CHAPTER XII

TOWN PLANNING AND CIVIC EXHIBITIONS

Exhibitions in their origins, medieval, renaissance, and industrial. Initiative of London and rise of Paris Exhibitions: most important and fruitful of the initiatives and outcomes of these has been the Civic Exhibition. Examples and advance of this in German cities.

Retrospect and criticism of London Town Planning Exhibition of 1910. Rise of Cities and Town Planning Exhibition: its record and aims. Outline of its plan at Ghent.

First a word on exhibitions in general. In the Middle Ages each craft-guild had its exhibition of literal "master-pieces," contributed by skilled journeymen, aspirants to the rank of mastership; and so it seems to have been for a time at the Renaissance, with its advance of many arts into a new and brief perfection. Picture exhibitions have long been pursuing the same purposes of self-expression and mastery, beyond their simply commercial one; and soon after the clear advent of the Industrial Age, general exhibitions began to take form; in Paris, it is said, as early as 1793. A generation later came the first proposal of an international exhibition of industrial progress. It is worth noting that this fitly came from the discoverer of those early implements and remains in the caverns of Dordogne which

proved to Lyell and his reluctant contemporaries the vast antiquity of man; for M. Boucher de Perthes was a true student of the past; no mere antiquary and collector, but a thoughtful inquirer into the progressive control by man of his environment, and thus interested in all that the advance of his appliances might signify in that remote past, or again in his own scarcely less marvellously evolving present. Here in fact he had reached a true, a central, a continuous epic of humanity—"Tools and the man I sing!" But the period of the Industrial Age, full enough in enthusiasm and hope to carry out such a dream into deed, could only arrive twenty or more years later, when, to the comparatively familiar achievements of the steam-engine, of the spinning-jenny and the loom, had been added the impressive magic of railway and telegraph, as fully renewing the wonders of the world. Thus appeared the great International Exhibition of 1851, so that its Crystal Palace remains to this day, and has been rightly preserved from recent danger of destruction, as the monument of not only the material uplift, but the spiritual culmination of the paleotechnic order at its very highest. After this our British manufactures, despite obvious elements of superiority, found themselves, however, in too many respects distanced by those of more incipiently neotechnic peoples and cities—hence Paris Exhibitions increasingly assumed predominance for the next half-century, culminating in 1900. This superiority was not a little aided by the intelligent

classification and comparison, as museums of industry, introduced by their organiser in 1856 and '67, the social economist Frederic Le Play, whose various influences on sociology and social betterment are alike still spreading; but their super-eminent position was assured by the moral and social uplift after 1870–71, with its artistic, technical, and scientific productivity, which has repeated, and in its own way even surpassed, that of Germany after 1809. General exhibitions have also been continued in many countries, as notably in the United States: witness especially the architectural impressiveness of the Chicago Exhibition of 1892 towards arousing that concept of "the City Beautiful," which has since been working wonders; or, again, the ambitious "Panama Exhibition" at San Francisco to commemorate the opening of the great canal.

Looking back over the central series of Paris Exhibitions (1878, '89, 1900), we may now ask, What was their most significant and fertile exhibit, the real *clou* of each exhibition? For the first, it seemed the Trocadero Palace; in the next the world-wonder was the Eiffel Tower, since sky-scrapers as yet were not; and, for the third, surely the magnificent "Rue des Nations," unparalleled union as it was of national self-expressions in international amity. After all, the highest portent and most enduring influence has proved to be the appearance in each exhibition, and on an ever-increasing scale, of a "Pavilion of the City of Paris." For here was the most organised of all

great modern cities becoming increasingly conscious of its own collective life, and striving to express and advance this to and through its people by vivid and graphic methods of every kind. With this also we may take the growing development of a section of new type, instituted by Le Play in 1867, that of Social Economy and Industrial Welfare. Here, then, we had the advent of a new type—the Civic Exhibition—which was henceforth increasingly destined to replace the older exhibition of technical appliances and details, of products and even masterpieces, as yet but aggregated for rivalry or gain, and not yet integrated and inter-organised towards social well-being and civic use.

Yet French cities have still remained under the crushing inhibition of their over-centralising and money-exporting metropolis; while German cities have been in course of unprecedented expansion; hence this fertile idea of the Civic Exhibition has since 1900 been finding its main development and expression north of the Rhine. Thus Dresden, Munich, Berlin, Leipzig, Düsseldorf, and other cities have each had its own civic exhibition, and always of value and interest, local and comparative, or both. And generally with even popular success. True, the large "Building Trades' Exhibition" of Leipzig in 1913 had the extraneous and imperial aid of a battle centenary; but the modest and excellent "Old and New Cologne" of the same year not only ran on its own merits for six months, but has been repeated for

1914, with additional features contributed by the "Werkbund," an association answering to our own "Arts and Crafts." This, we may here note, under the auspices of the new and enlightened Board of Trade Exhibitions Department, has at length, in Ghent in 1913, removed the paleotechnic reproach too frequently associated with our past appearances in exhibitions, and won pre-eminence; pre-eminence indeed so frankly and internationally recognised as to obtain an unprecedented appreciation and compliment, that of invitation to repeat its architecturally arranged as well as beautiful display in the galleries of the Louvre. In such ways the revolution in exhibitions is becoming complete; for instead of mere individual agglomerates, mere heterogeneous products, coarse and fine, we have increasingly the conception of civic life influencing architecture, and this marshalling arts and crafts, and with no small enhancement of individual effect and significance accordingly.

Though the need of Civic Exhibitions in British towns has for many years past been urged, neither the example of Paris nor the influence of group and individual endeavours at home could accomplish their effective beginning, until at home the movement of garden cities and town planning had made itself widely felt—and with this the example of Germany was realised, and the interest in American city improvement also awakened—and above all, until the wide discussion of Mr Burns's Town Planning Bill,

and its successful passage as an Act, gave concreteness and urgency to the movement. True, the Sociological Society had at times since its foundation in 1904, discussed the expediency of promoting a Civic and Town Planning Exhibition, and of bringing the idea before other societies—architectural, geographical, statistical, etc. Its representations to the Guildhall Town Planning Conference of 1907 did indeed result in the formation of a "Cities Survey Committee" among their members; and soon afterwards among its own was formed "a Cities Committee, to promote the Survey and Investigation of Cities, and the study of Civics," and this "in the first place by promoting Civic Exhibitions." Such success as these attempts obtained, though real, was chiefly indirect; and this by help of their leading architectural members, more than their strictly sociological ones, for whom civics is still lacking in canonicity, as no longer, since Aristotle, an academic subject. It is, moreover, disturbing to the usual alternation of approved and time-honoured sociological inquiries; as, on one hand, philosophic contemplations of "Society" in the abstract, or at most of "societies" not too concrete; and, on the other, the discussion of anthropological data, sometimes vital enough, but generally belonging to societies too primitive to have attained the civic stage at all. In 1910, however, an effective start of the Exhibition movement was made in London. Co-operation was organised between the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Royal

Academy; and leading architects, town planners, and active associations came forward, and were cordially aided from the Continent and America. Thus a large and instructive exhibition was got together, and a well-attended Conference was held, under the active and encouraging presidency of Mr Burns; the whole resulting not merely in a readable and well-illustrated volume, but—thanks to the real merit of the exhibition and the value of its discussions, aided by a particularly "good press"—in a marked advance of public opinion and interest thenceforward.

For the main significance and lessons of this London Town Planning Exhibition of 1910, the writer may here condense his report upon it to the Sociological Society; since its essential criticisms of much contemporary town planning remain valid; while its practical suggestion has since been bearing fruit.

