Time* (1888), 543-55; *TT,* 10 Aug. 1888.

making of furniture. That in exchange for the work done the Government should supply materials and whatever else was needed.[83]

For Booth one of the more important aspects of state-planned home colonisation was that it would afford labourers an opportunity to keep their families together. They would protect them from the typical alternative – life apart in prison, or the poorhouse. He also acknowledged that modern manufacturing zones offered the surplus of inner-city outcasts neither a genuine means of escape nor many opportunities for advancement. He also suggested that these colonists would be free to leave at will.[84] These ideas seemed to be tied to his previous discussion of industry creating 'urbanisms in embryo' but were perhaps also informed by Comte's and Le Play's ideas about establishing small communities and family life, where working the landscape roots oneself into the rustic order of local traditions.

By the late 1880s several farms offered land for the purposes of establishing home or labour colonies. The archetypal scheme included workers' housing, communal kitchens, a school and a lecture hall. During this time, the Mansion House Committee disposed its growing relief fund for public parks improvements in Camberwell. The purpose of this short-lived experiment was to act as a trial run for those who were thinking about life in home colonies.[85] By the 1890s, the former associate of the Home Colonisation Society H.V. Mills set up a farm

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[83] Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 163-70.
[84] Booth imagined that a number of these colonies would soon be established. Labourers would create commodities valued at the market rate and receive credit at a proportionate rate.
[85] *TS,* 11 Aug. 1888; *MP,* 1888; MHC, *First Report of the Mansion House Conference on the Condition of the Unemployed* (1888). Of the 456 recruited, 62 failed to show, 134 were dismissed for misbehaviour, 164 were found incompetent, 53 migrated with the assistance of trade societies, 26 moved to the colonies and 17 found jobs.

colony at Kendal, Westmorland, which was modelled after successful experiments in established in Holland and Germany.[86] 'General' William Booth used Booth's survey findings to substantiate a home colonisation scheme. The General's *In Darkest England, and the Way Out* (1890) promised Christian salvation and 'work for all' in three community types: city colony, farm or garden colony, and overseas colony. Here, the unwaged could 'start life afresh' in 'self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of co-operative society, or patriarchal family'.[87]

Many social critics underset home colonies because they offered a stable workplace, regular earnings, practical education, cooperative purchase of healthy foods, family life and negligible transportation costs. They presented them as an opportunity to enable pauper families to become independent.[88] For such reasons, Congreve remarked that the 'good object' of home colony schemes made them 'indispensible' to reconciling social inequality; they were perhaps a way to build independent towns, civic pride and emotional identity simultaneously.[89] The economist James Mavor also endorsed Booth's scheme, describing it as 'country colonization, instead of city pauperization'.[90] The anti-imperialist J.A. Hobson added that the British labourers' homecoming to the countryside would reinstate village life and rural industries, thereby reducing imports and colonial

[86] Margaret Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (1969), p. 207; Herbert V. Mills, *Poverty and the State, or Work for the Unemployed* (1886); Sidney Pollard and John Salt, *Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor* (1971), p. 59. Like Owen's New Lanark, the sites of the Colonies of Benevolence in Holland have recently been nominated for World Heritage status.
[87] General Booth, *Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), pp. 87-93.
[88] Edwin H. Kerwin, *A Labour Colony in Working Order* (1895), pp. 1, 16.
[89] OUBL-CP, MS.Eng.misc.d.491, ff. 123 (? 1890).
[90] James Mavor, 'Home Colonization', *TM* (1891), 353-60.

aggrandisement.[91] Beatrice Potter remarked that if coupled with rigid immigration requirements, a home colony scheme could realise a social reorganisation 'in the interests of the great body of workers'.[92] All of this seemed to be something of a call for the homecoming of the British Empire.

Labelled a 'scientific sociologist,' Booth garnered much support for his home colony proposal.[93] In the next section we will examine how Booth widened the scope of Limited Socialism to include new unionism. He thought that together home colonies and new unionism would help redistribute the population. Moreover, they would provide labourers in town and country with a more meaningful sense of training and work.

New Unionism

The waterside unemployment crisis wrought the dock strike of 1889, which exemplified the work of 'new unionism': an alliance of the trade union 'aristocracy of labour,' unskilled workers, Positivists and socialists. Booth's work played a key role here. Before the strike he wrote that his 'Limited Socialism' meant that

trades unions and co-operative societies would be able to build from the bottom [and] great friendly societies might hope to include the mass of the population in their beneficent net. Improved morale of labour would go hand in hand with better organization of industry.[94]

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[91] *Co-operative Labour upon the Land,* ed. J.A. Hobson (1895).
[92] Potter, 'Dock Life', *NC*, 483-99.
[93] D.G. Ritchie, 'Life and Labour', *E.Rev.* (1893), 282-88.
[94] Booth, *L&LP*, I, p. 169.

During the dock strike the *Northern Echo* accordingly announced that the people 'have taken the first step towards attaining [Booth's] ideal [of Limited Socialism] by combining to get better terms for their whole body as a class'.[95]

The strike was organised by John Burns, Ben Tillett, Tom Mann and the Dock Labourers' Committee. They followed the successful template of the 1888 unskilled workhand strikes carried out by Will Thorne's gas workers and Annie Besant's match girls. The dock strike commenced with 2,500 workers protesting at the East and West India Docks. The commotion spread to Tilbury and on to other wharves, totalling some 10,000 supporters. Sailors and stevadores picketed dock entrances while parades of socialists and unskilled workers rallied between shipping businesses. They maintained the strike for several days, exacting six-pence per hour for a minimum of four hours work. The Australian labour movement offered financial assistance.[96] Booth described the strike as diffusing 'over all classes of dock labour on both sides of the Thames'. It 'affected, by way of "sympathy," most of the interconnected trades' and outspread as a national movement called the 'Dockers' Union'.[97]

The Positivist Society commended this new or socialist unionism. For Harrison, new unionism signalled 'the general desire to have all the arrangements of society, economic, legislative, and moral, controlled by social considerations and reformed to meet paramount social obligations'. It wedded skilled and unskilled labour into the same cause – 'the average mass' took 'charge of the

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[95] *NE,* 26 Aug. 1889.

[96] Annie Besant, *Annie Besant* (1893), pp. 334-6; George Howell, *Trade Unionism* (1900), pp. 152-5; H.H. Champion, 'The Great Dock Strike', *The Universal Review* (1890), 157-78; HCPP, *Royal Commission on Labour: Fifth and Final Report* (1894), p. 31; *TT,* 25 Nov. 1892.

[97] Charles Booth, 'Inaugural Address of Charles Booth. Esq.', *JRSS* (1892), 521-57.

residuum,' extinguishing 'sectional and class interests'.[98] Congreve similarly remarked that the People were finally uniting as 'the corporate action of the agents of industry',[99] not unlike like the formation of the 'temporal power' of Comte's Occidental Republic. During the late 1850s Comte charged his British acolytes implement his vision by uniting workers under trade unionism and to form a 'systematic connection with the socialist movement towards internal regeneration'.[100] Booth's Limited Socialism was thus perhaps seen as an essential contribution to the Positivists' urban vision.

Indeed, from the 1870s the Positivists began to adopt a new republican term for conveying the common good: 'socialism'. Booth and his colleagues nonetheless continued to maintain that temporal institutions – guilds, trade unions and co-operative societies – were also necessary to defend the people from the repercussions of industrial life. Trade unions embodied the 'noble spirit of comradeship,' wrote Booth. They stood as the 'safeguards and expedients, justified and explained by the circumstances of the times'. However, he acknowledged that unions sometimes limited the individual self, and so he appreciated the urgency to 'replace the struggle for existence by systematic socialism' – perhaps a 'complete' socialism, like Positivism.[101] Booth acknowledged:

Before socialism can be a success, machinery must be developed to such a point that the difference at present existing between skilled and unskilled labour would

[98] Frederic Harrison, 'The New Trades-Unionism', *NC* (1889), 721-32.
[99] Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 594.
[100] Comte, *Passages*, p. 163.
[101] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/5, ff. ii (? 1877); SHL-BP, MS.797/II/27/16, ff. 1-15 (n.d.); BLPES-HP 2/14, ff. 13 (1914); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London. The Trades of East London* (1893), IV, p. 217; Booth, *L&LP*, I, p. 366.

be annihilated. Apprenticeship and prolonged training being thus rendered unnecessary, it will be in the power of the state to direct the labour of the workers, transferring it here or there as most wanted.[102]

Despite the fact that the press celebrated new unionism of the dock strike and identified it with Booth's Limited Socialism, dismay soon followed. By 1892 *The Times* railed against the 'irreconcilable contradictions' of the strike's final outcome – the new system of 'waterside unions'. Canon Barnett, George Shipton and the Webbs observed that this form of quasi-permanent dock labour left the remaining casual earnings workers with no employment opportunities. They pointed to the influx of workers from the country as being responsible for 'depriving whole classes of their means of subsistence'.[103]

Certainly, like Le Play, Booth and colleagues had detected a natural ebb and flow of workers between town and country. Workers' 'muscular strength and energy get used up in London and are replaced by the vivifying stream of country labour'. It was a 'mode in which town and country are knit together' as part of a regional unit. The first two interdependent components of Limited Socialism tended to the 'mass of casuals' in this way. First, state home colonies would facilitate rural reconstruction, bolstering agricultural and craft production. Second, new unionism would provide regular urban and rural employment.[104] It seems that the lodestone of home colonies was not powerful enough to draw the deprived classes into the country.

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[102] SHL, BP, MS.797/II/27/20, ff. 1-2 (n.d.); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1897), IX, pp. 160-1.
[103] *TT,* 16 Nov. 1892; HCPP, *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* (1909), p. 357.
[104] Booth, *L&LP*, I, p. 517; Booth, *L&LP*, II, pp. 445-80; *TT,* 29 Dec. 1892; *TT,* 8 Nov. 1893; Booth, *L&LP*, IX, p. 81.

By 1893 the Independent Labour Party's Keir Hardie denounced the persistence of 'widespread misery, due to large numbers of the working class being unable to find employment'. Households led by industrial and agricultural workers, approximating some 4,000,000 Britons, remained out of work: 'starving to death'. Renewing calls for home colonies, Hardie directed Parliament to 'legislate promptly and effectively in the interests of the unemployed'. Genuine support scarcely reverberated through the House.[105] Katherine St. John Conway wrote to the *Seed-Time* to amplify Hardie's call:

The colonists would not be in danger of displacing labour in other parts of the country, for one of the first principles of the scheme secures that the villages shall be as far as possible self-contained as well as self-supporting, the inhabitants forming their own market. … Land formerly waste will be gradually cultivated to the fullest extent; self-respecting and healthy citizens will take place of the moral and physically degraded paupers, and the victims of sweating be given another alternative, the opportunity of earning for themselves and those dependent on them at least a full subsistence instead of the slow death that is now their lot.[106]

During the 1890s the *Seed-Time* appealed for subscriptions to the 'Co-operative Settlement for Industry and Education,' to be built by the Fellowship of the New Life on land near London. The 100-150 acre colony scheme sought to offer: the 'cooperative idea of social life,' family homes, 'simple industry' and 'ethical education and instruction' for the 'total development of heart, head, and hand'.[107]

Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England* (1893) also responded to these factors with a vigorous case for the national socialisation of agriculture and industry. A system of home colonisation would redeem impoverished urbanites. He wrote:

Take, now, a lot of people from the slums and put them in a new country where they must work to live, where they can live by work, where fresh air and freedom

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[105] HCPP, *HC Deb 07 February 1893 vol 8 cc691-770* (1893).
[106] Katherine St. John Conway, 'Home Colonisation', *ST* (1893), 8-10.
[107] US.T-GED 3/5/11, ff. 1-4 (n.d.).

and hope can come to them, and in a generation you will have a prosperous and creditable colony … Men are made by their environment.[108]

Like the Fellowship, Blatchford had personally observed the physical and mental recuperation of individuals who had moved from London and into labour colony experiments.

Booth later sat on the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (1905-9), which grappled with penury and the stigmas of labour yards, workhouses and poor law relief. The Majority and Minority Reports suggested introducing a national system of labour exchanges, which in the cooperative sense of exchanging labour for goods, was an Owenite idea.[109] Trade unionists became suspicious of the recommendation because exchanges could supply firms with workers to foil strikes. Additionally, exchanges did not create work, train labourers or guarantee long-term positions. The Commission therefore recommended both home colonies and labour exchanges as a potential solution.[110]

Like the Positivists, social critics and socialists maintained that if home colonies exercised self-government and contained community-edifying institutions, such as the experiments by Owen at New Lanark, or Craig at Ralahine, then few would care to leave. In 1891 the Christian socialist minister E.D. Girdlestone remarked in the *Seed-Time* that Owen's 'County Farms and Factories for the unemployed' had 'accurately anticipated suggestions made lately

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[108] Robert Blatchford, *Merrie England* (1895), p. 159.
[109] Owen, *A New View*, pp. xviii, 141-69.
[110] HCPP, *RC on the Poor Laws*, pp. 208-21, 396, 428-31; S.H. Swinny, 'Pauperism', *PR* (1909), 187-91, pp. 187-90; *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. Appendix* (1910), VIII, p. 358. Commissioners suggested that the unemployed should accept training or be put into detention camps. The Positivists denounced this 'popular' proposal.

by H.V. Mills, Charles Booth, General Booth, and the Fabian Essayists'.[111] The early twentieth century saw the rise of the much-vaunted new home urbanisms: Garden Cities, Garden Suburbs and Garden Colonies [Fig. 21]. In the end, these urbanisms helped the middle class more so than the poor.

Figure 21 *'Plenty of Work' diagram by Ebenezer Howard. HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F1/16, (? c.1890s).*

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[111] E.D. Girdlestone, 'Education', *ST* (1891), 3-7.

Before turning to two more components of Limited Socialism, we will resume our examination of Booth's survey scope, methodology and theoretical impetus. Booth's tripartite regional social survey series focused on poverty, industry (temporal) and religion (spiritual). It thus followed Comte's sociological study of spiritual and temporal social formations, or citizens and architecture. However, we will see in this section that Booth's regional social survey also incorporated aspects of Le Play's rural geographical method.

By the mid 1890s Booth's team was conducting the Industry Series of their investigation. The *Edinburgh Review* wrote that Booth had instituted his own 'school of open-minded inquiry into those dark spots which still disfigure the social map of this country'. It commended the idea of Booth, as the president of the Royal Statistical Society, organising a council of 'public servants' to 'disseminate wholesome views of human life'.[112] The utilisation of scientific methods to evaluate social phenomena, for the purpose of shaping 'sound public opinion' on the common good,[113] was consistent with the writings of Saint-Simon, Comte, the British Positivists and, later, the Sociological Society.

As suggested Booth during the 1880s was affected by Positivism: the philosophy, the pedagogy, the religion and the scheme of socialism.[114] Mary Booth, who was involved with editing the survey narrative, reflected that he 'owed much to Comte' for his life-stance as a 'captain of industry'. She indicated

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[112] 'The Report', *ER* (1894), 333-64.
[113] LPC, *Positivist Comments*, p. 40.
[114] Frederic Harrison, *The Positive Evolution of Religion* (1913), p. xix.

that in his *Life & Labour* conclusions, Booth drew allowed his 'facts' to be guided by long theoretical sections of Comte's *System.*[115] The passages express a common concern about the organic nature of industry, and the importance of ensuring that there remains an altruistic outlook with regard to capital, whether public or private. There was a common belief that combinations of socio-economic institutions of Chiefs and combinations of People were critical to balance power relationships in modern industry.[116] Booth's conclusions likewise seem to have been framed by the language of the British Positivists; there seems to have been a common langue used about a 'Gospel of Industry' based on a institutions upholding a 'social economy,' or a 'Moral or Religious Socialism,' guided by sociologists [Appendix, 3].[117] Like Comte's followers, Booth's work endeavoured to disassociate poverty from industry. Industry epitomised improvement – the Positive Era. He attributed social disharmony, poverty and vice to industrial mismanagement – immorality – and to the lack of meaningful work, education and empathy.

As signposted, Booth's idea of 'social economy' included a 'political and religious science,' which was necessary to arbitrate affairs. In the Religious Influences series of his London survey, Booth announced that the Positivists represented the 'universal philosophic Church of the future'. However, in reference to their 1878 schism he added in lament that they 'too soon rent in

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[115] Booth, *Charles Booth*, pp. 95-8.
[116] Comte, *SPP*, I, pp. 128-9; Booth, *L&LP*, IX, pp. 165-71.
[117] Booth, *L&LP*, IX, p. 314; Harrison, *On Society*, pp. 184-90. Also see the section entitled 'Social Economy & Social Action'.

twain'. [118] Positivism nevertheless continued to shape Booth's interest in sociology.

Like Comte, Booth understood that social observation was the way to 'give clearness to the exposition of civic existence' and to 'determine the constitution of the social milieu under its material aspect'. [119] The act of the survey itself fell nothing short of Congreve's adage that 'true citizens' must take 'social action' to realise a republic. Booth's survey coordinated participatory citizenship, promoting a greater civic awareness of the positive environment. Like Le Play, he boarded with local families to observe their daily life. Home visits, personal interviews and school board data provided information for the survey team. Police officers, clergymen, relief officers, specialists, the Local Government Board, the boards of guardians and school boards contributed to, and reviewed, the research findings.

While Booth's East End investigation pointed out that 25% of the population lived in poverty, the findings for London laid bare a much higher figure, 30.7%. The study recorded the lives of 4,309,000 people, and an additional 1,347,000 subjects lived on the study's periphery. London was not a 'city' as such, but a vast conurbation. Booth's regional social survey encompassed manifold community districts or boroughs. The school board block, which truncated long streets and avenues, served as the unit of investigation and improvement. [120] Working within the school board framework, Booth's citizen-surveyors recorded the condition of every lane, alley, garden and courtyard – over

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[118] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902), VII, p. 147.
[119] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 266-7; BL-PP, Add.MSS, 45,243 ff. 4 (1860).
[120] Booth, *L&LP*, II, p. 23; Booth, 'Condition and Occupations', *JRSS*, 276-339; 'A Picture', *LQR* (1891), 95-108; 'Sociology', *WR* (1891), 206-15.

3,000 kilometres of metropolitan streetscape [Fig. 22]. They tabulated the circumstances of domestic life, family history, religion, race, hygiene and number of children. Their narratives provided details on vocations, remunerations, budgets and habits of families, shedding light on the drunken pastimes of parents and the games of unwashed kids playing in the gutter. They juxtaposed the environs of wealth with those of 'comfortable poverty' and deprivation.[121]
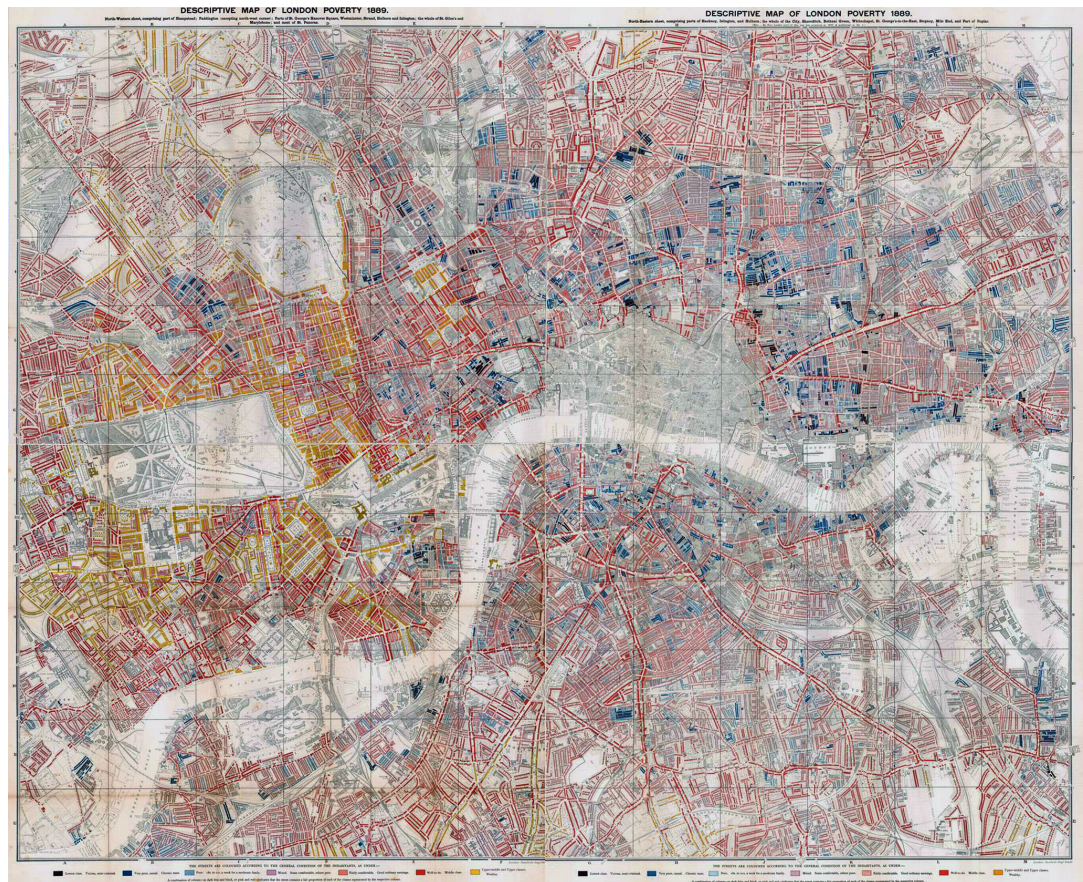
Figure 22 *'Descriptive Map of London Poverty, 1889'. Charles Booth, L&LP (1902).*

During the 1890s Booth's team exhibited a map that delineated 129 square kilometres of London's socio-economic character. Along the lines of their 'East End Poverty Map,' Booth's social classification was transposed on the ordinance

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[121] Booth, *L&LP*, II, pp. 41-81, 225.

survey plan to index the economic, intellectual and moral wealth of London's citizens. The percentage of each class residing on each street gave an indication of which areas needed to be 'improved away'. This mode of socio-economic cartography was not new. For instance, following the guidance of the *Société d'Économic sociale,* Léon Lefébure's *Le Devoir Social* (1890) charted the geography of poverty in Paris. Lefébure's study carried Le Play's rural practice of social cartography into the urban realm.

While some scholars contend that he was unaware of Le Play's work, Booth's 1893 'First Results' disclosed the source of the methodology he had employed since the 1880s. He wrote:

Only when we know the manner of life of the people employed in any particular trade, and the scale of earnings which in any selected district is usually connected with such a style of life, can we enjoy the full benefit of such work as that of Mons. Le Play and his followers.[122]

Later, *Family Budgets* (1896) by Booth, Aves and Higgs logged the living circumstances of twenty-eight families located in town and country. They relied on the 'social fact' that the 'true economic unit' was the household. Booth here again explained that their work followed 'humbly, and at some distance, in the footsteps of Le Play,' the Saint-Simonian. With comparisons of weekly expenditures on items such as food and drink, non-consumables, recreation, religion and rent, Booth hoped to reveal the 'dominant forces' that sustain or disrupt households, and thus society in general. After all, like Le Play, he

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[122] Charles Booth, 'Life and Labour of the People in London: First Results', *JRSS* (1893), 557-93.

maintained that the rural single-family home was an institution of social order, 'of training, of industrial environment, of habit, of influence and of character'.[123]

<center>S O C I A L   A U T H O R I T I E S</center>

Booth used his industrial classification to substantiate a social safety net for senior citizens – the social authorities of the traditional family home. This proposal for universal old-aged pensions formed another component of his Limited Socialism.

Booth observed that those with disabilities unjustly bore the weight of competition, being a part of the 'Casual Earnings' class. He discovered that a relationship existed between the rate of pauperism and old age. Thirty-eight per cent of over-65s received relief, as compared to 4.6% under the age of 60. He determined that an old-aged pension scheme could achieve 'the entire abolition of systematic out-relief'.[124] (Ecclesiastical charity should be abolished to prevent the pauperisation of capable workers, he claimed, and it should be replaced by state-sponsored 'professional almsgiving'.) 'Withdraw old age,' wrote Booth, 'if it be possible withdraw the sick also; and the problem at once becomes manageable … Chronic pauperism would be confined to a ne'er-do-well class'. To withdraw this group from his industrial classification, he proposed a pension of 5 shillings a week for those aged 65 and older. This 'system of deferred annuity' would separate pauperism and unemployment from agedness.[125]

Booth calculated that anywhere between £16-20 million in funds would finance his plan via direct and indirect taxation. He expected that the media would

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[123] Charles Booth, and others, *Family Budgets* (1896), pp. 5-11.
[124] Charles Booth, *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor* (1899), pp. 36-42.
[125] Charles Booth, *Pauperism* (1892), pp. 166-7, 200.

<center>257</center>

sensationalise the plan as an 'attack on private property' and the liberal platform. He vigorously deconstructed counterproposals by William Blackley and Joseph Chamberlain.[126] Although Fabians defended this notion of the 'humanising of the Poor Law,' the Royal Statistical Society thought differently. The Society's statists decried his proposal as a 'utopian' 'abuse of statistics'.[127]

While partaking in the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, Booth led an independent investigation of old agedness in town and country. He announced, like Le Play, that the deterioration of village life was due to the young migrating to industrial zones. This condition was found not only at the docks but also throughout London and other urban centres. Workers' lives would be shortened because of the nature of urban industries.[128] Geographic, climactic, economic and social circumstances often determined which industries flourished in each region. Like his survey of 'urban places in embryo,' he stated that the nature of these different kinds of regional industries factored into the duration in which hard labour could be sustained. These conditions produced different types of old-aged pauperism.[129] The manner in which to address London's pauper question would be unsuited to other regions in England and Wales. Booth concluded that any systematic treatment of old-aged pauperism would thus have to adapt to regional variations.

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[126] Ibid., 227; 'State Pensions', *QR* (1892), 505-33; Booth, 'Enumeration and Classification of Paupers', *JRSS* (1891), 600-43; Booth, 'Poor Law Statistics as Used in Connection with the Old Age Pension Question', *EJ* (1896), 70-74; Booth, 'Poor Law Statistics', *EJ* (1899), 212-23.
[127] 'Abuse', *QR* (1894), 463-85; RSS, 'Discussion on Mr. Booth's Paper', *JRSS* (1892), 56-79; Charles W. Freemantle, 'The Address of the President of the Economic Science and Statistics Section of the British Association, Held at Edinburgh, 1892', *JRSS* (1892), 415-36; F.J. Oakeshott, *Fabian Tract 54* (1894).
[128] Charles Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (1894), pp. 43, 321.
[129] Charles Booth, 'Statistics of Pauperism in Old Age', *JRSS* (1894), 235-53.

Booth's language about old-aged social life appears to be motivated by the suggestions of Comte and Le Play. An old-aged pension, Booth claimed, would shield the elderly from association with the 'questionable companions' and 'tyranny' and stigma of that 'dreary residence,' the workhouse. He desired to see the abolition of the workhouse like Comte, who wrote that it should be 'strongly and rightly condemned'. The workhouse was 'incompatible with that healthy growth of home affection which should be common to all ranks'.[130] Comte and Le Play held that as part of the family household the elderly remained part of the community. For Comte, these social authorities made the home a moral institution – the 'source of education' and the 'basis of action' in 'accord with the city' in its past, present and future.[131] Booth also noted that in their old age, workers often returned to the community support of the countryside as part of an extended family. With a pension the elderly 'would be a possible and welcome guest in the younger home,' suggested Booth, or in the least 'the mutual relations would be better and happier than they now are'.[132]

However, Comte and Le Play anticipated that moralised industrialists would compensate well enough to enable workingmen to accommodate and support their extended family. Booth's proposal was rooted in the reality that state intervention was necessary to remedy the parsimoniousness of industrial remuneration. Booth's protracted struggle for state pensions during the 1890s paved the way for

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[130] Booth, *Pauperism*, pp. 166-7, 200; Comte, *SPP*, I, p. 130.
[131] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 256-73.
[132] Booth, *Old Age Pensions*, pp. 36-42, 67-8; W.E.H. Lecky, 'Minority Report', in *Old-age Pensions*, ed. Committee on Old-age Pensions (1903), pp. 102-17.

the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908. During this time, Booth turned to questions of

housing and urbanism to revive the rapport between town and country.

R E N T S

It is in town and not in country, that "terra incognita" needs to be written on our social maps. In the country the machinery of human life is plainly to be seen and easily recognised; personal relations bind the whole together. The equipoise on which existing order rests, whether satisfactory or not, is palpable and evident. It is far otherwise with cities, where as to these questions we live in darkness, with doubting hearts and ignorant unnecessary fears, or place our trust with rather dangerous confidence in the teachings of empiric economic law.[133]

Booth's surveys contributed to discussions favouring the decongestion of cities

via industrial devolution. By the early 1900s he was delivering papers on town-

planning policy and practice. This section sets the background of these

discussions. It returns to the proposition made at the beginning of this chapter –

that Booth was employing Positivist urban sociology to redress the 'evils' of

poverty and overcrowding.[134]

The statement that nineteenth-century Britain suffered from excessive

overcrowding and empty homes would seem to be a contradiction in terms. The

conflation of speculative building, high rent, the lack of a responsible urban land

authority and modern urban design methods,[135] exacerbated these conditions and

complicated reconstruction. The liberal politician E.S. Cayley remarked during

the 1830s that 'overproduction and surplus of capital accumulation' affected all

industrial centres, spawning half-built and derelict homes throughout Great

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[133] Booth, 'L&LP: First Results', *JRSS*, 557-93.
[134] Booth, *L&LP*, IX, p. 67.
[135] I.e. feasibility studies, ecological impact analysis, site design, construction standards and housing as if people mattered.

Britain.[136] Census returns from 1871 to 1881 alone showed a 50% increase in uninhabited dwellings. A portion of this figure can be attributed to the migration of workers from country to town, but a greater issue was at hand.

