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Geddes and the neighbours: 13 Canongate

R. J. Morris

This paper forms part of a larger enquiry into the re-making of the Old Town of Edinburgh in the later nineteenth century and the substantial part which Patrick Geddes played in this process. He was one of several key participants. William Nelson, a major printer–publisher, financed the re-building of key elements of Edinburgh Castle in a manner which reflected his own religious faith and views of Scottish History.¹ William Chambers, his chief industrial rival, was active in the re-modeling of St Giles Church.² The Edinburgh School Board, the Edinburgh Social Union and the Municipal Corporation itself were other active agencies. This paper will focus on 13 Canongate rather than the spectaculars of Ramsay Garden and Riddle's Court. Understanding what Patrick Geddes was doing in the 1880s and 1890s is often hindered by the image of the heroic and insightful pioneer working to transform society amidst the uncaring middle classes of Edinburgh. Few go as far as Lewis Mumford who called him 'a solitary thinker and planner'.³ Accounts are influenced by knowledge of Geddes as an innovative and charismatic teacher and educator and his later role as an international consultant and planner,⁴ and footnotes often use memoirs written of and by Geddes in the twentieth century as he and his followers reconstructed his early career.⁵

¹ R. J. Morris, 'The capitalist, the professor and the soldier: the re-making of Edinburgh Castle, 1850–1900', *Planning Perspectives*, 22 (January 2007) 55–78.

² William Chambers, *Historical Sketch of St Giles Cathedral* (Edinburgh 1909); J Cameron Lees, *St Giles, Edinburgh. Church, College and Cathedral from earliest times to the present day* (Edinburgh, 1889), 265–74.

³ Jacquelin Tyrwitt, *Patrick Geddes in India* (London, 1947), introduction.

⁴ The leading texts focus on his intellectual development leading to the post 1900 exhibitions, his major urban text, *Cities in evolution. An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London, 1915), and the reports on Indian cities produced in the 1920s. Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes. Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London, 1990); Volker M. Welter, *Biopolis. Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

⁵ For example Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes. Biologist. Town Planner. Re-educator. Peace-warrior* (London, 1978).

Number 13 Canongate needs to be placed in context. The Geddes papers collected in the National Library of Scotland suggest two dominant themes in the life of the early career Patrick Geddes. His ambition was to be a top class field biologist with a university chair. Several attempts to gain a chair failed; meanwhile he was Demonstrator of Botany at Edinburgh University and engaged in giving a variety of lectures, although he was never formally recognized as a lecturer by the University. Eventually he was appointed to a Chair of Botany at Dundee which had been especially endowed for him by J. Martin White of Balruddery. During the 1880s, he married and made the dramatic move to live in James Court.⁶ At the same time he made the intellectual journey towards being what Helen Meller called ‘a social evolutionist’. Many of the intellectual elements which were to appear in his later thinking and teaching were there but dominant was a compelling curiosity over cell biology, over the form and structure of living things, over the interactions of the living world, and a move to thinking of the natural world as one of co-operation rather than destructive Darwinian competition. He wanted to research and he wanted to teach about the natural world, hence his enthusiasm for establishing extra mural style classes, especially for a working class audience. As a natural scientist he lived in an age dominated by Darwin and the challenges posed by the theory of evolution. During his time with Huxley he had consolidated habits of close observation and attention to detail and understanding. Above all he had become addicted to reading and quoting Ruskin. Thus he came to give supreme value to aesthetic and ‘cerebral’ experience for the ‘evolution’ of the human species.⁷

The second theme of his life in the 1880s and 1890s was his role as a major property developer.⁸ In the early years of the twenty-first century he might have been called an ‘ethical property developer’, although it is wise to be cautious about the back projection of concepts from later generations into the efforts to understand a young man making himself and his career. The temptation to impose the idea of ‘conservative surgery’ on the activities of the 1880s and 90s conceals the mixture of opportunism, analysis and development in his activities. His activities were substantial and he certainly did not act

⁶ Reminiscences of Nora Geddes, National Library of Scotland [NLS], MS. 19266.

⁷ Patrick Geddes, *John Ruskin. Economist* (Edinburgh, 1884); Patrick Geddes, ‘On the conditions of progress of the capitalist and the labourer’, in James Oliphant, *The Claims of Labour. A course of lectures delivered in Scotland in the summer of 1886 on various aspects of the labour problem* (Edinburgh, 1886).

