



Historic England

Building and Landscape

Conservation

History of Public Park Funding and Management (1820–2010)

Katy Layton-Jones, consultant



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History of Public Park Funding and Management (1820–2010)

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Front cover: The statue of Sir Robert Peel (1788–1950) in Bradford's Peel Park. Peel served twice as Prime Minister and twice as Home Secretary. There are several public parks named after him.

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FOREWORD

There are an estimated 27,000 public parks in Britain and 2.6 billion visits to parks each year. Many of these parks are of historic and cultural interest, and some 300 are registered as nationally important. For over a century, the vast majority of public parks have been provided and run by local authorities but these authorities have no statutory duty to fund or maintain public parks. The Heritage Lottery Fund's new *State of UK Public Parks* (September 2016)ⁱ highlights that "92 per cent of park managers report their maintenance budgets have reduced in the past three years and 95 per cent expect their funding will continue to reduce".

In July 2016 the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Select Committee announced an inquiry into public parks to examine concerns that public parks are under threat. The Select Committee is interested in:

- The impact of reductions in local authority budgets on parks
- What the administrative status of parks should be in light of declining local authority resources for non-statutory services
- How new and existing parks can best be supported
- What additional or alternative funding is available and what scope is there for local authorities to generate revenue from park users
- What the advantages and disadvantages are of other management models, such as privatisation, outsourcing or mutualisation.

Historic England commissioned Dr Katy Layton-Jones, a cultural historian and historical consultant, to provide an overview of past public park funding models, and their management. Her research findings show a long history of funding problems but also the important role of local authorities in developing, and often rescuing parks, and delivering public parks for all over 170 years.

We are now sharing this report as Historic England's contribution to the inquiry, as in looking for new solutions, we also need to understand why funding issues have arisen. The research report will also be of interest to local authority portfolio holders, parks teams, friends groups and urban historians.

Dr Layton-Jones findings and recommendations are her own rather than Historic England's, but they are corroborated by the evidence in our own National Heritage List. The research complements the Heritage Lottery Fund, Big Lottery Fund and Nesta *Rethinking Parks* work looking into new funding models, and also the recommendations in the Heritage Lottery Fund's new reportⁱⁱ.

We need to develop innovative solutions to secure the future of parks, but the critical issue is to resolve the status of public parks. Since Victorian times public parks have been dogged by the lack of statutory protection and status as essential infrastructure and service. In 2003 the House of Commons Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committeeⁱⁱⁱ recommended that local authorities should be given a new statutory duty, and 13 years later the pivotal role of local authorities and the need for on-going local authority leadership is highlighted in the Heritage Lottery Fund report. Dr Layton-Jones' report helps clarify the history.

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ⁱ <https://www.hlf.org.uk/state-uk-public-parks-2016>

ⁱⁱ <https://www.hlf.org.uk/state-uk-public-parks-2016>

ⁱⁱⁱ [www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmselect/cmodpm/673/673.pdf](http://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmselect/cmodpm/673/673.pdf)

SUMMARY

The Report

This report examines and contextualises the history of public park funding and park management between c.1820 and the Government's Comprehensive Spending Review in 2010. It uses case studies, interviews with, and statements from park professionals past and present, and historical evidence from a variety of sources, to demonstrate how various funding and management models have shaped the significance of these historic designed landscapes and their environments. In so doing, it represents a real opportunity to inform and shape the current debate on funding models and future heritage protection.

Part One: Scope and Purpose of the Review

In Part One the report explores the need for renewed consideration of the funding question in relation to public parks and urban green space. It provides a brief history of the origins of the funding crisis facing parks today, outlines the specific aims and objectives of the report, and introduces the people and organisations involved in the research and preparation of the findings. Discrete sections address successive policy directions of national government, the historical foundations of today's funding problems, and recent attempts to research and evaluate funding strategies.

Part Two: Historic Funding Models

Part Two uses case studies to present a summary of historical funding models that have been applied across the United Kingdom over the past 200 years. These are broadly categorised under the following headings: philanthropy (in the form of donation of real estate or cash sums), subscription, taxation, grants, loans, speculative development, endowment, and revenue creation within parks. Although not fully comprehensive, the case studies presented are representative of the many and diverse range of funding innovations tried and tested by successive management regimes.

Part Three: Management Models

Complementing Part Two, this section outlines the two most common management models employed over the lifetime of the nation's public parks: not-for-profit companies (including trusts) and local authority in-house management. In so doing, it charts the impact of policy changes at a local and national level upon the culture of parks provision and management.

Part Four: Summary of Findings

Part Four comprises a summary of findings of the research, including the potential advantages and dangers of resurrecting former funding regimes. The intention is not to make recommendations for any specific site, but rather to distil some of the most significant lessons to be found littered throughout the historical record. It is hoped that awareness of the past will ensure informed and mindful decision-making in the future.

References

The references listed here include only those works that pertain partially or wholly to the subject of parks funding. Where works published after the cut-off date of 2010 are listed, they incorporate material pertinent to the earlier period. The references are organised in nine sections: reports, pamphlets and guidance documents; articles and book chapters; books; unpublished research; unpublished interviews and correspondence with practitioners; local archives and council minutes; planning applications; newspapers; and websites.

Appendices

The appendices include a timeline of public park funding and management in England, notes on the author and contributors, a chronology of public park developments, and a list of the registered public parks and gardens.

CONTRIBUTORS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author, Dr Katy Layton-Jones, would like to thank the many individuals who advised and reviewed the report. In particular: Drew Bennellick (Heritage Lottery Fund), Dr Katherine Drayson (author of *Park Land 2013* and *Green Society 2014*), David Foster (The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes), Professor John R Gold (Oxford Brookes University), Steve Hardiman, Dr Stewart Harding and David Lambert (The Parks Agency), Professor Robert Lee, Dr Carole O'Reilly (University of Salford), Paul Rabbitts (public parks author and Watford Borough Council), Lydia Ragoonanan (Nesta), Jenifer White and Owain Lloyd-James (Historic England) and the Historic England Historic Parks and Gardens Panel.

Further information on the contributors is given in Appendix B.

DATE OF RESEARCH

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EDITING AND LAYOUT

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PART ONE: SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE REVIEW

The Funding Crisis

Public park funding in England is entering a crisis. Triggered to some extent by the 2008 global recession, it echoes the economic pressure on all public services. The programme of austerity that has shaped public policy and expenditure since 2010 has hit the non-statutory parks sector especially hard, and the loss of CABESpace after the 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review left parks without leadership (Drayson, 2013, 7). The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment [CABE] was the Government's advisor on architecture, urban design and public space). In 2013, the financial collapse of the charity GreenSpace, which had attempted to fill the vacuum left by CABESpace, came as no surprise to those who were aware of the funding problems and challenges facing park managers. However, to those who look further into the history of the nation's public green spaces, their creation and evolution, the origins of our current dilemma can be found throughout the sector's long history. From the lack of real Parliamentary action following the Select Committee on Public Walks in 1833, the housing crashes that undermined successive development schemes in the late 19th century, the material damage wrought by aerial bombing during the Second World War, to the race to the bottom prompted by Compulsory Competitive Tendering in the 1980s, it is perhaps a miracle that any of our public parks have survived at all. Although decades of successive legislation and policy initiatives have shaped green space provision, they have rarely been attended by the funds required to make positive changes (see Appendix A). For those seeking solutions, the past might then seem to hold few answers to our problems. Yet, there have been successes and periods of relative financial stability for specific sites and communities. Whatever their weaknesses, historical models have delivered us a large and diverse canon of green space, much of it dating back to the 1850s and 1860s. In many instances, Victorian public parks survived largely intact until the 1970s, which equates to over a century of sustainable management. If we are to depart from what has gone before, then we must do so advisedly. As we look to the future, it is essential that we take an honest and frank view of the past and when we do we may find within it both the origins of our predicament and its solution. We cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of our predecessors.

There is some resistance to engaging fully with the historical reality of our public parks; there is a tendency to romanticise the actions of 19th-century civic leaders and demonise the actions of their 20th-century successors. Numerous recent reports refer warmly to the founding of our earliest parks and the financial models employed in their creation. Philanthropy, subscription, and land donation are celebrated as evidence of the vision and generosity of previous generations (Drayson, 2014, 60–61). Yet, in reality, these were often strategies of last resort to which towns and cities turned when the anticipated parliamentary commitment to public green space failed to materialise. Furthermore, they ultimately failed. The popular mantra today is that the financial failure of public parks occurred during the late 20th century, under the watch of local authorities. However, as this report demonstrates, the foundations of the funding crisis we face today were laid down with the parks themselves. Revenues from associated housing developments barely extended beyond capital

investment, cash donations were similarly exhausted at the laying-out stage, and long-term budgetary planning was impossible. The power to raise rates locally to fund ongoing park maintenance arrived decades too late for many cities, while the lack of local authority statutory protection has resulted in over 170 years of economic vulnerability. It is therefore erroneous to conclude that the emerging crisis in funding our public green spaces is a consequence of depending exclusively on public taxation. Rather, we must concede that it represents a systemic failure of numerous funding models, many of them commercial and entrepreneurial, but all of them implemented in reaction to a lack of any long-term financial and political commitment to public park provision. Studying the various ways in which park providers have responded to social, political, and economic pressures over the past 170 years highlights the scale of the challenge facing us today and lays bare the reality that the success of any model is ultimately dependent on a continuous, consistent and guaranteed income stream – a quality that has proved as elusive in the private sector as in the public.

Scope and Limitations

The primary focus of this research is parks and gardens that are accessible to the public for free, whether funded entirely from the public purse or not. While other forms of green space, such as cemeteries, are not the focus of the project, attention has been paid to such sites where their management and funding has been handled in tandem with neighbouring parks or when an especially innovative or successful strategy has been employed in their protection and management. The geographical focus is England. However, pertinent examples from other countries have been included to illustrate strategies that have either not been adopted in the UK, or else where familiar strategies have resulted in notably different outcomes.

The report considers:

- Municipal and public parks in England
- Designated and non-designated public parks
- The historic designed landscape and its infrastructure
- The period *c.1820 to 2010*.

In exploring the relationship between the physical environment of parks (buildings, planting, layout, amenities and so on) and their funding and management models, the report considers:

- The roles of central and local government
- The historic roles of benefactors spanning philanthropy to self-interest such as dignitaries, reformists, landowners, entrepreneurs; speculative developers and businesses, and new developments (including Heritage Lottery Fund [HLF]/Big Lottery)
- The role of funding bodies, such as the HLF
- The historic role of the community, such as subscriptions and volunteers

- The history of the transfer of parks to local authority control and ownership
- Funding models for the establishment, landscaping and management (including income generation) of the new parks, and individual park features.

Aims and Objectives

The report seeks to achieve better public policy through an understanding of the history of public parks funding and management. The aims of the project are to:

- Provide a better understanding of the history of park funding and management models, and how they operated through time
- Explore the relationship, whether direct or indirect, between the physical environment of parks (buildings, planting, layout, amenities and so on) and their funding and management models
- Examine objectively the economic, social, conservation, and cultural risks associated with different funding and management regimes
- Provide briefing for the current debate of future funding models
- Advise on the heritage protection implications of past and future funding models for public parks and park features of special historic interest
- Inform the *Historic England Corporate Plan and Heritage 2020*.

Methodology

The research was achieved via a number of methods, which will draw upon the author's experience in both the academic and historic environment sectors. Local authority archives were consulted, as well as the wider historical record in the form of local and national newspapers, pamphlets, and reports. An extensive network of professional stakeholders and specialists was consulted, incorporating academics, heritage professionals, council officers (current and retired), managers of green spaces and public open spaces, and non-government organisations [NGOs].

Funding and Management: an Historical Dilemma for Modern Britain

... all efforts to escape from the grimness of the present into nostalgia for a still intact past, or into the anticipated oblivion of a better future, are vain.”
 (Arendt, *The Burden of Our Time*, 1951)

There is no ideal economic climate for a non-statutory local authority service such as public parks. In times of austerity, they are the first to be hit by falling budgets, while in times of economic growth and rising land values, they are vulnerable targets for developers of commercial or residential units. Without statutory protection, the risk of development hangs over sites, potentially deterring any large-scale investment in the landscape. Today, compounding these weaknesses is public suspicion that any

new approaches to funding and managing public parks will lack a commitment to the tenets of public ownership and access. If, as Jones and Wills contend, “the park landscape has commonly functioned as a paradigm of reaction against contemporary social problems, promising...a natural remedy to civic alienation” we should give careful consideration to what occurs when agencies of social alienation are perceived to be encroaching on the park itself (Jones and Wills, 2005, 173–4). As Gaffkin, Mceldowney, and Sterrett observe, in recent decades “the commercialisation and privatisation of social life has crowded out the communal public realm and promoted partitioned social space” (Gaffkin, Mceldowney and Sterret, 2010, 495). The question of funding parks sits at the very centre of an ideological conflict over Britain’s civil society.

Large public parks were created by the most commercially-minded of societies, during the golden age of British manufacturing, urbanisation, and a mercantile oligarchy. They were not situated within a bucolic idyll, but rather, were fabricated among factory chimneys and housing developments. Nevertheless, the great public parks of Britain were always ‘for’ the city, rather than ‘of’ the city. Parks were founded and funded in direct response to a realisation that wealth creation was merely one facet of a thriving modern society. Furthermore, the need for parks was identified as a direct consequence of commercial activity, and therefore the responsibility of those who benefitted most from the capitalist system (*Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 1 Nov 1844, 8 and *Bradford Observer*, 15 August 1844). In their earliest meetings on the subject, the wealthy men of Birmingham, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester expressed with great clarity and vehemence the necessity that these green spaces remain free of charge and accessible to all; that they should serve as philosophical as well as topographical antidotes to commerce and industry. Although some minor facilities within parks were used to raise revenue, such as cafés, boating lakes, and fishing ponds, there is little evidence to suggest that those who provided and managed the nation's public parks in the early years thought of them as commercial assets. Of course, some may argue that this has contributed to their vulnerability, but it has also guaranteed their survival. The inherent character of the public park as an alternative landscape, as a site of commercial neutrality within which the civic virtue of serving the common good is manifest, has been defended by successive generations. The principle of a landscape accessible to all has shaped as much as served British civic life. As an appeal made at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester in September 1844 demonstrates:

Every woman who finds her children's sport restricted to the smallness of her house, and their health deteriorated by continual habitation of crowded streets, and who loves her offspring and wishes them to live, should move herself, and induce her husband to move, in support of the establishment of *free public parks*. Above and before all, every person engaged in the improvement of the masses, physical, intellectual, or moral, should exert himself and work earnestly in this question; for the establishment of free parks will excite the mind in action, by supplying instructive and pleasing lessons in science; will moralise by the association of classes, and the generation of sympathy between them. Educators of youth should engage in this work; for free parks will supply them with free school rooms, full of ever-changing and beautiful apparatus.
(*Manchester Times*, 14 Sept 1844)

The great emphasis placed on serving the public interest as an intrinsic quality of parks and gardens has continued to the present day and the term ‘privatisation’ is one of the most divisive and inflammatory in the sector. Furthermore, as an issue it demands immediate attention. In June 2015, the BBC news website published a clear statement of concern by Councillor Julian Bell, chair of London Councils’ Transport and Environment Committee, who speculated that unless local authorities receive real financial help from national government, they will no longer be able to protect parks from acquisition by private companies. Bell argued that such companies could remove public access and reserve historically public spaces for use by their paying customers exclusively. The DCLG responded that “all councils should work in partnership with local communities to ensure they have access to excellent parks and green spaces” (BBC News, *London’s Parks*, 2015). Although some defend the government’s position as localist, others condemn it as passive and evasive.

The disconnection between grand narratives of access to greenspace and the financial implications of realising that principle was not born of the 2008 financial crisis. Despite the ambitions of Victorian civic worthies, in the UK’s post-industrial society the economic and social infrastructure of civic life has dissolved, leaving a legacy of socially and environmentally valuable green spaces, but without the political will or financial and technical superstructures to guarantee their survival. Since the 1970s, successive parliaments and local councils have been accused of renegeing on a long-standing contract between government and citizen to protect the commercial neutrality of public green space; the strategies for economic growth expounded by the current government do not indicate any reversal of this damaging perfidy. Successive cuts to funding have been incremental and parks officers have sought to absorb them, resulting in a slow death for parks departments and a lack of appreciation at both a local and a national level of the severity of the crisis.

Not all responsibility for the current predicament lies with politicians past and present, nor even within the sector itself. Academics, journalists, pundits, and campaigners have often over-simplified the debate, missed opportunities for progress, or declared prematurely that the danger has passed. In 2006, Patricia L. Garside, Research Professor at the European Studies Institute, University of Salford claimed that:

At the end of the 20th century, open space at local level had been democratised – it was no longer social elites, planners or municipal bodies who set the ‘green’ standard, but small groups with their own visions of conservation. London’s more pluralist politics enabled green activists to create their own environments. (Garside in Clark, 2006, 96)

Garside’s claims may also reflect the more recent privileging of ecological conservation over historic conservation in public parks. Either way, statements like this have led the sector to indulge in somewhat unwarranted self-congratulation. While some progress has been made at a local level by Transition Towns and Town Teams, these tend to be restricted to relatively small-scale schemes, such as street tree-planting and micro-allotments at train stations and schools. Any sustainable, sector-changing, long-term provision of funding to local groups is some way off. Suggesting that the parks problem has already been partially solved provides the public with false assurances and impedes essential progress.

To ensure the survival of green spaces in the absence of political consensus, there must be trust between stakeholders. This is particularly difficult to acquire in an age of cuts when reducing bottom line costs has dominated the civic debate. In a climate of budget reduction, the particular needs of parks can be lost within the wider funding crisis facing local authorities and a combination of political evasion and divestment has led to an ideological impasse that exacerbates the crisis facing the sector. The sense of being ignored or of being forced to compete for funding against nursing homes, schools or vulnerable adults has made the entire process of championing local green spaces a painful and divisive process for many. Yet, the alternatives may prove equally destructive. An unpopular funding model that is perceived to be imposed and/or serves private interests above those of the public could prove just as catastrophic for our parks and green spaces as a financially imprudent one. Any decision to build on existing parks should be difficult to view as politically-neutral in light of the ‘presumption in favour of sustainable development’ and green infrastructure in the *National Planning Policy Framework’s* [NPPF] although there are recent examples of rising public awareness of the vulnerability of public green space (<https://saveseftonparkmeadows.org/>) and ‘Parks serving 10 million across Britain at risk of being Bulldozed for development’, *Daily Express*, 3 November 2015). Although there is landscape protection through measures such as greenbelt land and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, the lack of an Act of Parliament to “enshrine in law the responsibility of stewardship for all greenspaces that are currently open to the public” (Dobson, 2012, recommendation 11), has meant that parks have always been vulnerable to development whether led by developers or local authorities. The ‘threat of redevelopment’ was identified in 1993 in Conway and Lambert’s seminal report *Public Prospects* which recommended that “local plans must recognise the historic interest of these sites, address their conservation, and pay due regard to public opinion, which is likely to be hostile to built development” (Conway and Lambert, 1993, 9–12 and 27).

The opportunity to register Assets of Community Value [ACV] introduced in the Localism Act 2011 affords communities the opportunity to ‘bid’ for the asset should it be sold. However, as Parliament’s own guidance explains, “The scheme does not give first refusal to the community group, unlike the equivalent scheme in Scotland; and it is not a community right to buy the asset, just to bid. This means that the local community bid may not be the successful one” (House of Commons Library, 2015). There is also Community Asset Transfer [CAT], a policy aimed at making use of redundant local authority held assets. As yet there seem to be few examples of ACVs and CATs for parks being taken forward by community groups. In an age of high land prices and pressure to develop, there is some justifiable scepticism regarding communities’ ability to outbid private developers.

This is not a problem unique to England. As Marjaana Niemi notes:

The role of the public in the planning and management of the urban environment has been a lasting concern of the planning systems in Northern European countries since the 1960s and 1970s. Politicians have subscribed – at least in principle – to the view that city-dwellers have the right to be informed and consulted and to express their opinions about matters that affect

their environment. Planning officials, for their part, have claimed to have taken account of the views and wishes of the inhabitants of cities. However, participatory endeavours have clearly not accomplished as much as had been hoped for. (Niemi in Clark, 2006, 206)

There is perhaps understandable resistance among some national agencies and charities to acknowledge the political nature of the public green space debate, but questions of ownership and funding can rarely be made ideologically or politically neutral. Whether acknowledged or not, for many people it is a park's fundamentally public nature and the common ownership of land in the midst of private real estate, as much as their aesthetic and horticultural appeal, that underpins their value. As David Lambert argues, "Parks are political – you either believe in the civic realm and its maintenance or you don't" (Lambert, 2010, 44). What is clear from the historical archive is that at their most successful and sustainable, public parks were integrated fully into the surrounding community, reflecting the precepts as well as the economics of civic life. If we are to honour our rich inheritance of public parks then new funding models, or even those adapted from historical precedents, must reflect these intrinsic principles.

The trust of the public, who may perceive themselves to be the *de facto* 'landowners' of the parks portfolio, is central to the success and progress of any funding strategy; social sustainability must be sought in tandem with financial sustainability. Those who live near, volunteer in, and patronise their local parks are vigilant and wary; they are also a park's greatest asset. If local people do not support a new funding model, then the future of that park will remain in jeopardy.

Government Policy Directions

The public has always been aware of the value of parks...Whether this extends to government and government agencies is another matter.
(Conway, 2009, 8)

Since their earliest creation, there has been no clear leadership from national government in terms of public green space provision. The Select Committee on Public Walks of 1833 is commonly identified as a pivotal moment in the provision of public green space in British cities. It was certainly a call to action, but the extent to which that call was heard in Westminster is debatable. In 1840 Parliament made a general fund of £10,000 available to assist local councils in providing parks. However, this meagre sum was woefully inadequate. Even discounting the cost of acquiring land, the laying out costs for a single park could easily amount to double that sum. If a city needed two or three parks, as was often the case, the financial needs of one city alone amounted to five times the sum that Parliament had made available for the entire country (Liverpool Parks Committee, 'Financial Report', 31 January 1872). Despite Robert Peel's high-profile promises, funding at a national level never materialised, and while central government has consistently championed public green spaces, it has left local authorities to fund their creation and maintenance.

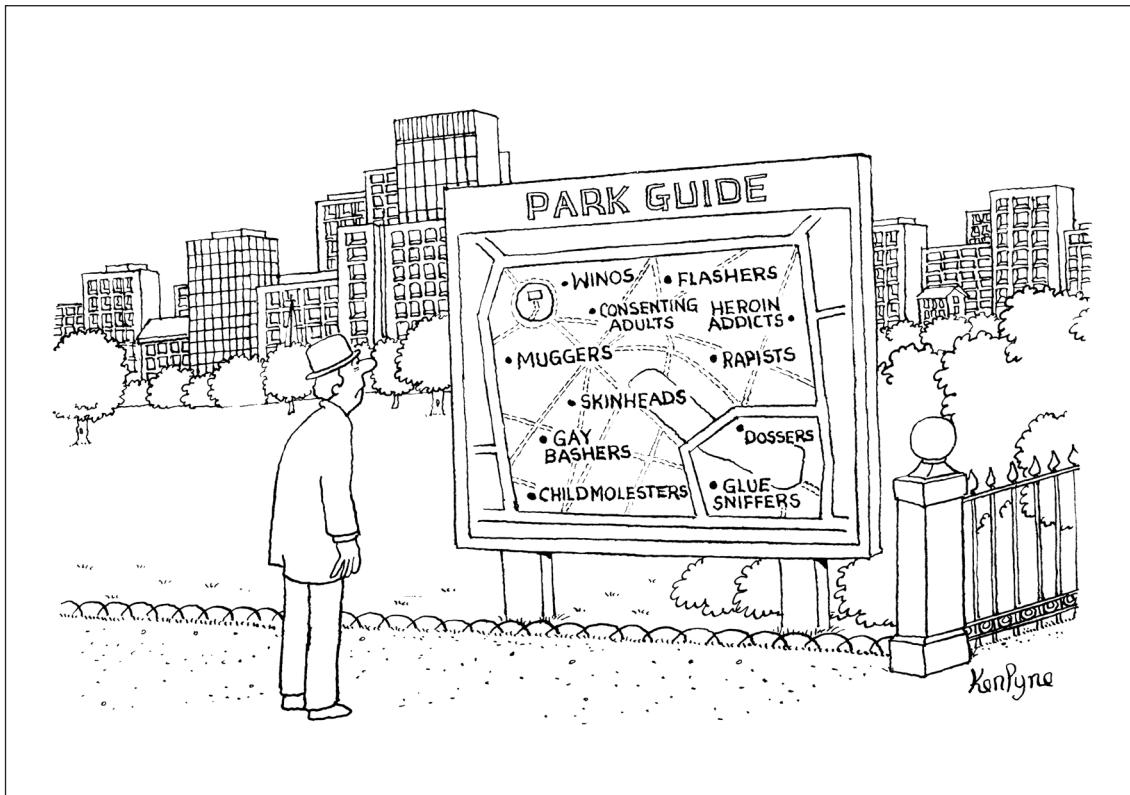
There was perhaps one brief period during which national government took some special interest in the nation's public parks. In the first half of the 20th century there were two interruptions to parks' status as sites of recreation. During the two World Wars, parks served both local and national interests by providing land for allotments and facilities such as shelters, anti-aircraft gun posts, and even army encampments. It is telling that it was during these two periods of conflict that national government demonstrated perhaps its greatest interest in park provision, with the War and Home Offices dictating what occurred in many large urban parks. However, the financial impact of wartime damage on parks was never quantified and for reasons of national security, minutes and memos relating to the impact of bombing on cities' parks remained confidential. It was not until after the war that a full appraisal could take place, by which time local authorities had again been left to manage their green spaces at a local level. Notwithstanding the challenges, those who worked in the sector recall "high levels of staffing, supported by infrastructure such as nurseries producing thousands of bedding plants" up until the 1980s (Anon, 2015).

For much of the 20th century, local authorities balanced their obligations and tax revenues with varying success. However, by the late 1970s the economic pressures of a post-industrial society led to parliamentary intervention in local government in a manner that was to make a significant impact on parks departments and the estates they managed. In 1967 the Maud Committee on the Management of Local Government identified problems in the way in which may council departments appeared to operate autonomously. An inspection of the accounts and minutes of numerous committees suggests this was actually not the case for parks departments. Nevertheless, the Bains report that was published in August 1972, and the Local Government Act of that year, sparked a period of ongoing reorganisation that has certainly impacted on the ability of local authorities to fund, manage, and improve their green spaces (see management strategies below). Many parks departments found themselves clustered with incompatible services. As Jef Smith noted shortly after the report was published:

What corporate management often means in practice is the amalgamation of highly disparate activities into a manageable number of directorates for purely administrative purposes. No one can pretend that schools, museums, parks and libraries, to quote one typical grouping, form anything like a single logical unit in terms of the staff employed or the issues presented.
(Smith, 1972, 34)

Where parks departments remained, they were increasingly placed under the banner of leisure services, which led to parks competing for resources with sports and leisure centres. National recognition of this fundamental change came in 1983 when the Institute of Parks and Recreation Administration changed its name to the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management [ILAM].