By the late 1880s Booth's colleague Vernon Lushington insisted that it was necessary for Positivistic 'social institutions' to begin overseeing 'industrial operations'. The work of the building trades, he harangued, 'need careful planning'. [137] Only through 'systematic fraud' perpetrated for decades had careless, speculative-built development become the status quo. It was not just a matter that developers erected thousands of 'homes' disproportionate to demand. They sometimes made them from unstable, toxic and unsound scrap material on 'reeking marshes,' but most often they built them without plumbing, lighting, appliances or heating. For Lushington, it was impossible to describe these shanties as anything but 'foul abortions, of meanness, ugliness, and inefficiency'. Unchecked, speculative builders either purchased or gained commissions to develop vast, rural estates. Demolishing the estate's capacious manor houses, they constructed immense swarms of clumsy tenements. Builders sometimes provided only the slightest internal public passages to increase the accommodation footprint, to maximise profits. Different builders developed estates parcel-to-parcel in an ungainly fashion. These developments connected to one another via jagged and misaligned streets of various dimensions. Moreover, they stood too far removed from work and social places. For Lushington, it was all a 'waste of

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[136] Cayley, *On Commercial Economy*, pp. 52-3.
[137] DT-LP, 'Industry', ff. 1-50 (1887).

capital, labour, health and above all morality'. The 'rush to the city has produced a furious demand for new dwellings,' he wrote:

They stand unoccupied, they never have been occupied and a good many apparently never will be and don't deserve to be. They stand, scare-crows of habitations, carcases, rotting away, cumbering the earth defiling what a few years ago were the beautiful suburbs of our great towns.[138]

While Lushington was commenting on the evil of empty homes during the late 1880s, Booth was discussing the evil of overcrowding. Booth tested the correlation between housing quality, poverty and overcrowding and made a 'startling' discovery. High density was a proxy for poverty, which was inter-connected with 'Early Marriage, Surplus of Unmarried Men, High Birth-rate, and High Death-Rate'.[139] He added that the 'immoral practices' of greed and poor industrial management denuded the city of the humanised spaces of home and community and caused hopelessness amongst the body politic. Booth's maps revealed that such spaces had been replaced by 'rents' [Appendix, 4].[140]

Booth's study documented the lives of impoverished families immured in inner city tenement housing. For each London school board division his team tabulated the housing block quantity and type, and tallied the percentage of each class that occupied them. His surveyors discovered that ownership and ethics played a significant role in housing conditions. The housing blocks in the best condition were those owned by philanthropic organisations. Surveyors identified the housing owned by trading companies as substandard, profit-driven and densely packed with occupants. They identified mixed ownership tenements as

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Booth, 'L&LP: First Results', *JRSS*, 557-93.
[140] Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 28-32.

being in 'bad' condition and workers' lodgings as being in 'very bad' condition. These 'bad' and 'very bad' spaces suffered from overcapacity, poor sanitation, minimal natural light, poor ventilation and abnormally high death rates. By publishing these housing block classifications and mappings, Booth placed the onus on landlords to make housing improvements, since they profited from, and tolerated, tattered citizens living in shambles. In this way, he used 'facts' to moralise capitalists and governing bodies on the urgency of civic reconstruction. Of course, however, some proprietors refused to return questionnaires or permit inspection.

Health inspectors, local government officials and housing organisations availed themselves of the social survey results and maps. Notably the Charity Organization Society, London County Council and Royal Institute of British Architects used this information to improve away the black and blue bruises of London. By the 1890s several slum demolitions were under foot. From within these openings emerged new model dwellings of higher density. The process not only reorganised and compacted overpopulated districts but also attracted new residents from neighbouring areas. Often times this forced the dislodged to find work and boarding elsewhere. Because rebuilding efforts were sluggish, the rapid demolition of slums exponentially disturbed and overcrowded the city more than population influx from the country or immigration.[141] However, during its effort to redress the city's lack of affordable housing between 1900 and 1914, the Council oversaw the construction of some 28,000 'rooms'.

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[141] Booth, *L&LP*, II, pp. 239-60, 453-80; Booth, *L&LP*, IX, p. 81; Booth, 'Condition and Occupations', *JRSS*, 276-339.

Octavia Hill, Booth's survey team colleague, anticipated that new, loftier urban housing blocks were probably the 'fate' of the poorer classes. These blocks facilitated inspection, maintenance, cleanliness and neighbourly support during illness or old age. Hill warned that 'unless active steps are taken to prevent it ... the poor casual and irregular workers will be relegated to dark unsanitary dwellings, and when herded together there may be far worse placed than in their old homes'.[142] Hill urged the diversification of the urban fabric – that property owners 'keep [some] small houses standing' because they permitted families to 'mould' their children 'morally as well as educationally'. Small houses protected youngsters from the 'bad language and gambling on the stairs' in block housing.[143] Moreover, detached houses relieved the proletarians of feeling like 'human sheep' being goaded from barracks to manufactory.[144]

The survey revealed that housing and open space was a critical issue. When Booth showed that Southwark contained the greatest aggregate of extreme poverty (67.9%) and one of London's largest populations, Hill wrote to *The Times* calling for 'open space'. Her Open Space Movement petitioned to remedy the social injustice of the poorest city district holding 97 acres of open space while its wealthiest district was enjoying 947.[145] Booth's mappings thus informed Hill's housing acquisitions, reform projects and her attempts to preserve Londoners' contact with nature.[146] A review of the survey appearing in *The Speaker*

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[142] Booth, *L&LP*, II, pp. 262-96.
[143] Ibid., 25-31, 267-75; Booth, *L&LP*, I, p. 162.
[144] 'Human Sheep', *The Speaker* (1893), 564-5.
[145] *TT*, 25 Jan. 1892.
[146] SHL-BP, MS.797/I/4907, ff. 10-12, 6 (? 1908); SHL-BP, MS.797/II/67/4, ff. 9 (1902); HCPP, *Royal Commission on Labour: Appendix* (1894), p. 139.

exclaimed that 'the universal luxury is elbow-room'! It submitted that Booth and

his civic-minded associates were providing 'more towards that social regeneration

of the metropolis of the Empire' than any other group.[147]

INFRASTRUCTURAL URBANISM

Like the Positivists' work, a number of publications questioned the 'morality' of

disorganised exurban growth, inner city overcrowding, the destruction of the

environment for profit and, not least, the nefarious disregard the results had for

the 'expression of civic life'.[148] For instance, *The Star* affirmed that 'we have

allowed our favourite policy of *laissez-faire* to have full swing' into the

landscape. Overdevelopment prevented the poor from strolling from the city to the

fields and from living in its unoccupied homes.[149] Wallace remarked that

overcrowding was not only evil but an 'inhuman, immoral and even criminal'

result of a 'race for wealth' that left 'veritable death-traps for the poor'.[150]

Branford hurled a more explicit indictment, stating:

Of all cities, London exhibits the wealthiest and most luxurious aggregation of the
leisure class and at the same time herds within itself what is probably the vastest
mass of poverty, disease, lunacy, vice, and crime ever accumulated on a like
area.[151]

So what was Booth's remedy for this housing 'evil'? His recommendations

appeared during the debates surrounding the planning work of the London County

Council. Booth wrote that a 'comprehensive scheme of transport' for 'improved

[147] 'London', *The Speaker* (1891), 365-6.
[148] HCPP, *Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts* (1885), p. 27; HCPP, *Report from the Select Committee on Town Holdings* (1886), p. 314; *Eco.,* 14 July 1883; 'London', *The Speaker*, 365-6.
[149] *The Star,* 15 Dec. 1887.
[150] Alfred Russel Wallace, *Social Environment and Moral Progress* (1913), pp. 47-9.
[151] V.V. Branford, 'Sociology in Some of Its Educational Aspects', *AJS* (1905), 85-9.

means of locomotion, owned by the central municipal authority,' could resolve

London's housing predicament. During a 1901 lecture to trade unionists, the

Council, housing committees and metropolitan borough associations, he stated:

It is felt to be impossible to press regulations against over-crowding or insanitary
property when the people who would be ejected have no other houses to go to;
and thus it is just where things are worst that it is most difficult to amend them.
Nor is the attempt to compel "re-housing" of much avail. With the best intentions
it has proved in its operation to be of doubtful benefit; for it is found that the
people actually displaced never do occupy the houses built for them; and as it only
touches those who require Parliamentary powers of purchase, it presses
principally upon the railways, whose projects and extensions, as facilitating the
spread of population over a larger area, rather deserve encouragement.[152]

This 'cure' for the 'evils of overcrowding' would be more effective than the

Council's 'acquisition of vacant land for the construction of houses' alone, he

claimed. In fact, Booth championed their healthy coordination. He recommended

that to depopulate the city, the Council should densify and expand overground and

underground railways and tram networks. This would leave room for programme,

event, home, industry and citizenship to unfold in an even and flexible manner.

Transport and landscape planning would initiate the reorganisation of the city-

region. He wrote: 'London will spread in all directions. In the finding of suitable

sites, and the building of suitable houses, there would be free and, I think, eager

competition'. Harmonising the efforts of large-scale urban development and slum

demolition would enable the country to infill the town. Booth also advocated the

formation of a metropolitan planning policy for London. He discussed the

'adoption of a wide policy of construction and reconstruction' to ensure that 'evils

eradicated in one part [of London do] not reappear in another'. Booth's call to

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[152] Charles Booth, *Improved Means of Locomotion as a First Step towards the Cure of the Housing Difficulties of London* (1901), pp. 1-23.

'war with dirt, disease, and premature death' found unanimity, despite its 'gigantic' implications.[153] It was here that perhaps the influence of Saint-Simon, Le Play and Harrison comes through – the idea of infrastructural development to resolve social issues, and encouraging private developers to build single-family homes in countryside, homes to uphold custom and tradition.

Booth's work was elaborated and refined by Geddes and Branford, among others. Their survey-design work provided examples that were used to justify the first Town Planning Act of 1909, which sought to address issues such as overcrowding and empty houses. Patrick Abercrombie later employed a 'Regional and Civic survey' to analyse social conditions in relation to the urban morphology, expressed via

a series of graphic diagrams ... prepared for the whole district, in order that the correspondence between the bad conditions of high density or lowlying sites and the high death-rate and the prevalence of certain diseases may be demonstrated.[154]

Citizen-sociologists amassed social 'truths' to shape policies and plan the city-community. The housing reformer and town planner Henry Aldridge noted that with this evidence county council chambers and central government administrators joined to 'seek out and destroy bad housing conditions and replace these with suitable homes for the people'. It was the deed of an 'enlightened and progressive government' acting out in 'a spirit of service'.[155] In *The Case for Town Planning* (1916) Aldridge reflected:

A chaotic neglect of care in planning is apparent in every town and village which experienced growth during the period between 1760 and 1875. Blind alleys grew up which in the course of time became "stagnant ditches" of population living

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[153] Ibid; *TT,* 15 Feb. 1901.
[154] Abercrombie and Johnson, *The Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme*, pp. 13, 92.
[155] Aldridge, *NHM*, p. 11; HCPP, *The Tudor Walters Report* (1918), p. 5.

under conditions which made it "easy for men to do wrong and hard for them to do right".[156]

Along these lines, Booth's science of the city stood as a monumental contribution towards the making of towns into places of citizenship and social responsibility.

T O W A R D S   C I V I C S

With his survey evidence, Booth sought to substantiate the components of his civic programme, Limited Socialism. This programme comprised the interlinked components of home colonies, new unionism, old age pensions and a town planning policy of infrastructural urbanism. It seems that the measures of home colonies and new unionism in addition to the motivation, scope (poverty, temporality and spirituality) and language of Booth's survey report demonstrates Comtean influences. On the other hand, the old age pensions and infrastructural urbanism components draw more so on the influence of Le Play as does Booth's survey method. His findings showed that unemployment and the 'evils' of overcrowding were indicators of a larger moral issue: poor industrial, financial and urban management. As such, one can consider Booth's survey as a virtuous, civic-scientific act. Via Positivist sociology, Booth was seeking to moralise space to achieve a social reorganisation.

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[156] Henry R. Aldridge, *The Case for Town Planning* (1916), p. 115.

CHAPTER 5

Patrick Geddes
A Culture Policy for
Garden City-states

Viewed as Science, Civics is that branch of Sociology which deals with Cities –
their origin and distribution; their development and structure; their functioning,
internal and external, material and psychological; their evolution, individual and
associated. Viewed again from the practical side, that of applied science, Civics
must develop through experimental endeavour into the more and more effective
Art of enhancing the life of the city and of advancing its evolution. With the first
of these lines of study, the concretely scientific, our philosophical outlook will not
fail to widen; with the second, the practical, our ethical insight will not fail to
deepen also.[1] – Patrick Geddes.

The foregoing chapters explained how the Positivists developed a sociological

theory and praxis to analyse moral and spatial problems. We will now see in what

way their activities bolstered a larger 'cities movement' linked to the rise of

modern British town planning.

[1] SS, *SP*, I, p. 111.

This chapter traces Patrick Geddes' endeavours to employ Positivist sociology to redress regional and civic issues such as poverty, public health and urban revivification. It commences with an analysis of his early essays under the influence of Richard Congreve, John Ruskin and Frédéric Le Play. Geddes' early essays suggested that the laws of biology provided an economic basis for sociologists to construct an ethical community. Along these lines, his regional surveys served as an education in 'practical economics,' where students collected biological and social facts about their environment to index common prosperity. Geddes' motivation was to transform towns of individuals into virtuous cities of citizens along the lines of a progressive Arts and Crafts vision of urbanism. For these reasons he encouraged townspeople to become involved in the act of the sociological survey, being a design method for planning idyllic communities. We will see that Geddes' applied sociology synthesised and expanded Comte's historical, Le Play's geographical and Booth's social survey methods. Geddes suggested that the survey results would comprise an Encyclopaedia Civica. This information was to be organised by citizens-sociologists and explain the past and present of their region. The intention here was to create a 'Policy of Culture' or civic programme for restructuring the relationships between individuals, institutions and their environment. Along these lines, an Encyclopaedia and Policy were exhibited in a network of sociological civic observatories, such as Geddes' Outlook Tower. These urban institutional interventions served the purpose of wedding town and country, fostering inclusive public government and achieving imperial devolution. Our focus in this chapter is on how Geddes integrated these sociological ideas and practices – the making of a Policy of Culture – into his first

town-planning proposals. He sought to inject the principles of Howard's Garden City and Comte's Occidental Republic into existing towns to make Garden City-states. As part of a Garden City collective, whose work paved the path for the Town Planning Act of 1909, Geddes promoted applied sociology as a theory and practice for planning metropolitan 'wholes' throughout the empire.

CITIES MOVEMENT, *URBEM EX AGRIS*

Since time immemorial an expansive gradation of human settlements evolved out of the British countryside. The landscape served as a palimpsest from which successive iterations of the architecture of encampments, colonies, hamlets, villages, towns and cities emerged. It is sometimes observed, however, that an air of anti-urbanism persisted throughout nineteenth-century Britain. This statement may be true. But it is dubious to suggest that any Victorian who expressed a general disposition towards 'rurality,' or who insisted on 'designing the urban scene' with some sense of contact with nature, can safely be labelled a reactionary promoting 'conservative myths' about 'the old order'.[2] Instead, it might be suggested that a key source of antagonism towards nineteenth-century urbanisation was this: towns materialised in a way that was not conducive to the meaningful good life of citizenship. The town planner Thomas Sharp observed that after decades spent in 'the foul slums and in deserts of dreary byelaw standardised streets, in the sun-obscuring murk of factory chimneys, the very

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[2] Jean Paul Hulin, 'Rus in Urbe', in *Victorian Writers*, ed. Jean Paul Hulin and Pierre Coustillas (1979), pp. 10-40.

conception of the town *as a town* disappeared from English minds'.[3] Sharp did not insist that such degrading and defiling places with no humane hint of the countryside were in fact a socialist utopia if radical ideal city of the future.

While there were a number of reasons why town building had facilitated the sentiments of anti-urbanism, it seems that since the early nineteenth century a counter current was also surfacing to turn the tide. In the contextual introductory section of each chapter, I have outlined the activities of a 'cities movement'. Here, I am referring to a loose affiliation of public figures whose language and actions contributed towards the making of good cities and citizens. On the civic level, the work of this cities movement is evident in at least four interlinked categories: urban interventions, expositions on the identity of towns, legislation and social investigation. None of these categories are exclusive of the activities of Geddes, his Positivist seniors or later town planners.

Firstly, urban interventions were often thought of as catalysts for initiating a wider civic transformation. These practical components include socio-cultural and intellectual institutions, home colonies, housing redevelopments and infrastructural and town extensions. For example, Robert Owen's New Lanark and Ruskin's Arts and Crafts experiments fit into a tradition of setting out alternatives to the urban status quo. Political and social reform institutions, notably the Charity Organization Society, Toynbee Hall and Fabian Society, made important contributions to shaping public opinion and action on the reorganisation of inner-city housing and industry. Additionally, social critics thought that the

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[3] Thomas Sharp, *Town Planning* (1945), p. 17.

modern architectural 'building process' demonstrated the potential to weave a new urban fabric. Paxton's Crystal Palace of 1851, for instance, brought together in a unique and awe-inspiring way the processes of prefabricated production, improved communications and an efficient 'kit of parts' design, which formed a 'total system'.[4] Critics thought that if such an edifying institution epitomised the feats of human progress, then it would have a moralising ripple effect on the surrounding areas. In a like manner, Haussmann's renovation of Paris, Olmsted's Central Park, Burnham's City Beautiful Movement and the town 'Building-Plans' of German municipalities, opened thoughts about international cities, feelings about local improvements and actions towards reconstruction. These kinds of international projects pressured aristocrats into expressing enthusiasm for the coordination of science and industry in the form of urban social betterment. Insofar as the Positivists' contributions to this first practical category of the cities movement, we have seen that during the 1850s they formed the British Positivist Society. The Society opened a network of Positivist schools, lecture halls and churches across the nation.

Secondly, by composing fluid explanations on the cities of the golden past, present criticisms of town life and visions of urban futures, historians and social critics raised pertinent questions concerning the meaning and function of 'city,' 'town' and 'village'. In the utopian tradition, social thinkers sometimes outlined the path to a new life within romantic small-state communities, bound by paternalistic ideologies or advanced technologies. For instance, James Silk

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[4] Helen Meller, *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain* (1997), pp. 13, 77; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas* (1991), pp. 5-15; Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 35.

Buckingham's greenbelt town proposal for a 'temperance community' called Victoria was to offer the poor and idle work, training and homes in an environment fostering 'universal peace' and association. He specified that the town architecture would be fabricated entirely from 'iron' in a Greco-Roman style and situated along the lines of a concentric square town plan. Buckingham highlighted the 'principle features' common to Victoria and Sir Christopher Wren's proposed plan of London. Wren sought to provide a plethora of 'light, fresh air, and exercise' – 'the mere luxury of space'. While the streets of Wren's plan radiated from the central spaces of 'gardens, or a fountain, or pillar,' Buckingham envisioned the public buildings of Victoria's 'Central Square' creating an elegant civic space 'like the Forum of the Romans, or the Agora of the Greeks'.[5]

Building on Buckingham's work, and equally indebted to Edwin Chadwick's urban health survey following the first cholera epidemic of the 1830s, Benjamin Ward Richardson presented an ideal city in *Hygeia* (1875). Hygeia, a 'City of Health,' would emerge as the result of a 'universally followed' policy of surveying 'sanitary progress'. This policy was to be one component of a 'systematic, scientific art' of perfecting towns. Hygeia was where instead of 'the gutter, the poorest child has the garden; for the foul sight and smell of unwholesome garbage, he has flowers and green sward'.[6] The Positivists contributed to this second literary category of the cities movement by advocating the principles of Comte's utopian republican scheme presented in his *System*.

[5] James Silk Buckingham, *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (2011), pp. 9-30, 183-91.
[6] Benjamin Ward Richardson, *Hygeia, a City of Health* (1876), pp. 15-47; NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1875* (1876), pp. 100-20; NAPSS, *Transactions, 1876*, p. 77.

Comte forecast that by the 1960s physician-sociologists would have transformed the moral and material health of cities and citizens.

It might be suggested that when viewed in isolation, this assemblage of physical experiments and literary ideas, being the first two activities of the cities movement, neither entirely liberated nor succoured the inner-city poor. Nor could they immediately redress the wider repercussions of urbanisation. The social scientist James Hole reflected in 1871 on the ways in which nineteenth-century urbanisation was problematic. The sheer rapidity of industrial development and the demands of population growth were uncontrollable, Hole maintained. There was a lack of forethought, consideration, skill and guidance in town growth. Moreover, parliamentary indecisiveness and administrative inaction exacerbated environmental, social and sanitary conditions.[7]

Thirdly, it was imperative for urban reform to be framed by legislation on sanitation, self-government and building and environmental regulations. The Public Health Act of 1848 and the Public Nuisances Removal Act of 1855 stood as the first significant urban improvements measures. The former established a Central Health Board after the second cholera epidemic. The latter granted powers to condemn rookeries 'unfit for human habitation'. This measure saw little action because it forced the poor to remove to over-compacted tenements elsewhere.[8] The Local Government Board in 1871 began supervising the administration of the poor law and public health measures such as bathhouses, labourers' dwellings and

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[7] NAPSS, *Transactions of the NAPSS, 1871* (1872), pp. 525-7.
[8] HCPP, *Removal and Diseases Prevention Acts* (1855), p. 1118; Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (1984), pp. 164-67; Enid Gauldie, *Cruel Habitations* (1974), pp. 81, 239-57.

town improvements. The Torrens and Cross Acts were enacted following the third cholera outbreak. The Torrens Act of 1868 sanctioned the government's authority to demand proprietors demolish or repair insalubrious accommodations. The 1875 Cross Act warranted officials to purchase any mismanaged property. Acquisition and demolition rewarded landlords with generous reimbursements, and inner-city land values soared. This process aggravated enmity between families affected by the demolitions. They often struggled to find new accommodation near their workplaces. For Geddes, the process equated to the 'alternate exploitation of the people and of their municipality'.[9] The Cross Act also mandated national regulations on sanitation, water supply and street cleaning, while specifying building guidelines for lodging houses and dwellings. Because the legislation's financial stipulations hindered local authorities' capacity to rebuild, speculative builders used these housing minimums to proliferate arrays of row houses called 'byelaw streets'.

The Local Government Board enacted the Housing of the Working Classes Acts (1885-1903), which enabled local authorities to acquire Treasury loans for piecemeal modernisation. It was thought that these measures would help offset the affects of the trade depression, mass redundancies and the rise of socialism. By the 1890s public health, housing and local government acts permitted authorities to oversee development, regulate public health more efficiently and build county institutions. The Positivists underpropped these legislative measures as enacting 'Home Rule' for British towns. The Positivists' contributions to this third

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[9] Geddes, *CE*, p. 150.

category of the cities movement were their programmes for social reorganisation. They sought to alter policies and legislation regarding imperialism, trade unionism, sanitation, housing and the poor law.

Fourthly, and concurrently building throughout this discussion on the cities movement was its critical core: social investigation. The quest to understand the nature of manufacturing zones, and the urge to envisage cities ideal and cities past, was increasingly associated with the process of town survey, diagnosis and treatment. Constructing a synoptic view of city growth, the sociological survey was indispensable to making a meaningful impact on regional life. By the twentieth century, a collective of self-appointed town planners contributed to surveying, planning and building activities. Their work ushered in the Town Planning Act of 1909. These actors helped resuscitate a nearly forgotten civic planning discipline, which had been overshadowed by the burgeoning complexities of modernity.

As a 'Positivist sociologist' Geddes played a central role in the emergence of modern British town planning. Along these lines, Gregory Claeys explains that Geddes and his colleague Victor Branford

increasingly portrayed Comte's vision as a realisable 'eutopia' which implied a revival of the ancient and Renaissance ideals of the city-state, and could be understood in terms of a new science of applied sociology, 'civics', which developed Positivist nationalism further in the direction of a theory of liberty and community.[10]

Although paying little heed to 'Comtism,' John Scott and Ray Bromley portray Geddes' work as regionalism, or perhaps critical regionalism – a search to

[10] Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*, pp. 114-15.

harmonise the global and local condition. They suggest that the 'Victorian sociologist' was seeking to mediate between a 'series of nested structural levels,' layered from international and national relations down to civic and household interactions. [11] In this chapter I wish to show that following the Positivist tradition, Geddes' work sought to link these fragmented socio-spatial levels. His sociology forwarded a theory and practice for planning self-governing city-regions or republics.

S C I E N C E & S O C I E T Y

From 1875 the founder of British Positivism Richard Congreve delivered addresses at Chapel Street Hall under the rubric 'Human Catholicism'. Censures promulgated against Comte's *System* appearing in Thomas Huxley's *Lay Sermons* (1870) provided Congreve with an opportunity to clarify the Positivists' credo: social action via sociology. While Huxley, the evolutionary biologist, had been a student of Comte's works for over sixteen years, he mocked the dwindling scientific merit of sociology and the Positivists' 'demonstrable faith'. Huxley quipped that Positivism was 'Catholicism *minus* Christianity'. Congreve's defence of Comte's *System* as the 'definitive construction' of sociology in the press drew Huxley's Royal School of Mines pupil, Geddes, into the Positivists' Chapel Street Hall. Geddes regarded Huxley's *Lay Sermons* as 'the most

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[11] Scott and Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology*, pp. 90-1.

fascinating book on science,' but he too was 'unconvinced' by its 'onslaught on Comte'.[12]

At Chapel Street Hall, Congreve offered scientific education, organised festivals and pilgrimages, administered civic rites of passage, lectured on the sociology of ancient city-states and proselytized the merits of Comte's devolutionary framework. From the 1870s, the physician's Southfields cottage and the biologist's Edinburgh flat became common places for lengthy, one-to-one discussions about Positivism. Geddes commended Congreve as 'Oxford at its best'.[13] He reflected that the tutor's intellectual impact on him was a 'revelation'. Congreve referred to Geddes as 'my prospect' – a potential leader of a Scottish Positivist Society.[14]

At Chapel Street Hall, the young biologist attended the physician's Sunday morning meetings. Here, he also attended some of the weekday seminars led by Congreve's acolytes. Geddes became a 'regular worshipper' at the Hall, was elected as a lifetime member of the London Positivist Society and raised his children to venerate 'Humanity'.[15] In 1907 he explained to his colleagues at the Sociological Society what Comte's work meant to him. It represented to him 'an idealisation' of the 'progress of science, the advancement of the people, the cause of woman, and the development of art'.[16] While Geddes linked Positivism to town planning, his Positivist Society colleagues were not immune to his criticism. He

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[12] Congreve, *Essays*, II, p. 225; Thomas Henry Huxley, *Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews* (1870), pp. 88, 153-91; Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, p. 11.

[13] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, pp. 1-2.

[14] OUBL-CP, MSS.Eng.lett.c.186, ff. 98-146 (1899); OUBL-CP, MSS.Eng.lett.e.57, ff. 136-9 (1884).

[15] BLPES-LPS 1/1, ff. 1-4 (n.d.); Pickering, *Auguste Comte*, III, p. 571. Geddes' name appears in the Positivist Society membership book held at the British Library.

[16] KU-LP/1/1/3/10, ff. 27 (1907).

lambasted them during the 1920s, like Huxley and later Congreve had, for not advancing both the scientific and humanist aspects of Comte's vision.[17] Geddes developed and adapted Comte's ideas well into the 1920s, during which time he relayed his perception that the 'man in the street is far more of a positivist then he knows'.[18]

While the London Positivist movement was bifurcating in 1878 Geddes was studying history at the Sorbonne and biology at the École de Médecine in Paris. That year he witnessed the Universal Exhibition, which was organised by the ex-Saint-Simonian, Frédéric Le Play. Geddes audited a lecture there delivered by one of Le Play's students, Edmond Demolins. Demolins discussed the value of social science surveys for discerning the synergetic relationship between community, industry and environment. As we will see, Geddes would later employ this interpretation to vindicate the claims of labour.

By the 1880s Geddes was a demonstrator at the school of Medicine at Edinburgh University and was exchanging letters and manuscripts with Congreve about biology, economics and scientific classifications. Geddes was seeking to develop a scientific approach to resolving the material scarcity and moral privation of British industrial centres.[19] The result of this search appeared in 1881 under the title *The Classification of Statistics.* Like Saint-Simon and Comte, Geddes' essay discussed the potentials of the international co-ordination and unification of the sciences. Geddes built a hierarchical scientific classification beginning from the preliminary sciences of logic and mathematics and building up

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[17] Patrick Geddes, 'A Current Criticism of the Positivist School', *PR* (1921), 145-9.
[18] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, p. 9.
[19] US.T-GED 9/18, ff.176 (1887); US.T-GED 2/5/19, (? c. 1880s); US.T-GED 2/5/20, (? c. 1880s).

to the most complex natural sciences. Like Spencer, he stated that biology represented the natural science link to the premier human sciences of sociology and ethics. Geddes maintained that this scientific classification could simplify the cross-disciplinary investigation of social phenomena and, perhaps, facilitate structured social change. Scientists could construct a 'complete account' of a 'group of societies' beginning with their concrete biological requirements or, perhaps, their basic human needs. They could establish a 'scientific description' of society and, thereafter, detail an art of making an ethical community. He laid down four scientific laws that form a 'society':

 First, then, a society obviously exists within certain limits of time and space. Secondly, it consists of a number of living organisms. Thirdly, these modify surrounding nature, primarily by seizing part of its matter and energy. Fourthly, they apply this matter and energy to the maintenance of their life, i.e., the support of their physiological functions. … A society may be much more than all this, in which case more general truths are discoverable, but in any case these four generalisations are obviously true, neither hypothesis nor metaphysical principle being involved.[20]

The historical and statistical classification of 'social facts' positioned human society within the 'natural' world. The laws of biology and sociology, rather than political economy, formed the basis of human society.