⁸ Jim Johnson and Lou Rosenburg, *Renewing Old Edinburgh. The Enduring Legacy of Patrick Geddes*, (Glendaruel, 2010).

alone. Edinburgh in the later nineteenth century was an active and fertile environment for those who were concerned about the relationships with the poor and working classes and the changing nature of the built environment. Indeed when Geddes got into financial trouble in the mid 1890s, his activities were re-financed through the specially formed Town and Gown Association Ltd. It was a crisis which produced a series of balance sheets which indicated just how extensive his property development activities had become.

The balance sheet of December 1895 provided a list of his assets.⁹ It provided a value by cost and then a valuation, probably made by Whitson and Methuen, his advisors and property factors.¹⁰ The values are all given in pounds sterling. The first column gave the value in terms of the initial cost and the second as modified by Whitson. Some of the names were only partially legible.

Table One. Professor Geddes balance sheet at 31 December 1895.

Assets	Cost (£)	Valuation (£)
13 Ramsay Garden	150	
14 Ramsay Garden	4300	
15 Ramsay Garden	100	5000
Students House Ramsay Lodge	7000	7000
2 Ramsay Garden	1600	1800
1 Ramsay Garden	600	550
Building Site Ramsay Lane		
Building Site Ramsay Garden		1738
Wightman's Schools	1200	1200
Shorts Observatory	2000	2100
Students House Riddles Court	2750	2750
306 Lawnmarket	540	540
St Giles Halls	1000	1000
Lawnmarket	7500	7500
St Giles St	5000	5500
14 & 16 Calton Hill	280	275
Watergate and North Back Canongate	3385	3835
Value of Furniture		
St Giles House	920	

⁹ Professor Geddes balance sheet at 31 December 1895, NLS, MS. 10650 f.29.

¹⁰ The firm were chartered accountants. Thomas B. Whitson later became Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Ramsay Lodge	1100	
Riddles Court	580	2600
Loans Personal		
William Wilson Esq	259.30	
Dr Stephens	50.00	
A J Stirkhiston?	100.00	
J Arthur Thomson	275.00	
		684.30
Totals	40539.30	44072.30

His real estate amounted to £37,405 at cost and £40,788 according to Whitson's valuation. He also included £2600 for the furniture in various student houses and some £684 in personal loans to friends, including his colleague and former student, J Arthur Thompson.

The other side of the balance sheet indicated the problem. Again the figures are given in pounds sterling.

Table Two. Professor Geddes Liabilities 1895.

	£	
Miss Fanny Macrae	1000	
A J Brefage trustees per J F Makay	1100	on Shorts Observatory
Dr Watson per Wallace and Guthrie	600	on Shorts Observatory
Andrew Murrays Trust per Murray Beith and Murray	1750	on Riddle's Court
Dunn and Small for various clients	8550	Lawnmarket, 14 Ramsey Garden, Wightman's Houses
Berridges Trust	3700	Ramsay Lodge
A J Robertson Trust	2400	1,2,3 Ramsey Garden
Mrs Winkworth	1000	
Mrs Whyte	2000	
Dr Clarksons Trust	850	Malloch's Land and St Giles Halls
Methuen Annuity Trust	3000	St Giles St
Captain Geddes	700	
Mrs Geddes	1200	

H J Barker Esq	500
Prof Crum Brown	500
R Munro Ferguson Esq	300
Henry Beveridge	500
D Caird	160
David Patrick Esq	200
J Martin White Esq	200
Sidney Mitchell Esq	500
S H Capper Esq	100
Mrs M Trustees	1300
John Chirnie Esq	200
Bills payable	4045
Bank of Scotland overdraft say	1200
balance due Roberts and Co	1317
balance due Whitson and Methuen	1045
accounts outstanding	
G S Aitken Esq architects fees	300

These liabilities totalled £40,217, although the account maker totalled them at £42,467. Some faint pencilled figures may be the difference. Calculations made in 1894 indicated that he was due to pay £1119 in interest and was expecting some £767 in rent, mainly from the student halls. Many of the properties remained empty as he looked for money for renovations and lacked the management resources to make sure he found tenants.