The roles and responsibilities of staff changed to reflect the radical repositioning of parks within the local authority portfolio. As Frazer Chapman has described it, what occurred was "the transformation of the parks superintendent from horticultural journeyman into business manager, and financial accountability rather than horticultural flair and innovation became the order of the day" (Chapman in Woudstra and Fieldhouse, 2002, 122).



Ken Pyne's 1984 cartoon illustrates public awareness about the poor state of public parks by the 1980s. © Punch Limited

Since the 1970s, acceleration in the pace of structural change within local authorities has created its own problems for the green space sector. However, alongside these new work practices there have also been moments of recognition of the broader significance of parks as agents of social, ecological, and cultural enrichment. The Government's 'Cleaner, Safer, Greener' initiative introduced in the mid-2000s asserted that "the standard of a local authority's management and upkeep of the green spaces in its care is a very public indicator of its broader performance" (CABESpace, 2004). Green space plans and strategies were championed to develop a more strategic approach and improve quality of management. HLF's State of the UK Public Parks research (2014) records that a number of park managers specifically highlighted the value of green space strategies as evidence of a corporate commitment to parks with one manager stating that "due to our Green Space Strategy being agreed, additional funding has been forthcoming from the council to improve our green spaces and parks. Over three-quarters of all councils have a strategy (134 out of 176, or 76.1 per cent) and over two-thirds are up-to-date (108 out of 160, or 67.5 per cent)" (HLF, 2014, 53). However, the pace of change at local authority level can make the implementation of green space strategies challenging. Mission statements and targets can be effective but only if supported by the funding and personnel required to meet them.

The Pursuit of Elusive Answers

Indeed it is safe to assert that there are now few persons who cavil at the expenditure necessary for the acquisition and maintenance of open spaces, because it has come to be universally realised. (Chubb, 1916, 186)

This is not the first report to have sought to address public parks funding. A number of significant studies addressing the past and future of funding and managing parks have been undertaken in recent years, including: *Paying for Parks* (2006), *Rethinking Parks* (2013), *State of UK Public Parks Renaissance to Risk* (2014), *Green Society* (2014); and *Places to Be* (2015), and Historic England's own *National Review of Research Priorities for Urban Parks, Designed Landscapes, and Open Spaces* (2014). Yet, the question of future funding for public green space is growing in urgency. HLF and Big Lottery invest £34 million in parks each year and they are concerned about sustainability. The lottery distributors collaborated with Nesta to explore new ways to use, manage and make the most of the UK's public parks with 11 teams across the country under the banner 'Rethinking Parks'. The report *Learning to Rethink Parks* was published in February 2016.



In his foreword to *Paying for Parks*, the then Chair of the Local Government Association, Lord Bruce-Lockhart, asserted that "using a variety of innovative and different models for funding green space can result in better use of public money, and greater community involvement" (CABESpace, 2006a, 3). While his statement was hardly radical, indeed it has become very conventional, there are two major flaws in its underlying premise. Firstly, there is an incorrect assumption that little innovation has occurred in the parks and green space sector over the past 170 years. As the funding models discussed in Part Two demonstrate, throughout their lifetime, parks have been the subject of intensive and varied innovation in the manner in which they have been managed and funded. Indeed the Nesta approach tests out old and new ideas. Continuity in the design and function of many public parks has led many observers to assume that funding models have remained equally unchanged. Despite strong evidence presented in successive reports about the direct and indirect social, economic, and health benefits of parks, and the diverse ways in which these have been realised historically, the belief in the need for yet more evidence of innovation and value continues.

This is a misconception that continues to plague the public park debate and which prevents the sector from drawing on the successes and failures of past innovations. The second flaw is that it assumes that the only challenge facing parks is the need to learn how to manage public money more efficiently, rather than acknowledging a fundamental shortfall in funding. This was perhaps excusable in a pre-austerity era, when the worst budget cuts appeared to be in the past. Nevertheless, as the historical record demonstrates, parks have baseline funding levels, beneath which even the most innovative and efficient management model cannot function. As Richard Payne, chair of the Streatham Common Cooperative [SCCoop] board of directors has asserted, “The cuts are a huge challenge for anyone running an open space. SCCoop has much lower overheads than a typical provider as we have a pool of volunteers to draw on, but even so the level of cuts that are planned will challenge us and it is hard to see how all services can be maintained” (*Future of London Parks at Risk*, www.londoncouncils.gov.uk, 19 June 2015).

Historically, successful innovations in funding models were those that delivered a net increase in funds, rather than simply shifting management responsibilities. Innovation is important, but it is also experimental and outcomes are unpredictable. As local authorities remain the funders of last resort, the cost of any failure falls almost exclusively on the tax payer. This is not merely an occasional occurrence in the history of British public parks, it is written into their very existence. In the early years, British parks were shaped by financial failure as much as by success, and the solution has repeatedly been their return to a local authority portfolio with an ever-diminishing budget. Innovations in funding public green space can be successful, but there are rarely risk-free, simple, cheap, or universally applicable. Success is often the result of geographically or historically specific conditions.

In 2006, CabeSpace published *Paying for Parks* (2006a) outlining eight broad models:

- Traditional local authority funding
- Multi-agency public sector funding
- Taxation initiatives
- Planning and development opportunities
- Bonds and commercial finance
- Income-generating opportunities
- Endowments
- Voluntary and community sector investment.

The report made no claim to be comprehensive and proposed only to consider the ‘main’ ways of funding urban green space. Notwithstanding these caveats, significant sector-changing sources of funding, such as the HLF and Big Lottery, were excluded. To ignore the role of lottery money is to deny the reality of park funding in Britain today. In addition to this key omission, there was a significant conceptual weakness in the decision to segregate interrelated funding models. In reality, a multi-modal approach is nearly always needed and this is corroborated in the new Learning to Rethink Parks report (Nesta, 2016).

One example of this over-simplification was the discussion of The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes. The report presented the trust as an example of the endowment model, without acknowledging that the success, indeed the survival of the trust, was dependent on continuing revenue creation that often took the form of many of the other models identified by the report. The report provided a similarly restrictive and potentially misleading definition of ‘traditional local authority funding’, asserting that “green space managed by local authorities is usually funded from the local authority’s general revenue budget” (CABESpace, 2006a, briefing). In reality, there is not, and has never been, a single ‘traditional’ model of local authority funding. While it is certainly true that throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries, local authorities managed parks as public assets within a wider model of civil society, the routes by which they acquired and funded the sites were various, changeable and often innovative. The public purse may have funded a great deal of day-to-day maintenance, but capital investment projects, shifting political priorities, and fluctuations in the nation’s economic prosperity, have always demanded flexibility and ingenious responses at a local authority level. Many local authorities have been entrepreneurial while maintaining the public status of parks. In fact, for much of their tenure as custodians of our public green spaces, local authorities have employed a diverse mix of the models identified by CABESpace.

In recent years the HLF *Parks for People* programme has continued that tradition and positively encouraged developing new income streams such as cafés to support funding of parks. Many of the ‘solutions’ attempted in the past were similar to those proposed today, such as privately-managed concessions within the park, special events, and the development of local authority sporting facilities requiring an entrance fee. Thus, rather than ‘alternatives’ to local authority management, many of the funding models identified by CABESpace, as well as a few omitted from that report, can be found throughout the history of public park provision. The next section explores these models and offers some examples of their historical implementation.



PART TWO: HISTORICAL FUNDING MODELS

I don't think there's anyone in government listening to any lessons the past might offer the present!

(David Lambert in consultation, 2015)

Many of the models identified as 'innovations' today have been employed in some form in the past. Some were successful, others less so. Although none have protected us from our current conundrum, they can teach us a great deal about the dynamics, motivations and pitfalls that characterise the creation and survival of our green spaces.

Philanthropy

The provision of public recreation grounds is not a mere question of ornamental philanthropy...it is also a vital question of social economy and efficiency.

(Metropolitan Public Garden, Boulevard, and Playground Association, 1883, 5–6).

Philanthropy can take different forms. This section discusses:

- Charitable donations and voluntary contributions
- Donation of land
- Transfer of parks

Charitable Donations/Voluntary Contributions

The reliance of early park creators on philanthropic donations is today celebrated and eulogised. It is certainly the case that many of the largest urban parks would not exist today were it not for the capital sums provided by local benefactors. Statues and fountains, as well as the names of the parks themselves, testify to the generosity of philanthropic donors (Conway, 1991, 117–120). Hickman Park, Wolverhampton (1911), Calthorpe Park, Birmingham (1857), Firth Park, Sheffield (1875), and the Vaughan-Yates memorial, Princes Park, Liverpool (1858) as well as bodies such as The Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association (1859) attest to the large sums donated by local 'worthies'. Some of the great success stories of recent years have also relied heavily on philanthropic donation. As the Central Park Conservancy in New York proclaims, "our work is founded on the belief that citizen leadership and private philanthropy are key to ensuring that the Park and its essential purpose endure" (www.centralparknyc.org). There is clearly a role to be played by philanthropic donation. However, Central Park enjoys one of the wealthiest constituencies in the world and benefits from "a long tradition of large-scale private donation, and tax breaks for such donations" (Lambert, 2014, 43). Such traditions did not necessarily evolve in other cities or countries. Charitable beneficence can also aggravate social inequalities as the giver can assert authority over the recipient (see Calthorpe Park case study below).

As Gareth Stedman Jones noted in *Outcast London*:

In nearly all societies, gifts however disinterested they may seem, are generally symbols of prestige. "To give", wrote Mauss, "is to show one's superiority." ...the gift generally serves as a method of social control. To give, from whatever motives, generally imposes an obligation upon the receiver. In order to receive one must behave in an acceptable manner, if only by expressing gratitude and humility.

(Stedman Jones, 1992, 151–2)

At a practical level, it is also important to acknowledge that sites which were funded primarily through charitable donation are no more protected from the financial crisis facing all public green spaces than any other park or garden. In fact, the historical record suggests that parks created by donations of either cash or land parcels may have suffered in the long-term as a direct result of their reliance upon unpredictable philanthropy.

The fact that cash donations (often in the form of one-off subscriptions; see clarification below) comprised the only means of establishing many parks, gives some indication of the enduring economic fragility of these assets in the absence of a national programme. In her discussion of the creation of Peel, Queen's, and Philips Parks in Manchester, Drayson notes correctly that both Philips and Peel themselves donated £1,000 towards the purchase of the land required. Public opinion at the time was equally impressed (*Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 21 Sept, 1844). However, the less edifying reality was that when Peel, in his role as Prime Minister, was approached by a deputation from Manchester for a contribution from Parliament, they were offered a mere £3,000 from the public purse. Having anticipated a far larger contribution in light of Peel's reputation as a champion of the parks movement, the small sum on offer threatened the viability of the entire scheme and forced a downscaling of the programme to which other donors had already subscribed.



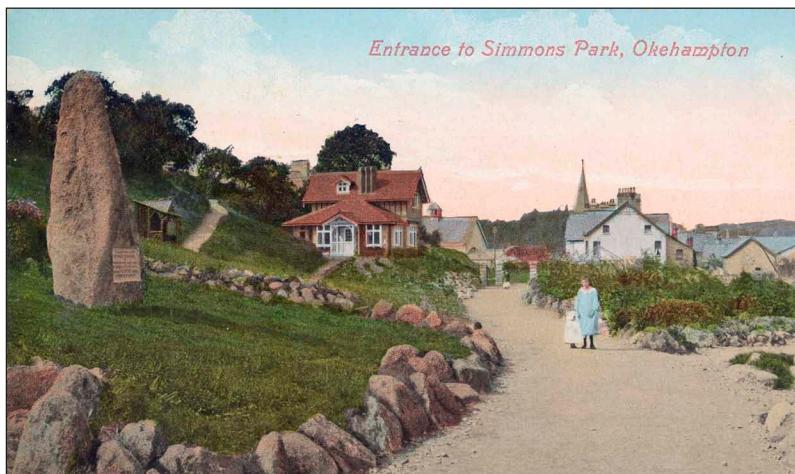
Peel Park was one of the three parks set up by the Manchester Committee for Public Walks, Gardens & Playgrounds. It was opened on 22 August 1846. The Robert Peel statue was paid for by public subscription following his unexpected death in 1850. The statue was taken down in 1954, and the Victoria Arch was demolished in 1937.
© Historic England Archive.

Notwithstanding this modification, the cost of the city's parks consistently exceed their income for decades to come (O'Reilly, 2009, appendix 7). In short, many of those who are celebrated for having donated sums to fund specific parks were MPs who chose not to exercise their political power to guarantee the long-term economic security of public parks through statutory protection or national grants. The celebrated political reformers of the 19th century all too often sought to reshape the urban landscape while resisting the new fiscal systems required to fund it. The motivations that underpinned this division between private conviction and political will demand our consideration as this disconnect implies a clear historical distinction between notions of public interest at a local and a national level.

The doubtful viability of philanthropic donation as a reliable and sustainable source for parks funding is demonstrated further by the fact that sums raised for the creation of parks were not set aside for their long-term maintenance. An examination of the figures raised reveals that this was often because, although substantial, the original funds were not large enough and simply could not stretch beyond initial laying-out costs. Despite large donations by aristocratic and mercantile individuals, fundraising events, powerful rhetoric, and strong local political will, wealthy industrial cities could rarely raise enough funds by philanthropy to secure the financial stability of their parks.

The exception was the Miners' Welfare parks funded by subscription from the miners themselves. However, with the decline of that industry in the 1970s and 1980s, the parks again were passed to local authorities who struggled to maintain them without any additional funding.

Thus, although there may be 'considerable capacity for private sector and civil society philanthropy to fund urban green space maintenance' in the future, the past gives us reasons for caution (Drayson, 2014, 61). The financial legacy of the so-called 'heroes' of the Victorian parks movement, was rather less impressive than their statues might lead us to believe.



Simmons Park in Okehampton (Devon) opened in 1907. The land was donated by locally born businessman Sydney Simmons. The new park included a picturesque riverside walk, amenities, and almshouses as specified by the donor. A charity donated further land increasing the park to four hectares. © Historic England Archive.

Manchester, 1844-5

Money, not mere speeches will be wanted.
(Manchester Times and Gazette, 3 Aug 1844)

In early summer 1844, in response to public statements in favour of public parks made by the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, the Town Council of Manchester began to propose a programme of new public parks, gardens, and playgrounds for its inhabitants. In 1844, the tax-raising powers of local government for the purposes of green space provision were relatively restricted. Nevertheless, they were greater than they had been prior to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, and were increasing year on year with the passing of myriad improvement acts. In order to fund an ambitious programme of park provision, official and unofficial town leaders launched a campaign of 'subscription' to raise a target sum of approximately £50,000 in pledges from local residents. On 8 August 1844, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall at which the campaign was launched officially. Their intention was to subsequently request additional funds from national government to ensure the full realisation of their scheme and to secure its financial future.

Resolved – That, considering the claims which this populous and important borough, the metropolis of the manufacturing district, has upon her Majesty's government, this meeting confidently anticipates, that, in addition to the voluntary contributions which it has now pledged itself to obtain...liberal aid will be received from the public funds already or hereafter to be voted by parliament for the promotion of such desirable objects.

(*Manchester Times and Gazette* 10 August 1844).

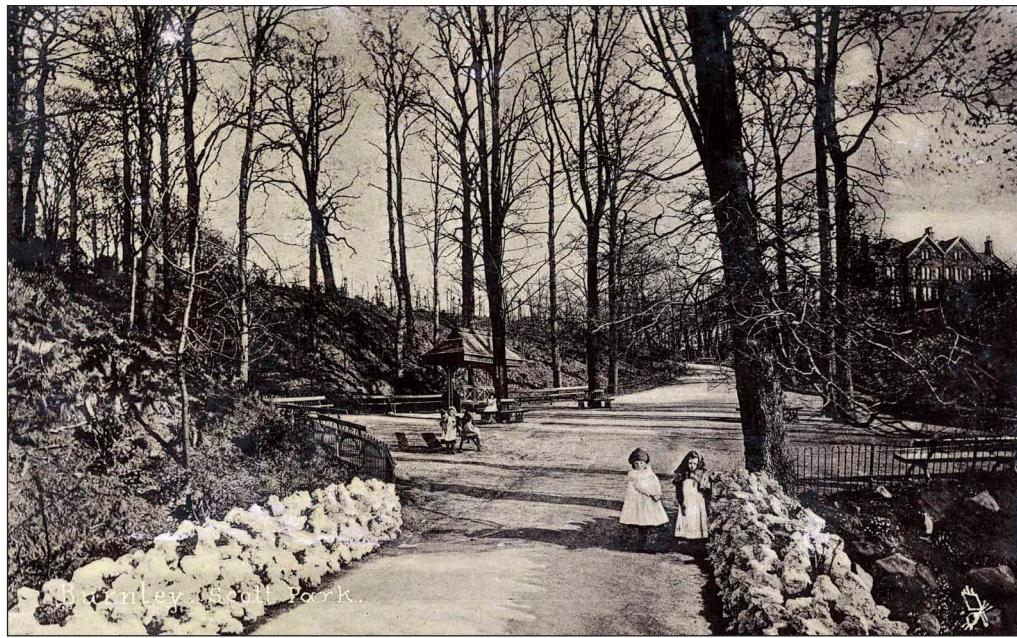
The primary subscribers were a cultural and political clique of factory owners and businessmen. Lists of donors appeared in the local press and were initially restricted to those of the 'employer class'. Large subscriptions ranged from £500 to £1,000. As one newspaper observed, "The rich and influential are asked to extend to the hard-handed and honest operative the boon of breathing fresh air, uncharged with dust and smoke...surely this will never be denied" (*Manchester Times and Gazette* 27 July 1844). Occasionally, a company would pledge a sum, such as the Phoenix Fire-Office, which subscribed £200 in September 1844. It is clear from published lists that the sums donated in the early weeks of the campaign were unaffordable to all, but the wealthiest inhabitants and by the 22 November, subscriptions totalled £27,301. In the following months, pledged donations slowed and charitable events took place to raise additional funds. In December, new lists of lower-level donors appeared in the press and it was claimed that subscriptions ranged from six pence upwards. The names of these more modest subscribers were listed by 'factory', suggesting that they were perhaps encouraged to donate by their employer.

By April 1845, the fund stood at just over £30,000. A deputation from Manchester travelled to London to meet the Prime Minister and petition for a portion of his promised national fund, of which £8,000 remained, to be granted to the town. In the event, the representatives were offered only £3,000 and Sir Robert Peel argued that “he could not ‘at present’, ask Parliament for a further grant” (*Manchester Times*, 12 April 1845). The sum offered to Manchester in 1845 was so small that the representatives initially refused to accept it as it fundamentally compromised the scheme. They did eventually accept the sum, but only having radically lowered their ambitions. The contribution made by Parliament to the Manchester parks scheme in 1845 was equal to the donations of only three significant subscribers. In total, the people of Manchester raised £32,470, 2s (Conway, 1991, 51). Consequently, from their creation, the extent and character of Manchester's public parks was defined by the inclinations and economic capacities of a small minority of the town's residents. Thus, even during the heyday of the British parks movement, with the Prime Minister as a champion, central government's commitment was weak.

All subscribed funds were spent on purchasing and landscaping parks. None was set aside for maintenance. It was not until August 1845 that questions about maintenance costs were first raised and, even then, discussions focused on the implications of residents from neighbouring towns using the park when maintenance costs were funded by Manchester rate payers.

Woolsorters' Gardens, Bradford, opened 1846

In Bradford in 1844, the same year that the Manchester men were seeking to raise funds for their own town's parks, the Amicable Society of Woolsorters took a lease on a small farm for the purposes of providing a garden for the working people of that town. The main intention was to create employment during an economic depression by creating a site for the cultivation of vegetables and sale of plants (West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service, 2007, 2). Wealthy locals were approached for donations, which ultimately totalled hundreds of pounds. The resulting landscape included ornamental pools and a Chinese pavilion and so mirrored quite explicitly many exclusive urban pleasure venues of the previous century, such as Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea (Conway, 1991, 54). Despite the generosity of the original donors, the waning popularity of the gardens led them to close in 1862 even before the lease had expired. The Woolsorters' Gardens is an example of subscription as ‘capital donation’ model where funds received are weighted towards the creation rather than long-term maintenance of a site.



In his will, John Hargreaves Scott, businessman and mayor of Burnley 1871–3, left the residue of his estate to be used for the purchase and laying out of a public park for the people of Burnley. The park was officially opened on 8th August 1895. A monument to Scott was unveiled in the park in 1898 and a bust added in 1899.
© Historic England Archive.



In 1892, Samuel Taylor offered 19 hectares to the Town Council of St Helens for use as a public park. The land, part of Taylor's Eccleston estate, included the main approach to Eccleston Hall and several pools. The town surveyor was responsible for laying out the new Taylor Park and it was opened in 1893.
© Historic England Archive.



Opened in 1930, Thompson Park in Burnley was created using money (a sum of £50,000) gifted in the will of James Witham Thompson for the Council to build a public park. The purchase of a site was approved in 1922 with the aim to provide "walks and sitting areas and high standards of horticulture, along with provision for more active leisure pursuits for visitors of all ages". © Historic England Archive.



Miss Ryland not only presented to the Corporation of Birmingham some 24 hectares of meadowland at Cannon Hill for use as a public park but also paid for the preparation and laying out of the park. Cannon Hill Park was opened in 1873. © Historic England Archive.

Donation of Land

There is a piece of proverbial wisdom to the effect that one should not look a gift horse in the mouth...The propriety, or otherwise, of acting upon this maxim depends a good deal on what the gift horse is like. If it is obviously only fit for the knacker's yard there need not be much delicacy about looking at its teeth...So with many of the gifts bestowed upon the ratepayers.

(*Liverpool Review* 29 May 1886, 10)

Contrary to popular belief, the majority of real estate currently comprising public parks across Britain was not donated by landowners, but rather was purchased by local authorities with monies loaned, donated, or raised via rates. In some instances, the sums paid were high, raising questions as to whether some landowners were exploiting the parks movement for personal gain. As a correspondent for *The Liverpool Review* reported during the proceedings of a Parliamentary committee in June 1890:

...the most interesting item in the evidence given by the city surveyor related to the gain which had come to Lord Sefton by the development of Sefton Park. The agricultural value of the land to Lord Sefton was £1350, but that fortunate nobleman received from the Liverpool Corporation the sum of £250,000.

(*Liberal Review*, 28 June 1890, 9)

Philanthropy was clearly not universal among 19th-century landowners. Nevertheless, the donation of land for the creation or extension of public parks did occur in a number of ways over the past 170 years. In some instances, it took the form of a 'discount' on the price of land sold to corporations. Upon purchasing the Walness Estate for a public park, the Manchester committee negotiated a price of £250 an acre, "but with a concession of £350 upon every 23 acres, as a subscription to the public parks" (*Manchester Times and Gazette*, 26 July 1845). The benefit was debatable however, as this increased the size of estate that the committee could afford to acquire, but did not provide any monies to landscape or maintain it. In other instances, entire tracts of land were donated as an unsolicited gift and/or a means of disposing of a profitless liability. Frequently, the donation of land had been unanticipated by a local authority, its sub-committees and park managers, and unaccompanied by the endowment necessary to secure its future. One striking example occurred in 1926 when Wythenshawe Hall and Grounds were bought by Lord and Lady Simon and gifted to the people of Manchester. The land parcel was vast, but not accompanied by any endowment for maintenance and the Council was in no position politically to refuse such a high-profile donation. Escalating the financial pressure on many local authorities was the level of additional investment required to make the land suitable for public use. This was a recurrent problem across the country as landowners saw an opportunity to off-load agriculturally inferior fields and ditches in the name of philanthropy. Drainage, paths, infilling, and fencing were often essential before any decorative landscaping could occur. Some resourceful councils filled ditches with 'road sweepings', combining the processes of park creation with landfill, but overall, the costs incurred by local authorities were high and unanticipated.

Calthorpe Park, Birmingham, 1857

In Birmingham in 1857, the Baths and Washhouses Committee received the following instruction from the Town Council:

That the Baths and Washhouses Committee be instructed to make immediate arrangements for receiving possession of the land in the Pershore Road appropriated by Lord Calthorpe as a place of public recreation for the inhabitants of this Borough and to make all preparations for the reception of such possession, as the importance of the occasion may seem to require and that the management and control thereof be entrusted to the said Committee, and that such Committee by styled the ‘Public Baths and Parks Committee’ with instructions to prepare and submit to this Council for approval a ‘Code of Bye Laws for the Regulation of such Park or Recreation Ground’.

(BCC1/AL/1/1/2, minute 1419).

Not only was the Committee only officially informed *after* the land had been accepted, but there is no record of any discussion in the Committee's minutes regarding either capital investment for landscaping the estate, nor reference to future maintenance costs. The lack of preparation is evident in the renaming of the Committee and the broadening of its remit to include parks in response to, rather than in anticipation of, the development of a parks portfolio in the town. There had been some indication that the Council would seek to provide parks, following the *Birmingham Parks Act* of 1854. In 1855, Charles Adderley MP had donated eight acres of land, (privately managed from 1855–64) setting a precedent for donating land for this purpose. Furthermore, Calthorpe had initially offered the land to the Council for lease at a price of £3 per acre per annum, but had been rejected on the grounds that the Council could not legally spend money on the land. However, this restriction on expenditure did not extend to money spent improving gifted land and, with the arrival of the Calthorpe Park, Birmingham Town Council itself became responsible for owning and managing a large public park.

The experience of the Birmingham Baths and Washhouses Committee demonstrates many of the problems of relying on donation of land as a means of providing green space. One of the first challenges encountered was less controversial in 1857 than it may prove today. Although the land was gifted to the Council in perpetuity, Lord Calthorpe continued to exercise influence over the design and use, not only of the park, but also of the surrounding streets. From initial receipt of the land onwards, the Committee minutes record the enduring influence of the donor and its sometimes negative impact upon the day-to-day financing and management of the park: “...this Committee are desirous of making arrangements for opening the Land to the Public in such manner as may be most in accordance with his Lordship’s wishes” (BCC1/AL/1/1/2, minute 1428).

