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**PARK SPACES: LEISURE, CULTURE AND
MODERNITY – A GLASGOW CASE STUDY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**TO THE DEPARTMENTS OF
SOCIOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY**

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

BY

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ABSTRACT

The importance of a critical understanding of space in contemporary social scientific enquiry is increasingly recognised as fundamental for the analysis of the development, enlargement and experience of modern capitalism. In particular, the concentration of forces and relations of production, circulation and consumption, of people, commodities and services, is progressively appreciated as achieved through the creation and exploitation of urban space. The thesis presents a critical examination of a variety of theories of space and spatial theories as a foundation for the analysis of urban modernity. These include the works of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau and Georg Simmel. The syncretic adaptation of these formative theoretical analyses provides a conceptual framework for the subsequent substantive analysis of a case study of specific forms of modern urban social space. That is, an exploration of the processes by which the origins and development of what came to be integral features of the landscape of the modern city were produced, namely, the creation of the social spaces of public parks.

The growth and increasing importance of the city in the 19th century had important social as well as economic and political consequences for the development and administration of the infrastructure and experience of the urban environment. The physical and mental, medical as well as moral consequences of city development led to campaigns to improve the condition of the urban population that provoked a response by the local state. One prominent aspect of this municipal commitment was the development of urban public parks as an ameliorative response. Glasgow's experience of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation in the 19th century and the particular conditions that arose led to a specific form of municipal government that produced a network of public parks that was unrivalled by any other city. The investigation and analysis of the production of municipal public parks in the city of Glasgow in the period from the early 1850s to the late 1970s gives detailed consideration to a large number and variety of empirical sources to deliver an historical, sociological and geographic account of the complexity involved in the analysis of such commonplace everyday spaces as public parks. As such, the investigation of parks as social spaces constructed, depicted and used for leisure and recreation contributes to the understanding of the development and experience of urban modernity, as well as to contemporary socio-spatial analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1

CHAPTER 1: HENRI LEFEBVRE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE: AN INITIAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1 | Introduction | 9 |
| 1.2 | The Country and the City: Lefebvre's History Of Space | 10 |
| 1.3 | Dialectics of Space | 17 |
| 1.4 | The Necessary Elements for the Production of Space | 23 |
| | (a) Spatial Practices | 23 |
| | (b) Representations of Space | 24 |
| | (c) Spaces of Representation | 25 |
| 1.5 | Spatial Practice and Social Organisation | 25 |
| 1.6 | The Politics and Power of Space | 30 |
| 1.7 | The Everyday in Lefebvre's Production of Space | 34 |
| 1.8 | The Significance of the Production of Space for the Analysis of Public Parks | 40 |

CHAPTER 2: FLESH ON THE BONES - BEYOND LEFEBVRE'S 'SKELETON'

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.1 | Introduction | 45 |
| 2.2 | Space, Capitalism and the Urban Process: Harvey and the Political Economy of the Production of Space | 45 |
| 2.3 | The Power of Representation – Foucault and Dominating Discourses of Space | 61 |
| | (a) Power, Knowledge and Space | 62 |
| | (b) Disciplinary Discourses of Space | 66 |
| | (c) The First Specialists Of Space – The Medical Discourse | 69 |
| 2.4 | Everyday Practices and Mythic Spaces | 80 |
| | (a) Michel de Certeau and the Practice of Everyday Life | 81 |
| | (b) Benjamin and the 'Dreaming Collectivity' | 85 |
| | (c) Foucault and 'Heterotopias' | 88 |
| 2.5 | Simmel's 'Sociology of Space': An Introduction to Substantive Enquiry | 98 |
| | Simmel's Aspects of Space | 100 |
| 2.6 | Conclusion | 108 |

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC PARKS

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.1 | Introduction | 109 |
| 3.2 | The Public Parks Movement | 111 |
| | (a) Early Voices | 112 |
| | (b) Pioneering the Municipal Public Park | 118 |
| | (c) Public Parks and the Development Of Town Planning | 126 |
| 3.3 | The Glasgow Experience of 19 th Century | 132 |
| | (a) Growth, Expansion and Development | 134 |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| (b) | The Shadow Side of the City | 142 |
| (c) | The Civic Ethos and the Role of Evangelism | 148 |
| (d) | Municipal Socialism | 155 |
| 3.4 | Conclusion | 162 |
| <u>CHAPTER 4: THE PRODUCTION OF THE PUBLIC PARKS IN GLASGOW</u> | | |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 165 |
| 4.2 | The Chronological Typology | 167 |
| (a) | Pre- 1850 | 168 |
| (b) | 1850 – 1870 | 170 |
| (c) | 1870 – 1914 | 181 |
| (d) | 1915 – 1945 | 190 |
| (e) | 1945 – 1980 | 193 |
| 4.3 | The Distribution Typology | 195 |
| 4.4 | The Design Typology | 199 |
| 4.5 | Conclusion | 214 |
| <u>CHAPTER 5: THE DIVERSITY OF DISCOURSES IN THE REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC PARKS.</u> | | |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 216 |
| 5.2 | The Medical Discourse | 223 |
| 5.3 | The Moral Discourse | 229 |
| 5.4 | The Cultural Discourse | 242 |
| 5.5 | The Political Discourse | 255 |
| 5.6 | The Discourse of Competitiveness | 260 |
| 5.7 | The Gender Discourse | 273 |
| 5.8 | Conclusions | 282 |
| <u>CHAPTER 6: – “WALKING ON THE GRASS” – (MIS)USING THE PARKS</u> | | |
| 6.1 | Introduction | 284 |
| 6.2 | Glasgow Fair | 287 |
| 6.3 | Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions | 291 |
| 6.4 | Tourism and the Parks | 297 |
| 6.5 | Sport | 306 |
| 6.6 | Art and Culture | 313 |
| 6.7 | Music in the Parks | 314 |
| 6.8 | Parades And Marches | 317 |
| 6.9 | Love, Romance and Sex | 320 |
| 6.10 | Walking, Strolling and The Promenade | 324 |
| 6.11 | Children and Play | 326 |
| 6.12 | Conclusion | 331 |
| <u>CONCLUSION</u> | | 334 |
| <u>APPENDICES</u> | | 347 |
| <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> | | 390 |

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List of Tables

Chapter 3

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 3.1: Population of Glasgow 1560-1831 | 135 |
| Table 3.2: Birthplace of Inhabitants of Glasgow, 1851-1951 | 135 |
| Table 3.3: Population of Glasgow 1801-1991 | 136 |
| Table 3.4: Population, Density and Death Rates in Glasgow, 1841-1911 | 138 |
| Table 3.5: Population, Density and Death Rates, 1860, Blackfriars and West End Districts | 138 |
| Table 3.6: Quinquennial Deaths from Major Diseases, 1855 – 1914 | 139 |
| Table 3.7: Death Rates per 100,000 in and near Glasgow, 1880 | 140 |
| Table 3.8: Extension of the City of Glasgow, 1800-1935 | 142 |
| Table 3.9: Epidemic Diseases and Municipal Health Reforms, Glasgow 1800-1910 | 158 |

Chapter 6

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 6.1: Size, Number and Types of Football Pitches in Glasgow Parks, 1909 | 310 |
| Table 6.2: Estimated Attendance at Band at Band Performances Given in the Various Parks and Squares During the Season of 1894 | 315 |
| Table 6.3: Census of Visitors to the Public Parks on Sunday, 6 th August 1893 | 326 |

List of Illustrations

Chapter 3

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 3.1: Chimneystack in Govan, April 1912 | 139 |
| Figure 3.2: Solway Street, Dalmarnock, Sept. 1910 | 139 |
| Figure 3.3: Glasgow Smoke | 141 |
| Figure 3.4: Boundary Extensions and City Growth | 141 |
| Figure 3.4: Closes, Nos. 97 and 103 Saltmarket | 144 |
| Figure 3.6: Close, No. 37 High Street | 144 |
| Figure 3.7: Close, No. 139 Saltmarket | 146 |
| Figure 3.8: Old Vennel, off High Street | 146 |
| Figure 3.9: Close, No. 75 High Street | 148 |
| Figure 3.10: Close, No. 46 Saltmarket | 148 |

Chapter 4

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 4.1: Plan of the Green in 1760 | 168 |
| Figure 4.2: Kibble Palace in the Botanic Gardens | 169 |
| Figure 4.3: The West End Park, 1880s | 172 |
| Figure 4.4: The 1851 Residents Proposal for the West End Park | 173 |
| Figure 4.5: 1851 Plan of the West End Park | 174 |
| Figure 4.6: The Corporation's Feuing Plan for the land surrounding Kelvingrove Park | 175 |
| Figure 4.7: The Esplanade, Queens Park | 178 |
| Figure 4.8: Paxton's 1860 Plan for the Queens Park | 179 |
| Figure 4.9: The Main Entrance to Alexandra Park | 180 |
| Figure 4.10: Glasgow Public Parks Act of 1859 | 182 |
| Figure 4.11: Glasgow Public Parks Act of 1878 | 182 |
| Figure 4.12: The view of 'smoke-laden Glasgow' from Ruchill Park | 184 |
| Figure 4.13: Springburn Park | 185 |
| Figure 4.14: Steamer Trip to Ardgool | 189 |
| Figure 4.15: Annual Picnic at Ardgool | 189 |
| Figure 4.16: Unemployed Labour Digging-Out Dawsholm Park, c. 1920 | 191 |
| Figure 4.17: Excavating Hogganfield Loch circa 1920s | 192 |
| Figure 4.18: Arns Well on the Green, 1830s | 202 |
| Figure 4.19: Sleepers on the Green in 1920 | 202 |
| Figure 4.20: 'Scotch Washing', illustration on lid of Glasgow Washing House Snuff Box. | 204 |
| Figure 4.21: Washing and drying clothes on the Green, circa 1910 | 204 |
| Figure 4.22: Gymnasium on Glasgow Green | 205 |
| Figure 4.23: The Stewart Memorial Fountain in Kelvingrove Park | 207 |
| Figure 4.24: Cambuslang Park | 209 |
| Figure 4.25: Waterfall in Rouken Glen Park | 209 |
| Figure 4.26: Feeding the deer in Tollcross Park circa 1920s | 210 |
| Figure 4.27: Loch Lomond at Balmaha, 23 May 1889 | 211 |
| Figure 4.28: The Islands of Loch Lomond | 211 |
| Figure 4.29: The fences and railings of Richmond Park | 213 |
| Figure 3.30: The imposing gates and railings of Alexandra Park | 214 |

Chapter 5

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 5.1: Regulations for Children's Playgrounds, 1899 | 234 |
| Figure 5.2: The Playground and Gymnasium in Govanhill Park | 234 |
| Figure 5.3: Extract from the 1878 Glasgow Public Parks Act | 235 |
| Figure 5.4: 1 st Glasgow Company, The Boys Brigade, 1912, outside the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery | 238 |
| Figure 5.5: Boys Brigade Jubilee Review of 1933 | 239 |
| Figure 5.6: McDonald Memorial Fountain | 246 |
| Figure 5.7: Doulton Fountain | 246 |
| Figure 5.8: Plan of the 1888 International Exhibition | 263 |
| Figure 5.9: Cover of the Official Catalogue for the 1888 International Exhibition | 264 |
| Figure 5.10: Panorama of the 1888 Exhibition | 264 |
| Figure 5.11: View North from the Main Building showing the two 'oriental' refreshment kiosks, 1888 Exhibition | 265 |
| Figure 5.12: Panorama of the 1901 Exhibition | 266 |
| Figure 5.13: Plan of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition | 267 |
| Figure 5.14: Frontispiece to the Official Guide to the 1901 Exhibition | 267 |
| Figure 5.15: A Daily Programme for the 1901 Exhibition | 267 |
| Figure 5.16: Shekhtel's Russian Village | 268 |
| Figure 5.17: The Grand Concert Hall at the Exhibition of 1901 | 269 |
| Figure 5.18: Panorama of 1911 Exhibition | 269 |
| Figure 5.19: Postcard of the 'Mercat Cross' | 270 |
| Figure 5.20: Colour postcard of the Palace of History | 270 |
| Figure 5.21: Cover page of the ILN featuring the 1938 Empire Exhibition | 271 |
| Figure 5.22: The Atlantic Restaurant, Bellahouston Park, 1938 Empire Exhibition | 271 |
| Figure 5.23: Birds-eye view of the 1938 Exhibition | 272 |
| Figure 5.24: Glasgow Department Store Advert, from the 1901 Exhibition Programme | 274 |
| Figure 5.25: Woman walking in Bellahouston Park | 276 |
| Figure 5.26: Women entering Bellahouston Park from Dumbreck road in 1908 | 277 |
| Figure 5.27: Women in Rouken Glen Park | 277 |
| Figure 5.28: Pram pushing in the Botanic Gardens | 279 |
| Figure 5.29: The Ladies First Team of Newlands Lawn Tennis Club, 1913. | 281 |

Chapter 6

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 6.1: Glasgow Fair, 1825 | |
| Figure 6.2: The Water Chute on the River Kelvin | 289 |
| Figure 6.3: One of the Amusements - Flying Across the Kelvin on the Aerial Railway | 295 |
| Figure 6.4: Music at the Exhibition Bandstand | 295 |
| Figure 6.5: The Amusement Arcade at the 1938 Exhibition | 296 |
| Figure 6.6: The 'Ultra-Modern' Roundabouts at 1938 Exhibition | 297 |
| Figure 6.7: 1905, Official Guide To Glasgow and It's Neighbourhood | 297 |
| Figure 6.8: 1960's Official Guide to Glasgow | 304 |
| Figure 6.9: Henry Lynn and Steam Launch the Lomond in 1907 | 304 |
| Figure 6.10: Football on the Green c.1900 | 305 |
| Figure 6.11: Glasgow Green Football c. 1910 | 309 |
| Figure 6.12: Boys Playing Football in Govanhill Park, 1910 | 309 |
| Figure 6.13: Bandstand at Rouken Glen | 311 |
| Figure 6.14: Victoria Park Bandstand c. 1913 | 315 |
| Figure 6.15: 1934 May Day March on route to Glasgow Green | 316 |
| Figure 6.16: The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders Rally on Glasgow Green in June 1971 | 318 |
| Figure 6.17: The Pope lands in Bellahouston Park in June 1982 | 319 |
| Figure 6.18: Cutting Down the Park Railings | 319 |
| Figure 6.19: Taking the Air - A walk in the Park with Baby and Pram, c. 1890 | 323 |
| Figure 6.20: Taking a rest in Phoenix Park 1911 | 324 |
| Figure 6.21: A Day Out at Hogganfield Loch - Fresh Air Boating and Ice Cream | 325 |
| Figure 6.22: Dancing Round the Maypole at Alexandra Park Children's Day 1900 | 326 |
| Figure 6.23: Sunday School children at Kelvingrove Park's Bandstand 1900 | 327 |
| Figure 6.24: Boy Scout's 'Soap Box Derby', Glasgow Green, 1952. | 327 |
| Figure 6.25: Children in the paddling pool on Glasgow Green in the late 1920s. | 327 |
| Figure 6.26: Paddling Pool and Sandpits in Elder Park, 1936. | 328 |
| Figure 6.27: Boating Pond in Alexandra Park | 330 |
| Figure 6.28: The Boating Pond in Maxwell Park | 330 |

INTRODUCTION: THE SPACE OF PUBLIC PARKS

As a boy growing up in a small Fife village, despite being surrounded by coal mining, shipyards and engineering works, access to nature and spaces to play was easy. The shore was minutes away and one could as easily walk amongst the farmlands, lochs and reservoirs into the deeper rural countryside. The parks that existed were in the towns and were reserved for special occasions, for events, or a family day out. It was not until one became a city dweller, particularly in Glasgow, and as a traveller and visitor to cities across Britain and Europe that the extent and variety of public park provision became evident as a fundamental feature of the landscape of the city. It was this dawning understanding, appreciation and use, long before I returned to the stimulation of learning, which was the genesis for this research project, an attempt to make sense of the origins of the urban public park and its variable role as a location for a host of leisure and cultural activities.

Increasingly, contemporary social analysis necessarily involves a consideration of the importance of space as a fundamental factor of most aspects of modern existence and experience. That is, knowledge of the reciprocal role of space in forming and being formed by such processes as circulation, exchange, production, consumption, conflict, etc. enhances understanding of these fundamental and characteristic areas of the social enquiry and investigation of modern societies. In the historical development of the 'space' of capitalism, the city and the urban are key sites for the location of this modernity. It is in the city that production and consumption are concentrated, where circulation of commodities, goods, services, and people reaches its apex, and where the density of population and the intensity of experience are at their greatest. The city is the location for the organisation and administration of government, of law, of centres of learning, culture and entertainment. In short, the city sits at the centre of a web in and through which innovation, invention and novelty flows and is communicated to other places. There is a large literature on particular aspects of city space: the street has been a focus for much of this research on the city in modernity and much work has been conducted on domestic commercial institutions and architecture and the role and function of planning in the city. However, there is a distinct lack of literature on public parks in the analysis of the city and the urban in modernity.

Public parks are an inherent and integral feature of the landscape of any modern town or city. They are now commonplace and everyday, taken-for-granted spaces in the experience and consciousness of most modern urban citizens. Urban public parks come in many shapes and sizes, designs and layouts, are dispersed throughout the city and located within or near to almost every community, regardless of their class, status or power, and

may contain simple or multiple features and facilities that are designed to perform a plurality of functions. They are popular places of relaxation, recreation and play for all classes, ages, and genders. They are fora for the display of monuments to greatness and achievement. They may contain museums and galleries for the education and entertainment of the citizens of the city. They are aesthetically designed 'islands of nature' in the built environment of the city. They may be sites for protest and conflict as well as emblems of dominant power writ large on the landscape of the city. However, this ubiquity and almost universal familiarity obscures their origins and development as historically specific planned and created spaces of the urban sphere. This thesis looks at what are now taken-for-granted social spaces that are prominent features and facilities in the landscape and experience of the city in modernity.

Urban public parks are products of a particular time and experience, that of the socio-spatial realm of a rapidly expanding and increasingly dominant urban modernity. It is thus appropriate to propose that any analysis of public parks must apply an approach that is responsive to the need to adopt and adapt a number of theoretical perspectives sensitive to the cultural and historical specificity of their production. Such complexity requires the syncretic application of an inter-disciplinary epistemology that borrows heavily from sociology, human geography, economic and social history as well as urban studies. Therefore the structure of this work is predicated on the need to provide a conceptual framework for an analysis of public parks as social spaces that acknowledges the multiplicity of forms, functions, meanings and values that can be attached to them as produced social spaces. Recognition of the complexities involved in the production of space is a necessary and fundamental foundation for the analysis of the specific form of space, which is the subject of this thesis. That is, the application of a 'body of knowledge' of space is an essential requirement for the subsequent substantive analysis of Glasgow's public parks. Such an approach has a contribution to make to the theoretical analysis of space and its importance to social theory but also, because the value of any theory is its application to empirical social reality, the specific subject of enquiry, conducted as a case study, provides a detailed substantive contextualisation that informs both historical sociology and historical geography.