Geddes probably encountered some of these ideas while auditing the lectures of the Positivist Vernon Lushington. At the Positivist Society, Lushington announced that biological laws would form the immaterial architecture of the 'social commonwealth of the future'. He was referring to Comte's line that 'Biology widens and completes our sense of insecurity, by making us aware how precarious is the individual existence'. Biological needs oriented individuals

[20] Patrick Geddes, *The Classification of Statistics* (1881), pp. 12, 23-9.

towards community. The Positivists thought of biology as the 'foundation of the whole social economy' of their 'moral or religious socialism'.[21]

<center>P R A C T I C A L   E C O N O M I C S</center>

Geddes offered a sociological definition of society, which also as a critique of political economy. He was suggesting that economic affairs should be tied to biology and subordinate to sociology. Social scientists and political economists had recently published denunciations of the work of the Positivist and Irish Statistical Society president J.K. Ingram, who had made similar suggestions. In Ingram's defence, Geddes took issue with the popular claim that economics was an uncontrollable force, sovereign from the natural and human world. He wrote:

> Even if the reviewer is unacquainted with the classical demonstrations of the dependence of social upon physical and biological science … is he seriously prepared to study the "laws of population" without reference to the rate of reproduction of living beings; the doctrine of "competition" without reference to the struggle for existence; or the doctrine of "progress" without knowing whether or not it is in the line of evolution?[22]

Building from biological reasoning, Geddes promoted 'embracing all existing and possible sociological statistics' to construct a 'system of economics' for community life.[23]

Following one of his 'moral teachers,'[24] Frederic Harrison, Geddes turned to the works of John Ruskin, who had developed an urban discourse tied to an organic or agrarian mode of economic production. Like Harrison, it seems that

[21] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 167-95, 645-6; DT-LP, 'Spiritual Power', ff. 1-4 (1889); Harrison, *NSP*, pp. 428-50.
[22] KU-LP/11/1/10, ff. 2 (1907); *The Scotsman,* 27 June 1885; 'Politics', *WR* (1882), 538-52; Patrick Geddes, 'Co-operation versus Socialism', in *The Co-operative Wholesale Societies Limited*, ed. N.A. (1888), pp. 285-308.
[23] Patrick Geddes, *An Analysis of the Principles of Economics* (1885), pp. 3-7.
[24] Patrick Geddes, *Every Man His Own Art Critic (Glasgow Exhibition, 1888)* (1888), p. 20.

Geddes' introduction to the systematic synthesis of Positivist ideas was through the critical-literary and social reform work of Ruskin.[25] The vital aspect of Ruskin's economic thought that Geddes drew on, was how it underpinned an Arts and Crafts culture. Geddes held that an artistic urban vision was vital to ending the 'war' between the economic and natural sciences. Such a vision would permit the 'speedy conquest' of sociology over the affairs of public life.[26] Years later, he proclaimed that Ruskin's 'critique of Paleotechnic industry and its economics' wrought a 'generative spirit' towards 'Eutopia as Garden City'.[27]

For Geddes, Ruskin's work had built on the agricultural footing of economics outlined by the Physiocrats and provided the structure for the re-systematisation of finance based upon biology.[28] Ruskin appreciated wealth as 'quality of life' expressed in the positive environment, which constituted the 'unity of morality and economics'. In *Unto This Last* (1860), a work scholars have described as 'civics' or 'the art of economics,'[29] Ruskin wrote that he rejected the 'science of getting rich' from 'inequalities or negations' or any other means of 'keeping your neighbour poor'. He held that the physical environment held intrinsic value because it could sustain life, and as such, it represented wealth. He explained, however, 'that country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings'.[30]

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[25] This line of argument has already been explored in two recent Ruskin studies: Gill G. Cockram, *Ruskin and Social Reform* (2007); Michael H. Lang, *Designing Utopia* (1999).

[26] Cockram, *Ruskin and Social Reform*, pp. 94-124; Harrison, *John Ruskin*, pp. 65-113.

[27] Amelia Dorothy Defries, *The Interpreter Geddes* (1928), p. 235.

[28] Patrick Geddes, *John Ruskin* (1884), pp. 26-7.

[29] John Ruskin, *Unto This Last* (1921), p. 7.

[30] John Ruskin, *LEWJR* (1903-12), XVII, pp. 44, 105.

For Comte and Ruskin, the 'making of civil persons' and a wealthy country hinged on living and working environments being conducive to 'civilisation'.[31] Foreshadowing Howard's Garden City, Ruskin's *The Mystery of Life and its Arts* (1869) discussed a civilising social reform beginning with clothing and feeding the poor. This step was to be succeeded by housing and town improvements

so far as we can get it, thorough sanitary and remedial action in the houses that we have; and then the building of more, strongly and beautifully, but in groups of limited extent, kept in proportion to their streams, and walled round, so that there might be no festering and wretched suburb anywhere, but clean and busy street here, and the open country there, with a belt of beautiful garden and orchard round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass, and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few minutes' walk.[32]

Ruskin was seeking a revival of the ancient green-belt community. In a series of lectures to the Ruskin Society, Geddes discussed how different social types engaged with the specificities of place in different kinds of economic production, which produced different kinds of environmental and cultural disparity.[33]

Ruskin's urban vision designated master builders and artisans as stewards of the environment. They could guide the transformation of England into a land of 'green fields' and humble homes. Ruskin maintained that 'the city is the central expression of the national religion'. This religion was to be expressed in terms of the 'majestic' vernacular language of regional architecture.[34] Ruskin maintained, as such, that participatory citizenship would centre on the built environment, being the 'Public-Thing'. The city would become an accumulation of the art of architecture, and this wealth would be common to all its inhabitants. Like 'old

[31] Ibid. XVIII, 485.
[32] Ibid., 183-4; Lang, *Designing Utopia*, p. 41.
[33] Geddes, *John Ruskin*, pp. 32, 41-43; KU-LP/11/2/14/4, ff. 33 (? 1922); *GH,* 19 Nov 1884.
[34] Lang, *Designing Utopia*, pp. xi-157; John Ruskin, *LEWJR* (1903-12), XXX, p. 156.

Communism,' the result would be that all citizens enjoy 'vast spaces of land for culture, exercise, and garden, round the cities, full of flowers'.[35]

Ruskin's texts influenced the work of Octavia Hill, William Morris, Philip Webb and Raymond Unwin, who endeavoured to bring an Arts and Crafts mode of communal urbanism into fruition. They endorsed the preservation of ancient buildings, open spaces, housing reform, guild communities, university settlements and Garden Cities and Suburbs. Geddes contributed to this tradition as part of the Edinburgh Social Union.

At the Edinburgh Architectural Association, Geddes argued that architecture could act as an agency of progress, integrating economic, political, cultural and intellectual arts. He fashioned existing towns, conventionally labelled 'vast and prosperous industrial cities,' in Ruskinian terms: they stood as 'working models of hell'.[36] He gave these talks at the Association as a representative of the Edinburgh Social Union. Invigorated by the philanthropic example of Ruskin and Hill, the Union formed to ameliorate the poor living in the abysmal tenements of Edinburgh's Old Town. The health inspector William Chambers had previously noted that the old centre was 'the most uncleanly and badly ventilated' location he had ever seen. Each hovel contained as many as eight families. The 'excrementitious matter of some forty to fifty thousand individuals is thrown daily into the gutters,' Chambers wrote.[37] Along these lines, the Edinburgh Social Union members pledged a 'crusade against intemperance,' uncleanliness and

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[35] John Ruskin, *LEWJR* (1903-12), XXVII, p. 121; ibid. XVI, 339-45; ibid. XVII, 105.
[36] Philippe Jaudel, 'Ruskin's Vision of Two Cities', in *Victorian Writers*, ed. Jean Paul Hulin and Pierre Coustillas (1979), pp. 73-92; Geddes, *John Ruskin*, p. 3; *GH,* 16 Dec 1884.
[37] HCPP, *Sanitary Inquiry*, p. 155.

other 'evils'.[38] They improved habitation and sanitation by opening courts, clearing streets, furnishing window gardens and instituting didactic initiatives.

By 1886 Geddes resolved to revitalise the Edinburgh Old Town centre and moved into a rundown tenement in James Court, St Giles. The following year he opened University Hall, an independent student residence within the neighbourhood. Geddes, Branford and colleagues set out to survey the historical, geographical and social aspects of British towns. Over the next few years, they would call out a 'Crusade of Culture'. Geddes perceived the role of the sociologist as not only one who collects empirical data, but also organised citizens into a localised practice of self-help. This approach, as we will see, was motivated by the industrial and social calamities of the 1880s and 1890s.

CLAIMS OF LABOUR

In late 1884, Harrison announced an 'Industrial Remuneration Conference'. Here, the Positivist Society, Statistical Society, trade unionists, republicans and co-operators met to discuss the widespread distress caused by the economic depression.[39] They met in response to the environmental, industrial and agricultural complications of the 1880s that led to a disruption of trade, the ramifications of which rippled throughout the Empire. The consumption of raw materials (such as coal, pig iron and cotton) fell, as did the demand for shipbuilding. These circumstances transformed the employment capacity of not only shipyards, warehouses and workshops but also shipping, milling, mining,

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[38] *GH,* 1 Feb. 1887.
[39] *PMG,* 8 Sept. 1884.

steel manufacturing, docks work and service industries.[40] As such, Harrison

directed the conference convenors to publish an unbiased work on the question of

the best means, consistent with equity and justice, for bringing about a more equal division of the accumulated wealth of this country, … so that it might become possible for all to enjoy a fair share of material comfort and intellectual culture, possible for all to lead a dignified life, and less difficult for all to lead a good life.[41]

The use of facts to 'moralise capital' was broadly debated at the conference.

Many convenors felt that the purpose of capital accumulation was to safeguard

employees during periods of decline. It was observed here that wages fell for

many workers. Others were forced to fight for temporary work or suffered the

stigmas of pauperism, unemployment and homelessness. Geddes interjected that

'a serious omission' was being made during the conference proceedings. Virtually

all the papers that were rallying public opinion, demanding the state create jobs

and agitating for reform or revolution, were not defining true ends. He asked:

What were the actual surroundings of life for the working classes, not men only, but, in the order of human, national, social, and, therefore, also political importance – first for the children, next for the women, and then for workmen themselves?

Dirty little narrow streets, jerry houses overcrowded and ill-ventilated, jerry furniture, parks generally so far away as to be of little use; little playground for the children but the gutter; little repose for the women but to gossip about the street doors; no refuge for the weary men but to loaf at the street corner, if they did not muddle at the public house … They wanted better houses, and more inside them and more outside them.[42]

A 'Claims of Labour' lecture series was thereafter organised to take place at

Edinburgh in 1886. Geddes was chosen to contribute a lecture for this conference,

held in the town of his budding improvements projects. Here, he took a broader

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[40] W.H. Beveridge, *Unemployment* (1910), pp. 5-15.
[41] *Industrial Remuneration,* ed. Dilke, pp. v-32, 437-84.
[42] Ibid., 241.

stance. Contesting Spencer's notion of the 'survival of the fittest,' and deriding

the fracas between capital and labour, he argued that prosperity was to be found in

a mutually binding relationship between 'organism and environment'. Following

Le Play, Geddes held that 'Organism' meant collective intellectual and physical

productive forces refining the metropolis. Geddes was not speaking of the

accumulation of capital and a better life for some, but of an enhanced quality of

life for all. Advocating the moralisation of capital, he proclaimed that humanity

was obliged to bequeath to future generations the wealth of the positive

environment and the intellectual and moral tools for improvement. Geddes

suggested that the 'remedial treatment' of towns would 'raise the whole character

and aims of our civilisation'. This was no 'utopian aim,' but a realisable objective:

> It is no small matter to speak of reorganising cities, of reforming industries, of transforming the ideal of progress from an individual Race for Wealth into a social Crusade of Culture. Yet though the vastness of the problem needs the largest aims and the most liberal sacrifice of life and wealth, the resources are at hand, nay, the process is fairly begun: art and education … are commencing to reassert their ancient leadership of civilised industry. Only thus can we ever hope to realise the aim of practical economics … the progressive development of the highest human social life – not the Increase of Wealth, but the Ascent of Man. [43]

Art, public education and urban health could be coordinated into a Crusade of

Culture. As a substitute to the popular art show, Geddes envisioned that industrial,

cultural and health exhibitions and museums could reorient the social evolution of

a whole town.[44]

Geddes' main source of inspiration here was probably Le Play's universal

exhibit of 1867. Along these lines, Geddes thought of halls, housing, hospitals,

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[43] Patrick Geddes, 'On the Conditions of Progress of the Capitalist and of the Labourer', in *The Claims*, ed. James Oliphant (1886), pp. 74-111.
[44] Ibid.

temples and schools as Positivistic institutions. He advocated the construction of a 'temple of industry' that would enable citizens to appreciate the modern art of reconciling 'industrial *order*' (capital) with 'industrial *progress*' (trade unionism). [45] By coordinating technological innovations, exhibitors could construct more than an exhibition. They could create a permanent 'Ideal Street,' demonstrating a single unit of a 'healthy and beautiful town'. The careful planning of such exhibitions could transform entire communities, street by street. Through this mode of urbanisation, the 'production of health' could become paramount to the production of profit. Like Richardson, Geddes positioned physicians as assuming a leading role in society

the specialists fighting disease in detail, and the hygienists battling with it wholesale, city by city. The function of the latter is developing from the simple analysis of water and sewage, to the initial and consultative side of the organisation of public works, and even towards regulation of the whole conditions of industry. Following this, also, comes the reform of education, and hence the importance of health exhibitions, which not only illustrate, but further this silent and peaceful social revolution. [46]

As we have seen, Comte deemed medical training *the* 'scientific preparation for sociology'. [47] Years later, Geddes recalled his survey collaborations with the Positivist physician, J.H. Bridges. They strove to look after the 'broad lines of public health … towards a larger view of city needs, requirements and possibilities … practically that which the Garden City and Town planning movement was soon to be expressing'. [48] And unlike Ruskin, Geddes and the Positivists were not averse to the use of the machine for these purposes.

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[45] Patrick Geddes, *Industrial Exhibitions and Modern Progress* (1887), pp. 53-6; *MP,* 7 Sept. 1886.
[46] Geddes, *Industrial Exhibitions*, pp. 53-6.
[47] Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 380, 66.
[48] Liveing and Geddes, *NCT*, p. 6.

Detecting the decline of the British Empire, Geddes advocated the making of British cities into the key unit of socio-economic interest. To initiate civic recruital and renewal, he turned to the economic machinery of the cooperative movement and offered an outline for transforming the empire into a 'cooperative commonwealth'. He sought to revive the philosophical agenda of Owen's movement and to extend Plunkett's rural programme into the civic sphere to produce a life-centred economy. Geddes suggested that three sets of groups would unite to form a 'university of the future' and produce practical regional exhibitions. The groups he listed here were mental and physical health organisations, social institutions and environmental associations focusing on housing, sanitation and art. These groups would oversee the implementation of various urban projects, such as building cooperative banks, shops, educative facilities and providing limited land holdings. Geddes thus wished to coordinate these groups to realise a city as an 'organic whole of social duties'. The 'distinct occupations of medicine and building are becoming woven again into a vast whole, that of the material hygiene of life' as a 'vast brotherhood of education conceived as a development throughout life'. This life-education would soon become 'more common … than religion or politics have ever been'. Converting the 'existing raw material of thoughtless sinners' into 'co-operative saints,' these university groups would usher the Spartan simplicity and virtuous citizenship of the ancient city-state into the modern metropolis.[49] He aimed to facilitate this conversion by introducing learners to the regional survey.

[49] Geddes, 'Co-operation versus Socialism', pp. 285-308, (pp. 285-308).

In 1888 Geddes joined the Vacation Science Courses series introduced by J.A. Thomson and G.F. Scott-Elliot. The course was open to all learners and taught 'personal observation and interpretation of actual facts'. Geddes delivered lectures for the programme over the next twelve years. His first syllabi on 'social science and social life' appeared with the subtitle 'practical economics'.[50] Geddes and others organised their lessons around the regional survey. Branford provided an elucidation of this encyclopaedic method for the *Positivist Review*:

Starting with a study of the geological strata of any particular region, and going on through its physics, its botany, its zoology (not only a description of flora and fauna, but an account of the history, i.e. the evolution of these), and finally unfolding and interpreting the various historic and economic strata which build up the architecture and society of the region, we get a complete survey of that region, we construct its past, we read its evolution, on every side.

Branford added that the popular course 'might almost be called a positivist school' because it was based on systematic, 'sociologic teaching'.[51] Because the regional survey was the backbone of all of Geddes and Branford's activities, it is worth examining its wider intellectual and practical aspects.

The regional survey comprised two primary concentrations – civic and rustic. One focused on the metropolis, and the other on its hinterlands. The object of the regional survey was to trace the evolution of social formations, which structure and restructure each region over the course of time. The civic survey, derived from Comte's work, focused on four civic types and their respective institutions in the metropolis. The rustic survey, derived from Le Play's work,

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[50] Patrick Geddes, *Experimental Studies in Higher Education* (1890), p. 13.
[51] Victor Branford, 'The Edinburgh Summer Meeting', *PR* (1893), 215-20.

documented the geography of rustic types and their respective institutions settled within the pastoral panorama of towns and villages encompassing the mother city [Figs. 23-4]. Intermediating between town and country was the social survey, which was derived from Booth's work. This survey recorded the socio-economic conditions of families and served the purpose of redressing social 'evils'. The following sections attempt to show in what ways Geddes' 'applied sociology' was indebted to Comte's historical, Le Play's geographical and Booth's social survey methods.

The Association of the Valley Plan with the Valley Section
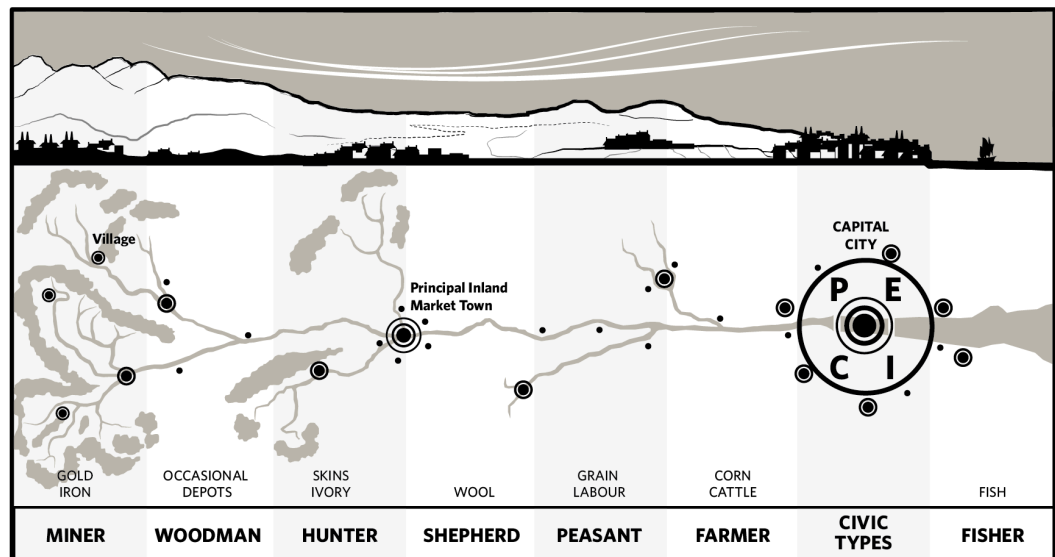
Rural Villages

Le Play's rural types
Miner
Woodman
Hunter
Shepherd
Peasant
Farmer
Fisher

Towns & Cities

Comte's civic types
P: People
E: Emotionals
C: Chiefs
I: Intellectuals

Figure 23 *'The Association of the Valley Plan with the Valley Section'. Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, TCP (1919), p. 296. Redrawn, with the table of 'Le Play's rural types' and Comte's 'civic types' added by the Author (2012).*

ORGANISERS WORKERS ENERGISERS INITIATORS
ARNOLD BENNETT

KINETICS   POIETICS
ACTIVE   PASSIVE   ACTIVE   PASSIVE
H.G Well's 'Modern Utopia'

CITIZENS LABOURERS TEACHERS PHILOSOPHERS.
Aristotle's 'Politics'

GUARDIANS ARTISANS   POETS   PHILOSOPHERS
Plato's 'Republic'

CHIEFS PEOPLE EMOTIONALS INTELLECTUALS
TEMPORAL POWERS   SPIRITUAL POWERS
Comte's 'Positive Philosophy'(Sociology)

BARONS   SERFS   SECULARS   REGULARS
Feudal Society (State & Church)
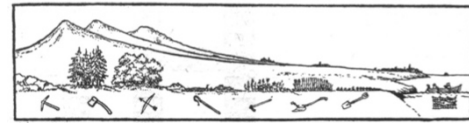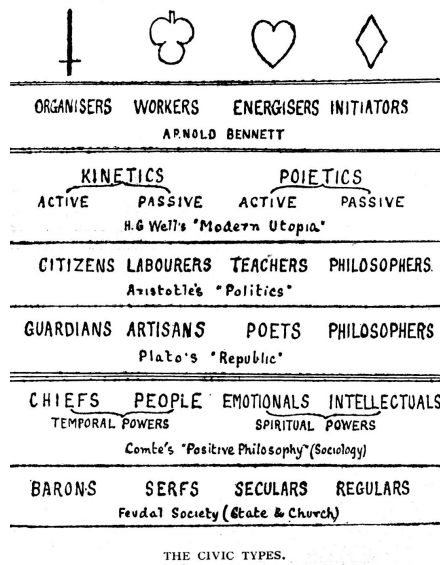
THE CIVIC TYPES.

VALLEY SECTION, WITH TYPICAL VEGETATION AND CHARACTERISTIC
REGIONAL OCCUPATIONS (16).

THE NATURE OCCUPATIONS (17).

Figure 24 *Civic and Rustic Types. Patrick Geddes, SSCC, PftP, 8 (1917-9), pp. 5, 21.*

Historical Survey

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Comte developed the Positive method of historical observation to trace the dynamic interrelationships between spiritual and temporal powers throughout history. Geddes and Branford referred to these four types in their work as Comte's Intellectuals, Emotionals, Chiefs and People. These civic types assumed different roles in association with different spaces of the city. Spiritual types – Emotionals and Intellectuals – would hold providence over education and culture in spaces such as universities, schools, salons, markets and homes. Temporal types – Chiefs and People – would maintain obligations to business and politics in spaces such as banks, factories, fields, workshops and union halls. [52] In various writings, Geddes explained that his 'theoretical interpretation' of the city-region was formulated by 'building up a complete picture of the greatest products of civic evolution, temporal and spiritual, of all

[52] Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, p. 35.

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places and times up to the present'.[53] Geddes referred to this process as tracing the 'drama of history'.[54] By introducing citizens to the survey of the city past and city present, he sought to empower individuals within the community and encourage them to contribute to the making of the city of the future.

Geographical Survey

The historical civic survey of the city dovetailed with the geographical rustic survey of the rural countryside. It examined the city's emergence from, and connection to, its contiguous landscape. Here, Geddes drew on the work of Le Play, who set out to substantiate the connection between environment, occupation and family types.[55] Le Play's work recorded the life of hamlets and villages within exurban fields and sought to validate a 'social reform' underpinning patriarchy, patronage and the Decalogue. He held that the hinterlands enabled families to raise children as social authorities, inculcating them with 'religious, moral and ethical ideals' in a natural setting.[56] Geddes' rustic survey examined the life of a set of occupational types he had drawn from readings of Le Play's *Le Ouvriers Européens*. They appeared in a 'regional sequence' distributed along the 'valley section,' from mountainside to seaside: the miner, woodman, hunter, shepherd, crofter, farmer, gardener and fisher.[57] Geddes and Branford asserted that the conduct and character of provincial 'social authorities' was bequeathed to adolescents migrating to towns as a social inheritance. They believed that

[53] Patrick Geddes, *Civics* (1904), pp. 103-44.
[54] Geddes and Slater, *Ideas*, p. 82.
[55] KU-LP/1/1/3/1, ff. 5 (n.d.); Le Play, *RSF*, II, p. 129; Le Play, *LoE*, II, p. 1; SS, *Sociological Papers* (1906), II, p. 70.
[56] Dorothy Herbertson, and others, *The Life of Frédéric Le Play* (1951), p. 48.
[57] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 109 (1907).

correlations existed between the social psychology of rural and urban types: hunter (state), shepherd (religion) and peasant (finance).[58] They explained, consider 'how these different types act and react, how they combine with, transform, subjugate, ruin or replace each other in region after region'. 'Social authorities' were not only associated with the order of the provinces but the progress of the city. Villages and their schools were spaces for learning the order of custom and tradition. They stood as the vessels of regional memory. As social authorities moved into towns and united, they constructed university cloisters of 'contemplation, meditation, [and] imagination'. Such institutions catalysed an urban social dynamic, transforming individuals from a state of township to citizenship. They could also spur the evolution of a village or town into a 'Culture City'. The true progressive city thus emerged in parallel with active intellectual institutions: university, temple or Outlook Tower. As a whole, the region consisted of a countryside (of towns, villages and hamlets) surrounding a mother city (or a major town), which stood as zones of 'order and progress' respectively.[59]

Social Survey

Acknowledging the 'determination of the present by the past,' Geddes wrote that the historical survey traced each region's ancient, mediaeval and renaissance history, leading up to modern times. Booth's comprehensive social survey 'easily' represented his method for scrutinising contemporaneous space across town and

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[58] Branford and Geddes, *TCP*, p. 109; KU-LP/11/2/16/1, ff. 35-40 (n.d.); KU-LP/11/4/11, ff. 1 (? 1905); NLS, MS.19998, ff. 2, 25, 125-6 (c. 1912-24).
[59] SS, *SP*, II, pp. 63-5, 80-111; Branford, *I&F*, p. 360; Frédéric Le Play, *Les ouvriers Européens* (1877), VI, p. 5.

country.[60] The social survey examined the relationship between family life, overcrowding, morality and industrial and economic management. Geddes wrote that in this way Booth had 'done more to bring concrete observation and careful statistics into British economics than any other writer'. Booth's survey marked a 'revolution in the treatment of economics' because its 'modern natural science' method took population and consumption of wealth first, followed by distribution and production. Geddes clarified how Booth's economic outlook informed the regional survey:

First of all we take its census, and this not of mere quantity as a whole but of quality, district by district, house by house, family by family, occupation by occupation, even man by man – witness those new detailed studies of the criminal classes, which Mr. Booth and others think worth making even of the non-criminal ones – year by year. With infinite labours of historical and statistical research our accumulated facts do begin to yield us certain ideas or laws, often unexpected altogether, often too quite unexpectedly different from those which our "laws of population" led us to anticipate.[61]

Civics was thus 'largely indebted' to Booth's 'great example' of formulating 'civic policy through city survey' by 'interpretation of the conditions of the city of the present'. It concentrated on improving the 'essential life of modern industry'. Not unlike Harrison's investigations, Geddes traced economic and material resource flows, from 'coalfields, cornfields, goldfields, to the progress of Chicago or the Growth of London'. He added that the first order of the regional survey dealt with social 'evils,' however. This was necessary to 'face and cope' with the 'poverties and diseases, ignorance and follies, vices and apathies, crimes and indolences'. He maintained that all other concerns, such as the

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[60] Geddes, *CE*, p. 330; SS, *SP*, I, p. 118.
[61] Patrick Geddes, *Education for Economics* (1895), pp. 1-21; Branford, 'The Regional Survey', *The Geographical Teacher*, 97-102.

preservation of Nature, development of occupations, pageants or Historic Institutes, must wait, so also personal interests and Civic Developments, as always in presence of fire, pestilence or sword … Our treatment in fact is no longer beginning with Eden … the redress of Evils – or rather the regeneration from them is thus seen to be the primary matter.[62]

Discovering 'facts' about the natural and manufactured world, as the 'systematic study of cities,' was the individual's preparation for 'civic actions as regional service'. For Geddes, the results of the regional survey culminated in an Encyclopaedia Civica detailing the life of a city-region.[63]

ENCYCLOPAEDIA CIVICA

Geddes purchased Short's Observatory in the Edinburgh Old Town in 1892. His firm 'Patrick Geddes & Colleagues' refurbished and renamed it 'Outlook Tower'. Geddes and his collaborators filled the Tower with an example of an Encyclopaedia Civica. The Encyclopaedia comprised historic illustrations, photographs, maps, plans, sections, diagrams and models, depicting city, region, nation and globe. These contents were arranged according to a 'detailed synergy of orderly actions,' showing the 'more systematic correlation of each region with its people, of each people with its region'. He believed that such an exhibit could provide the evidence for 'positively laying down geographical and social laws' of an ethical community.[64]

Geddes anticipated that a permutation of an Outlook Tower would emerge in all major urban centres, with each unit composing its own Encyclopaedia

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[62] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 109, 25 (c. 1907-9); Patrick Geddes, *The Civic Survey of Edinburgh* (1911), p. 537; Geddes, 'The City Survey', *BA* (1911), 276-85; Geddes and Slater, *Ideas*, p. 208; Geddes, *CD*, pp. 35, 213.
[63] Patrick Geddes, 'Geographical Conditions', *GJ* (1898), 580-6.
[64] Ibid.

Civica. In a concerted fashion, these institutions would concentrate on the 'wholesale organisation' of 'social life' in its region. Geddes thought of the Tower as a prototypical nerve centre, or metropolitan capital, where sociologists could organise the 'productive energies' and constructive 'possibilities of peace'. Geddes aimed to incite an intensive local renascence to achieve inclusive self-government and to level oscillations between imperial subjugation, nation-state centralisation, anarcho-militant unrest and rural plunder.[65] The last section of this chapter will provide a broader view as to how he intended to achieve these aims.

It is sufficient here to examine the matter of the making of an Encyclopaedia Civica. Citizen-sociologists would contribute to the creation of this Encyclopaedia and thus to determining the nature of their own regional eutopia. This was to be a threefold, iterative process of survey, plan and implement. As noted, the surveys facilitated outdoor scientific education via fact collection: interviewing, tabulating, photographing, diagramming, mapping, modelling, drawing, etc. The 'economic conditions' presented by each region – its flora, fauna and geologic and climatic attributes – factored into the industrial, 'intellectual and even moral considerations' of town life. The region provided the material resources for crafting the goods of local culture and set the character of the organisation of settlements, thus shaping the distinctive traditions, customs and edicts of its people.[66] Along these lines, the survey findings helped to diagnose the symptoms of decay or despondency within the region. The subsequent activity was to use the

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[65] Geddes, *Education*, pp. 1-28, 47; Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (1922), p. 233; Comte, *SPP*, II, pp. 302-6; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 257-95.