Congruent with this intention, on 20 April 1857, Lord Calthorpe was forwarded a copy of the new by-laws for the park, which he was able to approve or amend. Some of his stipulations were to prove problematic in the long-term management of the park. The banning of horses and other livestock made it almost impossible to manage the grass in the park and denied the Committee the valuable grazing fees which would come to offset maintenance costs in other parks. Due to the severity of the problem, in 1858 sheep were turned into the park to graze and the Committee even introduced an innovative scheme for horses: "in order to check the too luxuriant growth of grass in Calthorpe Park the keeper be instructed to permit horses to be turned into the park at nights, to be taken out again every morning at 2/6 per week per horse" (BCC1/AL/1/1/2, minute 1836). Despite overruling their benefactor's wishes on a few points, the Committee generally acceded to the requests of Lord Calthorpe and his agent. In July 1858, Lord Calthorpe's agent wrote to the Committee again upon the completion of an adjoining road to enquire "when the entrance will be made into the park, to relieve Pershore Road of part of the throng going to and from the Park" (BCC1/AL/1/1/2, letter). The letter prompted an immediate resolution to construct a new gate and change the signage to redirect the crowds away from the more prestigious streets.

Another challenge faced by the Birmingham Committee was the condition of the land that had been gifted. In reality, Lord Calthorpe had donated a piece of undrained land that had become an open sewer. On 10 February 1857 the Town Council noted this problem and resolved that "the Public Works Committee be requested to proceed with the main sewer through the Recreation ground on the Pershore Road with the utmost possible dispatch inasmuch as the land will be unfit for the purpose to which it is devoted until the drainage is effected" (BCC1/AL/1/1/2). On 27 April 1857, the Committee resolved that the Borough Surveyor should be instructed to lay down a pipe drain in the open sewer in the park. Thus, the entire cost of draining the land and enclosing the sewer was borne by the Town Council. The borough surveyor was paid £25 to lay down a pipe drain and use the spoil to fill in holes in the parkland. There is no final cost given for that specific piece of work, but in October of that year, the Committee requested funds of up to £200 from the Town Council to cover expenses already incurred. This account excluded the benches and seats, new gates, ongoing planting costs, urinals, and the cost of hosting the opening ceremony. All the costs were unidentified or at least uncosted at the date of acquisition and were ultimately paid from the rates levied on the people of Birmingham. Had the land been chosen rather than gifted, they might surely have selected a less polluted plot.

Although there were clearly unbudgeted costs incurred by the Town Council in the case of Calthorpe Park, the public purse was able initially to meet the financial burden. There was no sense that the funding of parks would become unsustainable as, in 1873, the Council accepted another substantial piece of land, Cannon Hill Park, from Miss Ryland. In addition to the original gift, the donor purchased another six acres of neighbouring property to increase the extent. Whether this was agreed with the Council prior to the donation is not recorded. What it does reveal is that extent remained a perceived quality in terms of donated green space, even when the lack of financial endowment meant that the asset was likely to become a liability.

Transference of Existing Parks to Local Authorities

One of the most enduring myths about public parks is that they have always been in the hands of local authorities. This claim has been used as evidence by both sides of the privatisation debate, with those in favour of privatisation claiming that local authorities are responsible for creating an unsustainable model, and those against privatisation invoking historical precedent. In reality, although the vast majority of public parks in England have been in public hands for the greater part of their history and many were acquired or rescued by town councils years after they had been founded under other financial models. This is particularly the case for some of the earliest and most historically significant parks, many of which are listed on Historic England's *Register of Parks and Gardens*. Parks created as a hybrid public park/private garden and subsidised by the sale of private properties whose owners were granted special access to the latter, were among the earliest to be created and the first to fail.

In defence of those earlier models, many were only introduced as a last resort when the powers necessary to enable local authorities to pay for land and maintain it for public use were not yet granted or when a local authority had declined to support a scheme. These early parks were ambitious and progressive for their time and without them, the large programme of park creation that followed may never have been realised. Nevertheless, as a model, they failed. As cities expanded, previously wealthy neighbourhoods went into decline, revealing one of the important lessons for urban planners – that while wealth moves, parks stay put. In addition, rather than benefitting from tax revenues, as private companies, the trusts that ran these parks had to pay rates and taxes. By the end of the 19th century, foundering development companies and residents of formerly exclusive housing estates increasingly sought to offload their green spaces onto local councils. In most instances these 'gifts' came with no funds or endowments, their income having all but dried up decades earlier. Not only did local authorities rarely receive any cash sums along with these new financial liabilities, they also inherited the sites at a low ebb in their condition. This was often a direct consequence of demographic changes in the surrounding neighbourhood; the large detached villas that surrounded the parks were unaffordable for the new residents of the old suburbs of Toxteth in Liverpool or Didsbury in Manchester. Therefore, grand townhouses were subdivided into apartments and the rates afforded by their inhabitants never reached the high levels which their predecessors had paid towards park maintenance, either by way of subscription, donation, or property charges. Thus, local authorities were expected to improve and maintain derelict parks without the capital sums initially enjoyed by the companies that preceded them.

By the 1890s, successive legislation, such as the *Open Spaces Act* of 1887, had increased the rights of local authorities to raise the funds necessary to acquire and maintain land. This led to fewer private projects amid a growing expectation that local authorities would fund and manage parks. In such an environment, developers withdrew from park provision entirely, leaving local authorities with the combined burden of managing inherited sites and developing new parks simultaneously. By the end of the First World War, local authorities across the country found themselves obliged to receive a number of under-funded parks in various states of disrepair. In her substantial history of municipal parks, Hazel Conway identified 23 public parks which, by 1991, had passed into local authority control from private companies, trusts, and the royal estate (Conway, 1991, appendix C).

Princes Park, Liverpool, transferred to public ownership 1918

Some of the financial pressures on trusts and private companies charged with managing early parks, as well as the burden their transferal placed on local authorities, are laid out in a Memorandum to the Lord Mayor of Liverpool written by the ‘only surviving trustee of The Prince’s Park’, Henry Yates Thompson, in 1904. In that brief document, Yates Thompson noted that the town had already essentially purchased the park in advance in 1884, by buying, for the price of £11,000, the reversion clause that stipulated the property should revert to the donor’s heirs in 1918 (Yates Thompson, 1904). The Trustee’s desire to dispose of the park as early as 1904 demonstrates the financial burden it had become. That this was wholly unforeseen by the original donor and trust is made apparent in his account of the park’s financial history:

It is certain that when Mr. Yates set apart £1,150 per annum of chief-rents for the maintenance of the park he believed that he was making an ample provision, and so he was under the conditions then prevailing. For some years there was an annual surplus, and a fund of over £500 was accumulated. When, however, in 1871, I became one of the Trustees, we found that the great increase in the surrounding population, and the higher standard of park management, demanded considerable capital expenditure...The annual cost also, especially for watching, rates and taxes, etc, very much increased, with the result that the income of £1,150, originally ample, has now become inadequate...The result is that, from want of funds, the park is rapidly getting into a discreditable condition, and, unless additional income is somehow provided, it is clear that in 1918, when the Lord Mayor and Corporation will come into possession, they will find themselves the owners of a very dilapidated park, which will require considerable expenditure, if it is to be put in proper order.

(Yates Thompson, 1904, 2–3).

The Council entered into discussion with Yates Thompson and talks continued until 1909 when the Council ultimately withdrew their offer to acquire the park before 1918. Just one year later, in 1910, the desperation of Yates Thompson led the Council to instruct the Borough Surveyor to prepare estimates for annual maintenance costs. He estimated £1,500 per annum for the park and £314 per annum for the ‘footwalks’. However, he also identified £3,959 of expenditure for immediate and essential capital repair. In an unusual move, Yates Thompson offered £1,250 to the Council to take the park off his hands. However, in the event, the First World War intervened and the council did not take ownership of the site until it was forced to do so as stipulated by the agreement made in 1884.



Princes Park in Liverpool, Registered Grade II, was a speculative development later transferred to the City Council. Hazel Conway (1991) notes it was “designed for ‘a private individual, under restrictions, but probably not for general convenience’, so it would be more accurately termed a semi-public, rather than public park”.*

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During the 20th century, significant national and global events prompted the transfer of private land into public hands, perhaps most importantly, the Second World War and the creation of the welfare state. The consensus politics of post-war Britain were arguably the closest British society came during the 20th century to restoring the 19th-century axiom of an urban civil society. Despite acute financial concerns that prompted the Chancellor of the Exchequer to issue an edict in October 1955 that local authorities should draw a halt to all non-essential expenditure, in the months immediately preceding this instruction, councils had been seeking land for new public green spaces (BCC 1/BO/1/1/32). Even under financial pressure and demand for social housing, there was great resistance against making permanent the temporary arrangement under which prefabs had been erected on parks. Thus, with few exceptions, in post-war Britain land continued to pass from private hands into public ownership. Even in more recent years, this process has continued. In Bristol the Council was initially reluctant to take on Stoke Park from the developers that had built houses on part of the former health authority estate. In the end, the Council conceded. However, the case demonstrates the ultimate reliance on local authorities as the funder and provider of last resort (Anon, 2015c).

Subscription

The term ‘subscription’ creates much confusion and is frequently misused. This is due in part to its having been applied to a variety of funding models for both public and private projects from the 18th century onwards. It can mean to simply put one’s name to a document to acknowledge support for, or a personal legal or financial obligation to, a cause. In this sense an individual or institution may be said to subscribe to a park or garden as a cause without providing or holding a financial stake in its creation or survival. Conversely, it might refer to a donation made altruistically, often for a specific project (Conway, 1991, 141–63) or a regular fee paid in exchange for an ongoing service. Subscription existed in Britain as a means of funding gardens at least as early as the mid-17th century (Fawcett, 1967, 382 and Corfield, 2008, 3). The model grew in popularity in the 18th century when the increasing size and influence of the urban middle class prompted demand for more civic and cultural services. With bank loans difficult to acquire and wealth diffused across the middle ranks of the population, subscription offered entrepreneurs a new way to raise capital, and speculators a way to invest modest sums. If the proposal succeeded then ‘subscribers’ held a stake in the business, making them *de facto* shareholders. In some instances, the earliest subscriptions were in the form of a tontine (an investment plan for raising capital), through which the entire asset eventually devolved to the last surviving investor. Subscription provided a means of supporting the founding and survival of a range of urban facilities, including private libraries, clubs, and gardens and often for charitable purposes. As the 19th century progressed, the term ‘subscription’ was used broadly and inclusively to refer to anything from vocal support to a substantial financial donation. It is important therefore, to exercise caution when using the term. As many types of ‘subscription’ fit within other, more specific categories of funding, the term is used here exclusively in reference to the regular payment of fee in return for an ongoing service.



In 1821, Nathaniel Hodson established a botanical garden in the centre of Bury St Edmunds financed by subscribers. By the end of the 19th century the Abbey Grounds were opened to the public, but at a high entrance fee. Following a public campaign, in 1912 the Borough leased the gardens and opened them as a public park. In 1953 the Borough bought the Gardens and also took on management of the Abbey ruins.
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Marylebone Gardens, 1650–1778 and Vauxhall (Spring) Gardens, c.1660–1859

Originally a series of walks, accessible free of charge, London's famous pleasure gardens gradually introduced a sliding scale of daily charges and annual subscriptions. An entrance fee of 6d was introduced to Marylebone Gardens in 1738, but 12 shilling bought a season ticket for two. A silver season ticket cost half a guinea. At Vauxhall, as many as a thousand season tickets were issued each season between 1737 and 1760 by the manager, Jonathan Tyers. Holders of those tickets ranged from aristocrats to booksellers and tavern landlords. However, the social diversity of subscribers can be misleading as it reflects the role of pleasure gardens as sites of professional networking, rather than their aesthetic or environmental character. For a permanent resident of the city, subscription was an economical means of accessing an important business and social network, as on-the-door entrance cost a shilling a time (the equivalent of between £12 and £15 today). Both Marylebone and Vauxhall Gardens depended upon being perceived as 'fashionable' because, as commercial sites, their survival was secured only so long as they remained more profitable than alternative commercial uses for the same land. Consequently, fees were often introduced specifically to increase social exclusivity and possession of a season ticket remained beyond the reach of the labouring poor or unemployed. When their value as potential building plots exceeded their commercial value as pleasure gardens, they were sold. Both sites were redeveloped following their closure (Conlin, 2006, 718).

Subscription fees can go some way to ensuring the medium-term financial security of sites beyond the initial laying out costs. However, history presents a mixed picture of the long-term implications of relying on annual renewals.

A number of contemporary organisations and historic gardens run modern subscription schemes including English Heritage, the National Trust, and Historic Royal Palaces. Today, such schemes are more commonly termed 'memberships', but they continue to operate on an annual subscription basis. As in the 18th century, subscription fees are expensive for many. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation's (JRF) *A Minimum Income Standard for the UK* (MIS) asserts that in Britain in 2015, single people need to earn at least £17,100 a year before tax to achieve a MIS. Couples with two children need to earn at least £20,000 each. The MIS takes into account, 'what you need in order to have the opportunities and choices necessary to participate in society' and, as such, should potentially cover the cost of accessing and engaging with parks and green heritage (Hirsch for JRF, 2015, 8). However, even when the income level calculated by the Foundation is achieved, earners on such low, pre-tax incomes can find admission charges and annual family subscription fees such as £88/year unaffordable. In addition, as membership is typically renewed annually and paid from a household's disposable income, subscriptions can decline during periods of economic recession. Thus, although the subscription model can aid mid-term planning on an annual basis, it does not guarantee long-term financial stability.

People's Garden Company, Willesden Junction, 1871-5

In 1870, a notice appeared in the weekly trade-union newspaper, *The Bee-Hive*, advertising the prospectus of the new People's Garden Company [PGC]. The garden opened a year later in 1871. As the co-operative principle of the newspaper suggests, the PGC was a mutual, which sought to secure 'for its shareholders and members land to be laid out as gardens and recreation grounds' (*Bee-Hive*, 3 September 1870). The grounds identified were at Old Oak Common, Willesden Junction, and some way from the centre of London. Still, the location of the PGC site in the capital is telling as, by 1871, large free parks had already been created across most regional towns and cities. Despite, or perhaps because of, the healthy provision of historic green spaces in central London in the form of Royal Parks, the sprawling suburbs of the capital suffered from a paucity of green space much longer than their provincial counterparts. Also suggestive is the relative shortage of local benefactors of the kind found in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham, to donate land and funds. This was a reflection of the social and political character of London, as the city's role as a national capital often occluded local, civic interests. Consequently, although conceived as a means of improving working-class access to green space, the company relied upon small investors, annual subscribers (members), and entrance fees from non-members, paid on the door. Shares were issued at £1 each with the explicit intention of enabling working men to become shareholders. To further encourage working-class investors, the sum could be paid in monthly instalments of 1s 9d. Annual membership was cheaper at the price of half-a-crown per annum. Nevertheless, despite the co-operative 'club' principle, attendance seems to have been dominated by the middle classes, as evidenced by the nature of the entertainments. An illustration titled 'A game of croquet at the Willesden People's Garden Club' that appeared in *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times* on 20 June 1874, testifies to the relative affluence of many members. This group were clearly not numerous enough in north London as, only a year later in December 1875, the company was liquidated. The short life-span of the company may have reflected the changing social make-up of the area as wealthier residents fled the sprawling city to new suburbs to the north and west. This was, and remains, a common challenge for all green spaces that rely upon a prosperous local population for patronage, entrance fees, and/or rate revenues.

Taxation

We understand that Sir Robert Peel has expressed his readiness to obtain from Government a sum of money in aid of such a design...Unquestionably, for no purpose could a portion of the national funds be more appropriately applied than in providing for the health and recreation of the community.

(*Manchester Times and Gazette*, 15 June 1844).

Taxation has been the most enduring means of funding public green spaces in Britain. However, in the early years of park provision it was far from an undisputed principle. Despite the optimism displayed by the Manchester men in 1844, and many like them across the country in the decades that followed, the British government has historically resisted calls to ring-fence funds from centrally collected taxation for the purposes of public green space. The exception is, arguably, national parks, the first of which were created in 1951. Since the *Environment Act* of 1995, National Park Authorities have been independent public bodies funded from central government. They also get some money from other sources such as the European Union and generate some income themselves however, the National Parks face their own financial and management challenges, and very different land management responsibilities. In addition, National Parks comprise natural landscapes, forests, and agricultural land, which places them in a qualitatively different category from public urban parks and designed landscapes.

The principal means through which national tax revenues have been channelled into public parks is via the funding of local government. The contraction of this funding stream from the 1970s onwards has left local authorities with few options but to draw more heavily from local tax revenues. Using local taxation to fund public parks was not welcomed universally in the 19th century. Between the 1840s and 1880s, debates were held in council chambers across Britain to consider arguments for and against funding green space through local rates. The advantages identified were the same as those appreciated today, such as equality of access, sustainability, and the civil contract between rate payers and government. Those who opposed taxation were frequently concerned that it was unjust to impose an entirely new financial burden on rate payers. In a meeting of the Tradesman's Association of Wolverhampton in May 1875, Mr Denton argued for 'Botanic Gardens, to which a working man could contribute his half guinea a year', explaining that "he had no sympathy with this pampering of the working man at the cost of the large ratepayers" (*Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 May 1875, 7). This was not as hard-hearted as it might seem as, significantly, there were often far fewer rate payers than there were people willing and able to donate charitably:

The Town Clerk believes that by far the most equitable way would be for the ratepayers to contribute out of the rates. To this Mr Astle responded by pointing out that a much smaller proportion of the inhabitants would contribute under the rating than under the plan which he contemplated...There were in Wolverhampton, he said, 14,170 houses, and of these as many as 11,150 were tenements whose rates were paid by the landlord.

(*Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 June 1857, 8).

Of course, the landlords ultimately passed the cost onto their tenants and this was one reason why rates were eventually accepted as the main revenue stream for parks' long-term maintenance.

The argument that took place in Wolverhampton may well have been particularly extreme due to the social and commercial character of that town. As John Butland Smith notes, "The council elected in 1848 was slow to address questions of public health. Until the mid-1860s government was controlled by manufacturing interests and by the resistance of ratepayers to accept the cost of municipal improvement" (Smith, 2001, abstract). However, this regional specificity is important as it suggests that willingness to use rates as a funding stream for park provision was informed more by the culture and politics of the local authority, than by any objective economic rationale.

Early discussions in council chambers across the country also reveal a recurrent concern that residents of neighbouring towns might use facilities to which they themselves did not contribute financially. In August, 1845, a meeting of Manchester Town Council heard one member ask how it was 'that the Town Council of Manchester was to be at all the expense of keeping the parks in repair when the people of Salford were to partake of the benefit?' (*Manchester Times and Gazette*, 9 August 1845). Echoes of this argument recur in contemporary debates. In 2011, a spokesperson for Wandsworth Council expressed a similar sentiment in relation to a local playground, asking: 'Why should Wandsworth taxpayers subsidise children from other boroughs?' (*The Guardian*, 12 May 2011). Questions about the burden placed on local authorities are also asked when, by accident of history, a 'destination park' falls within a local authority's jurisdiction, for example see: Sydney Gardens, Bath; Hampstead Heath; Derby Arboretum; and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, Stratford. The recurrence of this concern about taxation and use reveals a blind spot on the part of local and national government about the role of public parks as tourist attractions. From elaborate winter gardens to robust playgrounds, public parks bring much needed income to British towns and cities both particularly via food outlets, concerts, and car parking revenues, and more generally by making the town a more aesthetically appealing destination as evidenced by the array of parks and gardens depicted on local authority websites and publicity material. Yet, the economic benefits of high quality parks continue to be ignored.

Despite initial reservations, from the late 1860s onwards most local authorities had acquired the requisite powers to fund the acquisition and maintenance of parks. For those councils who did not yet have that facility, Part IV of the *Public Health Act* of 1875 provided both the right and the obligation:

Any [local authority] may purchase or take on lease lay out plant improve and maintain lands for the purpose of being used as public walks or pleasure grounds, and may support or contribute to the support of public walks or pleasure grounds provided by any person whomsoever.
(*Public Health Act*, 1875, 164).

The result was that, for the next hundred years, local tax revenues made up the largest portion of park budgets.

While most people interviewed in the course of this research acknowledged that there was no ‘golden age’ of public park provision in Britain, there is widespread acknowledgement that 1875 signalled a significant upturn in the fortunes of public parks. Although many town councils found themselves funding a larger and more expensive green space portfolio than anticipated, for decades the accounts submitted by parks and gardens committees were paid in full by Town Clerks. There is nevertheless, one caveat to the general success of the taxation model in the late 19th century, which is that sourcing funding democratically through taxation did not necessarily mean that expenditure adhered to the same principle. Parks located in wealthy neighbourhoods have often attracted a disproportionate level of investment. This inequality was identified and attacked in a scathing report that appeared in the Liberal Review in October 1879. In that article, the correspondent remarked that ‘one class is being benefited at the expense of the whole community...it is profoundly unsatisfactory that the Committee should want to spend on the park used by the few twice as much as they ask for two parks used by the many’ (*Liberal Review*, 4 Oct 1879, 11). In that instance, public outcry did not halt the disparity in expenditure, and nine years later, complaints of preferential spending practices were still being made in 1888 (*Liverpool Citizen*, 11 July 1888, 3-4).

In the 20th century, increasing pressures on council services began to encroach on council funds previously earmarked for parks. However, between the 1940s and 1960s many local authorities still continued to improve and often expand their parks and provide new facilities within them, such as open air dancing and carnivals (BCC 1/BO/1/1/32, minutes: 16451, 16725, 16774, 16783). In the late 1940s, temporary bandstands were constructed in parks and commons across London in order to host concerts that would raise both public moral and revenue (See Tooting Common and Streatham Common, 1947). Many local authorities endeavoured to repair or replace facilities badly damaged by enemy bombing. Although particular events were part-subsidised by the sale of tickets or off-set by revenues created elsewhere in the park, there remained a commitment to fund public parks from the public purse. The lack of any grandstanding about this arrangement should not be taken as evidence of indifference on the part of local authorities, but rather as testament to the absolute and unchallenged assumption that they would continue to fund public services through taxation. Notwithstanding this commitment, by the late 1960s the unspoken covenant was under stress and the Bains Report of 1972 on *The New Local Authorities: Management and Structure* was to prove catastrophic for Britain’s public parks.

One consequence of the Bains Report was that local authorities lost the capacity to invest significant sums of tax revenues in public parks and this fall in funds occurred in tandem with a fracturing of the departments themselves. Consequently, any opportunity to challenge these cuts, or to mitigate the worst of their impacts, was choked by the successive restructuring of local authorities that occurred from the 1970s onwards, and which has seen responsibility for parks provision shift from parks committees to department of leisure or planning (Layton-Jones for Historic England, 2014, 61). New local authority leisure facilities such as sports centres and country parks (Countryside Act 1968) added to the strains.

Since the 1990s there has been a growing awareness of the unsustainability of parks services' budgets. In 2006, the National Audit Office's report for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister acknowledged that:

Mainstream expenditure by local authorities on upkeep required to sustain improvement over the longer term has increased, although not at the rate of increases spent on other public services. (NAO, 2006, 6)

Similarly, in 1999 the Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs recommended that local councils be enabled to 'raise a larger proportion of their own revenues rather than depending on Government grants' and went on to insist that should the Government be 'determined not to increase local fundraising powers, when determining grants to local authorities it must take more account of the number of size of public parks that have to be maintained' (Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs, 1999, para. 117). The recommendation was not taken up.

For much of their custodianship of public parks, local authorities have not ring-fenced a specific percentage of tax revenue for parks. In 2008, the opportunity for local authorities to increase their expenditure on parks was lost, potentially forever. During the financial crisis, demands on statutory local services, such as emergency housing, increased. Without any budgetary protection in place for their green spaces, many local authorities have sought to retreat from their historical role in public park provision altogether. The Policy Exchange found that 'urban local authority spending on open spaces in England has decreased by 10.5 per cent between 2010/11 and 2012/13. The greatest reductions were in the north-east (38.7 per cent) and the smallest reductions were in the southeast (3.4 per cent)' (Drayson, 2013, 7). Outsourcing is increasingly becoming the norm, and the remains of in-house park departments are being dismantled.

Increases to local taxation that might have counteracted this decline were made almost impossible as, in 2010, it became government policy to encourage a freeze on council tax. *The Localism Act* of 2011 introduced the Council Tax Referendum Principles, which stipulate the grounds on which Council Taxes could be raised. This restriction comes after over two decades of budget cuts to parks which, as a non-statutory service, have suffered disproportionately (GreenSpace, 2001, pp 4.19–4.22). It would seem that 140 years after the *Public Health Act* of 1875, we are right back where we started.

In terms of case studies, every public park in England has, at some point in its history, benefitted from public expenditure and recent decline in this revenue stream has been universal. Far rarer are examples of recent innovations in raising funding via taxation mechanisms. Although Drayson identified a promising model in the form of Park Improvement Districts [PIDs], such systems remain untested in the UK.

Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, officially opened 2013

There are few exceptions to the decrease in tax revenues made available to parks departments today. However, one notable case is the development of the Olympic Park and its subsequent conversion into the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Although officially opened in 2013, it is included here because the funding strategies date back before 2010. At 560 acres (226 hectares), the Olympic Park represents a rare example of an entirely new large-scale urban park and perhaps a once-in-a-generation opportunity as the last large parks to be created were the country parks under the 1968 Countryside Act.

The Olympic Park was supported financially by the Greater London Authority's (GLA) introduction of a £20 per household, per annum, levy on London Council Tax between 2006 and 2017. The levy was ring-fenced for use on the Olympic site and so does not mitigate the impact of budgetary cuts elsewhere. Equally, it offers no roadmap for funding existing historical parks and gardens. The ultimate success of the model will hang upon whether the revenue streams provided by the residential and commercial service charges prove sustainable and in that regard there is reason for caution. In the wake of the 2008 financial crash, the Olympic Park lost its preferred private partner, Land Lease. The loss placed additional pressure on the public purse, making the taxpayer again, the funder of last resort.

There is also some room for concern regarding the impact that this particular model can have on the overall character and function of the spaces created.

While the northern part of the Olympic Park has been landscaped as anticipated, there is less clarity about the future of the southern portion. The original legacy body, the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC) stated that it wanted to foster 'a spectacular, lively, public landscape which will host activities, events and attractions and which will be a destination for locals, Londoners and tourists' (OPLC, 2011). There was never any precise indication of what that would mean in terms of the physical environment and access. As the site represents some of the most valuable development land in the country, much of the residential housing in the southern part has been removed with Marshgate Wharf's target reduced from 2,500 to 700 homes. In its place is a Cultural and Educational quarter, comprising the Victoria and Albert Museum and University College London East. While no additional funding was offered to develop the landscaping when the area was designated for residential housing, new public money is now being made available to develop the site for commercial purposes. As Professor John Gold has observed, 'spaces that could have had public park usage are disappearing' (Gold in consultation, 2015).

