

PARKS FOR THE PEOPLE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC PARKS IN VICTORIAN MANCHESTER

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In 1987, a group of astute Sunday strollers noticed a simple red cardboard plaque which had been clandestinely attached to a stone plinth in Peel Park, Salford. It simply read: 'Peel Park – opened 1846'.¹ Someone evidently appreciated the historical importance of Peel Park and wished to protest at the community's apparent lack of interest. A subsequent appeal to the Council to erect a proper plaque commemorating the fact that Peel Park is one of the oldest public parks in the country was not successful. Such indifference to the park's heritage stands in stark contrast to the great pride in the park displayed by the community in the nineteenth century. On the day commemorated by the rather pitiful cardboard plaque, tens of thousands of people enjoyed spirited festivities as Peel Park in Salford, Queen's Park in Harpurhey and Philips Park in Bradford were ceremoniously opened to the public. The *Manchester Guardian* jubilantly reported that:

*The bells of the collegiate and other churches rang merrily . . . while the closing of shops, the numerous open carriages, and the densely-crowded streets, gave to the town, albeit on the forenoon of the principal market day, the appearance of one in the midst of the celebration of a general holiday.*²

But it was not simply on the day of their opening that the public parks attracted the attention of the community. An

impressive public campaign inaugurated the parks and throughout the nineteenth century the parks remained immensely popular havens of retreat, each park attracting as many as 20,000 to 30,000 visitors on a summer's day. The parks constituted a source of great civic pride and importance and were an integral part of the built environment. The aim of this paper is to try and re-capture the essence of the public parks as defined by contemporaries, to see the parks as they did.

Central to understanding the Victorian public park is the discourse of 'rational' recreation which had a profound influence on the campaign for public parks, their design, regulation and use. The paper begins, therefore, with a discussion of 'rational' recreation as articulated by the *Select Committee on Public Walks* in 1833. This provides a basis from which to discuss three central points: the problematising of working-class leisure; the ways in which notions of 'rational' recreation and respectability informed what was permissible in the parks; and contested meanings of public park.

From Public Walks to Public Parks

There appears to have been no simple catalyst for the promotion of public parks in Manchester; there was no single benefactor like the wealthy industrialist Joseph Strutt who donated £10,000 to construct the Derby Arboretum in



Queen's Park, Harpurhey.

1840.³ But the campaign in Manchester, which began in earnest in 1844, did owe a great deal to the 1833 *Select Committee on Public Walks*.

Its report had targeted Manchester as a town of grave concern; its working-class residents 'had no public walk or open space to take air and exercise in on Sundays, or after the arduous labours of the day'.⁴ This, it was argued, led workers into the public house, the realm of debauchery, as the only place available to refresh and amuse themselves. The Select Committee marked the first official recognition of the need to provide public walks and open spaces in large towns. It also set the terms for what became the standard discourse regarding the 'problem' of working-class leisure, public space and the need for 'rational' recreation.

In pre-industrial England a sharp dichotomy between 'work time' and 'free time' did not exist. Work, play and ritual were integrally connected, no distinct boundaries separated one from another. It has even been argued that during the Middle Ages there was 'confusion as to where work ended and leisure began'.⁵ The pre-industrial workforce commonly interrupted their economic tasks to celebrate Christmas, New Year, Whitsuntide, and to attend local festivals, fairs and wakes. When circuses or sporting events came to town, regular work spontaneously ceased while people enjoyed the spectacle.⁶ With industrialisation, however, came an increasing tendency for time to be valued as much as, sometimes more than, the task: time, after all, is money!

By the early nineteenth century, especially in industrial towns like Manchester, work and leisure were increasingly experienced as separate, distinct activities to be engaged in at specific times of the day. Time sold was identified with work, time not sold, 'free time', was thought of as leisure. In this context, work and leisure became antithetical spheres, binary opposites, articulated as such by a number of discourses which stressed the virtue of work and the immorality of leisure.

Leisure, or more specifically working-class leisure, became associated in the middle-class mind with idleness, time ill-spent, and the secluded public house and insular back alley, where the working classes spent much of their leisure time, were feared as potential cauldrons of subversion. In contrast to pub and street life, the Select Committee advocated 'rational' recreations which were to be highly visible, morally superior alternatives, supervised and regulated by the middle-class. 'It was', the Select Committee concluded, 'alike wise and benevolent to provide regulated amusement for the many; safety valves for their eager energies.'⁷ But to be successful, the adequate provision of space for 'rational' recreation was necessary.

Despite its name, the *Select Committee on Public Walks* argued for more than public footpaths for rambling. Whilst they rarely used the term 'park', referring more often to 'open spaces for recreation', public parks were ultimately what they advocated.⁸ This was particularly true in the case of Manchester. When four eminent Mancunians came before the Committee, the idea of creating public parks was raised explicitly. The Committee enquired of Benjamin Braidley, Richard Potter, Joseph Brotherton and Mark Philips whether 'rate-payers would object to a small rate for the purpose of creating parks'.⁹ When the *Manchester Guardian* reported the Select Committee's evidence, it noted the 'strong and unanimous feeling of the witnesses in favour of the provision of places of general resort and recreation . . . (which) we

may call public parks'.¹⁰ Given the Select Committee's advocacy of 'rational' recreations, the public park must have seemed an ideal forum.

Within the discourse associated with 'rational' recreation the importance of class interaction was widely promoted. The public parks would offer an opportunity for the classes to come together in a shared public space allowing a kind of cultural osmosis to occur; middle-class morality, particularly the virtues of temperance, self-respect and family pride, would rub off on the working-class and thereby appease social dissension. In a letter to the Select Committee J. P. Kay, a reforming physician who had been in the forefront of the town's response to the recent cholera epidemic, made the argument explicit:

*. . . notice the advantage which the public walks (properly regulated and open to the middle and humbler classes) give to the improvement, in the cleanliness, neatness, and personal appearance of those who frequent them. A man walking out with his family among his neighbours, of different ranks, will naturally be desirous to be properly clothed . . . this desire, duly directed and controlled, is found by experience to be of the most powerful effect in promoting civilisation and exciting industry.*¹¹

Promenading in the park was viewed, therefore, not simply as a means to enjoy the environment, but as an opportunity for the lower classes to see their social superiors in public and imitate their behaviour. Morality was to be obtained by social observation.