There are many theoretical lenses that can be applied to space, but any analysis of the space of the public parks must address the complex interaction of a multiplicity of elements, features, functions and discourses and uses that exist in the actuality of the park space. The considerable contribution of Henri Lefebvre to the importance of space in social analysis provides an appropriate starting point for this quest for a framework for analysis. Specifically, his triadic model of the dynamic interaction of necessary elements for the

'Production of Space' provides a critical structure for the analysis of public parks as social spaces. Chapter 1 "*Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space: An Initial Framework For Analysis*" will consider Lefebvre's contention was that for a 'true' understanding of space there is, in the first instance, a need to consider the production of spatial structures and forms indicative of a mode of production and society at a specific time. Secondly, how knowledge of space is acquired and represented, through the work of specialists, planners, geographers, urbanists or architects, etc., is implicated in the creation of dominant hierarchies of meaning concerning the manipulation and regulated use of space. Thirdly, how space is ultimately used and understood in everyday life is subject to popular practices that can subvert such abstract understandings and create alternative meanings and symbols, which are essential to our understanding of its production. Thus, for Lefebvre, the quotidian actions in the material world can reappropriate space and potentially resist its delimitation and delineation as formal and functional.

The examination and illustration of Lefebvre's establishment of a triadic theory for the production of space provides the basis for a theoretical structure that acknowledges the fundamental reciprocity between space as a product and a determining factor in the social relations of historically specific epochs and societies. Each 'necessary' element of this structure was examined and illustrated using a variety of perspectives. The intention is the creation of a meaningful understanding of the objective and subjective qualities of space with particular reference to the social, political, and economic context of urbanisation and industrialisation in the city of the 19th century. However, the somewhat abstract quality of Lefebvre's conceptualisation requires clarification through specific examples of its applicability in social reality. Chapter 2 "*Flesh on the Bones - Beyond Lefebvre's 'Skeleton'*" will build upon and go beyond Lefebvre's initial framework by an examination and syncretic adaptation of other, more concrete, and substantive analyses of space. Thus aspects of David Harvey's political economy of space will be used to explore the production of Glasgow's network of municipal parks within the developing framework and processes of urban capitalism. Michel Foucault's analysis of 'disciplinary spaces' will be considered as providing an essential understanding for the development of various representations of public parks as being multi-functional 'disciplinary' spaces. Foucault's concept of 'heterotopias' will also be considered, as will Georg Simmel's 'aspects of space' and Michel de Certeau's assertion of the potential subversiveness of everyday life, as a means for examining the potential conflicts inherent in the popular use of, and practices in, space. Whilst all these theories provide valuable insights into the analysis of public parks as produced spaces in which discourses and representations contrast, and potentially conflict, with everyday uses and practices, none examine parks specifically in

their social analysis of space. In essence, then, a conceptual framework is needed that is historically and culturally sensitive to the economic, social and political 'logics' underlying the production of an urban spatial structure that includes the creation, maintenance and regulation of public parks as social spaces.

The first two chapters construct a theoretical framework that expands Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the production of space through consideration of valuable insights from other theoretical perspectives in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the plurality of forms, meanings, discourses and practices that inhere in, and can be associated with public parks. Such an approach, it is argued, will necessarily prioritise the historical and social context of the development and use of such social spaces in an increasingly urbanised and industrial society. The use of Glasgow as a case study, as a means to extrapolate from the specific to the general, is appropriate for a number of reasons, not least in its role as an exemplar of the experience of those twin forces indicative of modernity, rapid urbanisation and industrialisation as well as the development of a particular form of local government and administration that created a publicly-owned urban parks network unrivalled in Britain and in Europe. In Glasgow the production of such a large number, variety and acreage of parks spaces for the population of the city provided access to urban open spaces that was unequalled by any other city. Thus, the examination of the local context for the development of such a comprehensive network as was constructed in Glasgow is essential to contextualise the historical experience of rapid growth and its consequences and will explore the demographic, social and spatial growth of the city.

Such a local response to the conditions and consequences of rapid industrial and urban development occurred in a climate in which society as a whole was undergoing dramatic changes in the production, consumption, reproduction, communication, administration and regulation of economic, social, cultural and political relations. The consequences of these dramatic changes of the new urban experience was the focus for the development of a public debate and consciousness amongst a number of individuals, organisations and official bodies whose enquiries and investigation formulated an awareness of the need for open spaces in cities and towns. Thus the 'public parks movements' promoted the creation of public parks at public expense as a necessary ameliorative measure in the modern city. Chapter 3 "*The Historical Context for the Origins and Development Of Glasgow's Public Parks*" will address the inter-connectedness between the development of a movement advocating the need and benefits of open spaces and public parks for in cities and towns and the particularity of the Glasgow experience as an explanation of how the conditions for the establishment of public parks in Glasgow

were part of a concerted municipal response to the perceived and real consequences of the rapid growth of the city in the 19th century. This combination produced a commitment to public park provision that was unmatched by any other city in Britain or Europe.

The construction of a system of public parks implies their location within a structured socio-spatial urban environment. That is, the administration and arrangement of necessary and appropriate places and functions within a spatial entity such as the city is a prerequisite for the organisation of social relations. The production of Glasgow's extensive and diverse network of municipal parks will be examined in Chapter 4 "*The Production of the Public Parks in Glasgow*" through the application of three inter-related typologies that explore and illustrate the chronology, distribution and designs involved in their production within the development of the city. These inter-related typologies explore the variety of sizes and types of parks, their location and distribution, their development over time, as means of describing the production of an extensive public parks network within the processes of urban capital inherent in the organisation and administration of the developing urban landscape of the city.

The historical origins of urban public parks are grounded in a complex of complementary and antagonistic perspectives – medical, moral, economic, political, social and geographic – surrounding the development, organisation and control of an urbanised and industrial society. These discourses will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 5, "*The Diversity of Discourses in the Representation of Public Parks*" through an exploration of the development of parks as representations of functionalised space in which a hierarchy of meanings was applied to the parks through their creation as delimited and delineated forms of regulated space. The dominant representations of the parks as useful and beneficial spaces, as breathing spaces, 'lungs in the city', and for leisure and recreational activities identified them as 'licensed' spaces associated with appropriate practices and activities as a means for disciplining the urban population into more acceptable leisure habits, customs and behaviours. Thus some leisure activities were privileged over others. These disciplinary discourses, the medical, the moral, cultural, political, competitiveness, and gender, will be addressed and considered in relation to the Glasgow parks as a means of identifying the dominant representations associated with the investment and commitment of the local state in providing such an extensive network of parks and open spaces.

The dominant representations of the parks associated them with specific functions and uses, for the reproduction of social relations and the benefits of a 'healthy' city and its population, and which the local state and park authorities provided facilities. As such, the space of the parks was considered by the local state in the city as socially necessary but not without the dangers of their prospective misuse. The parks as public spaces, relatively

accessible to the mass of the population and with strong associations as places and times for leisure, recreation and play, offered the potential for conflict between official, sanctioned use of the parks and the popular practices of the population at play. This was a recurring feature of their regulation and control. Chapter 6 *“Walking on the Grass – (Mis) Using The Parks”* will consider the everyday uses and practices to which the parks have been put. The parks are complex spaces where their meaning, value and symbolic worth can exist in different groups and different times. Challenges to the dominant spatial structures and forms imposed on the planned organisation and regulation of the designed spaces of the parks is possible through the imaginative use of parks as social spaces. The need for play, entertainment and recreations, can challenge and subvert the rules that regulate the space of the parks. Such resistance does not usually occur in open rebellions and organised protest but through the everyday activities and practices that challenge the hegemonic organisation and administration of the social spaces of the parks. Such reappropriation of public space takes place through the mundane and prosaic actions of people seeking temporary escape from the stresses and strains of work and home through play or recreation, or through more direct contact with nature than that normally allowed by the park authorities, or through the imaginative use of the features and facilities within them or more intimate social interactions that areas in the parks allowed provides an understanding of the parks as ‘lived’ everyday space. This analysis of aspects of ‘park life’ will consider the contradictions and potential conflicts between the meanings and ideals associated with dominant representations of the parks as fulfilling disciplinary functions and the different significance and values which the population of the city at play imposed through their popular uses, activities and practices.

The emphasis and focus of this research is on the historical origins and development of public parks as a particular form of urban space, produced at a time when the progress of urban enlargement and influence was reaching the point of domination over what had until 1850 still been a predominantly rural society. The concomitant development of the shift to an urban society with the increasing need for and creation of urban parks was marked in Glasgow by the development of a form of municipal administration and organisation that demonstrated an unrivalled commitment to the creation of public parks and open spaces in the city. This commitment is well demonstrated in the archives and records of by the Corporation of Glasgow.

The substantive investigation of the production of the Glasgow parks network, as well as the representations applied to them, and the uses to which they have been put as leisure spaces, necessarily involves the detailed study of a variety of historical sources and materials. As John Urry emphasises, “[t]aking place seriously means taking writing,

architectural designs, paintings, guide books, literary texts, films, postcards, advertisements, music, travel patterns, photographs and so on seriously.”¹ The methodology used in the research process has involved a comprehensive investigation of all of the above historical sources and material. Whilst this has unearthed a wealth of primary and secondary data it is impossible to conclude that this is a definitive and final uncovering of all that exists relating to the historical development of Glasgow’s parks. Whilst official sources and materials are effectively catalogued in archives, all of which have been consulted and scrutinised in a meticulous and rigorous manner, there exists a wealth of informal and unofficial resources in a population of the city that has experienced and used the public parks as their own playground and pleasure parks for over 150 years. The only claim that can be accurately made in the context of historical research such as this is that a diligent and methodical search has been conducted in as many ways and means, areas and spheres as was possible and appropriate.

It must be stated that the definition of a public park that is scrutinised here is that of the municipal park. There are other forms and descriptions of a ‘park’ that have a longer historical legacy and whose actuality informs the spatial development of other cities and towns. The most obvious is the Royal Parks in for example London, or the aristocratic garden or estate taken over by the local or national state and opened to the public as a garden. Whilst these are found in many cities both in Britain and in Europe, Glasgow’s public parks are wholly the result of a municipal commitment to the provision of public spaces and, despite the gift of land from wealthy benefactors and philanthropists, the Glasgow public parks network developed as a necessity and as a result of the experience of 19th century economic, political and spatial growth. As such, the parks in Glasgow are examples of the local state’s active involvement in the creation of the landscape of the city, including the design of places for play and recreation, and are representative of the experience of industrial towns and cities, not necessarily capital cities. Other recent studies have primarily focussed on the imperial and aristocratic inheritance of parks and gardens², singular parks,³ or general historical descriptions of park development.⁴ This thesis is the first historical sociology of parks in Glasgow and the first attempt to illuminate the development of urban public parks through the application of social theories.

One last point is concerned with presentation. The extensive use of pictorial material in the substantive sections is indicative not only of Urry’s emphasis on taking such sources

¹ J. Urry, 1995, *Consuming Places*, Routledge, London, p. 30.

² See P. Rotenberg, 1995, *Landscape and Power in Vienna*, John Hopkins University Press, London.

³ See R. Rosenzweig and E. Blackmar, 1998, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*, Cornell University Press, New York.

⁴ See G. F. Chadwick, 1966, *The Park and the Town*, The Architectural Press, London; H. Conway, 1991, *People’s Parks: The Design and Development of Victoria Parks in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; G. Cranz, 1982, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.

seriously. There is a plethora of photographs of Glasgow's public parks and the activities that go on within them, some of which are of a higher quality and reproduce better than others. The use of photographs throughout the substantive sections of this work seeks to demonstrate the multifaceted existence of public parks as produced social spaces and arenas in and through which a host of leisure uses, practices and activities occur. Whilst recognising that the photographs and official publications may employ a particular gaze or perspective that seeks to portray and frame events, activities and spaces in a favourable light, they are an invaluable source of material for understanding the uses and practices involved in the consumption of the parks as leisure and pleasure spaces. The photographs used here seek to illustrate that the parks are not only representations of dominant discourses created in material form by structuring and formal arrangement of space, but also that they demonstrate that their functionality has an aesthetic dimension as well as a dynamism through the recording of the active use of the space of the parks for a variety of practices.

CHAPTER 1: HENRI LEFEBVRE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE: AN INITIAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

1.1: Introduction

Henri Lefebvre's project, culminating in *The Production of Space*, was the result of a long process in which his analyses of various aspects of modernity resulted in the reprioritisation of space as fundamental to understanding capitalism. His analysis of space is complex and challenging and, it will be argued, significant for the analysis of public parks as social spaces. Lefebvre's analysis of space will be presented in the context of his work on nature, the city, the urban, and the everyday. Lefebvre's ultimate aim was to demonstrate that space was political. The assertion that "[a]uthentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production"¹ locates his analysis as concerned with the fundamental importance of social relations in historically specific epochs and societies. For Lefebvre, this is an important point: space and time are inextricably linked in processes subsumed under modes of production.²

Space is nothing but the inscription of time in the world; spaces are the realisations, inscriptions in the simultaneity of the external world of a series of times, the rhythms of the city, the rhythms of the urban population ...³

Lefebvre's theory understands the production of space as emphasising the need to consider space as both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions. This application of dialectics to space and the triad of necessary and inter-linked elements (spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation) in understanding space will be considered in detail. Similarly, the centrality of everyday social attitudes to and practices in space will be explored in relation to the importance of the spatial in the social organisation of Lefebvre's conception of the development of the city and the urban. This, it will be argued, has significance for the analysis of public parks as everyday landscapes in the environment of the city. Such landscapes, which we commonly share and create through our social relations, inter-actions, practices, hopes, imaginations and aspirations, are also subject to more totalising forces whose rationalising influence holds more negative consequences. Space, as Lefebvre makes clear, is also the product of ideological, economic, and political forces (the domain of power) that seek to delimit,

¹ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p. 111.

² "Rather than simply discussing the philosophical status of space - 'how many dimensions exist', or is space a 'thing' or 'void between things'? - Lefebvre investigates social attitudes towards space, all the while not neglecting to emphasise the integral importance of physical dimensions and spatial categories such as boundaries and regions in everyday life." R. Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle*, London, Routledge, 2000, pp. 5-6.

³ H. Lefebvre, *Du Rural à l'urbain*, Anthropos, 1970, cited in "Introduction: Lost in Transposition - Time, Space and the City", by E. Kofman and E. Lebas to H. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, p. 17.

regulate and control the activities that occur within and through it. Lefebvre offers an account of space that demonstrates the complexity of just such a plurality of meanings that can be associated with such inherently social spaces as the public parks. The intention here, given that Lefebvre developed his analysis over a number of years and in various contexts, is to present an analysis of his theory of 'the production of space' which takes account of a number of aspects which were essential to its formulation. The insights of other perspectives on space will, in the following chapter, be used to emphasise and illustrate Lefebvre's thesis with the intention of developing them for application in the subsequent substantive analysis of Glasgow's public parks.

What follows will be a consideration of Lefebvre's dialectic approach to the analysis of the production of space. The definition of his triadic elements will be clarified by linking spatial practices and socio-spatial organisation to an analysis of planning as an example of the operation of power and ideology in creating representations of space and by the consideration of everyday life as intrinsic in the conceptualisation of spaces of representations. However, a consideration of Lefebvre's analysis of space as a process of development will begin with his work on the rural and the urban. As Lefebvre was well aware, the historical context must be considered as fundamental in any analysis of the development and production of space:

In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space ... The task of architectonics [as Lefebvre described his project] is to describe, analyse and explain this persistence, which is often invoked in the metaphorical shorthand of strata, sedimentary layers and so on. ⁴

1.2: The Country And The City: Lefebvre's History Of Space

For Lefebvre, space is at the centre of a continuing social and historical process, involving conflict and struggle over meanings and values. His analysis, his 'history of space', may be understood as a process, in which different modes of production produce their own space.⁵ Many of the essential concepts that Lefebvre uses in his understanding of the development of the city, the urban and space show indebtedness to the work of Marx. For example, Lefebvre's use of the concept of production as applied to space is an extrapolation of Marx's concept to encompass all of human activity and historical development under capitalism based upon the divisions between town and country, one that Marx saw as the

⁴ Lefebvre, 1991, *op. cit.*, p 228.

⁵ "What we are concerned with, then, is the long history of space, even though space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality - that is to say a set of relations and forms. This history is to be distinguished from an inventory of things in space...as also from ideas and discourses about space. It must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice. The history of space thus has its place between anthropology and political economy." Ibid. p. 116.

basis of every division of labour.⁶ Lefebvre argues that,

For Marx, the dissolution of the feudal mode of production and the transition to capitalism is attached to a subject, the town. The town breaks up the medieval system (feudalism) while transcending itself ... the town is a 'subject' and a coherent force, a partial system which attacks the global system and which simultaneously shows the existence of this system and destroys it.⁷

Raymond Williams illustrates how such distinctions produced real and symbolic representations and expectations of life in the city and the country.

On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitations.⁸

This concern with the distinctive qualities that made the industrial city a new phenomena with consequences for the individual and for the organisation, maintenance and regulation of modern society was presented in contrast to the country, which was viewed as an idyll in much anti-urban rhetoric. As Urry states:

Nature resided in the countryside not in the monstrous wens of industrial society... Rural communities, it was felt were organically related to the physical environment and so closer to nature than urban and industrial life. Towns and industry were 'outside' of nature, literally unnatural.⁹

Lefebvre's analysis of the town and the country divide makes manifest the distinctions between old and new orders, modes of production, ways of life etc. They are represented as having symbolic resonance both with the romanticisation of nature as a lost idyll and of the idea of the city as a model of enlightened, rational progress.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the distinction between town and country, for Lefebvre, becomes increasingly erroneous for understanding the produced space and experience of modernity, that is, the space of the capitalist mode of

⁶ "The foundation of every division of labour which has attained a certain degree of development, and has been brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation of town from country." K. Marx, *Capital Vol. 1*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1976, p. 472.

"The greatest division of material and mental labour is the separation of town and country. The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilisation, from tribe to State, from locality to nation, and run through the whole history of civilisation to the present day... The existence of the town implies, at the same time, the necessity of administration, police, taxes, etc.: in short, of the municipality, and thus of politics in general. Here first became manifest the division of the population into two great classes, which is directly based on the division of labour and on instruments of production. The town is already in actual fact the concentration of the population, of the instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation. The antagonism between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property... It is the most crass expression of the subjection of the individual under the division of labour, under a definite activity forced upon him – a subjection which makes one man into restricted town-animal, the other into a restricted country-animal, and daily creates anew the conflict between their interests. Labour is here again the chief thing, power over individuals, and as long as the latter exists, private property must exist. The abolition of the antagonism between town and country is one of the first conditions of communal life, a condition which again depends on a mass of material premises and which cannot be fulfilled by the mere will, as anyone can see at the first glance ... The separation of town and country can also be understood as the separation of capital and landed property, as the beginning of the existence and development of capital independent of landed property – the beginning of property having its basis only in labour and exchange." K. Marx & F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, pp. 64, 65.