Whatever valuation was taken, Geddes had, by the mid 1890s, accumulated a formidable amount of real estate. How had he been able to do this? His revenue from the chair at Dundee was only £450 a year.¹¹ The list of liabilities indicated that he used means very familiar in the nineteenth century city.¹² He began with limited loans from family. Anna brought £1200. She was daughter of a Liverpool provisions merchant and the sum was part of her inheritance.¹³ Another £700 came from Captain Geddes, Patrick's father. Alexander Geddes was a sergeant major in the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment. The 'captain' was almost certainly a family nickname and not his army rank. Alexander

¹¹ Professor Geddes Liabilities 1895, NLS MS 10650 f.188.

¹² Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh. Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).

¹³ The *Liverpool Mercury*, 25 April 1890 records the auction of the household furniture of the late Frazer Morton of Egremont. My thanks to Paul Laxton for this reference.

had inherited £600 from his father-in-law, who had emigrated to the USA, where he died in 1868.¹⁴ An account drawn for 'the Captain' towards the end of his life in 1896 showed him with an army pension of £151 a year, and additional income of £152 a year from interest on deposits and bonds in a wide range of banks and other entities across the British Empire. The largest sums came from Australia, Quebec City and New Zealand, where another son had emigrated. Twenty pounds a year came from P. Geddes, Edinburgh, 4% on the £500 still owed by Patrick. There were also shares in railways, the Perth Banking Company and the Perth Co-operative Society. Alexander Geddes was a careful rather than a wealthy man but quite able to give modest support to his energetic and enterprising son. Family credit was a long standing source of capital amongst the middle classes and, as was the custom, took the form of a business arrangement.¹⁵ Both Alexander and Anna got their 4%.

Such family credit was the foundation which provided confidence for the lenders who provided Geddes with his major source of finance. The logic of family and gender relationships amongst the middle classes created a massive demand for interest bearing rentier assets. As men grew older, they looked to move capital from active entrepreneurship to passive rentier assets in a property cycle now concealed by more formal pension arrangements. Gender was structured by married women's property relationships and by the exclusion of women from many areas of the profit making economy. Thus widows and daughters were often provided with trust incomes of various kinds. Lending money on the security of property was an important means of gaining such passive rentier income. In some cases the bargain was direct, in others it was managed by one of Edinburgh's many firms of lawyers, who would judge the value of the security and the probity of the borrower. Borrowing in this way, Geddes was entering an important relationship of the Edinburgh property market. Wallace and Guthrie were in North Charlotte Street and Murray, Beith and Murray in 43 Castle Street, whilst Dunn and Small were a Melrose company.¹⁶ The Bank of Scotland also acted as a major financial intermediary.

The third group were friends, especially those who shared social and ideological identities upon which trust and obligation were exchanged. For many, this was based upon religious networks but, for Geddes, this involved the more radical of his university links and those involved in the Edinburgh Social Union and related activities. Mrs Whyte was married to the leading

¹⁴ NLS MS 10605 f.29.

¹⁵ R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 2005).

¹⁶ *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory*, 1894–95; *Scotsman*, 1 March 1890.

Free Church minister, Alexander Whyte, minister of the elite congregation of Free Saint Paul's. She had inherited substantial sums from her father, George Freeland Barbour, one of Edinburgh's wealthiest merchant financiers.¹⁷ Professor Crum Brown from the University Medical School and J. Martin White, Geddes's Dundee patron, were in this group. Other debts were due to those who supplied him with goods and services, notably Whitson and Methuen. The accounts showed that Geddes lent to friends like J. Arthur Thompson as well as borrowing from friends.

The information from the 'balance sheets' of 1894 and 1895 gave an incomplete account of the economic history of Geddes's property development but they showed that Geddes was operating through very normal market based channels, seeking an accumulation of property which would demonstrate the ethical values he was developing and give him and his allies control of extensive Edinburgh real estate. They also showed that, at the very least, he had a major cash flow problem although he may have believed that revenue and costs would eventually balance. At any event his property portfolio needed re-financing. Together with friends and supporters who shared his ethical aims and values, he achieved this through the formation of a property company, The Town and Gown Association Limited. The aim of the company was to buy out the bulk of Geddes property holdings, taking on the majority of his debts in the process. There was little in the detail of the arrangements to suggest that Geddes was walking away from his property interests and leaving matters to others. There was to be a share capital of £100,000 in 20,000 shares. Geddes was to receive 2120 of these as purchase price of the financial interest remaining in his properties once the Association had assumed responsibility for the bonds and debts secured on the real estate. He also gained formidable assistance. The Directors included James Pollard, convener of the Municipal Public Health Committee, Henry Beveridge, a wealthy supporter from Dunfermline, Francis Caird from the medical school, Professor Crum Brown and J. Arthur Thompson. Geddes was to join the Board after share allotment.¹⁸

The narrative of the *Prospectus* was partly provided by Geddes himself and partly by his financial advisors, property factors and the other directors. This indicated that they expected a viable economic enterprise with a clarity of objectives.