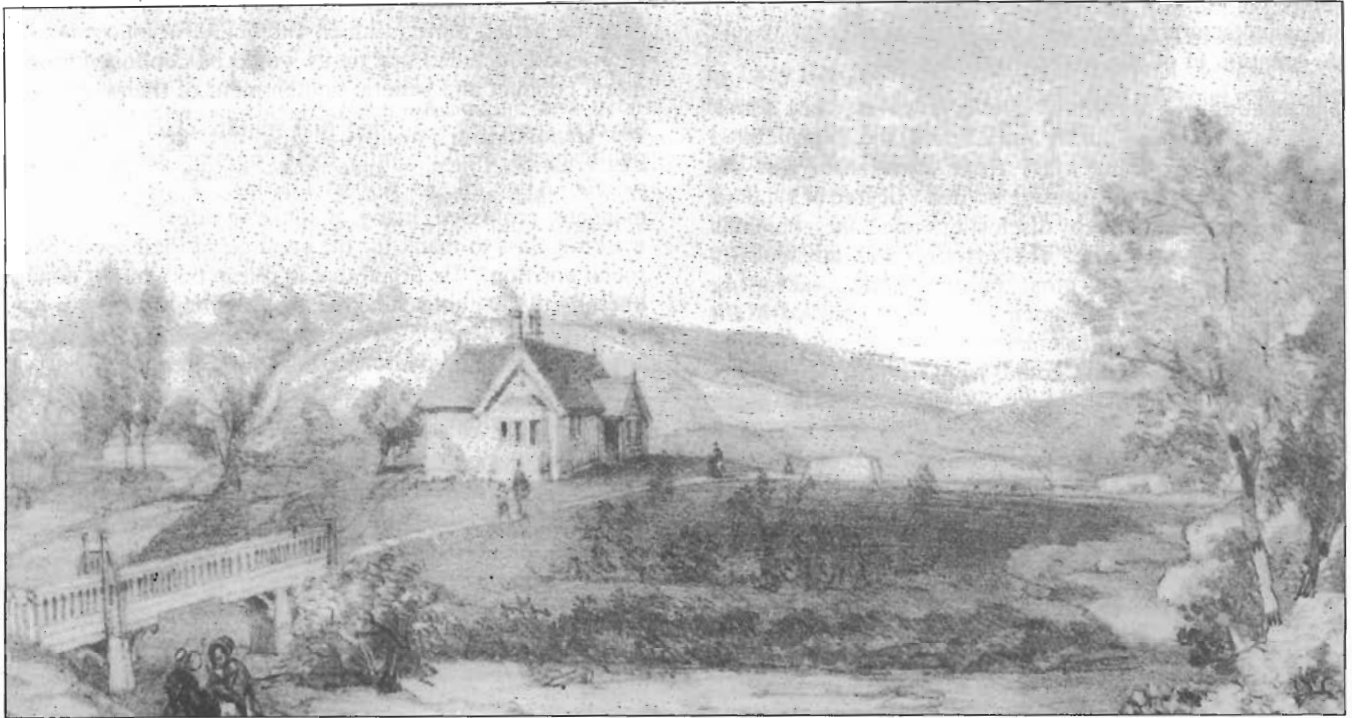
Campaigning for Public Parks

A decade later, the campaign for public parks in Manchester drew substantially on the discourse of 'rational' recreation articulated by the *Select Committee on Public Walks*. The concept of 'rational' recreation spoke to the needs of Manchester's influential middle class. The growth of the factory system, banking, trade and the professions afforded the middle classes a commanding position. Their attempts to re-shape society's perceptions and values permeated every sphere of urban life. From the workplace to the home, from the public house to the public park, the presence and influence of middle-class attitudes and regulations could be felt. As Simon Gunn contends, Manchester's middle class attempted to 'project its impress over a considerable part of urban existence, from the spheres of work, leisure and education to the physical layout of the town'.¹² It is within this context that the campaign to establish public parks has to be understood.

Manchester's middle class believed that their elevated status was based on more than economic wealth; they considered themselves morally and culturally superior as well. The discourse of 'rational' recreation, therefore, provided the middle class with a language with which they could justify to themselves and others the need to re-shape working-class leisure and public space. It also served to cohere the middle class around an ideal of moral and cultural improvement based on notions of respectability and responsibility.

In July 1844, the *Manchester Guardian* lamented the town's lack of public walks and gardens, claiming that:

Manchester stands forth in the unenviable notoriety of being almost the only town of importance in the kingdom entirely destitute of parks, promenades, or



Philips Park, Bradford.

*playgrounds of any kind, for the free use of its population . . . our own Manchester, needing such public places more than any town in the world, offers its toiling inhabitants nothing better than the dirt and dust of streets and highways.*¹³

The *Manchester Guardian*, mouthpiece of the liberal middle class, played a significant part in rallying the community to the ideal of the public park. Within its pages an extensive public debate was conducted throughout 1844 regarding the problems of public space, the health, cleanliness and morality of the working-class community, and the need to provide 'rational' recreations.

The protagonists in the debate tend to give the impression that Manchester suffered from a dearth of public space for leisure. Thus Thomas Carlyle wrote to the *Manchester Guardian*: 'I have regretted much, in looking at your great Manchester . . . that I could not find, in some quarter of it, a hundred acres of green ground with trees on it'.¹⁴ Certainly by the 1840s, what had once been open fields and public footpaths close to the town centre had been transformed by enclosure, railway construction and industry into private property protected by law. Those who inhabited the densely crowded working-class neighbourhoods of the inner-city were, therefore, denied access to open land.

In 1841, the Manchester Statistical Society reported that re-location of the wealthy classes to outlying suburbs had left 'large tracts of the town . . . occupied solely by operatives' and had 'drawn a broad line of separation as to residence between the employers and the employed'.¹⁵ To the middle-class reformer, it was within these insular, almost subterranean, working-class neighbourhoods that vice and dissension lurked. Thus reformers accentuated the potential problems associated with a lack of public space, in order to win support for the public parks campaign.

The working class were not entirely bereft of recreational resorts, however. Despite the enclosure of once common land, there were several popular pleasure gardens within the vicinity of working-class neighbourhoods. The most renowned were Pomona in Hulme, Vauxhall Gardens in

Collyhurst, and Belle Vue. These tended to be resorts of passive enjoyment, offering the spectacle of fireworks, balloon ascents and zoological gardens; they also offered alcoholic refreshment which did not impress respectable opinion. But most importantly, they were not free. An entrance fee of between sixpence and one shilling was charged, making it unlikely that an unskilled worker on an average thirteen shillings a week, or those from a large family on a skilled wage, could afford to enter. Establishing public parks was not so much an attempt to create places of public resort where none had previously existed, but rather to create respectable, *freely accessible*, non-exclusive public domains which could mitigate the adverse effects of spatial and economic segregation of the classes. This was the essence of the public park.

The ideal of the public park also represented an attempt to shift the site of leisure activities from terrain controlled and defined by working-class men and women – the pubs and streets – to an ordered and highly visible terrain, regulated according to middle-class values. It was hoped that the parks would engender social harmony and community feeling and impart middle-class notions of respectability. The *Manchester Guardian* asked of its readership:

*. . . if the frequent meeting together of different classes, and of the sections and individuals belonging to them, on terms of equality, – in public resorts, where families may meet families without shame, or the affected mannerism of exclusive circles, where the master may meet the man, and the man the master; where all assemble on the common and neutral ground of an innocent love of the fresh air, and the beauties of nature, is not certain to lead to more kindly feelings, and a more united spirit amongst the various portions of the community?*¹⁶

By mid-1844, the possibility of providing freely accessible, non-exclusive parks for the people in Manchester had undeniably aroused the interest and passion of the middle-class community. In August, following a requisition to the mayor signed by 111 of Manchester's leading merchants

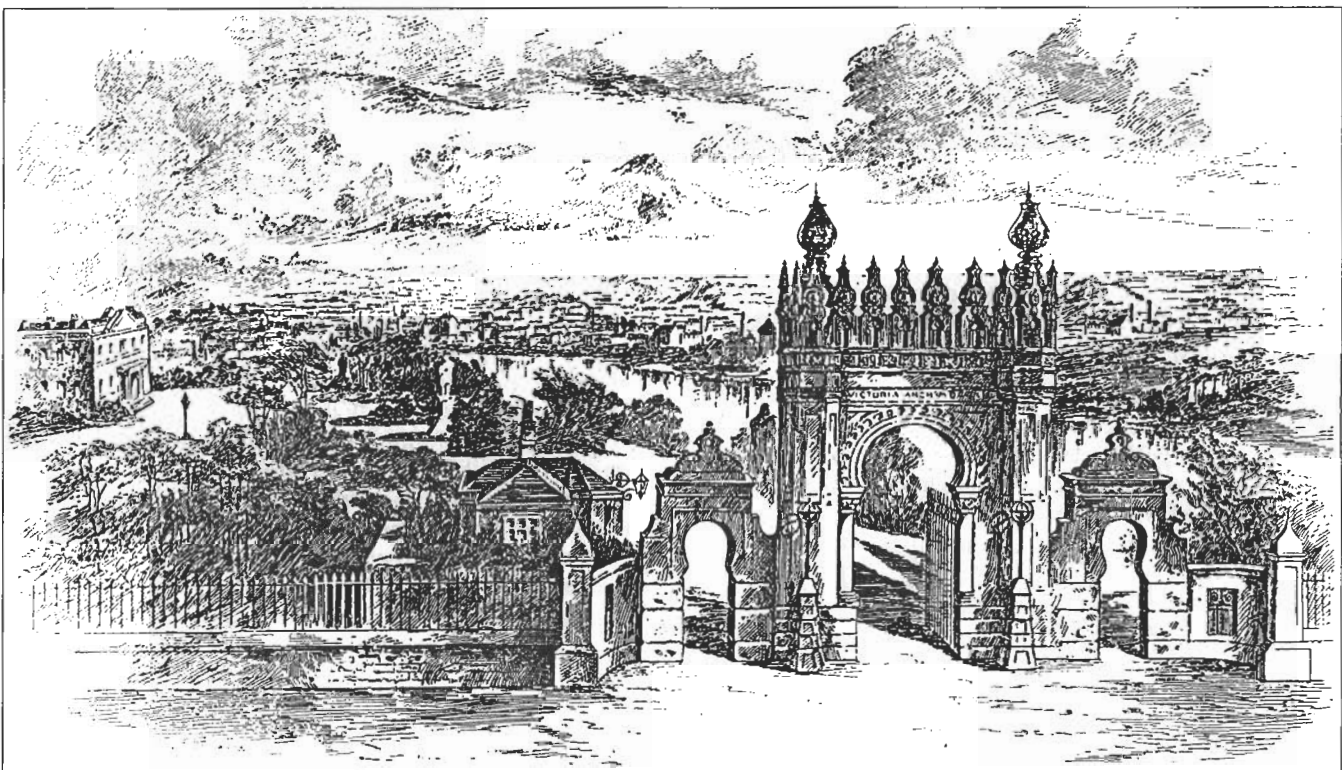
and manufacturers, the town's first public meeting to discuss the creation of public parks was convened.