This exhibition will be remembered as a date and landmark in our social progress. Avowedly only a beginning, it expresses a great step beyond traditional politics and beyond current sociology also; to a more direct and realistic mode of thought, and to a correspondingly more direct and practical form of action. For here we have done with arguments concerning "the Individual and the State," and we know nothing of parties and elections, of votes or the demand for them. We have got beyond the abstract sociology of the schools—Positivist, Socialist,

or other—with their vague discussion of "Society" and its "Members," since we have reached the definite conception in which all these schools have been lacking—that of Cities and Citizens. Thus our corporate government, and our individual energies, find opening before them no mere remote and deputed activities, but a vast yet definite field of observation and action; and these capable of expression more vivid, of notation more definite, than even speech or writing; to wit, the surveyor's maps and relief models, the architect's plans. Towards this extension and renascence of the city, this enlarging life-scope of the citizen, our Town Planning Exhibition and its Congress appear, as the appropriate educative agencies of citizenship. Throughout the length and breadth of the land these are beginning to arouse city and citizen from their long torpor; and to bring a new concreteness, a fresh possibility of research and discovery to the still half-metaphysical social sciences; and they are appealing to the press and through it to politicians of all parties, to women of all camps.

Such an exhibition should he visited and studied by every responsible and thinking citizen; yet not uncritically. An almost unreserved welcome may indeed be given to the plans and projects of garden suburbs aud garden villages; as notably also to various specific plans and researches, such as those of hygienic orientation, *i.e.* of buildings to light, houses to sunshine. More open to criticism are the

various designs for the development and reorganisation of great cities: Paris, Berlin, Chicago especially. For under the dark austereness of some designs or the meretricious beauty of others, one main impression appears. All these agree far too much in expressing too little but the imperial, the Cæsarist, type of city; which is essentially the same whether it be imitated from the Paris of Louis XIV. or of Napoleon I., or from the correspondingly magnificent designs of Washington: it is not really original or recent. The strategic boulevards of Haussmann and Napoleon III., the pompous perspectives and parade-grounds of Berlin, reappear with too little of essential change of spirit in the proposed transformation of Chicago. We may so far call a Garden Suburb a "Demopolis"; but do not these new cities threaten one and all to become each a new "Tyrannopolis," and this however benevolent in intention or republican in name or design: for, despite all their magnificence of public buildings, each is still too much without a true Acropolis. The great city is not that which shows the palace of government at the origin and climax of every radiating avenue: the true city—small or great, whatever its style of architecture or plan, be this like Rothenburg or like Florence—is that of a burgher people, governing themselves from their own town-hall and yet expressing also the spiritual ideals which govern their lives, as once in ancient acropolis or again in medieval church or cathedral: and we cannot feel that the designers of any of these great

plans have as yet sought new forms for the ideals which life is ever seeking.

In our present phase, town-planning schemes are apt to be one-sided, at any rate too few-sided. One is all for communications, another for industrial developments. Others are more healthily domestic in character, with provision for parks and gardens; even, by rare hap, for playgrounds, that prime necessity of civic survival: but too many reiterate that pompous imperial art, which has changed so little from the taste of the decadent Cæsars of the past to that of their representatives in the present. Such plans mingle both exaggerations and omissions with their efficiency: in their too exclusive devotion to material interests they dramatically present the very converse of those old Spanish and Spanish-American cities, which seem almost composed of churches and monasteries.

To avoid such exaggeration, yet incompleteness, what is the remedy? Clearly it awaits the advance of our incipient study of cities. For each and every city we need a systematic survey, of its development and origins, its history and its present. This survey is required not merely for material buildings, but also for the city's life and its institutions, for of these the builded city is but the external shell. Hence the suggestiveness of the partial survey of Edinburgh, one of the most typical of cities, especially as rearranged in completer form in later exhibitions, with surveys of other cities, great and small, British and Continental.

Here is a vast field of social inqniry, inviting the co-operation of specialists of all kinds; on the one side this should be organised by scientific societies, and above all the Sociological, next donbtless by schools and nniversities; but as soon as may be it should be undertaken by the citizens themselves, aided by their municipal representatives and officials, and housed by their mnsenms and libraries. We have already a Geological Snrvey, and are beginning those of Agricnltural Development and Forestry; but yet more urgent and more vital is the need of City Snrveys. These are at once the material and the starting-point for the Civic and Town Planning Exhibition, which will soon become as familiar an incident of the city's life as is at present its exhibition of paintings.

Organisers and stndents of this exhibition could not but feel that its rapidly accumnlated collections, despite their valne and suggestiveness, bad been at once too heterogeneons and too incomplete; and the more orderly endeavour above suggested was resolved upon. From the "Snrvey of Edinburgh," for many years in progress at the Ontlook Tower, a selection had been made and developmentally arranged; so that here, more than elsewhere before, the essential conditions and phases of a city's historic past were shown as determining its qualities and defects in the present. Past and present were also shown as presenting the problems of the city's opening future,

and as conditioning their treatment also. This exhibit was therefore felt to present a needed suggestion, and even nucleus for a further exhibition of smaller but more typical and systematic character. Hence, with the help of a small committee, representative both of town-planning practice and of civic and sociological studies, the new "Cities and Town Planning Exhibition" took form at Crosby Hall during the following winter, and was launched with a vigorous appeal by Mr Burns, as its president, for education on the university level in town planning and in civics together; and a recommendation of the exhibition as an itinerant agency to London boroughs and other cities.

The principle of this new exhibition was no longer simply that of seeking and accepting examples of good contemporary work as it comes, important though this always must be. It involved an ordered design; that of presenting a type-selection of housing and town-planning schemes of suggestive character towards city development; and further of working towards the comparative presentment and study of the evolution of cities—historic, actual, and possible. Of this great process, the architecture of a city is but the changing expression, and its plan but the record, say rather the palimpsest. Hence this new exhibition was on one hand greatly reduced in scale, yet on the other as greatly increased in complexity. From the first it has continued the sociological and civic inquiries which had underlain its beginnings in

Edinburgh, and of which some of the methods and results had been outlined in papers at the Sociological Society, etc., in previous years, and which had also been in progress for some time in beginnings of a "Civics Laboratory," temporarily housed at the University of London.

The exhibition was next invited by the Corporation of Edinburgh, to whom the extensive galleries of the Royal Scottish Academy were granted for the purpose. The exhibition was opened by Lord Pentland, then Minister for Scotland, and by the Lord Provost, each delivering an address. Success far exceeded anticipation. It was visited during its three weeks by 17,000 persons, including workmen in the evenings and school-classes in the forenoons. Thence it was invited to Dublin, as part of a general exhibition organised by the Women's Health Association of Ireland, from which it went to Belfast to co-operate with the Sanitary Association's meeting, under the auspices of the Corporation. Through the active interest of the Viceroy and of the Countess of Aberdeen, who had also opened and aided these exhibitions, a further small exhibition was held at Dublin, in conjunction with the meeting of the Institute of Public Health, at Trinity College. This exhibition was devoted to initiating the survey of Dublin and of Irish towns, and to examples bearing on their possible improvement. The Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland was here constituted, and has since entered upon an active career;

while the Irish National Museum, first among great public collections, initiated a Department of Cities and Town Planning.

With further growth the exhibition formed the chief element of the "Exposition des Villes," which was a feature of the Ghent International Exhibition of 1913; and in conjunction with which was held the first international "Congrès des Villes," with its members drawn from many cities — Aberdeen to Bucharest, Stockholm to Naples, indeed from San Francisco to Calcutta,—and which was of interest in both its sections, of Town Planning, and of City Life and Administration.

At this stage we may set forth the scheme and aims of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition as it appeared in more developed (thongh still too incomplete) form at Ghent in 1913, and state these essentially as they were presented to the members of the Congress of Cities, and at times to later groups of visitors.