¹⁷ G. F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte, D.D.* (London, 1923).

¹⁸ *Town and Gown Association Ltd, Prospectus of the Association* (Edinburgh, 1896). NLS Nais 30.

On the one hand, it is concerned with buildings and sanitation; on the other, with the organization of residential halls for students and others connected with the Universities and with the liberal professions generally ...

While the Association will endeavor to advance at once the interests of Scottish Universities and Cities, its undertakings are by no means of a "philanthropic" or eleemosynary nature. Its financial basis is simply to utilize and develop openings for Home Investments, which rest essentially upon good heritable security, and consequently yield a moderate but adequate and steady return.

Geddes suggested that his experience so far 'abundantly demonstrated the possibilities of usefully employing the increased capital which is now asked for'. The *Prospectus* promised that Geddes would continue his services as manager for at least ten years. Evidence was provided by Mr J. Stuart Watson, manager of St Giles House, one part of University Hall. He stated that between 1889 and 1895 the revenue from the House had covered costs and paid Geddes 5% on the capital invested in furnishing the halls and 5% for depreciation. Whitson and Methuen were equally clear in their valuation of the properties to be acquired. They attributed losses to the problems of developing the Riddle's Court area and indicated that these had now been solved with the help of the City Improvement Act. Their financial forecast for the new company predicted a gross rental income of £3200 which, after interest on the bonds and other costs had been paid, left £879. Together with smaller amounts, this was 'more than sufficient to meet the proposed dividend of four and a half percent'. Indeed, they anticipated a surplus enabling them to build a reserve fund, '... the undertaking is not of a speculative nature, but seeks merely to attract capital into civic and academic channels'.¹⁹ Property companies of this kind were a familiar part of the Edinburgh financial and built environment. The Edinburgh Property Company was launched in late 1897 with a capital of £50,000 in planned shares. The directors included a Bailie of the City of Edinburgh, a lawyer, a plumber and a builder. They promised a 5% dividend on paid up capital and the resources to build a reserve fund.²⁰

Number 13 Canongate was a distinctive element in those Geddes property interests which came under the heading 'city improvement'. It was part of the property listed as 'Watergate and North Back Canongate', although his

¹⁹ *The Town and Gown Association Limited. Prospectus.*

²⁰ *Scotsman*, 20 December 1897.

relationship to these properties was by no means straightforward. On 8 April, 1893, Professor Patrick Geddes of 6 St James Court petitioned the Dean of Guild Court for permission to carry out work on 13 Canongate.²¹ In the 'Statement of Facts' to the Court he said he was the 'proprietor of the said property, as well as proprietor of properties to the north and east of number thirteen'. He asked for a warrant giving him permission 'to restore and repair the tenement no 13 Canongate by removing the existing roof, forming new roof, restoring and repairing existing partitions, strengthening floors by inserting iron beams and columns, fitting improved W.Cs and Sinks, clapping window openings to larger size, repairing gables and harling all outside walls and other alterations.'