⁷ H. Lefebvre, "La Pensée Marxiste et la Ville", Paris, Gallimard, 1972, in Shields, 2000, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸ R. Williams, *The Country and the City*, London, The Hogarth Press, 1973, p. 1.

⁹ J. Urry, "Nature and Society: the Organisation of Space", in R.J. Anderson et al (eds.), *Classic Disputes in Sociology*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1987, p. 214.

¹⁰ "The countryside, both practical and reality and representation, will carry images of nature, of being, of the innate. The city will carry images of effort, of will, of subjectivity, of contemplation, without these representations becoming disjointed from real activities." Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit., pp. 87-8.

production, whose locus is the city. The city, as *the* site of modernity, is where urbanisation and industrialisation have the fullest effect on the production of space under capitalism but it would not be limited to the city.¹¹ However, a consequence of modernity, the 'progress' of scientific rationalism, was not to be viewed as an altogether welcome and positive development:

It is impossible to escape the notion that nature is being murdered by 'anti-nature' - by abstraction, by signs and image, by discourse, as also by labour and its products. Along with God, nature is dying. 'Humanity' is killing both of them - and perhaps committing suicide into the bargain.¹²

Thus, our alienation from nature is, for Lefebvre, evident in our ambivalent understanding of ourselves and our relationship with the environment in which we live. Modern society is created out of our needs, desires, and ability to conquer and use 'Nature'. Yet, the 'need' to understand our place in the world involves an appreciation of the 'natural', which we are destroying.

On the one hand it points to the 'human being', the 'human nature' which will emerge and is already emerging from history, which will never be able to separate itself completely from nature as a given. The human being is forced to dwell with anti-nature (abstraction) painfully and long, and is already trying to return to nature, to put down roots, to find meaning in it, and peace of mind. On the other hand, nature designates the origin, what history has emerged from, something which both transforms and reveals itself in the succession of forms taken by action, by abstraction, by the signs that underpin and facilitate action, and by human power.¹³

This understanding is reminiscent of Weber's argument concerning the consequences of the dominance of formal means-end rationality leading to disenchantment. There is also evidence of a distinctly Nietzschean tone in Lefebvre's warning of the destruction and denial of nature. The domination of nature by narratives of science and humanism is viewed as a necessary element in understanding the progress of rational capitalism in the industrial world. However, this new 'common sense' hides the 'will to power' that limits opportunities and possibilities for human practices within a rationalist objectifying ethic. Nature is 'understood', exploited and 'used' as a consequence of this project of rationalism.¹⁴ Lefebvre investigates the apparent contradictions that exist in relations between nature and culture. The first is that,

¹¹ "The inevitable urbanisation of society would not take place at the expense of whole sectors, nor would it exacerbate unevenness in growth or development; it would successfully transcend the opposition between town and country instead of degrading both by turning them into an undifferentiated mass." Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit., p. 55.

¹² Ibid. p. 71.

¹³ H. Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity*, London, Verso, 1995, p. 134

¹⁴ Katz and Kirkby argue that this is a fundamental feature of capitalism itself: "Since the Enlightenment, the narratives of science have been embedded in the social relations of capitalism within which projects are constructed in particular ways, unmistakably tied to the manipulation of nature. The exploitation and domination of the latter by agents of capital is continuous with the social relations through which labour is exploited and subaltern groups are dominated. Embracing the separation between society and nature, capitalist hegemony is predicated as much on the notion of external or primordial nature as it is on the decisions of class, gender, race, ethnicity and age. Our comprehension of this link is muddled by our invocation of objective science and romanticised conceptualisation of nature and society, but also by the fact that human beings exist in contradictory relation to nature. At the basis of the contradiction lies the recognition that humans are 'of nature' but are also capable of objective reason and thus possess "second nature". C. Katz and A. Kirkby, "In the Nature of Things: The Environment and Everyday Life", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 16, 1991, p. 263.

In culture and civilisation, there is an initial 'given' - profound, primordial and yet ungraspable as such, obscure, fertile - from which nothing can emerge without being transformed by praxis, which in truth remains part of it. The 'given' we call nature; human power constantly reinvests the abstract forms it has extracted and the structure it has erected from it. ... Labour, technology, knowledge, concepts - these do not cut the human off from nature, except perhaps when, consciously or not, thought copies understanding and makes the separation analytically. On the contrary, it is through praxis - that is, in everyday life - that particularities and differences which have emerged in art, in symbols, and images, in cultures, in physical fulfilment via the transformation of needs into desires, become explicit... ¹⁵

The second is that, despite this apparent negation of the cycles of the 'natural' and our understanding of our place in the 'grand scheme of things' beyond our making, there are times and events which persist or survive the process of modernisation. An example Lefebvre uses is the perpetuation of a philosophy of nature that dates back to an ancient conception of nature as a fundamental power that operates in cycles of time or partial cycles, which have an importance in the everyday lives and activities of people throughout the ages. Lefebvre uses the survival of Dionysian springtime into modern cultures and cities. In a passage reminiscent of Gurevitch's and Bakhtin's analysis of the Carnival as 'world-upside-down', Lefebvre describes the survival of the month of May as significant in festivals and fairs to argue that the ancient connection "... in which the spring festival disrupts the human order of praxis, joining forces with nature to act out a game, a serious game, *repeating* the initial gestures of basic needs (eating, lovemaking) *reanimating* the divine and the cosmic which the logos of the city has lost - *identifying* with the rhythm of the cosmos" is not the same in the modern city.¹⁶ In modernity, the re-identification with Nature is of a different order than in the past. It is constituted within and around the partial re-construction of a sanitised, malleable and useful depiction of nature.

And now men - the most 'cultivated' men at first, people from the towns, and then the masses - rediscover the spring. They are amazed by it. They rediscover nature, long forgotten by their ancestors and their fathers. But this spring is no longer the springtime which breaks the laws of the city. It is springtime which has already been controlled and appropriated. The life of nature no longer unfolds before their eyes, something beyond them, an absurd and ludicrous spectacle, its exuberant blossoms threatening death, a dangerous, turbulent, elemental disorder, a wild bestial frenzy. At the same time as it resumes its place in the cycle of nature, spring - though still ruled by the law of cycles - becomes subsumed in the cycle of social living. It regains a meaning, but slowly; a few ancient traditions live on - notably despite the contradiction, the consecration of the month of May to virginity. Bit by bit a symbolism will be imposed upon this new-found springtime, a system of meanings and significations it does not possess as a fact of nature. Through songs and poetry, popular or scholarly, culture re-establishes contact with nature, thus resolving a partial but deep-rooted conflict. People use these songs and poems to appropriate nature again, and to reconstitute a lost symbolism. Nature and history are not made to coincide, but they are no longer separate. Springtime is a festival again, a meeting point, a moment of accord. Nature and history have not become fused,

¹⁵ Lefebvre, 1995, op cit. p. 144.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 146.

but they are not dissociated either.¹⁷

This is an important point in positing an understanding of public parks as socially constructed sites in which a tamed and idealised 'Nature' is created to fulfil desirable and necessary functions. Modernisation is concentrated in the city and the subsequent negative consequences for individuals (alienation, disenchantment, anomie etc.) and groups (class exploitation, disease, overcrowding etc.) inherent under capitalism are thought ameliorated by access to and enjoyment of a designed and regulated pseudo-nature. Culture and civilisation emerge as being acquired or won from nature, albeit a nature transformed by the application of knowledge, technology and labour, whilst at the same time recognising that we, as part of nature, are not totally detached from it. As Lefebvre puts it, the consequences in modernity of these contradictions and conflicts are that

Nature, destroyed as such, has already had to be reconstructed at another level, the level of 'second nature', i.e. the town and the urban ... The town, antinature or nonnature and yet second nature, heralds the future world, the world of the generalised urban. Nature, as the sum of particularities which are external to each other and dispersed in space, dies. It gives way to produced space, to the urban.¹⁸

What develops then, for Lefebvre, is a new order of being, of social reality, of space inextricably linked to the growth, development, and eventual domination of the urban over all other forms of organisation of social relations. However, Lefebvre is keen not to overplay any apparent division or distinction between nature, country and the environment and the town, culture and the social within an analysis of how forms of urban domination operate within the mode of production.¹⁹ Thus, the development of the city takes a more accelerated and central role under capitalism. The city is not only the site of political power (as it has been from antiquity) but also becomes the pivot for all economic activity, whether directly as the site of industrial production and consumption, or indirectly as the centre for the circulation and manufacture of ideas, knowledge and ultimately decisions on the conduct of life outwith the purely economic sphere. It is the city that Lefebvre views as the locus for the development and perpetuation of capitalism as a mode of production, for the social relations of production and their reproduction, for organisation and administration. Lefebvre asks what it is that constitutes the city and the urban and how it came to dominate. For Lefebvre,

The urban is not a certain population, a geographical size or a collection of buildings.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 148.

¹⁸ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 15.

¹⁹ "A theme which has been used and over-used, hyper-inflated and extrapolated, namely, 'nature and culture', originates from the relations between town and country and deflects it ... What is important is the complex movement by which the political city uses this sacred-damned character of the ground, so that the economic (commercial city) can desecrate it. Urban life included the original mediations between town, country and nature. As the village, whose relationship with the city, in history and in actuality, is far from being well known. As are parks, gardens, channelled waters. These mediations cannot be understood as such by the city dwellers without symbolisms and *representations* (ideological and imaginary) of nature and the countryside ... In industrial countries, the old exploitation by the city, centre of capital accumulation, of the surrounding countryside, gives way to more subtle forms of domination and exploitation, the city becoming centre of decision-making and also apparently of association. However that may be, the expanding city attacks the countryside, corrodes and dissolves it." Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. pp. 118-9.

Nor is it a node, a trans-shipment point or a centre of production. It is all of these together, and thus any definition must search for the essential quality of all these aspects. The urban is social centrality, where the many elements and aspects of capitalism intersect in space, despite often merely being part of the place for a short time, as is the case with goods or people in transit. 'City-ness' is the simultaneous gathering and dispersing of goods, information and people ... The city was the seat of intellectual development and administration - by necessity given the growing, restless population, given the wealth generated by urban trade, and given the plagues and contagions, which demanded the development, administration and enforcement of forms of quarantine and regulation. All these gave the city-based governments an advantage over those based in the rural hinterlands. From the cities, financial, ideological and governmental control spread out to regiment the countryside.²⁰

To describe and analyse the modern urban it is essential to begin with industrialisation, as it is industrialisation that characterises modern society, and by extension modern cities. Cities have been in existence before industrialisation and modern rational capitalism. They were

centres of social and political life where not only wealth is accumulated, but knowledge (*connaissances*), techniques, and *oeuvres* (works of art, monuments). The city is itself '*oeuvre*', a feature which contrasts with the irreversible tendency towards money and commerce, towards exchange and *products*. Indeed, the *oeuvre* is use value and the product is exchange value. The eminent use of the city, that is, of its streets and squares, edifices and monuments, is *la Fete* (a celebration which consumes unproductively, without other advantage but pleasure and prestige and enormous riches in money and objects).²¹

The city should not be viewed as a simple material product. It is the locus for production, for social relations and thus "production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects".²² They contain monuments and edifices representing the production and consumption of materiality but also have spaces for entertainment, play, leisure, festivals etc. This illustrates an important point both in Lefebvre's analysis of the city and the urban but also in his consideration of space. That is the "... urban does not simply represent the transformation of space into a commodity by capitalism, but it is also the potential arena of play (festival)".²³ Capitalism needs spaces for the reproduction of the relations of production as well as those for production. Designs and planning practices must not, for Lefebvre, ignore this dual quality of cities, that of the market but also a place of play, leisure and festival. To do so is to risk the consequences of a rational organisation of the city that loses its human scale and the necessary spaces for social interactions beyond those purely necessary for the accumulation of capital. The consequences for the physical, social and moral health of cities and their populations when rapid economic growth outstrips the

²⁰ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. pp 145, 148

²¹ Lefebvre 1996, op. cit. p. 66

²² Ibid. p. 101

²³ H. Lefebvre, "An Interview with Henri Lefebvre", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 5: (pp. 27-38), p. 27. It is this double role or function of cities that Lefebvre uses as a rejoinder to criticisms of his own theoretical perspective on space and the city. For example, "... Castells does not understand space. He sets aside space. His is still a simplistic Marxist schema, as is Preteceilles'. They are very reductionist because all they see is land speculation, the price of land. They aren't wrong - what they say isn't absolutely false - but is only one part of a new and immense reality, that one more or less examines." Ibid. p. 31.

necessary infrastructure to sustain it will be a theme developed in the analysis of Glasgow's public parks as social and leisure amenities, that also served an ideological role in the perpetuation of a hegemonic conception of appropriateness in terms of recreations and leisure time. For Lefebvre,

The city must be a place of waste, for one wastes space and time; everything mustn't be foreseen and functional, for spending is a feast. You can't reduce this concept, either the festival disappears and becomes a simple commercial market, or it is something which goes beyond it ... But for a festival, you need a rich and free society ... The city is second nature; it is a work, a product, which is superimposed on the first nature and which uses the same elements, such as water. Water as urban material borrowed from first nature, and become known and opening out through second nature.²⁴

In the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, there is an apparent contradiction and conflict between what Lefebvre identifies as exchange value (growth, development, economic production) and use value (social and cultural life).²⁵ Lefebvre points to this crisis in the city as the result of the rise of industrial capitalism in which the city as a work of art, unique and able to take account and make space and time for play, festival, and celebration, was submerged beneath the demands of capital. The 'crisis' of the nineteenth century city as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation is a well-known phenomenon. Glasgow's story and the consequences for welfare of its burgeoning population will be discussed in some detail later. What is interesting in Lefebvre's writing on the city, in relation to the production of space is the distinction he makes between the city as a work, as of nature or art, unique and the reproducibility of the urban form as an industrial commodity or product.

We should perhaps introduce here a distinction between the city, a present and immediate reality, a practico-material and architectural fact, and the urban, a social reality made up of relations which are to be conceived of, constructed and reconstructed by thought ... Urban life, urban society, in a word cannot go without a practico-material base, a morphology.²⁶

The development of an urban system under capitalism, for Lefebvre, represents a fundamental aspect of his analysis of the city, and of space: "We now come to a basic and essential idea: capitalism is maintained by the conquest and integration of space. Space has long since ceased to be a passive geographical milieu or an empty geometrical one. It has become instrumental."²⁷ This instrumentality was evident in what Lefebvre saw as the development of capitalism as a system in which space itself came to be viewed as a scarce resource and a treated as a homogenous and quantifiable commodity, with an exchange value to be traded, like any other commodity on the market.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 36

²⁵ "The basic contradiction in the production of space is between the necessity for capital to exploit it for profit and the social requirements of those who consume; in other words, the contradiction between profit and need, exchange value and use value. The political expression of this contradiction is found in the constant political struggle between individualistic and collectivistic strategies. It is this contradiction and this struggle that lies at the heart of Lefebvre's concern with the urban question." P. Saunders, *Social Theory and the Urban Question*, London, Huteson, 1981, p. 154

²⁶ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 103.

'Space, e.g. volume, is treated in such a way as to render it homogenous, its parts comparable, therefore exchangeable ... The subordination of space to money and capital implies a quantification which extends from the monetary evaluation to the commercialisation of each plot of the entire space ... Space now becomes one of the new 'scarcities', together with its resources, water, air and even light.'²⁸

Saunders sums up Lefebvre's approach to the city and the consequences of urbanisation and industrialisation under modern capitalism.

It is apparent from Lefebvre's concept of an urban revolution that he does not intend to equate the concept of the urban with the physical object of the city. It is precisely his argument that the urban revolution creates an urban society, in which case the physical separation of city and countryside becomes of less and less significance. Rather, the urban for Lefebvre consists of three related concepts, namely space, everyday life and reproduction of capitalist social relations. The urban, that is, the global spatial context through which the relations of production are reproduced in people's everyday experience. Capitalist social relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space because space has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to its logic ... The logic of capitalism is the logic of the social use of space is the logic of everyday life. The class that controls production controls the production of space and hence the reproduction of social relations.²⁹

It is in the sense of the logic of capitalism in which ownership, control and organisation of space is achieved through concepts, plans and practices concomitantly affecting everyday life that gives space, for Lefebvre, a highly political character.

It is also evident that in so-called modern society, simultaneity is intensified and becomes more dense, that the capacities for encounter and assembly become strengthened. Communications speed up to quasi-instantaneity. Ascendant or descendent circuits of information flow are diffused from this *centrality*. This aspect of the 'socialisation of society' has already been emphasised (reservations having been made about the 'reformist' nature of this well-known formulation). It is evident that under the same conditions dispersion increases: the division of labour is pushed to the extreme segregation of social groups and material and spiritual separations. These dispersions can only be conceived or appreciated by reference to the form of simultaneity. Without this form, dispersion and separation are purely and simply glimpsed, accepted, confirmed as facts. Thus form enables us to designate the content, or rather, contents. Movement in its emergence reveals a hidden movement, the dialectical (conflictual) movement of content and urban form: the problematic. The form in which is inscribed this problematic asks questions which are part of it. Before whom and for whom is simultaneity established, the contents of urban life assembled? ³⁰

These elements will be explored below after consideration is given to Lefebvre's analytical approach to the production of space.

1.3: Lefebvre's Dialectics of Space

The importance of Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the production of space is that it is presented as a critical analysis of the significance of space in modern capitalist society, that

²⁷ Lefebvre, 1970, Op. cit. p. 262, cited in Shields, 2000, op. cit., pp. 154-5.

²⁸ Ibid. pp. 261-2.

²⁹ Saunders, 1981, op. cit. p.15

³⁰ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 138

is, it is not to be separated from social relations. Lefebvre's understanding and use of the term production detailed in *The Production of Space* is also expressed elsewhere.³¹ His thesis is that space must be considered alongside raw materials, instruments of production and labour power as belonging to the set of productive forces that are the basis for the capitalist mode of production.