Thus, the GLA levy demonstrates that political support can be found for channelling funding for parks via taxation mechanisms and this suggests that the potential for introducing short-term levies to support specific green space projects is perhaps greater than previously thought. However, the political negotiations that accompany such models can ultimately shape the character and function of the parks and public spaces produced. Where external pressures are brought to bear, parks and greenspace can still lose out to housing and commercial development.

The Olympic site is not the only location where such a special levy has been applied to support park provision. Another notable example is the Lee Valley Park, managed by the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority (LVRPA). The levy for this regional park is applied to residents across every London borough as well residents in Essex and Hertfordshire and equates to approximately £1 per household (Lee Valley Regional Park Authority, 2015). The Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE) has proposed a similar model to cover the costs of London's largest public parks. However, the LVRPA levy is unpopular among the boroughs and counties furthest from the park. This is perhaps not surprising when residents of Hillingdon in West London live over 20 miles from the park and like every other local authority have seen funding to their own local parks cut over recent years.

Grants

Against a backdrop of falling budgets, over the past two decades local authorities have come to rely increasingly on grants and, to a lesser extent, donations to support public park provision. Since 1996, the HLF (and latterly in partnership with Big Lottery) has emerged as one, and increasingly the only, significant source of large project grants for public parks offering 'unprecedented levels of potential grant funding...for cash-strapped local authorities' (Longstaffe-Gowan, 2012, 276). Within 10 years of the birth of the HLF's Urban Parks Programme over 250 parks had benefitted and, as Hazel Conway notes, 'this sector of the HLF's work has been by far the most popular of its initiatives' (Conway, 2009, 4). As one respondent put it, 'We would be dead in the water without them...£650 million investment? Who else would have?' (Paul Rabbitts in consultation, 2015). In fact, when the grants awarded to green space by HLF and Big Lottery Fund are combined they amount to over £800m in just under 20 years. Although the investment inevitably focuses on capital projects lasting no more than five years, applicants are required to focus on people and community outcomes too such as learning, volunteering, skills and engaging new and wider community participation. The HLF also allowed a commitment to increasing the future revenue budgets to be capitalised as partnership funding. Some projects allowed 10 years of increased revenue spend and many capital works took longer than five years. In addition HLF requires a 10 year management and maintenance plan which must be adopted by the council. Thus, requirements laid down in the contracts between the HLF and recipients go some way to protecting the future of the parks concerned. For example, any change or ownership or detrimental change to the landscape within 25 years of receipt of the grant could constitute a breach of contract, which in itself carries significant financial implications for the grantee. Nevertheless, as local authorities come under increasing pressure to increase revenue from their estate assets, the protection afforded by the HLF contract is increasingly strained and likely to test its efficacy.

Birkenhead Park, HLF grant, 2002

Following a decade of research and scrutiny of Birkenhead Park's history and condition, in 2002 the HLF awarded a grant of £7,423,000 to Wirral Council to enable a comprehensive restoration programme to take place within the park between 2004 and 2007. The HLF's grant was joined by funding from the Council, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB 6) and the European Regional Development Fund. The HLF awarded an additional £451,300 to the Friends of Birkenhead Park for the Birkenhead Park Heritage Education and Community Involvement Project, which 'supported the restoration scheme by encouraging local use, research and involvement in the park' (Wirral Council, 2012, 8). Birkenhead Park is a Grade I registered park.

Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol, Catalyst Match Funding, co-funded by HLF, DCMS, and Arts Council England, 2012

In 2012, the HLF awarded Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust a Catalyst Match Fund award, through which it will match every £1 raised by the Trust for the purposes of an endowment fund. The Trust aims to raise £500,000 by 2016. In order to gain the match funding from the HLF, the Trust must raise the entire £500,000 target (www.arnosvale.org.uk). Having funded the restoration of the cemetery in 2010, funding the endowment scheme enables the HLF to secure the legacy of its previous investment. However, Arnos Vale, Grade II* registered cemetery, is a unique case and, quite obviously, not a public park in the true sense. Thus, it may serve as a model for historic closed cemeteries, but it provides no road map for existing extensive public parks. Furthermore, by creating a new green space open to the public, it potentially increases the long-term burden on the local authority should the Trust fail and the liability revert to the local authority.

However welcome the HLF's programmes remain, there is an issue about the public parks most at risk from non-investment, fail to come forward as the local authorities are struggling with their parks portfolio and priorities. To date HLF has funded over 700 parks and green spaces however the *Public Park Assessment* report in 2001 estimated there were in the order of 2,500 sites of national and local historic importance and a hundred times more recreational green spaces. Successful major schemes require detailed planning and long term commitment and some parks teams simply don't have the leadership and resources to make the most of grant schemes. Waiting until the condition of an asset deteriorates to the point of requiring large-scale restoration and capital investment leads to a risk of loss of the historic fabric.

Concerns have also been aired that the HLF approach necessarily focus attention and financial resources intensively on one specific park, often at the cost of other sites. The impact can potentially continue after a site has been restored, as the commitment to maintain the HLF-funded park continues, even when local authority budgets fall. In such a situation, local authorities have little choice but to channel their meagre resources at sites which have already benefitted from investment, neglecting other sites and so creating greater disparity in park quality: ‘parks less eligible for lottery funding may once again be struggling to provide even minimal grounds maintenance’ (Worpole, 2012, 6). The original aspiration was that each town would have at least one brilliant example to set a benchmark for other local communities to aspire to and to some extent this was effective until the crash of 2008. However, today the situation has changed significantly. While grants can provide crucial funding for a few specific sites, competition does not have a neutral impact on the wider sector. Rather it is perhaps indicative a ‘Darwinian battle for dwindling resources, in which many communities, without doubt the poorer, will see their park enter into a spiral of decline’ (Lambert, 2014, 44). The parks sector has become dependent on Lottery funding and any future radical shifts could further threaten parks.

Of course, the HLF and Big Lottery Fund are not the only grant-awarding body to have had a significant impact on public green space. Other funding bodies, such as the European Regional Development Fund, Landfill Tax and regeneration funds have also supported green space renewal. Nevertheless, all these funds operate a system of competition and so display comparable advantages and weaknesses as funding models.

Loans

No matter which funding model is adopted, there will be periods during which those responsible for park provision need to obtain additional sums on a short-term basis. As outlined below, endowments that rely upon investments, either in the form of property or the stock market, are inevitably exposed to the same degree of risk as other speculators. Economic downturns are also accompanied by reductions in tax revenues, impacting upon local authorities and national government alike, while charitable donations can fall when there is less disposable income in circulation. Even the most successful models require the ability to borrow funds for the purposes of capital investment or short-term crisis management. There is considerable historical precedent for this provision. Since 1793, the Public Works Loan Board (PWLB) has provided loans to local authorities across Britain for the purposes of funding capital projects and as a lender of last resort. Since 2002 it has been managed as part of the UK Debt Management Office. For cities unable or unwilling to rely on philanthropy or rates to fund capital investment in parks, loans present a means of founding key, strategic sites.

Wolverhampton, 1875

In 1875, the Town Council of Wolverhampton was resistant to using local rates as a means to fund park provision (see taxation above). As a result, the Town Clerk recommended the Corporation borrow from the Public Works Loan Board in order to purchase and lay out a park in the town, with a view to repaying much of the sum from the sale of properties developed on the edge of the land. (*Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 May 1875). On 24 May, a meeting was held (unusually behind closed doors) to discuss the matter of purchasing land from the Merridale Estate. The purchase was to be funded via a loan, but the means of repaying that loan was flawed. Having borrowed an initial sum for laying out, any revenue created by the sale of land for development was earmarked for repayment of the debt, leaving very little if anything for future investment in the park. If funded through such a model, within years a park could be in a worse financial position than those purchased with donated funds or tax revenues. Furthermore, the risks associated with reliance on speculative development also applied as the council's ability to repay the debt would depend upon the condition of the housing market at the points of sale and, thereafter, the perceived desirability of the houses and the rates payable on them.

As with every local authority, Wolverhampton ultimately adopted a blended approach to funding green spaces, relying on a combination of charitable donations, rates, and loans, to deliver public parks.

Speculative Development

The residential square is a uniquely English device, one that has been admired since its inception in the mid-17th century (English Heritage, 2000).

Housing developments have historically been one of the most popular motivations and means for creating substantial urban parks. From the 1840s to the 1880s, a number of parks were purchased and laid out that were funded, in part, through the sale and development of plots of land around their periphery. In the early years, the principle was to emulate the country house estate, providing each household with a view across formal gardens and wider 'parkland' beyond. In order to raise the large sums demanded by the grand landscaping schemes of Joseph Paxton and his followers, the real estate needed to attract the wealthiest of a city's inhabitants. Original housing schemes therefore typically comprised aspirational, white stucco villas and terraces of fine ashlar stone townhouses.

The flaw in this model is immediately apparent when the social and philanthropic motivations for creating parks are set against the business model used to acquire, landscape, and maintain them. While residents might pay handsomely for large dwellings in order to escape the overpopulated city to a socially-exclusive suburb, the parks they subsidised and overlooked were supposedly created for the benefit of the very people they sought to escape. Relying upon an appetite for social exclusivity as a means of funding socially-progressive initiatives such as public parks was always going to prove problematic. The consequences of this anachronism were apparent as early as 1841 when residents of Regent's Park in London were notified that large portions of the park were to be 'thrown open' to the wider population. The reality, as one letter to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* explained, is that exclusivity cannot be guaranteed in perpetuity:

In building in a public park a man takes his chances of all against which he does not make an express stipulation, and whatever is not bargained for is not gained. (*Morning Chronicle*, 24 April 1841).

Conversely, sites that were actively advertised as being for the working classes often failed to attract interest from builders or residents, leaving a financial shortfall in the park accounts.



A 1926 cartoon about the public protest against the rumoured intention of converting the Foundling Hospital and building over adjacent green spaces.

Newsham Park, Liverpool, 1868

In late 1860s, Newsham Park in Liverpool was laid out as part of that city's 'ribbon of parks'. As with neighbouring Sefton Park, the scheme was to be funded by sale of building plots. The land was to be shared approximately equally between development and open green space; the park was to constitute 123 acres (50 hectares), with the land given over to housing totalling 118 acres (48 hectares). Unfortunately, a property slump, construction of a large abattoir on an adjoining plot, and the arrival of the Bootle railway line conspired to make the building plots rather less desirable than the Liverpool Corporation had anticipated. As John Hughes notes of Newsham Park's struggles in the 1860s, 'Frequent references to Newsham Park as 'the People's Park', or even 'the Poor Man's Park' cannot have recommended the place for expensive properties' (Hughes, 1995, 15).

A succession of disastrous auctions saw the land values around Newsham plummet as developers recognised that there would be little demand for the large villa-style dwellings stipulated by the terms of sale. The negative impact of this economic reality was three-fold. Firstly, a large portion of the land originally intended for development was thrown into the park, increasing the demands on maintenance budgets but without the income to support them. Secondly, the terms of sale were adjusted to permit more modest dwellings to be erected; dwellings that would attract lower rates and therefore potentially lower tax revenues for the Corporation. Finally, capital investment was curtailed, essentially quashing any hope that the quality of the park itself might attract further investment in the future.

At Newsham the legacy of early financial struggles still plague the site today. In the absence of 'historically-significant' features, such as a glass house, it has proved difficult to retain the interest of funding bodies. In addition, the relatively modest housing stock permitted by the Corporation in 1868 has meant that the area did not benefit financially from the gentrification that occurred around Sefton Park. Today, Newsham Park (registered Grade II) remains one of the most vulnerable parks in Liverpool and has already lost some land for the construction of an Academy school.

Boulevard Newsham Park



Under the Liverpool Improvement Act 1865, a loan of £500,000 was raised and powers granted to create three new parks, Newsham, Stanley and Sefton Parks, financed out of the rates. All three projects included building development sites in order to recoup the costs (Hazel Conway, 1991). © Historic England Archive.

The contradictory aspirations for social exclusivity on the part of residents and social inclusivity on the part of park users dictate that one side of the bargain will always emerge dissatisfied and this conflict is apparent in many historical developments.

Sefton Park is situated far from the centre of the population. Those who are most in need of a park reside at least four or five miles away from it. The parks at Stanley are more accessible, and are more calculated to be of real benefit to the mass of the population... Aristocratic Liverpool has not, however, condescended to adopt them as places of residence (*Liberal Review*, 4 Oct 1879, 11).

In recent years, the provision of landscaped green space, or at least open space has become a prerequisite for any substantial development. This has been delivered either directly by the developer or indirectly by the allocation of Section 106 (Town and County Planning Act 1990) planning obligations money by the local authority (see below). The results have been mixed and evaluations of individual sites vary between observers. However, it is important to acknowledge that such provision of green space differs in two crucial ways from the large public park schemes of the 19th century. Firstly, the balance of green space to housing or commercial use has been reversed, with the greatest portion of land now given over to development rather than park; and secondly, the types of spaces created tend to reflect the commercial objectives of property developers and management companies, rather than the social and cultural needs of the wider public. Although broadly antithetical to the principles of the public parks movement, evidence of the explicit prioritisation of private profit over public benefit can be found in one particular category of historic urban green space that survives today: the London garden square.

The large garden squares of London, epitomised most famously by those laid out on the Bedford and Grosvenor Estates in the 18th century, testify to the financial premium afforded historically to high quality green spaces by residents and consequently, property developers. Large residential schemes, such as the Grosvenor, Hanover, Cavendish, and Smith Squares (initiated 1720–25) and Bedford Square (laid out 1775–1783) were designed to capitalised directly on the social and environmental benefits of urban green space (McKellar, 2013, 170). The appeal of the garden square reflected the pre-existing belief that Westminster was a healthier area than the city of London, by virtue of the clean air that blew across Hyde Park. Although residents may not purchase that site, they could own their personal slice of health and well-being via a share of a garden square to which only residents had access. In Hanoverian London, these private green spaces were not merely a bonus for purchasers, but were at the heart of the developments' appeal. Residents were prepared to pay a significant premium for a property that came with a key to the gardens. It is difficult to assess the exact level of premium that the garden squares added to property values as even neighbouring streets whose residents had no access to the gardens benefitted from their proximity to the open space. However, exclusivity of access was clearly important as evidence by the progressive privatisation of formerly public squares, such as St. James's Square, from the 1720s onwards. For much of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the commercial model of the garden squares seemed relatively successful. With the exception of the property crashes that affected the entire market, the London Squares succeeded in attracting residents who, if not always from the most elite social classes, were able to afford the cost of maintaining the properties and the garden squares attached. However, notwithstanding their success and appeal in the early years, London squares have not been without their own challenges, both in terms of funding and management. By the end of the 19th century, the fashionable London set had shifted westwards and Bloomsbury in particular entered a period of relative decline. The conclusion of leaseholds led to some redevelopment and grand houses were increasingly subdivided into flats. Just as occurred in the formerly prestigious developments associated with large public parks, the new residents who enjoyed more modest incomes could not, or were not prepared to pay the rising costs necessary to maintain the gardens. While some private gardens passed into public ownership, others entered a period of decline and became either romantic and wild or dangerous and overgrown depending upon the viewer's predisposition. As with public parks, the 1990s was a watershed for the squares as residents and campaigners sought to rescue and promote these urban oases. In 1995, the London Squares Conference resulted in the London Squares Day (now Open Garden Squares Weekend) and (the former) English Heritage's Campaign for London Squares (Longstaffe-Gowan, 2012, 275–9). Thus, to a significant degree, and notwithstanding their early commercial success, the fortunes of the garden squares mirror significantly those of the public parks. Similarly, they remain as important to residents and visitors as their more accessible counterparts.

For all their shortfalls in terms of accessibility, even locked garden squares were, and remain, more beneficial to the wider community than gated developments and the courtyards concealed within. Although physically inaccessible to the wider public, their aesthetic and environmental benefits can be enjoyed by all. In addition, their function as nuclei around which housing developments were organised ensured a lower density of development and a level of cohesive planning previously unseen in the capital. The public may not have been able to enter the gardens, but these green spaces were at least integrated into the wider urban realm. Today the term ‘garden square’ is a popular phrase in planning applications. However, it is often used inaccurately. In the epilogue to his substantial study of the London Square, Todd Longstaffe-Gowan dismissing the appropriation of the nomenclature of these historic gardens by contemporary developers as a cynical attempt to capitalise further on the historic associations they invoke:

The blunt truth is that gated communities have little or nothing to do with London squares. If the modern squares we have examined are so called, it is only because their builders have appropriated the concept to capitalise on this ever popular, instantly recognisable and much admired ‘upper middle class perquisite’ as Anne Scott-James terms it. (Longstaffe-Gowan, 2012, 286)

In more open locations, new urban squares may be more accessible due to the lack of railings and locked doors. However, the recurrent use of defensive architecture, low-maintenance hard landscaping, and private security firms all indicate resistance to the principles of accessibility and flexibility that have underpinned park provision for over a century. As Susannah Charlton has argued, rather than serving the public, “landscapes planned as adjuncts to commercial development, or through competitions for a civic showpiece, militate against local distinctiveness and community involvement in, dare I say it, gardening public space” (Charlton, 2011, 5).



Cavendish Square in the West End of London was laid out as a garden by Charles Bridgeman in 1717. It was originally for the private use of occupants of Cavendish Square but was opened to the public in the 20th century (www.londongardensonline.org.uk). © Historic England.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of many new green spaces provided by commercial developers, the greatest challenge in using residential or commercial developments to raise funds for parks today is that this is almost impossible to achieve retrospectively. Revenues rely upon an increase in land values and that increase being realised by a developer. As land and historical housing stock on the periphery of existing parks has already been released into the private market, the only estate asset remaining is the park itself. Surrendering a portion of extant parkland for housing development compromises the park itself. Thus, if the spatial and environmental integrity of an historic park is to be retained, any development within its borders would need to be small. Given the necessarily limited size of any land parcels within parks, it is unclear whether the profit generated could ever present a viable means of supporting the remaining green space. A further risk to this model is that in the absence of budgetary ring fencing, the capital raised could, as has happened in the past, be simply absorbed back into the general local authority pot. There are various ways to avoid such an outcome, but the necessary structures would need to be in place before any such scheme is implemented.

Section 106 and Community Infrastructure Levy

Since the Town and Country Planning Act of 1990, the greatest opportunity for funding local parks and public green spaces via development has come in the form of Section 106 planning obligation contributions. Section 106 empowers local authorities to negotiate contributions from developers to support local infrastructure and improvements that may need additional support as a result of the development. The process can be undertaken either unilaterally or as part of a planning application. The Community Infrastructure Levy [CIL] was introduced in the Planning Act 2008 to enable local authorities to use development to deliver local infrastructure. In some instances, local authorities have been able to use Section 106 or CIL to provide much-needed injections of capital for park improvements. HLF's *State of UK Public Parks* report says 90 per cent of local authorities have secured funding for parks from Section 106 and Community Infrastructure Levy [CIL] over the last three years. However, there is no guarantee that such funds money will be spent on green space provision and in times of budgetary crisis, parks must compete for this source of investment along with all other departments, such as education. It is predicted that funding could fall to 60 per cent or lower (HLF, 2014).

In some instances, parks managers have sought to anticipate the availability of future Section 106 funds and so have ready-prepared lists of priority works awaiting funding. One such example was Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham where the gate piers were identified as a priority in anticipation of future Section 106 funds becoming available. This strategy is certainly desirable. However, in light of the recent and ongoing reduction in the number of designated parks managers and conservation officers within local authorities, it is unlikely that many councils today have the resources to fund such pro-active planning. Nevertheless, Section 106 and the Community Infrastructure Levy remain important potential capital funding streams for many urban public parks and gardens.

Endowment

Endowments can constitute property, stocks, or a cash sum. Globally, endowments have been used to fund services ranging from higher education to hospitals. The model is particularly popular in the United States of America. In Britain in the 19th century, where endowments accompanied donations of land, these endowments were relatively small and were quickly spent at the laying out stage.

One of the main recommendations made by the 2014 Policy Exchange report was that All local authorities should conduct a review to determine whether endowments would be a suitable model for the sustainable funding of their existing greenspace' (Drayson, 2014, 29). While this might be desirable, the sustainability of the model is only one side of the equation. More pressing is the improbability of any local authority having the ability to provide, or even contribute to, an endowment, let alone one large enough to completely remove reliance on taxation. The size of endowment required for even one town or city is enormous. Furthermore, an initial endowment, albeit large, cannot secure the financial future of a park in perpetuity.

Endowments must be invested, either in the parks themselves (see 'revenue creation within parks' below), or in other assets, such as property or the stock market. Such investments carry an attendant risk, but diversification can limit potential exposure. A diverse and large portfolio of assets used to support parks is essential for financial resilience. Therefore, the endowment model is more reliable when economies of scale can be exploited. Endowments are potentially more vulnerable when liabilities and assets are limited to only a few sites and investments. Given the current trend towards a fragmentation of the sector, and pressure to transfer assets to small, individual communities, local authorities may need to act sooner rather than later if they wish to adopt this model. In addition, those charged with managing an endowment must have a broad level of skills and considerable experience in financial management. This necessary emphasis on finance and asset management can introduce new risks as the underlying principles of green space provision can become occluded by financial objectives. Balancing civic and ethical principles with financial practicalities remains an ongoing challenge for trustees.

The National Trust charity has considerable experience with endowments and since 1976 has used their so called 'Chorley Formula' to work out endowments – both revenue and capital – needed for every new property taken into its care. Some of the costs are huge. The Trust contributed to the Nesta, HLF and the Big Lottery on the Rethinking Parks programme with a project on potential endowment models for public parks. Examples of two notable historical endowments are given below.

Recent innovations, such as the HLF's Catalyst Match Funding for endowments give rise to some hope that this model could be extended beyond the few existing cases in the UK. However, the limited size of the scheme and the grants it can award make it viable only for specific sites. The two successful historic models adopted a large greenspace portfolio and the benefits of economies of scale in financial management and site management costs. To date even the most long-standing trusts charged with managing public parks has just two decades of experience and as such, the long-term viability of the model is untested.

The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes

The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes, was founded in 1992 and so provides a rare example of a green space trust in England with over two decades of operational experience. The Trust is an independent charitable company, the survival of which is due undeniably to its substantial endowment comprising a property and investment portfolio that, along with enterprises within the parkland (see revenue creation below), enable the Trust to be entirely self-financing.

Today, the Trust manages around 5,000 acres (2,203 hectares) of woodlands, river valleys, parks and 80 miles of peripheral greenspace along the city's green 'corridors'. This portfolio of green space is leased from Milton Keynes Council on a 999 year lease, meaning it cannot be developed without the consent of the local authority. It does not receive annual funding from the council, but councillors do sit on the Board of Trustees.

The size of the original endowment was crucial in securing the long-term future of Milton Keynes' green spaces but, at around £20 million, it was not enough on its own to remain a sustainable source of income. Over the past two decades, the Trust has invested and reinvested the endowment, developed its portfolio of real estate, and invested in the stock market to grow the sum to the present level of around £90 million. Yet, still this is not enough to guarantee financial security in perpetuity. The vulnerability of the Trust was demonstrated in 2008 when, as a result of the financial crisis, around one third was wiped off the value of their share portfolio. However, unlike local authorities, the Trust has not been affected by national cuts to local authority budgets or the council tax freeze.

This immunity has enabled the Trust to adopt a bullish approach to its finances. Instead of retreating from its commitments, the Trust borrowed against its substantial assets and expanded rather than reduced its real estate portfolio. The Board did not need to seek political approval to take this action, nor did it need to approach the UK Debt Management Office (see ‘Loans’ above). This borrowing enabled the Trust to recover its losses by 2015. The ability of the Trust to invest its way out of a potentially disastrous financial loss was due to the scale of the property portfolio and financial endowment. Despite losing £30 million off the value of their investments, the Trust still had £60 million remaining and a vast portfolio of land against which they could secure loans competitively.

In addition, the extent of the Trust’s assets means it has been able to attract high-calibre members to the board, with considerable experience in finance, management, and public service. This experience, combined with the ‘general presumption against development of its green estate’ ensured that financial crisis did not lead to the same pressure to offload green space currently experienced by local authorities. This is not to say that property is never developed, but the requirement to attain local authority consent and the ability to resist pressure from national government, certainly curtails the potential for a fire sale.

The endowment model appears to have performed well for the Parks Trust in Milton Keynes. However, there is room for some caution. Firstly, the size of the original endowment was very large and impossible for many local authorities to repeat today, particularly those in the north of England where the London housing market does not affect the same upwards pressure on property prices.

The experiment is still in its early days and twenty years after they were originally created, many Victorian public parks also appeared to be both flourishing and financially sustainable. Furthermore, although the relative free hand afforded to the Trust by the original lease with Milton Keynes council has, in this instance, been exploited effectively and relatively ethically, there is the potential for that freedom to be abused. The absence of direct accountability to the electorate remains an issue of contention with some local people (Anon, 2015b).

Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation

The Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation was created in 1995 when the Garden City Heritage Foundation Act enabled the assets of the former Letchworth Garden City Corporation to be transferred. The Foundation is an Industrial and Provident Society with charitable status registered under the Co-operative and Community Benefit Societies Act 2014, and is entirely self-funding. It does not care exclusively for green spaces, but parks, gardens and peripheral green spaces are included in their portfolio.

The charitable objects laid down in 1995 reflect many of the principles historically associated with public parks: ‘environment and heritage’, ‘recreation and leisure’, ‘education and learning’, ‘health and wellbeing’, ‘charities’, and ‘charitable activities’. The Foundation benefits from a substantial endowment of commercial properties. Last year, the rent received from the commercial property portfolio alone was £7,678,000. With such profitable assets, the Foundation is able to operate its own grant schemes, paying out a total of £276,273 in 2014.

As with any endowment, the Board needs to continue to invest and develop its portfolio and revenue-generating schemes in order to remain sustainable. Notwithstanding the relatively sustainability of the Foundation, Letchworth Council also needed two large HLF grants to restore Town Gardens (formerly John F Kennedy Gardens and part of the Grade II registered Broadway) and Grade II registered Howard Park. The Foundation provided some money in the form of partnership funding, but the creation of the Foundation alone did not remove the need for injections of capital from external sources for the purposes of park regeneration.



Letchworth's Broadway Gardens form the green spine to the garden city and part of the original plan. The gardens were redesigned in 2003 to commemorate Letchworth's centenary. © Historic England.

Revenue Creation within Parks

...one thing is clear – there is no question – parks can never be self-financing...
(Simon O'Brien quoted in the *Liverpool Echo*, 28 June 2015).

This categorical statement, made by Simon O'Brien, Chair of the Liverpool Green Strategy Group is a blunt, but realistic assessment of the revenue-creating capacity of public green spaces. Yet, despite the unlikelihood that parks could ever be entirely self-financing, particularly if we are to respect their value as antidotes to the commercial landscape of the wider city, there are a range of ways in which they can subsidise their own maintenance costs.