Let the reader think of this big International Exhibition as in an historic city anxious to express and reaffirm itself, and this in various ways. First as the provincial capital it has always been, and also the regional capital of the Flemish population of Belgium, in contradistinction to Brussels as the Wallon and French-speaking culture-capital; and further, as the world-city it long was—for in the Middle Ages, and at the beginning of the Renaissance, it was largely in advance of London and Paris alike, as Charles V.'s

famous boast—"Je mettrais tout Paris dans mon Gand"—still reminds an incredulous modern world. It was thus a natural and fitting place for civic sociologists to be called on (or at any rate allowed) to make a Congress of Cities—which claims to be the world's first International one—and with these, a Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, the beginnings of a Summer School of Civics and Citizenship, and all amid civic festivals, old and new. Nor was the movement inspiring the exhibition solely one of civic and regional patriotism. Nationally, it represented the post-Leopoldian régime, determined to purify the national and civic life from the defects and vices of the past reign; and, internationally, a keen consciousness of the immense importance and growing significance of Belgium as a Key-stone State, whose very material and military weakness, in the midst of great armed Powers, gives her an advantage of common appeal to them all—an appeal impossible to any one of these, through their respective jealousies.

Here, then, was the situation—one eminently favourable for civics, as well as suitable for town planning; and thus befitting our united "Cities and Town Planning Exhibition" to the full.

A disadvantage of the town-planning movement, as yet, is that people think it merely or mainly suburban, aud architectural at best. But its needed renewal of home life and home conditions throughout the industrial world is (and will be) delayed—our

admirable, but comparatively few, garden suburbs and occasional central improvements notwithstanding —until the larger civic movement, now plainly nascent, and in well-nigh every land, has gathered strength, and become more clearly intelligible and purposive throughout the world.

That which at present makes the delay and difficulty of the civic movement will become its strength and appeal in the long run. For at present the historian is in the library, in the museum, or the university—in the past anyhow. The builder and architect are in the active present, but in the present too much alone. The thinker is too often a dreamer, occupied with the future indeed, but a future which to others seems too remote for practical purposes. But a Congress of Cities, a Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, stand for utilising all three types of man and mind. These too seldom meet, and therefore shrink from each other; but such programmes reconcile and bring together not a few of the best of them. Hence, when each of our previous exhibitions has closed, after its two or three weeks in any great city, it has been amid a civic atmosphere notably modified in this way. The antiquarian lover of his city's Past, whose treasures we have brought before his fellow-citizens, admits an awakening to the Present, and to this as an opening Future. So too the "practical man," hitherto absorbed in the present, confesses he has come to see more of his city's roots in the past, of his responsibilities to his successors. Above all,

the exhibition helps some of the best minds of each city to distinguish, in the past, its *Heritage* (respect for which makes the Conservative at his moral best) from its *Burden* (revolt from which makes the Radical and the Revolutionary at his moral best). It thus does something towards helping both parties in their quest of a social policy. Of all this our exhibits of old towns, like Edinburgh and Chelsea, with old buildings conserved and yet renewed to vital uses, are a beginning and a symbol.

In such ways, too, our exhibition at times even reaches the "utopist" and the "crank," for it suggests applying the idealism of the one, the inventive energy of the other, to the needs of the present; and these also stir up the "practical man," who does not wish to be left behind, to needs and opportunities.

In each city the Town Planning Exhibition has effected more or less of this education of public opinion, and towards practical results. Sometimes this impulse is a diffused one, as in Edinburgh, with results manifold, but not easy separately to trace. Sometimes there are immediate definite results to which we can point, as in Dublin: *e.g.*, formation of a "Cities and Town Planning Department" of the National Museum; formation of a "Town Planning Association of Ireland"; with initiatives of improvement for Dublin itself, and in 1914 a Civic Exhibition on a larger scale than heretofore in the English-speaking world, with Competition for a General Town-Plan

of Dublin, involving housing and metropolitan developments alike.

After these preliminary explanations it is time to come to the exhibition itself, conveniently as it was at Ghent; yet let us first describe its setting within what was in various respects one of the best thought-out and most vitally executed International Exhibitions since that of Paris in 1900, and of the most distinctly civic character. First the "Exposition de la Ville de Paris" deserves a visit, both on its own merits and in recognition of its repeated initiative in the education of other cities for more than a generation past. Next must be mentioned its "Square Communal," or "Place des Quatre Grandes Villes," with its four noble and characteristic civic palaces, erected by Ghent, Antwerp, Liège, and Brussels respectively. Each was something of its own Civic Museum of the Past and Exhibition of the Present, while each, too, had some suggestion for the Future. Yet each of these was arranged—or unarranged—in its own way; and though the general effect was rich in artistic and historic interest, even of varied practical and social suggestion, any common historic or scientific method was lacking to unite the four. Thus the study of each was rendered more difficult; and their detailed comparison impossible. In fact, while the architecture and the general conception of these buildings was a great and encouraging evidence of the return of civic life and interest, their lack of

unity in detail illustrated the backwardness of civics also. Here, however, came in the use of our Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. This occupied a large gallery beside the Palace of Brussels, and opening into that of Germany; it not only brought exhibits from many cities, but these better arranged from quite a number of distinctive points of view—the geographer's and the historian's, the statistician's as well as the sociologist's. For this exhibition has made a beginning, as yet the most clear and definite beginning, of the comparative study of cities; each shown like a living being, in constant relation to its environment; and with the advantages of this, its limitations too. Like the living being it is, a city reacts upon its environment, and in ever-widening circles. It may transcend its limitations, here economically and there educationally; or, first in thought and next in deed. Hence its character and aspect in each age; hence its varied eminence and influence accordingly; until once more it changes, with circumstances or with the times, outwardly, inwardly, or both. At one time it may conspicuously advance, at another show more of arrest and decay, poverty and disease, vice and crime. All these are modified by war and peace, and these have correspondingly varied consequences and reactions, now of deterioration, or again of renewal.

In such historic survey there is no neglect of town planning; though in each city we visit the alderman, the borough engineer, the anxious reformer too, may

sometimes fear this as he enters. Yet when he gives a second look, and gets as far as the gallery of Garden Suburbs, or that of Central Improvements, he sees that these are typical ones, naturally arranged; intelligible and helpful accordingly. He comes to recognise how the garden suburb and the central improvement, in which he may have been interested, are related; and how they gain completeness and value from each other, and from his city's past. Each garden suburb is not merely an escape from the noxious squalor of the merely Industrial Age, or from the dreariness of the merely commercial one, to healthier individual lives, to brighter family existences: these are growing together, before long to form an expanding ring, of a healthier city in the future. So with the central improvements also: when rightly managed these preserve the best traditions of the city's past, yet purged of its decay, its active sources of continued evils. In some cities, and these often the most historic and influential (Rome and Paris above all), the central changes have often been too violent and too costly, casting out good with evil. Other cities—too numerous for mention—as plainly remain conservative in the worst sense, too tolerant of evils, ancient and modern, which are blocking the light of better days, past and to come.

Our illustrations of many cities are thus not simply for historic interest and interpretation, but for practical guidance. Whatever the student of cities can observe and interpret, foresee and suggest, the active citizen

will not be long to devise and to apply. Yet "we learn by living"; the student of medicine must go to the bedside as well as to dissecting-room and study before he really understands the working of the human frame; and likewise with the student of cities; he must work in and for his city, were it but to investigate it more clearly. Still, in medicine and public health, it is found best to let diagnosis precede treatment, and not, as with the would-be "practical man" so much hitherto, to adopt the best advertised panacea of treatment, before any diagnosis worth the name. So it is with cities; the rival panaceas of their party politicians have too long been delaying the surveys and diagnoses of the civic sociologist.