What constitutes the forces of production, according to Marx and Engels? Nature, first of all, plays a part, then labour, hence the organisation (or division) of labour, and hence, also the instruments of labour, including technology, and ultimately, knowledge.³²

Ownership or control of space confers a position in the economic structure by its ability to be used, more or less productively over time (with some shapes of space, volumes etc. having different uses and therefore market value). Space is not considered as being used up, nor is it reproduced and may be considered as developing, for example, through the conquest of new spaces or the improved use of existing spaces. There is, therefore, a unique quality to space that must be considered in any analysis of capitalist relations of production. As Gregory puts it:

Lefebvre wants to elucidate the specificity of the capitalist mode of production of space, to understand how the production of space came to be saturated with tonalities of capitalism. He attempts to do so by sketching out, in different but overlapping texts, what he eventually called "the long history of space" ... The task of his genealogy is thus to provide a history of space that will show how this constellation of power-knowledge – this supposedly 'true space' – is an artificial construction that privileges mental space, marginalises social space and compromises lived experience.³³

Lefebvre's approach was to apply the dialectical method to space.³⁴ Dialectics is *both* a statement about what the world is, an ontology, as well as epistemology, a theory of knowledge, a critical study of validity, methods and range, by which one organises the world for the purpose of study and presentation. There is a fundamental dynamism in this dialectical approach as movement, interconnection and interaction of money, people, commodities etc. occur in and through space. Therefore, how change occurs in the material

³¹ "The term production acquires a more forceful and wider significance, when interpreted according to Marx's early works (though still bearing *Das Kapital* in mind); production is not merely the making of products: the term signifies on the one hand 'spiritual' production, that is to say creations (including social time and space), and on the other material production or the making of things; it also signifies the self-production of a 'human-being' in the process of historical self-development, which involves the production of social relations. Finally, taken in its fullest sense, the term embraces re-production, not only biological (which is the province of demography) but the material reproduction of the tools of production, of technical instruments and of social relations into the bargain." H. Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, London, Allen Lane, 1971, p. 31.

³² Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69. Cohen also makes the same point. "Space deserves membership in the set of productive forces. Ownership of space certainly confers a position in the economic structure. Even when a piece of space is contentless, its control may generate economic power, because it can be filled with something productive or because it may need to be traversed by producers. He who owns a hole, even exclusive of its material envelope, is a man to reckon with if you must reach the far side of the hole, and cannot feasibly tunnel beneath it, fly above it, or make your way round it." G. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 51.

³³ D. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, pp. 359, 365

³⁴ "As for dialectical materialism, it is also amplified, verified – and transformed. New dialectics make their appearance: work *versus* production, repetition *versus* difference, and so on. The dialectical movement immanent to the division of labour becomes more complex when viewed in the light of an exposition of the relationship between productive activity... and a specific product, unique in that it is also itself a tool – namely space. The alleged 'reality' of space as natural substance and its alleged 'unreality' as transparency are simultaneously exploded by this advance in our thinking. Space still appears as 'reality' inasmuch as it is the milieu of accumulation, of growth, of commodities, of money, of capital; but this 'reality' loses its substantial and autonomous aspect once its development – i.e. its production – is traced." Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 129.

and social world is fundamental to Lefebvre's project. For Lefebvre, authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production and "... must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice".³⁵ Lefebvre's spatial dialectic involves the *thesis* that space is a material thing (defined, analysed, and quantified according to its fixity, that is its geographical location as defined by Cartesian co-ordinates that locate an object in space). The *antithesis* is that space is a process involving social relations between people and between people and things in space. His *synthesis* is that capitalist space is produced, it is an object, a thing, whilst simultaneously a process, a means, a tool through which and in which, social relations, and therefore change, can occur. Space then

... is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and /or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object ... Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production). Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge.³⁶

For Lefebvre, the fundamental flaw with most theories of space is that space is conceived as a receptacle or frame to be filled by contents. Thus, Lefebvre's fundamental concern in his analysis of space is to try to reconcile what he identified as two distinct and competing conceptions of space. The first was that of a mental or ideological space, the domain of intellectual disciplines, and secondly the physical or natural space in which we live.³⁷ Lefebvre develops the concept of *social* space which

is revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other ... such social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality ... social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the

³⁵ Ibid. p. 116.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 73. As Merrifield puts it: "Capital is an inexorably circulatory process diffusive in space which also fixates itself as a thing in space and so begets a built environment. The fixity nature (the thing quality) of the geographical landscape is necessary to permit the flow and diffusive nature of capital; and vice versa ... This 'thing' and 'flow' feature of reality implies, too, an inextricable interconnection between time and space since one takes on meaning only through the other and they cannot effectively be distinguished. ... The *production of space* is thus the process as well as the outcome of the process (i.e. the produced social space); it is the totality of the 'flow' 'thing' qualities of capitalist material geographical landscape." A. Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation", *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers*, 18, 1993, p. 521.

³⁷ "In his view, the production activity of capitalism resulted in a space - that is a materiality. Furthermore, this 'space' possessed its own dialectical moment. Like the other categories of Marxian thought - money, labour power - it was a *concrete abstraction*. That is, space was both a material product of social relations (the concrete) and a manifestation of relations, a relation itself (the abstract). It was as much a part of social relations as was time ... He proposes a unitary theory of space that ties together the physical, the mental and the social ... He focuses on how various societies have particularised space in both form and meaning over time: Lefebvre accomplishes this task by considering distinction between abstract space and social space. Abstract space is constituted by the intersection of knowledge and power. It is the hierarchical space that is pertinent to those who wish to control social organisation, such as political rulers, economic interests, and planners. Social space, in contrast, arises from practice - the everyday lived experience that is externalised and materialised through action by all members of society, even the rulers. Persons working from the model of abstract space continually try to reign in and control the social space of everyday life, with its constant changes, whereas social space always transcends conceived boundaries and regulated forms." M. Gottdiener, "A Marx for our Time: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space", *Sociological Theory*, 11(1), 1993, pp. 130, 132.

forces of production (and within the relations of production). And these forces, as they develop, are not taking over a pre-existing, empty or neutral space, or a space determined solely by geography, climate, anthropology, or some other comparable consideration. There is thus no good reason for positing such a radical separation between works of art and products as to imply the work's total transcendence of the product. A social space cannot be adequately accounted for either by nature (climate, site) or by its previous history ... Mediators and mediations, have to be taken into consideration: the action of groups, factors within knowledge, within ideology, or within the domain of representation.³⁸

Lefebvre's thesis may thus be articulated as a spatialised rendition of Marx's conception of fetishism. He considers that the social relations necessary for the existence, that is the production, of space are masked or hidden by the emphasis given to space as simply existing outwith the means and mode of capitalist production. For Marx, commodity fetishism was the process by which commodities as material things mask the underlying and specific social relations that create them by the dominance of the market and the emphasis on exchange as opposed to use value.³⁹ Therefore, commodities are processes that take material form, in that "... unlike other commodities or products, space has both a material reality and a formal property that enables it to constrain other commodities and their social relations. It continually recreates or reproduces the social relations of production".⁴⁰ Social relations are thus hidden in the reified world of material goods, as space itself becomes fetishised. Lefebvre seeks to make clear this application of Marx's concept to social space.

The *ideologically* dominant tendency divides space up into parts and parcels in accordance with the division of labour. It bases its image of the forces occupying space on the idea that space is a passive receptacle. Thus, instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships that are inherent to it - relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production so echoing the contradiction between the private ownership and the means of production and the social character of the productive forces - we fall into the trap of treating space as space 'in itself', as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishise space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'thing' in isolation, as 'things in themselves'.⁴¹

Lefebvre's aim is to uncover the social relations involved in the production of space and the significance this has for a comprehensive knowledge of space, that is the consequences for our understanding of space as fundamental for understanding modernity and the possibility or potential for liberation from the alienation inherent in modern rational capitalism.

³⁸ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit., pp. 27, 77. "Lefebvre strove for a unity theory of space, a rapprochement between physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space) and social space (the space occupied by 'sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias'. Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 522.

³⁹ Lefebvre's emphasis on the unique qualities of space must be considered as holding the potential not only for radical spatial reconceptualisation of the mode of production in modernity, but also for having practical and political significance in contesting dominant categorisations or representations of space. "Space is not merely economic, in which all parts are interchangeable and have exchange value. Space is not merely a political instrument for homogenising all parts of society. On the contrary ... Space remains a model, a perpetual prototype of use value resisting the generalisations of exchange value in the capitalist economy under the authority of the homogenising state. Space is a use value [similar to] ... time to which it is ultimately linked because time is our life, our fundamental use value". H. Lefebvre, "Les Contradictions de L'Etat Moderne LA Dialectique de L'Etat", Vol.4, 1978, p. 291, cited in Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 168.

⁴⁰ Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 159.

Once brought back into conjunction with a (spatial and signifying) social practice, the concept of space can take on its full meaning. Space thus rejoins material production: the production of goods, things, objects of exchange ... It also rejoins the productive process considered at a higher level, as the result of accumulated knowledge ... Lastly, it rejoins the freest creative process there is – the signifying process, which contains within itself the seeds of the ‘reign of freedom’. ⁴²

Michel de Certeau makes a distinction between space (*espace*) and place (*lieu*) that is useful in characterising Lefebvre’s insistence on the interplay of elements in the production of space as necessarily including social relations, activities and movement. Place is the delimited order of inter-related elements that are prescribed in a distinct location, which defines that place through these inter-relationships where no two elements, objects, things can therefore exist in the same place/location. A place for de Certeau is “... thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability.” A space, on the other hand, exists only when mobile elements (implying direction, velocity and time) intersect, and it is this relationship of movements that produce space.

It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities ... In short, *space is a practised place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs. ⁴³

De Certeau’s careful qualification of space and place is a reminder that abstracted notions need to be grounded in the everyday world of social practices which are conceived as taking place in the material landscape as produced, localised place. These landscapes, for example public parks, become imbued with meaning, both symbolic and real. This highlights to some extent the dialectical analysis of space itself by exploring the contradictions and conflicts that exist in relation to social practices in place.

Consequently, space internalises conflictual and contradictory social forces and social conflict is thereby ‘inscribed in place’. This conflict arises from the inextricable tension between the usage and appropriation of place for social purposes and the domination of place (and space) as a productive and commercial force through private ownership ... It follows here that place is not merely abstract space: it is the terrain where basic social practices – consumption, enjoyment, tradition, self-identification, solidarity, social support and social reproduction etc. are lived out. As a moment of capitalist space, place is where everyday life is situated. And as such, place can be taken as practised space. ⁴⁴

The implications of this for the analysis of public parks will be demonstrated later but will be shown to reside in the control, organisation, and design of space for different

⁴¹Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 90

⁴²Ibid. p. 137. As Merrifield states,

“Lefebvre’s maverick non-dogmatic *spatialised* reading of Marx’s materialist dialectic (a project he termed *spatiology*) offers the most fruitful route for broaching the problematic of place... that of reconciling the way in which experience is lived and acted out in place, and how this relates to, and is embedded in, political and economic practices that are operative over broader spatial scales.” Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 517.

⁴³M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, London, University of California Press, 1984, p. 117.

functions and practices. Who owns and ultimately regulates the activities that can occur or are allowed in space is rooted in a process that enhances the contradictions and conflicts inherent in its production. The public parks are just such social spaces where the conflicts and contradictions between different conceptions and practices are focussed in specific locations. The contradictions between notions of space as neutral and objective and those that consider space to be the product of historically situated processes (including that of ideology and power) is, as Lefebvre argues, fundamental for understanding its production:

... there is no getting around the fact that the bourgeoisie still has the initiative in its struggle for (and in) space ... The state and each of its constituent institutions call for spaces – but spaces which they can then organise according to their specific requirements ... here we see the polyvalence of social space, its ‘reality’ at once formal and material. Though a product to be used, to be consumed, it is also a *means of production*; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it.⁴⁵

The underlying nature of Lefebvre’s project, which is exposed by his emphasis on the state and concomitantly on how class struggle becomes inscribed in space, is to use his understanding of space, to provide a theoretical analysis that can contribute “to the dismantling of existing society by exposing what gnaws at it from within.”⁴⁶ There is in Lefebvre’s analysis the attempt to produce a theoretical analysis of space that has within it the potential for radical political action. His aim is to present an understanding of space that can then be used to subvert or challenge the authority of the hegemonic concepts and practices in space, and to propose alternatives that have practical advantages that can rescue us from the alienating consequences of capitalism. For Lefebvre, knowledge of space involves the interrelation between three spatial elements, a threefold dialectic within spatialisation. Form, structure and function individually cannot provide a comprehensive understanding or knowledge of space. The dynamic interaction between all three shows the complexity and polyvalence of the concept of social space as simultaneously a means of the social relations of production as land, property (the economic base) and as an object to be consumed, an element of social struggle in which space is a political instrument. Knowledge, of social space, that is its full meaning, for Lefebvre “... must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice.”⁴⁷ The three aspects of Lefebvre’s dialectic spatialisation will be presented below and will relate them to following chapters that develop the relevance

⁴⁴ Merrifield, 1993, op. cit., p. 522.

⁴⁵ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit., pp. 56, 85. Lefebvre goes even further in his criticism of perspectives on space that do not consider the role of dominant ideologies in our understanding of how space is produced and used:

“... a space that is apparently ‘neutral’, objective’, fixed, transparent, innocent or indifferent implies more than the convenient establishment of an inoperative system of knowledge, more than an error that can be avoided by evoking the ‘environment’, ecology, nature and anti-nature, culture and so forth. Rather, it is a whole set of errors, a complex of illusions, which can even cause us to forget completely that there is a total subject which acts continually to maintain and reproduce its own conditions of existence, namely the state (along with its foundation in specific social classes and fractions of classes)” Ibid. p. 94.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 420.

of each part of Lefebvre's triptych for the investigation of Glasgow's public parks as social spaces. The dynamic interaction between all three of Lefebvre's triad will demonstrate the significance of his concept of the production of space in the understanding of how, when, by whom, for whom, and why they came about.

1.4: The Necessary Elements For The Production Of Space

(a) Spatial Practices

Spatial Practices refer to the physical and material flows (of individuals, groups, or commodities), circulations, transfers and interactions that occur in and across space, structured in such a way as to assure social life is produced and reproduced. That is, specific places and spatial compositions or arrangements are necessary and appropriate to the organisation or structuring of social relations. This includes the use of particular types of buildings, the form and structure of the urban landscape and areas set-aside for specific purposes or functions: for example, sites for housing, industry, commerce, shopping or, specifically for my purposes, a range of types of parks for the recreation of different consumers of leisure time. Spatial practice for Lefebvre

...embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance ... The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytical standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed in the deciphering of its space... It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routines) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure). This association is a paradoxical one, because it includes the most extreme separation between the places it links together. The specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically ... A spatial practice must have certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived).⁴⁸

In other words, people's understanding of their social reality conditions their usage of space, in respect of how they interact with others in specific places for particular reasons (i.e. for work, leisure, consumption etc). This understanding also includes how one negotiates the spaces between sites, for example areas to avoid at different times of the day or night, routes to work or favourite places, or family and friends' homes. We make sense of our daily actions by having an understanding of how things and social relations are structured in space. Spatial practice is the experience of the circulation of goods, people, money, labour power, information, etc. which associates the ownership, use and designation of land within a

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 116.

hierarchy of administrative and organisational divisions of space, with an intrinsic element of social control (policing and surveillance). This link between spatial practice and the cohesiveness of social organisation will be developed later. However, it is clear that Lefebvre's use of the term 'spatial practices' refers to the production of spatial forms and structures and, specifically in the urban context of spatial relations, is implicated in processes of habituation, of people, places and practices.⁴⁹ Therefore, for conceptual clarity in later discussions of Lefebvre's 'necessary' elements I will refer to this factor/experience of space as 'production'.

(b) Representations Of Space

Representation de l'espace is the dominant space in society and is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to 'frontal' relations".⁵⁰ It may also be thought of as discourses on space, regimes of analysis, and they are "the logic and forms of knowledge, and the ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual depiction of space linked to production relations."⁵¹ As Lefebvre puts it, representations of space are

Conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, and of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. (Arcane speculation about Numbers, with its talk of the golden number, moduli and 'canons', tends to perpetuate this view of matters.) This is the dominant space of any society (or mode of production).⁵²

This is the realm of expert knowledge in which space is conceptualised and discursively constructed by "professionals and technocrats such as planners, engineers, developers, architects, urbanists, geographers and those of a scientific bent. This space comprises the various arcane signs, jargon, codifications, objectified representations used and produced by these agents... it is always a conceived and abstract space since it subsumes ideology within its practice."⁵³ Those who control how space is represented, it may be argued, control how it is produced, organised, and used. The development of planning as a professional discipline with an inherent ideology of space, Lefebvre views as significant in terms of control of representations of space and, concomitantly, the application of spatial practices that impinge upon everyday life. Planning, as an ideology and a practice will be explored later in relation to Lefebvre's conception of the politics of space.

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 33, 38.

⁴⁹ "Spatial practices structure daily life and a broader urban reality and, in so doing, ensures societal cohesion, continuity and a specific spatial competence." Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 524.

⁵⁰ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 33.

⁵¹ Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 163.

⁵² Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. pp. 38-9.

⁵³ Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 523.

(c) Spaces Of Representation

Espaces de la representations may be described as discourses on space in that they “are mental inventions (codes, signs, ‘spatial discourses’, utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums, and the like) that imagine new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices.”⁵⁴ Spaces of representation embody “... complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces.)”⁵⁵ Representational Space, as Nicholson (1991) translates it, is directly lived space, the space of everyday life in contrast to the domination of the conceived, ordered, regulated space of hegemonic force. Spaces of representation then are subject to rationalisation, codification, measurement, intervention, and usurpation. Nevertheless, they also contain the potential for challenging dominant spatial practices and perceptions by the imaginative use of space. For Lefebvre, representational space is:

Space as directly *lived* through its associations and images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’, but also some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe. His is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. ⁵⁶

Spaces of representation, then, are the spaces of everyday life where a complex of dichotomous factors, mental and social, interact (attraction/repulsion, access/denial, fear/desire, familiarity/unfamiliarity, open/closed, public/private). They are thus the imagined/utopian spaces produced from cultural and social forces and associated with ritual, symbol, tradition, myth, desire, dreams etc. Everyday life is a fundamental factor, one leg of the stool, in which Lefebvre’s conception of the production of space rests. As such Lefebvre’s use of everyday life will be considered below.

1.5: Spatial Practice and Social Organisation

Lefebvre’s argument is that the “[a]uthentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production”⁵⁷ and therefore must take “... account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice.”⁵⁸ A dynamic relationship, a simultaneity, exists between material form,

⁵⁴ D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge, Blackwell, 1990, pp. 218-9.

⁵⁵ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 33.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 39.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 111.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 116.

social function and hierarchical structures that recognises the fundamental importance of social activity or practices within space. It is recognition of the multiplicity of meanings that can exist in relation to social spaces. This inter-dependence, in which the relative dominance of one aspect over the others at any one time, has the potential for liberating, that is the appropriation of differentiated spaces by popular use and practice, or for the domination of sites by the hegemonic forces of capital.