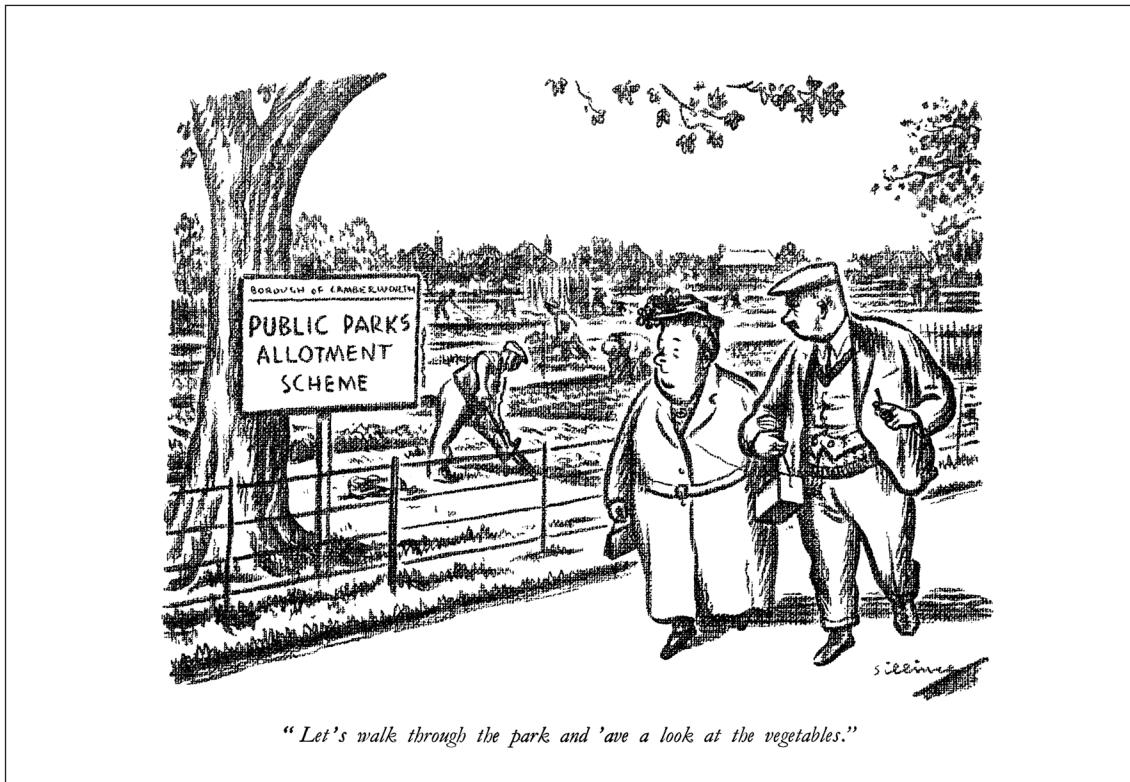
This section looks at:

- Agricultural and horticulture
- Ticketed events
- Weddings and private events
- Entrance fees
- Cafés, concessions, and car parking
- Sale of park buildings.

Agricultural and Horticultural Production

Parks have a peculiar advantage over other public assets; they can provide grass, timber, and marketable plant stocks without interrupting public access, aesthetic appeal, or integrity of design. With modification and some limitations imposed on access, they can also support livestock and market gardening. At some point in their history, every large conurbation in the United Kingdom permitted animals to be grazed on some of their parks. The practice had two advantages as it reduced the costs of mowing large greenswards, and provided income from the farmers who sought pasture land for their animals relatively close to the town centre. Changes to the farming industry, animal welfare and food markets rule out the viability of relying on such activities as a sustainable income strand for urban parks today. However, in a limited number of locations, such as the Newcastle town moors, livestock have remained a continuous presence (www.freemenofnewcastle.org/themoor.html). In other areas, livestock have been re-introduced on some urban commons and open spaces over the last 30 years to reinstate conservation grazing. The aims are biodiversity enhancement rather than meat or wool production. In terms of horticulture and market gardening, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, council-owned nurseries grew their own annual bedding plants for the parks, selling excess stock on the open market, and providing floral displays for civic events.

During the World Wars of the 20th century, many large parks were famously turned over to food production. In the main, this took the form of small-scale individual allotments, although a profit could still be realised. For example, in Birmingham in 1941, tomatoes grown on wartime allotments were sold commercially. On rare occasions, entire greenswards were cultivated with commercial crops, such as occurred at Calderstones Park in Liverpool in 1917 (Layton-Jones and Lee, 2008, 63). However, such agricultural production was always temporary. By the 1980s, most park planting stock could be sourced more cheaply from commercial suppliers leading to the closure of many council nurseries. However, food and plant production is so mechanised today that the sort of small-scale enterprises of the past would not be viable. Although such systems can work as a community asset, they are unlikely to make a meaningful financial contribution to park funding. Indeed community run projects in horticulture are usually grant-aided in themselves, as exemplified by Community Greenhouses project in Brockwell Park, Lambeth.



In this 1940 cartoon, a couple carrying gas masks walk past the public park being worked as allotments as part of the 'Dig for Victory' campaign. The sarcastic title of the cartoon 'Let's walk through the park and 'ave a look at the vegetables' reflects concerns about the impacts of the war on public parks. © Punch Limited.

Birmingham City Council Plant Nurseries c.1870-present

As with many 19th-century municipal parks departments, Birmingham established its own series of greenhouses to propagate plants with which to stock their expanding parks portfolio. A number of the city's larger parks had their own greenhouses, such as Handsworth Park and such facilities employed both skilled and unskilled staff to undertake tasks as diverse as pricking out seedlings and stoking boilers. Full-time propagators were employed and plant production was time consuming.

After approximately a century working under this model, the decision was taken in 1969 to centralise the city's nurseries and Cofton Nursey was opened in July of the following year. Cofton supplied the city's southern parks and traffic islands as well as the city centre. As a model it was so successful that Coleshill nursery was built in 1986 to provide a similar service for the northern half of Birmingham.



Birmingham City Council has won medals at the Chelsea Flower Show, and they have been Britain in Bloom champions in the Large City category. The 2012 Chelsea Flower Show Gold Medal winning display included a mini car to represent the city's car industry and Longbridge plant. Val Bourne in the Daily Telegraph (12 May 2016) described Darren Share MBE, then Birmingham's Head of Parks and Nature Conservation as "a good advert for the Parks Department because he's been here man and boy. I started as an apprentice gardener 31 years ago, then moved into trees and then into management. My first day was at Cofton Nursery near Longbridge, potting up, and I'm still at Cofton Nursery looking at plants we're growing for Chelsea." By Andrewrabbott (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0] via Wikimedia Commons.

Ham Green, Bristol 1914-18

As in many towns and cities up until the 1970s, the services provided by Bristol City Council were funded through general council budgets and/or funds ring-fenced for public health. At Ham Green Hospital Gardens in the early 20th century, the accounts of the gardens sub-committee were passed to the Health Committee for payment. However, the revenues produced on-site were reinvested in the park. There is little evidence of the local authority silos so lamented in recent years or of any defensive jealousy over specific budgets. Rather, each committee and sub-committee was integrated, returning investment to the council in kind, if not in cash revenue. While some investments in the gardens may have failed to realise a cash profit, they did off-set expenditure in other areas of the council's budget and this was recognised and appreciated across the organisation.

At gardens such as those at Ham Green, profitability was always a great concern, but the profit was acknowledged explicitly as belonging to the ratepayer, as demonstrated by the report in 1915 of a horticultural specialist who had been consulted as to the fitness of the soil for an extension to the vegetable gardens. In concluding his report, W.F. Emptage reassured the committee 'you may proceed with the work in every confidence that the matter will be of service to the Ratepayers' (M/BCC/HEA/8/1-3, 2 Sept 1915 letter). Nevertheless, even a working garden, such as that at Ham Green, did not guarantee a profit. The income from the gardens consistently exceeded expenditure, but only modestly. In the five years 1911-15 expenditure in excess of income totalled a mere £141.11.3^{1/2} and income from the livestock alone (pigs and chickens) exceeded expenditure throughout the First World War. The ability to turn a profit on various products in the garden was due in no small part to the skills and knowledge of on-site gardeners. Changes in weather, the economy, or national interests, could be responded to quickly and productively by well-trained staff. An entry in the minute book from 1915 reveals the benefit of such on-site expertise:

Less bedding plants are, I understand, to be grown this season on account of the War, and I should advise that an earlier crop of tomatoes be grown in such part of the glasshouse not required as a consequence. These will be in demand and will pay quite well.

(M/BCC/HEA/8/1-3, 2 Sept 1915, 39).

At Ham Green, there was a resident head gardener working with a team of under gardeners. A case was made to retain workers on the gardens during the War in light of their contribution to feeding the growing number of war-related patients at the hospital. The expense of the glasshouses on site and their declining condition, especially as the War progressed, promoted repeated cost-benefit analyses in which the cost was weighed against the 'amount realised by the sale of produce'. Yet, time after time, the glasshouses proved worth the investment.

Although the accounts for Ham Green and other similarly ‘productive landscapes’ parks can be found in numerous Council archives, they only present a partial picture. The wider financial benefits in the form of subsidised food budgets for hospitals and schools, cheap decorations for grand civic events, not to mention improvements to the general physical and mental health of the wider population, do not appear on the account books, but were surely substantial.

There is a fundamental, significant, drawback to the model employed at Ham Green and similar institutions. Although invisible in the account books and records, the apparent profitability of Ham Green and similar institutions relied upon the free captive labour provided by patients and inmates. Such a resource is unlikely to be found or indeed tolerated in modern Britain. In addition, the process effectively transformed gardens into city farms, a process that would destroy the integrity of the historic designed landscapes that constitute many urban parks and gardens.

Ticketed Events

Concerts, sporting events, festivals, and fairs, have been a common feature of the park year in many municipal and estate parks since the early 19th century. Sunday afternoon brass band performances, charity fairs, and pageants have brought new visitors into parks. In most cases access was, and remains, free. However, there is also evidence of local authorities considering the implications of ticketed events as early as the 1870s. While ticketed events were never intended nor advocated by park creators, the almost immediate funding crisis faced by many park providers in the 19th century meant that debates about how to introduce fee-paying events were quick to emerge.

Conflict can arise from the need to restrict public access when such events occur and the public can consequently feel aggrieved at being excluded from a civic facility for which they have already paid via taxation. In addition, the arrival of amplification and floodlighting can impact residents far beyond the parameters of the park. In 2012, in response to new regulations imposed by Westminster City Council, the Royal Parks Agency (a Non-Departmental Government Body) introduced more stringent noise restrictions and an earlier curfew to mitigate the impact of music concerts on residential properties nearby. In 2013 they reoriented the stage at Hyde Park to enable higher noise levels to be achieved without a detrimental impact on the surrounding area.

Balancing the financial and social impact of such events clearly remains a delicate process. Nevertheless, the profitability of hosting ticketed events encourages park managers to pursue this model on an ever more ambitious scale. Victoria Park in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets is now under the management of the local authority's events team. Attempts to reinvent parks as large music venues or stadia often ignore their distinctive character and value as assets in their own right. The impact upon the landscape of successive events, especially on the grass, need to be considered and the costs of repair and reinstatement also need to be factored into the balance sheet.



High profile and popular summer concerts were held at Kenwood (Hampstead, London) for over 60 years however they were axed in 2014 as the concert promoter failed to make enough on ticket sales. Past concerts have included Tom Jones, Liza Minnelli, Blondie, and James Blunt alongside classical programmes. Kenwood is a Grade II registered 18th century landscape park designed by Humphry Repton. It was handed over to London County Council in 1928 as a public park and it is now managed by English Heritage. © Historic England.*

Weddings and Private Events

As relatively high-value heritage assets within parks, with similarly high associated maintenance costs, bandstands, pavilions and glasshouses can benefit significantly from wedding and private event revenues. High Peak Borough Council's Pavilion Gardens, Buxton is licensed for civil weddings and brings in revenue from hosting both the services themselves and the receptions on the Don Redfern Memorial Bandstand and in the Victorian Winter Garden Conservatory. Both venues can be hired for £500 and additional services, such as catering, bring in substantial sums (www.paviliongardens.co.uk). Sheffield City Council's Weston Park has similarly licenced its distinctive bandstand for wedding ceremonies and blessings. Venue hire charges range from £635 to £895 per day (www.sheffield.gov.uk). In Liverpool, both Sefton Park Palm House and the renamed Isla Gladstone Conservatory at Stanley Park are both licensed for weddings (www.palmhouse.org.uk) and (www.theislagladstone.co.uk/weddings). At Sefton Park, the venue is managed by the Sefton Park Palm House Preservation Trust, while at Stanley Park it has been outsourced to a contractor. However, there are weaknesses in the model. Sefton Park Palm House required a massive HLF capital grant to get it into a condition that enabled it to be hired out and no such scheme can succeed without at least some initial investment. Clearly, hosting relatively expensive events, such as weddings, presents a considerable financial opportunity for raising revenue within parks. As with ticketed events, there are some challenges in permitting private events in public parks. One of the recurrent problems is that clients usually demand exclusive use of the site for their event, leading to the exclusion of the wider public. This can create friction with local communities, as well as potentially contravening the conditions under which such facilities were originally gifted.

To be successful and sustainable, the impact of such events on public access must be managed carefully. In addition, revenues need to be ring fenced to ensure that profits created within the park contribute to the survival and quality of the site. This can be relatively straightforward if the venue is managed by a Trust or the Council itself. However, where it has been outsourced, as in the case of Stanley Park, it can be more challenging to ensure that the park benefits directly from any increase in profits.

Entrance Fees

There is something inconsistent in the rules of an institution which, professing to be established for the enlightenment of our fellow-creatures, is yet forbidden ground to those who most require a participation in its refining influence...a love of power and exclusiveness, the offspring of an ill-disguised selfishness, is too much mingled with our various schools of commerce, literary, and even social life (Heartwell on Manchester's Botanic Gardens, 1842, 164).

The controversy that surrounds ticketed and private events in parks is exceeded in intensity by only one other model of funding: the entrance fee. As with ticketed events, there is a considerable historical record relating to the charging of a fee for access to green space. However, revealingly, none of the historical examples relate to publicly owned green space and all the models ultimately failed financially.

Entrance fees were one of the earliest means of raising funds for specific parks and gardens. Throughout the English urban renaissance of the 18th century, an array of provincial pleasure gardens, botanic gardens, and zoological gardens owed their establishment to a combination of subscribers and ‘on the door’ tickets (see ‘subscription’ above). In the years prior to the public parks movement, urban elites funded these relatively small-scale facilities on an ‘associational basis’ and, in general, they remained inaccessible to the masses (Clark and Houston, 2000, 587). By the 1830s, the financial challenges of sustaining such socially exclusive gardens were beginning to bite as the urban elite evolved into the more geographically diffuse suburban middle class. At the same time, pollution levels in town centres made sustaining exotic specimens increasingly difficult. The model was also under attack from social reformers who saw them as bastions of social inequality. As Horace Heartwell’s quotation above demonstrates, the exclusivity of green spaces that commanded an entrance fee was increasingly recognised as counter-intuitive.

By the 1860s, entrance fees had disappeared from most provincial green spaces. The creation of public parks meant that even the few surviving botanic gardens could not attract enough visitors when competing against free municipal facilities. However, at the same time that these smaller sites were passing into public hands, there were new experiments in ticketed parks; this time on a vast scale.

The business case for imposing an entry fee is rarely convincing. The staffing levels required in addition to maintaining a higher standard of park in order to attract visitors makes the economics questionable. In addition, historically, the model has failed, surviving longest only where the site was large in size and offered a unique experience to visitors.



Kew Gardens is one of London's top attractions and ticket prices are £15. In 1841, the State took over the running of the botanic gardens which was already semi-public. Visitors were admitted daily between 1pm and 6pm, except for Sundays, and there were no admission charges. The gardens are run by the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew [RBGK], an internationally important botanical research and education institution that employs 750 staff. RBGK is a non-departmental public body. © Historic England Archive.

Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew 1840–2015

In 2015, the adult ticket price for the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew in South London is £15, or £14 if the ticket is bought in advance online; in 1971 it was one new pence. In 1983, central government contributed 90 per cent of the funds required to keep Kew going, but in 2015 that had fallen to below 40 per cent. Even a substantial rise in the entrance fee has not been enough to protect the gardens from the shortfall in the funding they receive from the Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs [Defra]. The Botanic Gardens has scientific, research and educational roles as well as being a visitor attraction.

Despite the introduction of new attractions, such as the popular treetop walkway, in March 2015 the director Richard Deverell acknowledged that the future of Kew as a visitor attraction is in question (*The Telegraph*, 21 March 2015). As the World Heritage Site status Botanic Gardens demonstrates, relying on entrance fees to fund landscapes with complex and sometimes contradictory functions is not always commercially viable. The issue was recognised in the House of Commons Science and Technology Committee's inquiry report (March 2015) which described the Botanic Gardens' funding as a 'recipe for failure' (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmsctech/866/86602.htm>).

Update: In May 2016, the Government announced that the Botanic Gardens' annual £20 million grant would not be cut for at least four years plus a further £50 million was awarded for maintenance, repairs and capital projects.

Birmingham, 1873

By the 1870s, the financial burden of Birmingham's new green space portfolio was considerable and relatively unanticipated. In addition, the Council was inexperienced in the legalities of public park provision and the minutes of the Baths and Parks Committee reveal confusion about their powers to raise revenues from their newly-acquired sites. As a result, on more than one occasion, the committee enquired of the Town Clerk whether they could close sections of the parks for specific fee-paying events. In response to one such enquiry in May 1873, the Town Clerk replied: 'The Act contains no such phrase as that "the lands so acquired shall be open to the public on every day in the year free of charge"; and as the Parks are to be "Managed by the Council" it is fair to assume that there is some discretion in the Council as to its management" (BCC 1/AL/1/1/6, minute 6647). There were limits to the number of days a park could be closed and in some instances a donors had also added covenants to the land or their gift, which curtailed the flexibility afforded the Council. Nevertheless, the financial potential of hosting private and ticketed events was clearly appreciated.

Crystal Palace Park, from 1852 (official opening 1856)

Crystal Palace Park was laid out in Sydenham by Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace Company between 1852 and 1855. The site housed the reconstructed Crystal Palace, but also comprised a sequence of flamboyant landscape features, such as 'Italian' gardens, terraces, fountains, and most famously, the displays of 'extinct species'. In a similar fashion to many municipal parks, the purchasing of the land and the laying out costs were subsidised by the sale of large villas around the periphery, some of which had direct access to the park via private turnstiles in their back garden. However, the majority of visitors arrived by train and paid an entrance fee to access the site. In 1864 the price for a day ticket (excluding Saturdays) was one shilling, considerably more affordable than a ticket to the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens had been sixty years earlier. In contrast to diminutive ticketed gardens of the late 18th century, the site at Sydenham was vast, enabling visitors to spend an entire day enjoying the grounds and the exhibits in the 'palace' itself. Consequently, as a model, Crystal Palace Park has much more in common with the 20th-century theme park than the public parks created around the same time. The market pressures that shape theme park development today, can certainly be identified in that earlier example, perhaps more importantly for the purposes of this research was the need to continually innovate and update the 'attractions' within the park. Unlike public parks, the greensward at Crystal Palace Park was not enough to attract visitors; charging a fee required the park's managers to promise ever-more elaborate and new spectacles. In the long-term this proved financially unsustainable and in 1911, the same year that the park hosted the grand Festival of Empire, the Crystal Palace Company filed for bankruptcy. Eventually, in 1913, the site was taken over by the state and in 1914 it was commandeered for army barracks. At the end of the First World War, the site was renovated and in 1920 was open to the public but it was never to achieve financial security and with the destruction of the palace by fire in 1936, the park lost its unique selling point. In 1951 the park was acquired by London Country Council. Today, the Grade II registered park is owned and managed by the London Borough of Bromley and is home of the National Sports Centre. The Borough Council is working with a wide range of partners through the Crystal Palace Park Management Board to secure the long-term restoration and sustainable development of the park.

Adventure Playground, Battersea Park 2011

In 2011, facing the impact of £55 million of budget cuts, Wandsworth Council in South London voted to charge £2.50 per child for use of the formerly-free adventure playground in Battersea Park. Their argument was that the additional health-and-safety requirements of an adventure playground made it a particularly expensive facility to maintain. However, the public outcry was enormous and the political fallout considerable. Headlines such as 'Tory council to charge children £2.50 for using playground' (*The Guardian*, 12 May 2011) appeared in the local and national media. In 2012, threats of a judicial review ultimately prompted the Council to back down and the site remains free. Ironically, this decision led to further capital expenditure on the site as the equipment needed to be changed in order to remove the need for supervision. Questions surrounding the funding of 'destination' playgrounds remain and can only intensify as budget cuts continue.

Cafés, Concessions, and Car Parking

In many instances, the leasing of concessions within parks for the provision of refreshment and special activities, such as boating or tennis, provided a valuable revenue stream with which to subsidise park maintenance. Although designers may have given little consideration to who ran the facilities they designed, or what level of revenue could be raised, councillors were increasingly mindful of the financial advantages of pay-per-use facilities. In the case of first generation parks, beer stands and sports facilities tended to be later additions, but by the 20th century, their potential was widely recognised. In Stanley Park in Blackpool (opened 1926), Thomas Mawson and Sons' 1922 plan for the site incorporated a golf course. Designed by Colt and Mackenzie, it was considered a 'useful source of revenue for the park' (English Heritage, 2010, *Register of Parks and Gardens*). In 1937, a café was erected at the centre of the park, providing additional revenue to subsidise the upkeep of the relatively new park.

Following the municipalisation of Tooting Common in the mid-1870s, London County Council introduced a succession of facilities to both provide services to visitors and raise revenues. In 1898 a contract was approved for the provision of a refreshment house on the Common. Built in the fashionable style of English vernacular influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement in 1906, the café was expected to cover its £328 cost and realise a profit (LMA, LCC/CO/CON/02/2081). The café still stands. It is a valued gathering point for visitors and is leased to a family-run business.

In other instances, revenue-raising attractions were intentionally temporary. Long after Crystal Palace Park had abandoned the entrance fee, the site continued to demand extensive investment. The solution in the early decades of the 20th century was the introduction of temporary fair grounds and festivals. Privately run rides such as Hiram Maxim's 'Flying Machine', a 'Joy Wheel', a hall of mirrors, a helter-skelter, a roller coaster known as the 'Topsy-Turvy', and a log flume dubbed 'The Human Laundry' provided an important stream of revenue. (*The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 11 August 1906, 91 and Layton-Jones, 2013).

Such schemes have proved financially successful, if sometimes divisive among park users. Importantly, in all cases, their success relied upon the monies raised being invested in the sites concerned, not least because by hosting such features, the park incurred additional pressures from increased use. By the early 2000s, such 'ring-fencing' of revenues was no longer universal.

For both Tooting Common and Crystal Palace Park, along with numerous urban and country parks across the United Kingdom, the later 20th century saw car parking introduced onto the sites. Although many car parks were initially free, local authorities feeling the strain of budget cuts are increasingly introducing parking fees. Some car parks have grown to be monopolised by commuters and shoppers. In Nottingham the car park in the historic Forest Recreation Ground has 972 parking spaces for the city's Park and Ride Scheme. The criteria for Country Park status has always required free access. These parks were always intended to be 'readily accessible for motor vehicles and pedestrians' (Countryside Commission, 1969 *Policy on Country Parks and Picnic Sites*) and car parking charges were introduced early on at some parks. New charging schemes or charges increased to help support the management of sites.



As an independent trust and charity, Nene Country Park receives no funding from the taxpayer. The trust is totally reliant on income they generate themselves. The income from parking goes towards park facilities and looking after the landscape. Car parking charging in unstaffed parks and in the countryside has become viable with technology such as solar power and Automatic Number Plate Recognition [ANPR]. © Historic England.

Sale of Park Buildings

Park lodges are key features marking the entrance to the parks and the park system, and adding to the design concept, and often the local housing too. As Hazel Conway and David Lambert have explained, with the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering [CCT] in 1988, park keepers were no longer required and the lodges became redundant (Lambert, 2005, 13; Lambert and Conway and Lambert, 1993, 8). Some were sold, and more were sold ten years later for private use or under the right-to-buy 1992 legislation which enable local authorities to retain receipts from the sale of redundant assets for capital purposes (Select Committee 1998–9). By the turn of the century, nearly a quarter of all park lodges had been lost to use (Public Park Assessment, 2001). A decade on, more lodges are up for sale. While the sale of such assets can raise revenue in the short term, it cannot represent a sustainable source of revenue for parks. Furthermore, covenants placed on gifted land can present a challenge if not absolute barrier to the disposal of lodges and other park structures (Barnet Borough Council, 2014).



The park lodge at Alexandra Park, Oldham © David Dixon and licensed for reuse under Creative Commons Licence.

Horticulture Week

Park lodge sale comes under fire

30 May 2014, by Sarah Cosgrove

Sale below market rate described as 'bad news' because community facility will be lost for ever.

The sale of a grade II listed period park lodge in a £2.3m Heritage Lottery Fund [HLF]-supported park for a guide price of £75,000 has been widely criticised.

The lodge is in Alexandra Park in Oldham. Estate agent Unity Partnership said it could be converted into a three-bedroom house and it is now under offer after being on the market since 2011.

Consultant and park heritage expert David Lambert said the sale is 'bad news' because it will take the lodge out of the landscape of the park and mean it is lost as a community facility for ever.

He added: "It will have a fence around it, domestic clutter and cars. It might be painted. It's a terribly sad situation, especially in Oldham, which used to be a beacon of park management."

HLF head of landscape Drew Bennellick pointed out that if the lodge is sold it would cause problems, such as access and rubbish issues, for parks managers.

"Ironically there were two or three businesses running out of Portakabins in the park," he said. "If they had come to us maybe we could have come up with a project that could have leased it out. It's a great shame."

Lambert said he has been involved in numerous HLF schemes that saw park lodges valued as community assets.

On property website Rightmove, three-bedroom houses, mostly terraced, close to the park are on sale from £90,000 to £125,000.

"It looks incredibly cheap for a beautiful building like that," said Lambert. "A price of £75,000 is a drop in the ocean and it's not going to make a jot of difference to the budget."

Council comment

"Oldham Council, like local authorities across the country, continuously assesses its property portfolio so it can get the best use out of its buildings. Four years ago we carried out a strategic review of all our assets and the lodge was found to be surplus to requirements and was placed on the market. Our aim is to ensure the best use of all council properties and by offering these on the open market we aim to provide better services for residents at no additional cost."