[66] Geddes, 'Geographical Conditions', *GJ*, 580-6. Gane, *Auguste Comte*, p. 7. The survey was perhaps thought of as the means to author a regional constitution or to establish a sociocracy, meaning 'rule by sociology'.

Encyclopaedia to create and implement a civic programme or Policy of Culture for restructuring the relationships between individuals, spiritual and temporal institutions and their environment. Over time, as inhabitants reacted on their environment, new institutions and policies would be created to address social concerns. This iterative process would lift workers from a state of 'slavery to nature into an increasing mastership' over the natural world.[67]

Following this social theory, from the 1890s Patrick Geddes & Colleagues surveyed ten acres of derelict sites and ghettos in the Edinburgh Old Town. The firm appropriated several spaces for 'antisepsis and conservative surgery' to spur the district's conversion into a more liveable environment.[68] His team repaired and revamped Ramsay Lodge, Riddle's Court mansion and other University Hall residences. Sidney Webb later remarked that Geddes was 'making a northern Balliol!'[69]

Geddes also began testing this sociological system of Civics in the colonies from the 1890s. For instance, after hearing of a crisis developing in Cyprus, he travelled to the British annex to conduct a regional survey. The island had been suffering from a crippling stint of local industrial, agricultural and administrative mismanagement. To complicate matters, the island was the recent recipient of a mass immigration of religious and political refugees from Turkey. After an extensive survey of the island, Geddes proposed to organise the construction of a new 'eutopian' school, a 'Cyprus College,' workers cottages and social clubs – all to be financed via the cooperative method. He also sought to establish a silk

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[67] Geddes, 'Geographical Conditions', *GJ*, 580-6.
[68] Geddes, *TPTCD*, I, pp. xvii, 161; Mumford and Geddes, *The Correspondence*, p. 25.
[69] NLS, MS.19282, ff. 26 (1928).

industry. His wider intention, however, was to set Cyprus on a path towards independence.[70] We will now examine one of Geddes's first 'applied sociology' projects, a landscape urbanism commission to prepare the private Pittencrieff Estate in Dunfermline for use as a public park.

G A R D E N   C I T Y - S T A T E

During the late nineteenth century, the steel industrialist Andrew Carnegie purchased Pittencrieff Estate, a manor located in his native town of Dunfermline. For years, townspeople had been denied access to its verdant fields, craggy glen and stream. After retiring, the philanthropist donated a half million sterling worth of steel bonds to convert the estate into a public park.

Dunfermline was the centre of the linen industry. Geddes described its populace as being 'not too sober or cultivated'. The town suffered from industrial mismanagement, tenement living and civic dullness. Over the long term, these circumstances had spurred the emigration of the town's youth to larger manufacturing hubs – the purported hosts of opportunity, social life and wealth. The philanthropist tasked the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust to organise a pioneering experiment. The project scope was to design a pleasure ground to 'bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more of sweetness and light'. The Trust appointed Geddes and the successful landscape designer Thomas Mawson to work out separate schemes.[71]

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[70] US.T-GED 1/8/5, ff. 2-3 (1896); US.T-GED 1/8/6, ff. 3-4 (1896); Patrick Geddes, 'Cyprus', *CR* (1897), pp. 4-8, 19; US.T-GED 1/8/5, (1896); US.T-GED 1/8/7, ff. 1-3 (1897).
[71] NLS, MS.10612 ff. 3-84 (1903); *TT,* 7 Aug. 1903; *TT,* 29 Aug. 1903. Geddes also sought the advice of the Positivists, the Olmsteds, Barnetts and Webbs for this 'Policy of Culture'.
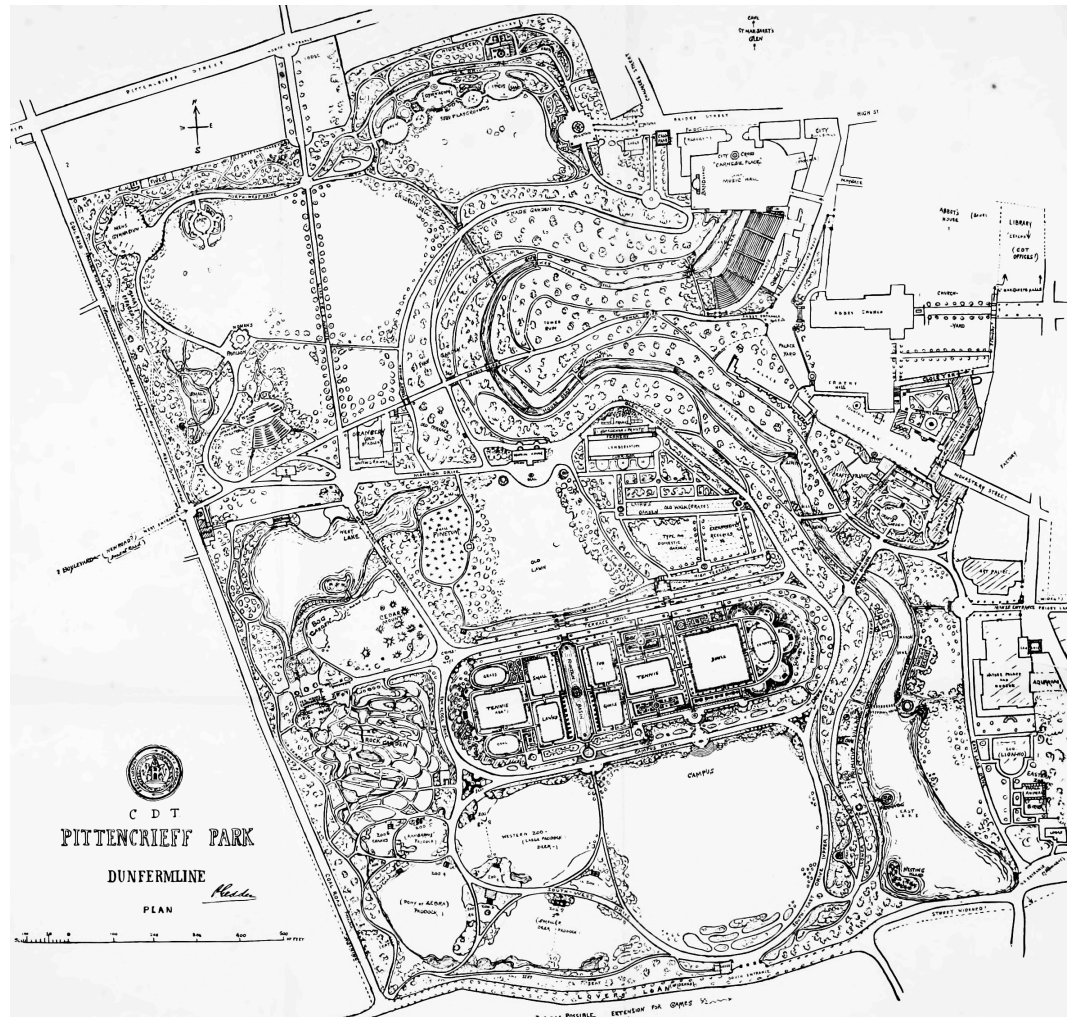
Figure 25 *Geddes' Pittencrief Park Plan, a 'Cathedral of the People'. Geddes, CD, p. 8.*

Geddes' solution, entitled *City Development* (1904) offered a synoptic view of Dunfermline. The 'urban hygienist' did not hesitate to cross the project boundaries of the park. Following a comprehensive survey of the town and region, he determined that the ideal solution was to graft 'moralising agencies' onto the park, town and its surrounding landscape. He was seeking to transform the region into 'one great Open-Air Museum'.[72] Geddes explained how he intended to do this by presenting a topographic model, photographs, architectural plans,

[72] Geddes, *CD*, pp. 1-3, 166; NLS, MS.10612 ff. 2, 18, 22, 25 (1903).

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elevations and sections that illustrated existing and proposed conditions of the park estate, town streets and edifices. He was communicating ideas about a new civic life emanating from the park at the town centre. Moreover, he was innovating a method for injecting the design principles of Howard's Garden City and Comte's Occidental Republic into an existing town.

Geddes' design intended to emend both moral and material debasement. Spaces for 'spiritualising' the body politic – school gardens, children's play areas, concert halls, exhibitions, museums, libraries and institutions such as Élisée Reclus' 'Temple of Earth' – signalled that the park bid to 'pioneer in education' and 'social betterment' [Fig. 25]. Along Positivist lines, all this was to comprise a 'Temple of Humanity'. He wrote that

there thus arises a conception, already nascent, not only in books but in cities, that of park and gardens and culture institutes as becoming the *Cathedral of the People* …We now see the modern town evolving anew towards the culture city – city of realising ideals – and thus again becoming sacred in a new sense, yet one which may have within it much of what is best in the old.[73]

Geddes recommended the purchase of properties adjacent to the park for a new boulevard and also to set up additional social institutes and open spaces. Like Comte, he proposed that instituting women's salons would empower them to lead 'civic progress' via 'education in social life'.[74] In connection with a new sociological institute, he also proposed to lead local citizens in a survey to compile an Encyclopaedia Civica, to actuate Dunfermline's metamorphosis into a regional capital [Fig. 26].

[73] Geddes, *CD*, p. 19.
[74] Ibid., 1-3, 21-35, 221; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 274-5.

The new Pittencrieff Park would represent the cynosure of a budding Garden City-state. Along these lines, Geddes proposed a new planting scheme for the estate's glen. It would serve the twofold purpose of providing new natural habitat zones and remediating the polluted stream. This ecological strategy would be carried out along the course of the streamflow. The revitalised natural waterway corridor would run through the estate and string together new Garden Towns and Villages throughout the coastal region. Geddes' idea here was similar to the Olmsted brothers' 'emerald necklace' in Boston. As a Garden Cities Association member, however, he insisted that the group organise the region's development in full detail. It was a matter of 'transcendent importance not only to local but to general progress'.[75]

The Carnegie Trust shelved Mawson's and Geddes' schemes and instead built a modest gymnasium and public bathhouse. Notwithstanding, Ebenezer Howard commended Geddes' vigorous plan. He hoped the Dunfermline monograph would appear in libraries across the country.[76] It was 'stimulating us all to higher and yet higher efforts to secure civic, national and imperial well-being,' he remarked.[77] Critics hailed Geddes' proposal for redeeming sociology of its stigmas. For Branford, it was an 'appropriately detailed and concrete' application of the 'policy of culture' found in Comte's *System of Positive Polity;* the 'Sociological Friars are coming,' he exclaimed.[78]

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[75] Geddes, *CD*, pp. 3, 20, 98, 210.
[76] NLS, MS.10612 ff. 25 (1903).
[77] SS, *SP*, I, p. 122.
[78] Victor Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', in *Science*, ed. Rev. J.E. Hand (1906), pp. 222-86; Branford, *I&F*, pp. 395-6.

Figure 26 *Watercolour network diagram by R.S. Bowers, depicting Geddes vision of a Garden City network. US.T-GED 22/2/25 (n.d.).*

SOCIOLOGICAL FRIARS

In chapter 3 we saw that Howard's famous book *To-morrow* (1898) offered an alternative housing solution for those affected by the London County Council's urban housing regeneration projects. In fact, Howard devised a complete, sociological vision of a sovereign city-region. He presented a unique 'combination

of proposals' drawn from the ideas of social thinkers who had called for an 'organised migration' of workers to new home colonies to reconnect town industry and agricultural production. Howard had been influence by the writings of Henry George, who did much to expose the relationship between urban poverty the immorality of overcrowding, landlordism and land speculation. Social thinkers including Congreve, Booth, Alfred Marshall, Edward Wakefield and Henry Solly had also supported home colonies.[79] Many such thinkers promoted the taxation of unearned increment and land nationalisation, which would facilitate state organised home colonies and, perhaps, the disbandment of the population around urban manufacturing centres. But some also commended the efforts of private philanthropists who organised model industrial villages such as Saltaire and, later, Port Sunlight and Bourneville. These schemes offered a combination of improved housing and working conditions, contact with the 'natural' environment, disease control and temperance groups and cultural societies.[80]

Howard's ideas about 'community' were shaped by a number of influences, such as Wakefield and Marshall. While visiting America during the 1870s Howard became an adherent of Cora Richmond's religion called 'New Dispensation,' a modern communitarian spiritualism driven by the urge to see through nonviolent social reform. While in America, and after his return to England, Howard also became well versed in the Positivist view of sociology. During the 1880s, he joined the Zetetical Society with Congreve, Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw. The Society discussed the works of Eliot, Spencer and Comte

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[79] Buder, *Visionaries*, pp. 14-36.
[80] E. Howard, *To-morrow* (2003), pp. 6-7, 116-20; A.R. Sennett, *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* (1905), pp. 124-35.

in 'search for truth in all matters affecting the interests of the human race'.[81]

Howard later reminisced that he was beholden to the ideas of Mill, Morris, Martineau and Bellamy, all of whom endorsed aspects of Comte's *System*.[82] Howard became determined to harmonise ideas of science and religion.

Unsurprisingly, the socio-cultural machinery of the Garden City is similar to Comte's Republic in a number of ways. Both Comte and Howard proposed a network of cities. Howard's vision entailed a constellation of satellite colonies encircling London, which were to be linked via rail and roadway. The scheme expected to buoy up 'public-spirited' citizenship, constrain city enlargement with greenbelts and provide development planning and oversight. Howard also discussed establishing common ownership of property and the development of industry via cooperative enterprise.

Situated at the heart of each city would be a vast green space encircled by a ring of institutions. These institutes would reinforce the ideological core of the community: a 'life-centred civilisation'. Howard described the layout that one of his socialist 'home colonies' were to have:

In the centre is a circular space containing about five and a half acres, laid out as a beautiful and well-watered garden; and surrounding the garden, each standing in its own ample grounds, are larger public buildings – town hall, principal concert and lecture hall, theatre, library, museum, picture-gallery, and hospital. The rest of the large space encircled by the 'Crystal Palace' is a public park, containing 145 acres, which includes ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all the people.[83]

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[81] *The Zetetical Society. Programme for the Session 1881-82* (1881), pp. 1-4.
[82] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F3/44 ff. 1-3 (n.d.).
[83] Howard, *GCT*, pp. 20-30, 51-54.
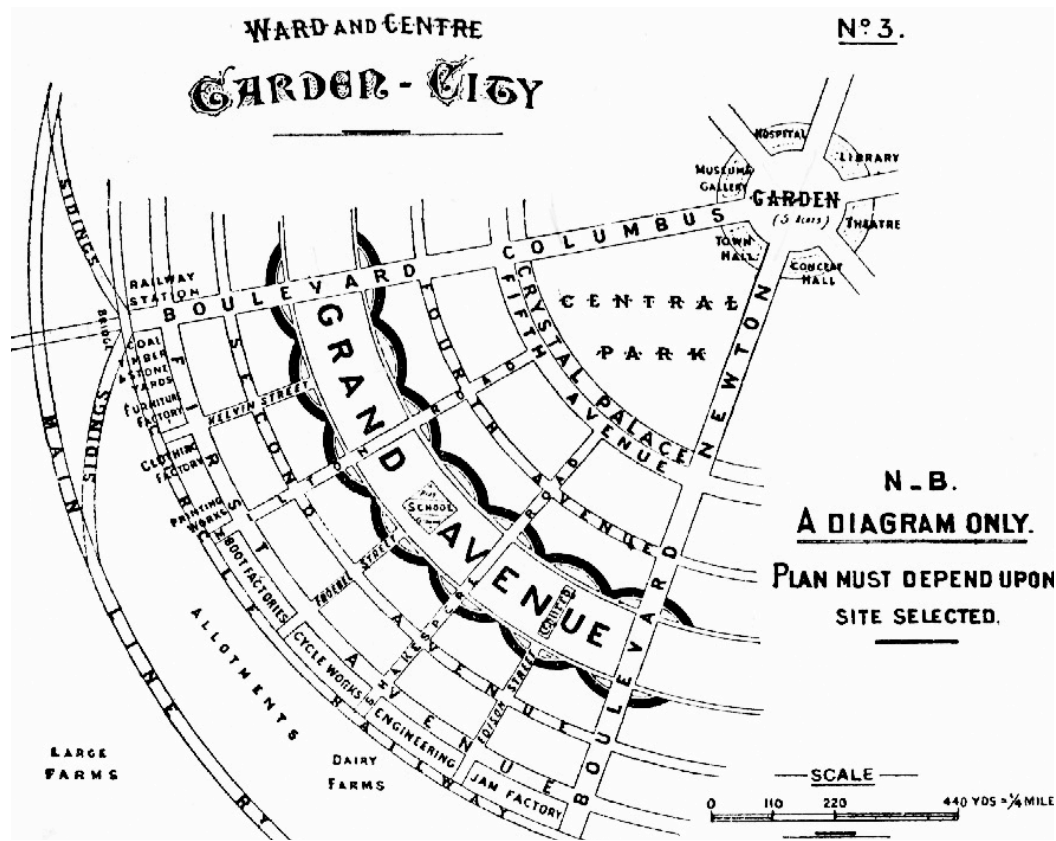
Figure 27 *'Ward & Centre Garden City'. Howard, Ebenezer, CGT (1970), p. 53.*

Howard calculated that town and hinterlands united, totalling 6,000 acres, was sufficient to sustain a population of 32,000 inhabitants. Comte's scheme was to entail approximately 35,000 people per urban unit. While the Positivists' republican calendar honoured Newton, Milton and Shakespeare, Howard named the avenues of his Garden City after the same persons [Fig. 27]. Howard maintained that surveys – economic, agricultural, industrial and social – were pivotal to ensure a city was 'planned as a whole'. Both Howard and Comte agreed that the city should have 'unity of design and purpose'.[84]

[84] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (1902), pp. 51-2, 138-40.
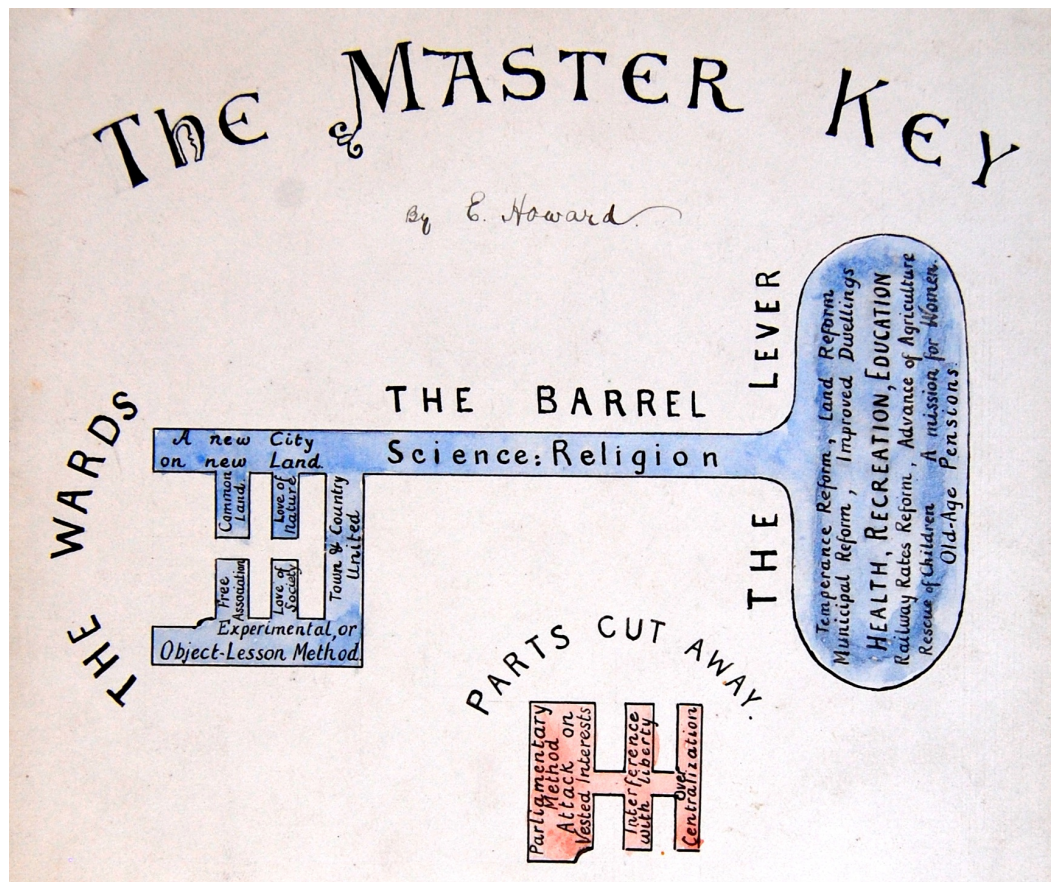
Figure 28 *'The Master Key'. HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F1/14 (? C. 1890s).*

Howard drew and labelled the attributes of a 'Master Key' for starting a Garden City [Fig. 28]. To create the unique grooves of the key, to ensure the City's individuality and diversity, it was necessary to cut away 'over-centralisation,' 'interference with liberty,' 'parliamentary methods and vested interests'. The wards of the key took the shape of 'experimental, or object lesson method' of education, 'love of nature,' 'love of society,' 'free association' and 'town and country united'. The lever of the key was labelled with the words 'Health, Recreation, Education' which included 'improved dwellings,' 'land and temperance reform,' 'rescue of children,' 'a mission for women' and 'Old-Age Pensions'. The barrel of the key was fortified by 'Science : Religion,' which was

necessary to bear the torque force to ignite the socio-cultural machinery of the Garden City.[85]

All of these themes were common to the agenda of the British Positivists. But insofar as this idea of science as a religion, Howard wrote during the 1890s:

It is no more in the nature of things that men should continue to live in old areas because their ancestors lived in them, then it is that they should cherish the old beliefs which a wider faith and a more enlarged understanding have outgrown.[86]

Howard was not only an 'old adherent' of the South Place Ethical Society but also delivered 'Ethical services' at the first Garden City, Letchworth.[87] Here, Howard revealed his sympathy for Positivism, stating:

We must fit ourselves by self knowledge, self reverence, self control, to sovereign power over our souls – so that these shall be shaped and fashioned into living stones to be fitted into the great *Temple of Humanity*. The regeneration of society for which we long must begin with self-regeneration.[88]

Apart from appealing to intellectual and cultural groups to realise his community, Howard also sought to stimulate the 'altruistic side' of industrial Chiefs. He urged them to capitalise on the social opportunity to create a 'whole system and method of industry'. They could inaugurate 'a glorious and peaceful revolution at the close of the 19th century' by endorsing his Individualistic Socialism. Like Booth's Limited Socialism, Howard sought to rehouse the poor in new urban centres in embryo. Similar to Harrison's Social Programme, Howard urged trade unions to engage in practical 'pro-municipal work'. Rather than accumulating subscriptions for a 'strike fund,' he urged unionists to unite with cooperative societies to finance the construction of workingmen's homes,

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[85] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F1/14 ff. 1 (n.d.).
[86] Howard, *GCT*, pp. 146, 11, 90.
[87] Gustav Spiller, *The Ethical Movement in Great Britain* (1934), p. 164.
[88] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F3/10, ff. 11-2 (1909).

cooperative kitchens and community gardens. Howard also discussed Garden City development through 'rate-rent'. Here, agricultural ground and house rent-rates were to be collected and used for 'municipal purposes'. The funds would be expended on soil enrichment; the construction and maintenance of roads, schools and waterworks; and for old age pensions. Comparable to the Positivists' Gospel of Industry, Howard believed this new environment for 'industrious life' would raise civilisation to a 'far higher ethical level than has ever yet been reached'.[89] He envisioned workers uniting as 'a vast army' to

build home-towns for slum cities; to plant gardens for crowded courts; to construct beautiful water-ways in flooded valleys; to establish a scientific system of distribution to take the place of chaos, a just system of land tenure for one representing the selfishness which we hope is passing away; to found pensions with liberty for our aged poor, now imprisoned in workhouses; to banish despair and awaken hope in the breasts of those who have fallen; to silence the harsh voice of anger, and to awaken the soft notes of brotherliness and goodwill; to place in strong hands implements of peace and construction.[90]

CITIES & CITIZENS

Geddes' planning-projects sought to counsel capitalists on how to use wealth for civic beneficence. He aimed to attenuate the exodus of workhands to larger manufacturing districts by enhancing the moral and physical wellbeing of towns. The Garden City was becoming the zeitgeist of design activities in early twentieth-century Britain. Unsurprisingly, the Garden City Association listed Geddes' activities amongst its chief objectives. However, most historians consider the Association, which formed in 1899, as a mere political pressure group. By

[89] HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F1/13, ff. 8-10 (n.d.); HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F20/1 ff. 1-2 (n.d.); HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F17/1, ff. 1-3 (? 1920); HALS-EH, DE/Ho/F3/1, ff. 13-20 (? 1880).
[90] Howard, *GCT*, pp. 106-50.

1906 it had changed its name to the Garden City and Town Planning Association. By this time, the Association had added a gamut of town planning-related activities to its agenda including surveys, tours, exhibitions and lectures. Its practical projects included the design of cottages, suburbs, colonies and town regeneration projects. The Association was one group among many supporting Howard's idea. Naturally, the activities of the 'cities movement' carried into and fortified the efforts of a larger 'Garden City collective'.[91] This section offers a critical account of how these actors proffered Garden City principles as the solution to pressing public health issues.

We have seen that the 'conditions of the classes' had been a subject of public enquiry since the 1830s. Still, in 1885 the physician James Cantlie wrote that the pattern of incessant overproduction, lack of open space, water pollution and London's 'murky atmosphere of coal smoke' caused proletarian misery and physical degeneration. These circumstances stunted the healthy growth of children, decreased the maximum working age and increased the death rate.[92]

Many commentators considered physical degeneration to be one of the more serious, long-term and damning effects of the urban condition. Its consequences approximated a national crisis during recruitment calls for the Boer War (and later during WWI). Examiners deemed an average of fifty per cent of potential recruits as 'physically unfit for military service'. The panic stirred independent enquiries

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[91] The umbrella phrase 'Garden City collective' refers to the Garden City named-groups in addition to their supporters within the Association of Municipal Corporations, Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council, Fabian Society, Hampstead Suburb Trust, International Housing Congress, National Housing Reform Council, Positivist Society, Royal Institute of British Architects, Sociological Society and Town Planning Institute.

[92] James Cantlie, *Degeneration Amongst Londoners* (1885), pp. 33-5.

of children's health and an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in the House of Commons, which focused on the wellbeing of 'certain classes'. They would soon determine that extreme housing densities and industrial contamination caused such 'sinister' health conditions.[93]

For these reasons, the biologist Francis Galton had advocated eugenics or the science of good breeding during the 1880s. The recent physical degeneration enquiries brought him to emerge from retirement. He recalled the principles of eugenics at the Sociological Society.[94] At the Society, Geddes claimed that the work of Booth and Galton had opened an era of 'applied sociology' (euthenics) and 'applied biology' (eugenics).[95] The Sociological Society and its *Sociological Papers* (1905-6) dedicated much time and space to these subjects.[96]

Significantly, Booth and Howard hosted Geddes' civics as applied sociology lectures at the Society. They agreed that 'creating channels' to draw workers to 'return to the land' would solve the 'twin problems of rural depopulation' and 'the overcrowded, overgrown city'. Howard stated that if the same preparation, collaboration, skill, forethought and finance put into national military affairs were orchestrated to combat a

great civil war against disease and dirt, poverty and overcrowding, we could not only build new cities on the best models, but could also bring our old towns into line with the new and better ones.[97]

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[93] HCPP, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration* (1904), I, pp. v-37.
[94] Ibid., 21-2, 34.
[95] SS, *SP*, I, pp. 104-11.
[96] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 60-6 (1904).
[97] SS, *SP*, I, pp. 119-21; GCA, *Housing*, p. 21.

The *Positivist Review* also contributed to discussions on eugenics and sociology. Like Geddes, the *Review* concluded that the 'realisation of the social ideals and Eutopias' via town planning euthenics was 'far more practicable and of much wider scope' than eugenics.[98] Planning advocates such as Ewart Culpin explained that physical degeneration was a facet of a wider ecological issue.

The growth of mechanical industries in the last century, though building up a huge fabric of commercial success, resulted also, through the influx of population to the towns, in the neglect of many of the primary requisites for a healthy life. The rush for commercial supremacy has too often condemned too many of the builders of the fabric to pass their lives in squalid insanitary dwellings, which have become the breeding places of mental, moral, and physical deterioration.[99]

The turn of public support for Garden Cities between 1899-1904 was very much intertwined with this outlook.

As suggested, since 1899, the Garden City Association had been encouraging the acquisition of open space, the removal of manufactories from congested areas and the construction of Garden Cities and Garden Villages. Howard and his Association began to see that there was little hope in acquiring the support of workers' movements to build his experiment. However, the basic premise soon gained the attention of the esteemed liberal barrister, Ralph Neville. Under Neville's direction, the Association and its secretary, the land surveyor, Thomas Adams, began to discuss the parallels between the Garden City idea and the schemes built by 'captains of industry' at Bourneville and Port Sunlight. Adams organised the Garden City Association's first conferences at these locations in 1901 and 1902. It was during this time that the Garden City idea,

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[98] SS, *SP*, II, p. 58; H.Gordon Jones, 'The Eugenic Value of the Environment', *PR* (1913), 182-9; F.J. Gould, 'Patrick Geddes' Eutopia', *PR* (1915), 279-81.
[99] GCA, *Town Planning in Theory and Practice* (1908), pp. 1-4.

espoused by 'utopian socialists' and 'spiritualist cranks,' gained public support by thousands of serious advocates of environmental reform. However, Neville and Adams were shifting the discussion from Howard's big idea for a 'novel environmental order' to 'urban dispersal and low-density cottage-type housing'.[100] Under Neville's practical direction, many who had first rejected the Garden City vision began to offer support for the Association. On reconsideration, for instance, the Fabian Society member George Bernard Shaw commended Howard's appeal to enlightened, paternalistic industrialists to implement social change; the Society met several times to discuss the Garden City movement.[101]

One key reason the Garden City idea began to receive wide support was that sociologists and urban physicians had endorsed it. The Association's social investigators had been collecting and comparing child development statistics in unplanned industrial precincts and at Port Sunlight. The Association's leaders, notably Neville, had been selected to contribute these findings to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration reports. Neville announced that children residing at Port Sunlight displayed 'superior' physical and mental characteristics. The reports stated that stunted child development could be 'attributed primarily to the desertion of the country for the town'. The Committee envisaged that with the realisation of Garden Cities, the nation would see the 'RAPID' resolution of its compounded human-ecological crises.[102]

Thanks to the generous support of wealthy subscribers, including Lever and Cadbury, the Pioneer Garden City Limited organised the purchase of 3,800 acres

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[100] Buder, *Visionaries*, pp. 81-2.
[101] Ibid.
[102] HCPP, *Report of the ICPD*, I, pp. v-37.

of land north of London, in Hertfordshire. Following a design competition in 1903, the Letchworth Garden City Plan was under the leads of the Fabian Society sympathisers Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker.[103] Unwin was the prime mover in uniting Howard's spatial ideas and the Arts and Crafts aesthetic to form town planning principles. These principles could be applied to any development and had a lasting international impact on generations of planners. More immediately, by February 1905 the Garden City Tenants was preparing for the construction of the first workers' housing at Letchworth, which were financed using the cooperative method. Sybella Gurney of the Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council financed the construction of the first two garden cottages at Letchworth.[104] Toynbee Hall organised Civic and Cottage Exhibitions there.[105] Henrietta and Samuel Barnett also procured land for town extensions. Their celebrated Hampstead Garden Suburb was under development by 1906.