Once brought back into conjunction with a (spatial and signifying) social practice, the concept of space can take on its full meaning. Space thus rejoins material production: the production of goods, things, objects of exchange ... It also rejoins the productive process considered at a higher level, as the result of accumulated knowledge ... Lastly, it rejoins the freest creative process there is – the signifying process, which contains within itself the seeds of the ‘reign of freedom’ ... ⁵⁹

This dynamic relationship of all three aspects in which one dominates relative to the others was for Lefebvre the means by which the historically specific spatialisations were socially produced:

... spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period.⁶⁰

Lefebvre’s project is to present space as a means as well a medium through which different historical periods and modes of production have created spaces indicative of and necessary for their survival and expansion. Indeed, *The Production of Space* may be read as an attempt by Lefebvre to understand and explain the role of space in the perpetuation of and expansion of the capitalist mode of production:

... what has happened is that capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of *Das Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving ‘growth’. We cannot calculate at what price, but we know the means: *by occupying space, by producing a space*.⁶¹

The importance of Lefebvre’s analysis in relation to parks as social spaces lies in the consideration of space as neither a ‘subject’ nor an object but is a social reality of relations and forms that include possibilities and potentials for social interaction as, “...any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products).”⁶² Space is part of the social relations of production as well as one of the forces of production, and therefore the need to consider the spatial organisation of society is essential. Lefebvre is emphatic in this: “The main point to be noted, therefore, is the production of a social space

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 137.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 46.

⁶¹ H. Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, London, Allison & Busby, 1976, p. 21.

⁶² Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. pp. 82-83.

by political power - that is by violence in the service of economic goals. A social space of this kind is generated out of a rationalised and theorised 'form' serving as an instrument for the violation of an existing space."⁶³ There is then in Lefebvre's work the attempt to synthesise the urban and everyday life, through his conception of the production of space, as experience, conception and practice in which 'nature' has been colonised and put to use, leading to its virtual destruction. As Shields emphasises:

Because Lefebvre is referring to not only the empirical disposition of things in the landscape as 'space' (the physical aspect) but also attitudes and habitual practices, his metaphoric *l'espace* might be better understood as the *spatialisation* of social order. In this movement to space, abstract structures such as 'culture' become concrete practices and arrangement in space. Social action involves not just a rhythm but also geometry and spacing. Spatialisation also captures the processual nature of *l'espace* that Lefebvre insists is a matter of ongoing activities. That is, it is not just an achieved order in the built environment, or an ideology, but also an order that is itself always undergoing change from within through the actions and innovations of social agents. In short, all 'space' is social space... ⁶⁴

Lefebvre aims to uncover using his concept of social space, how this has come about, how it exists and operates in the world.⁶⁵ The spatial structure and social relations within urban industrial society must be viewed as a dynamic process in which "...spatial structure is now seen not merely as an arena in which social life unfolds, but rather as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced".⁶⁶ Massey sums up the importance of the interaction of the spatial in analysing the organisation of society:

Understanding the spatial organisation of society, then, is crucial. It is central to our understanding of the way in which social processes work out, possibly to our conceptualisation of some of those processes in the first place, and certainly in our ability to act on them politically ... If the spatial is not autonomous from the social, can the social be theorised autonomously from its spatial form, requirements and implications? ... Part of what is fundamentally at issue here is the reassessment of our definition of necessary relations within the social sciences.⁶⁷

The spatial organisation of society is for Lefebvre a fundamental social factor. As argued previously, space is part of the forces of production, the means by which the mode of production functions, but it is also a commodity to be used for various functions. It can be compartmentalised and 'designed' for various planned functions, such as housing, industry, commerce or leisure. To that extent space can become a scarce resource with potential for conflict over control.⁶⁸ Lefebvre argues that potentially a political economy of space is

⁶³ Ibid. p. 151-2.

⁶⁴ Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 155.

⁶⁵ "What exactly is the mode of existence of social relationships? ... The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself. Failing this, these relations would remain in the realm of 'pure' abstraction - that is to say, in the realm of representations and hence of ideology: the realm of verbalism, verbiage and empty words." Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 129.

⁶⁶ D. Gregory and J. Urry, (eds.), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London, Macmillan, 1985, p. 3.

⁶⁷ D. Massey, "New Directions in Space", in Gregory and Urry, 1985, op. cit. pp. 17, 18.

⁶⁸ "Also threatened with destruction are the 'elements', as they were called in classical philosophy; water, air and daylight ... Now, not in every country, but virtually on planetary scale, there is an abundant production of these formerly scarce goods. Nonetheless, new

possible, in which the spatial organisation of social relations represents a physical manifestation of social hierarchies through which power is displayed, oriented and organised. This is evident in the organisation and process of government:

The state and each of its constituent institutions call for spaces – but spaces which they can then organise according to their specific requirements ... here we see the polyvalence of social space, its ‘reality’ at once formal and material. Though a product to be used, to be consumed, it is also a *means of production*; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it.”⁶⁹

The hegemony of capitalism is carried out in and through space to ensure the segregation and the ordering of society by the intervention and control of the structure and design of urban spaces. Therefore, it is possible to view class and other social segregation and control as the operation of a dominance of spatial structure and organisation. It is in this skewed relationship, where abstract perceptions of space is prioritised over the practices and spaces of representations, that has led to the space of the everyday becoming constrained, regulated, framed, ordered and thus dominated by the economy and the authority and power of the state. This then becomes normalised and elite representations of space function as technologies of control, of discipline, of power.

It is in the realm of the body that Lefebvre considers this exercise of the power of spatial technologies and conceptions to operate in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the modern urban world. Lefebvre, it may be said, prioritises the body in his analysis of how power is effected in the spatial organisation of society: not only economic and political power creating, ordering and using space, but also the dominance of male power in space.⁷⁰ Such a perspective posits a reading of space as part of a political and geographical project in which the interaction between each element in his triad of perceived – conceived – lived is emphasised and illustrated.

Dominated space and appropriated space may in principle be combined – and ideally at least, they ought to be combined. But history – that is to say the history of accumulation – is also the history of their separation and mutual antagonism. The winner in this contest, moreover, has been domination. ... [and] ... the reappropriation of the body, in association with the reappropriation of space ... [is] a non-negotiable part of its agenda.”

71

scarcities, such as water, air, daylight and space, emerge and there is an intense struggle over them.” H. Lefebvre, “Reflections on the Politics of Space”, in R. Peet, (ed.), *Radical Geography*, London, Methuen and Co., 1977, pp. 344-5. A point Shields also stresses: “Space... is treated in such a way as to render it homogenous, its parts comparable, therefore exchangeable ... The subordination of space to money and capital implies a quantification which extends from the monetary evaluation of each plot of the entire space ... Space now becomes one of the new ‘scarcities’, together with its resources, water, air, and even light.” Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 180.

⁶⁹ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 85. This political element to the production and control of space is repeated elsewhere by Lefebvre.

“Space has become for the state a political instrument of primary importance. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, its strict hierarchy, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even policed space.” Lefebvre, “Les Contradictions l’Etat Moderne, la Dialectique de l’Etat”, 1978, p. 288 cited in M. Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Space*, Austin, University of Texas, 1985, p.46.

⁷⁰ “Metaphorically, it symbolises force, male fertility, masculine violence. Here again the part is taken for the whole; phallic brutality does not remain abstract, for it is the brutality of political power, of the means of constraint: police, army, bureaucracy. Phallic erectibility bestows a special status on the perpendicular, proclaiming a phallocracy as the orientation of space, as the goal of the process ... “ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 287.

⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 167, 168.

The dominance of abstract conceived space, in which capital, money, commodities and phallogentricity are the fundamental forces, over the social space of everyday lived experience denies or subjugates the sensual experience and traditions of play. Therefore, Lefebvre sees class and social struggle as central to this domination of homogenising abstract space. The emphasis returns to Lefebvre's political analysis and project of viewing space as the medium and means for social struggle:

As for the class struggle, its role in the production of space is a cardinal one in that this production is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes. Today, more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space. Indeed, it is that struggle alone which prevents abstract space from taking over the whole planet and papering over all differences.⁷²

For Lefebvre, the body is "... at the very heart of space and of the discourse of power is irreducible and subversive. It is the body which is the point of return."⁷³ Spatial practices function as technologies of power, as disciplinary technologies for producing useful and docile bodies.

A discussion of Foucault's conception of disciplinary spaces will follow later, but the intention here is to highlight the similarities with Lefebvre's perspective on the production of space within socio-historical processes and regimes of power. The everyday lived experience in social space is thus replete with the operation and representation of technologies power, in and through space. Thus, "[l]iving bodies, the bodies of 'users' are caught up not only in the toils of parcelised space, but also in the web of images, signs and symbols. These bodies are transported out of themselves, transferred and emptied out, as it were, via the eyes."⁷⁴ Again the similarity with Foucault's 'Eye of Power', and the temptations and tyranny of surveillance, the visualisation and actualisation manifest in public art, design but also in real and symbolic displays of power, will be discussed in relation to his concept of heterotopias. Space may thus be viewed as produced or created, organised and regulated to facilitate the needs and demands of capitalism: the good, moral ordering of the city and society for the benefit of accumulation of surplus value. To paraphrase Harvey,⁷⁵ spatial practices derive their effect on social life only through how the structure and organisation of the social operates. That is, they take on their meanings under specific social relations (of class, gender, community, ethnicity, or race etc.) that are historically specific. In relation to the Victorian parks in Glasgow and elsewhere, it may be said that they were produced according to the 'habitus', that set of 'classificatory practices' and 'ultimate values' belonging to the dominant political and social order of the day, namely the political, mercantile and

⁷² Ibid. p. 55.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 89.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 98.

⁷⁵ Harvey, 1990, op. cit. pp. 223-4.

administrative elite.⁷⁶ There is within these dominant spatial practices an inherent exercise of power through the operation of procedures that seek to limit, regulate and control movements, choices, behaviours, etc through their design and ornamentation. The aim is to imbue the landscape of the parks with symbols of power so that those who use them come to *internalise the civilising bourgeois values of those who designed them*. Thus the flow and circulation of people through the park is produced by accommodating practices within areas and by controlling movement along allowed routes. The interconnectedness of spatial and social practices and the potential for the former to destroy the latter are for Lefebvre part of the inter-relatedness of the three elements:

For everything (the 'whole') weighs down on the lower or 'micro-level, on the local and the localisable – in short, on the sphere of everyday life. Everything (the 'whole') also depends on this level: exploitation and domination, protection and – inseparably – repression. The basis and foundation of the 'whole' is dissociation and separation, maintained as such by the will above; such dissociation and separation are inevitable in that they are the outcome of a history, of the history of accumulation, but they are fatal as soon as they are maintained in this way, because they keep the moments and elements of social practice away from one another. A spatial practice destroys social practice; social practice destroys itself by means of spatial practice.⁷⁷

The attempt here is to link Lefebvre's first element of his triad to the relationship between spatial practice and social organisation. The relevance of this concept is obvious both for an appreciation of Lefebvre's dialectics of space but also for understanding the parks as specific urban spaces that originated at a particular time in the development of the city. The following will similarly seek to draw out Lefebvre's second element, representations of space, by an examination of planning as an ideology.

1.6: The Politics and Power of Space

There is in Lefebvre's work a clear understanding of the historicity of the development of concepts of the city and his criticisms of other urban theories bemoan their lack of acknowledgement of the ideological element in these concepts. For example, he stresses that "[a]ny representation is ideological if it contributes either immediately or 'mediately' to the

⁷⁶ "Bourdieu provides a clarification. He explains how 'a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' can at one and the same time be put to work flexibly to 'achieve infinitely diversified tasks' while at the same time being 'in the last minute' (Engel's famous phrase) engendered out of the material experience of 'objective structures', and therefore 'out of the economic basis of social formations in question'. The mediating link is provided by the concept of 'habitus' – a 'durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations' which 'produces practices' which in turn tend to reproduce the objective conditions which produced the generative principle of habitus in the first place." Ibid. p. 219.

"Because the habitus is an endless capacity to engender products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioning and conditional freedom it secures is as remote from the creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from a simple mechanical reproduction of the initial conditionings." P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 95.

⁷⁷ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 366. Lefebvre "... argues furthermore, that those spaces most effectively appropriated are those occupied by symbols: spatial practices are profoundly affected by the perceived, symbolic landscape. The symbolic naming, for example, of parks and gardens (that emphasise an absolute nature), religious buildings (that symbolise absolute wisdom, reverence and power), and monuments charged with psychological power, representing desires, past events and battles waged or to come etc.) are legion. The landscape is thus impregnated with symbols and imagery that have an explicit and insidious impact in spatial practices of everyday life. To this end, for Lefebvre, the symbolic landscape is fecund with myths and legends and hence remains a formidable means of appropriating space." Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 526.

reproduction of the relations of production. Ideology is therefore inseparable from practice".⁷⁸ Thus ideologies have the practical effect of maintaining the dominance of particular class interests: "It is the role of ideologies to secure the assent of the oppressed and exploited".⁷⁹ The definition given by Williams⁸⁰ of hegemony as a lived process, involving resistance and conflict over meanings and values (ideology) as well as practices and expectations over the whole of the experience of life, not only a static structured system of domination between states or social classes is useful in this context. Thus, hegemony is a dynamic relationship in which the 'dominant' must continually strive to maintain their position in the face of opposition and alternatives. Hegemony is therefore not simply outright domination or coercion, but involves an element of leadership in attempting to inculcate or educate those values, meanings and 'norms' that are considered important to the reproduction of relations of capital. It is in this sense that Lefebvre describes planning as part of the hegemonic practice of power and politics of, in and over space.

The ideology of planning became expressed in the development of practices that conceived urban space as a means by which it could be represented, homogenised, divided up for sale as a commodity, and parcelled out for specific functions. Lefebvre views concepts of the city as

made up of facts, representations and images borrowed from the ancient pre-industrial and precapitalist city, but in a process of transformation and new elaboration. In practice, the urban core (an essential part of the image and the concept of the city) splits open and yet maintains itself: overrun, often deteriorated, sometimes rotting, the urban core does not disappear... Until now we have shown how the city has been attacked by industrialisation ... The ruling classes or fractions of the ruling classes intervene actively and voluntarily in this process, possessing capital (the means of production) and managing not only the economic use of capital and productive investments, but also the whole society, using part of the wealth produced in 'culture', art, knowledge, ideology. Beside, or rather in opposition to, dominant social groups (classes and class fractions), there is the working class: the proletariat, itself divided into strata, partial groups, various tendencies, according to industrial sectors and local and national traditions.⁸¹

Lefebvre views the development of planning as an ideology, and as practices, as originating at a particular time in history that is in the late 19th and early 20th century.⁸² This he views as the result of a process, the progress of an instrumental rationality (Zweckrational to use Weber's term) into urban organisation as it had into all other spheres of society. However, Lefebvre concedes, "there is in fact no single or unitary approach in planning thought, but

⁷⁸ Lefebvre, 1976, op. cit. p. 29.

⁷⁹ H. Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx*, London, Allen Lane, 1968, p. 76.

⁸⁰ "Gramsci made a distinction between 'rule' (*dominio*) and 'hegemony'. 'Rule' is expressed in directly political forms and in times of crisis by direct or effective coercion. But the more normal situation is a complex interlocking of political, social and cultural forces which are its necessary elements ... What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organised by specific and dominant meanings and beliefs." R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 108-9.

⁸¹ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 7.

⁸² It is important to clarify the point that Lefebvre is here concerned with planning as an organised and instituted discipline. Clearly, planning as designed interventions in the physical, social and spatial infrastructure of the urban sphere has a longer history than that to which Lefebvre refers.

several tendencies identifiable according to this operational rationalism”:⁸³

It begins from a most detailed methodical analysis of elements – productive operation, social and economic organisation, structure and function. It then subordinates these elements to a finality ... Finality is an object of decision. It is a strategy, more or less justified by an ideology. Rationalism that purports to extract from its own analyses the aim pursued by these analyses is itself an ideology ... The city as chaotic confusion in which organisational rationalism seeks to solve. This is not a normal disorder. How can it be established as norm and normality? This is inconceivable. This disorder is unhealthy. The physician of modern society sees himself as the physician of sick social space. Finality? The cure? It is coherence.⁸⁴

Lefebvre considered town planning to be subsumed by an implicit but rarely expressed ideology that was composed of three elements. Town planning approximated to (a) a consistent activity with a scientific and technical approach that, (b) engaged in a methodical examination of the discipline with the aim of establishing an epistemology for it that (c) could use this body of knowledge, to claim to be a science of space involved at the micro or macro level of social activity. The development of planning as ideology developed more and more precise definitions,⁸⁵ and for Lefebvre “... the object ‘par excellence’ of this science was space not time.”⁸⁶ The hidden understanding behind this ideology was that

... planned space was objective and ‘pure’; it was a scientific object and hence had a neutral character. Space, in this sense, passes as being innocent or, in other words, apolitical ... Indeed, if this science is the science of formal space, of spatial form, it implies a rigid process and this science would consist of nothing more than the sum total of the physical constraints placed in the living environment of the affected population.⁸⁷

In a sense Lefebvre’s critique appears directed at the element of environmental

⁸³ “1. The planning of men of good will (architects and writers). Their thinking and projects imply a certain philosophy. Generally they associate themselves to an old classical and liberal humanism. This is not without a good dose of nostalgia. One wishes to build to the ‘human scale’, for ‘people’. These humanists present themselves at one and the same time as doctors of society and creators of new social relations. Their ideology, or rather, their idealism often come from agrarian models, adopted without reflection: the village, the community, the neighbourhood, the townsman-citizen who will be endowed with civic buildings etc. They want to build buildings and cities to the ‘human scale’, ‘to its measure’, without conceiving that in the modern world ‘man’ has changed scale and the measure of yesteryear (village and city) has been transformed beyond measure. At best, this tradition leads to a formalism (the adoption of models which had neither content or meaning), or to an aestheticism, that is, the adoption for their beauty of ancient models which are then thrown as fodder to feed the appetites of consumers... 2. The planning of these administrators linked to the public (State) sector. It sees itself as scientific. It relies on a science, sometimes on studies which call themselves synthetic (pluri or multidisciplinary). This scientism, which accompanies the deliberate forms of operational rationalism, tends to neglect the so-called ‘human-factor’. It divides itself into tendencies. Sometimes though a particular science, a technique takes over and becomes the point of departure; it is generally a technique of communication and circulation... 3. The planning of developers. They conceive and realise without hiding it, for the market, with profit in mind. What is new and recent is that they are no longer selling housing or buildings, but planning. With or without ideology, planning becomes an exchange value. The project of developers presents itself as opportunity and place of privilege: the place of happiness in a daily life miraculously and marvellously transformed. The make-believe world of habitat is inscribed in the logic of the habitat and their unity provides a social practice which does not need a system.” Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. pp. 83-4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 82

⁸⁵ “To study the circulation, of the conveying of orders and information in the great modern city, leads to real knowledge and to technical applications. To claim that the city is defined as a network of circulation and communication, as a centre of information and decision-making, is an absolute ideology ... This ideology has two independent aspects, mental and social. Mentally, it implies a theory of rationality and organisation whose expression date from around 1910, a transformation in contemporary society ... It is then that socially the notion of space comes to the fore, relegating into shadow time and becoming. Planning as ideology formulates all the problems of society into questions of space and transposes all that comes from history and consciousness into spatial terms. It is an ideology which immediately divides up. Since society does not function in a satisfactory manner, could there not be a pathology of space? Within this perspective, the virtually official recognition of the priority of space over time is not conceived of as an indication of social pathology, as symptom among others of a reality which engenders social disease. On the contrary, what are represented are healthy and diseased spaces. The planned should be able to distinguish between sick spaces and spaces linked to mental and social health which are generators of this health. As physician of space, he should have the capacity to conceive of an harmonious social space, normal and normalising. Its function would then be to grant to this space (perhaps identical to geometrical space, that of abstract topologies) pre-existing social realities.” *Ibid.* pp. 98-99.