Emma Alexander, Executive Director for Commercial Services, Oldham Council.

PART THREE: MANAGEMENT MODELS

Trusts and Not-for-Profit Companies

Hounslow's parks...have suffered from below-average levels of public satisfaction, after a decade of management by a not-for-profit organisation. (Ibrahim, 2008).

Long-term custodianship of green spaces enables essential long-term strategic planning and can immunise parks from the rapid and unpredictable changes created by the parliamentary cycle. However, it also presents new challenges and conflicts and this can be compounded when the portfolio must also deliver an ongoing financial return. As David Foster acknowledges, this means that park managers must sometimes choose “between the needs and wishes of people today and those of future generations” (The Parks Trust, 2013, 3). Well-funded trusts and, to a lesser extent, Community Interest Companies [CiCs] enjoy the luxury of being able to plan beyond the present parliamentary cycle. However, ironically, this political autonomy relies on a degree of fiscal independence that is unattainable for many sites without the financial as well as ideological support of government. As a result, the number of parks that are, or that could be realistically funded in this manner is small. It is also only fair to surmise that the autonomy that protects a trust from the impact of transient political policies, also grants it a degree of impunity in the face of public opposition to particular schemes and decisions. While some trusts may choose to listen to the public and prioritise access and accountability, the trust model delivers considerable power to trustees to set their own priorities and principles; there is no guarantee that they will always be in the public interest.

Recent ‘Teckal’ procurement regulation exemptions offer local authorities the means of adopting an ‘arm’s length’ management of public parks. However Hounslow’s experience suggests the need for caution when devolving responsibility for public park provision. In March 2007, The Centre for Public Scrutiny was deeply critical of Hounslow Community Initiatives Partnership [CIP] and the council’s review of leisure and cultural services expressed wide ranging concerns about “CIP governance, its financial systems, and the nature and content of the Authority’s agreement with CIP” (London Borough of Hounslow, 2007, 4). One of the recommendations made in the council’s report published in April 2007 was that the council put in place contingency plans to prepare to “take the services, or parts of the services back in house” – a clear repetition of the historical precedent (London Borough of Hounslow, 2007, 6).

The CIP had been set up in 1998 to deliver leisure services for Hounslow Council. It was part-funded by the Council but was also charged with gaining funding from external contracts and in 2007 had a gross turnover of more than £18 million. Nevertheless, its management of the leisure services contracts for Hounslow resulted in worryingly low levels of public satisfaction as well as financial deficit. The Hounslow CIP case suggests that not-for-profit models are neither immune, nor especially protected from the challenges that plague the public and private sectors.

Trusts are currently a popular subject among those seeking alternatives to in-house park management by local authorities. The regeneration instigated by a number of high-profile American parks managed by trusts has attracted the attention of parks users and managers alike. New York's Central Park Conservancy (founded 1980) has become the poster park for the trust model, although in this instance, the City retains overall control and policy responsibility for the site. Through a combination of public funds and private donations, Central Park evolved an apparently sustainable model for funding public space and retaining public oversight. One reason for the appeal of the trust model in the current socio-economic climate is that they operate in a relatively neutral no-man's-land between private and public ownership. Land can be leased to a trust, while the freehold is retained by the local authority.

Alternatively, as in the case of Central Park, New York, a trust may be contracted to manage the park through a series of shorter-term contracts. Given the relatively short history of public space trusts in Britain, the historical record provides little help in evaluating the long-term viability of the trust model. In addition, cities with large, successful conservancy groups, like New York, are universally rich cities. In Britain, the Localism Act of 2011 demonstrated parliamentary support for the transferal of a range of public services and assets into the hands of charitable trusts and other owners. Yet, in reality, very few such transfers have so far been accomplished.

One of the reasons for this lack of uptake is the financial reality of acquiring and managing substantial parks and gardens. Parks are complex and multi-functional landscapes, often combining heritage assets with fragile ecosystems, contemporary sporting facilities, and horticulture. Each of these has an attendant cost and it is naïve to believe that enhancing any or all of these elements can be achieved without substantial financial investment. In fact, as the Central Park example demonstrates, the annual investment demanded by a restored and successful park can be enormous.

As David Lambert predicted in 2010:

A friends group may indeed agree to take over the running of a park, with a budget or endowment from the Council, but will soon find that the cost of running the park exceeds the allowance from the Council. It's bound to because the Council itself would struggle to maintain the park on the money that is likely to be available, and there is no extra. So they will either bow out or be encouraged to turn to private contractors to deliver...Whoever runs the park, the money required to do so well remains the same – shifting the bill to volunteers or trusts will not change that irreducible fact.

(Lambert, 2010, 42–43).

Even when funds are available, the powers afforded to a trust can potentially compromise the public status of the green space. The unique status of the National Trust, by which it holds property privately, but cannot dispose of any so-called ‘inalienable’ land without permission from Parliament, arguably both protects and compromises the status of green space within its portfolio. As Patrick Wright observed in 1985, “in some respects this national public interest occupies a position analogous to that of the shareholder in an ordinary limited company. One doesn’t have to take a completely negative view of the National Trust to see that the inalienability of the Trust’s property can be regarded (and also staged) as a vindication of property relations...which demonstrates how private property simply is in the national public interest” (Wright, 1985, 47). This question of public interest continues to be a stubborn weakness of the trust model and one of the most recurrent criticisms levelled at even relatively successful examples. As one respondent observed, in relation to The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes:

From the outset, the whole of the Park’s Trust portfolio of open space, funding and commercial properties has come from the public purse...However, there were no performance standards or requirements covering public usage, engagement, operational/maintenance standard, or financial performance when the Development Corporation handed over a huge amount of public assets to the Trust. (Anon, 2015a).

There is one final complication in the evaluations of trusts; that of fragmentation and the inefficiencies it can introduce. In England, a lot of the focus is on the creation of site-specific trusts, in the manner of Chiswick House and Garden Trust (2006). While this may be efficient for specific and special cases, applying the model to every park in a local authority’s portfolio would result in myriad trusts across a region, and hundreds, even thousands, across the country as a whole. This will also make cohesion and green infrastructure planning across the country more complex. An overall increase in overheads must be inevitable as individual trusts became responsible for procurement, recruitment, training, health and safety, insurance, pensions, TUPE (protection of employment) and financial compliance. While some parks would flourish, others would founder, resulting in a mixed picture that may deliver no measurable improvement on the current status quo.

Local Authority In-House Service

For the majority of their existence, public parks in the UK have been managed and funded through local authorities. Despite falling budgets and the impact of catastrophic World events, such as economic depressions and two World Wars, that ultimately ruined many private enterprises, local authorities have been largely successful in protecting the nation’s canon of green space. In the 1840s, it was town councils and corporations that repeatedly pressed national government for the powers to raise funds in order to provide public parks. As the cases of the Manchester men and Liverpool Corporation demonstrate (see **Charitable Donations/Voluntary Contributions**), leaders of Britain’s commercial and industrial towns recognised a unique window in which they could designate and protect urban green spaces for the benefit of the wider populace.

Wicksteed Charitable Trust, Kettering 1916 – present

Wicksteed Charitable Trust has been in operation since 1916. Today it has two main aims: the first is to provide free access to open spaces ‘conducive to health’, comprising gardens, an arboretum and wider parkland and the second function is to operate the leisure or ‘theme’ park within Wicksteed Park which is managed by trust’s subsidiary company, Wicksteed Park Limited. The theme park was never in local authority hands and was, instead, a private enterprise, albeit one based on philanthropic principles. In the latter part of the 20th century, the need to generate income led to a change in management strategy on the part of the trust. This, in turn, has compromised the historic character of the site. As their 2012 *Conservation Management Plan* notes,

During the later 20th century the park developed in response to social changes, public expectations and the need to generate income. As a result, the balance of its character has changed from predominantly a countryside experience with an emphasis on play, recreation and well-being to that of a theme park attraction within a country park. This has tended to reduce the impact of the unique historic origins and ethos of the park and eroded or concealed elements of the site’s distinctive character.

(Sarah Couch Historic Landscapes, 2012, 1).

The trust’s independent status afforded it the flexibility to respond to external financial pressures but it also left the site more vulnerable to potentially unsympathetic changes that could compromise its historic integrity.

Although many such sites were compromised in the short term by the proximity of factories and dense residential streets, councillors and officers of local authorities persevered throughout the 19th century and ultimately realised their ambitions of free public parks, available to all (Chadwick, 1966, 19). By the 1870s, the majority of towns had the powers to raise funds from local rates in order to support their green space canon. The result was investment in an array of services and facilities, including the introduction of an increasing number of regulations and bylaws, enforced by a growing number of park keepers, park police, and gardeners. Staffing levels varied from site to site, but in some instances could exceed 100 workers for one site (Lambert, 2005, 10).

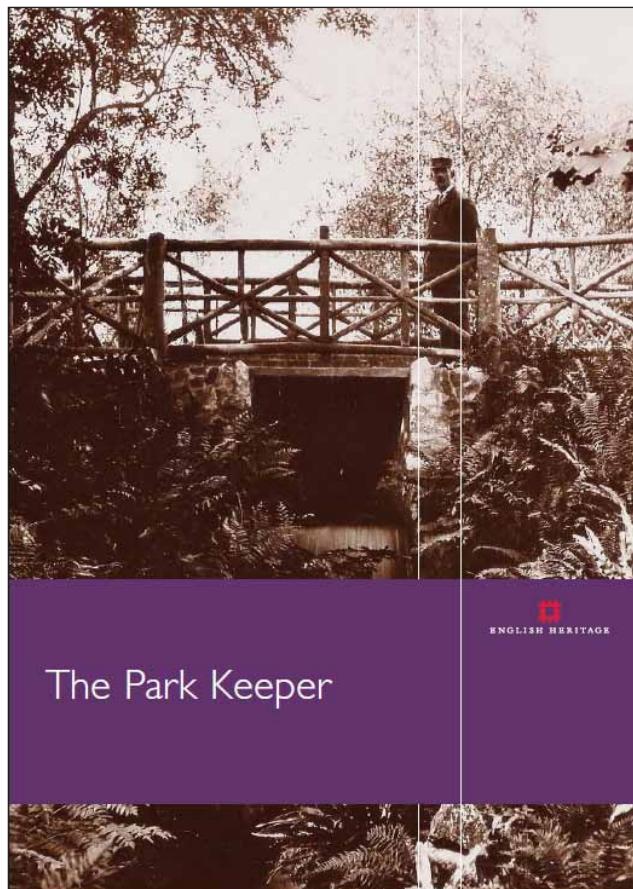
The manner in which budgets were managed varied from city to city. In some instances, parks and garden committees seem to have paid the wage and repair bills presented to them by head gardeners without question, as was the case for many decades in Birmingham. In other instances, the records suggest direct intervention in specific sites, such as Sefton Park in Liverpool, where many of those on the council had their personal residences. Whatever the local style of management, nationally the picture remained positive well into the 20th century.

Between the 1890s and the First World War, a large proportion of privately run gardens were acquired by local authorities (both by design and as a last resort), increasing the demands placed on budgets. Yet, despite such pressures, local authorities oversaw the most stable period of parks provision in their history. For nearly a century, revenues from local taxation were supplemented by local revenue-raising innovations, such as temporary fun fairs, festivals, open-air theatre, and cafes. The 1967 Maud Committee and subsequent Bains report marked the end of the relative independence of parks and gardens committees within the local authority structure. The Local Government Act of 1972 and the restructuring that it prompted may have been designed to improve efficiency of management, but the consequence was undoubtedly a loss of local skills and knowledge and a progressive detachment of revenue raising from individual sites. Redefined as ‘leisure services’, historic local authority parks have had to compete for funds on terms that do not always reflect their unique qualities and status as heritage assets.

In 1988, the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering [CCT] was intended to ensure that all council services were competitively priced, delivering value for money to the tax payer. In reality, the result was a drastic decline in the quality of many public services and parks (Lasdun, 1991, 187–202). The problem was twofold: In terms of the tendering process, local authorities had to accept the lowest quotation, even when this might offer poor value for money. However, even more catastrophic was the fact that the system removed the correlation between savings and budgets; where savings were not ring-fenced and passed onto the parks, there was little incentive to develop and improve a facility. The introduction of the ‘Best Value’ model (1994) mitigated some of the worst effects of the tendering process, but did not impose ring-fencing of savings. Thus, in many parks today, efficiency savings have served only to subsidise other council services.

In an age of outsourcing and public-private partnerships, it is perhaps inevitable that new models should emerge to challenge the dominance of local authorities. However, the loss of local authority staff in the form of park rangers, park keepers, landscape and horticultural professionals, has had a tangible and detrimental impact of the sector as a whole. With the decline of the large country house estates following the First World War, local authorities came to provide the bulk of horticultural training and career structure in Britain (English Heritage, 2012b). Under such pressures and diminishing tax revenues, it is not surprising that local authorities struggled to maintain the high standards they had set previously.

To some extent, the perceived failure of the local authority model has been a self-fulfilling prophecy. As successive services were cut and outsourced, in-house departments found it harder to justify their existence. Furthermore, as the maintenance itself was simplified and downgraded to grass cutting and tree pollarding, opportunities to demonstrate the very real economic value of employing a trained workforce diminished. The result is that today, most local authority parks departments have been hollowed out. Yet, while it might be fair to assert that the management model currently employed in local authorities is struggling, the historical record indicates that this has, to some extent, been by design rather than any systemic weakness.



Historic England's 'The Park Keeper' was published to help inform the debate about park staffing and park keeping. The 'parkie' of old has come a very long way. Today's park-management teams must combine the traditional functions of groundskeeper and guardian with strategic planning and design, recreation and fitness, community liaison and outreach, wildlife management and fundraising.

PART FOUR: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Many of the most radical models for funding green space are more easily applied to when sites are being created; providing endowments and trusts retrospectively is complex and potentially financially unrealistic. However, it is existing green spaces that are most in need of investment and protection. Local authorities, national government and independent bodies should be discouraged from neglecting the greater challenges presented by historic parks in order to win easier battles. New green spaces should not be created at the expense of the nation's portfolio of historic parks and gardens and they are not valid substitutes for existing, historical parks, which continue to perform a practical function as well as constituting valuable heritage assets.

Philanthropy

Charitable Donations/Voluntary Contributions

- Historically, philanthropic engagement with parks tended to be at a local rather than national level. Donors responded to local needs and interests rather than national agendas
- The solicitation and contribution of donations did not require new legislation or powers afforded to local authorities
- Donations are, by their nature, voluntary and therefore unpredictable
- Past donations helped fund parks across a range of owners and management models, including trusts and local authorities
- While historically, the solicitation of donations was frequently conducted by a small number of the local social and political elite who could afford to donate the extensive time required, such 'Athenaeum cliques' no longer exist in many British towns and cities. Consequently, the solicitation and management of cash donations now demands considerable resources in itself
- As many large donations have historically been made as a means of commemorating or memorialising an individual, they have also generally been applied for capital investment only. When multiple donors have been sought, fundraising has commonly been restricted to a discrete timeframe
- There are no significant examples of donations to support endowments and sustained management income
- Charitable donation has historically been used in the creation of new facilities. There is little historical precedent for using large donations to secure ongoing maintenance budgets or an endowment for existing public parks
- For the year 2010/11, only three per cent of all charitable donations in the UK went to environmental causes, and only two per cent went to sports; health (excluding hospitals) attracted five per cent (UK Civil Society Almanac 2012, <https://data.ncvo.org.uk/>)

- HLF's *State of UK Public Parks* records that friends groups have been raising £30m per year for parks which is commendable but a tiny proportion of fund raising or sums required (HLF, 2014). For example, the most recent data available from the Milton Keynes Parks Trust indicates that body alone currently expends £6.78 million per annum on the maintenance and management of parks (*The Parks Trust, Annual Report and Financial Statements 2014/15*, 27).

Historically, financial donations have tended to be socially exclusive as the ability to donate significant sums was limited to those with disposable capital. The disproportionate power that this afforded a small group of donors enabled a number of them to exert control formally or informally over the site or wider park portfolio. Early fundraising campaigns for local parks commonly relied upon the residency of a number of extremely wealthy individuals who identified strongly with a particular city and its people. As industry and commerce is now globalised, wealth has become detached from the centres of production. In Britain today, there may be few individuals who both identify exclusively with a particular city and whose wealth would be great enough to fund substantial projects. Consequently, notwithstanding local enthusiasm, there may no longer be the economic resources within a region, town or community to replicate the local philanthropy that characterised Victorian urban improvements. The historical record suggests that philanthropic donation is not a sustainable model for funding existing parks. Developments of the 21st-century such as crowd funding and more volunteering offer new philanthropic donation approaches and may present a more socially inclusive and economically sustainable model for modern communities. However, the scale of funding raising may be a challenge.

Donation of Land and Transferal of Existing Parks

- Some estate parks already included features and facilities that were appropriate for public use, such as lakes, bridges, and mature trees
- Donation of land helped to protect sites from residential and commercial development
- When land was appropriate for adaptation into a park, its donation saved local authorities the purchasing cost
- A gift of land alone equated to a capital donation, which was often unaccompanied by any financial endowment
- Donations of land or other non-cash assets (such as statues, glasshouses, or fountains) sometimes increased the financial burden of landscaping and maintaining a park
- Donations of land parcels were sometimes used as 'bargaining chips' by commercial developers to compensate for undesirable building schemes that would be rejected on their own terms
- The significant inflation of land values in an area approved for development can distort the perceived monetary value of a donated land parcel and deter donations in areas where parks are most needed.

Land donated has rarely been high-value land; it is typically land that was deemed unsuitable for housing development or agriculture due to flooding, marsh, former industrial use, and/or uneven terrain. It was thus rarely selected strategically or located in commercially desirable locations. This not only limited the location and extent of land donated, but also meant much of the land ‘gifted’ required substantial landscaping and improvement before it can be used by the public. The donor often placed covenants on the land that reflected their personal wishes at the price of popularity, function, and long-term viability. Although the successive reorganisation of local authorities has restructured the power systems through which parks are managed, original covenants placed on land by donors as early as the 1840s may still present an obstacle to new land uses and revenue-generating schemes. This may be an area of negotiation for new sites, but may prove more problematic for existing historic parks and gardens.

In some instances, local authorities acquired ‘ready-made’ parks with at least some of the necessary features and furniture and as with any form of land donation, the new owner saved the purchase price. However, parks were often transferred to the local authority in a poor state of disrepair, requiring immediate capital investment. The transferral of the asset was rarely accompanied by transferral of an endowment as a lack of funds was the principle motivation behind their disposal. Historically, local authorities have acted as custodians and funders of last resort, meaning that any parks that have been transferred in this manner had a record of financial difficulties. In the past the potential to transfer parks to local authorities has served as an informal underwriting for private ventures with profitable parks remaining in private ownership and losses transferred to the tax payer. However, most local authorities no longer accept such land donations and are, in fact, seeking to transfer their parks to other agencies. In 2014 the figure stood at 45 per cent of local authorities that were considering disposing of some green spaces (HLF, 2014).

Subscription

- Subscriptions provide medium-term income and support for a site beyond capital investment
- Sites are funded directly by those who use them
- Subscribers have often paid fees specifically to enjoy relatively exclusive environments making sites either inaccessible, or at least limiting their access to those on low incomes. In the past this has served to reinforce social divisions in some cities and neighbourhoods.

Successful modern membership organisations typically hold a large portfolio of sites distributed across the country and the jewels in the crown of membership organisations tend to be ‘destination’ sites, attracting visitors from significant distances. The exception has been local garden societies and pleasure gardens, the appeal of which often relied upon the expected personal gain from regular use. Such a model thus relied upon a committed local, resident population with the means and desire to subscribe. The park ‘product’ on offer had to be seen to have a unique attraction above and beyond comparable free locations. This committed the management to continual innovation and improvement which ultimately led to the financial collapse of many pleasure gardens.

Taxation

- Funding via taxation has provided the most secure and sustainable model for British parks
- Democratic accountability remains intact. Government has never, and is unlikely to, provide the requisite funding to support local authorities in their provision of public parks
- Local authorities are currently forbidden by severe financial penalties from raising council taxes to improve park services
- Attitudes to taxation remain subject to political agendas and electoral cycles
- The geographical reach of parks (both perceived and real) has always been central to the question of taxation. Different approaches are needed for 'destination' and 'local' parks
- As non-statutory services, parks have become a low priority for many local authorities. Without ring-fencing, local authorities have often reduced their expenditure on local parks
- The source of funding is also the funder of last resort. In some instances this can discourage short-termism and profiteering from public assets
- By sharing financial responsibility for a park, all residents and users have a stake in its survival and equality of access in its use.

Local authorities are not immune to external pressures, such as housing targets. Historically, local authority ownership often protected sites from development but this is no longer the case. The historical record provides evidence that increasing the powers afforded to local authorities to raise revenues locally has historically increased park budgets, without increasing central government spending. This was the strategy employed in 1875 and which led to the longest period in financial stability across the sector.

Grants

- The model of relying on grants for capital projects dates back to Peel's initial, albeit it insufficient, national fund of £10,000 (which would equate to approximately £770,000 in today's real price value)
- They have commonly provided injections of cash for capital investments that can completely transform the long-term performance and sustainability of parks
- Competition for grants can also encourage best practice.

There is evidence that grant competitions have sometimes forced managers of multiple parks to privilege one park at the expense of others, thus actually condemning some sites to further dereliction. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other programme of funding, grants can provide the only means of funding comprehensive restoration projects.

Loans

- Loans can enable capital expenditure projects to occur where grant applications have been unsuccessful or where match funding cannot be guaranteed
- For parks in areas of social deprivation and therefore with low revenues from local taxes, loans can provide the initial injection of cash for renovations that in turn raise property values and the potential for revenue-raising activity, such as weddings and ticketed events
- Loans must be repaid and therefore depend on the creation of a surplus in revenues in excess of the funds required to maintain the site
- During economic downturns, ability to repay a loan may be reduced, placing additional pressure on the service
- Interest on a loan can take money away from parks delivery.

To be sustainable, loans are most effectively invested in revenue-creating schemes. For trusts, this can work well as they can ring-fence the subsequent return for use in parks, but such protection is essential.

Speculative Development

- Although sale of properties can deliver a necessary injection of capital for initial laying-out costs, this has historically proved unsustainable as a source of income. An annual levy could potentially cover ongoing maintenance
- London garden squares provide one historical example of where the value of private developments was directly increased by the provision of high quality green space. However, the private nature of many remaining locked garden squares brings into question its suitability as a model for public parks
- As early as the 1840s, a reliance on funds generated from speculative developments has reduced the financial burden on local authorities
- The model is difficult to introduce retrospectively.

Today, even allowing for inflation, the price of real estate across England is far higher today than in the mid-19th century. The sale of building plots would therefore potentially deliver proportionately higher, albeit finite, sums to fund parks. However, as the greatest challenge currently lies in funding existing parks, focusing on speculative development misdirects attention away from the most pressing problem. New developments within existing historic parks can compromise the public status as well as their physical character. In addition, high residential property values have historically been linked to social exclusivity which was always in conflict with the principle of equal access that underpins modern park provision. Compounding such risks is the historical reality that the sums raised by speculative development have proved insufficient for park creation, let alone ongoing maintenance.

Endowment

- Those in control of an endowment can potentially operate independently of local and national government, meaning they are relatively unaffected by the electoral cycle and external political pressures, such as housing targets
- After the initial endowment is provided, there is no ongoing cost to the local authority
- Ring fencing is integral to the endowment model, ensuring that the returns made from investing the endowment are ploughed back into the parks service
- An enormous endowment is required and the delivery of a cash endowment is a financial impossibility for most local authorities
- A portion of any cash endowment must be invested in order to secure long-term viability. This limits the sums available for capital investment and maintenance, compounding the need for a large initial endowment
- The requirement to invest and develop an endowment means they are not immune to losses and bankruptcy
- The terms of the lease that accompanies an endowment must be laid down at the start of the lease. It can be difficult to ensure that these terms suit the needs of future generations.

A diverse and large portfolio of assets used to support parks is essential for financial resilience. Therefore, the endowment model is more reliable when economies of scale can be exploited. Endowments are potentially more vulnerable when liabilities and assets are limited to only a few sites and investments. Given the current trend towards a fragmentation of the sector, and pressure to transfer assets to small, individual communities, local authorities may need to act sooner rather than later if they wish to adopt this model. To date even the most long-standing trusts charged with managing public parks has just two decades of experience. The long-term viability of the model is untested.

Revenue Creation within Parks

- Revenues reflect intensity of use, meaning that popular destinations which experience significant footfall can be recompensed with higher revenues
- There is high market demand for events such as weddings and concerts
- A diversification of land use can make parks more resilient to climate change and trends in leisure and recreation
- Ticket prices can be prohibitively expensive
- Many events and land uses require the exclusion of the public, albeit on a temporary basis
- The noise, traffic, and disruption caused by some events can create friction with local residents and stakeholders.

Certain forms of commercial activities are particularly suited to historic parks, where the heritage landscape commands a premium. Such events include: weddings, filming, and horticultural or agricultural shows. The landscape toll can be costly too with parks damaged by events. Public attitudes to ticketed events tend to be more positive when they reflect a charitable, social, or patriotic cause, such as the Olympics, galas, or heritage days. Also, occasional or short-term events are less divisive than permanent restrictions to public access. While there may be scope to charge for one-off events and possibly small areas of a park, for example a walled garden that was kept to the very highest standard, this may not make much difference to financial sustainability of a large site.