The following section indicates how advocates of Garden City urbanism contributed to political discussions and planning practices that paved the way for Britain's first Town Planning Act. Geddes' sociology will play a key role here.

CITIES COMMITTEE

Speaking on the 'civic duty' of decentralisation, the Sociological Society's president James Bryce opened the annual Garden City Association conference in

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[103] Raymond Unwin, *Fabian Tract 109* (1902).

[104] The construction of Sybella's co-operative-financed cottages began in April 1905. They were the first of fourteen cottages built on a six-acre area along Norton Road. Sybella's cottages won third prize at the Housing Exhibition competition of 1905.

[105] SS, *SP*, II, pp. 80-111; GCA, *Housing*, pp. 9, 30-33.

1906. [106] At the conference, Neville advocated the organisation of urban communities using sociology. Like the Positivists, he wrote that laissez-faire development and imperialism precipitated the 'wreck of the lives of masses of our fellow-countrymen'. A return to the question of cities was imperative. [107] Similarly, the slum reformer J.S. Nettleford submitted that physical degeneration was the effect of Victorian muddling: to 'overcrowd dear land and leave cheap land vacant'. In his reasoning for town planning legislation he derided this 'exploitation of one class by another,' stating that 'no impartial man who has studied the question can possibly pretend that the poorer classes have been treated at all fairly in the matter of land and housing'. [108] Convenors concurred with Geddes' remarks that the modus operandi of 'town planning' was 'the application of Garden City principles to existing cities and their suburbs'. Thomas Adams nominated Geddes for the role of Garden City Association vice president in 1906. [109]

The 1907 Garden City Association conference marked an even closer alliance between town planners and sociologists. Members fretted about seeing speculative builders abuse the phrase 'Garden City'. They had witnessed the label being affixed to any development, anywhere. [110] At the 1907 meeting, vice president Geddes therefore announced the founding of the Sociological Society's Cities Survey Committee, later known as the Cities Committee. Those cited as the 'pioneers' of British planning – Abercrombie, Adshead, Horsfall, Lanchester,

[106] *TT,* 26 Oct. 1907; GCA, *Town Planning*, pp. 1-4.
[107] Ralph Neville, *Garden Cities* (1904), pp. 1-8; GCA, *Town Planning*, pp. 1-4.
[108] J.S. Nettleford, *Practical Town Planning* (1914), pp. xvi, 186, 207.
[109] *TT,* 26 Oct. 1907; US.T-GED 9/643, ff. 1 (1906); Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, pp. 118-9.
[110] GCA, *Town Planning*, pp. 25-6; *NA,* 25 Nov. 1909.

Reiss and Unwin – attended its meetings. The Cities Committee demonstrated the value of the 'survey before planning' approach to architects, town planners, council members and the public.[111] Its affiliates were thus among the Garden City collective who paved the way for the Town Planning Bill.

Public support for town planning legislation was engendered by discussions on Garden urbanism, speculative homebuilding and public health. A key move in the direction of legislation was nonetheless made during the 1907 International Housing Congress, which was attended by Booth, Aldridge, Geddes, Lever and Cadbury. Deputations from the Garden City Association and the Congress met with Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman and John Burns to stress considering 'the general idea' of planning legislation.[112] The Congress resolved that planning legislation was essential to making the home 'a nursery for the young, seminary for the youthful, a refuge for the old age, the roof-tree of character'.[113] Campbell-Bannerman announced that 'the very evils' of urban housing continued to spread and were 'defiling the face of nature'. A Town Planning Act was the best way to attenuate the 'urbanisation of the masses' and national 'devitalisation'.[114]

Burns' Town Planning Bill appeared in 1908 with three heads: working class dwellings, town planning and county medical officers. It compelled local

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[111] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 116 (1909); US.T-GED 3/10/1, ff. 1 (1920); Gordon E. Cherry, *Pioneers in British Planning* (1981), pp. 1-8. This included members of the Garden City Association, Royal Institute of British Architects and Town Planning Institute.

[112] The deputation also included representatives of the National Housing Reform Council and Association of Municipal Corporations.

[113] GCA, *Town Planning*, pp. 4-5; Gordon E. Cherry, *The Evolution of British Town Planning* (1974), p. 40; William A. Casson, *The Housing, Town Planning &c., Act, 1909* (1912), p. ix; *TT, 6 Aug.* 1907. *TT,* 8 Aug. 1907.

[114] *TT*, 6 Aug. 1907.

authorities to act on the hitherto non-compulsory or 'adoptive' measures of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890, known as 'clause III'. The Local Government Board would now ensure authorities elected fulltime urban hygienists to survey residences and investigate complaints. It authorised them to oblige proprietors to either rebuild condemned lodgings, or accept their demolition. The Bill also streamlined the local authorities' procedures for acquiring land and building homes following town-planning principles. It caused controversy in the House of Commons. Peers projected planning as a fleeting trend unworthy of legislation.[115] Burns publicised that the Bill aimed to 'provide a domestic condition for the people' enabling the 'whole social condition' to be improved. It aimed to

secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified, and the suburb salubrious. It seeks and hopes to secure more homes, better houses, prettier streets, so that the character of a great people, in towns and cities, and in villages, can be still further improved and strengthened by the conditions under which they live.[116]

Indeed, a portion of the Bill addressed the speculative building crisis in the suburbs. As such, it included provisions for arterial roads to accommodate the autocar. Nettleford explained the preventative motivation here:

During the last 30 years, enormous sums had been spent … in the widening of narrow streets, and by far the greater part of the expenditure had been due to compensation [in excess of £13,000,000] for the demolition of buildings which never ought to have been put up.[117]

One happy consequence of the enactment of Burns' Town Planning Act of 1909 was that universities acknowledged planning as a branch of scientific

[115] HCPP, *HC Deb 30 August 1909 vol 10 cc28-45* (1909); HCPP, *HC Deb 30 August 1909 vol 10 cc109-41* (1909); *TT,* 31 Aug 1909; 'The Housing Bill', *BMJ* (1908), 824-5.
[116] Casson, *The Housing, Town Planning &c., Act, 1909*, pp. ix-x.
[117] J.S. Nettleford, *Practical Housing* (1910), pp. 7-8.

knowledge called Civic Design. With the philanthropic support of Lever, the architects S.D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie organised the first Civic Design course at the University of Liverpool. Branford designated this 'academic initiative in Civics' as indicative of the 'stimulus and guide of sociology in developing town planning towards the higher art of City Design'.[118] Along these lines, Geddes contested those who thought of town planning as nothing more than the economical and functional arrangement of streets and buildings. Still, it shoulb be noted that Geddes's and the Positivists' aim in life was never to win acts of parliametry legislation. Their aim was to stir up public participation of the body politic in social life to see though the rise of science and industry as real, true scientific and industrial powers of modernity.

A R C H I T E C T S & P L A N N E R S

You have only got to poke your head out of a train, and wherever you go you see a range of buildings, and you say, "Did Raymond Unwin have anything to do with that?" "Has Professor Geddes been here?" or "Has the Royal Academy had a garden party close by?" Garden cities and garden suburbs are magnificent in themselves, but they are a hundred times more useful because of the inspiration they create, and the example that they are.[119]

As Burns remarked at the Royal Institute of British Architects Town Planning Conference of 1910, the Garden City movement was combating the urban status quo. He added that the 1909 Act carried forward a discipline – a sociological practice – which Geddes had 'made so attractive in the past ten years in all parts of the country'.[120] Yet Geddes certainly did not think that town planning

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[118] KU-LP/11/4/25, ff. 5-6 (n.d.).
[119] RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. 66-71.
[120] 'Town Planning', *BA* (1911), 106-7.

legislation and bureaucratic paperwork would create the true kind of activism required to forge eutopia.

At the conference, architects waded through the matter of what this relatively new phrase 'town planning' was all about. The Institute's secretary-general John Simpson demarcated 'town planning' as 'the art of laying-out either the nucleus of a new city or the extension of an existing one to the best advantage of its population, as regards economy and beauty'. [121] Notably, C.B. Purdom, argued that the phrase 'town planning' connoted the process for making a Garden City, carte blanche or otherwise. [122] The essential elements of the Garden City idea, Geddes, Mumford and Harrison observed, existed centuries ago in Edinburgh, Oxford and Bath.[123] Similarly, the Institute's *Transactions* (1911) of the town planning conference traced a historical survey of the Greek *polis* through to the medieval free city. Francis Haverfield and Reginald Blomfield juxtaposed classical town plans with the chaos of 'barbarian' settlements. The 'straight line and the square' stood as 'the distinguishing mark of the civilised man,' Haverfield wrote.[124] These examples served as in introduction to discussions of modern British industrial agglomerations, which segued into talk of regional surveys and visions of a civic revolution opening the cities of the future.

Throughout this dissertation, we have seen that the Positivists insisted on designating a moralised authority – a 'dictator' – to administrate the material domain. Similarly, the Institute's president Leonard Stokes offered support for the

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[121] RIBA, *Transactions*, p. v.
[122] C.B. Purdom, and others, *Town Theory and Practice* (1921), pp. 11-15.
[123] Mumford, 'Regions to Live in', *Survey Graphic*, 151-2; Frederic Harrison, 'An Old Garden City', *Cornhill Magazine* (1914), 460-65; Geddes, *CE*, p. 12; Howard, *GCT*, pp. 29-40.
[124] RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. v, 61, 111-87.

institutionalisation of a body of town planning elites, lead by a 'benign Despot,' to govern urban development.[125] For the same reasons, housing reformers, architects and town planners reiterated well into the 1920s that it was vital to install a benevolent dictator, as a 'supreme guiding direction' in urban affairs. Planning reports remarked that such a steward of the positive environment could, for instance, abate the proliferation of suburban slums and stave off 'further overcrowding in the built-up areas'.[126]

On multiple occasions, the lecturers at the Institute's conference intimated that architects stood as venerable public servants and time-honoured guardians of the environment. However, some auditors re-joined that architects qua town planners were tools for the enrichment of landowners or 'land monopolists,' who colluded with county councils to increase their land value on the public purse. Critics claimed that town planning was a distraction from the obstacles of home ownership, idleness, pauperism and the living wage.[127] Henry Aldridge countered such remarks by stating that planning was not a 'modern fad' of a narrowly economic and technical nature. It was one of the 'oldest arts' focusing on 'organised civic life in civic countries'. One of the aims of town planning, he claimed, was to prevent profiteering from continuing to 'dominate the character of the city'.[128]

At the conference, Geddes' colleague Henry Lanchester marked a distinction between architect and planner. He maintained that the 'uncontrollable'

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Aldridge, *NHM*, p. 11; HCPP, *The Tudor Walters Report*, p. 5.
[127] RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. 195, 233-65, 620-1.
[128] Aldridge, *The Case for Town Planning*, pp. 9-10, 69.

segregation and amonie of towns resulted from an all-too-powerful 'mass of ideals' being imposed on the milquetoast architect.[129] Geddes, too, worried that architects were neither 'skilled' nor 'by any means ready' for a 'world-wide movement' of town planning. Some of the most eminent architects, he claimed, had 'never heard and certainly never thought of town planning at all'. He feared further ecological disaster: landscapes of repetitious enclaves lacking uniqueness and culture, surrounding 'decaying or anaemic' urban cores.[130]

The Institute's conference dedicated time to discussions concerning the organisation of London, and how to go about the regrouping of its population. The surveyor George Pepler stated that the perpetuation of home building during an 'epidemic of empty property,' overcrowding and 'empty houses,' was ample evidence of *'the need to consider London as a whole'*.[131] It was debated whether a town was to be understood as consisting of industrial, commercial and housing zones, or as a collection of quasi-complete district units. Adshead and Charles Robinson acknowledged that different land use areas and segregated class zones stood as pre-existing phenomena and made the city a whole. They seemed to have no qualms about designing new class-segregated urban zones catering to middle class preoccupations.[132] Raymond Unwin seemed to espouse making small cities

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[129] RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. 195, 233-65, 620-1.
[130] KU-LP/11/8/7, ff. 186-207 (1907).
[131] RIBA, *Transactions*, p. 613.
[132] S.D. Adshead, 'Town Planning', *BA* (1910), 15-7; Charles Mumford Robinson, *The Width and Arrangement of Streets* (1911), pp. 26-7; RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. 195, 233-65, 620-1; George L. Pepler, 'Town and Country Planning', *Proceedings* (1939), 59-64. Adshead and Robinson claimed that these conditions were the result of the misguided and 'menacing pure democracy' of urbanisation rather than 'land sweating'.

as complete zoned wholes, but he also discussed the making of 'local patriotism' via the 'scientific-planning' of socially integrated community districts.[133]

The conference's planners also discussed how to reshape the scale and character of London, and how to maintain desirable attributes in new cities. Like Geddes, Unwin professed that 'the basis of all good city planning is the home of the citizen: the city is a place for citizens to dwell in'. It was observed that housing density and arrangement defined the town's charisma and scale. However, there were many private owners of housing blocks and cottages. As such, these building types were among the more permanent features of towns.[134] One of the chief ways planners could conserve the town's charisma and scale, was by demarcating greenbelt growth restrictions. This was central to Unwin's appreciation of setting out new towns to redistribute the population, as compared to Burns, who gave priority to oversee planned suburban extensions to London. The delegates at the Institute's conference generally approved of Lanchester's synthetic suggestion – to devise a policy to allow a ring of large 'radiating parks' to penetrate London. Like Harrison, he believed that this would facilitate the invasion of the city by the country, fashioning a 'civic province'.[135]

This discussion about planning policy and urban parks was partly motivated by recent survey results. Surveyors had documented thousands of empty homes strung across the city (Lambeth alone contained a swathe of 4,000). The

[133] Raymond Unwin and M.H. Ballie Scott, *Town Planning and Modern Architecture at the Hampstead Garden Suburb* (1909), pp. 29, 87, 95; Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909), pp. 140-1.
[134] *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning* (1911), p. 76.
[135] Geddes, *CE*, pp. 96, 252; Unwin, *Town Planning*, pp. 9-11; Geddes, 'The City Survey', *BA*, 276-85; SSCC, *City Survey*; GCA, *Housing*, pp. 21-2; RIBA, *Transactions*, pp. 63, 620-1.

discussion was partly motivated by calls to demolish slums, improve infrastructure, revive industry and create districts with a sense of place. Along these lines, Geddes' *Cities in Evolution* (1915) recommended metropolitan reorganisation by planning new suburb communities following the Barnett's Hampstead model. He rationalised that the middle class could afford the move into 'garden-suburb cottages'. Their removal, in theory, would enable the poor to move from the slums into the 'small middle-class flats in high dwellings' in the urban core. Suggestions of this kind baited class segregation and middleclass subletting opportunism more so than enabling the proletariat to own a home. However, Geddes thought that this process would facilitate slum demolitions and the creation of an array of parks encompassed by new intellectual and moral institutes. Through these means, planners could purportedly see through the rise of the proletariat as a new middle class, and witness the total garden-citification of London.[136]

Civicentres for Concrete Politics

The Royal Institute of British Architects' Town Planning Conference of 1910 included a special exhibit of the Encyclopaedia Civica from Geddes' Outlook Tower. At the conference Geddes explained that the 'fundamental purpose and significance' of the Outlook Tower was to serve as a 'civic observatory'. At the conference, he presented the regional survey as a preparatory for town planning, which was to be understood as a form of 'concrete politics'.[137]

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[136] Geddes, *CE*, pp. 207-10.
[137] Geddes, *The Civic Survey*, pp. 537-57.

Geddes suggested that each region should contain a kind of 'Civic Society' or a 'Civicentre for sociologist and citizen' following the example of the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh or the Cities Committee in London.[138] Such Societies should have the objective of drawing attention to the subject of civic reconstruction. They would do this by discussing the planning examples of Haussmann, Howard, Stübben, Sitte and Burnham; organising transnational tours of urban development projects; praising foreign planning advances in the local press; preparing regional surveys and local planning programmes; and publishing investigations on human-ecological alienation and exploitation.

Geddes was seeking to draw citizens together and to empower them with a unity in purpose, to engage in reshaping their towns. Not unlike Comte's Occidental Republic scheme, he believed that a vast network of such Civic Societies could shift governing interest away from intercontinental rivalry and belligerency, and towards municipal revivification. Geddes' Positivist colleague J.H. Bridges commended his aim to implement these institutions and to use 'applied sociology' to convey the 'Republican ideal of bringing the highest truth within the reach of all'. Like Bridges, Geddes was situating the town planning discourse within a larger socio-spatial framework – town, country, nation, empire, and humanity [Appendix, 5].[139]

From the 1910s Geddes' Encyclopaedia Civica became a model cities exhibit that toured the world. Geddes was appointed to a number of survey-design projects. He helped to develop university, temple, exhibition, housing and

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[138] SS, *SP*, II, pp. 92-3; Patrick Geddes, 'Two Steps in Civics', *TPR* (1913), 78-94.
[139] J.H. Bridges, 'Civics', *PR* (1904), 198-203.

landscape schemes – all of which he considered to be spiritual institutions. At the Royal Institute of British Architect's town planning conference, the Sociological Society seminars, the Ghent International Exhibition of 1913 and beyond, Geddes promoted Positivist ideas.

T O W A R D S   C I T Y   D E S I G N

This chapter examined how Geddes developed the theory and practice of Positivist 'applied sociology'. The regional survey was his method for generating an Encyclopaedia Civica, which served as the basis for civic programmes or Policies of Culture. This regional survey-design practice was to provide the basis for a conduct of life, a mode of republican government, a technique for outdoor education, a source for creating local industry and a strategy for inclusive participation in town planning. His intention was to initiate the planning of republican regions of ideal happiness and order.

So where did these ideas come from? In this chapter we have seen that Geddes drew upon the ideas of Ruskin, Comte, Le Play, Booth, and Howard. For Geddes, Ruskin offered a romantic urban vision of pre-capitalist social relations based on an agrarian-biological economic system, which was to produce towns that would reflect his craftsman idea. Additionally, for Geddes, Ruskin offered a critical, literary interpretation of the way British towns were emerging and appealed to the emotions in his call for social action. Ruskin had controversially set the example for such social-environmental activism while at Oxford, and early in his life Geddes was a member of the Edinburgh Social Union, which had been

formed to emulate the example of Ruskin's followers. Like Harrison, it seems that Geddes' introduction to Positivist ideas was through Ruskin.

As Positivist sociologists developing the work of Comte and Le Play, Geddes and Branford viewed the region in terms of 'social formations' or citizens and architecture. Comte and Le Play had discussed their sociology in terms of planning the transformation of cities and citizens. The idea here was to establish groupings of institutions to uphold social 'order' in the countryside and social 'progress' in the town. The Positivist concept of altruistic cooperation, or love of humanity, was to continually resolve the dynamics of 'order and progress' in the differing worldviews of the people. Love and the moralisation of the body politic was to be brought about by outdoor 'positive' education and the establishment of 'spiritualising' institutions, such as a 'Cathedral of the People,' a phrase that Geddes once used as a proxy for 'Temple of Humanity'.

Geddes contributed to a Comte-Le Play-Booth tradition of sociology in the sense of leading historical, geographical and social types of sociological surveys to redress the 'evils' of the city-region. This practice of Civics, as he called it, was thought of as an inclusive mode of 'concrete politics' or town planning. As we will continue to see in the next chapter, Geddes and Branford sought to engage the people into the restless act of self-help towards self-government and the realisation of eutopian cities. They introduced the idea of transforming exiting towns into Garden Cities via sociological surveys. By the 1910s, diplomats and architects absorbed Geddes and Branford's sociological theory and practice, and distilled it down into a set of spatial arrangements that became the framework for town planning legislation.

However, we will now turn to the work of Branford, who introduced the sociological discourse of 'City Design,' which he thought of as the next evolution of 'town planning'.

CHAPTER 6

Victor Branford
City Design, the Third Alternative

What is religion itself but the recurrent effort to establish on earth here and now a city of the ideal?[1]

The third alternative to War and Revolution is not Reform. It is something nearer akin to what the religious call Conversion. That holds vision of life more abundant and also promise of heroic drama. The new heaven calls for attainment by strenuous action; the old hell has to be resolutely escaped from. Now the peoples of Europe have been through the old hell; they are eager to be shown the new heaven. It must be no facile Utopia of outworn doctrine; it must be vision of a City of God that can be built with human hands. And the design of its plans we may call Eutopia, which is … every place that can be made good to live and work in, beautiful to see, and all in the here and now.[2] – Victor Branford

The previous chapter explored how sociology fortified the rise of modern town

planning. It also suggested that by the 1900s Comte's British affiliates had

introduced to urban social discourse a new phrase – 'City Design'.

[1] Branford, *I&F*, p. 398.
[2] Victor Branford, *Whitherward? Hell or Eutopia* (1921), pp. 44-5.

This chapter focuses on the work of Geddes' eminent student Victor Branford. Branford sought to integrate urban sociology, civics and town planning to create city design. Through this art of republican urbanism, he aimed to redress the exigencies of a longstanding house famine, industrial gridlock, inner-city overcrowding, rural decline and personal despondency.

From the 1880s Branford presented the sociological survey as a way to link science and faith. He thought of it as a pedagogical and practical method for coordinating cooperative economics and cultural development projects. Branford perceived the survey as initiating a process of self-actualisation towards the good life of citizenship. He carried these assumptions into a series of essays that paved the way for the founding of the Sociological Society. At the Society, Branford engaged in debates about the origins and purpose of the academic discipline of sociology in Britain. From here we will see Branford, convictions emboldened, begin to flesh out his own theory of city design. It dealt with the two competing realms of formalism and idealism. He sought to unite those psychologically disposed towards social idealism to collaborate in the creation of republican utopias. Advocating the rise of an idealist 'proletarian dictature' during the 'great unrest' of the early 1910s, Branford suggested that a sociological elite, operating from within a utopian university, could direct a series of urban interventions. During the 'Great War' Branford connected these ideas to a socio-economic framework, creating a post-war reconstruction programme. Entitled the 'Third Alternative,' Branford's scheme proposed city design under three heads: Garden City regeneration, individual re-education and moral renewal.

The rise of a nineteenth-century cities movement is evident in the work of cooperative groups, trade unions, learned societies, socialist organisations and social science institutions. We have seen that their activities included literary expositions on town life, social investigations, legislative measures and urban interventions. The latter was not limited to the work of infrastructural enlargements, exhibitions and schools. However, it additionally embraced efforts to redress the housing crisis because, after all, the personal space of the home was thought of as being contiguous with, and shaping every aspect of, public space. As we have seen, the Positivists' interest in creating a republic was rooted in the matter of making citizens, and as such, they became concerned with schools and homes as spiritual institutions. They increasingly articulated a language associated with a utopian faith in how these small spaces could spread, interlock and make the city as community.

So, what kind of housing conditions made for this 'utopian' yearning about social reorganisation? Between 1760 and 1875 some 4.7 million dwellings were built in the United Kingdom to accommodate population growth and shifts in the industrial economy. Henry Aldridge estimated that the 'wretched aggregations of insanitary houses in the slums of our great cities and the squalid worn-out shells of dwellings in our small industrial towns belong almost entirely' to this period. He noted that from the 1860s a great deal of philanthropic energy had been put into housing reform in London. The Artisans, Labourers and General Dwellings Company, Industrial Dwellings Company and the Guinness and Peabody Trusts provided the poor with approximately 18,400 tenements or 56,600 rooms.

However, to appreciate these efforts from a broader perspective, they emerged as a necessary response to 'Unadulterated political and social selfishness'. Aldridge added that a 'lack of coherence' in industrial and personal life had extended to national 'anarchy in town development'.[3] In essence, he intimated that the work of housing reformers was commendable, but it was a palliative measure. Branford's colleague Patrick Geddes derided model dwellings not only on account that they gave credence to 'standardised overcrowding,' but also because they failed to do so much more than offer a single room for an entire family.[4] In many instances, this room accommodated no plumbing, heating, storage nor appliances.

During the 1880s a number of commentators revived once-dismissed presentiments of a housing and urbanism disaster. The historian James Anthony Froude, for instance, reflected that the dystopian warnings of social critics had become a reality, particularly with regard to the

enormously extended suburbs of London and our great manufacturing cities; miles upon miles of squalid lanes, each house the duplicate of its neighbour: the dirty street in front, the dirty yard behind, the fetid smell from the ill-made sewers, the public house at the street corners. Here with no sight of a green field, with no knowledge of flowers or forest, the blue heavens themselves dirtied with soot, – amidst objects all mean and hideous, with no entertainment but the music hall no pleasure but in the drink shop, hundreds of thousands of English children are now growing up into men and women.[5]

By the following decade London and perhaps the nation was plagued with empty suburban cottages, urban overcrowding and exurban decline. The Fabian Society noted that from 1801 to 1896 London's population grew from 958,788 to 4,433,018. Yet, for the same years the total number of *inhabited* homes in London

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[3] Aldridge, *NHM*, pp. 91-133.
[4] Geddes, *CE*, p. 12.
[5] James Anthony Froude, *Oceana, or England and Her Colonies* (1887), p. 8.

grew from 136,388 to 553,119. Meanwhile, the number of *uninhabited* houses

soared from 5,654 to 42,911.[6]

Over the next few decades the social reformers Helen Bosanquet and

William Thompson expressed frustration about the 'house famine'. Efforts to

demolish London's inner-city rookeries outpaced the production of nearby

affordable accommodation. The poor moved from place to place but were

nonetheless confined within the urban core. According to Thompson, the inability

of public leaders and developers to integrate cost-efficient housing and transport

links in proximity to workplaces affected over one million Londoners. He

claimed, like Froude, that the remaining 'rents' afforded by the poor had become

'home' to 'great heaps of humanity'. These 'box dwellers' had no contact with

nature, and some of their children had probably never witnessed, or knew of, the

countryside.[7] Reflecting on nineteenth-century life, Royal Commission reports

conceded that 'the "urbanization" of the population cannot have been unattended

by consequences prejudicial to the health of the people'.[8] Raymond Unwin

elaborated on the larger matter at hand:

The corporations and other governing bodies have looked on helplessly while
estate after estate around their towns has been covered with buildings without any
provision having been made for open spaces, school sites, or any other public
needs. The owner's main interest, too often his only one, has been to produce the
maximum increase of value or of ground rent possible for himself by crowding
upon the land as much building as it would hold. The community, through its
representative bodies, having watched the value of land forced up to its utmost
limit, has been obliged to come in at this stage and purchase at these ruinous

[6] *Fabian Tract 101* (1900), pp. 38-39.
[7] Helen Bosanquet, *Social Work in London* (1914), pp. 14-5; W. Thompson, *The Housing Handbook* (1903), pp. 5-10.
[8] HCPP, *Report of the ICPD*, I, p. 16.

values such scraps of the land as may have been left, in order to satisfy in an indifferent manner important public needs.[9]

Decades beforehand Positivists and socialists, such as H.M. Hyndman, argued that attenuating the persistent 'miserable degeneration' and demoralisation of the body politic was only possible through total urban social reorganisation.[10] Perhaps this was the stuff of utopia. But maybe there was far too little of it. C.R. Ashbee, the pillar of the Arts and Crafts Movement, thought as much. He wrote that the pervasiveness of a 'Blind civic' or absence of 'foresight and the utopian habit of mind' had caused all of this:

It is the want of imagination that has degraded our villages, and that prevents our cities from being properly planned, even as it prevents our making proper provision for the planners, the craftsmen, the labourers who could do the work. This applies to 99 per cent of the new cities that have grown up in the Industrial era.[11]

By the early twentieth century Ebenezer Howard's cogent utopia garnered abundant support from a Garden City collective of professionals, public officials and academics. This collective addressed excessive overcrowding, joblessness and physical and intellectual deterioration by various means, including the realisation of the first Garden City at Letchworth. A watershed of studies demonstrated the rapid improvement of public health within planned environments. The activities of the Garden City Association, Sociological Societies Cities Committee and International Housing Congress underpinned calls for modern town planning legislation. The Cities and Town Planning Exhibition and the first Royal Institute

[9] Unwin, *Town Planning*, p. 2.
[10] H.M. Hyndman, and others, *Will Socialism Benefit the English People?* (1884), p. 34.
[11] C.R. Ashbee, *Where the Great City Stands* (1917), p. 151.

of British Architects Town Planning conferences complemented efforts to revive the town planning discipline.[12]

A definite idealism surrounded cities and their systematic redevelopment. The secretary of the Garden City and Town Planning Association Ewart Culpin believed that speculative builders would soon be stripped of their role of laying out 'town planning schemes'. Culpin anticipated that by virtue of universities forming town planning courses, Britain would soon become 'something different from the rows of houses and cottages 20 in a block'.[13]

By 1913 town planning progenitors such as Unwin, Thomas Adams, George Pepler and Henry Lanchester established the Town Planning Institute in association with John Burns, Henry Vivian and Patrick Geddes. Unwin explained that hitherto 'our modern towns have been too much mere aggregations of people; but it must be our work to transform these same aggregations into consciously organised communities'.[14] The institute thus set out at 'advancing the study of town planning and civic design, promoting the artistic and scientific development of town and cities'.[15] Thus, beyond the notion of planning the town, there was also a higher level discussion concerning the design of cities. The phrase 'Civic design,' or 'City Design,' was imbied with a special meaning for Branford.