The "Survey of Cities," which we thus reach, is a main feature and purpose of our exhibition. This survey must take in all aspects, contemporary as well as historic. It must be geographic and economic, authropological and historical, demographic and eugenic, and so on: above all, it aims towards the reunion of all these studies, in terms of social science, as "Civics." This youngest branch of science, as yet but a little-noticed bud upon the ever-spreading tree of knowledge, may before long be recognised as one of the most fruitful of all. Its legitimacy and its interest are still often unrecognised by the sociologist, himself too abstract, or merely anthropological or racial, for lack of civics. This too general thinker upon human affairs has for some time been seeing that between his long favourite extremes of Individual

and State, there lies the Family; but here the City is shown to mould the individual (it may be even more strongly), and—not merely as governing metropolis—to dominate the State. So far we see to-day; hence our civic observations, speculations, and controversies, our emerging theories — in a word, the rebirth of sociology, as above all the Science of Cities. But as this new or renewed science grows clearer, and its results begin to be made plain, as already in some measure in our exhibition, it begins to appeal to the citizen, and this not only to the thoughtful individual here and there, but to thousands. It is worth noting that these thousands largely belong to classes hitherto not much occupied with municipal politics. The appeal of civics seems as yet rather to highly-skilled workmen and women, to teachers and artists, and to the young rather than to the fixed and old. To the conventional and apathetic minds, still too common in municipal government and administration, as in the larger national machinery, this new fermentation of thought seems of little practical importance, since not appreciable at the polls, not yet formulated into definite programmes. Yet the municipal statesman, who is appearing or preparing in many quarters, must soon organise and voice this deeply changing constituency.

The citizen already comes into contact with science after science: witness Engineering in its many branches, of which but the latest is Electricity; witness Public Health, in no few ramifications.

Education likewise, and at all its levels, from Kindergarten to Polytechnic and University, has been coming more and more within the civic view. Economics and Law, older interests still, are now changing and developing ones. Housing, though an old story, is becoming transformed, by conjunction with Town Planning. At this stage the City becomes again reviewed as a whole, as he who understands a town-plan sees all the town as from an aeroplane. All our activities—industrial and commercial, hygienic and educational, legal and political, cultural, and what not—become seen in relation to one another, as so many aspects and analyses of the city's life. To make this life more healthy and more effective, the unrelated individual activities with which we have been too long content are found insufficient; we need fuller co-ordination and harmony of them, like that of the instruments of the orchestra, of the actors in the drama. We expect this of soldiers in the field, of workers and organisers in the factory, of assistants and partners in the business. Is it not for lack of this orchestration, of this harmonious organisation, upon the larger civic stage which our town-plans so clearly reveal, that our cities, full of detailed efficiencies of many kinds, are still so far from satisfying us as collectively efficient? The time, then, is ripe; the place is every city; each needs its Civic Survey and Exhibition, its Civic Study and Laboratory. Its municipal departments have elements of all these; and these increasingly, even consciously—witness the

four Civic Palaces above referred to. Local consciousness diffuses and intensifies; it also widens into comparison of city with city. Thus, in fact, appear the methods of a Science of Cities—that our cities should be individually surveyed, scientifically compared; as their architecture long has been—cathedral with cathedral, style with style.

Hence our Cities and Town Planning Exhibition (despite incompletenesses on every hand, of which its workers are not less conscious than can be their most critical visitors) boldly raises the theme of this needed Science of Cities. Its surveys are descriptive—fragments of a "Polito*graphy*"; but it is also struggling to be interpretative—that is, towards becoming a true "Polito*logy*." Of the bearing of civics on the social sciences, from economics in particular to sociology in general, we attempt some graphic outlines. Of its practical bearings and applications—towards improvements, towards revivified cities, suburban or central—indications are on our walls. It is time briefly to indicate the arrangement of these civic galleries, the more since at Ghent it was possible to develop this more comprehensively and clearly than in previous smaller and less spaciously housed exhibitions.

To present an adequate vision of cities, past, present, and future, every city would need its own gallery, even palace, to correspond with the above-mentioned Belgian four, and these upon an extended scale.

We are in the day of small beginnings. Cinemas are already showing us the way: the city's reference library and museum are seldom without some suggestions for us; and our exhibition gathers as it goes. Our galleries of maps and plans, elevations and perspectives, pictures and models, are stretching towards a kilometre of wall-length, and compressed by selection when necessary. Arrangement is no easy problem, since we are not simply exhibiting town-plans, but aiming towards the indication, in part even the elaboration, of a Science of Cities: hence the need of selecting types, as clear and illustrative as may he, amid the mingled wealth and poverty of available materials. Our description henceforward may he followed upon the accompanying plan (page 271).

First of all, our visitor must be made to feel, and this strongly, the profusion and the confusion of the subject. Hence our Entrance Hall is hung, like a private study or corridor, with a medley of things new and old, of pictures, plans, and views, architectural or civic, each interesting, but without obvious relation or association to any mind except the owner's. From this opening presentment of the confused beginnings of interest in the subject, it will be noticed on the accompanying plan that we may enter the gallery of "Modern Civic Administration" without further studies on the right hand, as the manner of our city fathers has been: hence this has but little

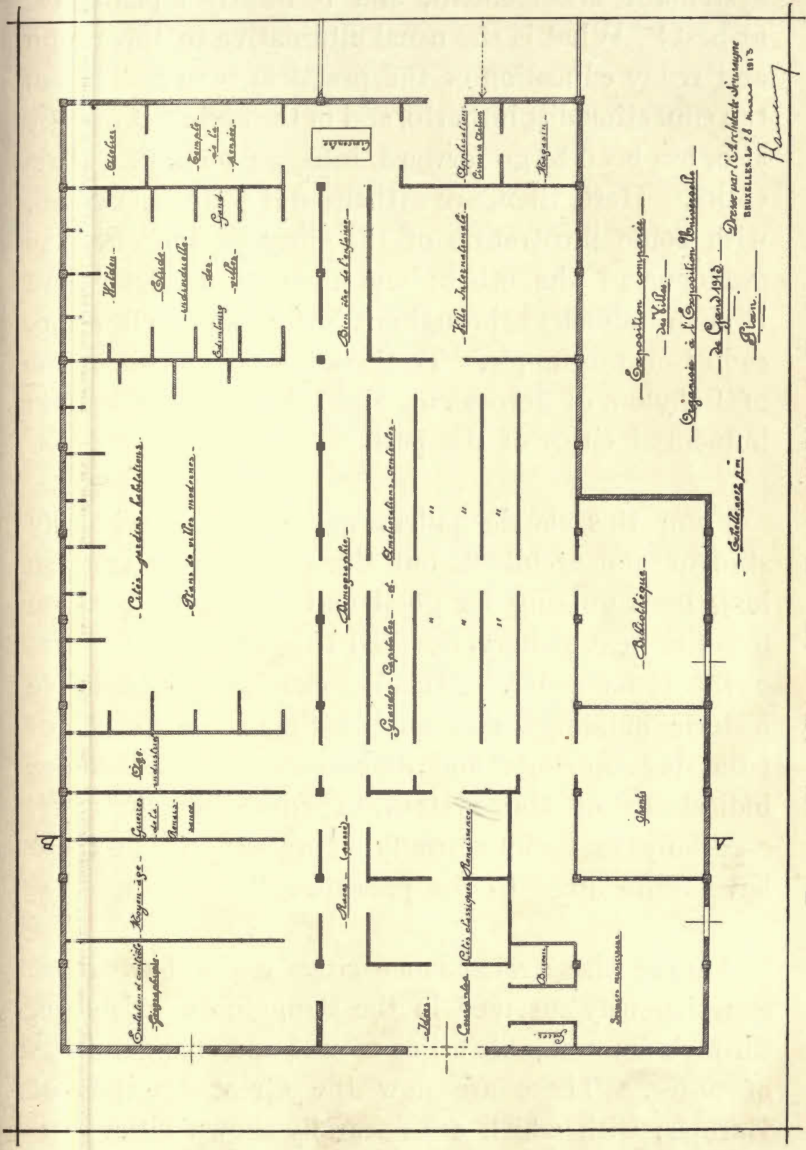

FIG. 43.—Plan of Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in Ghent, 1913.

systematic arrangement, and is mostly alphabetical at best! What is the usual alternative to this rough and ready education of the practical man? That of the educationalist hitherto, and of the architect nsually also, has been to go forward, into the room of Classic Cities. Here, then, are Athens and Rome above all, with some illustration of the glory of the one, the grandenr of the other; and next of Hellenic and Roman influences throughout history and civilisation, as in Constantinople. To these are added indications of Babylon, of Jerusalem, and other distinctive and inflnential cities of the past.