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APPENDIX A - TIMELINE OF PUBLIC PARK FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT IN ENGLAND

1833	Select Committee on Public Walks
1835	Municipal Reform Act
1846	Liverpool Corporation takes control of the city's Botanic Gardens
1847	Towns Improvement Clauses Act
1848	Public Health Act
1859	Recreation Grounds Act
1860	Public Improvements Act
1863	Town Gardens Protection Act
	Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act
1865	Commons Preservation Society founded
	Improvement Act (enables Town Corporations and Councils to raise funds for large-scale improvement projects)
1866	Metropolitan Commons Act
	Sanitary Act
Late 1860s	Economic recession and property crash
1866	Metropolitan Commons Act
1870	People's Garden Company founded
1871	Public Parks, Schools and Museums Act
1875	People's Garden Company goes into liquidation
	Public Health Act
1876	Kyrle Society Founded
	(date is disputed and sometimes given as 1877 or 1878)
	Commons Act

1877	Metropolitan Open Spaces Act
1879	Kyrle Society established open spaces sub committee
1881	Metropolitan Open Spaces Act
1882	Metropolitan Parks, Boulevards, and Playgrounds Association founded (renamed the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association)
1884	National Footpath Preservation Society founded
	Disused Burial Grounds Act
1887	Open Spaces Act
1890	London Playing Fields Association founded
1890	Public Health Acts Amendment Act
1895	National Trust founded
1906	Open Spaces Act
1914-1918	First World War
1929	Wall Street Crash prompts global recession
1931	London Squares Preservation Act
1939-1945	Second World War
1949	National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act
1968	Countryside Act and Countryside Commission for England and Wales established
1967	Maud Committee on the Management of Local Government
1972	Bains Report published (<i>The New Local Authorities: management and Structure</i>)
	Local Government Act
1988	Local Government Act introduces Compulsory Competitive Tendering
1992	Local Government Act
1996	Green Flag Awards established
	Heritage Lottery Fund opens its Urban Parks Programme

1999	Parliamentary Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs
	Countryside Commission merges with the Rural Development Commission to form the Countryside Agency
	Compulsory Competitive Tendering replaced with ‘Best Value’ model
	Urban Parks Forum established
2001	Government’s Urban Green Spaces Task Force set up
2002	Urban Green Spaces Task Force reports
2003	Urban Parks Forum renamed GreenSpace
	CABESpace is established at the Commission of Architecture and the Built Environment
2008	Global recession begins
2010	Government’s Comprehensive Spending Review
-----	----- cut off year for this review -----
2011	CABESpace is dissolved and resources archived, and Design Council (a Royal Charter charity) merged with CABE
	Localism Act
2013	GreenSpace ceased, and assets and intellectual property dispersed
2014	Heritage Lottery Fund’s State of UK Public Parks Report and Heritage Lottery Fund-Big Lottery-Nesta Rethink Parks Programme set up
2016	Heritage Lottery Fund-Big Lottery-Nesta Learning to Rethink Parks report published
	Heritage Lottery Fund State of UK Parks updated research published
	Parliamentary Select Committee inquiry on public parks announced

APPENDIX B - NOTES ON THE AUTHOR AND CONTRIBUTORS

Author

The research has been conducted by Dr Katy Layton-Jones. Having completed a MPhil and PhD in British history at the University of Cambridge Katy Layton-Jones moved to the University of Liverpool where she was engaged on the Liverpool Parks and Open Spaces research project, co-funded and supported by English Heritage and Liverpool City Council. Her first book, *Places of Health and Amusement*, was co-written with Professor Robert Lee and published by English Heritage in 2008. Her monograph, *Beyond the Metropolis: the Image of Urban Britain 1780–1880* was published by Manchester University Press in February 2016. Katy Layton-Jones has researched and published widely for academic, professional, and public readerships. Recent academic publications include: 'The synthesis of town and trade: visualising provincial urban identity 1800-1851' in *Urban History* (2008); A Commanding View: Liverpool's Public Parks, 1722–1870, Cultural and Social History (2013), and 'A legacy of ambivalence: industrial exhibitions, pleasure parks and urban green space in Itzen and Müller's (eds) *Industry and Industrial Heritage in the Twentieth Century*' (2013). Katy Layton-Jones has appeared on BBC Radio 4's *Making History* and the BBC television series, *People's Palaces: The Golden Age of Civic Architecture*. She has given public lectures at the Southbank Centre, Imperial War Museum, Rhodes College, Memphis (USA), and Colgate University, (USA). Since 2008, Katy Layton-Jones has been based at the Centre of Urban History, University of Leicester, where she now holds a research post. She is an Associate Editor for Urban History and currently also lectures for the Open University. Katy Layton-Jones authored the 'National review of research priorities' for *Urban Parks, Designed Landscapes and Open Spaces* (Historic England, 2014).

Contributors

Drew Bennellick, Head of Landscape and Natural Heritage UK, Heritage Lottery Fund
Drew Bennellick is responsible for Heritage Lottery Fund policy, strategy and expert advice in relation to designed landscape and natural heritage projects in the UK. He is responsible for the Parks for People and Landscape Partnership targeted grant programmes, and lead officer on strategy relating to climate change mitigation and adaptation. He was formerly Deputy Director London Region at English Heritage (now Historic England).

Dr Katherine Drayson, Senior Programme & Policy Officer (Environment), GLA
Having completed a PhD at Oxford Brookes University on the ecological impact assessment in the English planning system at Oxford Brookes University, Katherine Drayson was appointed Environment and Energy Research Fellow at Policy Exchange. She has authored two policy reports on urban green spaces: *Park Land* (2013) and *Green Society* (2014). She is a member of DCLG Finance and Policy & Governance green space work streams and London's Green Infrastructure Taskforce. In October 2015 Katherine Drayson took up the post of Senior Programme and Policy Officer at the GLA.

David Foster, Chief Executive, The Parks Trust, Milton Keynes

Chief Executive of the Parks Trust, Milton Keynes since 2003, David Foster was formerly Chief Executive of Thrive (1997-2003) and Operations Director at Ground work (1987–1997).

Prof John R Gold FRSA, FRGS, Professor of Urban Historical Geography, Oxford Brookes University

John Gold has held visiting positions at the London School of Economics, the University of Surrey, the University of Birmingham, and Queen Mary, University of London. In 1999 he won the 1999 AESOP Prize for the 'best article in a journal or collection of papers, by an author researching in planning in Europe'. Recent publications include: Gold, JR and Gold, MM eds. *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2012* (2007) and Gold, JR and Gold, MM *Festival Cities: Culture, Planning and Urban Life since 1918* (2013).

Steve Hardiman, Landscape Consultant

Steve Hardiman is a semi-retired landscape consultant with a wealth of experience in park management. From 1979 to 1989 he was a landscape architect for Wandsworth Borough Council after which was a landscape group leader for Kelsey Associates. In 1991 he joined Bristol City Council where he became the manager of the Landscape Design Team and subsequently manager of Place Shaping within Bristol's City Design Group.

Dr Stewart Harding, Director, The Parks Agency

Stewart Harding is an expert in all aspects of the management, improvement, promotion and evaluation of parks, gardens and open spaces. He has written and lectured extensively on topics relating to the restoration of historic designed landscapes. While completing his PhD he ran the Avon County Council historic parks and gardens survey and became Conservation Officer for the Avon Gardens Trust and, later, its Chairman. In 1990 he took over the Countryside Commission's Task Force Trees grant scheme for historic parks and gardens in the south west, awarding grants to 50 sites including The Lost Gardens of Heligan and Trebah in Cornwall, Hestercombe in Somerset, Ashton Court in Bristol and Royal Victoria Park in Bath. In 1996 Stewart was seconded to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to establish and run its Urban Parks Programme which awarded £185 million to 200 public parks and later became the Parks for People programme. On completing his secondment in 2000 he set up the Country Parks renaissance for the Countryside Agency, pioneering the first country park restoration with HLF funding at Lydiard Park in Wiltshire and laying the foundations for further work in this area. He established The Parks Agency with David Lambert in 2002.

David Lambert, Director, The Parks Agency

David Lambert is a leading authority on the history of parks and gardens. Having obtained a first-class degree from Oxford, he went on to become a Research Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies at the University of York and Conservation Officer for the Garden History Society (GHS) where he oversaw the development of the GHS as a statutory consultee in the planning process. In 1992,

he and Hazel Conway wrote *Public Prospects* (1993), one of the first reports to draw attention to the crisis in public parks, and he has been closely involved in the renaissance of urban parks over the following twenty years. He served as special adviser to three House of Commons Select Committee inquiries and is currently a member of Historic England's Advisory Committee and the National Trust's Gardens Panel, as well as the advisory committees of Historic Royal Palaces and the World Monuments Fund. He is also a trustee and board member of The Gardens Trust, and a member of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation. Publications include *The Park Keeper* (2005) and *Parks and Gardens: a researcher's guide* (2006). He has written a regular column in *The London Gardener* for many years, and most recently he has published a guide to *War Memorial Parks and Gardens* (2014) for Historic England. He is a visiting lecturer and dissertation supervisor for the Masters courses on the conservation of historic gardens and cultural landscapes at the University of Bath.

Prof Robert Lee MBE, Director, Park Roots, and Professor Emeritus, University of Liverpool

Appointed lecturer in Economic History at the University of Liverpool in 1972, Robert Lee was later appointed Chaddock Professor of Economic and Social History. He has had visiting professorships at Bielefeld, Stockholm and Knostanz and has been awarded research grants totalling over £3 million including: Big Lottery, Local Food Grant, 'Edward Kemp Community Gardens and Growing Area', £95,569 (2011), Heritage Lottery Foundation, 'Birkenhead Park: Heritage Education and Community Involvement', £454,500 (2006), and ESRC, 'Liverpool's Parks and Open Spaces: their historical and contemporary relevance', £43,200 (2005). He is the Chairman of the Friends of Birkenhead Park (1996 – present), Wirral Parks Friends Forum (2006–present), and Wirral Parks Steering Committee (2007 –present). Since 2008 he has served as the Director of Parks Roots C.I.C. and also sits on the Executive of the Wirral History and Heritage Association, Executive Committee and Metropolitan Borough of Wirral, Birkenhead Park Management Committee. He is the panel chairman, University of Gothenburg research quality evaluation for Economic History, Economics, Law, Economic and Human Geography (RED10); Research Quality Advisory Panel, and AHRC reviewer for the Landscape and Environment small grants scheme.

Professor Lee's publications include: *Demography, Urbanization and Migration*, in S Berger (ed) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914* (2006); "It's My Park": *Reinterpreting the History of Birkenhead Park within the Context of an Education Outreach Project*, *The Public Historian in A Journal of Public History* (2010) with Karen Tucker; *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth-Century Business Elites* (ed) (2011); *Networks of Influence and Power: business, culture and identity in Liverpool's Merchant Community, 1800-1914* (ed) (2012); *The Making of Modern Europe: Economy, Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (2013); and *The People's Garden?: A History of Crime & Policing in Birkenhead Park* (2013).

Dr Carole O'Reilly, Lecturer, University of Salford

Carole O'Reilly graduated from the National University of Ireland (Cork) with a BA (Hons) in English & Sociology. Carole O'Reilly received her PhD in 2009 from Manchester Metropolitan University for a thesis on the sale of Heaton Park to

Manchester City Council in 1902. Since then, she has published her parks research in journals such as *Urban History Review* and *Urban History* and she is currently writing a social history of British public parks titled *Greening the City: Urban Parks and Public Culture*.

*Paul Rabbitts, Environmental Services Client Manager (Parks and Open Spaces)
Watford Borough Council*

Paul Rabbitts is an experienced public and private sector senior manager now working as a Client Manager responsible for managing large outsourced contracts and partnership covering Parks and Open Spaces for Watford Borough Council. He has extensive experience in the Parks and Recreation sector and has published on various aspects of historical parks, including a history of bandstands (2015) and histories of *Hyde Park* (2015) and *Regent's Park* (2013), and in 2016 *Great British Parks: A Celebration*.

Lydia Ragoonanan, Programme Manager, Rethinking Parks Programme, Nesta

Lydia Ragoonanan is a strategy, change and innovation professional. Having worked as a Senior Advisor and then Principal Advisor at the Strategy Unit of NZ transport agency and a Team Leader for the London Borough of Camden, in 2013 she was appointed programme manager for the HLF Rethinking Parks project at the National Endowment for Science Technology and the Arts (Nesta).

Others

A number of employees and former employees of local authorities were consulted in the course of this research. Collectively they hold over 200 years' experience in the sector. The majority of their personal experience relates to post-1960. However, in some instances they were also able to relay the experiences of their predecessors, dating back to early decades of the 20th century. Many wished to remain anonymous. However, their roles and responsibilities ranged from those of Gardener to Local Authority Managers with responsibility for entire park portfolios. Where supported by evidence, their views have been quoted or reflected in the report. Four of the main contributors were provided with a draft of this report for comment and endorsed its findings.

Historic England - Jenifer White, National Landscape Adviser and Owain Lloyd-James, Historic Environment Intelligence Analyst

Jenifer White is a Historic England National Landscape Adviser. She has England-wide responsibilities for historic parks and garden conservation planning policy, advice, research and standards and has been involved in public park heritage since 2002. Owain Lloyd-James advises on local government impacts. His role covers models of local authority services, local capacity, responsibilities of local government, funding of local government, and transfer of assets to community groups.

Historic England's Historic Parks and Gardens Panel

Historic England's advisory panel on historic parks and gardens discussed the draft report. In 2015 the membership of the panel was Brian Dix, Rosie Atkins, Johanna Gibbons, Colin Treen and Peter Wilkinson.

APPENDIX C - HAZEL CONWAY'S 'CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN MUNICIPAL AND PUBLIC PARK DEVELOPMENTS 1800–1885, AND MAP'

From *People's Parks: the Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (1991) Cambridge University Press with kind permission of Hazel Conway and Cambridge University Press

- Park Name – name at the opening. Subsequent changes are noted. †By the park name indicates restrictions on public entry
- Opening Date – date of official opening, if there was one
- Size – size on opening. No attempt has been made to record additions unless they resulted in the creation of a new park, or a change of name
- Designer (C) – indicates that the designer was selected by competition
- Mode of Acquisition
- LA – park acquired by action of local authority
- Subs – funds raised by subscription
- Royal – royal park
- Leased – park not the property of local authority until the date noted
- Gift – donation of land, or funds for acquisition
- Spec dev – speculative development by an individual or group
- Date of Local Authority Acquisition – date that the local authority acquired the site, or the park (unless otherwise indicated this was also the date for unrestricted, free entry)

OPENING	TOWN	PARK	SIZE (hectares)	DESIGNER	MODE OF ACQUISITION	DATE OF LOCAL AUTHORITY ACQUISITION
1826	London	Regent's Park	142.0	J Nash	royal	
1830	Bath	Royal Victoria Park	4.0		leased	
1833	Preston	Moor Park	74.0	E Milner (1864)	LA	
1836	Gravesend	Terrace Garden	1.2	JC Loudon	private development	sold for building 1875
1839	Luton	Pope's Meadow			Winch Trust	1895
1840	Derby	The Arboretum†	4–5.0	JC Loudon	gift	1882
1841	Sheffield	Norfolk Park	25.0		gift	1909
1842	London	Primrose Hill			royal	
1842	Liverpool	Prince's Park	16.0	J Paxton E Milner	spec dev	1908
1844	Edinburgh	East Prince's Street Gardens			LA	
1844	Southampton	The Common and The Parks			LA	
1845	London	Victoria Park	78.0	J Pennethorne J Gibson	royal	1887
1846	Bradford	Woolsorter's Baths and Pleasure Gardens†	3.2	W Barratt	leased	
1846	Manchester	Philips Park	12.5	J Major (C)	subs	1846
1846	Manchester	Queen's Park	12.0	J Major (C)	subs	1846
1846	Salford	Peel Park	12.0	J Major (C)	subs	1846

1847	Birkenhead	Birkenhead Park	50.0	J Paxton	LA	1844
1847	Preston	Avenham Park	10.5	E Milner (1864)	LA	1847
1849	Darlington	Bellasses Park (later The People's Park then South Park)	8.3	leased		1877
1850	Bradford	Peel Park	22.6	subs		1863
1852	London	Kennington Park	8.0	royal		1887
1852	Nottingham	The Arboretum	7.7	S Curtis	LA	free entry
1853	Ipswich	Lower Arboretum [†]	2.0	W Pontey		1903
1853	Ipswich	Upper Arboretum	3.2	W Pontey		1928
1853	Torquay	Torwood Gardens	0.12			1853
1854	Bolton	Bradford Park	8.3	loan	still not municipally owned	
1854	Glasgow	Kelvingrove Park	26.0	J Paxton	LA	1852
1854	Macclesfield	Peel Park (laster West Park) [†]	8.3	W Barron & Sons	LA	1854
1856	Birmingham	Adderley Park	4.0		leased	1871
1856	Liverpool	Wavertree Park	12.0		LA	1843
1856	London	Battersea Park	80.0	J Pennethorne J Gibson	royal	1887
1856	London	Crystal Palace Park [†]	81.0	J Paxton E Milner	spec dev	1952
1856	Reading	Forbury Gardens	1.6	JB Clacy	LA	1854
1857	Birmingham	Calthorpe Park	12.0		leased	1871

1857	Blackburn	Corporation Park	20.0	LA	1855
1857	Glasgow	Glasgow Green	55.0	James Celland (1815–26)	1450 (tolls applied until 1857)
1857	Halifax	People's Park	5.0	J Paxton E Milner	gift
1857	Leeds	Woodhouse Moor	25.0	LA	1857
1857	Sunderland	People's Park (later Mowbray Park)	5.6	Mr Lawson J Smith	LA
1858	Birmingham	Aston Hall Park [†]	20.0	shareholders	1864
1858	Stockport	Vernon Park	8.5	gift	1851
1859	Devonport	Devonport Park	15.0	R Veitch & Son (1895)	LA/subs
1859	Worcester	Arboretum Gardens [†]	10.0	W Barren	spec dev
1860	Hull	Pearson Park	11.0	J C Niven	LA
1860	Peterborough	Stanley Recreation Ground		gift	1866
1861	Gateshead	Windmill Hills	4.0	LA	1860
1862	Abingdon	Albert Park	5.6	Mr Chapman of Dulwich (C)	spec dev
1862	Barnsley	Barnsley Park (later Locke Park)	6.0	Mr Fox	still privately owned (in 1991) 1869
1862	Glasgow	Queen's Park	23.0	J Paxton	LA
1862	Liverpool	Shiel Park	6.0	LA	1847
1863	Dundee	Baxter Park	15.4	J Paxton	gift

1863	London	Alexandra Park	81.0	A McKenzie	spec dev	
1864	Farnworth	Farnworth Park	5.0		gift and lease	1864
1864	Hastings	St Andrew's Gardens (later part of Alexandra Park)			LA	1864
1864	Leeds	Lemon Street Playground			LA	1864
1864	Preston	Miller Park	4.5	E Milner	gift	
1865	Bingley	Prince of Wales' Park	7.3		LA and subs	1860
1865	Croydon	Duppas Hill	14.0		LA	1865
1865	Warrington	Recreation Ground			rented	
1866	Bolton	Bolton Park (later Queen's Park)	18.6		LA	1864
1866	Bolton	Heywood Recreation Ground	3.6	Henderson	part gift, part lease	1862
1866	Dunfermline	The Public Park	16.0	J Paxton	gift	1863
1866	Great Yarmouth	St George's Park	2.0		LA	
1866	Sunderland	Mowbray Extension Park	5.0	J Lindsay (C)	LA	
1867	Chester	Grosvenor Park	8.3	E Kemp	gift and subs	
1867	London	Poplar Recreation Ground	0.75		LA	1867
1867	Weymouth	Alexandra Gardens			gift	1880
1868	Glasgow	Alexandra Park	20.0	D McLellan	LA	1866
1868	Liverpool	Newsham Park	46.0	M Tyerman	LA	1847

1868	London	Peckham Rye Park	20.0	LA	1868
1868	Luton	People's Park including Pope's Meadow		trustees	1894
1868	Oldham	Alexandra Park	26.0	LA	1865
1868	Middlesbrough	Albert Park	30.0	W Barratt	1866
1868	Paisley	Fountain Gardens		J C Niven	
1868	Southport	Hesketh Park	12.0	E Kemp	1865
1869	Bolton	Darbishire Recreation Ground	0.8	gift	1868
1869	Leeds	Bank Lodge Recreation Ground	7.3	LA	1869
1869	London	Albert Embankment Gardens		LA	
1869	London	Finsbury Park	46.5	A McKenzie	1857
1869	London	Southwark Park	25.5	A McKenzie	1864
1870	Bradford	Lister Park	22.2	LA	1870
1870	Leeds	Bramley Recreation Ground	4.0	LA	1870
1870	Liverpool	Stanley Park	40.5	E Kemp	1866
1871	Aberdeen	Victoria Park (formerly Glennie's Park)		J Robertson	1871
1871	Saltaire	Saltaire Park	5.6	W Gay	
1872	Iffracombe	Ropery Meadow		LA	1872

1872	Leeds	Roundhay Park	175.0	G Corson	LA	1870
1872	Lincoln	Lincoln Arboretum	5.2	E Milner	LA	1870
1872	Liverpool	Sefton Park	109.0	E Andre (C)	LA	1865
1873	Birmingham	Cannon Hill Park	25.0		gift	1873
1873	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Leazes Park	4.0		LA	1873
1873	Stalybridge/Aston-under-Lyne	Stamford Park	27.0		gift and subs	1891
1873	Warrington	Bank Park	7.0		LA	1872
1874	London	Chelsea Embankment Gardens			LA	
1874	London	West Ham Park	32.5		LA	
1874	Rochdale	Broadfield Park	7.7	Stanfield & Son leased		1894
1874	Sheffield	Weston Park	5.0	R Marnock	LA	1873
1874	Swansea	Brynmill Park			LA	
1874	Walsall	The Arboretum [†]	2.8		spec dev	1881
1875	London	Victoria Embankment Gardens	4.0	A McKenzie	LA	
1875	Sheffield	Firth Park	14.0		gift	
1875	South Shields	North Park				
1875	South Shields	Recreation Ground	1.6		gift	
1876	Birmingham	Highgate Park	3.6		LA	1875
1876	Birmingham	Summerfield Park	5.0		LA	1876

1876	Edinburgh	Inverleith Park		LA	1876
1876	Ilfracombe	Capstone Hill		LA	1876
1876	Leeds	Woodhouse Ridge	6.5	LA	1876
1876	Rotherham	Boston Park	9.6	Mr Albiston leased	1873
1876	Salford	Seedley Park	H Moore		
1876	Swansea	Cwmdonkin Park		LA	
1877	Barnsley	Locke Park (adjoining Barnsley Park)	8.3	W Barren gift	1877
1877	Birmingham	Burbury Street Recreation Ground	1.6	gift	1876
1877	Gateshead	Saltwell Park	19.0	E Kemp	1876
1877	Leeds	Holbeck Intake	1.2	LA	1877
1877	Paisley	Brodie Park	9.0	gift	1877
1877	Rochdale	Cronkeyshaw Common	20.6	LA	1877
1877	Salford	Albert Park	6.0	H Moore	
1878	Bradford	Horton Park	24.0	W Gay	LA
1878	Liverpool	St Martin's Recreation Ground	0.7	LA	1873
1878	Llanelli	People's Park	6.5	W Barron of Sketty Swansea	1878
1878	Portsmouth	Victoria Park	5.0	A McKenzie	LA
1878	West Bromwich	Dartmouth Park	22.6	C Turner leased	1919
1878	Wigan	Mesnes Park	5.7	J McClean (C) gift	1874

1879	Birmingham	Small Heath Park (later Victoria Park)	15.0		
1879	Bristol	Gotham Gardens	1.0	leased	
1879	Kilmarnock	Kay Park	16.5	D M'Lellan gift	
1879	Leeds	Hunslet Moor	25.5	LA	1879
1879	Leeds	Oak Road Recreation Ground	1.8	LA	1879
1879	London	Silver Street Playground	0.3		
1879	Manchester	Heywood Park	8.3	LA	1878
1879	Salford	Ordsal Park		H Moore LA	
1880	Accrington	Higher Antley Recreation Ground	6.0	LA	
1880	Accrington	Milnshaw Park	2.4	LA	1879
1880	Altringham	Stamford Park		J Shaw gift	
1880	Bradford	Bowling Park	20.0	Kershaw & Hepworth LA	1878
1880	Coventry	Swanswell Recreation Ground		LA	
1880	Leicester	Victoria Park	29.0	LA	1880
1880	London	St Luke's Parish Playground Whitechapel	01	rented	
1880	Newcastle-upon- Tyne	Armstrong Park	20.0	Mr Fowler LA and gift	

1880	Norwich	Chapel Field Gardens	3.0		LA	1866
1881	Edinburgh	West Prince's St Gardens			LA	1876
1881	Halifax	Shrogg's Park	9.7		LA	
1881	Lancaster	Williamson Park	14.0	J McClean	gift	
1881	Wolverhampton	West Park	20.0	R H Vertegans (C)	leased	
1881	Worthing	People's Park (later Homefield Park)			gift	
1882	Birmingham	St Mary's Gardens	0.8			
1882	Hastings	Alexandra Park (including St Andrew's Gardens)	41.0	R Marnock	LA	1872
1882	Leicester	Abbey Park	26.7	W Barren & Sons	LA	1878
1882	Liverpool	Aubrey Street Recreation Ground	0.6			
1882	London	Wanstead Park	53.4		LA	
1883	Aberdeen	Duthie Park	17.8			
1883	Bristol	Bedminster Pleasure Park	10.0		gift	1883
1883	Ealing	Lammas Park			LA	1881
1883	Grimsby	People's Park	9.7	W Barren & Sons	gift	
1883	Huddersfield	Beaumont Park	10.0		gift	1879
1883	Southend-on-Sea	Prittlewell Square	0.4			
1883	West Hartlepool	Ward-Jackson Memorial Park	6.9	Matthew Scott	LA	1883

1884	Brighton	Preston Park	27.0	LA	1883
1884	Bristol	St Agnes Gardens	1.0	LA	1884
1884	Leeds	New Wortley Recreation Ground	12.5	LA	
1884	Liverpool	Brow Street Recreation Ground	0.2	LA	
1884	Liverpool	Kensington Gardens	7.4	LA	
1884	London	Newington Recreation Ground	0.6	LA	
1884	Manchester	Mount Street Recreation Ground	0.4	LA	1884
1884	Manchester	Churnett Street Recreation Ground	0.6	LA	1884
1884	Manchester	Butler Street Recreation Ground		LA	1884
1884	Manchester	Prussia Street Recreation Ground		LA	1884
1884	Manchester	Queen Street Recreation Ground		LA	1884
1884	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Jesmond Dene		gift	
1885	Colchester	Recreation Ground		leased	
1885	Leicester	Spinney Hill Park		LA	
1885	Liverpool	St Luke's Garden			
1885	Liverpool	St Michael's Garden			

1885	Liverpool	St Thomas' Garden			
1885	London	Carlton Square Gardens, Mile End	0.3		
1885	London	St Bartholomew's Churchyard, Bethnal Green			
1885	London	St Paul's Churchyard, Rotherhithe			
1885	London	Highbury Fields	11.0	LA	
1885	Manchester	Birchfields Park		LA	
1885	Manchester	Cheetham Park		LA	
1885	Tynemouth	Northumberland Park	4.0	gift	
1885	Walsall	Redwood Park		LA	
1885	Walsall	Palfrey Park		LA	



Map of Great Britain showing main municipal and public park developments 1800–1880

APPENDIX D - REGISTERED PUBLIC PARKS

'Free to enter' public parks, (including country parks) on the Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in England (May 2016) (see National Heritage List for England <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/>)

Notes: There are other types of public open spaces e.g. public walks, cemeteries, squares on the Register not included in this list. Even if not registered, many public parks include listed buildings, monuments and structures, and some scheduled monuments.