Branford focused on the critical matter of constructing an emancipatory urbanism with a communitary purpose, a city design of the republican spaces of

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[12] A worldwide planning movement, the International Garden City and Town Planning Association, was afoot by 1913.

[13] *Liverpool Town Planning,* ed. S.D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie (1914), p. 151.

[14] Unwin, *Town Planning*, pp. 9-11.

[15] Patrick Geddes, 'Chelsea, Past and Possible', in *Utopian Papers*, ed. Dorothea Hollins (1908), pp. 6-17; *TT,* 24 Nov. 1913.

citizenship. This was a new phrase, but as Geddes pronounced 'City-design – is not a new specialism added to existing ones, it is the returning co-ordination of them all, towards civic well-being'.[16] Yet, Branford thought of the 'applied sociologist' as a kind of spiritual Vitruvius, a communitarian master-builder.[17] In fact, he considered city design a 'higher art of polity-making'. It was to affect all levels and dimensions of life as a 'Third Alternative' where 'idealists in action'[18] worked 'towards a real democracy' in city-regions. They would create a place where there is a

feeling that the whole thing [not just housing] is a design and that your part is integral to the whole, that you are doing your bit to create Eden. … There must be in the mind of the worker an image of the labour-product as something touched by the spirit creative; there must be a sense of the labour-process as an occupation humanly worth while; and there must be vision of home and family, neighbourhood, city, and nation, enriched by his labour and its product.[19]

This chapter demonstrates that Branford developed Positivist sociology in the direction of city design.

S C I E N C E   &   F A I T H

Lewis Mumford wrote that the work of his mentor, Victor Branford, dealt with the 'actual processes and function of definite regional societies'. It carried on 'the substantial tradition of Auguste Comte and Frédéric Le Play'. As suggested in chapter 1, the main intellectual connection between these individuals was Patrick

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[16] SSCC, *PftP, 6*, p. 5.
[17] Branford, *Science and Sanctity*, pp. 1-33, 185-253.
[18] Branford, *I&F*, p. 13; Geddes, *CE*, p. 232; SS, *SP*, I, p. 117; Branford, *Whitherward?*, pp. 97-8.
[19] Victor Branford, 'Towards a Real Democracy', in *The Limits*, ed. Huntly Carter (1919), pp. 185-97.

Geddes.[20] This section provides a critical account of Branford's various activities as they related to the context of late nineteenth-century idealism about secular morality and scientific methods.

During the 1880s Branford studied under Geddes at the School of Medicine at Edinburgh University. He took an MA by the decade's close. In 1887 Geddes selected Branford and J.A. Thomson to oversee University Hall. The self-governing residence, established for students who had few options but to live in nearby slums, was one of Geddes' many Edinburgh renovation projects.[21] The same year Geddes' students Thomson and G.F. Scott-Elliot launched the Edinburgh Summer School of Science. From the 1890s Branford used the regional survey as both a pedagogical method for summer school courses, notably 'Modern History' and 'Comparative Economics in Europe', and as a preparatory for urban regeneration projects.

For several years, Branford supported himself by working in investment and journalism. Owing to his diverse experiences and forte for finance, he joined John Ross, William Sharp and Geddes to found 'Patrick Geddes & Colleagues'. Situated in the Outlook Tower the firm sought to sustain, promote and develop civic design for citizenship via building renovation initiatives, parks and gardens, museums, pageants, plays, surveys, town planning projects and literary publications.

One of the firm's first undertakings was the *Evergreen* series (1895-6). The four-tome publication romanticised nature's four seasons, depicting them with

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[20] Lewis Mumford, 'Patrick Geddes', in *An Introduction to the History of Sociology*, ed. Harry Elmer Barnes (1958), pp. 677-95.
[21] NLS, MS.19282, ff. 26 (c. 1930s).

poetry, prose and illustrations in the Arts and Crafts style. In the article 'Awakenings In History,' Branford employed a set of seasonal metaphors to explain the idea of sociological forecasts. He suggested that since one can measure the periodic rhythms of the seasons, one could also apply a 'general law of periodicity' to forecast the course of human civilisation. He noted the 'awakenings and slumberings' of the 'spiritual and temporal' powers over 'seasonal aeons,' as seen in the blossoming of the intellectual Hellenic era and in the emotional period of 'medieval ascent'. Branford anticipated that Victorians would see the autumnal harvest of medieval chivalry unite with modern science to 'moralise society'.[22]

Philosophical works on the physical and natural sciences, namely those by John Stallo, Ernest Mach and James Ward, framed Branford's views on linking spirituality and modern science. Like Geddes, he came to believe that re-spiritualised science, under the direction of applied sociology, could produce practical experiments in moral capitalism. Branford commended Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (1896) in his personal letters to Geddes. In this work, Ward had deconstructed the relationship between modern scientific nihilism and materialism and tentatively linked science and faith.[23] What drew Branford in was Ward's discussion of cities. Ward illustrated correlations between the idea of science and the organisation of the classical town. They shared a certain 'compactness and formality'. Both 'science' and 'town' could thus be thought of as a complete system by way of their 'preëminence of number and measurement,

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[22] Victor V. Branford, 'Awakenings in History', in *The Evergreen*, ed. PG&C (1895), pp. 85-90.
[23] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 17 (1900).

systematic connexion, and constructive plan'. Townspeople lived in an ever-expanding, human-made, scientific world, which appeared to be severed from the 'landscape' or 'faith'. However, within the 'scientific' town itself, he wrote

what we have to notice is … the existence of serious gaps within the bounds of science itself. But over these vacant plots, these instances of *rus in urbe,* science still advances claims, endeavouring to occupy them by more or less temporary erections, otherwise called working hypotheses.[24]

Ward therefore maintained that the town contained both empirical knowledge (concrete facts) and philosophic speculation (which made science a 'complete' whole). Even so, he added that any endeavour to identify a 'sharp separation' between the town and country was 'sophistical and illusory'. This would be similar to inhabitants of large towns being 'familiar with shops supplying bread and beef,' but knowing 'nothing of the herds in the meadows or the waving fields of wheat'. Continuing the analogy he added that 'all was country once, but meanwhile the town extends and extends, and the country seems to be ever receding before it … where is science to end?'. Ward was suggesting the conscientious integration of science and faith.[25] Geddes' ideas about modern spiritualism, too, shaped Branford's outlook.

Geddes had recently praised the rise of a 'spiritual power' of intellectuals and educationists. Advances in communications, he wrote, facilitated the 'democratisation of culture,' diffusing scientific knowledge of technical skills throughout the world. A 'cosmopolitan education' in history, geography and economics was thereby 'establishing in industry the missing bond between humanity and the home'. He stressed, however, that school curricula should

[24] James Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (1915), pp. ix-29, 240-3, 482.
[25] Ibid.

include both intellectual and moral training. 'Moralised and socialised educationists,' he wrote, 'should seek rapidly to revolutionise the crass and irresponsible individualism of our era'. 'Shaping future citizens' began with the 'sciences of observation,' preparing learners for industrial life. Education, 'if real, begins with a Regional Survey,' he affirmed.[26]

By 1898 the Civic and Moral Education League had been established and supported by thinkers such as Stanton Coit, Ebe Minerva White and F.J. Gould. It co-opted an abridgement of Branford and Geddes' regional survey to facilitate a non-theological source for the 'formation of character'. Adherents to all major denominations joined the League. However, Handescombe Rodd claimed that the League's true agenda was to propagate Positivism. In the very least its manuals, such as those written by Gould, included sections on Comte.[27] The League later allied with the South Place Ethical Society.

Through a number of social societies, Geddes and Branford sought to link into a wide network of supporters to help fulfil their various scientific and cultural projects at home and abroad. These efforts fit within the context of the empire reaching its peak development, industrial commotion, secular spiritualism and the enlargement of local government. For instance, in 1893 the Independent Labour Party formed and allied Fabian non-Marxist socialists with trade unionists. Its agenda was proselytised by the 'William Morris Labour Church,' which sought to spread the 'economic and moral laws of God' to fuse all against 'commercial

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[26] Geddes, *Education*, pp. 1-28, 47.
[27] Handescombe Rodd, 'The Moral Education League', *PR* (1913), 115-6; Bill Marsden, 'A British Historical Perspective on Geographical Fieldwork from the 1820s to the 1970s', in *Fieldwork*, ed. Rod Gerber and Goh Kim Chuan (2000), pp. 15-36; F.J. Gould, *Moral Instruction* (1913), pp. 32, 52-61, 108.

slavery'. The Fabian Society printed the church's pamphlets and distributed them amongst its members.[28] Geddes and Branford affiliated with the Fabian group called the Fellowship of the New Life. Like Comte's search for 'republican cooperation' the Fellowship stood for the 'co-operative idea in its widest and deepest meaning, and applied to the whole range of human activity, – in the home, the market, the state and society'. At the Fellowship and in its associated publications Geddes disseminated the 'Social Theory and Social Practice' of sociology as an applied science for moulding 'cooperative saints'.[29]

Following Geddes' texts endorsing imperial devolution into a 'cooperative commonwealth,' Branford conducted studies of colonial regionalisation via the cooperative method. His 'An Undeveloped Estate of the Empire' appeared on behalf of the West Indian Cooperative Union, a group modelled after Horace Plunkett's Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Plunkett's formula had enabled smallholders and tenant farmers to purchase machinery and rebuild cottages on cooperative credit. Branford suggested that a West Indies mutual credit scheme would facilitate an equipment-share for agronomic diversification, which would in turn moderate soil depletion from mono-crop production and minimise dependency on British trade. Like Plunkett, Branford viewed agrarian and industrial independence a requisite step towards self-government.[30]

From the 1900s Branford rallied between Britain and the Americas, using cooperative finance for development under the pretext of moral capitalism. He

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[28] *The Book of the Opening of the William Morris Labour Church* (1897), pp. 5-21.
[29] Percival Chubb, 'Co-operation', *ST* (1892), 3-4; Chubb, 'Fellowship meetings', *ST* (1890), 15.
[30] Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (1904), pp. 226-52; Branford, *An Undeveloped Estate of the Empire*, pp. 3-14.

carried out regional surveys to plan and develop local industries and infrastructure. Branford was involved with the Paraguay Central Railway Company, Havana Telephone Company and various agricultural and forestry firms. He coordinated with local politicians, investors, engineers, surveyors, property owners and productive forces. In his work on transport infrastructure in South America, he devised solutions to the challenges of the design process, such as innovating strategies to link rail, road and waterway hubs. Geddes' work in Cyprus seemed to have inspired Branford to contribute to these infrastructure projects. Like Geddes, he sought to diffuse scientific methods and to advance industrialisation (sometimes as a means to reconstruct war-torn states, such as Cuba) under the assumption that it would reconstruct civic life.[31]

Elected to the Royal Statistical Society in 1900[32] Branford read a paper discussing the calculation of national resources beginning with the 'smallest regional unit'.[33] He was seeking to advance Geddes' 'practical economics'.[34] Branford was interested in Geddes' statement that 'our studies of the characteristic occupation of region by region are the essential material of a study of [a nation's] whole civilisation'.[35] Branford added that the regional survey could be used to 'develop a quantitative measure of the comparative resources of nations – a measure which does not involve the use of money – but which is based wholly on

[31] Scott and Husbands, 'Victor Branford', *Soc.Rev.*, 460-84; Simon Naylor, 'That Very Garden of South America', *Singapore Journal* (2002), 48-62; Branford, *I&F*, pp. 78-9.
[32] *TT,* 21 Nov. 1900.
[33] Victor Verasis Branford, 'On the Calculation of Natural Resources', *JRSS* (1901), 380-414.
[34] NLS, MS.10556, 19-20, 200 (1900, 10).
[35] Geddes, *Education*, p. 22.

the units of the physical sciences'.[36] This discussion was well-received and suited to the aims of the Society. Since its earliest meetings, the Society's statists sought to become 'acquainted with the appropriation of the physical endowments of the country, and the basis on which the whole superstructure of its civilisation is raised'.[37]

Many of the economic, intellectual and cultural themes discussed in this section carried into Branford's Third Alternative. However, this programme was motivated by a theory of city design that he developed as a founding member of the Sociological Society.

S O C I O L O G I C A L   S O C I E T Y

The origin of the Sociological Society has been attributed to a series of private manuscripts Branford shared with Royal Statistical Society members. These manuscripts discussed the pedigrees and purposes of sociology. His primary aims in sharing the essays were to draw attention to Geddes' work and to secure a subscription of funds to support the operations of the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. For the same reasons Branford in 1902 approached J.Martin White and the Carnegie Trustees about sponsoring a 'Sociological Club or Association' (to be hosted from within the rooms of the Tower). What caught White and other benefactors' interest was Branford's suggestion that it could grow into a 'National Institute of Sociology'. It was soon decided that the University of London would

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[36] Branford, 'On the Calculation', *JRSS*, 380-414.
[37] *JSSL*, 3, pp. 1-6.

host the meetings of this proposed Society and offer the first academic courses in sociology in Britain.[38]

Branford's manuscripts explained that a Sociological Society would seek to establish common interdisciplinary methods to 'unify the extant body of knowledge, and to show its bearing on human life past, present, and future'.[39] It would serve as a 'meeting-ground for all the cultivators of all departments of social science with men of professions and the men of affairs'.[40] That a protracted struggle encompassed British sociology for decades he acknowledged, and his privately circulated manuscripts tended to this dilemma.

Turning to ancient history, Branford attributed the discipline's philosophical origins to the writings of Thales, Pythagoras and Aristotle. The advancement of modern sociology could be attributed to a number of social thinkers. Saint-Simon, Comte and Congreve had developed historical and geographical surveys. Mill had produced important discussions of social economy as did Ruskin via his social science 'journalism'. Harrison, Booth and Geddes had produced industrial social and economic survey methods. Sociological ideas had been disseminated via the *Fortnightly Review, Positivist Review, Revue occidentale, American Journal of Sociology* and the *Année Sociologique.* However, Britain was alone among Western nations because it lacked an institution and publications specialising in academic sociology.[41] A Sociological Society would help ensure the discipline emerged from a common scientific methodology. It would facilitate the 'ultimate

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[38] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 39 (1902).
[39] Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62.
[40] KU-LP/1/1/3/1, ff. 8 (n.d.).
[41] Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62; Branford, 'Sociology', *AJS*, 85-9.

co-operation between individuals and between groups, between generations and between ages'.[42] He set out a provisional definition of sociology as the basis of a British society:

The first task of sociology – as pure science – is thus the deliberate, systematic, and ever-continuing attempt to construct a more and more fully reasoned social theory – a theory of the origin, growth, and destiny of humanity. The second task of sociology – as applied science – is the construction of principles applicable to the ordering of social life, in so far as concrete problems can be shown to come within the range of verifiable knowledge.[43]

'The problem of pure sociology,' Branford wrote, was thus 'to describe, to explain and to forecast the evolution of human occupations'.[44] The sociologist, as such, observed social phenomena, deduced generalisations about society and implemented a 'progressively modifiable' programme to enhance 'domestic, social, and public life'.[45]

In 1903, a formal meeting was convened to discuss founding a Sociological Society as a University of London adjunct. Branford announced here that the group would operate by a 'sociological doctrine'.[46] The eugenicist Karl Pearson censured the idea of founding a sociological studies group because there was no longer a 'creative genius,' such as Spencer, expounding sociological principles. Branford rejoined that the idea of an evolutionary science having a creator was 'good theology,' but 'bad science'. (However, he urged his master, Geddes, to propound the next iteration of sociological theory, as a continuation of the work of

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[42] Victor Branford, 'The Founders of Sociology', *AJS* (1904), 94-126; KU-LP/1/1/3/1, ff. 1-3 (n.d.).
[43] Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62.
[44] SS, *SP*, I, p. 203.
[45] Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62.
[46] SS, *SP*, I, p. 23.

Comte and Spencer, to serve as the basis of the Society's work.[47]) By 'sociological doctrine,' Branford explained to the social evolutionist Benjamin Kidd, the Sociological Society could assemble a modern encyclopaedia of the science of society. It would be built on the works of Descartes, the Philosophes, Locke and Hume.[48] Notwithstanding, the general response to his proposal to establish a Sociological Society was 'overwhelmingly' affirmative.[49] The Society's president, James Bryce, was aided by the 'youthful energy' of his secretary, Branford.[50]

What was the relationship between the Sociological Society and the Positivist Society? Branford explained that the original group expressed their findings in a 'propagandist and literary, practical and fraternal' way, which attracted all classes. Its successor performed exclusively and 'strictly scientific work'.[51] The Positivist Society nonetheless held investigations and discussions – 'Le Play as Sociologist,' 'The Housing Question,' etc. – that were of a nature suited to the Sociological Society.[52] However, the Positivist Society's members adhered to advancing the ideas within Comte's 'sociological treatise,' the *System.* Their 'sociology' was rooted in the sciences of geography, biology and history. The Sociological Society did not pontificate about the venerative study of Comte's trinity of Space, Earth and Humanity. However, those labelled as 'Comtists,' such as Hobhouse, Branford, Wells, Kidd and Geddes convened at the

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[47] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 44 (1903).
[48] SS, *SP*, II, p. 251.
[49] Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62.
[50] SS, *SP*, I, p. 52.
[51] Ibid., 35.
[52] BLPES-LPS 1/2, ff. 17, 108 (1896, 908).

Sociological Society to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Comte's death. They gave speeches in commemoration, 'admiration and wonder' of the 'extensive services' Comte had rendered to society by developing 'sociological science'. [53] Nevertheless, the Society also hosted debates on the past, present and future of the discipline between groups of ethicists, eugenicists, evolutionists, social scientists, Positivists, town planners and utopians. H.G. Wells, for instance, lambasted the affectation of the 'so-called *science* of sociology'. He rejected the assumption that one could conduct purely objective, empirical social research.[54] Notably, as an institution the Positivist Society held membership status within the Sociological Society. Moreover, the Sociological Society sometimes confided in its Positivist members for recommendations on which lecturers to invite to speak at its meetings. The cross-pollination of ideas, language and methods amongst the groups was thus a certainty.

As for the Sociological Society becoming an institute of Geddesian sociology, there seemed to be little consensus. Seldom did anyone there seem to understand Geddes' diagrams and lectures on civics; Branford lamented that the 'splendid exception' here was Charles Booth and other Positivists.[55] Branford's advocacy of making a sociological 'doctrine' seemed to have made matters worse. Unsurprisingly, J.Martin White offered to sponsor a full-time sociology

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[53] KU-LP/1/1/3/10, ff. 1-14 (1907).
[54] SS, *SP*, II, p. 251; SS, *Sociological Papers* (1907), III, pp. 357-77. Others remarked that the 'extreme heterogeneousness' of sociology was making it impractical.
[55] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 76 (1905).

professorship at the University of London, the position went to Hobhouse and Edward Westermarck.[56]

In Sociological Society publications and elsewhere, Branford soon looked to step beyond Geddes' practical examples of applied sociology as town planning. He sought to delineate the theoretical principles of city design, beginning with the concepts of formalism and idealism.

Formalism & Idealism

Branford's sociological theory examined the intersection of science, religion, politics and economics. It was based on the premise that with the diffusion of science throughout the West, education was the critical agency of citizenship. Learners could freely access the universal principles of the sciences via bibliographic systems. Adult education and practical research in the sciences enabled citizen-sociologists to extend scientific thought, devise techniques to improve industrial production or to enter a new field of work. They thus used sociology in three ways – philosophical, applied or empirical. These sociological schools had 'different ways of approaching the great problem – how to live'. 'Applied sociologists' stood at the pinnacle of this classification, mediating between the philosophical idealist and empirical formalist groups.

While Branford's theory built upon the works of Comte, Geddes, Thorstein Veblen and William MacDonald, each provided what seemed to be conflicting examples of idealists and formalists. The common ground is this: idealists put community interest before the individual, whereas formalists put self-interest

[56] KU-LP/11/4/25, ff. 225 (n.d.).

before the common good. The idealists produced community wealth by contributing free, scientific knowledge (as an intellectual class) or by crafting thoughtful and meaningful things for public happiness (as a creative class). The formalists capitalised on this community knowledge by developing proprietary methods for profit related to materialistic wants (as a business class) or by benefiting from community wealth directly and immediately (as a leisure class). Individuals of all nations, vocations, creeds and sexes were disposed to living their lives as either idealists or formalists.
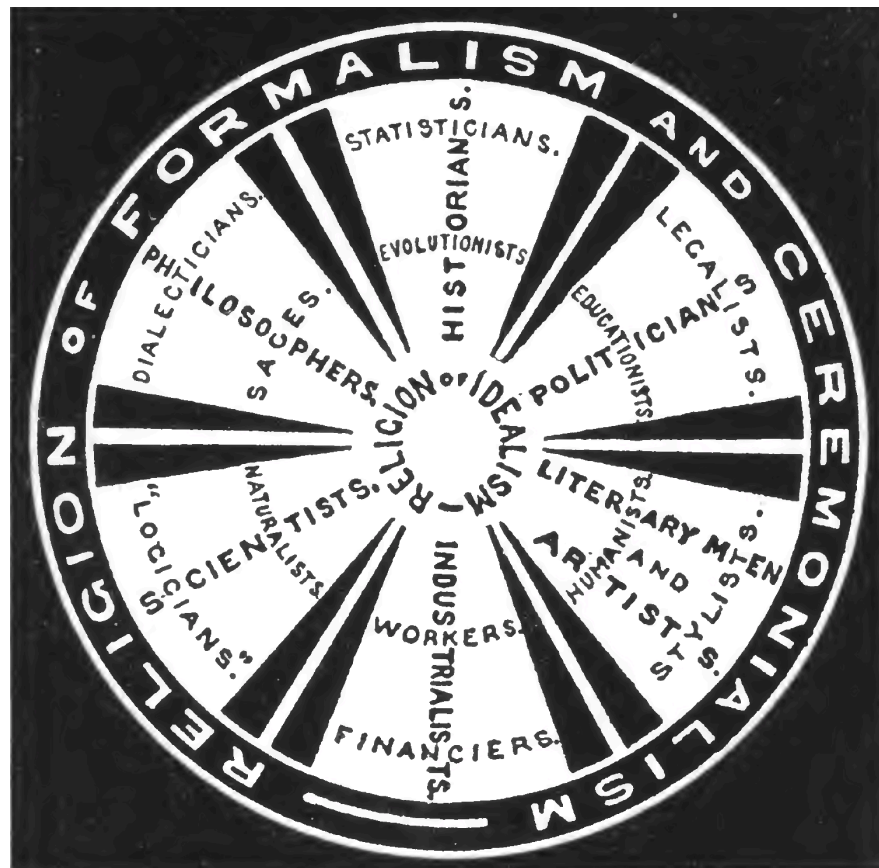
Figure 29 *The 'Religion of Formalism' and the 'Religion of Idealism,' two ways of looking at the world. Victor V. Branford, 'A Sociological Approach Towards Unity', in Ideals of Science, ed. James Edward Hand (1904), pp. 155.*

The idealist and formalist types shared seven common 'priestcrafts' or occupational groupings: scientists, industrialists, artists, literary savants,

politicians, historians and philosophers. United across occupations, the idealists formed an institution called the 'Religion of Idealism'. By their very nature, they sought to convert the adherents of the 'Religion of Formalism and Ceremonialism' to their perspective on science, faith and citizenship. By working with applied sociologists, idealists could found a 'practical social Art of regeneration' [Fig. 29].[57]

Branford claimed that the Sociological Society was the omphalos of idealism. He seemed to garner little support from those keeping to 'strictly scientific' work. As the following section shows, Branford was determined to put the applied sociologist into the role of a steward of the environment. His idealism had a practical purpose.

F R O Z E N   M U S I C

During Sociological Society meetings, Branford contested the interpretation of sociology put forward by Hobhouse and Beatrice Webb. A life-long student of Spencer, Webb pointed to the 'bankruptcy of science as to any choice of ideals of life'. Unlike the Positivists, Spencer rejected the premise that sociologists could, or even should, assume the role of society makers – whether it pertained to curtailing degeneracy or accelerating social progress. Webb thus remarked that sociology 'no more than mechanics or chemistry has any policy … the matter of ends or aims has nothing to do with science, but generally falls within the field of

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[57] Victor V. Branford, 'A Sociological Approach Towards Unity', in *Ideals of Science*, ed. James Edward Hand (1904), pp. 104-56; Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1934); Branford, 'The Founders of Sociology', *AJS*, 94-126.

religion'.[58] Webb was disputing Branford's claim that sociologists constructed theories of the 'origin, growth, and destiny of humanity'. For Branford, Webb's outlook reduced sociologists to fact-collectors.

If science cannot direct us, we must direct science. All life is growth, and science understood as a spiritual phase of life, a mood of humanity, might, like other spiritual growths, be trained and guided, within limits. Here as elsewhere the essential condition of guidance is the presence of an ideal and a moral impulse toward it … ideals of science, always implicit, are now actually in process of being explicitly formulated, … these ideals give promise of a policy of city development.[59]

However, others such as Hobhouse wrote that the word idealism was associated with religion. Idealism signalled that one had entered into the seas of 'modern reaction'. Idealism, Hobhouse claimed, was the disguise of the good intentions that led the British Empire into endless cycles of commercialism, conflict and conquest. Thus while sympathetic to Positivism, Hobhouse repudiated the aims of applied sociology even if it translated into practical 'city development'.[60]

Branford on the other hand presented sociology as being rooted in the public affairs of the environmental design disciplines. He believed that it was possible to use sociological methods to transform towns into a specific kind of city. He claimed that with sociology, the planning of towns and their buildings should become an organic 'materialised ethical process'.[61] J.A. Thomson and Geddes agreed that the modern city's architecture was an 'external registration' of human

[58] SS, *SP*, III, pp. 345-52; SS, *SP*, I, pp. 1-43; Branford, 'OUWS', *AJS*, 145-62.
[59] Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', pp. 222-86.
[60] Hobhouse, *Democracy*, pp. 5, 55, 78-79; Frederic Harrison, 'Democracy and Reaction', *PR* (1904), 283-4; Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics*, pp. 271-3.
[61] Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', pp. 222-86.

relations, whether in the form of 'frozen music' or 'tottering doggerel'.[62] They thought of architecture as the 'most complex evolutionary expression and development of the life of Nature'.[63] Branford decried sociologists' refrain from contributing to urban betterment. Denizens could not 'live the good life' if, in the very least, they remained deprived of 'first-hand, immediate, and direct contact with nature,' wrote Branford.

The minds of that urban breed of domesticated animals which are cut off from nature by continuous confinement in the cages called town houses; this variety of animal degenerates into a sort of subnatural species, with supernatural cravings. The city in its evolution is of course a natural phenomenon; but within the city, the barriers between man and nature are numerous and formidable.[64]

Branford now appealed to empirical sociologists to join in as a 'spiritual power' in citizenship and city development.

Rather than addressing the implications of idealism on the imperial level like Hobhouse, Branford sought to open a dialogue on the ideals of the city. So, what was Branford's definition of town and city? Throughout the Victorian, era rapid and haphazard growth problematized local authorities' efforts to distinguish between villages, towns and cities. A single requirement determined the status of town: a minimum population of 2,000 inhabitants.[65] The legal description of the English city was a population centre containing a cathedral. The capitalists' interpretation of a city was a manufacturing and business zone. Railway engineers recognised the city as a coal terminus. Such interpretations had become

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[62] J. Arthur Thomson and Patrick Geddes, 'A Biological Approach', in *Ideals of Science and Faith*, ed. James Edward Hand (1904), pp. 49-80; Thomson, 'Suggestions of Sociology', *Saint George* (1905), 116-27.

[63] SS, *SP*, I, p. 137.

[64] Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', pp. 222-86.

[65] Waller, *Town*, pp. 1-24.

'sociological fossils' to Branford.[66] Notwithstanding, he turned to ancient history to define the city as a state, which he in turn meshed with futuristic ideas about the city as a community of modern institutions.

Branford pointed to a 'capital literary fraud' perpetrated against students who learned about the ideal 'state' in modern translations of Aristotle's *The Politics*. He claimed the translations used words that were suited not to virtuous cities but fitted to the hegemony of the large centralised nation-state. Branford explained that city, citizens, polity and civic had been replaced by the ersatz terminology of state, politician, constitution and political.[67]

While the 'civics' of Aristotle offered a static view of the ideal city, Branford was outlining the sociology of an 'Evolutionary civics'. Branford's objective was to convert British industrial conglomerations of township into cities of citizenship. A university elite would guide the transformation of town to city. The university thus stood as the modern index of city. It represented the progressive spiritual power, or beacon of regional progress, interknit with colleges, schools, and homes situated across the valley-region. He believed that these institutions could incite an urban 'Moral or Ideal Revolution'.[68] Universities would empower the body politic to engage in a 'ceaselessly renewed attempt to make for each region, here and now, its own Eden – its own Utopia'.[69]

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[66] Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', pp. 222-86.
[67] Branford, *I&F*, pp. 10-31, 360.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Branford, 'Science and Citizenship', pp. 222-86.

During the late 1900s Geddes and Branford were involved in a project that entailed methodologically disassembling a building slated for demolition, called Crosby Hall. They proposed to reassemble it on a new site owned by the University of London. They wanted to save the Hall because it was the former home of the utopian, Thomas More. Geddes and Branford rallied public support to save the historic edifice. Along with key Positivist Society members they met with a group called 'The Utopians' to celebrate the completed reconstruction.