From this classic gallery not only the scholarly student and architect, but the public they have so long been guiding for good and ill, readily pass on into the next gallery, devoted to "Towns and Cities of the Renaissance." This has examples of initiative historic buildings, and culminating masterpieces of later developments and deteriorations. It includes indications of the system of education and life, especially as architecturally expressed, which these have transmitted to the present.

Among these renaissance cities a few have most conspicuously snrvived in the struggle for existence, through innumerable crises of war and changefulness of peace. These are now the Great Capitals of Europe; with which are naturally shown cities conspicuously derived from them, at this or that period

—*e.g.*, Spanish American (especially from Madrid, at the Renaissance), Washington (especially from Paris, at the close of the eighteenth century). Hence a larger gallery, mainly devoted to the "Great Capitals."

The exaltation of their day of undisputed pre-eminence has here to be brought out; first through the centralisation due to the wars of generations; next through the rise of railways and telegraph systems, and the administrative and economic concentrations to which these give rise; and, yet more lately and fully, through that intensification of imperial powers and claims of which every great European metropolis gives increasing example. How such imperial considerations have determined the town planning of Berlin in our day, as that of Paris by Haussmann a generation before, are but salient examples of a process manifest everywhere, from Rome or Vienna to Washington, conspicuously now in London, witness Kingsway and Whitehall.

Yet when all these supremacies of the Great Capitals are expressed, and even emphasised to the fullest metropolitan satisfaction, there is another process at work, little though the megalopolitan mind yet recognises it. Three or two generations ago, and less, these great metropolitan cities were alone completely organised with all the apparatus and resources of the complete civilisation of their time. In some respects this is still true. There is only one Louvre, one British Museum, one Smithsonian; just as only one War Office for each great country. Still, even

war to-day is segregating, decentralising: much more has industry been working out its own strategic points, thongh finance may still for a time hesitate to follow it. Cnltnre ever refuses to be completely concentrated; nor can the ultramontane ascendancy of Rome be repeated. As even the cultnre-snpremacy of Paris was dispnted in the Middle Ages by the rise of universities in every land, so again the supremacy of Paris or Oxford to-day in their own countries; as renewed nniversities like Montpellier, and new ones like Liverpool, are increasingly bearing witness.

Every considerable city, in short, seeks to complete itself. It no longer contentedly accepts provincial inferiority; it finds itself with the means, and increasingly with the will, to develop its own civilisation within and not merely draw it from without. Thns Glasgow is not content simply to derive its livelihood from its own characteristic activities, while taking its ideas from Edinburgh, as in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. At the close of that century it stamped its utilitarian philosophy and practice upon the world by producing the characteristic economic thinker in Adam Smith, to match the initiative industrial worker in James Watt. And though till after the middle of the nineteenth century Glasgow took her art from the London Royal Academy or its minor Scottish sister at Edinburgh, her awakening to the best French painting, her contacts with that of the Netherlands have since deeply fertilised her own creative sonrces; so that to be a simple "member of

the Glasgow School" has become a better recommendation to the world's galleries than to be an academician of London and Edinburgh put together. Similarly the most vital and progressive university of Great Britain, in the last half-generation, has not been Cambridge, London, or even Manchester, but Liverpool.

Of any fuller civic awakenings, beyond such after all partial developments, examples are naturally few. One, as yet little realised, may be cited here, as exhibited at Ghent: the model (fig. 44) which illustrates the rise of Cardiff, from that mere export-centre of the South Wales coalfield which London still thinks it, to deliberate design as a regional metropolis; in fact, as the fourth national capital of the British Isles; and one determined to be even more complete than Edinburgh or Dublin. This ambition is being expressed in the creation of a civic centre far surpassing that of any other British City; in fact, in some respects more comprehensively (though not as largely or subtly) planned as one well known to every town planner, that of Nancy, when the southern capital of King Augustus of Poland, in his capacity as Duke of Lorraine.

In such ways, without a separation from the Great Capitals, their gallery runs straight on to include Central Improvements, among Great Cities generally.

These typical developments are indicated round the walls, city by city. It is also needful to show how the

various problems common to city life are being met

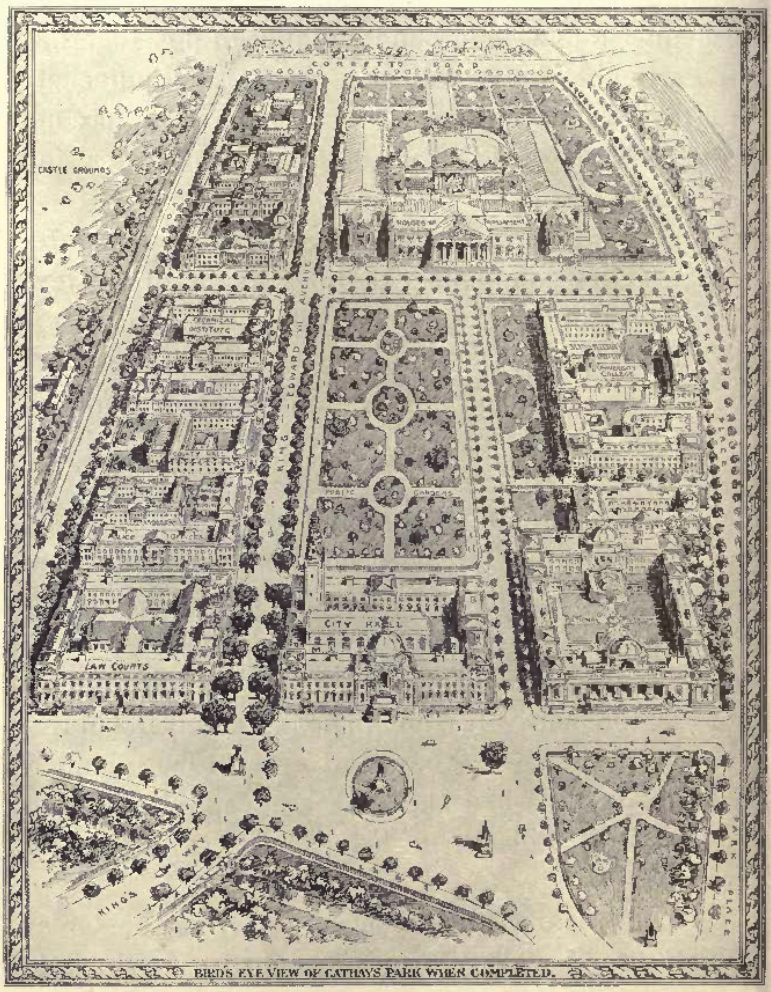

FIG. 44.—Cardiff: Civic Centre well advanced in progress.

and handled by architects and town planners—*e.g.*, Railway Stations, from the squalor and muddle still

so characteristic of the land of their initiative to the well-designed order of later German centres, the lucidity and magnificence of the Gare d'Orleans at Paris, and the stupeudous achievements of St. Louis and New York. Here we contrast the crude dock design of London with the admirable scheme of Frankfort; and so on for other elements of the economic world. So too for education, and from kindergartens to universities. Such comparisons obviously need as many galleries as we have screens; yet even to begin is something; with each exhibition some progress is made.