Public Parks, including Country Parks*	Current Local Authority or Managing Organisation	Grade	Approx Size (Ha)	Opening Date as a Public Park
BIRKENHEAD PARK	Metropolitan Borough of Wirral	I	90	1847
BUSHY PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	450	-
CHISWICK HOUSE	Chiswick House & Gardens Trust	I	26	1929
CLUMBER PARK (part) *	National Trust	I	1237.5	1970s
CRAGSIDE (part) * (CRAGSIDE COUNTRY PARK)	National Trust	I	369	1972
GREENWICH PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	74	1900s
HAMPTON COURT PARK	Historic Royal Palaces	I		1893
HARDWICK (part) * (Derbyshire)	National Trust	I	101	1970s
HYDE PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	130	late 18C
KENSINGTON GARDENS	Royal Parks Agency	I	450	-
MOUNT EDGCUMBE*	Plymouth City Council (with Cornwall County Council)	I	205	1971
ROYAL VICTORIA PARK	Bath and NE Somerset Council	I	23	1830
REGENT'S PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	147	1835
RICHMOND PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	1000	1851
SEFTON PARK	Liverpool City Council	I	108	1872
ST JAMES'S PARK	Royal Parks Agency	I	32	1827
THE LEASOWES*	Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council	I	64	1934
ABBEY PARK	Leicester City Council	II*	40	1882
ALEXANDRA PARK	Oldham Council	II*	23	1865

ALEXANDRA PARK	Hastings Borough Council	II*	48.6	1864
ASHTON COURT (ASHTON COURT ESTATE)*	Bristol City Council	II*	350	1959
AVENHAM PARK	Preston City Council	II*	8	1861
BATTERSEA PARK	London Borough of Wandsworth	II*	80	1854
BEDFORD SQUARE	London Borough of Camden	II*	1	1893
BLAISE CASTLE ESTATE	Bristol City Council	II*	100	1926
BRIDGE END GARDENS	Saffron Walden Town Council	II*	3	1902
BURSLEM PARK	City of Stoke on Trent	II*	9	1894
CANNIZARO PARK	London Borough of Merton	II*	13.5	1948
CANNON HILL PARK	Birmingham City Council	II*	24	1873
CENTRAL PARKS	Southampton City Council	II*	21	1850s- 60s
COMBE ABBEY (COMBE COUNTRY PARK)*	Coventry City Council	II*	270	1964
CORPORATION PARK	Blackburn with Darwen Council	II*	18	1857
CRYSTAL PALACE PARK	London Borough of Bromley	II*	80	1854
DERBY ARBORETUM	Derby City Council	II*	7.5	1840
EATON PARK	Norwich City Council	II*	32	1928
ELVASTON CASTLE (ELVASTON CASTLE COUNTRY PARK) *	Derbyshire County Council	II*	80	1970
FULHAM PALACE	Fulham Palace Trust charity and company limited by guarantee	II*	14	1975
GREEN PARK	Royal Parks Agency	II*	20.6	early 19C
GROSVENOR PARK	Cheshire West and Chester Council	II*	6	1867
GROVELANDS PARK	London Borough of Enfield	II*	40	1913
GUNNERSBURY PARK	London Boroughs of Hounslow and Ealing	II*	75	1926
HANLEY PARK	City of Stoke on Trent	II*	24	1897
HARDWICK PARK *	Durham County Council	II*	80	1970s

HESKETH PARK	Sefton Council	II*	12	1868
HIGH TOR	Derbyshire Dales District Council	II*	9	1924
HIGHFIELDS PARK *	Highfields Leisure Park Trust/ University of Nottingham	II*	23	1922
HYLANDS PARK	Chelmsford City Council	II*	233	1966
KENWOOD II*	English Heritage Trust (charity)	II*	45	1928
KNEBWORTH (part)	private	II*	part	1970s
LEIGH PARK* (STAUNTON COUNTRY PARK)	Hampshire County Council	II*	90	1987
LYME PARK (park only) *	National Trust	II*	560	1946
MARBLE HILL PARK	English Heritage	II*	27	1902
MILLER PARK	Preston City Council	II*	3	1864
MOOR PARK	Preston City Council	II*	40	1867
NORFOLK HERITAGE PARK	Sheffield City Council	II*	29	1848
NOTTINGHAM ARBORETUM	Nottingham City Council	II*	7.5	1852
PAVILION GARDENS, BUXTON	High Peak Borough Council	II*	14	late 18C
PEEL PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II*	22.6	1853
PEOPLE'S PARK	North East Lincolnshire Council	II*	9.3	1883
PEOPLES PARK, HALIFAX	Calderdale Council	II*	5.5	1857
PRINCES PARK, LIVERPOOL	Liverpool City Council	II*	75	1842
QUEEN'S PARK	Chesterfield Borough Council	II*	8	1893
QUEEN'S PARK, CREWE	Cheshire East Council	II*	18	1887
QUEEN'S PARK, LONGTON	City of Stoke on Trent	II*	18	1888
RIVER GARDENS	Amber Valley Borough Council	II*	3	1966
ROPNER PARK	Stockton-on-Tees Borough Council	II*	15.5	1893

ST GEORGE'S GARDENS	London Borough of Camden	II*	1	1884
STANLEY PARK, BLACKPOOL	Blackpool Council	II*	104	1922
STANLEY PARK, LIVERPOOL	Liverpool City Council	II*	45	1870
TATTON PARK *	Cheshire East Council / National Trust / Tatton Park Charitable Trust	II*	1000	1958
THE HILL (INVERFORTH HOUSE OR HAMPSTEAD PERGOLA & HILL GARDENS)	City of London	II*	3	1963
THORNDON HALL (THORNDON COUNTRY PARK) *	Essex County Council and Woodland Trust	II*	243	1971
VICTORIA EMBANKMENT GARDENS	City of Westminster	II*		1870
VICTORIA PARK	London Borough of Tower Hamlets	II*	87	1845
WANSTEAD PARK	City of London	II*	129	1882
WATERLOO PARK	Norwich City Council	II*	7.5	1933
WATERLOW PARK	London Borough of Camden	II*	10	1891
WAVERTREE BOTANIC GARDEN AND PARK	Liverpool City Council	II*	14.6	1846
WELLINGTON PARK	Taunton Deane Borough Council	II*	1.8	1903
WEST PARK	City of Wolverhampton Council	II*	20	1881
WIMBLEDON PARK	London Borough of Merton	II*	60	1914
WOLLATON HALL	Nottingham City Council	II*	203	1925
ABBEY GARDENS AND PRECINCTS	Forest Heath District Council	II		1912
ADDINGTON PALACE	London Borough of Croydon	II	9.9	1951
ALBERT PARK	Middlesborough Council	II	30	1868
ALBERT PARK, ABINGDON	Vale of White Horse District Council	II	5.5	1862
ALBION PLACE GARDENS	Thanet District Council	II	0.36	1840

ALEXANDRA PALACE	Alexandra Palace and Park Trust (1900 Act of Parliament)	II	76	1863
ALEXANDRA PARK, MANCHESTER	Manchester City Council	II	23	1870
AMPTHILL PARK	Ampthill Town Council	II	(part of) 140	post 1945
ARMLEY HOUSE (GOTT'S PARK)	Leeds City Council	II	30	1928
ARNOLD CIRCUS, BETHNAL GREEN	London Borough of Tower Hamlets	II		1900
ASHSTEAD PARK (part)	Mole Valley District Council	II	54	1924
ASHTON GARDENS (ST GEORGES GARDEN)	Flyde Borough Council	II	5	1916
ASHTON MEMORIAL GARDENS AND WILLIAMSON PARK	Lancaster City Council	II	32	1881
ASTLEY HALL	Chorley Council	II	40	1922
ASTON HALL	Birmingham City Council	II	18	1858/ 1864
AVENUE HOUSE GROUNDS	London Borough of Barnet	II	5	1928
AYSCOUGHFEE HALL	South Holland District Council	II	0.3	1902
BEAUMONT PARK	Kirklees Council	II	11	1883
BEDFORD PARK	Bedford Borough Council	II	26	1888
BELAIR	London Borough of Southwark	II	10.6	1947
BELGRAVE HALL	Leicester City Council	II	2.5	1936
BELLE VUE PARK (ARBORETUM HILL)	Waveney District Council	II	3	1874
BERKELEY SQUARE	City of Westminster	II	1	-
BETHNAL GREEN GARDENS	London Borough of Tower Hamlets	II	1.1	1875
BISHOP'S PARK	London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham	II	10.5	1893
BLOOMSBURY SQUARE	London Borough of Camden	II	0.5	early 17C
BOLD VENTURE PARK	Blackburn with Darwen Council	II	5	1889

BOROUGH GARDENS, DORCHESTER	Dorchester Town Council	II	4	1896
BOSTON PARK ROTHERHAM	Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council	II	8	1876
BOULTHAM PARK * (WITHAM VALLEY COUNTRY PARK)	City of Lincoln Council	II	504	1929
BOURNE HILL HOUSE GARDENS	Salisbury City Council	II	2	1927
BOWES MUSEUM	Durham County Council	II	8	1869–76, 1956
BOWLING PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	20	1880
BRADGATE PARK * (BRADGATE PARK AND SWITHLAND WOOD)	Bradgate Park and Swithland Wood Charity	II	325	1928
BRETTON HALL (part)* (BRETTON COUNTRY PARK/ YORKSHIRE SCULPTURE PARK)	Wakefield Council	II	240	1978
BROADFIELD PARK (ROCHDALE PARK)	Rochdale Borough Council	II	6,8	1860
BROADWAY, LETCHWORTH	North Hertfordshire District Council/Letchworth Garden City Foundation	II		1906
BROCKWELL PARK	London Borough of Lambeth	II	50	1892
BROOMFIELD HOUSE	London Borough of Enfield	II	21	1903
BRUNSWICK PARK	Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council	II	8	1887
BUILE HILL PARK	Salford City Council	II	35	1876
CALVERLEY PARK AND CALVERLEY GROUNDS	Tonbridge Wells Borough Council	II	7.5	1920
CANNON HALL COUNTRY PARK *	Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council	II	100	1951
CANONS PARK	London Borough of Harrow	II	(part of) 50	1929
CASSIOBURY PARK	Watford Borough Council	II	300	1909
CASTLE PARK, FRODSHAM	Castle Park Trust/Cheshire West & Chester Council	II	6.5	1933

CATHEDRAL CLOSE AND LINEAR PARK, LICHFIELD	Lichfield District Council and the Cathedral	II	40	17C-20C
CAVERSHAM COURT	Reading Borough Council	II	1.5	1934
CENTRAL PARK, HAWORTH	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	3.6	1927
CHANTRY PARK	Ipswich Borough Council	II	50	1928
CHAPELFIELD GARDENS	Norwich City Council	II	2.4	1866
CHURCHTOWN BOTANIC GARDENS, SOUTHPORT	Sefton Borough Council	II	32	1937
CHRISTCHURCH MANSION	Ipswich Borough Council	II	31	1847
CLACTON SEAFRONT GARDENS (MARINE GARDENS)	Tendring District Council	II	0.5	1899
CLIFF GARDENS AND TOWN HALL GARDEN	Suffolk Coastal District Council	II	3	1902
CLIFTON PARK ROTHERHAM	Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council	II	22.5	1891
CLISSOLD PARK	London Borough of Islington	II	21	1889
CLITHEROE CASTLE	Ribble Valley Borough Council	II	6.8	1920
COLCHESTER CASTLE PARK	Colchester Borough Council	II	9	1892
CONGLETON PARK	Cheshire East Council	II	10.5	1871
CONNAUGHT GARDENS	East Devon District Council	II	1.25	1934
CORAM'S FIELDS WITH MECKLENBURGH AND BRUNSWICK SQUARES	London Borough of Camden and Coram's Fields Charitable Trust	II	4	mid 18C
CROW NEST PARK	Kirklees Council	II		1893
CROXETH HALL PARK *	Liverpool City Council	II	230	1970s
CUSWORTH HALL *	Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council	II	89	1961
DANBURY PARK*	Essex County Council	II	100	1974
DANE JOHN GARDENS	Canterbury City Council	II	2	1836
DANSON PARK	London Borough of Bexley	II	74	1925

DARTMOUTH PARK	Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council	II	24	1919
DERBY PARK	Sefton Council	II	9	1895
DERWENT GARDENS	Derbyshire Dales District Council	II	1.5	mid 20C
DEVONPORT PARK	Plymouth City Council	II	18	1857
DULWICH PARK	London Borough of Southwark	II	29	1890
DUNORLAN PARK	Tunbridge Wells Borough Council	II	27	1945
DURLSTON CASTLE * (DURLSTON COUNTRY PARK AND NATIONAL NATURE RESERVE)	Dorset County Council	II		1973
EAST PARK, HULL	Hull City Council	II	36	1887
FALINGE PARK	Rochdale Borough Council	II	11	1906
FARNHAM PARK (LITTLE PARK)	Waverley Borough Council	II	131	1930
FARNWORTH PARK	Bolton Council	II	9	1864
FINSBURY CIRCUS	City of London	II	0.5	1900
FINSBURY PARK	London Borough of Haringey	II	46	1869
FLEETWOOD MEMORIAL PARK	Wyre Council	II	7	c.1925
FORTY HALL	London Borough of Enfield	II	19	1951
FRIARWOOD VALLEY GARDENS	Wakefield Council	II		1950
GHEUVELT PARK	Worcester City Council	II	4	1922
GREENHEAD PARK	Kirklees Council	II	13.5	1884
GROSVENOR SQUARE GARDENS	Royal Parks Agency	II	2.5	1940s
GROVE PARK	Weston-super-Mare Town Council	II	3	1891
HALL PLACE	London Borough of Bexley	II		1952
HANDSWORTH PARK (FORMERLY VICTORIA PARK)	Birmingham City Council	II	24	1888

HARTSHOLME PARK* (WITHAM VALLEY COUNTRY PARK)	City of Lincoln Council	II	50	1951
HASLAM PARK	Preston City Council	II	30	1910
HEATON PARK *	Manchester City Council	II	240	1902
HEDGEMEAD PARK	Bath and NE Somerset Council	II	1.75	1889
HEIGHAM PARK	Norwich City Council	II	2.5	1924
HERSCHEL PARK (FORMERLY UPTON PARK)	Slough Borough Council	II	3.5	1949
Highbury Hall	Birmingham City Council	II	33	1932
HIGHDOWN GARDENS	Worthing Borough Council	II	4.5	1970s
HOLLAND PARK	Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea	II	22	1953
HORNIMAN GARDENS	Horniman Museum charity, company limited by guarantee and Non-Departmental Public Body	II	5	1901
HORTON PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	16	1878
HOWARD PARK	High Peak Borough Council	II	5	1888
HOWARD PARK AND GARDENS, LETCHWORTH	North Hertfordshire District Council	II	3	1904
ISLAND GARDENS	London Borough of Tower Hamlets	II	1	1895
JESMOND DENE, ARMSTRONG AND HEATON PARKS	Newcastle City Council	II		1884
KENNINGTON PARK	London Borough of Lambeth	II	15	1854
KING'S GARDENS AND SOUTH MARINE GARDENS	Sefton Council	II	14	1887
LADY HERBERT'S GARDEN	Coventry City Council	II	0.6	1931
LANGLEY PARK *	Buckinghamshire County Council	II	160	1945
LEAZES PARK	Newcastle City Council	II	14	1873
LEVER PARK *	United Utilities	II	40	1904

LINCOLN ARBORETUM	City of Lincoln Council	II	8.8	1872
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS	London Borough of Camden		4	1894
LISTER PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	22	1870
LOCKE PARK (PEOPLE'S PARK)	Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council	II	19	1877
ULLINGSTONE CASTLE (ULLINGSTONE COUNTRY PARK) *	Kent County Council	II	(part of) 300	1960s?
LUND PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	6.1	1891
LYDIARD PARK *	Swindon Borough Council	II	149	1955
MANOR HOUSE GARDENS	London Borough of Lewisham	II	3	1902
MEMORIAL GARDENS, NOTTINGHAM (NEW PARK)	Nottingham City Council	II	3	1920
MESNES PARK	Wigan Council	II	12	1878
MILE CROSS GARDENS	Norwich City Council	II	0.4	1925
MONUMENT GROUNDS, SHEFFIELD (SOUTHFIELD PARK)	Sheffield City Council	II	1.6	1899
MORRAB GARDENS	Cornwall Council	II	1.5	1889
MOTE PARK	Maidstone Borough Council	II	200	1927
MOWBRAY PARK (PEOPLES PARK)	Sunderland City Council	II	7	1857
MYATT'S FIELDS (CAMBERWELL PARK)	London Borough of Lambeth	II	6	1889
MYDDLETON HOUSE GARDENS	Lee Valley Regional Park	II	2	1968
NEWARK CASTLE GARDENS	Newark and Sherwood District Council	II	1	1889
NEWSHAM PARK	Liverpool City Council	II	70	1865
NONSUCH PALACE PARK (part)	London Borough of Sutton and Epsom & Ewell Borough Council	II	(part of) 120	1937

NORTH AND SOUTH MARINE PARKS AND BENTS PARK	South Tyneside Council	II	58	1890
NORTHERNHAY AND ROUGEMONT GARDENS	Exeter City Council	II	4	1612 & 1912
NORWOOD GROVE	London Borough of Croydon	II	14	1926
OLDBURY COURT	Bristol City Council	II	35	1937
OLDWAY MANSION	Torbay Council	II	7	1946
PARADE GARDENS, BATH (INSTITUTION GARDENS)	Bath and NE Somerset Council	II	1.25	1930s
PARLIAMENT SQUARE	City of Westminster	II	0.5	1814
PASMORE PAVILION	Peterlee Town Council	II	1	1964
PEARSON PARK	Hull City Council	II	8	1861
PEASHOLM PARK	Scarborough Borough Council	II	14	1912
PECKHAM RYE PARK	London Borough of Southwark	II	20	1894
PHILIPS PARK	Manchester City Council II	II	12.5	1846
PITTVILLE PARK	Cheltenham Borough Council	II	33	1825
POOLE PARK	Borough of Poole	II	45	1890
PORTER VALLEY PARKS (Endville Park, Bingham Park, Whitely Woods, Forge Dam and Porter Clough)	Sheffield City Council	II	68.2	1886
PRESTON MANOR AND PRESTON PARK	Brighton & Hove City Council	II	30	1884
PRIMROSE HILL	Royal Parks Agency	II	25	1841
PRINCE OF WALES PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	7.3	1865
PRINCESS GARDENS AND ROYAL TERRACE GARDENS	Torbay Council	II	5	1894
PRIORY GARDENS, ORPINGTON	London Borough of Bromley	II	6	1962
PRIORY PARK, DUDLEY	Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council	II	9	1929
PROMENADE GARDENS, LYTHAM ST ANNE'S	Fylde Borough Council	II	4.5	1896

PROSPECT PARK	Reading Borough Council	II	46	1902
QUARRY PARK, AND DINGLE GARDENS SHREWSBURY	Shrewsbury Town Council	II	9	1875
QUEEN'S GARDEN	Sedbergh Parish Council	II	0.95	1902
QUEEN'S PARK ROCHDALE	Rochdale Borough Council	II	13	1879
QUEEN'S PARK, BLACKBURN (AUDLEY RECREATION GROUND)	Blackburn with Darwen Council	II	13	1887
QUEEN'S PARK, BOLTON	Bolton Council	II	22	1866
QUEEN'S PARK, BRIGHTON (BRIGHTON PARK)	Brighton & Hove City Council	II	7	1883
QUEEN'S PARK, BURNLEY	Burnley Borough Council	II	11	1893
QUEEN'S PARK, MANCHESTER	Manchester City Council	II	11	1846
QUEEN'S PARK, SWINDON	Swindon Borough Council	II	5.5	1950
REIGATE PRIORY PARK	Reigate and Banstead Borough Council	II	?	?
RIVINGTON GARDENS	United Utilities	II	18	1948
ROBERTS PARK	City of Bradford Metropolitan Borough Council	II	6	1910
ROKER PARK	Sunderland City Council	II	6	1880
ROUNDHAY PARK	Leeds City Council	II	200	1871
ROUNDWOOD PARK	London Borough of Brent	II	11	1892
ROWNTREE PARK	City of York Council	II	8.5	1921
RUFFORD ABBEY *	Nottinghamshire County Council	II	460	1969
RUSKIN PARK	London Borough of Lambeth	II	15	1910
RUSSELL SQUARE	London Borough of Camden	II	2.5	early 19C
SALTWELL PARK	Gateshead Council	II	8	1875
SCOTT PARK	Burnley Borough Council	II	8	1895
SHEFFIELD BOTANIC GARDEN	Sheffield City Council	II	8	1898

SHIBDEN HALL *	Calderdale Council	II	25	1926
SHROGG'S PARK	Calderdale Council	II	10	1881
SIMMONS PARK	Okehampton Town Council	II	4	1907
SMITHILLS HALL (SMITHILLS COUNTRY PARK) *	Bolton Council	II	48	1938
SOUTH HILL PARK	Bracknell Forest Council, Bracknell Town Council and South Hill Park Arts Centre	II	9.7	1960s
SOUTH PARK GARDENS	London Borough of Merton	II	2.4	1889
SOUTH PARK, DARLINGTON (BELLASSES PARK)	Darlington Borough Council	II	26	1851
SOUTHSEA COMMON	Portsmouth City Council	II	82	1884
SOUTHWARK PARK	London Borough of Southwark II 26 1869	II		
SPA GARDENS, ROYAL LEAMINGTON SPA (INCLUDING JEPHSON GARDENS, VICTORIA PARK)	Warwick District Council	II	20	1899
SPRINGFIELD PARK	London Borough of Hackney	II	13	1905
ST ANN'S HILL AND THE DINGLE	Runnymede Borough Council	II	14	1928
ST JAMES'S SQUARE	City of Westminster	II	1	1726
ST LEONARD'S GARDENS	Hastings Borough Council	II	3.5	1880
ST LUKE'S GARDEN	Royal London Borough of Kensington & Chelsea	II	1.5	1881
ST PANCRAS GARDENS	London Borough of Camden	II	2	1875
ST PETER'S SQUARE	London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham	II	1	1915
STAMFORD PARK, ALTRINCHAM	Trafford Council	II	6.5	1880
STAMFORD PARK, STALYBRIDGE	Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council	II	26	1873
STANMER PARK	Brighton & Hove City Council	II	485	1947
STOKE PARK (Estate)	Bristol City Council	II	140	2002

STOVER PARK * STOVER COUNTRY PARK AND LOCAL NATURE RESERVE)	Devon County Council	II	47.5	1979
SUNNYHURST WOODS	Blackburn with Darwen Council	II	32	1903
SUTTON PARK	Birmingham City Council	II	900	1879
SYDNEY GARDENS	Bath and NE Somerset Council	II	4	1908
TAYLOR PARK	St Helen's Council	II	20	1893
TEMPLE NEWSAM	Leeds City Council	II	370	1922
TERRACE AND BUCCLEUCH GARDENS	London Borough of Richmond upon Thames	II	5	1887
THE DEEPDENE (TERRACE ONLY)	Mole Valley District Council	II		1943
THE DELL, DONCASTER	Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council	II	1.3	1929
THE DELL, THE DIAMOND, AND THE CAUSEWAY, PORT SUNLIGHT	Port Sunlight Village Trust	II	53	c.1910
THE FORBURY GARDEN	Reading Borough Council	II	2	1856
THE HEXHAM PARKS (THE SEAL)	Northumberland County Council	II	8.45	1911
THE HOE	Plymouth City Council	II	15	early 19C
THE MOUNT INCLUDING COBBLE WALL	Wyre Council	II	2.5	1841
THE ROOKERY	London Borough of Lambeth	II	1	1913
THE ROYAL PAVILION, BRIGHTON	Brighton & Hove City Council	II	3.3	1850
THE SLOPES, BUXTON	High Peak Borough Council	II	3	19C
THE VENETIAN WATERWAYS	Great Yarmouth Borough Council	II	4.3	1928
THOMPSON PARK	Burnley Borough Council	II	10	1930
THORNES PARK	Wakefield Council	II	60	1891
TOWN GARDENS, SWINDON	Swindon Borough Council	II	5	1894
TOWNELEY HALL	Burnley Borough	II	85	1902

TRENT PARK *	London Borough of Enfield	II	320	1973
TRING PARK	Woodland Trust/Dacorum Borough Council	II	120	1990s?
UPPER, CENTRAL AND LOWER PLEASURE GARDENS, AND COY POND GARDENS	Bournemouth Borough Council	II	20.5	1859
VALENTINES PARK (CRANBROOK PARK)	London Borough of Redbridge	II	50	1899
VALLEY GARDENS	Harrogate Borough Council	II	20	1778
VALLEY GARDENS AND SOUTH CLIFF GARDENS (PEOPLES PARK)	Scarborough Borough Council	II		1862 & 1912
VALLEY GARDENS, SALTBURN *	Redcar and Cleveland Borough Council	II	10	1936
VERNON PARK	Stockport Metropolitan Borough Council	II	7	1858
VICTORIA PARK, TIPTON	Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council	II	13	1901
VICTORIA PARK, LEICESTER	Leicester City Council	II	35	1883
VICTORIA PARK, TUNSTALL	Stoke-on-Trent City Council	II	8.5	1897
VICTORIA TOWER GARDENS	Royal Parks Agency	II	2.5	1879
WALPOLE PARK	London Borough of Ealing	II	12	1902
WALSALL ARBORETUM	Walsall Borough Council	II	11	1881
WANDSWORTH PARK	London Borough of Wandsworth	II	8	1903
WAR MEMORIAL PARK, COVENTRY	Coventry City Council	II	48.5	1921
WARD JACKSON PARK	Hartlepool Borough Council	II	7	1883
WARDOWN PARK	Luton Borough Council	II	20	1905
WARLEY PARK	Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council	II	40	1902
WATCOMBE PARK AND BRUNEL MANOR	Torbay Council	II	27	1923
WEALD PARK *	Essex County Council	II	212	1953

WELL HALL PLEASAUNCE	London Borough of Greenwich	II	5	1933
WENSUM PARK	Norwich City Council	II	4	1925
WEST HAM PARK	City of London	II	30	1887
WEST PARK (PEEL PARK)	Cheshire East Council	II	8	1854
WEST VIEW PARK	Calderdale Council	II	3	1896
WESTON PARK	Sheffield City Council	II	5	1875
WHINFELL QUARRY GARDEN (LINKED TO WHIRLOW QUARRY)	Sheffield City Council	II	1	1968
WHITEHALL PARK	Blackburn with Darwen Council	II	6.6	1879
WHITWORTH INSTITUTE	Whitworth Institute	II	5.5	1890
WORDEN HALL	South Ribble Borough Council	II	60	1951
WYTHENSHAWE PARK	Manchester City Council	II	56	1926
YORK HOUSE	London Borough of Richmond upon Thames	II	4	1924

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