⁸⁶ Lefebvre in Peet, (ed.), 1977, op. cit. p. 339.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 340.

determinism he identifies in the ideology of planning as a discipline and of concepts of the city. The lack of engagement with or acknowledgement of ideology denies the politics inherent in space. This is a central argument in his understanding of the production of space.⁸⁸ Space cannot be thought of or understood as a passive, neutral, objective object. It does not exist in a vacuum but is part of the history of society in which processes and interactions exist between various spheres. Thus, the social, the economic and the political act on, in and through space and vice versa. For Lefebvre, what is necessary is to place the political element of space, what the ideology of planning sublimated or denied, at the core of his understanding of the production of space. Space as both a product and a process means that Lefebvre emphasises his critique of apolitical theories of space, such as those of the planning profession, as a recognition that spatial forms are politically created and serve political functions:

Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regards to its contents and thus seems to be 'purely' formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has already been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident in the landscape. Space has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies. There is an ideology of space. Why? Because space, which seems homogeneous, which seems to be completely objective in its pure form, such as we can ascertain it, is a social product. The production of space can be likened to the production of any given particular type of merchandise.⁸⁹

Planning therefore represents a profession in which ideologies are acted out, explicitly or implicitly, in representations of space. How a space is perceived, subjected to logic, codes, theories, etc. is the realm of expert knowledge in which it is abstracted and put to use. Space needs to be considered as political because how a space is represented has implications for how it is to be used: for what purposes, by whom, when and why. Gregory refers to representations of space as "constellations of power, knowledge, and spatiality – in which the dominant social order is materially inscribed (and, by implication, legitimised)".⁹⁰ This has implications therefore for the control and domination of one group by another by limiting contact or interactions by segregation or isolation. The potential for conflict over control of representations of space is thus in the arena of potential conflict between social classes or class fractions. Mitchell, in his analysis of the conflict over different understandings of what constitutes a public park, is clear in his assessment of the ideological element of representations of space as used by planners and developers:

⁸⁸ As Saunders puts it: "It is precisely because space is a product of capitalism, and that it is therefore infused with the logic of capitalism (production for profit and exploitation of labour), that the urban ideology of space as a pure and non-political object is so crucial." Saunders, 1981, op. cit. p. 154.

⁸⁹ Lefebvre, in Peet, 1977, op. cit. p. 341.

⁹⁰ Gregory, 1994, op. cit. p. 403.

Imposing limits and controls on spatial interaction has been one of the principal aims of the urban and corporate planners during this century. The territorial segregation created through the expression of social difference has increasingly been replaced by a celebration of constrained diversity. The diversity represented in shopping centres, 'megastructures, corporate plazas and (increasingly) in public parks is carefully constructed... a space of social practice that sorts and divides social groups according to the dictates of comfort and order rather than to those of political struggle ... The strategies of urban and corporate planners classify and distribute various social strata and classes (other than the one that exercise hegemony) across the available territory, keeping them separate and prohibiting all contacts - these being replaced by signs (or images) of contact.⁹¹

1.7: The Everyday in Lefebvre's Production of Space

Lefebvre is concerned with investigating the significance and details of everyday life. In many aspects of his works on the city and space, he examines how changes wrought by modernisation have affected the patterns and routines of daily life. What he seeks to emphasise is the loss of control and sense of belonging to a community that has accompanied the transition to a more materialistic, individualistic society. Shields considers this concern with alienation as the unifying theme throughout Lefebvre's work:

What unites all his work - from his first to his most mature works - is his deeply humanistic interest in alienation. ... It is not technological progress, the absence of war, or ease of life, or even length of life, but the chance for a *fully lived life* that is the measure of a civilisation. The quality of any society lies in the opportunity for the unalienated and authentic life experience that it gives all its members. Grounded in anything else, democracy falls short of what it could be. In cultural terms, this quality supersedes historically imposed measures of beauty or elegance. In political and economic terms, it is an index of liberty.⁹²

Lefebvre's analysis of the production of space centres on the interplay of everyday experience and interactions within historical modes of production, specifically capitalism, with the development of technologies and conceptions of space (spatial practices and representations of space). This dynamic equilibrium between three complex compounds (combinations of elements) produces space. Ownership of space is not only the exercise of monopoly rights over a physical territory. It also involves how space is conceived and represented, which reflects the dominant, hegemonic forces operative within and over it. There is then an inherent element of control and regulation of space and concomitantly of the practices that are allowed or sanctioned, permitted or prescribed within it. But, as Lefebvre emphasises, space is produced and shaped for economic production and for social reproduction, and as "[s]pace is permeated with social relations: it is not only supported by social relations but is also producing and produced by social relations."⁹³ There is thus a

⁹¹ D. Mitchell, "The End of Public Space: People's Park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85(1), 1995, p. 120.

⁹² Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 2.

⁹³ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 286.

reciprocal relationship between the elements involved in its production. That is, everyday practices are not only dominated by spatial practices and the representations of space preferred or imposed by practitioners such as planners, state officials, academics, etc., but impose their own meanings, values and understandings of space by the routine practices and techniques of everyday life. Command over space, for Lefebvre, is thus a fundamental and ubiquitous basis of power in everyday life and in society. Those who create and define the meanings, forms and practices in space (as well as time) can set the rules by which that space is used: when, by whom, for what purposes. The ideological and political forces that constitute hegemony in society seek to control the material context of everyday social experience. In this context the control over the representations given of space and the meanings attached to them are significant for understanding how power employs and is employed in and through space, how it manifests and inscribes in space meanings and ideologies that belong to the dominant hegemony. Harvey eloquently sums up the point: "If a picture or map can paint a thousand words, then power in the realms of representation may end up being as important as power over the materiality of spatial organisation itself."⁹⁴ Lefebvre defines everyday life as:

made of recurrences: gestures of labour and leisure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic, hours, days, weeks, months, years, linear and cyclical repetitions, natural and rational time, etc.: the study of creative activity (of *production*, in its widest sense) leads to the study of reproduction or the conditions in which actions producing objects and labour are reproduced, re-commenced, and re-assume their component proportions or, on the contrary, undergo gradual or sudden modifications.⁹⁵

Shields attempts to clarify Lefebvre's use of the term 'everyday life',⁹⁶ distinguishing between *le quotidien* (everydayness) as the banal repetitive routinisation of life under capitalism and *la vie quotidienne* (daily life) the ordinary, habitual, routine nature of day-to-day living. Lefebvre's use of *la vie quotidienne* is an attempt to 'marry' daily life to the alienated concept of everydayness. Lefebvre is proposing that there is a need to reconsider the symbiosis of the two ideas. They are not separated into one alienated, bad, everyday whilst the other is special, good, unalienated 'moments'. The two meanings overlap in that the alienated everyday has the potential for extraordinariness, and therefore his use of the concept of everyday life is to encompass this potential for unreserved participation. The aim of Lefebvre's use of the term is to highlight how consciousness can be transformed by

⁹⁴ Harvey, 1990, op. cit. p. 233.

⁹⁵ Lefebvre, 1971, op. cit. p. 18. As Katz and Kirkby put it:

"Everyday life is where everything takes place ~ it is the domain of social reproduction, which includes both biological reproduction and the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation and domination ... Social reproduction is not ensured, for neither the mundane practices of everyday life in both theory and practice is that they are grounds for struggle in which active historical subjects reproduce themselves, their labour power, and the contradictory social relations on which production depends. Reproduction is a conscious and often contested process, change is immanent and ongoing." Katz and Kirkby, 1991, op. cit. p. 264.

⁹⁶ "It is worth distinguishing carefully between everyday life and the concept 'the everyday' in order to clarify its meaning. The term 'everyday life' in Lefebvre's books means 'banal and meaningless life', not daily life. In French, there is a certain interchangeability between the idea of banal activities and daily tasks. While 'everyday life' in the sense of daily tasks is an amorphous set of more or less usual and unremarkable activities, 'the everyday' always means the ordinary, banal and repetitive." Shields, 2000, op. cit. p. 69.

changing the material components and everyday routines of daily life.⁹⁷ In this Lefebvre views the body, as previously argued, as at the centre of a web of

... images, signs and symbols. These bodies are transported out of themselves, transformed and emptied out, as it were, via the eyes: every level of appeal, incitement and seduction is mobilised to tempt them with doubles of themselves in prettified, smiling and happy poses; and this campaign to void them succeeds exactly to the degree that the images proposed correspond to the 'needs' that these same images have helped fashion. So it is that the massive influx of information, of messages, runs head on into an inverse flow constituted by the evacuation from the immanent body of all life and desire.⁹⁸

Lefebvre attempts to present an understanding of modernity through this concept of 'everyday life' in which knowledge of the meanings and practices of the experience of modern urban life under capitalism is crucial.⁹⁹ Central to this concept, in Lefebvre's definition, is how ideologies are constructed and applied to and within everyday life. The importance of Lefebvre's concern with the ideological content and control of everyday life is extended to his understanding of the production of space. Knowledge of space must account for the socio-historical and the economic basis by which it is produced, and this includes an ontological perspective based upon ideology but also a focus on the means, practices and uses of space.¹⁰⁰

Thus everyday life, the social territory and place of controlled consumption, of terror-enforced passivity, is established and programmed; as a social territory it is easily identified, and under analysis it reveals its latent irrationality beneath an apparent rationality; incoherence beneath an ideology of coherence, and sub-systems or disconnected territories linked together only by speech.¹⁰¹

Therefore, views of the city, landscapes, facades, plans, etc., that is, representations of space, become the essential condition or requirement for the superiority of ruling elites (whether as sovereigns, the local or national state, or planners) is their control over space, over the city and over people. Lefebvre highlights this visual dominance in order to demonstrate the hegemony of elite views of the city.¹⁰² For example, he cites the selective construction of

⁹⁷ "The significance of daily life was that it alone was a measure of the balance between human realisation as 'l'homme total' and its dialectical antithesis, alienation. Lefebvre contrasted modern life with the festival of everyday life as he perceived it in the Dionysian form, in Ancient Athens and its medieval festivals, where norms were periodically inverted or suspended... Lefebvre's 'total person' reconciled thought and life, mind and body, by living life as an oeuvre, a work of art that required the full investment and reconciliation of both body and mind. Thus, 'whereas a work has something irreplaceable and unique about it, a product can be reproduced exactly, and is in fact the result of repetitive acts and gestures.' Ibid. pp. 70- 71. Lefebvre's emphasis on the importance of play underpins his understanding of everyday life as, potentially, a counter to domination and alienation. Again, Lefebvre's insistence on viewing play as a necessary element in the self-production of the whole human appears Nietzschean if not in origin at least in sentiment.

⁹⁸ Lefebvre, 1991, op cit. p. 98.

⁹⁹ "... everyday life and modernity, the one crowning and concealing the other, revealing and veiling it. Everyday life is a compound of insignificances united in this concept, responds and corresponds to modernity, a compound of signs by which our society expresses and justifies itself and which forms part of its ideology." Lefebvre, 1971, op. cit. p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ "Ideologies are made of understanding and interpretations (religious or philosophical) of the world and knowledge plus a certain amount of illusion, and might bear the name of 'culture'. A culture is also a *praxis* or a means of distributing supplies in a society and thus directing the flow of production; it is in its widest sense a means of production, a source of ideologically motivated actions and activities ... Everyday life emerges as the sociological point of feedback; this crucial yet disparaged point has a dual character, it is the *residuum* (of all the possible specific and specialised activities outside social experience) and the product of society in general; it is the point of delicate balance and that where imbalance threatens." Ibid p. 32.

For an analysis of the interplay of ideology, culture and hegemony see Williams, 1977, op. cit.

¹⁰¹ Lefebvre, 1971, op. cit. p. 197.

¹⁰² "To put art at the service of the urban does not mean to prettify urban space with works of art ... Rather, this means that time-space becomes works of art and that former art reconsiders itself as source and model of *appropriation* of space and time. Art brings cases and

monuments and other public sculpture to represent the ideologies of the dominating histories of a specific, that is elite, culture. They thus represent in material form a privileged spatial practice. Who selects what subject or historical event as worthy of public representation, and where it is located, is politically incumbent. Monuments and public art carry with them, whether implicit or explicit, meanings and messages from those who have the power, capital or authority to erect them. As Harvey makes clear: "Spatial and temporal practices are never neutral in social affairs. They always express some kind of class or other social content, and are more often than not the focus of intense social struggle ... Time and space both get defined through the organisation of social practices fundamental to commodity production."¹⁰³

But there is the possibility of other aspects of the experience of space that have the potential to undermine or subvert this planned and dominating picture. De Certeau presents the possibility of reconstituting the regulated 'plan' of the city through everyday practices, such as walking, that create new trajectories and routes that have the potential for empowerment. De Certeau will be considered in detail later along with a consideration of Benjamin's assertion of the existence of mythic spaces, 'dream houses of the collectivity', and Foucault's concept of heterotopias in relation to the public parks as public spaces. Lefebvre counterposes the bases of social needs as between the need for security, predictability and certainty with the desire for adventure, unpredictability and the freedom to explore possibilities that present themselves as open. Thus, there is a need for the organisation of work, of play, time and space for self-reflection as well as interaction. Lefebvre emphasises the fundamental need for play as an essential quality of human wellbeing, something that has been overlooked or underestimated in concepts of and attempts to organise, plan and regulate the city:

The human being has the need to accumulate energies and to spend them, even waste them in play. ... To these anthropological needs which are socially elaborated ... can be added specific needs which are not satisfied by those commercial and cultural infrastructures which are somewhat parsimoniously taken into account by planners. This refers to the need of creative activity, for the *oeuvre* (not only of products and consumable material goods), of the need for information, symbolism, the imaginary and play. Through these specified needs lives and survives a fundamental desire of which play, sexuality, physical activities such as sport, creative activity, art and knowledge are particular expressions and *moments*, which can more or less overcome the fragmentary division of tasks. Finally, the need of the city and urban life can only be freely expressed within a perspective which here attempts to become clearer and to open up the horizon. Would not specific urban needs be those of qualified places, places of simultaneity and encounters, places where exchange would not go through exchange value, commerce and profit? Would there not also be a need for a time for these encounters, these

examples of appropriate 'topics' of temporal qualities inscribed in spaces ... Let us not forget that gardens, parks, and landscapes were part of urban life as much as the fine arts, or that the landscape around cities were the works of art of these cities ... Leaving aside representation, ornamentation and decoration, art can become *praxis* and *poiesis* on a social scale: the art of living in the city as work of art. Coming back to style and to the *oeuvre*, that is, to the meaning of the monument and the space appropriated in the *fete*, art can create 'structures of enchantment'. Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 173.

¹⁰³ Harvey, 1990, op. cit. p. 239.

exchanges? ¹⁰⁴

Without specifically mentioning them, Lefebvre here could almost be providing an 'ideal' description of parks as these 'qualified places', essentially social spaces of exchange defined by their use value. The parks were conceived and built in Glasgow and elsewhere in recognition of their value over a whole range of justifications that will be considered in a later chapter on park discourses. This will illustrate Lefebvre's argument concerning the satisfaction of social needs as existing outwith those spaces designed and planned for overtly commercial or production purposes (spaces of exchange). Lefebvre is alerting us to the need for a more holistic understanding of everyday life in which the production of space for purposes not specifically concerned with the production of capital, but with the reproduction of the relation of capital in which, for Lefebvre, play is an essential part. Lefebvre's argument is an appeal for the continuance of the need for spaces within the modern city for activities that do not serve strictly productive functions:

Fairs, collective games of all sorts, survive at the interstices of an organised consumer society, in the holes of a serious society which perceives itself as structured systematically and which claims to be technical. As for the old places of assembly, they are largely devoid of meaning: the fete dies or leaves it. That they should find a meaning again does not preclude the creation of places appropriate to the renewed fete fundamentally linked to play... The space of play has coexisted and still coexists with spaces of exchange and circulation, political space and cultural space. Projects within quantified and accounted 'social space' which lose their qualitative and differentiated spaces relate to a schizophrenia which is concealed under the veils of precision, scientificity and rationality. Thus, conceived social spaces are related to social times and rhythms that are prioritised. One understands more clearly, how and up to what point in urban reality elements distribute themselves over a period of time. It is the truth of urban time which lucidly reclaims this role. To *inhabit* finds again its place over habitat. The quality which is promoted presents and represents as *playful*. By *playing* with words, one can say that there will be *play* between the parts of the social whole (plasticity) – to the extent that *play* is proclaimed as a supreme value, eminently solemn, if not serious, overtaking use and exchange value by gathering them together. ¹⁰⁵

Lefebvre's understanding of the importance of everyday life in the production of space has broad implications for providing a theoretical framework for analysing specific urban places, such as the public parks. The public parks in Glasgow, it will be demonstrated, came into existence as the result of national and local debates concerning the health of the cities as the result of industrialisation and urbanisation. They were conceived, designed, produced, and built with specific practices, uses and populations in mind. They were a response by a ruling civic elite to the perceived dangers inherent in the rapid growth of the city. The form, structure and function of the parks were intimately related to everyday life but not necessarily with production per se, as in 'work', but in the reproduction of the relations of production through the regeneration, the re-creation, of the labour force through the healthy

¹⁰⁴ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 147-8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. pp. 171, 172.

use of leisure time. The parks were viewed as just such an intervention in the structure and organisation of the city and in the everyday life of its population. The need for such interventions became more essential as the consequences of modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation took their toll on the physical environment as well as the physical, mental and moral health of the population. As Lefebvre writes, “[t]he stress of ‘modern life’ makes amusements, distractions and relaxation a necessity...”¹⁰⁶ This is neatly echoed by Harvey: “[t]he social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living.”¹⁰⁷ This has implications for understanding the public parks as social spaces. They are obviously constructed, produced spaces with a form, structure and function that operate in the reproduction of relations of production. More specifically, the use of the parks raises questions as to their ‘ownership’: that is, they are obviously public spaces owned by the public in the form of the local authority and as such may be considered as ‘open’ in terms of their use. However, the regulation and control of ‘appropriate’ activities is a fundamental feature of the parks themselves. Therefore what is allowed, prescribed, when and where and by whom are essential questions as to the real, as opposed to the hypothetical, ‘freedom’ that a public park implies. This question of public space will be discussed later, but at present it would seem pertinent to highlight Lefebvre’s plea for openness as a ‘right’. Lefebvre considers that the ‘right to the city’ becomes more essential in modern cities as it “... manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation* (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city.”¹⁰⁸ The right to the city is defined as:

... not a natural right, nor a contractual one. In the most ‘positive’ of terms it signifies the rights of citizens and city dwellers, and of groups (on the basis of social relations) constitute, to appear on all the networks and circuits of communication, information and exchange. This depends neither upon an urbanistic ideology, nor upon an architectural intervention, but upon an essential quality or property of urban space: centrality... To exclude the *urban* from groups, classes, individuals, is also to exclude them from civilisation, if not from society itself. The *right to the city* legitimates the refusal to allow oneself to be removed from urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organisation. This right of the citizen (if one wants, of ‘man’) proclaims the inevitable crisis of city centres based upon segregation and establishing it: centres of decision-making, wealth, power, of information and knowledge, which reject towards peripheral spaces all those who do not participate in political privileges. Equally, it stipulates the right to meetings and gatherings; places and objects must answer to certain ‘needs’ generally misunderstood, to certain despised and moreover transfunctional ‘functions’: the ‘need’ for social life and a centre, the need and the function of play, the symbolic function of space (close to what exists over and above classified functions and needs, which cannot be objectified as such because its figure of time, which gives rise to

¹⁰⁶ Lefebvre, 1971, op. cit. p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ D. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, p. 256.