Enough here if the main idea be made clear. The cathedral-builders of the thirteenth century viewed Notre Dame itself—consummate achievement aud initiative as they saw it to be (the "Paris Exhibition" of the year 1200)—not as an unapproachable wonder, but as something henceforth to be surpassed, and this even for minor dioceses and cities, by new world-masterpieces. So once more the citizen and the civic designer are coming to think and act. No department of city life, even in the smallest cities, need be provincial, petty, mean, insignificant. To-day with gathering knowledge and incipient science, to-morrow with arousing imagination and renewing art, a new great age of cities is preparing. Our garden suburbs, our central improvements are mere beginnings. Thus in Ghent, the great town-house, the civic belfry, the cathedral, have become consciously the centre of an extending spiral, of which the International and

Civic Exhibition of yesterday were view-points and outlooks, and these towards an uplift of civilisation—civilisation in its old and literal civic sense.

Despite decentralisation thus preparing with the awakening and development of secondary cities and regions, the conception of the World-City, which at its best has inspired every metropolis worth the name, is not exhausted. It even develops; witness the project of a "Ville Internationale," devised by Signor Andersen (fitly a Scandinavian resident in Rome), as nothing short of a Super-Metropolis, in which European Civilisation, if not the world's, should centre and culminate. The location of such a city is wisely left undetermined; but of the magnitude and stimulating value of the conception, there can be no denial. That such creations are not "merely Utopian," the growing influence of the Hague with its World-Areopagus already demonstrates. Similarly for such creations as the *Temple de la Pensée* of M. Garas, in whom architect, poet, and philosopher combine.

Hitherto we have travelled along one main line of civic study, that to this day most authoritative; yet is it not felt that this series, from old Rome to new, too little considers the citizen as a personality, and misses much of the personality of his city likewise? A partial answer begins in the adjacent central corridor, with its indications of Racial Anthropology, which has long been so dear to Teutonic and Anglo-

Saxon historians, and is now widely imitated on all sides, from Pan-Slavonic to Pan-Keltic. Following upon this we come naturally to Civic Demography, thence to illustrations of the new-born Eugenic movement, and to a selection from recent Child-Welfare Exhibitions. Past origins, present facts, future developments are thus considered, and for the people's life, as well as for their homes.

Our study of cities will now seem to many as in principle complete, however limited and inadequate in detail. For here, from the current and dominant metropolitan point of view, we have what seems really significant for the study of cities. What need of minor town-studies? In Berlin Emperor and city architect have planned, and Mr Houston Stewart Chamberlain's great work has gone through its editions: Imperial London already sees in Kingsway its second and Colonial Whitehall. What need, then, of considering "the provinces"? Similarly for other great countries: of our visitors, few are interested in the small cities of their own land, much less in those of smaller peoples. Recall how Germany sneers at Krähwinkel, England at Little Pedlington!

Yet, in the study of cities, little Jerusalem counts for more than Babylon the Great; and in many ways Athens even more than great Rome itself. This conception cannot permanently be left out of civics: quality is not so entirely a function of quantity as quantity is apt to think. With those to whom this idea is not too unfamiliar or uncongenial, our explana-

tion of the exhibition must therefore start afresh, and once more from its Entrance Hall. Suppose, instead of beginning with the gallery of Civic Affairs, or at the Great Cities, with the body of the public, we follow our children. These are interested in simple natural conditions to start with—in stories of hunter and shepherd, of miner and woodman, of peasant and fisher. So we enter the gallery devoted to "Geography"; not as mere gazetteer, but as yielding and illustrating the fertile principle of Geographical Control. This conception is of the settlements of men, from small to great, as initially determined by their immediate environment; and though thence extending into larger and larger towns and cities, yet retaining profoundly, even if obscurely, much of their initial regional character and activity, spirit and type. At one time they may transcend their original limitations, yet at another they may exaggerate their past defects. Thus local character and history—which have been described at one time as providential, at another accidental, by recent historians again as racial—turn out to be regional and occupational at bottom. Here, then, is a fundamental mode of approach and of developmental investigation for the Science of Cities; and one full of interest, as geographers and sociologists begin to realise. Moreover, from this gallery we may return to that of Classic Cities, as scholars everywhere are doing, and with new interest of fresh light. Still more is this the case with the gallery into which this one immediately opens, that of "Medieval Towns and

Cities"; with their development and history, as widely distinct from that of the classic world, and plainly conditioned by local and regional surroundings.

From this medieval gallery we may now cross over to revisit that devoted to the Renaissance, and there observe how this destroyed as well as replaced the medieval past. Thence, however, let us return to consider, and with patience, the smallest and least familiar gallery of the present arrangement, yet one of the most significant, that of "Wars" (figs. 45–48). Wars of the Reformation and Renaissance, with their destruction of the Medieval Cities, and, with them also, of the smaller states; and all this by the more favourably situated cities—which thus arose as the Great (War) Capitals, which we have before considered, but then too independently of their essential origin and history. This proposition, of course not unknown to historians, yet never sufficiently emphasised, is here elaborated and strengthened, until our whole historical perspective is changed; it alters our view of the Great Capitals, and, of course, of their present civilisation largely with it.

Return once more to this gallery of Wars and their results: it further suggests how all these wars of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries prepared populations—depressed, impoverished, and embittered—for the coming in of the Industrial Age, and of its various revolutions. Here, then, we enter upon the gallery of "Industrial Cities," and with fresh

lights upon their gloom: that of the paleotechnic industry, already enlarged upon in earlier chapters. We press on to the larger and brighter gallery of "Garden Suburbs, Villages, and Towns"; with their

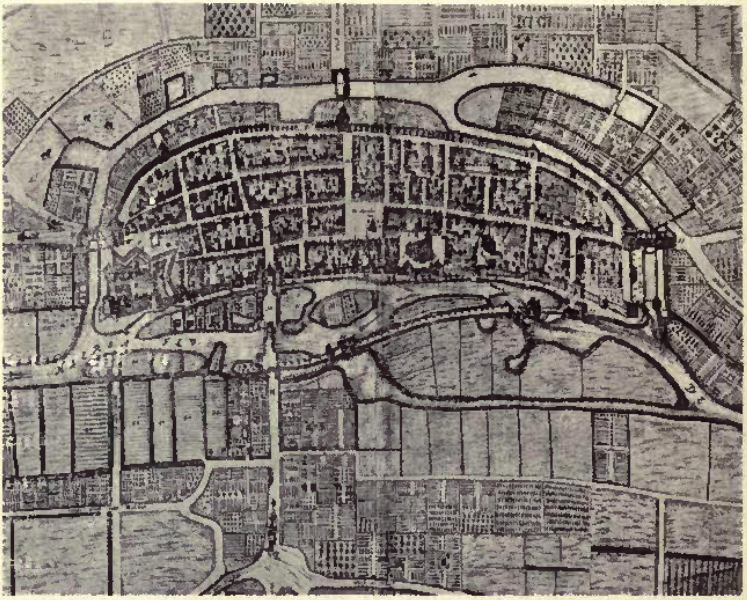

FIG. 45.—A Netherlands town (Goch) early in seventeenth century, still unspoiled by war. Note surviving medieval walls, internal gardens, and spacious outlying ones (much reduced).

hopeful promises of Garden Cities; for these, albeit as yet mainly in the future, are plainly attainable.