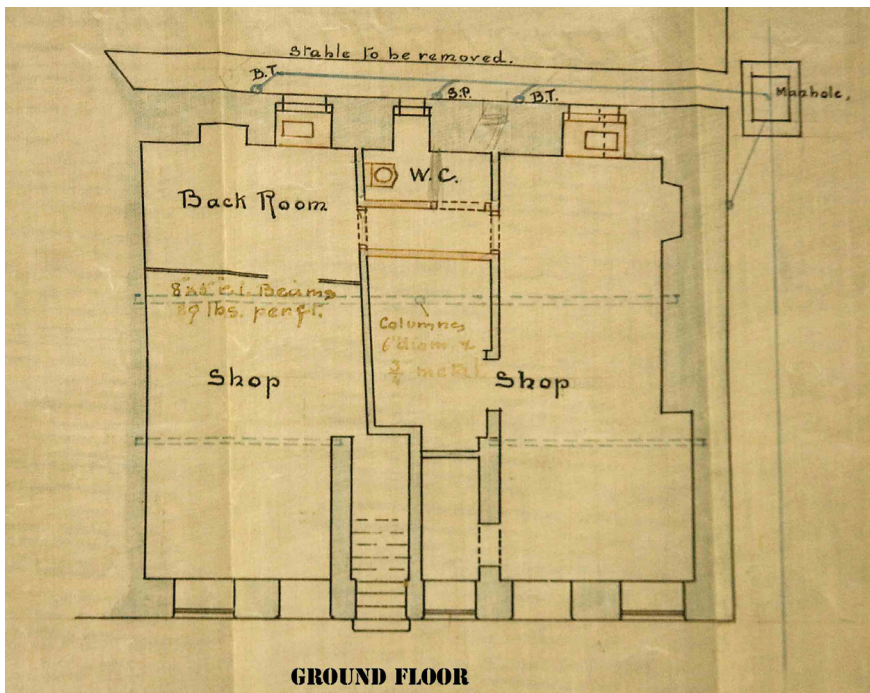


Fig 1. Thirteen Canongate. Ground Floor. Dean of Guild Plans, 8 April 1893. Edinburgh Municipal Archives.

The plans were prepared in the office of Simon and Tweedie at 36 Hanover Street. Frank Simon, like Geddes, was involved with the Edinburgh School of

²¹ Dean of Guild Court, Edinburgh 8 April 1893. Edinburgh Municipal Archives.

Applied Art. He worked with Henbest Capper, one of the Ramsay Garden architects.²² This network of connexions was characteristic of the social relationships within which Geddes worked.

The plans submitted to the Dean of Guild Court showed the proposed re-modeling of an essentially seventeenth century building.

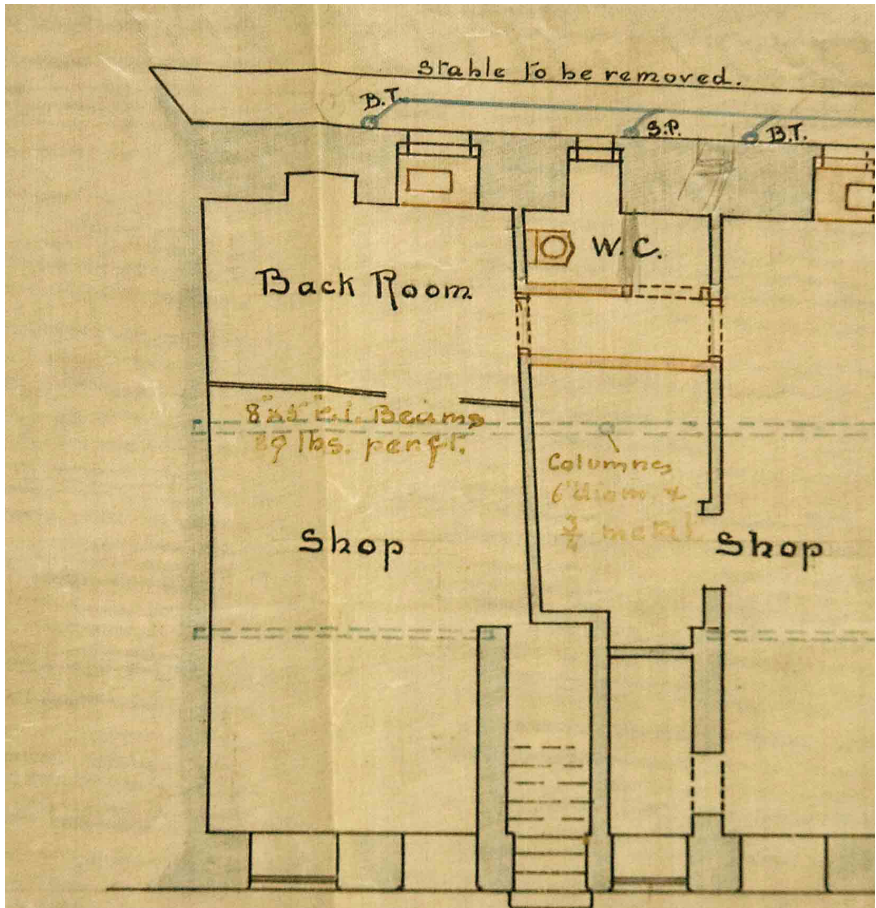


Fig 2. Thirteen Canongate. First Floor. Dean of Guild Plans, 8 April 1893.
Edinburgh Municipal Archives.