The addresses presented at the celebration appeared in *Utopian Papers* (1908). Geddes revealed his desire to convert Crosby Hall into a residential college and, eventually, into a university to renew London's status as a city-community. The project would thus redeem London from its state as a 'strangely deformed, debased, mammonised, and conventionalised' locality. He observed, as 'the community in its religious aspect was the Church, as the community in its political aspect is the State, so also the community in its cultural aspect will be the University'.[70]

How did 'utopia making' relate to Positivist Sociology? Branford maintained that the 'art of constructing idealistic Utopias' was 'based no longer on poetic dreams and personal aspirations, but on a systematic study of immediate possibilities disclosed by scientific and historical investigation'.[71] Frederic Harrison similarly explained that Comte used the historical survey to gain 'a true

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[70] SS, *SP*, III, p. 221; *TT,* 21 Nov. 1908; Geddes, 'Chelsea, Past and Possible', pp. 6-17, (pp. 6-17); Andrew Saint, 'Ashbee, Geddes, Lethaby and the Rebuilding of Crosby Hall', *Architectural History* (1991), 206-23.
[71] Branford, 'A Sociological Approach Towards Unity', pp. 104-56, (pp. 104-56).

understanding of how Humanity has grown to be what it is, what it has done in the past, and what it can do in the future'. [72] Along these lines, the first Sociological Society proceedings recalled Comte's popular statement that the 'Systematic formation of Utopias will become habitual; on the distinct understanding that as in every other branch of art, the ideal shall be kept in subordination to the real'. [73] At the Society, H.G. Wells claimed that Comte's 'Utopia' of the 'Western Republic … constitutes his one meritorious gift to the world'. [74] Comte's sociology facilitated the 'scientific prevision' for realising utopian ideas. [75] Referring to Geddes and Branford's contribution to the utopian tradition, Lewis Mumford added that 'Comte's great formula is implicit in the method of the regional survey: See to foresee: foresee to provide'. [76] Mumford's Positivist seniors believed that the regional survey of civic and rustic types could help produce eutopia, connoting an idyllic real place. [77]

Citizenship in place making, organised by universities, meant that towns had entered into the realm of City or Civic Design. In 1910 Branford proposed to university administrators the idea of integrating sociology and town planning through a joint 'University of London-RIBA' 'Civics department' at Crosby Hall under Geddes' leadership. The university's academic council sought out an architect for the post following the example of the new course at the University of Liverpool. (Coincidentally, one of the architects leading this course was Geddes'

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[72] Frederic Harrison, 'Historical Methods', *PR* (1913), 193-8.
[73] SS, *SP*, I, p. 142.
[74] SS, *SP*, III, p. 368.
[75] Périclès Grimanelli, 'La Prévision en Sociologie', *La Revue Positiviste* (1912), 12-36.
[76] Lewis Mumford, *Values for Survival* (1946), p. 153.
[77] SSCC, *Papers for the Present, 8* (1917-9), pp. 9-20; Bridges, 'Civics', *PR*, 198-203; Geddes, *CE*, pp. 223, 315; Geddes, *CD*, p. 99; Comte, *GV*, pp. 317, 50-1; S.H. Swinny, 'Mr. Branford's Interpretations and Forecasts', *PR* (1914), 91-4; Branford, *I&F*, pp. 131-2, 295, 382.

acolyte, Patrick Abercrombie.[78]) Crosby Hall served both as an extension of University Hall, Geddes' student housing organisation. It also became a hub for Patrick Geddes & Colleagues' London activities. Here, they hosted pageants and festivals and installed a 'Civic Museum' for the 1911 Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. It also served as a place where local councils, sociologists and planners discussed surveys, town planning bills and Garden Cities.

Geddes and Branford's emphasis on making the city-region into a eutopia stood as a cultural criticism of national and international affairs. The period leading up to the Great War saw fierce industrial battles grip the nation and also the British Empire reach furthest into the depths of the 'wilderness'. This context is worth examining, as it gives greater substance to Branford's ideas.

<center>S O C I O L O G I C A L   F O R E C A S T S</center>

During the early 1900s sociologists and social critics poured scorn on the intensification of global expansionism. Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States suffered from what the socialist Ernest Belfort Bax described as a 'colonial fever' for power, territory and resources in the Americas, Africa and Asia.[79] Noting the total lapse of Cobdenite liberal ideas of free trade at the peak of expansionism, Hobhouse stated that Britain had forged a world state union. The union comprised over 57 million people within a territory of 95 million square kilometres.[80] Congreve deprecated such 'ill-omened schemes of imperial federation' and the 'hateful competition for supremacy in power' between

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[78] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 210, 19, 21 (1910-11).
[79] Ernest Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism* (1890), pp. 123-6.
[80] Hobhouse, *Democracy*, pp. 1-56.

Western nations.[81] Shortly thereafter, Harrison denounced the 'incessant fighting'

and the addition of £100 million to the national debt to deploy 'the largest army

ever sent fourth from Europe since the Crusades' into the Second Boer War.[82]

The Positivist J.K. Ingram contended that 'the pride of domination' over an

'Empire on which the sun never sets' was not genuine patriotism concomitant

with republican values. He added that it was critical to implement an

administrative policy built from a 'moral theory on the basis of Sociology'. Such a

policy would address both imperial relations and domestic questions, specifically

regarding industry.[83]

Through the early 1910s, Britain endured an intensive industrial imbroglio.

Railway and shipping trades stood in a state of 'utter paralysis,' the effects of

which spread to auxiliary occupations. This 'great unrest,' as G.D.H. Cole

described it, stemmed from legislative suppression of trade unions, the lack of

cohesion amongst labourers, widespread grievances against industrialists and the

buckling of international trade. Agitators demanded anything from industrial

reorganisation to political, financial and material compensation. Some industrial

unionists began to favour guild socialism. Craft unions called to organise by trade

for quality production. Unionists united or divided from socialists groups.

Syndicalist unions fomented social disorder. Religious socialists moralised

capitalists on economic integrity.[84]

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[81] Congreve, *Essays*, III, pp. 96-7.
[82] Frederic Harrison, 'The Opening of the Century', *PR* (1901), 33-48.
[83] John K. Ingram, *Human Nature and Morals* (1901), pp. 12-3.
[84] G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought* (1956), III, pp. 222-3.

By 1912 H.G. Wells anticipated 'class war' as labour 'perplexingly and disconcertingly' had 'no defined ends at all'. French syndicalism, working class collectivism and parliamentary distrust of employers, led Wells to call on the aristocracy to awaken to their obligations to uphold that old republican mantra, the 'common good'. He exhorted the appointment of national scientific diplomats to plan towns and rallied for a 'labour conscription' for all classes.[85] The Positivist C.H. Desch vouched for Wells' argument. He stated that the 'permanent uplifting of the condition of the workers' was 'impossible until the unhealthy, squalid and hideous houses and tenements of individual towns have been swept away'. The propertied class had an 'unexampled opportunity' to build garden suburbs for operatives, which was 'one of the best manifestations of the new civic spirit'.[86] Charles Booth stressed the importance of adhering to a systematic trade union policy.[87] John Burns reiterated that if trade unionists could attain higher remuneration, then they should seek the goal of improved housing – the setting of civility and citizenship.[88]

City Design

The works Branford produced during the early 1910s predicted an impending global conflict stemming from expansionism and industrial friction. He outlined the intellectual, cultural and political machinery for a city design programme called the Third Alternative. This outline, appearing in his *Interpretations and*

[85] H.G. Wells, *Social Forces in England and America* (1914), pp. 53-85.
[86] C.H. Desch, 'Mr Wells', *PR* (1912), 206-10.
[87] Charles Booth, *Industrial Unrest and Trade Union Policy* (1913), pp. 8, 12-20; S.H. Swinny, 'Charles Booth's Trade Union Policy', *PR* (1913), 286-7.
[88] *TT*, 6 Aug. 1907.

Forecasts (1914) and other related pieces, drew on a combination of contemporary and historical precedents.

Branford referred to civics movements at home and abroad, particularly in the United States of America, as budding instances of city design. This included the famous American settlement house movement founded by Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. Addams had been influenced by the Barnett's university settlement called Toynbee Hall, where intellectuals resided 'in the poorer quarter … for the sake of influencing the people there toward better local government and a wider social and intellectual life'. Her Hull House offered a diverse range of activities for its residents and neighbours. It provided educational courses, a library, arts studios, coffee house, nursery, gymnasium and a savings bank. It also hosted groups such as the Nineteenth Ward Improvement Club, which encouraged community participation in street-cleaning and political advocacy to secure items such as public bathhouses. This 'constructive work' of the Hull House followed Charles Booth's example of sociological investigation and social cartography. The Club aimed to stimulate a scientific, humanitarian cure for 'the most openly and flagrantly vicious ['criminal districts'] in the civilized world'.[89]

For Branford, the work of the Hull House was a bottom-up complement to the top-down planning agenda of Edward H. Bennett and Daniel Burnham's American City Beautiful movement. Burnham promoted the consolidation of planning strategies relating to zones for public space design, sanitation, transport, industry, housing and atmospheric pollution control. Their aim was to kindle

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[89] *Hull-House Maps,* ed. Jane Addams (1895), pp. v-26, 207-30.

'civic pride' in a 'well ordered and convenient city' that conceals 'no private purpose'. For Burnham and Bennett, planning pertained to upholding the 'public good'. The work of these planners expressed the 'steady determination to bring about the very best conditions of city life for all the people, with full knowledge that what we as a people decide to do in the public interest we can and surely will bring to pass'.[90]

One important theoretical work that framed Branford's viewpoint concerning the duties of sociologists was Charles Ferguson's *University Militant* (1911).[91] Ferguson criticised university scholars, asserting that they were elitist pedants too far concerned with detached scholarship. Ferguson championed a humbling 'communism of intellect,' where scholars would become defenders of the working class. The university must, Ferguson wrote, in reference to Goldsmith's famous play, 'stoop to conquer'.[92]

Branford's survey of social progress was pointing towards a spiritual endeavour related to the design of future cities. However, he cast his solution in terms that were associated with a historical survey of medieval life. Like Harrison and Geddes, Branford suggested that academics would emulate the roles priests had during the Middle Ages. This relationship had produced a specific mode of urbanisation. He specified that

the University arose alongside of the Cloister, and that both functioned usefully so long as they retained their sense of interconnection with each other, and of practical relationship to the community, both directly and through the Secular Church … all three organs withered as they fell apart from each other and from the everyday life of the city and the community. The cities themselves thus

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[90] Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago* (1909), pp. 8-9.
[91] KU-LP/11/2/13/2, ff. 1-12 (1907); Branford, *I&F*, pp. 301-56.
[92] Charles Ferguson, *The University Militant* (1911), pp. 1-13, 144.

becoming isolated from their proper spiritual organs, entered on that process of random expansion and contraction which has fitfully continued through the centuries, and is only now beginning to be regulated in these days of reviving Town Planning.[93]

Branford's romantic vindication of modern intellectualism went as far as suggesting that the scientific method of the regional survey, as a procedure to reproduce results from minute details to far-reaching generalisations, signified a 'Sacred Way'. It could thus become the basis for a new 'culture-form of natural religion' underpropped by a vast network of universities operating as a 'spiritual' guide to city design. Here, a cultural movement venerating the spaces of the city-region would establish a set of 'moral presuppositions' about the meaning and function of cities. With this 'the social condition' established, university sociologists and artisans could deliver an 'aesthetic and intellectual preparation' for 'the planned execution of spaciously conceived designs'.[94]

Branford called on universities to join in the urban revolution initiated by the work of Patrick Geddes & Colleagues from the Outlook Tower and its 'missionary offshoot,' Crosby Hall. Each 'Institute of Synthesis' contained a view of the past and present, and proffered visions of the future metropolitan region in the form of a planning exhibit. The purpose, Branford remarked, 'is to make us see Eutopia, and seeing, create it'. This 'third alternative' would enable individuals to live to their full potential in a republican city-region:

Each with a full complement of culture institutions – from theatres to universities – modernized, correlated and adapted to local and regional needs. And what if this prove to be central to the art of city design, the very essence of the matter, without which, town planners, whatever their expertise in other parts of the subject, are

[93] Victor Branford, 'Survivals and Tendencies in the University', *Soc.Rev.* (1914), 1-8.
[94] Ibid.

but halting beginners in the understanding of cities and therefore but of moderate competence in the ordering and the development of them?[95]

City design was to produce something more than material comforts, primarily citizens. Outdoor urban studies would inculcate them with the concrete politics of the environment. As such, Branford forecast that academic intervention in city development would mark a 'neotechnic era'. This era would witness a series of urban hygienic reforms including the expansion of electric power grids, transportation enhancements, new architectural expressions of community life, and also, wholesome workplaces and homes.

So how did Branford bridge the gap between these 'spiritual' ideas and the realities of the 'temporal' clash of the 'great unrest'? He thought that the scientific, regional survey method vested the university sociologist with the authority to intervene on social and economic questions. Industrial pandemonium, penury and the mean streets, he explained, stood as the consequence of the longstanding 'anarchic medley' of 'priestly or patrician dictatures' that suppressed the masses. He demanded that the ancient powers relinquish their titles and privileges. Following Comte's *System,* Branford advocated the rise of a 'Proletarian Dictature'. The 'inmost fibre of labor' had fortified the proletarians during their 'age-long habituation' of self-sacrifice. The moral fibre of proletarians made them prime candidates for a government for the people. A dictatorship of the proletariat, counselled by a university elite, would fructify the devolution of empires and 'megalopolitan state capitals'.[96]

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[95] Branford, *I&F*, pp. 15-17, 92-98, 177; S.H. Swinny, 'The Masque of Learning', *PR* (1913), 69-70.
[96] Branford, *I&F*, pp. 248-9.

Branford's early essays were warmly received. However, the texts examined in this section, which appeared during the early 1910s, were criticised for their untimely sociological pontificating. The events of the Great War overshadowed Branford's suggestions. As the war unfolded, Branford connected his theory of city design to a socio-economic framework for sustaining community spirit. As we will see, he later recast these outlines of the Third Alternative as a programme for post-war reconstruction.

THE GREAT WAR OF IDEAS

From 1914 to 1918, millions suffered the methodical 'cunning and violence' of the Great War: massacre, rape, deprivation, imprisonment, epidemics, torture and death. Horrified, the socialist Augustin Hamon depicted the clash as a 'system of terrorization'. 'Humanity is bent upon its own destruction' and 'has ravaged and is still ravaging the earth,' he wrote.[97] When Britain entered the battle in August 1914 to stake its claim to the rights to foreign resources, it stirred national anxieties. The government shut banks down for four days to prevent gold exchanges.

This was thought to be the war to end all wars. The Sociological Society and other groups arranged symposia to discuss unemployment, national estrangement from international trade and finance and the potential repercussions of an extended campaign. The Fabian Society was one of the first groups to expound a programme calling the Local Government Board to counteract the dislocation of workers (due to the changeover to munitions manufacture). This scheme proposed

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[97] Augustin Hamon, *Lessons of the World-War* (1918), pp. 14-40.

by Sidney Webb entailed new urban development projects, not limited to universities, schools, hospitals, open space improvements and, also, extensions to transport and telecommunications infrastructure.[98] Money was not to be found for such measures. Branford instead looked ahead to consider 'how the state of war itself may be turned to opportunity so as to utilise the national consciousness towards a better economy and organization of national and civic life'.[99]

Branford surveyed the relationships between remuneration, idleness, material resources, logistics, manufacturing and the disintegration of intellectual and artistic culture underpropping social morale. He put forward a system of national credit for 'petite culture'. The Bank of England would consolidate disparate cooperative initiatives, notably the Co-partnership Tenants Limited, Agricultural Organisation Society and Urban Banks Association. Under this system, shopkeepers, artisans and craftspeople would receive loan disbursements that were available only to those managing heavy industrial production. Branford professed:

From a social banking point of view, the problem is to co-ordinate these too sporadic initiatives towards the financing of small people, and deliberately incorporate them into that great system of joint-stock and private banks which the present crisis has revealed as resting in the last resort on national credit.[100]

This proposal would broaden the scope of the nation's financial system; its unification had already been underway. Recalling Comte's Occidental Republic, Branford commented:

The concentration of selective control, which we are to-day witnessing in the Governor's Court of the Bank of England, is suggestive of the "triumvirate of

[98] Sidney Webb, *Fabian Tract 176* (1914), pp. 1-5.
[99] NLS, MS.10556, ff. 317-9 (1915).
[100] SSCC, *Papers for the Present, 2* (1917-9), pp. 1-33.

bankers," which Comte foresaw at the apex of the temporal power in the modern state'.

Branford similarly thought that idealist financers would soon act as civic functionaries – a 'hieratic craft' of 'social selection,' 'directing and controlling communitary life and welfare'.[101]

Branford believed that this form of 'social finance' could bolster up the nation during the war. He sought to link cooperative societies to a national credit mobilisation scheme because they were principally the housing and town planning organisations of the Garden City movement. Through this socio-economic framework, moral 'banker-statesmen' could facilitate a national movement based on the 'central concept of realisable ideals as regional Utopias'. Through this economic structure, city design would consume the empire:

Now the planning of home, village, suburb, town, city – each as a unit in itself but also as collectively integrated into the larger units, regional, national and international – is the pre-occupation of that rising profession whose representative organisation is the Town-Planning Institute. The legitimate specialism of these new students and practitioners of co-ordination is the whole material environment of society and its orderly transformation. But may there not be also a legitimate specialism in the foresight and purposive planning of human life, in its individual phases, domestic, parochial, suburban, civic, regional, national and international, each and all in due correlation with the corresponding transformations of the material environment?[102]

These suggestions went unheard. The vicissitudes of war quelled nearly all housing and urbanism projects. National finance zeroed in on maintaining the war economy.

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[101] Ibid.; Comte, *SPP*, IV, pp. 71, 133-41, 301-11; Comte, *SPP*, III, p. 509.
[102] Victor Branford, 'The Mobilisation of National Credit', *Soc.Rev.* (1914), 307-14.
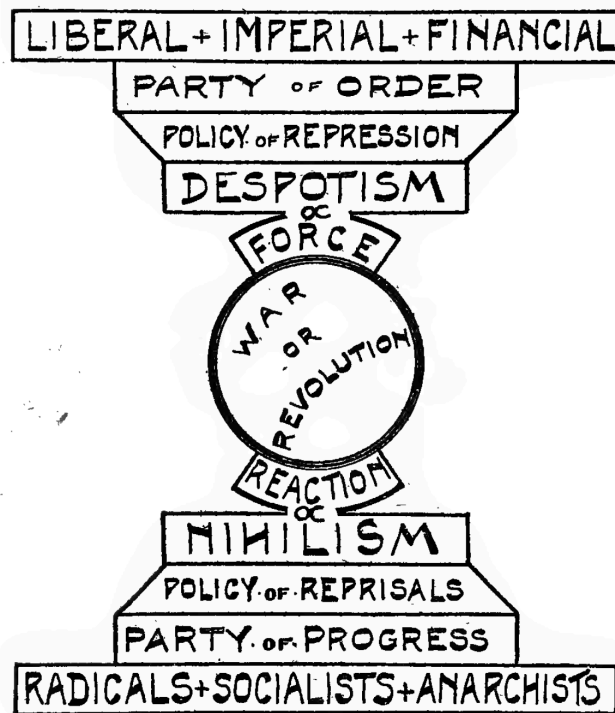
Figure 30 *Geddes and Branford's 'Party of Order, Party of Progress' diagram, derived from Comte's historical outlook of 'Order and Progress'. Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, OSI (1919), p. 66.*

Geddes and Branford turned to sociological explanations of the conflict. During their annual Summer School meetings of 1915, they organised a publication called 'The Making of the Future Series'. The results of the meetings appeared in the Series' first volume, *Ideas at War* (1917). Here, Gilbert Slater, Geddes and Branford wrote that the War was the consequence of an oppressive, monopolising expansionism. Imperialism had reduced life to economics, which led to the polarisation of social groupings. On the one side, a 'party of order' evolved sequentially in liberal, imperial and financial phases. It clashed with the 'party of progress' with its succession of radical, socialist and anarchist phases

[Fig. 30]. Overall, they attributed the global battle to the 'cult of profiteering' plaguing society, being the adverse effect of the Industrial Revolution.[103]

Social critics presented much more pointed but varying explanations of the war as it unfolded. Peace activists and socialists such as A. Fenner Brockway and Edward Carpenter agreed on the narrative that a monopoly of class interests – whether religious, military or capitalist – orchestrated the conflict. Brockway published leaflets denouncing the 1916 compulsory military enlistment of men aged 18 to 41. He called the Independent Labour Party to join in peace protests.[104] The Fabian Society's G.D.H. Cole wrote that it was a war of capitalist nations: 'Is allegiance due first of all to the nation, which includes some of all classes, or to the class, which includes some of all nations?'[105] Alternatively, the economist and historian Arnold J. Toynbee observed that nationality had become the 'dominant political factor' in life. 'Every particle of our energy must be absorbed in the war,' he wrote.[106] During this time, a new generation of Positivists began to mingle the words community and country with nation, drowning out their seniors' opinion that the city was the highest political entity.[107] After entering the battlefield, a great number of soldiers, young Positivists included, did not return home. While it might be said that all efforts were directed towards extending the empire, if sustaining the nation-state, some virtuous Britons refused to contribute to the notion of humanity killing humanity.

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[103] Geddes and Slater, *Ideas*, pp. xv-33, 250-6.
[104] A. Fenner Brockway, *Socialism for Pacifists* (1917), pp. 5-12; Edward Carpenter, *The Healing of Nations and the Hidden Sources of their Strife* (1915), pp. 9-15.
[105] G.D.H. Cole, *Labour in War Time* (1915), p. 3.
[106] Arnold J. Toynbee, *Nationality and the War* (1915), pp. 1-20.
[107] Rayner Storr, 'Love and Service of Country', *PR* (1915), 260-1.

The War, The Homecoming & The Reconstruction

By 1916 considerable anxiety enfolded the national labour question. Wartime strife centred on reductions in pay disproportionate to the cost of living; the stifling of free speech; the Munitions of War Acts (1915-7), which tied labourers to weapons manufacture; trade union suppression; liquor restrictions; and extensive entrepreneurial profiteering.[108] As German submarines sank British import vessels, government regulation over domestic production increased. In sweeping moves over legislation, finance, agriculture and industry, the state commandeered more than 150 British manufactories and numerous farming estates to ensure that arms production and agricultural yields sustained the nation. The price of commodities and the accumulation of profits were regulated accordingly.

While a Royal Commission was set up to address 'industrial unrest' during the summer of 1916, other concerns loomed large. As indicated, the state of housing stood in a crisis before the war began. Slum clearance minus reciprocal rebuilding, rising construction costs and rent, property acquisition obstructions and, also, newly-enacted stringent building codes: all these were contributing factors to the pre-war housing shortage.[109] National estimates made it plain that constructing 100,000 homes annually would have satisfied general demand. However, housing construction had come to a near standstill during the war. Soldiers returned home to life in overcrowded tenements.

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[108] G.N. Barnes, *Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest* (1917), pp. 5-28; Ordway Tead, 'The British Reconstruction', *Political Science Quarterly* (1918), 56-76.

[109] The National Housing and Town Planning Council claimed that increment value duties on land and minerals, associated with part one of the Finance Act of 1910, was the leading cause of the housing shortage.

From 1915 both the Board of Agriculture and the Garden City and Town Planning Association had been advocating the founding of labour colonies or 'garden villages' for homecoming soldiers. Victor's wife Sybella Gurney Branford was president of the Rural Co-partnership Housing Association. The Association used the cooperative method to finance the construction of approximately 200 homes following Garden City principles after the war had crushed all other initiatives. The Branfords propagated the cooperative method of agricultural production in Garden Villages as an alternative to 'state colonies'.[110] Garden City and Town Planning Association village schemes proposed to integrate the questions of settlement, vocation and edification simultaneously by incorporating stores, workplaces, housing, a school, clubroom, an inn and other social amenities. The Small Holdings Act of 1916 enabled the Board of Agriculture to establish three state colonies in England and one in Wales (as an agricultural school for ex-service men). Family life and community elements did not appear in the Board of Agriculture's designs.[111]

Some critics considered 'state colonies' and Spartan housing-blocks as palliatives carrying a not-so-rewarding aura, particularly when compared to the sacrifices of war. Moreover, some expressed scepticism that what could be done with regard to housing, would not be done in a way suited to actual needs. J.S. Nettleford noted this unfortunate situation – that 'mapping out districts as a whole' had been 'scandalously neglected' leading up to the war.[112] The Branfords

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[110] KU-LP/12/2/5, ff. 1-4 (1917).
[111] 'Settlement', *IRAE* (1921), 1-36; 'Report', *GCTP* (1916), 46-53; Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns* (1991), pp. 122-29.
[112] 'Town Planning', *BA*, 106-7.

determined that any new colonies or villages and housing developments should fit into a larger, methodologically designed framework for reconstruction via regional units, thus more immediately tendering meaningful living and working places.

By 1916 the Reconstruction Ministry organised to plan the progression to post-war life. The Reconstruction Committee formed under the auspices of David Lloyd George. Dr Christopher Addison was appointed the Minister of Reconstruction.[113] Seebohm Rowntree had gained notoriety for his poverty surveys following the work of Booth, and he took a leading role in the Committee. Rowntree's team was soon investigating the war's consequences on industrial towns and the economy. The group was charged with compiling a 'Peace Book' to accompany the much-discussed 'War Book'.

Viewing the chaos surrounding the war administration, Fabian Society members showed little trust in the idea of a Peace Book. Sidney Webb fretted that on the declaration of ceasefire the Treasury, which was disbursing five million pounds a day, would immediately cut funding and leave the nation on the brink of 'unemployment and starvation'. This meant that the seven million occupied with 'war-work' including some 4,000 weapons factories would have no purpose.[114] The Trade Union Congress of 1917 resolved that it was an 'indisputable right' to have its opinions heard in post-war social re-adjustments.[115]

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[113] HCPP, *HC Deb 10 July 1916 vol 84 cc33-4* (1916).
[114] Sidney Webb, *Fabian Tract 181* (1916), pp. 1-6.
[115] *Eco.,* 13 Jan. 1917; Webb, *FT 181*, pp. 1-6.

While the Ministry of Reconstruction was being organised, Branford was setting

out a more detailed vision for his Third Alternative. This programme appeared in

a collection of collaborative treatises he produced with Geddes. These

publications interknit the components of Garden City reconstruction, individual

re-education and moral renewal.[116] They did not proffer a solution to the national

housing shortage but rather a systematic framework for rustic and civic

regeneration. They were thinking of a vast international effort:

Reconstruction first, of course, for the ruined lands, the burned villages, the
violated and plundered homes, the wrecked towns and cities ... Reconstruction as
material regeneration of soil for houses, for gardens, for agriculture, for orchards
and forests; Reconstruction for the industries and the crafts. These plainly need
the help of all the sciences, of all their organizing skill, all the energies that can be
mobilized, all the resources that can be developed, all the natural powers that can
be utilized: and for this mobilization, all the clearness and intensity that united
national characters, economics, aptitudes, and inventive originalities can muster;
exceeding therefore in complexity even what they have accomplished for the
War.[117]

Geddes and Branford expressed much optimism about channelling the same

forethought, organisational skills and passion of killing into a reconstruction

effort. The exigencies of the global contest proved that industrial, financial, social

and urban reorganisation was possible. Owing to the leading role women (and

children) were playing in sustaining the war-time nation, the Positivists

communicated that the church, crown and peers were anachronisms of an older

order. Geddes, Branford and Gould believed that the new order would comprise a

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[116] Branford, *I&F*, p. 398; Branford, 'A Craft University', *Athenaeum*, 79-82; Branford, *Whitherward?*, pp. 44-5.
[117] Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, p. 365.

government by women, science and industry.[118] Moreover, they expected that British towns would be primed for decentralisation by the end of the conflict. The post-war neotechnic era would present an era of an alternative to the welfare of the state. It would tend to the welfare of individuals, which would facilitate self-reliance and civic responsibility.[119]

Geddes and Branford's ideas on this incipient era of the reconstruction of town and country unfolded in two key volumes. The first volume appeared in 1917 with the title *The Coming Polity.* Building on Le Play's geographical 'regionalism' this treatise included a rural survey of the British hinterlands and its rustic types. The second volume appeared in 1919 with the title *Our Social Inheritance.* Building on Comte's civic 'humanist' view of the city, this treatise included an urban survey of the British city and its civic types.[120] Collectively, the exposition set the city-region as the unit of post-war reconstruction.

Geddes and Branford set out from their typical line that communities emerge from human and material resources in a 'regional sequence,' from rustic to civic. The Great War marked a revolution, a return to the inception of a new social cycle. The 'moral and social renewal' of rustic areas would commence with 'individual and general re-education,' cottage-building and agricultural production. Due to the continual population flow from town to country, these rural renewal activities would, in their very nature, 're-spiritualise' the city. Neglecting this rural-civic sequence, or even the irrevocable links between town and country,

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[118] Frederick J. Gould, *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (1916), p. 9; Geddes and Slater, *Ideas*, pp. xv-33, 250-6.
[119] SSCC, *Papers for the Present, 9* (1917-9), p. 42; Branford, *Whitherward?*, pp. 1-59.
[120] Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, pp. v-xvi.

would put the future of cities, and even national and transnational affairs, in peril.[121] The landscape shaped the social architecture of the city-region, and this architecture was built from the unit of the home proper.