But to assure such Utopias, we must know our ground. Hence follows the next room, that of "Surveys of Towns and Cities." Here begin to appear results of value, to education, to science, and to action. The comparison of towns, small and great, is seen to be

fruitful: the smallest may illuminate the greatest; witness the comparison of Tay and Thames, that of Scone with Westminster, and Perth with London. That the study of historical cities, of Edinburgh or Chelsea, of Paris or of Ghent, may thus yield fresh

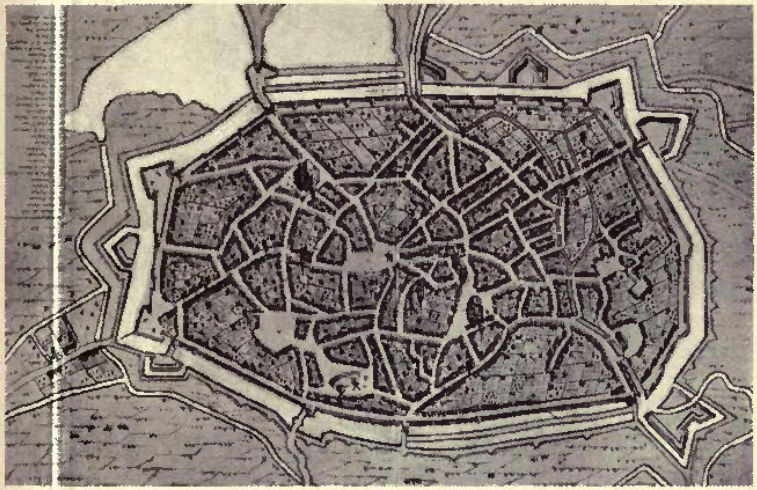

FIG. 46.—Mons: beginning of fortification by modern bastions, necessitated by seventeenth-century wars. No external gardens.

results, may be readily enough accepted: but it is surprising to realise how even the smallest and obscurest of old and comparatively forgotten towns—say, Saffron Walden in Essex, or some yet smaller, say, Dysart or Largo in Fifeshire, perhaps above all their many analogues in the Low Countries—or again some small new, manufacturing village, say, in Germany or the States—may each throw some fresh and unexpected light upon the shaping of the historic world. The geologist and the prospector know how

regional surveys, and even minute and microscopic inquiries, may be necessary; and so in every natural science, and in public health and medicine. Thus the Study and Survey of Cities—and each not only on to-day's town-plan, but on those of yesterday and

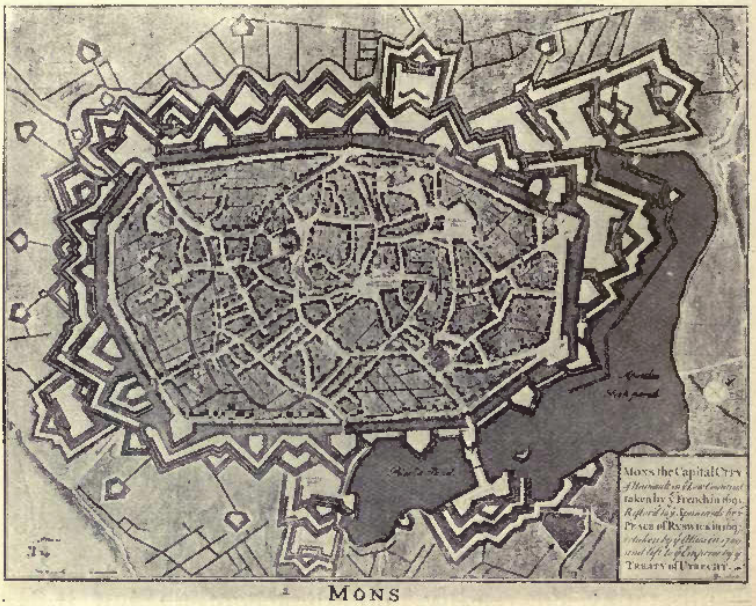

FIG. 47.—Mons, as fully fortified, in eighteenth century.

of to-morrow—must before long become as clearly recognised and accredited a branch of science as is nowadays the Geological Survey of every civilised State.

American City Surveys have been already mentioned, and with due appreciation. As regards civic theory and sociological interpretation, however, with all their intensiveness, these seem scarcely as

productive as they should be, and doubtless soon will be. For amid the vivid and growing intensity of the American city's present, and its complex interminglings of culture-elements and social types from all regions and cities of Europe, all levels and phases

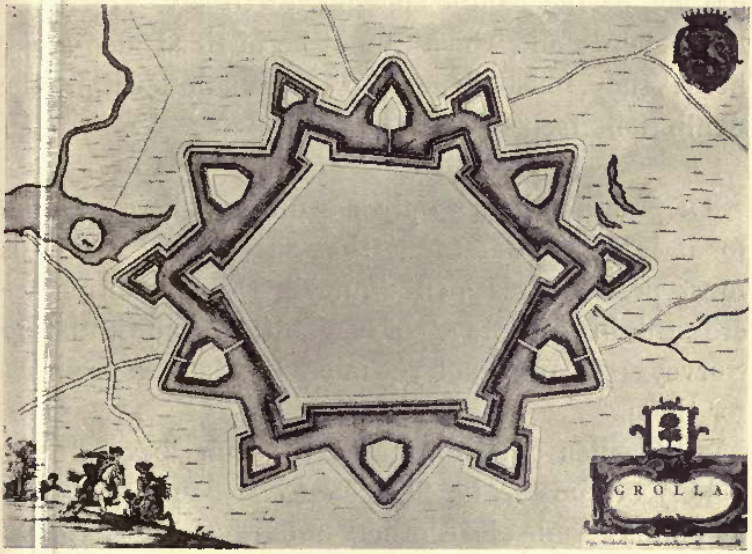

FIG. 48.—Another Netherlands town (Grolla) as example of scientific fortification of seventeenth century. Civic interest, with gardens, etc., so manifest in Goch, have now disappeared (but modern interest, as for party warfare essentially, is well represented in the margin).

also, the deciphering of social origins and the unravelling of contemporary factors are far more difficult than anywhere in Europe, even in its vastest and most seething capitals. Hence the significance, even for modern American inquirers, of our Surveys of more homogeneous cities, whose past steps in progress or deterioration are more plainly recorded and preserved, whose types are less protean, and whose

present conditions are less fluid. From all these, our main thesis becomes clear—that Region and Industry, Place, Work, and People, are reobserved and reinterpreted by such studies; and these in ways far beyond the crude racialism, the empiric demography, or the callow eugenics of to-day. Here are large claims, and which cannot be justified adequately here: they must be left to explanation within the exhibition itself.

Of practical issues only a word can here be said, for it is our initial thesis that survey and diagnosis must precede treatment; and in this exhibition we are still in the stage of suggesting and initiating Surveys: we must not yet make too definite promises for them.

Still, when a visitor cares to come beyond this gallery of Survey, he finds a "Civic Study," with its diagrams; some clear, others unfinished, and expressing doctrines and theories under consideration. Opposite this a drawing-office and workshop, with sketches in preparation, drawings to be framed and hung. The final gallery (unfinished beyond all others though it is, and to most visitors least attractive) contains, on the side of studies, some diagrammatic expressions of the nascent science of civics, and on the other a few such suggestions towards practice as we dare venture upon. Between the two stands the model of a City Cross of antique type; here renewed as symbol of the return of civic idealism, and

of unity in social effort. Behind this also a rough model for an "Outlook Tower"—as incipient Civic Observatory and Laboratory together—a type of institution needed (indeed incipient) in every city, with its effort towards correlation of thought and action, science and practice, sociology and morals, with its watchword and endeavour of "Civic Survey for Civic Service." Thus our gallery adumbrates the conception of a "Civic Centre," one at many points nascent; too often viewed as a mere piling together of monuments, but here with a clearing-house of social science with social action, of vital interaction of thought and deed. Our whole Exhibition of Cities and of Town Planning is now at length becoming seen as leading on into City Design.

From this final (becanse generalised and unified) outlook, our triple range of galleries—(*a*) that of classic cities and great capitals, (*b*) that of race, population, and child-welfare, (*c*) that of geographic and historic origins, surveys, and developments—may be reviewed in thought. Our initial conception of a needed and possible Science of Cities is so far justified; in principle undeniably so. Can we similarly review the civic activities of the past, the needs of the present, the possibilities of the future, towards worthy Civic Activities of our own? May social feeling and reasoned design find expression in some great re-orchestration of all the industries and arts, recalling, nay surpassing, the Acropolis or the Cathedral of

old? How, in short, is Civic Aspiration to be developed, guided, applied to the needed Art of City-making, which has ever been implied in Citizenship? Of this the past, at its highest moments, reached visions we have again to recover, achievements we have still to rival.