The ground floor provided accommodation for two shops in a manner typical of most Canongate tenements. The upper three floors provided two

²² Dictionary of Scottish Architects, 1840–1980, www.scottisharchitects.org.uk, consulted 28 January 2012.

houses of a room and kitchen each and a shared WC, as in this plan for the first floor.

Despite the claims to the Dean of Guild Court, the Valuation Rolls for the City of Edinburgh showed that the proprietor was Hon. Lord McLaren, 46 Moray Place. McLaren was a leading judge and liberal politician, son of Duncan McLaren, the mid century Edinburgh radical leader. Both were members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The evidence from the Valuation Rolls showed them working closely together to re-model this area.²³ McLaren had owned Number 13 since 1893. He and Geddes accumulated further properties which they later called the Watergate between 1893 and 1896 when the Geddes share was transferred to the Town and Gown Association. After a brief political career, McLaren became a leading judge and textbook writer for the Scottish Courts.²⁴ He took a major part in voter registration during Gladstone's Midlothian campaign. The *Scotsman* claimed 'Tenements were run up with startling rapidity at Tynecastle, then situated outside the municipal boundary, and it was generally understood that Mr M'Laren was the chief agent in projecting and carrying out this spirited enterprize for swelling the ranks of Mr Gladstone's supporters at the poll. The buildings so hastily run up presented little to gratify the eye of the connoisseur or the heart of the philanthropist; and the speculation it is to be feared, was anything but a success from the pecuniary point of view.'²⁵ McLaren was no stranger to the manipulation of property for social and political purposes. In the mid-1890s, McLaren and Geddes worked to accumulate property which enabled them not only to remodel Number 13 but also to demolish and rebuild neighbouring property as well as disposing of property to the Corporation to enable the widening of the Watergate itself, which was still an important means of entry to the old part of Edinburgh. The result was a rather dreary looking building which Geddes claimed balanced the achievements of Ramsay Garden, but the 'Watergate' did not survive the urban clearances of the 1960s.

The built fabric of 13 Canongate represented a number of key values which Geddes shared with others such as McLaren and the members of the Edinburgh Social Union. They valued the historical depth of Edinburgh and where possible, as in 13 Canongate, sought to re-use older fabrics. This was

²³ Valuation Rolls for the Burgh of Edinburgh for the years 1893–94, 1894–95, 1895–96, and 1896–97, Parish of the City of Edinburgh. National Archives of Scotland, VR 100/165, 169, 172 and 177.

²⁴ Willis Pickard, *The Member for Scotland. A Life of Duncan McLaren* (Edinburgh, 2011)

²⁵ *Scotsman*, 7 April 1910.

quite different from an earlier generation when James Begg, Free Church minister and housing reformer had won his debate with Lord Cockburn and seen the demolition of Holy Trinity Church by the North British Railway.²⁶ This was the generation of the Cockburn Society (1875) and the Old Edinburgh Club (1908). William Nelson at the Castle, William Chambers at the Church of St Giles and the Barbours at nearby Whitehorse Close all worked to re-use and re-present old buildings rather than to demolish and replace. Many Edinburgh buildings now valued as 'heritage' owe their continued existence to this generation. The importance which Geddes attributed to understanding the historical depth and evolution of an area, which appears in his later work on planning, was evident in 13 Canongate.

At the same time Number 13 embodied the new values of sanitation and a sound material fabric. Carefully calibrated steel beams were inserted into the building. Each pair of houses was supplied with a water closet. These were outside the house on the staircase landing, perhaps an affront to later views on privacy but this was a period in which the smell of rotting human waste was still thought to be a major cause of disease, hence placing the privy outside the living space was held to be an advantage. The Municipal Council building officers insisted that each WC had a concrete floor to enable it to be kept clean. All forms of waste and storm water were carefully piped into the main sewers of Canongate and North Back Canongate.

A distinctive feature of number 13 was that every house unit had two rooms and an internal water supply for the sinks. The census listing of 1901 also showed that every family had its own distinctive front door. By later standards this was a minimal gain, but it showed a concern for privacy both within and between working class families that was well in advance of most Edinburgh housing. In the new built house units of the Watergate, privacy was further advanced. Balcony access ensured each house had its own front door. The WCs were internal to each house and no longer shared. A lobby protected the room and kitchen from dangerous smells. A specific bed recess hinted at minimal privacy for sleeping accommodation.