+ 1 Million Homes

There was a great expectation surrounding discussions of a coming social reorganisation. The Labour Party was discussing the potentialities of peace – industrialisation towards a new life, such as living on the 'street of to-morrow' and 'home rule all around' throughout the empire.[122] Patrick Abercrombie plotted out how with a regional survey as the 'basis of reconstruction' planners could coordinate housing, agricultural, industrial and social needs for the 'regrouping of the country'.[123] Perhaps an equal amount of apprehensiveness loomed over the possibility that the government would let loose an entirely speculative-built tactic for tackling the housing crisis. Others fretted about the consequences of goading homecoming soldiers back into more of the old 'Blind civic'. Some believed that nothing other than a new life in Garden Cities would come close to compensating the nation for the shock and horror of total war. For instance, the tracts of the 'New Townsmen' group – Howard, Purdom, Abercrombie, Cole and Frederic Osborn – noted:

 The creation of a hundred garden cities will give a far better return to the State in health, happiness, public spirit and efficiency than any other method of meeting the shortage of houses. Merely to scatter a million dwellings in our suburbs and villages, wherever a chance economic demand may occur, is a feeble and planless proceeding. It means that a colossal national enterprise is undertaken without

[121] Branford and Geddes, *TCP*, pp. 133-47; Geddes and Slater, *Ideas*, pp. 164-5; Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, p. xix.
[122] Arthur Henderson, *The Aims of Labour* (1919), pp. 122-8.
[123] Patrick Abercrombie, 'The Basis of Reconstruction', *TPR* (1918), 203-10.

national consideration or design, and in total disregard of some of the most vital factors.[124]

The Ministry of Reconstruction's Peace Book, which was produced during the course of three governments, had grown into a cumbersome library consisting of ninety volumes. By 1918 the Ministry's delegates – notably Sybella Branford, Beatrice Webb, Tudor Walters, Unwin, Rowntree, Aldridge, and Vivian – were publishing materials on national planning recommendations. From within the Ministry of Reconstruction, Sybella conducted local investigations to help determine housing needs. Her 'Women's Sub-committee' on reconstruction advised the Architects' Committee on public housing and model home plans 'from the point of view of the housewife,' critiquing everything from fittings and function to garden and public space design.[125] The Committees' planning guidance, which followed Garden City lines, appeared in the Ministry's work, the *Tudor Walters Report* (1918). There was perhaps little surprise that by January 1919 reconstruction teams had estimated the national deficit was between 800,000 to 1 million homes.

However, as the post-war economy faltered, many came to believe that peers aspired to return to pre-war economic and social stratification. The diffusion of Bolshevism in Britain invigorated radical peals for industrial restructuring and the redistribution of profits and property.[126] The agitation of disaffected soldiers

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[124] New Townsmen, *New Towns*, pp. 83-4.
[125] KU-LP/12/4/2, ff. 21 (1919); KU-LP/12/2/27, ff. 1-7 (1915); KU-LP/12/2/22, ff. 1-7 (n.d.); KU-LP/12/2/1, ff. 1-3 (n.d.); Sybella Branford, 'In Defence of the English Cottage', *TPR* (1921), 41-6; Branford, 'The Revival of the Village', *Soc.Rev.* (1913), 43–46; *TT,* 17 Apr. 1913; *TT,* 04 Mar. 1918.
[126] S.H. Swinny, 'Problems of Eastern Europe', *PR* (1919), 101-9; C. Sheridan Jones, *Bolshevism* (1919), pp. 5-6, 81-96.

and workers had intensified to the extent that revolution was thought to be a simple 'matter of course'. Few seemed to believe in the promises of the public housing campaign known as 'Homes fit for Heroes'. The historian Alfred Zimmern submitted that reconstruction efforts should concentrate on instruction and industry to prevent the return to the 'inhuman,' pre-war relations between industrial 'masters and men'. He relegated the issues of housing and town planning as too 'large and complex'.[127] W.R. Hughes of the New Town Council charted the intricacies of the situation:

Some look for national salvation in a new system of education, but soon find that their schemes are impossible or are frustrated because of the bad conditions in the children's homes. The housing reformer can make little advance, because of the existence of low wages and unprocurable land. Those who are anxious to give a higher place to women in all social life are in turn hampered by existing conditions of home and of employment. Those who would bring the town-dwellers into closer contact with Nature and with her productive processes, and those who would give a wider culture to over-driven countryside labourers, are alike confronted by the evils of the huge congestion of our cities and the emptiness of much of our country.[128]

So, how would urban sociologists seek to facilitate post-war reconstruction? Branford's Third Alternative would begin with a regional survey to form a 'Reconstructive policy' for eutopia building. A 'reconstituted political science,' Branford wrote in 1917, based on the regional survey was *the* way 'to re-express the manifold problems, theoretical and practical, of statecraft, of nationalism, of empire, in the more concrete terms of civic and regional life and the federation of their respective communities'.[129]

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[127] Alfred E. Zimmern, *Nationality & Government* (1918), pp. 245-8.
[128] W.R. Hughes, *New Town* (1919), pp. 11-2.
[129] Branford and Geddes, *TCP*, p. 173; SS, *SP*, I, pp. 104-11.

Branford's Third Alternative included a socio-economic framework. He declared that the strains of the war period had prompted important modifications to the British banking system. It was through a new public credit or cheque and clearing system, linked to bankers' clearinghouses, that the nation had been sustained. This measure prevented Prussia from extending her empire. It incorporated labourers into the credit system via printed currency, Bradburys, which enlarged national productivity in the form of goods and services. Branford claimed that this 'true National Economy,' when coupled with the regional survey, could render the path to regional sovereignty.[130] Each republic would develop its own comprehensive 'Policy of Culture,' including its own form of currency. He added:

For the right use of autonomy in civic finance is, of course, needed a well-conceived city-planning. And from the correlation of this with similar plannings for village, town and city throughout the country would emerge a national economy and its wider polity. Towards such comprehensive tentatives the experimental cottage-building of the New Model is suggested as a financial beginning. In all the consequent activities, the economic factor would be ever fundamental, never supreme. The direction of energies towards an enhancing of life individual and social would always afford the supreme guidance.[131]

Branford maintained that public credit should be used for 'social investments' in community building. He recommended a steeply graduated income tax and a 'heavy toll' on unearned increments and bank bonuses as a once a generation 'sabbatical year'. It was a 'social obligation' for the 'common good': for housing, educational, industrial and commercial. Administered by an appointed 'Income-Rationing Authority,' this toll would serve to compensate the people for the sacrifices they had made to preserve the 'liberty and welfare of the

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[130] Branford, *Whitherward?*, p. 89.
[131] SSCC, *PftP, 2*, pp. 1-17.

nation'.[132] This toll would thus support the implementation of a Policy of Culture. Such a Policy would entail regional enhancement projects, such as the construction of cultural institutions; urban and rural working-class houses; parks, railways, canals, harbours, docks and warehouses; and afforestation, drainage and land reclamation improvements. We will return to the implications of the Third Alternative below.

It is commonly noted that Geddes and Branford's comprehensive vision of reconstruction paved the way for the Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act of 1919. The Act empowered joint planning committees to oversee reconstruction in regional units. It was presented as a small step towards urban social change. The Act was based on the Ministry's Tudor Walters Report, which set basic public housing guidelines for the next thirty years. The Report maintained that beginning with local surveys and seeking to realise a total sense of community as their end, was an honourable and judicious approach to reconstruction [Appendix, 6].[133]

The Town Planning Act of 1919 outlined the financial terms of reconstruction.[134] Importantly, it obliged local authorities to continue housing surveys and report on-going housing needs, tenement levelling and quantity of new homes built. The Treasury covered plans that the Ministry of Health approved when losses exceeded a penny-rate. Local authorities now had accountability for planning requirements, including quantity of houses required and rent rates.

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[132] Branford, *Whitherward?*, p. 98.
[133] HCPP, *The Tudor Walters Report*, pp. 11-3.
[134] The Walters report allocated re-housing responsibility to local authorities for 88%, public utility societies for 8% and private enterprise for 6%.

By the mid 1920s the Act's measures sanctioned the construction of over 170,000 council homes and 39,000 private houses in 5,000 towns while demolishing 11,000 condemned slums. By the outset of World War II, local authorities had supplied 1.5 million homes.[135] However, well into the 1950s a great number of families continued to subsist in the downtrodden efficiencies of the Victorian-era. Few of the new-built cottages and low-rise flats built by local councils spoke of the kind of 'community' Britons had imagined. This seems to reflect again that while Geddes and Branford's concept of the Comte-Le Play regional eutopia served as a kind of jelly mould for planning legislation, it was not their true aspiration. Their aim, it seems, was rather to inspire the body politic to engage in the making of their own ideal city-region, in a civic-altruistic fashion, on their own account.

T H E   M O R A L   E Q U I V A L E N T   O F   W A R ?

Branford's greater motivation with the Third Alternative was to see through the realisation of an Occidental network of Garden City-states, interconnected through a World University system.

When Branford referred to the nation's 'social obligation' to contribute to a 'sabbatical year,' he envisioned it to entail a £100 million 'tithe' collected for a 'spiritual power'. As indicated, this intellectual and artistic elite would coordinate the making of a 'Policy of Culture' for each region. He wrote that a 'Spiritual

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[135] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures* (1998), pp. 189-90; Mark Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs* (1998), pp. 33-9; David Whitman, 'The First Sixty Years of Council Housing', in *The Future of Council Housing*, ed. John English (1982), pp. 9-33; Hardy, *From Garden Cities*, pp. 119-50; John R. Short, *Housing in Britain* (1982), pp. 33-4.

Power of fully modernized competence,' practising city design, would manifest 'the religious notion of a kingdom of heaven on earth'. This 'moral equivalent of war,' as an example of a greater social movement, would allow Occidental citizens to recolonize their city-region.[136] Branford explored the implications of this Third Alternative:

For what is this if not the task of creating opportunities for communitary life and expression at their fullest and best (yet with and through due freedom of individual development), at every level; not only throughout the whole range of the commonwealth, but in its relation to the other commonwealths beyond its own bounds. But neither the educational problem nor the political task can be adequately dealt with, until to the People has been shown a fuller Vision, that of their own life in all its ever-widening relations, its expanding possibilities. In this vision, the Personal and the Regional, the National and the Human, must be reconciled in common purpose, and combined in militant effort.[137]

By the late 1910s Branford organised a University Militant series, which promoted sociologists as an 'incipient spiritual power'.[138] He remarked that 'science and religion are drawing closer' and would form the 'new sociology and a renewed theology' of a Regional University. This academic elite would arbitrate industrial affairs and also educate a system of guilds in 'synthetics,' rather than specialisms, using the regional survey.[139] Academics would also oversee international affairs. They would serve as a 'spiritual' counterpart to the League of Nations.[140] Geddes and Branford maintained that an intellectual power was indispensable to accomplishing the League's mission of 'international co-

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[136] Branford, *Whitherward?*, pp. 45-9, 85-91.
[137] Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, *The Coming Polity* (1919), pp. 224-49.
[138] KU-LP/11/2/13/2, ff. 4-12 (1917).
[139] *NA,* 7 Dec. 1916; *NA,* 12 Oct. 1916; *TT,* 11 Aug. 1920.
[140] SSCC, *PftP, 8*, pp. 9-20; Geddes, *CE*, p. 315; George Grafton Wilson, *The First Year of the League of Nations* (1921), pp. 5-23.

operation and to achieve international peace and security'.[141] They served as members of the League of Nations union to reinforce this covenant and to promote these ideas.[142]

When Branford lectured on 'Illustrations of Utopia-making' at the Positivist Society, he proclaimed that the League of Nations was in 'direct continuity' with Comte's Occidental Republic.[143] The proposed that League unite with Regional Universities to initiate a 'modern transition,' towards European peace and re-unity. They would realise the 'decomposition of Western empires forming a league of free cities'.[144] These lines were warmly received. Frederic Harrison believed that the 'common history, civilisation, and destiny' of this 'comity of nations' would engender a 'Republic of the United States of Europe'.[145]

Frederic Gould averred that armistice only marked the opening of a 'free stage for exploitation, poverty, and slums'. 'Fellowship and devotion' to a common faith in amity and altruism was essential. Along these lines, by 1920 the League of Religions had formed in London as a 'spiritual support for the League of Nations'. Gould stressed that the International Moral Education Congress was also a decisive factor in sustaining long-term support for the League of Nations. The Congress members taught adolescents 'history and humanity' or the 'ideals of world peace and solidarity'.[146] He explained his wider perspective in the *Positivist*

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[141] Wilson, *The First Year of the League of Nations*, pp. 5-23.
[142] KU-LP/11/3/36, ff. 1-15 (1919); US.T-GED 3/12/74, ff. 1 (1925).
[143] KU-LP/11/3/36, ff. 1-15 (1919).
[144] Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, pp. 11-3, 85, 368.
[145] Frederic Harrison, 'The West', *PR* (1918), 223-5, pp. 223-5.
[146] F.J. Gould, *Youth and the League of Nations* (1925), pp. 1-8.

Review, which connected humanism to the creation of Garden Cities [Appendix, 7].[147]

During this time, Branford brought together religious and secular groups via conferences emphasising the 'service of man'. With Geddes, he organised rustic and civic surveys for 'spiritual healing,' where they guided citizens to panoramas of plazas, promenades, parks and gardens, to catch a 'glimpse of the future'.[148] They networked with local county councils, trade unionists, cooperative societies, universities, parliamentary committees, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Town Planning Institute and local youth groups. They sought to encourage these sociologists to 'maintain, to adorn, to dignify cities, and correspondingly to provide day-to-day sustenance and enhancement for the inner life of citizens'.[149]

Branford believed that if Britons channelled the patriotic solidarity, camaraderie and shared sacrifice of the war into an orchestrated movement of active citizenship and social responsibility in regional units, then they could materialise 'eutopia'. Perhaps most importantly, he and Geddes acknowledged in 1917 that they considered Comte's *System* as a 'practical treatise' for post-war reconstruction.[150]

C O D A

This chapter traced the evolution of Branford's civic programme for city design entitled the Third Alternative. This planning master-discipline intended to kindle

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[147] F.J. Gould, 'Relation of Religion to Social Life', *PR* (1920), 223-27.
[148] Branford and Geddes, *OSI*, pp. 97, 137-9; Branford, *Whitherward?*, p. vi.
[149] Branford, 'A Craft University', *Athenaeum*, 79-82, pp. 79-82.
[150] Branford and Geddes, *TCP*, p. 52.

in citizens the desire of 'making and maintaining a human environment designed to evoke the finer latencies of spirit, mind and body, and planned to exercise their skilled application'.[151] Branford thus believed that the university's 'applied sociologists' and their idealist citizen-sociologists could open a Third Alternative, leading society out of its perpetual cycles of industrial and military conflict. His Third Alternative, as such, required 'civic conversion' or the devotion of citizens to realising 'the city of the ideal' on earth.[152]

[151] Branford, *Whitherward?*, p. vi.
[152] Victor Branford, *Living Religions* (1924), pp. 195-202; SSCC, *Papers for the Present, 3* (1917-9), p. 16.

CONCLUSION

We set out on this investigation with the intention to determine how republicanism could be understood as a search for a cooperative mode of public life, connected to a systematic, scientific process for making a republic. We discovered that Comte's British followers believed that the making of a republic was a matter of religion, education, sociological investigation, self-government and participatory citizenship. Along these lines, the Positivists developed an intellectually critical, scientific survey practice to diagnose and treat urban social problems. They considered the survey as both a virtuous, civic-scientific act and a design method for making a republic. Here, the Positivists were confronting the rise of global consumer culture, local environmental degradation and widespread indifference to public life.

We have seen that Positivism addressed different levels and dimensions of human relations [Fig. 1]. On the imperial level it sought to break up empires into a

network of small industrial city-state communities. On the national level it sought the nationalisation of industry and the unification of trade unions, in the direction of home rule all around at the level of the city region. At the level of the city region, the proponents of Positivism sought to invigorate public participation in the political culture of the city, to form it into a cooperative community. And at the personal level Positivism offered a utopian creed for creating a multiplicity of heavens on earth. The idealist-humanistic outlook of Positivism, it seems, served as a guiding force for the works of late nineteenth-century gradualist social reformers and functionalist designers.[1]

As we have seen, Lewis Mumford framed out the narrative of the history of modern regional planning, beginning with the work of Comte and Le Play. The urban theorist Edward Soja has observed that like Comte's republican 'positivist manifesto,' a vast number of metropolises were 'elaborated, diffused and reinvented all over the world' during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2]

As I have suggested, the Positivists' work offered a method to analyse the organisation, structure and function of towns and also a way to ground or contextualise Howard's Garden City prototype, the principles of which diffused across the globe.[3] As early as the 1850s but most explicitly by the 1900s, the Positivists were discussing how the integration of civics, town planning and sociology could create an inclusive art. This practice would open to citizens the

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[1] See, for instance, Ockman, 'Toward a Theory of Normative Architecture', pp. 122-52.
[2] Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis* (2000), pp. xii-49, 67, 71-94.
[3] Speculative builders pirated and suburbanised the Garden City brand. See F.J. Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities* (1946), pp. 39-40.

opportunity to participate in town improvements projects.[4] By the 1920s town planners and architects agreed in the least that 'sociology is the principal basis for Town Planning'.[5] H.V. Lanchester, for instance, explained that sociology had at least two central functions in the survey-design process. Sociology served 'as a guide to the work of those in charge of municipal improvement and development, and secondly, in the form of a civic museum, to arouse the interest of the townspeople'.[6] The sociological survey was the most progressive design tool that existed during this era.

Members of Geddes and Branford's Le Play Society, notably Lanchester and C.B. Fawcett, maintained during the 1920s that 'the real wealth of nations resides now, as ever, in the self-sufficient region, in its people and in their power to achieve a right distribution of functions'.[7] Fawcett proposed as the means of post-war reconstruction the demarcation of England into twelve provinces, each with its own metropolis or regional capital. Through this 'applied geography' Fawcett aimed to 'reverse the disastrous separation of town and country' and the 'delusional nature' of financial imperialism.[8]

Sybella Branford and Alexander Farquharson conducted geographical, economical and anthropological surveys as representatives of the Le Play House. The three-part anthropological survey (demographic, sociographical and psychological) contained the most potent essence of the Positivist tradition. Here,

[4] Geddes, *TPTCD*, I, pp. 12, 19-25; SSCC, *PftP, 6*, p. 5; KU-LP/11/4/25, ff. 5-6 (n.d.); Geddes, *CE*, p. 205.
[5] Lanchester, *Town Planning*, p. 18.
[6] Ibid.
[7] E.W. Gilbert, 'Practical Regionalism', *GJ* (1939), 29-44; C.B. Fawcett, 'Natural Divisions of England', *GJ* (1917), 124-35; Le Play Society, *The Tradition of Le Play* (n.d.), pp. 1-4.
[8] Charles Bungay Fawcett, *Provinces of England* (1919), pp. 1-27.

the 'Sociographical Survey' investigated the nature of 'Spiritual Associations,'
'Temporal Associations,' 'Undifferentiated Associations' and 'Integrated
Associations of Communities'.[9] Geddes' follower Patrick Abercrombie carried
similar assumptions and practices into the professional discipline of town
planning. Abercrombie wrote that town planning commenced with

a systematic survey, region by region – not a static study of momentarily existing
conditions, but one that provided the due historic background: only by this means
can we project a curve into the future.[10]

As members of the Sociological Society Cities Committee, Abercrombie,
Lanchester and the Branfords organised conferences with a network of local
'Civic Societies' during the mid 1920s. Abercrombie maintained that the chief
purpose of these societies was to help 'co-ordinate the whole field' of historical,
geographical and civic survey work in town and country. He believed that these
citizen-groups would 'increase civic consciousness and help forward the progress
of decentralisation which is the foundation of local advancement' and 'local
patriotism'. They would also 'carry on a campaign of reconstruction propaganda'.
Moreover, these groups would offer 'constructive criticism' on local planning
affairs, keep authorities informed of 'public opinion' on 'everything that
concerned the welfare of the citizen' and, also, help establish a 'comprehensive
plan of development' for their city-region.[11]

The modern functionalist practice of architecture and urbanism grew slower
in Britain than in North America and continental Europe. Modernism, understood

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[9] Sybella Branford and Alexander Farquharson, *An Introduction to Regional Surveys* (1924), pp. 1-17, 32-46.
[10] Abercrombie, 'The Basis of Reconstruction', *TPR*, 203-10.
[11] Patrick Abercrombie, 'A Civic Society', *TPR* (1920), 79-92.

as being that of an equalising social project aspiring to uplift the masses, was in fact reviled by a great many Britons. Into the late 1930s, Professionals and the general public viewed modernism as a collectivist conspiracy. Inner-city workers continued to subsist in the slummy, one-room 'homes' that had been built during the Victorian era.

Abercrombie organised the *Greater London Plan* (1944), which drew on Garden City principles, with the intention to reconcile the lamentable realities of slums and sprawl. His plan focused on the use of 'open space' surveys to establish decentralisation via the formation of satellite towns and urban districts. Here, schools represented the civic hub of each district and industry was grouped in relation to housing. Each town was to have set ratios for open space, hospitals, schools and industry per population and be surrounded by a green belt. Abercrombie's plan thus sought to realise groupings of dynamic 'self-contained … community units'.[12] A number of the housing and urbanism projects proposed in Abercrombie's plan were interrupted, and never completed, owing to WWII.

There was also a wider tradition and more progressive school of architecture and urbanism that located its roots in Positivist ideas. From 1928, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) met to develop a modern design language in association with left-leaning social programmes. Sigfried Giedion, a founding member of the Congress acknowledged that Comte was 'the prophet of the scientific era'.[13] Giedion and other members of the Congress, such as the 'neo-

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[12] Patrick Abercrombie, *Greater London Plan 1944* (1945), pp. 111-8; Abercrombie and Johnson, *The Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme*, pp. 13, 92.
[13] Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (2002), p. 233.

Saint-Simonian' [14] Le Corbusier, declared that architects and planners felt empowered to fulfil their 'obligations towards society'.[15]

The international planning elite of the Congress aimed to integrate global and local design languages and the practice of 'comprehensive planning'. Although Congress members claimed their stylistic expressions were ahistorical and unaffiliated to any previous aesthetic, they nonetheless adopted the Garden City as their planning template. As we saw in the introduction, the Congress announced that it sought to place architecture and town planning 'morally and materially' on its 'true plane, the economic and sociological plane'. Their aspirations included the 'rationalisation and standardization' of architecture to achieve reduced working hours and higher wages, and to shape public opinion on education, housing and 'domestic science'. The Congress' town planning agenda entailed the transformation of social life, not limited to reforming legislation, 'fixing of population densities' and the control of infrastructure. They aimed to plan the 'redistribution of the land' to enable the community as a whole to benefit from '*unearned increment*'. Town planning, as such, was understood as the 'organization of the functions of collective life' over town and country.[16]

Effectively, the Congress sought to temper the 'ruthless violence of private interests'. They aimed to provide spaces of 'individual liberty and collective action'. They sought to realise this social agenda via the practice of social investigation. The process was to begin with the study of the 'initial nucleus of town planning,' the home. They examined the nature of this 'essential cell of the

[14] Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (1977), pp. 194-5, 258.
[15] *Programs,* ed. Conrads, pp. 109-13.
[16] Ibid.

urban tissue' in relation to the organisation of occupations, transport and leisure spaces of the city. The Congress was equally concerned with the city as a social grouping situated 'within the totality of its region'.[17]

Architectural and urban historians think that the Positivist influence also percolated into Le Corbusier's later post-war activities, including his theory behind the construction of *Unité de Habitation*, a quasi-city-in-the-sky tower scheme for 3,000 inhabitants. Along these lines, Eric Mumford states that the 'avant-garde' and 'anti-traditionalist' innovations of the Le Corbusier-led CIAM held strong 'historical links' to Saint-Simon. They seemingly both 'believed that developments in industry and in the scientific understanding of human history and society were making possible a new social system based on universal human association'.[18]

Over the course of several Congresses, the cohesiveness of the organisation began to fragment owing to disputes over ideological and stylistic differences. Notably, after the Congress IX of 1853 (CIAM 9) Alison and Peter Smithson broke from the Athens Charter prepared by Le Corbusier and Rudolf Steiger. The Smithsons advocated the Comte-Le Play-Geddes 'valley section' as a template for synthetic regional field studies. Focusing on the 'human associations' that make 'communities of varying degrees of complexity,' they emphasised how studies of 'commissions of atmospheres' would encourage architects to design spaces suited to the prevailing mode of urbanisation – 'isolate, village, town and city'.[19]

[17] Ibid., 137-45.
[18] Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse*, p. 2.
[19] Ibid., 238-41.

The distinction to highlight here is that these were not the activities of sociologists. The planning process had gradually become the work of a specialised and exclusive professional body of contractors, designers, architects, urban planners and governing authorities. Scholars note that many of these late modernist professionals were interested in regurgitating the 'technological utopias' and 'expressionist fantasies' of their masters; and some hoped only to receive professional prizes and the esteem of their colleagues.[20] In other words, some architects and urbanists continued through the collapse of the modernist project to altruistically work towards offering ethical designs for redressing the consequences of world war and widespread social inequality.

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[20] *Theorizing a New Agenda For Architecture,* ed. Kate Nesbitt (1996), pp. 12-71; J.M. Simmie, *Citizens in Conflict* (1974), p. xi.

A P P E N D I X

1: 'Within the walls there would be ample space for gardens, groves, parks, and exercise grounds; and on issuing from the walls without, the open country at once presented itself, where game could be chased or the mountain-side could be roamed. There were no leagues of dull and grimy suburbs, no acres of factories and smoky furnaces, fetid streams, and squalid wastes; there was no drunkenness in the streets, and practically no rates and taxes and no poorhouses. Health was a matter of religion, and it was vastly promoted by this, that cleanliness and sanitary discipline was a religious duty as well as an affair of personal pride. It remained a religious duty and a poetic sentiment after definite belief in local gods had become a mere convention or a phrase. To defile the precincts of the city, and almost every open corner of it was consecrated to some deity or hero, was to outrage the powers of heaven or of earth; to cast refuse or sewage into a stream was to incur the wrath of some river-god; to pollute one of the city fountains was to offer sacrilege to some water-nymph. To bring disease into some public gathering was to insult the gods and demi-gods; to place the dead within the precincts of a temple, or to bury the dead within the city, or in contact with human habitations, to leave the dead or any human remains unburied or scattered about in public places and abandoned as carrion, would have seemed to a Greek or a Roman the last enormity of blasphemous horror'.[1] – Frederic Harrison

2: 'Positivist Prayer. Great Being, of whom I am a part, teach me to respect myself, and forgetting my separate insignificance in your greatness, strive to be your worthy child. All that you are to us or others, we can only learn through what we are ourselves. Every man living or dead speaks in some degree your voice – teach us to listen and to learn. In their lives more than with words, they teach your lessons – lessons of goodness and of wisdom, of example and or warning, of hope and of love. … may we lay these your lessons to our hearts. Amen'.[2] – Charles Booth

3: 'It is only by giving his best services that any man is in a position to insist upon a full reward. In this way each individual must seek industrial salvation. For low wages there is no other cure, and what is true of the one man is true also of the mass. Underlying all that may be done for him by combination or by legislation or by public sentiment, the individual, in asserting his claim to a living wage, needs to base his action on a sounder philosophy and a firmer faith than that which usually prevails. To be as useful as possible – such is the Gospel of industry; and there is no one, high or low, rich or poor, to whom it does not apply'.[3]

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[1] Harrison, *TMH*, pp. 228-9.
[2] SHL-BP, MS.797/II/26/15, ff. vii, ix (1883).
[3] Booth, *L&LP*, IX, p. 314.

Booth uses a language here similar to the lines written below by Frederic Harrison, which upheld the institutions of 'social economy' within Comte's *System*. Harrison states:

'The true gospel of Industry must be a scheme of industrial activity, on the lines of science and sociology, in accordance with history, and inspired with a deep and energetic religious spirit of duty. The creed of Positivism, in a word, is to make industry the true sphere of religious duty; that religious duty being to make all life unselfish, by living for Humanity as the only source of man's happiness. Our solution is Moral Socialism, or Social Economy. … The strength of the economic solution is that it realises the enormous power of institutions, distribution of functions, and social spontaneity, things as old as the history of human civilisation, that it has analysed the precise conditions of social co-operation in production, that it rests so far as it goes on observed facts, on history and sociology'.[4]

4: 'One can see what were the original buildings; in many cases they are still standing, and between them, on the large gardens of a past state of things, have been built the small cottage property of to-day. Houses of three rooms, houses of two rooms, houses of one room – houses set back against a wall or back to back, fronting it may be on to a narrow footway, with posts at each end and a gutter down the middle. Small courts contrived to utilise some space in the rear, and approached by archway under the building which fronts the street. Of such sort are the poorest class of houses … these little places are often called "gardens," telling their story with unintended irony. But in other cases all sentiment is dropped, and another tale about their origin finds expression in the name "So and so's rents" – not houses, nor dwellings, nor cottages, nor buildings, nor even a court or a yard, suggesting human needs, but just "rents".[5] – Charles Booth

5: 'Cities in our modern life are organs inseparable from a larger whole, the nation; and before the life of cities can be much changed, we have to ask ourselves, What is the national life? What is its ethical and religious standard? What is its practice as to the acquisition and distribution of wealth? And, again, What is to be the intercourse of nations? Is it to be war or peace? … Half of what we are now spending on our army and navy would enable us to endow thirty more of such [Garden Cities] annually. But we are told by ambitious statesmen that it is our duty to think Imperially; and as yet we have given no sign of rejecting their counsel. So long as men cling to Empire they will continue to shirk the economic and moral conditions on which alone healthy civic life is possible'.[6] – J.H. Bridges

[4] Harrison, *On Society*, pp. 184-90.
[5] Booth, *L&LP*, I, pp. 28-32.
[6] Bridges, 'Civics', *PR*, 198-203.

6: The Tudor Walters Report states: 'It is not enough merely to cover the ground with streets and houses. The site should be considered as the future location of a community mostly engaged in industrial pursuits having many needs in addition to that of house-room. Their social, educational, recreational and other requirements should, therefore, be considered and, when not already adequately provided for on the surrounding areas, should be met as part of the lay-out of the scheme … In the planning of housing schemes suitable sites should, therefore, be reserved for larger houses, shops and business premises, schools, places of worship, clubs, institutions, and for open spaces, playgroups &c … It is generally agreed that to cover large areas with houses, all of one size, and likely to be occupied by one class of tenant, unrelieved by any other types of dwelling occupied by different classes of society is most undesirable, even when the depressing effect of monotonous unbroken rows is avoided.[7]

7: 'If you respect this common humanity, you will confess that it deserves a wholesome dwelling for its shrine, and sanitation for its daily reward. And, to all churches and universities I would say, that if they could kindle the hearts of a million English citizens into a passionate gratitude for the labours and tears of the proletariat of many suffering centuries, England would become a Garden City next year, and religion would hold such a happy festival as never before had set human hearts dancing, and gaily saluting the spirit of unfolding life. For a sweet house is the soul of civilisation'.[8] – F.J. Gould

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[7] HCPP, *The Tudor Walters Report*, pp. 11-3.
[8] Gould, 'Relation of Religion to Social Life', *PR*, 223-27.

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