In Ghent there persist civic traditions rarely surpassed, with a regional and civic life again affirming themselves; and its exhibition thus peculiarly displayed in its year of festival the varied productivity, elemental and higher, of a race and region of peasants, craftsmen, and artists. As her "Floralies" periodically affirm, here are the flowers and fruits of her staple industry of horticulture, with the culture-elements which this has ever carried with it, becoming sociologically expressed as well as exuberantly displayed. In this city and region too, above all others in the world as yet, the survey and interpretation of cities, both past and present, has reached its highest expressions, and these not only in the labours of an admirable school of historians—Frédéricq, Pirenne, and others—but in literature of world-wide interest and appeal — as from the historic and individual pathos of Rodenbach's *Bruges-la-Morte*, to the passion, at once modern and Dantean, of *Les Villes Tentaculaires* of Emile Verhaeren, whom the world increasingly recognises among the very foremost of its singers.

What wonder, then, if new forecasts of city life and city development should here have been appearing?

It has been more than a transient *kermesse*, this International Exhibition with its many congresses; and we of the "Exposition des Villes" and its associated "Premier Congrès International des Villes" have been not a little encouraged and hopeful of the future through meeting the citizen of Ghent, again city-proud and world-hospitable as of yore, as he rang us a universal welcome from his full-voiced bells, and, after centuries of decline, flung out his city's banner, once more foremost in a world-gathering of her peers, and towards a crusade yet worthier than that her champions led of old.

So much, then, for the general plan of our exhibition, and its perspective within the civic progress of Ghent: yet it is encouraging to add that our incentive to civic survey was immediately successful. From the adoption of our general plan, Ghent antiquaries, architects, and engineers vied with one another in contributions to the worthy presentment of their city, old and new; the Ghent room was filled; plans and perspectives overflowed; and a model of the city's historic and monumental centre, on an imposing scale, adorned our largest hall. Better still, at the close of the exhibition, our continuous appeal towards keeping all this Ghent collection together, as the nucleus for a permanent Civic Museum, was energetically taken up by M. Bruggeman, President of the Academy of Fine Arts, who had been our friendly and helpful civic host throughout the great exhibi-

tion; and an excellent location for this was found accordingly.

The next destination considered for our itinerant collection and its propaganda of civics was a visit to New York; and this was indeed arranged. But our correspondents there took counsel with one or two distinguished fellow-citizens who were visiting Ghent, notably of legal authority on building laws and kindred practical questions. Our exhibition, of course, is far from complete in needed exhibits, and labelling and catalogue are but in progress. It constantly, of course, has its critics, and welcomes them in every gallery, often indeed as a valued help to improvement. But never before had we realised how substantially meaningless, to minds of otherwise specialised activities, might be all the endeavours above described towards concrete presentment of civics and city development. Garden Cities and the like apart, our civic history or geography, surveys or ideals, met with no response, or worse than none. Thus, for instance, our gallery of the effects of War, with its series of illustrations, largely contemporary (*cf.* figs. 45–48), of the development of fortifications from medieval times, through the Renaissance, and thence to our present coutrast of modern slums and boulevards, and with careful tracing of the effect of all these upon their internal economy and population—all these things showed to our inspector, presumably not without some attempt to apprehend the significance we urged for, but so

many little towns with a round wall: and similarly for other galleries. Little wonder, then, that our exhibition was dropped, as "unpractical," by our New York correspondents! But now that a Town Planning Exhibit, of essentially contemporary interest, and broadly corresponding to our own Royal Academy Exhibition of 1910 above described, is making its tour through leading American cities, and satisfying the immediate popular and practical interest accordingly, much the same criticisms, the same deeper civic questionings as here, must inevitably make themselves felt. With these must arise the sharp alternative, if not to utilise the material endeavours of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition (supposing it then to be available), then all the more to repeat its intellectual endeavour, to renew the whole line of inquiries it raises, and to handle these with a yet fuller specialism, a richer elaboration of analytic detail, and with corresponding, and doubtless even more ambitious, endeavours of comparison and of synthesis. Towards the making of this new science, and this the complexest, implying and involving all others without exception, a Cities Exhibition is thus needed in America to follow up, include, and interpret that of Housing and Planning movements. City Design, in the full and adequate sense, can thus, and thus only, be prepared for.

The next destination discussed involved taking part in the important "Exposition de la Vie Urbaine," held under the auspices of the City of Lyons in

1914, and which is probably the most comprehensive exhibition of the material appliances and elements of modern city life yet attempted, and that officially participated in by the largest nnmber of cities as contributors. The utilisation of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, as a British national exhibit, was suggested on high authority, but not found financially practicable by the Treasury. As the far more important example of the delays of Rosyth has shown, the question of town planning, despite all its prominence at the Local Government Board, has as yet hardly been realised in other Ministries.

Our next instructive misadventure was in Edinburgh ; which, as more than planners know, has once and again been a veritable cynosure of town planning —notably of the best in the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries, as of its lapses in the nineteenth ; and which is again showing signs and stirrings, and these in many quarters, towards a new tide of civic advance commensurate with her traditions, situation, and possibilities. An application, widely signed by representative citizens, was made to the corporation to hold the exhibition ; all promised well, and fresh and comprehensive designs of improvement were in preparation for it. But a worthy and patriotic magistrate had meantime projected a small winter-garden, which is obviously much needed and wonld undeniably be of wide and popular use. The site chosen was, however, open to criticism, and received it. Controversy arose in the council, then in the

press between rival ediles; and this soon extended into a general mêlée engaging all good citizens; who in Edinburgh, of course, are nothing if not æsthetes. Letters for and against the site, often by whole column-fulls, appeared in every morning's and evening's papers, and this for months. Public interest was excited to a fever-pitch, which no problems of Ireland, no vices or virtues of the present Government can hope to approach: so, if any demonstration be needed of the fascinating interest of points of town planning, and these to a whole community, here it is. As at other crises of history, Lord Rosebery at length intervened; and with no uncertain sound. The promoters of the scheme were at length compelled to retire, but did so with banners unsurrendered; while at least two of the innumerable alternative schemes which were proposed are now, it is said, being elaborated, towards arduous and doubtful struggle for existence in their turn. But amid all this admirable earnestness over one point, the general questions of civics and city design which had been all but successfully raised by the promoters of the exhibition, and which they at first naturally hoped would be thus brought into prominence, if not even urgency, were practically lost sight of by the public: the not unfriendly, but now more divided, town council did not feel justified in proceeding actively with an exhibition after such a stormy season; and all concorned turned to different matters with relief. Meantime the moral abides—and this for

more cities than Edinburgh—that the time, trouble, and expense of preparing for needed or desirable improvements, without first agreeing on the site to place them on, together with the loss of public utility through delays, for years, often even many years, and sometimes indefinitely, would pay not only for civic exhibitions, but for comprehensive town-planning schemes as well; indeed over and over again.

The return of this exhibition to Dublin was, however, invited by the promoters of its Civic Exhibition for the summer of 1914; an undertaking on a scale of magnitude and funds smaller indeed than that of Lyons, but greatly exceeding any kindred exhibition as yet held in the British Empire or the United States. In view of the peculiar urgency of the housing situation in Dublin, and also of the restored metropolitan development involved by recent political changes, this repeated recall of the exhibition is an encouraging omen for the future of civic studies in cities generally, as these awaken to needs and to possibilities; and this the more since it involves not only the continuance of the Dublin Survey initiated three years before, with its fuller development and wider diffusion, but correlation with the Dublin Town Planning Competition already referred to (pages 262–3); and, with all these, the experimental and not unsuccessful beginnings of a School of Civics which has proved suggestive, and even fruitful, both in educational and civic endeavonrs.