There was no evidence that Geddes engaged in the detailed micromanagement of tenants practised by the Edinburgh Social Union with

²⁶ Rev. James Begg, D.D., *How to Promote and Preserve the True Beauty of Edinburgh being a Few Hints to the Hon Lord Cockburn* (Edinburgh, 1849); Henry Thomas, Lord Cockburn, *A Letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh*, edited by Terry Levinthal and Herbert Suslak (the Cockburn Society: Edinburgh, 1998). The original was published in 1849 and the Society founded in 1875; Sir Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (Edinburgh, 1848).

its formidable team of lady housing managers.²⁷ The management of number 13 and of the Watergate was left to a traditional factor, George Brotherston of 18 St John St, a familiar figure along the Canongate at that time.

The impact of the changes which Geddes and McLaren brought about were outlined in the census manuscript schedules.²⁸ The small number of households involved, limit the value of overall statistical summaries but the qualitative evidence from the household listings gave an indication of subtle but important changes. In 1881, there were seven households in the tenement. In 1881, the census enumerators adopted the convention of dividing households with 'a distinctive outside entrance' by a full line ruled across the 'Name and surname' column. Four households lacked the privacy of their own entrance and hence the ability to control their own family space. They were divided only by a half line.²⁹ There were a variety of household strategies in evidence. Of those with their own front door, two had two sources of income coming into the house and James Moreland, born in Ireland would have needed his glasscutter's skilled wages for his family of eight.³⁰ Amongst the other households there were two labourers and a joiner. All had only one wage coming into the house and shared their entrance. In 1891, the enumerator had written, 'common stair, houses condemned and boarded up and not occupied'. Municipal officials were acting with the authority of the Improvement Acts. In 1901, the restored tenement contained six households. There were still two labourers but they had small households and evidence of other incomes. The dock labourer's daughter was a stationary book sewer. Three of the other households shared several features. They were headed by men with skilled wages, a flint glass cutter, an iron moulder and a baker. They had children who brought money into the house, a fancy box maker and a grocer's boy. This enabled two of the sons to be apprentice iron moulders, forgoing current income in anticipation of future skilled wages. These skilled households were however astonishingly crowded with 10, 9, 8 and 6 people living in the two roomed accommodation supplied by Geddes and McLaren. These people paid the rent because they had multiple incomes in a crowded

²⁷ Edinburgh Social Union, Minute Book, 1885–1892, and *Annual Report 1896*, Edinburgh Public Library, Edinburgh Room, q YHV 250 E 23 S.

²⁸ Census Enumerators Schedules, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for Registration District 685. Microfilm in Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Public Library.

²⁹ 1882 [C.3329], *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, taken 4 April 1881*, pp.x and xi.

³⁰ On the importance of skilled wages for family welfare see R. Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford, 1974).

space. The evidence of the 1901 census showed that tenants did not come from the very poor. Like the Social Union, Geddes avoided the worst housing of the Cowgate and Grassmarket areas. This was the art of the possible in the choices made. The households showed a variety of strategies enabling them to respond to the opportunities of sound, healthy, two roomed houses.

Lastly there was a dog that did not bark. The tenement preserved its residential functions at a time when much Canongate residential property was being replaced by workshops and other industrial establishments.³¹ The wage earning population was kept within an area where land values were rising under the demand for industrial space.

Number thirteen Canongate remains encased in the harling of a 1960s renovation. It is evidence of a much larger experience and practice which influenced the development of the older parts of Edinburgh in the later nineteenth century. It was part of a larger property portfolio held by Patrick Geddes and developed with specific social and aesthetic aims in mind. Its history showed him working alongside other organizations such as the Town and Gown Association Limited and the Edinburgh Social Union. It showed him working with other individuals, like Lord McLaren who shared his aims and were able to combine their wealth with his time and energy. The survival and remaking of number thirteen represented the activities of many of the overlapping networks of late nineteenth century society in Edinburgh. They demonstrated for a brief moment that by making use of fairly widespread economic strategies they could achieve a variety of social and aesthetic ends in the full expectation of making a profit.

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³¹ *The Scotsman*, 15 September 1888.