The meeting was not strictly public, however, since it took place on a Thursday during work-hours, and so prohibited Manchester's working class from attendance. But the exclusive nature of the meeting invited a degree of candour from those present, thereby disclosing some honest opinions from Manchester's elite. The meeting was attended by many of the town's most eminent men, including Manchester's first parliamentary representative, Mark Philips; the Mayor, Alexander Kay; Sir Francis Egerton (largest employer in the county); and a host of wealthy cotton magnates and bankers. Whilst the public parks campaign provided a forum for Anglican Tories and Dissenting Liberals to unite in the spirit of civic community, the most prominent campaigners tended to be associated with liberal reforms and campaigns such as the Reform

them far better, more rational, and healthful enjoyment'.¹⁸ Heywood concluded that parks would be conducive to the moral conduct and general contentment of the people.

Several speeches indicated that middle-class support for public parks would signify their common cause with the *people*. After all, as Robert Gardner, a wealthy cotton magnate, professed, many of those in attendance had the working class to thank for the creation of their wealth and social position.¹⁹ He urged that in return they might donate liberally to the public fund for the creation of parks; it was an obligation which they owed the community. Gardner's appeal confirms Simon Gunn's contention that in Manchester wealth was constituted as a responsibility as well as a privilege.²⁰

At the conclusion of the meeting, a Public Walks, Parks, Gardens and Playgrounds Committee of twenty-five men was appointed to raise funds, select and purchase sites,



Peel Park, Salford. The Victoria Arch (now demolished) dominates this view of the park. The Library is the building on the extreme left.

Act, the Incorporation battle and the Anti-Corn Law League. They were the founders of civic institutions and societies such as the Literary and Philosophical Society, Mechanics' Institute, Athenaeum, and Chamber of Commerce. In short, those present constituted the central core of Manchester's reform-minded middle class. Their local significance was probably most pronounced in their dominance of the recently established municipal council. When these self-appointed civic emissaries addressed the meeting, their speeches were dominated by the discourse of 'rational' recreation.

James Heywood, Unitarian and prominent member of a banking family closely tied to the cotton industry, announced that it was the unfortunate 'habit of some persons, when they had been very much occupied and strained during the day, to go into the spirit shop . . . and so pass the evening in that improper manner'.¹⁷ He believed that 'parks would prove a strong inducement to win them from those habits, and to lead them instead to play at cricket, or enjoy archery, bowls, quoits, and other healthy sports, which would give

design and then convey them to the Council'.²¹ Shortly after the public meeting a poster announced that the formation of public parks 'should be at once undertaken, as a means of contributing greatly to the health, rational enjoyment, kindly intercourse, and good morals of all classes of our industrious population'.²²

Enthusiasm for the parks was not only displayed by Manchester's elite, all sections of the vast population embraced the call to establish public parks. Confident and articulate members of the working-class community contributed to the debate, highlighting the rapid demise of public space in the vicinity of working-class neighbourhoods and the necessity to create an accessible, non-exclusive working-class space. R. J. Richardson, for example, who had been one of Manchester's two delegates to the Chartist National Convention in 1838, wrote to the radical *Manchester Times* in July 1844 criticising the practice of obstructing public footpaths to make way for modern roads and condemning ominous notice boards which announced

that 'Persons found trespassing will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law'.²³ In many ways Richardson was echoing the earlier concerns of Manchester's *Society for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths* which had been founded in 1826. Primarily a group of professionals and industrialists, some of whom were later to be involved in the public parks campaign, their objective had been to preserve the right of all classes to walk 'unrestrainedly through the fine fields of the vicinity'.²⁴

There is no evidence, however, that the Society involved the working class in their meetings or petitions. But when Richardson aired his concerns in 1844, he also called for a public meeting of the working classes to discuss the formation of parks for the people.

In September 1844, R. J. Richardson got his wish. A public meeting was convened specifically for the working classes of Manchester and Salford. The placard which advertised the meeting called on 'every man who feels an interest in the improvement of the town' and 'who knows the value of good air and manly sport', and every woman 'who finds her children's sports restricted by the smallness of her house' to attend the meeting in support of public parks.²⁵ The meeting attracted 5,000-6,000 people and it was reported that a 'good number of ladies were present'.

Remembering that it was only two years since Manchester had experienced acute class conflict during the height of Chartism, it is important to note that the speeches in the Free Trade Hall that evening exalted the goodwill of the wealthy in promoting the welfare of the working class. 'The richer part of our population has come nobly forward', declared one spokesperson, 'residents at a distance who consider themselves indebted to our town have paid, and are paying, the debt of gratitude to us'.²⁶

Yet not all the speeches were uncritical of middle-class efforts. James Leach, a factory operative and well known Chartist, took the platform announcing his desire that the employers 'go one step beyond parks and walks, and allow the people time to walk to them',²⁸ a sentiment which brought great applause. The creation of parks, Leach hoped, 'would inspire the working classes with a due sense of their own value and importance'.²⁹

The discourse of 'rational' recreation and self-improvement found expression at the working-class meeting but its meanings were often quite different to those articulated by middle-class reformers. Self-improvement could be advocated as a means by which the working class could better confront the injustices of the system. In another speech the point was made that if 'public parks would not give the working class their rights, they would assuredly make them physically and intellectually stronger and better able to struggle for them'.³⁰

Six months after the impressive public meetings of 1844, financial contributions from nearly 4,000 people had been received. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that 'contributions to the fund are of every possible amount from sixpence to £1,000; and the contributors comprise some of the poorest members of our working population, and some of the richest of our local gentry'.³¹ By March 1845, £30,198 had been raised. It was hailed as a triumph of civic pride and community harmony.

Three suitable sites were purchased early in 1845. The Lark Hill Estate and Walnes Meadows which comprised 32 acres situated near the Crescent in Salford (later named Peel Park after the Prime Minister); the 30 acre Hendham

Hall Estate adjoining the Cemetery in Harpurhey (which became known as Queens Park); and 31 acres of land owned by Lady Houghton in Bradford (later named Philips Park in honour of Mark Philips MP who played a pivotal role in the campaign for the parks). All three locations had a rural ambience, despite being in close proximity to some of the most popular working-class neighbourhoods. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, Peel Park was 'within three-quarters of a mile of the greater part of the dense population of Salford, - and that of the extreme South West portion of the township of Manchester'. Queen's Park was 'very advantageously and conveniently situated . . . being within a mile and a half of the whole of the northern parts of the town inhabited by the working classes'. Philips Park was located 'within a circle of a mile radius . . . [of] a population of at least 50,000, chiefly of the classes most needing the advantages afforded by a public park'.³²

Following the purchase of land, a competition for the design of Manchester parks was organised by the Committee, who made their requirements quite explicit.