¹⁰⁸ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. pp. 173-4

rhetoric and which only poets can call by its name: desire).¹⁰⁹

However, as Lefebvre indicates the 'right' to the city, and therefore to its parks as public spaces, implies the potential for conflict between different groups over meaning and values as well as uses and practices. Thus, Lefebvre's plea is for knowledge of the production of space that includes understanding and acknowledging the ideology subsumed within concepts, plans and designs, but also the rights of the urban public to 'own' by use, attachment of meanings, symbols and understandings of space. That is, to replace the prioritisation of space for exchange with that of the use value of space.

1.8: The Significance of the Production of Space for the Analysis of Public Parks

Lefebvre's central thesis in *The Production of Space* is that space is a fundamental element in the operation and organisation of society within historical modes of production. However, space must be considered as a unique factor in that it is at the same time, one of the forces of production and also the medium through which social relations occur and is the outcome of this process. It is a causal element in the relations of production but also produced by the relations that occur within and through it. Space, for Lefebvre,

... is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object ... Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production.) Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge.¹¹⁰

Lefebvre's concept of social space encompasses a critical analysis of urban reality and everyday life, an inseparable concatenation, which simultaneously is a product and a process:

The analysis is concerned with the whole of practico-social activities, as they are entangled in a complex space, urban and everyday, ensuring up to a point the reproduction of relations of production (that is, social relations). The global synthesis is realised through this actual space, its critique and its knowledge... At the centre, recognised here and elsewhere, is the process of *reproduction of relations of production*, which unfolds before one, which is accomplished with each social activity, including the most ostensibly anodyne (leisure activities, everyday life, dwelling and habitat, the use of space) and which has yet to be the subject of a global study.¹¹¹

His approach to understanding the production of space, 'true knowledge of space', is outlined in his triad of necessary elements. Thus, spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation may be said to provide a framework for understanding social

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p.195.

¹¹⁰ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 73.

¹¹¹ Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. pp. 185, 187.

spaces in the context of their production within particular societies and historical periods.¹¹² His analysis takes account of the need to produce spaces for economic production *and* for social reproduction. The significance of Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the production of space will be demonstrated as useful for the analysis of public parks as spaces specifically involved in the processes of social reproduction.¹¹³ Merrifield makes a useful link between Lefebvre's analysis of the production of space and particular places such as, it will be argued, the public parks.

The space-relations identified by Lefebvre, then take on meaning through, and are permeated by, historically defined social relations (and vice versa) ... space represented the realm of flows of capital, money, commodities and information, and remained the domain of the hegemonic forces in society. From this viewpoint, place comprises the locus and a sort of stopping of those flows, a specific moment in the dynamics of space-relations under capitalism. Place is shaped by the grounding (the 'thingification' if you will) of these material flows, though it concomitantly serves to shape them too by way of social and class struggle over place necessitating, for example, that abstract space takes a particular physical and social form in place. ... It is the realm of dispassionate 'objects' rationally 'ordered in space'; a deracinated space where representation is simply the representation of the ruling groups, just as ruling ideas were for Marx. Here knowledge and power attempt to reign supreme and impose what they know onto lived sensual and sexual experience. Correspondingly, everyday life becomes a practical and sensual activity acted out in place ... Place is synonymous with what is lived in the sense that daily life practices are embedded in particular places. Social practice is place-bound, political organisation demands place organisation. Life is place-dependent, and hence the Lefebvrian struggle to change life has to launch itself from a place platform ... everyday life in place is 'the supreme court where wisdom, knowledge and power are brought to judgement'.¹¹⁴

The public parks, it will be argued, are cultural landscapes that are composed of "human patterns impressed upon the contours of the natural environment ... the story of how places are planned, designed, built, inhabited, appropriated, celebrated, despoiled and discarded. Cultural identity, social history, and urban design are here intertwined".¹¹⁵ Lefebvre's warning is that, "[s]o far as the concept of production is concerned, it does not become fully concrete or take on a true content until replies have been given to the questions that it makes possible: 'Who produces?', 'What?', 'How?', 'Why and for Whom?'"¹¹⁶ This would seem an appropriate and essential set of questions necessary for the analysis of parks as social spaces in which a complex of factors has contributed to their production, representation and the uses to which they were put. The various discourses used in justifying

¹¹² "It is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period. Relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable ..." Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. p. 46.

¹¹³ Lefebvre's understanding of social reproduction "... ranges over different scales, including the space in and around the body (biological reproduction), the space of housing (the reproduction of the labour force), and the public space of the city (the reproduction of social relations). Here he links the physical to the social in decisive ways.... Lefebvre suggests that space is a medium through which social life is produced and reproduced." D. Hayden, "Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space," in P.B. Groth and T.W. Bressi, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, London, Yale University Press, 1997, p. 114.

¹¹⁴ Merrifield, 1993, op. cit. p. 525. [Lefebvre quote from, *Critique of Everyday Life*, 1991, Vol. 1 Verso, London, pg. 6.]

¹¹⁵ Hayden, 1997, op. cit. p. 111.

¹¹⁶ Lefebvre, 1991, op. cit. pp. 111, 69.

the construction of public parks at public expense will be considered in detail later, but Lefebvre's analysis provides a valuable framework for understanding their origins in a *milieu*, a specific urban context, in which a spirit of the age, a *Zeitgeist*, included concerns about the consequences of industrial capitalism on the quality and quantity of life in modern expanding cities and towns. The public parks in Glasgow were created at particular sites, in different designs, under the auspices of the local state with specific rationales for different communities in mind. They did not all spring fully formed within a short period of each other. There were distinct phases of development in which designs, forms and contents were included to meet the concerns of authority, both with the needs of the population for such social spaces and also the needs of planners to accommodate the expansion of the city in times of political, economic and social flux. They were, and are, considered essential to the infrastructure of healthy cities and their populations, and represented visions of 'nature' that were pragmatic and appropriate to the context of the modern city as well as the dominant conceptions of their value and use.¹¹⁷ They are complex spaces that provide a variety of features, facilities and experiences that may compete with or contradict the representation and design of power:

The best public places of cities may be 'impersonal' in the neighbourhood sense without being cold or alienating in the broader social sense. On the contrary, freedom from social pressure and release from the boredom of the familiar and near, however dear, can be exhilarating precisely because one is surrounded by strangers who are not threatening, who may even be cordial, who can be companionable without being in any emotional sense demanding. Probably many an individual has felt less lonely alone in a crowded park than at home in a hostile family ... Of all urban spaces, parks are perhaps the most congenial and the most civilised. A park almost by definition is a public place, but parks can be public on the proximate scale and be largely the territory of a neighbourhood ... For urban residents of all ages and classes, small and large parks offer contact with nature, animal, vegetable and mineral. They provide the opportunity to have a good time just being alive in an approximation of our original environment of earth and sky, plants and water, with space to run in or simply reflect in.¹¹⁸

As public spaces, designed and used for inherently social practices in which the reproduction of relations of production emphasised the necessity of healthy recreation for a healthy labour force, the public parks may be considered at the forefront of the development of strategies of space management and control.¹¹⁹ Thus, the need for some access to 'nature', albeit constructed and highly managed, was considered essential to the well being of the labour force. Therefore, it is crucial to reclaim parks as social constructions in everyday life, and to

¹¹⁷ "As the natural environment is explored, mapped, documented, taxonised and analysed, so too is it mythologised. Romantic constructions of nature accompany its systematic plunder, exoticism serves exploitation; romance and rapacity are familiar partners. ... While we have been primed to appreciate parks as restorative preserves of 'nature', not as remnants or fabrications of what was, the aestheticisation of natural environments is fast creating a global museum in which everything from species through land-use systems are 'preserved', as they are elsewhere threatened, transformed, erased." Katz and Kirkby, 1991, op. cit. p. 265.

¹¹⁸ B.B. Greenbie, *Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape*, London, Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 220, 251.

¹¹⁹ "Symbolic orderings of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who or what we are in society... The common sense notion that 'there is a time and a place for everything' gets carried into a set of prescriptions which replicate the social order by assigning social meanings to spaces and times." Harvey, 1990, op. cit. p. 214.

recognise their explicit connections with the social relations of production and reproduction:

If national parks are simulacra of primordial nature and city parks a form of internalised 'other', both are made to represent escape from urban industrial order ... Again the positioning of nature is part of a larger process of social control propelling and propelled by capitalist relations of domination... Urban parks were established in concert with the rise of industrial capitalism, a corrective to dense urban settlement...¹²⁰

However, the parks also have the potential for 'unintended consequences' as places in which everyday practices and uses may subvert or directly challenge the dominant ideologies of space that are inherent in their design. Mitchell makes clear, in his analysis of the role and function of contemporary public parks, that potential conflict resides within competing and often mutually exclusive visions of what is public space:

Public space often, though not always, originates as a representation of space, as for example, a court-house square, a monumental plaza, a public park, or a pedestrian shopping district. But as people use these spaces, they also become representational spaces, appropriated in use. ... Whatever the origins of any public space, its status as 'public' is created and maintained through the ongoing opposition of visions that have been held, on the one hand by those who seek order and control and, on the other, by those who seek places for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction... Public space is the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space - order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction - and who constitutes the 'public'.¹²¹

The parks then must be considered as specific places where the spatial practices, the social organisation of the urban environment and population, become manifest through representations of space that are themselves imbued with the ideologies of hegemonic forces of society as an attempt to impinge upon and control everyday life. Lefebvre provides a theoretical foundation for the analysis of public parks as 'produced' spaces of 'nature in the city' that take into account the interplay between a number of crucial elements. This complex of dynamic interactions provides a framework for analysing how conflicts over design, form and function become entwined with social class and spatial segregation. However, if 'true knowledge of space' is to be achieved by a consideration of the dynamic triad of necessary elements, there is a need to investigate, illustrate and substantiate how space is produced, how it is represented in diverse discourses, as well as how everyday meanings and uses affect and are affected by it. Therefore the social space of public parks must be addressed and understood in the historical context of an increasingly urbanised, industrial capitalism. This requires an appreciation of how popular practices and uses resist, appropriate and contest those hegemonic processes and representations through conflict and contestation.

Lefebvre's *Production Of Space* is a complex analysis of the fundamental importance of space in the survival and perpetuation of capitalism. In short, it provides essential concepts, insights and perspectives for a meaningful understanding of social space. The

¹²⁰ Katz and Kirkby, 1991, op. cit. p. 266.

interlinked necessary elements of his triadic analysis of spatial practices (production as I will term it), representation and use provides a structure for the analysis of the space of the public parks that combines a rigour with flexibility that is essential for incorporating an understanding of the diverse factors salient in their creation: that is, their production within the socio-economic and spatial expansion of the city; the dominant discourses representing the justifications for their production; and the uses and practices to which the parks were put.

However, Lefebvre's analysis does not provide sufficient illustrative and substantive detail of the operation, the workings, of each of his dynamic elements. It is an abstract theoretical analysis that identifies a number of macro and micro social factors without specific consideration of the implications and application of each of his elements. What is required, therefore, and what will be addressed in the following chapter, through the application of 'other lenses' on space, are perspectives and insights that are essential for 'putting flesh on the bones' of Lefebvre's theoretical skeleton: that is, the political, economic, social and cultural context of the origins and development of the production, representation and use of urban space. What will be considered is the political economy of space under urban, industrial capitalism, the exercise of power inherent in representations of space through the analysis of 'disciplinary discourses', and finally the meanings and symbolic values attached to space through the routine use and practice of everyday life.

¹²¹ Mitchell, 1995, op. cit. p.115.

CHAPTER 2: “FLESH ON THE BONES - BEYOND LEFEBVRE’S ‘SKELETON’”

2.1: Introduction

Lefebvre’s development of an analytical framework for the reprioritisation of space has been detailed and posited as the basis for understanding the multi-faceted elements in the creation and development of the social space of public parks. Whilst Lefebvre’s triadic of necessary elements provides a totalising and somewhat overarching holism to the production of space, it does not flesh out the details of each element nor the dynamic interaction between them. In his attempt to provide an explanation and understanding of ‘true knowledge of space’, Lefebvre’s analysis seeks to combine formal, structural and functional perspectives to the everyday experience of life in the urban realm. This chapter will take the ‘spirit’ of Lefebvre’s triadic approach and illustrate each element by introducing and using other perspectives, theoretical insights on space whose focus includes those of both the micro and macro social world. The need to synthesise a number of critical insights on space is predicated by the ambiguities, conflicts and contradictions that inhere in the creation, organisation, maintenance, representation, promotion, experience and use of what are now taken-for-granted everyday spaces in the urban landscape. The syncretic approach that is adopted here does not claim that the theoretical approaches and investigations considered belong to a unified corpus of knowledge of the problematic of space. Rather, it is one that identifies, combines and applies a variety of explorations and examinations of specific aspects of the mutual interplay between the social and the spatial to provide an adequate and competent analysis for understanding the specific historical context, processes and conditions in and through which urban public parks came to be created. Therefore, David Harvey’s analysis of the political economy of space will develop Lefebvre’s first necessary element, that of the production or spatial organisation of the urban. The second element, that of representation, will consider the power of disciplinary discourses to frame, delimit and prioritise spatial form and organisation. The third element, that of everyday uses and practices, will be examined by a combination of theoretical lenses supplied by Simmel, Foucault, Benjamin and De Certeau.

2.2: Space, Capitalism and the Urban Process: Harvey and the Political Economy of the Production of Space.

David Harvey’s long contribution to the analysis of space, his project to establish a historico-geographical materialism,¹ is founded on the recognition that capital accumulation

¹ “Historical materialism has to be upgraded, I insist, to historical-geographical materialism. The historical geography of capitalism has to be the object of theorising”. D. Harvey, *The Urbanisation of Capital*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1985, p. xii.

takes place in an historical and geographical context that engenders specific spatial forms. At the core of Harvey's analysis is an account of space (and time) in which material processes and social relations are considered essential to the question of urbanisation² and, it will be argued, supplements and illuminates Lefebvre's first element of 'production/spatial practice' in understanding the fundamental processes underlying the spatial form and organisation of modern, industrial, urban capitalism. For Harvey, both space and time are considered basic categories of human existence, and neither

can be assigned objective meanings independently of material processes, and that is only through investigation of the latter that we can properly ground our concepts of the former... From this materialist perspective we can then argue that objective conceptions of time and space are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life... Each distinctive mode of production or social formation will, in short, embody a distinctive bundle of time and space practices and concepts.³

For Harvey, a seeming consensus now exists, as Durkheim pointed out in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915), that space and time are socially constructed:

...different societies produce qualitatively different conceptions of space and time ... that ... [for Harvey highlight two features] ... First, the social definitions of space and time operate with the full force of objective facts to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond.... Secondly, the definitions of space and time are deeply implicated in processes of social reproduction.... A particular way of representing space and time guides spatial and temporal practices which in turn secure the social order ... [therefore] ... *each social formation constructs objective conceptions of space and time sufficient unto its own needs and purposes of material social reproduction and organises its material practices in accordance with those conceptions.*⁴

Emile Durkheim's analysis of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity introduces space as an important element in the organisation and structure of the modern city and society. Durkheim emphasises two causal factors as fundamental to the increased division of labour: that of the increase in 'material and moral density'. They are, for Durkheim, interlinked and associated with the growth and development of urban centres, where

[s]ocial life, instead of being concentrated in a multitude of little centres, distinctive and alike, is generalised. Social relations - more exactly intra-social - consequently become more numerous, since they extend, on all sides, beyond their original limits. The division of labour develops, therefore, as there are more individuals sufficiently in contact to be able to act and react upon one another. If we agree to call this relation and the active commerce resulting from it dynamic or moral density, we can say that the progress of the division of labour is in direct ratio to the moral or dynamic density of society. But this moral relationship can only produce its effect if the real distance between individuals has itself diminished in some way. Moral density cannot grow

² "The question 'what is space?' is replaced by the question 'how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualisations of space?' ... An understanding of urbanism and of the social process - spatial form theme requires that we understand how human activity creates the need for specific spatial concepts and how daily social practice solves with consummate ease seemingly deep philosophical mysteries concerning the nature of space and the relationships between social processes and spatial forms." D. Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, London, Edward Arnold, 1973, p. 14.

³ D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge, Blackwell, 1990, p. 204.