*Each plot must have playgrounds, with due appropriation for archery grounds, quoits, skittles, and ball alleys; the utmost regard must be paid to giving ample room for the promenading of large numbers of persons... and the designers must keep before them the practical usefulness of the scheme, remembering that they are sketching a park for the people, to be constantly accessible, and not a private pleasure ground.*³³

The object of the Committee was to provide, in their own words, 'the greatest variety of rational recreations for the greatest possible number'.³⁴ Manchester's parks were envisaged as places for active sport and recreation and not simply ornate gardens or pleasure grounds for passive enjoyment. In this respect, they signified a transition from parks designed solely for promenading to parks which accommodated areas for playing sport.

The three public parks were ceremoniously opened to an eager public in August 1846. It was a day of community celebration, street parties and formal banquets. Philips and Queen's Parks were conveyed to Manchester Council and Peel Park to Salford Council 'for the free use and enjoyment of the inhabitants in perpetuity'.

Agencies of Control

Shortly after its opening, Charles Kenworthy, a local poet, penned the following lines about Queen's Park:

*Sweet rural walks! by nature framed, and art,
That to the peasant can a joy impart,
To the polite a pleasure more refin'd,
For all a charm congenial to the mind.
The wealthy merchant, here from 'change release'd,
In nature's scenes may share a richer feast.
The pent-up clerk now free and at his ease,
Wide ranging here, may drink the balmy breeze.
Here may the sage and cynic deign to smile,
The hand and artisan their cares beguile . . .
In these pure walks, remote from paths of vice,
Old age may moralise, and youth rejoice,
The rich forbear to frown, the poor to sigh,
And all unite in one unbounded joy.*³⁵

As visitors stepped inside the imposing park gates, they entered upon a new terrain, a terrain which seemed to offer infinite possibilities of pleasure and discovery. The park was literally and symbolically an oasis of green open space

in a predominantly smoky, noisy and over-crowded environment. Its playgrounds, promenades and vistas seemed to beckon those outside its boundaries, promising a novel and enchanting way to occupy one's free time. But once inside the entrance gates, was the park the non-exclusive and 'free' space it had promised to be? Were the 'pent-up clerks' and artisans of Kenworthy's poem at liberty to enjoy the surroundings and partake of their favourite pastimes?

As visitors entered a world of flowering annuals, gracious oaks and carefully manicured grass lawns, it was not always the beauty of the park surroundings that first captured their attention but the prolific display of strategically placed gilded, cast-iron notice boards. Visitors were informed not to bring dogs; that no gambling was permitted, nor the use of improper language; and anyone in a state of intoxication would be prevented from entering the park. In Peel Park one regulation stipulated that the park employees reserved the right to 'exclude Persons who shall not be clean in their Persons, and dressed in clean and decent Apparel'. In short, visitors were told what was permissible, how, where, when and even for how long.

The formulation and enforcement of park regulations engendered an elaborate hierarchy of control and authority which mirrored social and political hierarchies in the wider community. At the summit sat the municipal councils of Manchester and Salford to whom control of the parks had been transferred in August 1846. The council embodied the hopes, aspirations and values of the middle class, who had come to dominate local government after incorporation in Manchester in 1838 and Salford in 1844.

Municipal control of public parks had tremendous significance, primarily because it ensured that middle-class codes of social conduct would be promoted. The benefits of municipal administration were clearly articulated by French ex-patriot, Leon Faucher, who contended that 'it is manifestly better for the public, that the pursuits of the masses should be influenced and guided by a respectable body, like the Corporation, who would secure order and decency in the general arrangements.'³⁶ The parks were to remain under the control of the Corporation for the enjoyment of the people in perpetuity. Such an arrangement was a unique and important one. As Hazel Conway argues, 'only in the case of municipal parks, where the land is owned by the town, is the unalienable right of the public to use the land for recreation secure'.³⁷

On accepting responsibility for the parks, each Corporation promptly appointed a Public Parks Committee. Although answerable to the Council, the Public Parks Committee wielded the greatest power and authority over the day-to-day running of the parks. The Manchester Committee was to preside over Queen's and Philips Parks; Peel Park falling under the jurisdiction of the Salford Public Parks Committee. Both the composition of the Public Parks Committees and the powers vested in them highlight the importance of the public parks in the early decades of their administration. Manchester's seven-member committee included such influential figures as W.B. Watkins, Alexander Kay, James Kershaw and Archibald Prentice.³⁸ In Salford, so great was the desire to be a member of the new committee, that twenty-six of the thirty-two member council joined it. Each Council conferred on the committees powers of 'control and management of the several public parks, and the officers and servants to be employed in connection therewith'.³⁹ Furthermore, the committees were vested with 'full power

and authority to do all which may be immediately necessary for their proper care and maintenance'.⁴⁰ Before long the Public Parks Committees imposed their command over those in their employ who, in turn, impressed their authority on those who frequented the parks. A complex hierarchy of control was constructed and activated.

Following a recommendation in September 1846 by Dr. F. C. Goodwin, park superintendent, both Public Parks Committees decided to employ four men at each of the parks. The differing levels of responsibility and rates of pay amongst park employees produced yet another tier in the hierarchy of power and control.

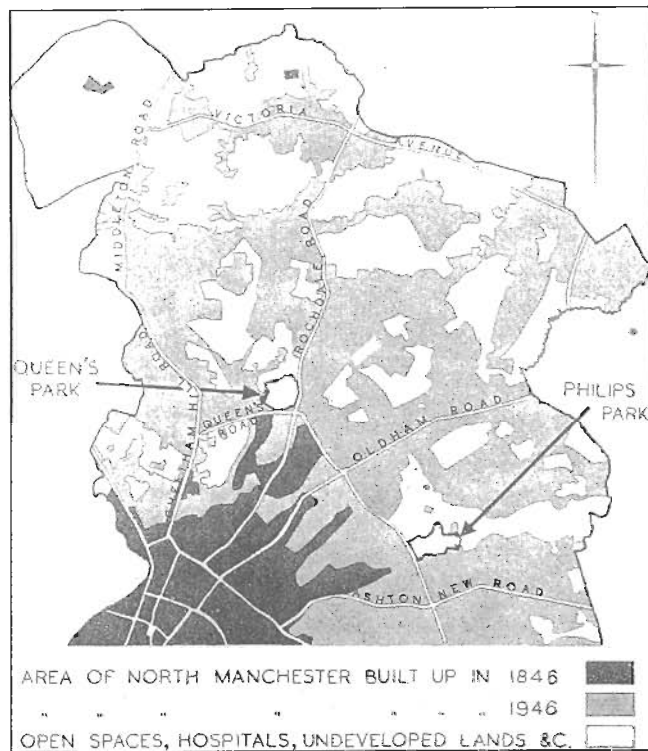
Principal among the employees was the park keeper, residing rent free in the park lodge and possessing 'entire control of the other men . . . at a salary of twenty-five shillings per week'.⁴¹ There were three other park employees: the lodge keeper, who received eighteen shillings a week and lived rent free in the second lodge; and two gardeners (extra gardeners and labourers were employed as needed) who were responsible for park maintenance and the general protection of property, and were also paid eighteen shillings a week.

A great deal of responsibility was bestowed upon the park keeper but he was rarely allowed to forget his subservient position in relation to the Public Parks Committee. In early 1847, it was decided by the committee that each park keeper was to record in a book the 'daily occupation of the men employed on the parks'⁴² and any occurrence which demanded the committee's attention. Recording such information served a dual purpose: it kept the park employees under close supervision and also ensured the park keeper's accountability to the committee.

Within the confines of the park, the park keeper retained control over his men, but this relationship was altered when the committees resolved that the 'servants of the parks should all be special constables'. From the park keeper to the lowest labourer, all were to be invested with powers to apprehend and fine anyone caught violating park regulations. On September 18, 1846 a 'nota bene' was attached to the park notice boards informing the public of the park employees' new status.⁴³ Sworn in by the Watch Committee and issued with distinguishing caps, badges and whistles, the park employees began the often frustrating and sometimes dangerous task of enforcing the interminable park rules. It was a job which sometimes brought them into as much conflict with the local police as with offending visitors.

In their desire to maintain tight control over public behaviour, the parks committees had requested that one or two policemen should always be in the parks to assist the park employees. This was considered particularly important on Saturday evenings and Sundays when visitors were attracted to the parks in large numbers, especially in summer. The aid of the police was generally welcomed by the park employees but there is evidence of friction and conflict. The relationship between the police patrolling the parks and the special constables seems to have been an ambiguous one. Once inside the park gates it was not always clear who had ultimate authority. Tensions developed between the two agencies of control.

It is not difficult to imagine the park employees taking a defensive stand over what they considered to be their territory. The park gates and fences demarcated boundaries of control; the park was their domain, under their jurisdiction. Some park employees undoubtedly resented



Map showing site of Queen's and Philips Parks, Manchester and built-up area 1846 and 1946.

what they perceived to be police interference in park maintenance and control. In 1861, James Wild, park keeper at Queen's Park, was fined ten shillings and issued with a month's notice to 'quit the service of the Committee'⁴⁴ for being drunk and assaulting a constable when on duty. But the most revealing altercation occurred at Queen's Park in August 1862. It is worth quoting at length.

Peter Kelly reports that . . . when on duty in the Queen's Park, he was obstructed and insulted during the performance of his duty by John Booker, Park Keeper, and Lawrence Dempsey, under gardener, both being drunk at the time. Mr Booker first commenced by ordering the PC off the grass, saying come off that grass you Kelly, you Irish rascal . . . The PC passed on taking no further notice of the affair until the bell rang for the clearing of the park, when the PC in company with James Smith, park labourer, proceeded to the men's playground for the purposes of clearing. Mr Booker again followed him calling out now Kelly do your work get them men out, you lazy Irishman. A visitor asked if Booker was the policeman's master to which he answered, yes, as much as I am that man's there, pointing to Dempsey. The PC answered not quite, you cannot make one drunk as you have made that man, the gentleman said yes policeman, he is drunk, report him. Several others also called out, he is drunk, lock him up policeman. Booker still continued following the PC making use of the most insulting and abusive language, until the gates were closed.⁴⁵

As well as his anti-Irish sentiment, the park keeper displayed an obvious contempt for the police officer on duty in 'his' park. Using ridicule and humiliation, Booker imposed his authority over the policemen, addressing him as he would one of his own labourers: 'now Kelly do your work'. The park keeper clearly defined the boundaries of control: the park was his domain. By attracting the attention of passers-by, who seemed to enjoy ridiculing the constable themselves,

Booker made clear to police officer and visitor alike who was in control within the park gates.

Interestingly, the incident provoked no disciplinary action on the part of the parks committee towards Booker, despite his alleged state of intoxication. However, six weeks later the committee requested that the Chief Constable remove the police officer from Queen's Park, his services no longer being required. Whether this was a dismissal in response to the above incident is difficult to say. Each summer the committee sought additional help from the police to preserve order in the parks. It is possible, therefore, that the above request was simply acknowledgement that the officer had completed his summer duties and his services were no longer required. However, there is no evidence that such a formal request for removal was commonly made by the committee. Perhaps the decision marked the committee's recognition that too many power-brokers disturb the peace.

Despite some friction within the multi-layered hierarchy of control, the park administrators were generally on good terms. The issue of greatest concern to the Council, committee, park keepers and police alike was the possibility of riotous and anti-social working class behaviour. The predominant impression from all official reports and minutes is the fear and expectation of disorder; rules and regulations had to be made explicit and unequivocal to 'civilise the masses'.

Whistles, Bells and Notice Boards

Today, notice boards in public parks tend to inform the public of little else other than the need to keep dogs on a leash and to refrain from golf practice. From our perspective, the profusion of park regulations displayed from every conceivable vantage point in Manchester's first public parks is especially revealing. Whilst the regulations were continually added to and updated, their basic feature remained the same: the encouragement of 'rational' forms of recreation and the preservation of middle-class codes of conduct and control.

This is not to suggest that park regulations were only directed at the working class; the middle class was defining a moral code for itself as well. Gambling and drinking were certainly not unknown in middle-class circles, and park regulations preventing such practices served to discipline the middle class as well and remind them of how the respectable should behave in public.

Soon after the opening of the parks, problems arose regarding the playgrounds and gymnasias which were provided in each of the three parks. Playing on the swings and gymnasium equipment was promoted as a healthy, 'rational' exercise for both males and females, but respectable society became concerned about the intermingling of the sexes in public. The fear seems to have been that the typically robust behaviour of the boys and young men could be physically and morally damaging to the delicate females and, somewhat paradoxically, that factory girls, in particular, might be capable of the grossest sexual impropriety. One self-proclaimed respectable rate-payer complained that factory girls often stood on the swings in couples, swinging in an indecent manner and attracting the improper attention of young men. A directive from the committee in September 1846 attempted to impose strict segregation of the sexes, declaring that no males be allowed to intrude upon the female playgrounds.⁴⁶ Soon after, notice boards were placed in and near the playgrounds stating the sex for whom they were appropriated.⁴⁷ But despite such attempts at segregation, numerous accounts

exist of youths and men persistently invading the female area; even fines as high as one shilling were little deterrent.

Restrictions beyond segregation of the sexes affected the use of the playground equipment. In April 1861, the Public Parks Committees ordered that notice boards be situated in the playgrounds of each park with the following instruction: 'No person to keep possession of any of the Swings etc. for more than ten minutes at any one time. The Park Keeper or Officer on duty will enforce this regulation if applied to.'⁴⁸ The instruction was probably designed to prevent boisterous and imposing young men, especially those who continued to enter the girls' playground, from dominating the area. But it is a measure which seems to reflect middle-class attitudes towards working people – they were deemed unfit or incapable of monitoring the use of the playground equipment themselves. Park regulations not only determined which 'rational' exercises could be enjoyed but for how long!

Sunday Recreation

Playing on the swings and gymnasium equipment was also restricted by the instruction that no games of any kind were permitted on the Sabbath. According to Hazel Conway, this was a restriction widely enforced in parks across the country.⁴⁹ In Manchester it was made clear from the outset that any infringement of this regulation would not be treated lightly. In fact, so seriously was the prohibition taken that in 1865 it was decided that 'chains and padlocks be obtained for preventing the swings etc. from being used on Sundays'.⁵⁰

Ironically, Sunday was the only complete day of leisure that working people had, yet it was the day when activities in the parks were circumscribed by religious concerns. Many 'respectable' citizens considered it appropriate to limit Sunday activity in the parks to leisurely promenading, particularly with the family. Such attitudes were disclosed in the same letter of complaint by the angry rate-payer mentioned earlier. He protested that large numbers of young people noisily assembled in the playgrounds and on the grass to play various games on Sundays and thereby annoy the 'peaceable visitors and rate payers who wish the parks to be kept for the only use for which they were intended on the Sundays viz: a promenade'.⁵¹

These restrictions were largely the product of Sabbatarian concerns and it was these same concerns that dominated debate in 1856 over Sunday musical performances. The debate was initiated by a substantial number of Manchester's most prominent men who petitioned the city's Public Parks Committee to consider the introduction on Sundays of 'appropriate musical performance in places of public resort'.⁵² Their belief that such entertainment constituted an ideal form of 'rational' recreation proved to be a controversial one.

Brass bands already performed in all three parks on occasional weekday and Saturday evenings, but Sabbatarians did not agree that musical performances were an appropriate form of 'rational' recreation on Sundays; church attendance not park attendance should be encouraged. The Sabbatarians had, however, missed the petitioners' point. Accepting the reality that only a minority of working people attended church, spending their time in bed or in the public house instead, the proponents of Sunday music hoped that the spectacle might attract working people away from such behaviour.

In the summer of 1856, the Council gave tentative endorsement to the proposal and the first Sunday

performance took place in Queen's and Philips Parks. During the afternoon performance almost 11,000 people flocked through the Queen's Park gates and 8,500 visitors entered Philips Park.⁵³ The inaugural concert was a huge success. The crowds were said to be appreciative, well behaved and there was a significant fall in the number of arrests for drunkenness. But despite its success, Sunday music in the parks was short-lived. Later in the year, the Council bowed to Sabbatarian pressure. Paradoxically, this concession to respectability hindered one of the main aims of the Public Parks Committees: to use the lure of 'rational' recreation to entice working people away from the public house, particularly on the Sabbath.

Political Meetings

The discourse of 'rational' recreation and the ideal of the public park also affected the committee's attitude to the holding of political meetings in the parks. Although the winning design for the parks had specified that a large playing field could provide adequate space for both sporting activities and public meetings, the park committees were loath to advocate such a practice. For Manchester's middle class, memories of hundreds of thousands of Chartists and striking workers demonstrating in the streets in 1842 were all too vivid. Initially, the committees did not prohibit public meetings in the parks. But the issue was neither dismissed nor ignored and one suspects that had political meetings taken place, the police and park keepers would have taken swift action to disperse the gathering.

In September 1846, discussion took place in Council ostensibly about religious preaching in the parks but in effect it was a debate about working-class political meetings. Their key speech was made by Councillor James Heywood:

Mr Councillor Heywood said that, with regard to field preaching being allowed in the parks, he thought that there were considerable objections to allow anything of the sort to go on in the parks (Hear). It would be born in mind that some years ago public preaching was allowed in St Ann's Square; and in as much as it was allowed to one class who professed a great deal of religion, another class who did not profess too much – (Hear) – came to preach there likewise. And the consequence was, that collisions took place every Sunday evening, opposite the Exchange . . . and those who were at the bottom of the scale would make a greater struggle in order to get their opinions diffused throughout society, than those who were at the top. If preaching were allowed in the parks, he had no doubt but that the Socialists and the other body who met in the market-place, would go and make the whole of the park a sort of debating ground.⁵⁴

Revealing his true fears and concerns, for which he received thunderous applause, Heywood continued:

If this sort of thing were allowed, there would be public meetings in the park; and supposing Fergus O'Connor were to come on a Sunday, how could they prevent him going to the park and getting up a discussion about the Charter; or could they prevent his giving out the song of 'Hurrah for the Charter'? He (Councillor Heywood) would say that such things ought not to be allowed.⁵⁵

Heywood's speech is a lucid illustration of middle-class anxieties about working class political gatherings. The implicit reference to the Chartists debating with the Owenite

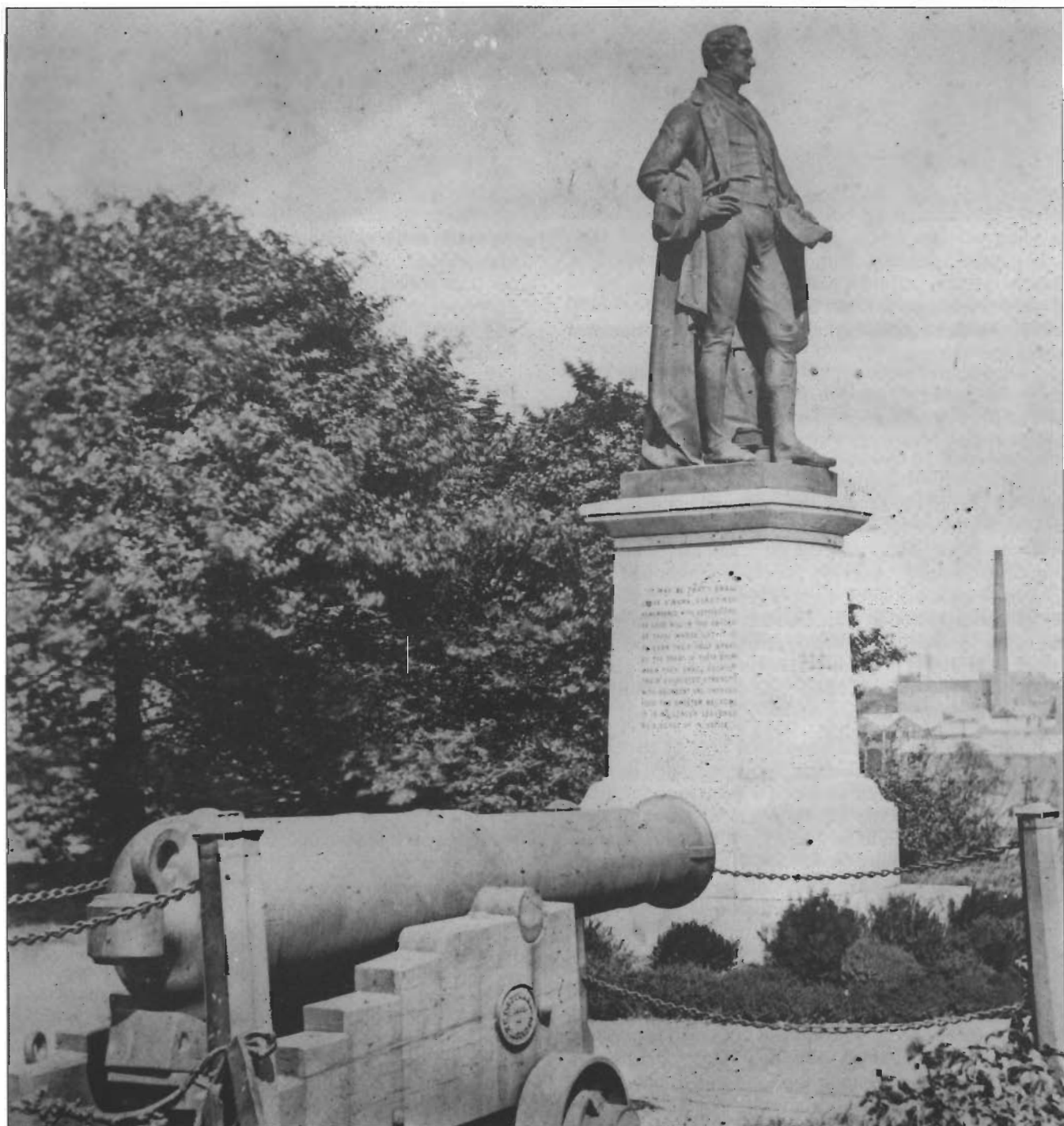
Socialists and the explicit mention of O'Connor exposes the middle class' enduring alarm at the potency of Chartism.

The disruption and division which political meetings might engender contradicted middle-class conceptions of the parks as places of class harmony. The parks were intended to transcend difference and division within the community, not to enhance them. Since the various methods of imposing order in the parks were at the same time attempts to create similitude, to alleviate class differentiation, it is not surprising that political meetings and religious proselytisation were not welcomed. But it was not until 1861 that a specific regulation was issued preventing political meetings or preaching in the parks.

Would the extent of control have necessarily surprised those most affected by park regulations? It is not likely.

Whilst working people may have resented restrictions and controls on their 'free' time, the extent of regulation probably came as no surprise to them. The imposition of bourgeois values, moral codes and conceptions of time were a common feature of everyday life. Temporal controls both within the parks and without are a case in point.

Every evening, commencing fifteen minutes prior to closing time, the park keeper and his employees would systematically survey the park, sounding a warning bell that visitors should act promptly and leave the park. The ritual signified that there was an appropriate time and place to engage in recreational activities. Visitors had to accustom themselves to the strict enforcement of park opening and closing hours, and to regulate their leisure time accordingly. They had to respond appropriately to the resounding tone of the bell which was strikingly reminiscent of the factory



Statue of Sir Robert Peel in Peel Park, Salford.

bell heralding the start and close of the work-day. In fact, temporal regulations in the park were not far removed from the time-discipline of the workplace.

Working people awoke each morning to the sound of the 'knocker-up' tapping on their bedroom window, a service which insured their punctual arrival at work. Once at work, they performed the customary clocking-in, a further reminder that time was money. Workers also learnt to respond appropriately to the factory whistle or bell whether it signified the commencement of a meal break or the end of the work-day. Temporal regulation in the parks was simply the extension of widespread temporal control in urban-industrial Manchester. The park bell served the same purpose as its workplace counterpart.

Permissible Pastimes

With so many restrictions on behaviour and activities in the parks, one may ask what was encouraged as 'rational' and permissible recreation? As I have already argued, the discourse of 'rational' recreation defined acceptable pastimes as those which promoted respectability and self-improvement and which encouraged familial and community harmony. 'What a delightful scene for contemplation', wrote a member of the first Public Parks Committee, 'is the group of the husband with his life's partner leaning on his arm, and his children prattling around'.⁵⁶ Promenading in the parks and contemplating the wonders of nature was probably considered the most 'respectable' pastime. But, as mentioned previously, Manchester and Salford's parks were envisaged as places of active recreation and not simply as places of peaceful retreat. All three parks included open areas for specified games and activities.

In the early decades of their existence, the public parks made provision for archery, shuttlecock, skittles and quoits, as well as games with a local association such as knurr and spell. In Queen's and Peel Parks, provision was also made for playing cricket.⁵⁷ Providing the above games were not played on Sunday, they were all encouraged as sensible forms of recreation. It is significant that games such as skittles, quoits and even pitch and toss, which had long been played by working people in streets and beer-gardens, were considered acceptable. Clearly, it was not the games as such that respectable society disapproved of, but rather the site of their enjoyment. As long as these games were played in the parks, on the appropriate playing field, in an environment which prohibited gambling and drinking, they were acceptable.

Equipment for the various games was kept by the tenant of the Refreshment House at each park and could be hired for one shilling. The fee would have been high for many working people but the activities for which equipment was necessary tended to be genteel and typically middle-class sports like archery, bowls and cricket. While some working people may have observed the 'respectable' at play, others undoubtedly devised their own games in the parks which often involved the disreputable aspects of pub and street life.⁵⁸

As discussed earlier, playgrounds and gymnasias were also included in Manchester's parks and were considered important for the healthy development of body and mind. The playgrounds included see-saws, circular and regular swings, gymnasium equipment and skipping alleys. The popularity of the playgrounds, even amongst adults, may reflect more than a working-class disposition towards such activities. Since the use of the playground equipment,

unlike equipment for other games, was free this may have added to its attraction.

In the 1850s, mazes were established in both Queen's and Philips Parks for the enjoyment of visitors. But within a decade they had to be removed because of the difficulties of upkeep. There is no indication of how popular they were with visitors, the main references being to problems of vandalism and damage.

In 1850, a Free Museum and Library were opened at Peel Park; these represented the epitome of 'rational' recreation. The museum's exquisite and curious artefacts enthralled inquisitive minds. In its first year it attracted 276,000 people with no significant damage or loss being reported.⁵⁹ It was not until 1864 that Manchester followed Salford's example and converted part of the Refreshment House in Queen's Park into a museum. It was also hugely popular. During Whit Week of 1864, the number of visitors passing through the museum doors totalled 25,616. The daily average reaching slightly more than 3,000.⁶⁰

In the mid-nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of eager visitors promenaded and played in the carefully maintained environment of Manchester's parks. The thrill of the new and exciting attracted young and old, male and female, worker, shopkeeper and industrialist. Those who came to Peel Park in Salford stood in awe of the dignitaries who were memorialised in marble and bronze in the imposing statue gallery in the park's foreground. By their very presence, the statues of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Sir Robert Peel, Joseph Brotherton and Richard Cobden seemed to encapsulate the values of respectability, industry and moral virtue. Together they stood guard over the masses and immortalised the moral code.

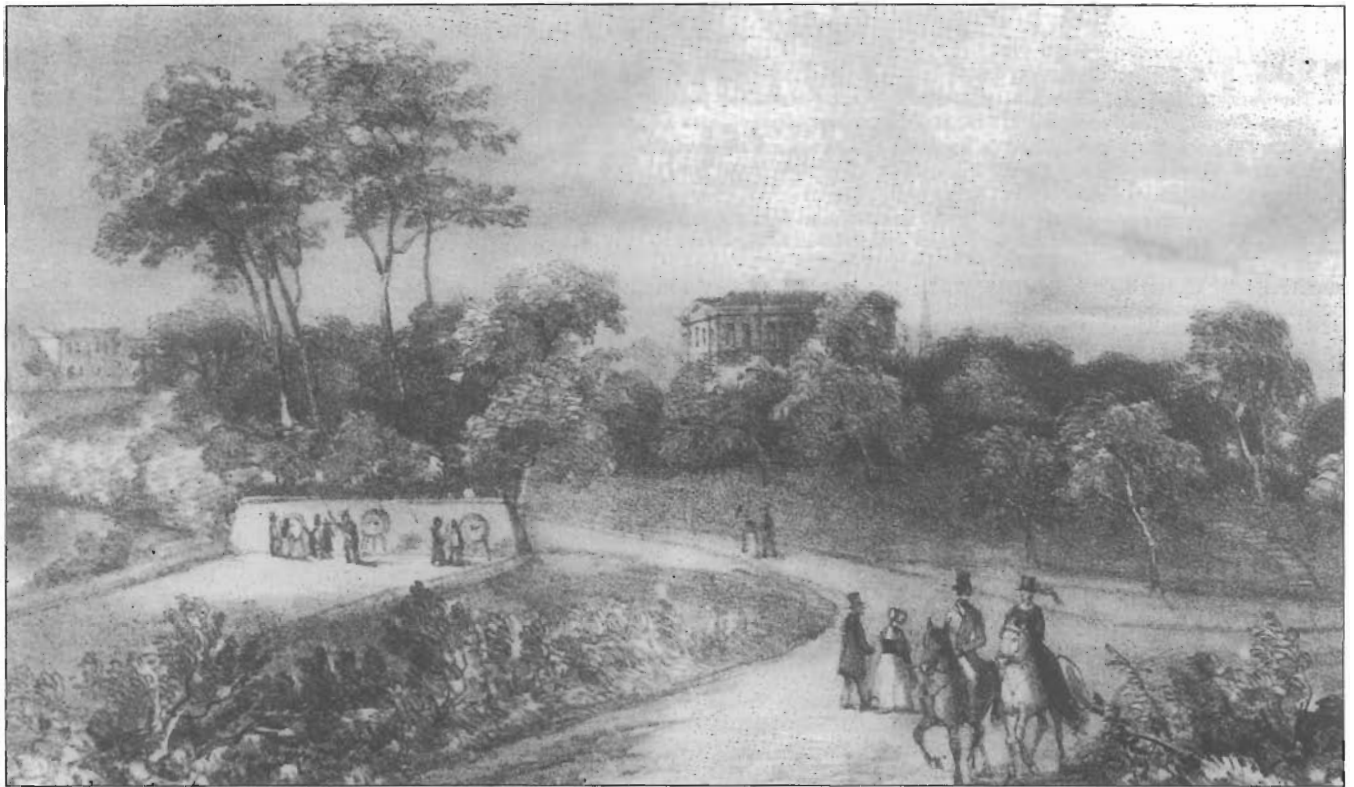
But not all those who visited the parks appreciated the ways in which middle-class codes of conduct dictated what was permissible, how, where and when, nor the fact that park employees (when sober!) were ever ready to enforce park regulations and apprehend offending parties. Many working people defied middle-class notions of respectability.

The Park Committee minutes include interminable reports of working-class men, women and children picking flowers, gambling, drinking, playing games on Sunday and disregarding closing hours. No doubt some of the offenders constituted the rough and possibly criminal element in Manchester and Salford, but others defied park regulations because they considered the park to be their domain in which they could do as they pleased.

Competing Meanings of Public Park

The standard discourse of 'rational' recreation equated virtuous behaviour with industriousness, respectability, and social peace. It followed, therefore, that the 'public' of the public park was defined within middle-class circles as a harmonious, respectable and self-improving community. It was a community which shared an affinity with nature and an enjoyment of healthful, peaceful, 'rational' exercise. But the dominant meaning of 'public' park did not enjoy complete hegemony.

Within the dominant discourse, public park and people's park were generally regarded as interchangeable terms. To the middle-class reformer, the *people* signified all members of the community and denoted the non-exclusive nature of the public park. The public park was seen as uniting different social elements in the ideals of civic community, respectability and civic pride. It was a concept



Archery Butts: an example of rational recreation in Manchester parks.

which provided the middle class with an important source of identity. But discursive systems are never monolithic, tensions exist which open a space for alternatives. The meaning of the *people* was itself contested and this opened the way for an alternative meaning of public park.

During the 1840s, working-class identity in Manchester increasingly embodied notions of class injustice and inequality; a language of difference and opposition was commonly articulated. In working-class circles, it was widely held that the *people* meant the *working people*, all those who were excluded from economic and political power. It was possible, therefore, for people's parks to mean workers' parks; to signify working-class communal property and working-class space. The 'public' of the public park could, therefore, assume a specifically working-class character in opposition to the dominant middle-class conception of a classless, harmonious public space. The parks were not necessarily seen as the ordered, respectable meeting place of the classes but as a place where the working class could do as they pleased.

Once a rival meaning of public park was articulated it could serve to legitimate working-class behaviour which subverted middle-class notions of respectability. In 1865, one park-keeper complained that young men and women 'resented being subjected to the restraints imposed upon them by the regulations for the good government of the parks as an act of oppression'.⁶¹ He attributed their hostility to the fact that a placard had been posted in the park soon after its opening stating that 'This Park was purchased by the People, was made for the People, and is given to the People for their protection'.⁶² It was not uncommon in carrying out park regulations that he and his assistants would be presented with this placard by the offending parties and told to mind their own business: 'their masters had entrusted the Park to the People and they were exceeding their duty by interfering with them'.⁶³

In 1881, the *Pendleton Reporter* recalled that in the early years Peel Park was constantly visited by those 'whose ideas of the 'liberty of the enjoyment of the parks' meant noisy and unruly conduct'. Some people believed that 'the park was the people's own to do what they liked with', and it took some time to effectually uproot the notion that they could legitimately do what they liked with their own'.⁶⁴

Sections of the working-class had articulated an alternative meaning of public park because it spoke to their particular experience of the world as the oppressed, as the *people*. Parks for the people could be considered an intrinsic right, something which society owed the working population. Once in place, the alternative meaning of public park could serve to legitimate behaviour in the parks and attitudes towards the officious park keeper and his regulations. But whatever the meanings attributed to Manchester's and Salford's first public parks, they were undeniably a source of great pride and enjoyment for the whole community.

Today, if we think about our public parks at all, it is probably simply as a place to walk the dog or go for a morning jog. But like the anonymous protestor and his/her cardboard plaque, historians can contribute to a greater appreciation of our built environment, its history and meanings. As I have argued, the discourse of 'rational' recreation which influenced the formation and function of parks tells us much about middle-class values and identity; and contending meanings of public park indicate that the middle-class ideal did not go unchallenged. The parks signified and ongoing contestation over public space: a battle of opposing interests, competing to define and accommodate themselves within the same urban environment. Public parks should be seen, therefore, not just as physical landscapes, but as social landscapes, the contours of which shaped and reflected class relations. Manchester and Salford's public parks were the first to be established in a major English industrial town; they have a heritage worth preserving.

NOTES

- 1 *Salford City Reporter*, 9 April 1987.
- 2 *Manchester Guardian*, 26 August 1846.
- 3 The Derby Arboretum, opened in 1840, was only open free to the public on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons.
- 4 *Select Committee on Public Walks* (1833), Parliamentary Papers, Irish University Press, XV.
- 5 Keith Thomas, 'Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society: Conference Paper', *Past and Present*, 29 (1964) p.53.
- 6 Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend* (Viking, New York, 1991) pp.110-11.
- 7 *Select Committee on Public Walks* (1833).
- 8 Susan Lasdun suggests that the term 'park' was not used because of its association with hitherto exclusive spaces; the royal and aristocratic parks. See *The English Park: Royal, Private and Public* (Andre Deutsch, 1991) p.150.
- 9 *Select Committee on Public Walks* (1833).
- 10 *Manchester Guardian*, 5 October 1833. The sites suggested to the Select Committee were: Kersal Moor (to be permanently kept open); the land within the bend of the Irwell, opposite the Crescent in Salford; a place near the Botanic Gardens, near Stretford Road; and one at, or near, Ordsall Clough and the Infantry Barracks in Salford.
- 11 Letter cited in *Manchester Guardian*, 14 September 1833.
- 12 S. Gunn, 'The Failure' of the Victorian Middle Class: A critique', in J. Wolff & J. Seed, *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988) p.32.
- 13 *Manchester Guardian*, 20 July 1844.
- 14 *Manchester Guardian*, 20 July, 1844.
- 15 Quoted in T. S. Ashton, *Economic and Social Investigations in Manchester, 1833-1933* (London, 1934) p.37.
- 16 *Manchester Guardian*, 17 July 1844.
- 17 *Manchester Guardian*, 10 August 1844.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Simon Gunn, *The Manchester Middle Class, 1850-1880*, Unpublished Ph.D, University of Manchester, 1992, p.160.
- 21 The members of this committee were: Alexander Kay (Mayor); Francis Egerton, MP; Mark Philips, MP; the Dean of Manchester; Benjamin Heywood; Thomas Potter; James Atherton; Richard Birley; Daniel Grant; Samuel Kay; Edward Loyd; Thomas Townsend; James Consterdine; Edward Watkin; George Barbour; Samuel Fletcher; James Harter; James Kershaw; Daniel Lee; Malcolm Ross; Rev Canon Wray; James Heywood; William Nield; Rev Canon Clifton; Joseph Heron.
- 22 Public Walks, Parks, Gardens and Playgrounds Committee, 'To the Inhabitants of Manchester and its Vicinity', 22 August 1844 in Malcolm Ross, *Scrapbook of Documents Relating to the Establishment of Manchester Parks, 1844-1846*.
- 23 *Manchester Times*, 27 July 1844.
- 24 Archibald Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester* (Frank Cass, London, 1970) p.289. Those involved in both this Society and the later campaign for Manchester's parks included Edward Loyd; Archibald Prentice; J.B. Wanklyn; Richard Potter.
- 25 'Public Meeting of the Working Classes of Manchester and Salford' in Malcolm Ross, *Scrapbook* . . .
- 26 Parks, Walks, Etc., 'Address to the Working Classes of Manchester and Salford', 10 September 1844 in Ross, *Scrapbook*.
- 27 *Manchester Times*, 14 September 1844.
- 28 *Manchester Guardian*, 11 September 1844.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Manchester Guardian*, 19 February 1845.
- 32 *Manchester Guardian*, 22 August 1846.
- 33 Cited in *The Builder*, 8 November 1845, p. 541.
- 34 Public Parks, Walks, Playgrounds, Etc., 'Memorandum, agreed upon unanimously at a meeting, 21 November 1844 in Ross, *Scrapbook* . . .
- 35 Extract from Charles Kenworthy's poem entitled 'Queen's Park', cited in John Evans, *Lancashire Authors and Orators*, Houlston and Stoneman (London, 1850) p.151.
- 36 Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (1844, reprinted Frank Cass and Co., London, 1969) p.55.
- 37 H. Conway, 'The Manchester/Salford Parks: Their Design and Development, *Journal of Garden History*, 5:3 (1985) p.231.
- 38 The other men who sat on the first Public Parks Committee were Alderman Burd and Councillors Shawcross and Stracy.
- 39 Proceedings of the Council, Borough of Manchester, 26 August 1846.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 11 September 1846.
- 42 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 5 February 1847.
- 43 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 18 September 1846.
- 44 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 13 December 1861.
- 45 'Police Report', *Draft Minutes and Letterbooks of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee, 1846-1897*, 30 August 1862.
- 46 'Park Regulations', Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 18 September 1846.
- 47 For evidence of this decision see: Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 27 November 1846.
- 48 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 19 April 1861.
- 49 H. Conway, *People's Parks: the Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991) p.200.
- 50 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 27 April 1865.
- 51 Draft Minutes and Letterbooks of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee, 10 April 1861.
- 52 Draft Minutes . . . , 12 June 1856. There were 75 names on the initial petition to the Public Parks Committee, including Thomas B. Potter, Richard Royle, J. E. Taylor, J. A. Turner, and J. Dugdale.
- 53 Draft Minutes . . . , 29 June 1856.
- 54 Reported in the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 26 September 1846.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 'Address to the Working Classes . . .'
- 57 For further details of the parks' design and amenities see Conway, *People's Parks* and Love and Barton, *A Few Pages About Manchester* (Manchester, 1849).
- 58 There are several references in the Minutes of the Public Parks Committee and the Philips Park Keeper's Day Book to groups of working people enjoying various forms of gambling in the parks.
- 59 Salford City Council Report, August 1851.
- 60 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 27 May 1864.
- 61 Minutes of the Public Parks Committee, 22 December 1865.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 *Pendleton Reporter*, 22 January 1881.