⁴ D. Harvey, "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination", in T. Barnes & D. Gregory, (eds.) *Reading Human Geography*, London, Edward Arnold, 1997, pp. 256, 257, 258. (Italics in original.)

unless material density grows at the same time, and the latter can be used to measure the former. It is useless to try to find out which has determined the other; they are inseparable ... But cities always result from the need of individuals to put themselves in very intimate contact with others. They are so many points where the social mass is contracted more strongly than elsewhere. They can multiply and extend only if the moral density is raised.⁵

The material density of a population is viewed as the increase in the density of society as a result of the growth of towns and cities, the means and speed of communications. Moral density refers to the increased concentration and intensity of social interactions and relationships within a given population. Spatial proximity leads to a concentration of interaction and increased competition for resources and opportunities in the market. Indeed, Durkheim emphasises the causal nature of material and moral densities both for the increase in the division of labour and as being a limiting factor on the progress to civilisation. Thus, Durkheim's analysis of the spatial dimension to human interactions and the real and potential consequences of new spatial and social arrangements provide an insight into the city as the site of modernity:

There remains no other variable factor than the number of individuals in relation and their material and moral proximity, that is to say the volume and density of society. The more numerous they are and the more they act upon one another, the more they react with force and rapidity; consequently, the more intense social life becomes. But it is this intensification which constitutes civilisation... To seek to realise a civilisation superior to that demanded by the nature of surrounding conditions is to desire to turn illness loose in the very society of which we are part, for it is not possible to increase collective activity beyond the degree determined by the state of the social organism without compromising health... Since progress is a consequence of changes in the social milieu, there is no reason for supposing that it must ever end.⁶

Space then is understood as produced, shaped, moulded and used within specific epochs and societies. The forms that space takes symbolise the cultural aspirations of a given society at a specific time as well as the existing social order. Geographical space is thus not separated from society but is the product of social relations and historical practices, as they become embedded and internalised within spatial forms and structures. Harvey's original focus, and one that remains in his later work, the project of historical geographical materialism, is to investigate

.... the way in which markets conceal social (and we should add, geographical) information and relations. We have to penetrate the veil of fetishism with which we are necessarily surrounded by virtue of the system of commodity production and exchange and discover what lies behind it.⁷

It is fundamentally a Marxist analysis of the role of space in the processes of accumulation and circulation of capital. That is, it is a consideration of the spatial dimension of Marx's

⁵ E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, New York, The Free Press, 1933, pp. 257, 258.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 339, 341.

⁷ Harvey, 1997, op. cit. pp. 262, 263.

analysis of capitalism as a mode of production.⁸ The production of space and specifically, the creation of the built environment of the city are considered as necessary conditions for, and product of, the processes of accumulation, circulation and consumption of capital. Harvey's project then is to develop Marx's 'paradigm of production'⁹ to include the production of space as an essential element in the production and reproduction of social life. As Harvey puts it:

Capital is a process and not a thing. It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production, in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalised rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organisation, restlessly and ceaselessly transforming the society within which it is embedded. The process masks and fetishises, achieves growth through creative destruction, creates new wants and needs, exploits the capacity for human labour and desire, transforms spaces, and speeds up the pace of life. It produces problems of overaccumulation for which there are but a limited number of possible solutions.¹⁰

In essence, Harvey provides a political economy of space under capitalism that has important insights for the analysis of the production, location and distribution of Glasgow's parks within a specific era (industrial capitalism) and rise to dominance of a form of spatial organisation and administration (urbanisation). It serves as a means for analysing the production of Glasgow's parks as public spaces in the expanding city of the 19th century because, as Harvey puts it, "[i]deas about environment, population, and resources are not neutral. They are political in origin and have political effects."¹¹ Harvey's concern is to investigate the production and use of the physical and social landscape of the city that is shaped and formed within the urbanising process of capital accumulation. This has obvious resonance with Lefebvre's 'spatial practice' or production of specific places and spatial arrangements for the organisation and structuring of the necessary social arrangements of urban industrial capitalism.

Crucially, for Harvey, the needs of industrial capital (to minimise circulation costs, but to maximise the availability of labour, access to markets and raw materials, etc.) promoted the concentration and 'rational' location of production, and all associated activities within

⁸ Harvey's theoretical orientation, throughout his works, is rooted in a Marxist theory that, as Smith puts it, "... attempts to explain the specific economic, political and social structure of society in a given period as the result not of supposedly universal forces (for example, human nature), but as a result of historically specific and contingent processes. It is not just that competition and the market, economic growth and the profit motive are historically contingent, but that the form they take changes and develops within the history of capitalism itself. A further strength of Marxist theory is its relational perspective which treats capitalist society as a coherent (if not always consistent) whole, rather than as an agglomeration of fragments." N. Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984, p. x.

⁹ "The more production comes to rest on exchange value, hence on exchange, the more important do the physical conditions of exchange - the means of communication and transport - become for the costs of circulation. Capital by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier. Thus the creation of the physical conditions of exchange - of the means of communication and transport - the annihilation of space by time - becomes an extraordinary necessity for it ... Thus, while capital must on the one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, i.e. to exchange, and conquer the whole earth for its market, it strives on the other side to annihilate this space with time, i.e. to reduce to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another. The more developed the capital, therefore, the more extensive the market over which it circulates, which forms the spatial orbit of its circulation, the more does it strive simultaneously for an ever greater extension of the market and for the greater annihilation of space by time ... There appears here the universalising tendency of capital, which distinguishes it from all previous stage of production." K. Marx, *Grundrisse*, London, Allen Lane, 1973, p. 539-40.

¹⁰ Harvey, 1990, *op. cit.* p. 343.

¹¹ D. Harvey, "Population Resources and the Ideology of Science", in R. Peet, (ed.) *Radical Geography*, London, Macmillan, 1977, p. 237.

large urban centres.¹² That is, industrial capitalism dominates urbanism by producing the space and the spatial structures necessary for the creation of surplus value that, concomitantly, leads to the construction of the built environment.¹³ Harvey's analysis of the production of space emphasises the investment logic of industrial capital as the key causal function of urbanisation in that "...[i]n certain important and crucial respects industrial society and the structures which comprise it continue to dominate urbanism."¹⁴ Through crises of over-accumulation capital invests not only in the 'primary circuit' of production but, necessarily, must also invest in the secondary and tertiary circuits of capital to promote and achieve more beneficial conditions for the production of surplus value. Harvey's point is that investment in the secondary and tertiary circuits becomes advantageous for capital, that is for capitalists as a class, to invest in areas that have the potential for producing conditions that will aid accumulation and subsequent profits, as well as ensuring their reproduction as the dominant class in society.¹⁵

Capitalist society must create a physical landscape, specifically the 'built environment', for the purposes of production and reproduction of capital and the social relations of capital. In other words, "...the totality of physical structures: houses, roads, factories, offices, sewage systems, parks, cultural institutions, educational facilities, and so on ... *fixed capital* items to be used in production (factories, highways, railroads, offices, and so on) and *consumption fund* items to be used in consumption (houses, roads, parks, sidewalks, and the like)."¹⁶ The built environment of the city is viewed as a physical framework within which production or consumption (or in some cases – such as transport facilities – both) takes place:

A distinct spatial form therefore emerges that is associated with the rise of industrial capitalism in that *spatial structures are created which are embedded in the landscape of the city. These spatial structures (for example, transport facilities, factories, offices etc. i.e. the means of production, reproduction, circulation, and consumption) as they are fixed and immobile cannot be moved without their destruction and thus may act as*

¹² "Vast concentrations of capital and labour have come together in metropolitan areas of incredible complexity, while transport and communication systems, stretched in far-flung nets around the globe, permit information and ideas as well as material goods and even labour power to move around with relative ease. Factories and fields, schools, churches, shopping centres and parks, roads and railways litter a landscape that has been indelibly and irreversibly carved out according to the dictates of capitalism." D. Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 373.

¹³ The creation of built environments in the service of capitalism means "a growth of that portion of social wealth which, instead of serving as direct means of production, is invested in means of transportation and communication and in the fixed and circulating capital required for their operation." K. Marx, *Capital*, Volume 2, London, Penguin, 1978. p. 251, and cited by Harvey in Peet, 1977, op. cit. pp. 273-4.

¹⁴ Harvey, 1973, op. cit. p. 311.

¹⁵ For Harvey's definition of the 'circuits of capital' see D. Harvey, "The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2, 1978, pp 106-108.

"The understanding that I have to offer of the urban process under capitalism comes from seeing it in relation to the theory of accumulation... Whatever else it may entail, the urban process implies the creation of a material physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption ... The reproduction of labour power is essential and requires certain kinds of social expenditures and the creation of a consumption fund. The flows we have sketched, in so far as they portray capital movements into the built environment (for both production and consumption) and the laying out of social expenditure for the reproduction of labour power, provide us, then with the structural links we need to understand the urban process under capitalism." Ibid. pp. 113-4 and Harvey, 1990, op. cit. p. 343.

¹⁶ D. Harvey, "Labour, Capital and Class Struggle Around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies", in K. Cox, (ed.), *Urbanisation and Conflict in Market Societies*, London, Methuen, 1978, pp. 9-10.

barriers to the further expansion of the capital accumulation process.¹⁷

This is a point Harvey emphasises elsewhere:

The built environment comprises a whole host of diverse elements: factories, dams, offices, shops, warehouses, roads, railways, docks, power stations, water supply and sewage disposal systems, schools, hospitals, parks, cinemas, restaurants – the list is endless... The whole question of the spatial ordering of the built environment has then to be considered; the decision where to put one element cannot be divorced from the 'where' of others. The built environment has to be regarded, then as a geographically ordered, complex, composite commodity. The production, ordering, maintenance, renewal, and transformation of such a commodity poses serious dilemmas. The production of individual elements – houses, factories, shops, schools, roads, etc. – has to be co-ordinated, both in time and space, in such a way as to allow the composite commodity to assume an appropriate configuration.¹⁸

Capitalism, for Harvey as for Lefebvre, required not only the production of space but also the means to have command over it. The geographic concentration of the processes of accumulation demanded the spatial ordering of the means of production and necessitated an extensive space economy in which land and the improvements on it become commodities.¹⁹

As Harvey puts it,

The conquest of space first required that it be conceived as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action... Builders, engineers, and architects for their part showed how abstract representations of objective space could be combined with exploration of the concrete, malleable properties of materials in space. But these were all just islands of practice, light chronological nets thrown over a totality of social practices in which all manner of other conceptions of place and space – sacred and profane, symbolic, personal, animistic – could continue to function undisturbed. It took something more to consolidate space as universal, homogenous, objective and abstract in most social practices. That 'something' was the buying and selling of space as a commodity. The effect was then to bring all space under the single measuring rod of money value.²⁰

The production of space is therefore both political and economic and, as such, cannot be considered independently of social relations. The market in land and what is built upon it become crucial means by which the processes of capital accumulation develop, organise and create spatial forms.²¹ Space, homogenised by its 'pulverisation' into pieces to be bought and

¹⁷ Harvey expresses in similar vein his indebtedness to Marx's formulation of the problem of the analysis of space under capitalism that emphasises the creation of spatial forms and arrangements that serve the interests of capital.

"The elimination of spatial barriers and the struggle to 'annihilate space by time' is essential to the whole dynamic of capital accumulation and becomes particularly acute in crises of capital over-accumulation ... A revolution in temporal and spatial relations often entails, therefore, not only the destruction of ways of life and social practices built around preceding time-space systems, but the 'creative destruction' of a wide range of physical assets embedded in the landscape ... The Marxian theory of capital accumulation permits theoretical insights in to the contradictory changes that have occurred in the dimensionality of space and time in Western capitalism." D. Harvey, "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination", in T. Barnes & D. Gregory, (eds.) *Reading Human Geography*, London, Arnold, 1997, p. 266.

¹⁸ Harvey, 1982, op. cit. p. 233.

¹⁹ "A space economy has to be created and maintained if urbanism is to survive as a social form. Expanded reproduction and changing scale in urbanism also require an expanding (geographically) or intensifying space economy. The flow of goods and services throughout this space economy are a tangible expression of that process which circulates surplus value in order to concentrate more of it..." Harvey, 1973, op. cit. pp. 237-8.

²⁰ Harvey, 1985, op. cit. p. 13. As Marx put it in the *Grundrisse* "circulation is merely a specific, moment of exchange, or it is also exchange regarded in its totality".

²¹ "Space can be overcome only through the production of space, of systems of communication and physical infrastructures embedded in the land. Natural landscapes are replaced by the built landscapes shaped through competition to the requirements of accelerating accumulation. The 'pulverisation' and fragmentation necessary to homogenise space have to take definite forms..." Ibid. pp. 27-8.

sold on the market, as real estate, as private property, operates as a commodity but one that has special features. It is a container of social power but also the framework through which power is organised and maintained. It creates a tension between ownership and use of space for private or collective purposes, and the domination of space by the state, class or social power. There is potential conflict between appropriation of land by individuals or groups for social purposes and the domination of land as private property, by the state, class or power interests.

For Harvey, the analysis of the role of space in the accumulation process, the creation of the specific spatial form of the modern city, and investment in the built environment reveals the means by which capitalism has survived and prospered.²² Harvey defines the city as an urban system that "...contains a geographical distribution of created resources of great economic, social, psychological and symbolic significance."²³ Capitalism creates a physical landscape, it produces space, a material physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption, in its own image through the urbanisation of capital²⁴ whilst social relations simultaneously become increasingly urbanised to meet the needs of capital. Exchange value and use value in relation to land take on their meaning in special circumstances. Dominant institutions and individuals use space hierarchically and symbolically in that space is created, organised and manipulated to emphasise and reflect status, prestige and social relationships.²⁵ Hierarchical structures of authority, status and privilege are transmitted through forms of spatial organisation and the symbols and meanings attached to them:

The land market sorts spaces to functions on the basis of land prices and does so not only on the basis of ability to pay, which, though clearly differentiated, is by no means differentiated enough to etch clear class and social distinctions into the social spaces of the city. The response is for each and every stratum in society to use whatever powers of domination it can command (money, political influence, even violence) to try and seal itself off (or seal off others judged undesirable) in fragments of space within which processes of reproduction of social distinctions can be jealously guarded.²⁶

The dynamic of capital investment in the different circuits is not a one-way process.

²²In language reminiscent of Lefebvre, Harvey highlights the importance of urbanisation both for the survival of capitalism and for the creation of a new form of consciousness and relationship to nature. "We know that capitalism has survived into the 20th century in part through the production of an increasingly urbanised space. The result has been a particular kind of urban experience, radically different quantitatively and qualitatively from anything that preceded it in world history. Capitalism has produced a 'second nature' through urbanisation and the creation of the built environment of extraordinary breadth and intricacy. It has also produced a new kind of human nature through the urbanisation of human consciousness and the production of social spaces and a particular structure of inter-relationships between the different loci of consciousness formation. ... The urban process then appears as both fundamental to the perpetuation of capitalism and a primary expression of its inner contradictions now expressed as external constraints." Ibid. p. 273.

²³ Harvey, 1973, op. cit. p. 69.

²⁴ "...the urbanisation of capital is primarily concerned with how labour, working under capitalist control, creates a "second nature" of built environments with particular kinds of spatial configurations...[it is]an objectification in the landscape of that intersection between the productive force of capital investment and the social relations required to reproduce an increasingly urbanised capitalism." Harvey, 1985, op. cit. pp. xv-xvi.

²⁵ "The signs, symbols and signals that surround us in the urban environment are powerful influences (particularly among the young). We fashion our sensibilities, extract our sense of wants and needs and locate our aspirations with respect to a geographical environment that is in large part created ... Neither the activity of space creation nor the final product of created space appear to be within our individual or collective control but fashioned by forces alien to us." Harvey, 1973, op. cit. p. 310.

²⁶ Harvey, 1985, op. cit. p. 14.

Urban processes themselves can have reciprocal effects on primary circuit investment and activity as well as wider social, economic and political activity. Thus, the modern city is created by the needs of capital but there are inherent conflicts and contradictions in the process.²⁷ However, the dynamics of the market and the needs of industrial capital can produce the uneven development of the built environment as well as unintended and extremely negative, for some, consequences.²⁸ Harvey thus considers urban struggles as a form of class struggle in that the nature of the built environment involves issues and questions that relate to capital investment as a form of surplus value extraction, but also to concerns within labour for a redistribution of income, resources and quality of life:

Public facilities, recreational opportunities, amenities, transportation access, and so on are all subjects of contention. But underlying these immediate concerns is a deeper struggle over the very meaning of the built environment as a set of use values for labour ... Capital in general and its faction that produces the built environment seek to define the quality of life for labour in terms of the commodities which they can profitably produce in certain locations. Labour, on the other hand, defines quality of life solely in use-value terms and, in the process, may appeal to some underlying and fundamental conception of what it is to be human. Production for profit and production for use are often inconsistent. The survival of capitalism, therefore requires that capital dominate not simply in the work process, but with respect to the very definition of the quality of life in the consumption sphere... Capital ... seeks to draw labour into a Faustian bargain: accept a packaged relation to nature in the living place as just and adequate compensation for an alienating and degrading relation to nature in the work place.²⁹

Crises of capital over-accumulation provided the impetus for investment in the built environment to ensure the efficient organisation and control of the physical and social infrastructure in the industrial city for the purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. The produced space of capitalism is also the space of social reproduction, and therefore control over the production and organisation of space is a crucial factor for the reproduction of labour and of power relations. The state, urban developers, financiers or landowners etc. often mask their power over the processes of social reproduction behind the seeming neutrality of space. Whilst the urbanisation of capital is seen as an essential condition for its reproduction, it creates its own contradictions. Urbanisation, as the human organisation of space and time, somehow has to accommodate all the conflicting forces to maximise the transformative potential of new forms and structures in the spatial organisation of the city:

²⁷ "Capital represents itself in the form of the physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital. The geographical landscape which results is the crowning glory of past capitalist development. But at the same time it expresses the power of dead labour over living labour and as such it imprisons and inhibits the accumulation process within a set of specific physical constraints. And these can be removed only slowly unless there is substantial devaluation of the exchange value locked up in the creation of these physical assets. Capitalist development has therefore to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capital investments in the built environment and destroying the value of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation. Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time." Harvey, 1978, op. cit. p. 124.

²⁸ "The evolution of the urban system, whether we like it or not, can lead to large scale sensory deprivation with respect to certain phenomena (such as clean air, wilderness etc.) and over-exposure to others (such as suburban vistas, air pollution, etc.)." Harvey, 1973, op. cit. p. 85.

The formation of physical and social infrastructures adequate to support the reproduction of both capital and labour power while serving as efficient frameworks for the organisation of production, consumption, and exchange surged to the forefront of political and managerial concerns. Such problems had to be approached with an eye to efficiency and economy because that was the way to assure growth, accumulation, innovation, and efficiency in interurban competition. Public investments also had to be organised on an increasing scale and on more and more long-term basis and in such a way as to compensate for individual capitalists under-producing collective infrastructures.³⁰

It is the state, and particularly the local state, viewed in classical Marxist analysis "... as a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie",³¹ that plays a prominent role in mediating struggles over the built environment by intervening on behalf of capital.³² That is, the state rationalises the production of the built environment in "... the interest of keeping the costs of reproduction of labour power at a minimum, the capitalist class, as a whole, may seek collective means to intervene in the processes of investment and appropriation in the built environment."³³ The state thus takes an active role in the appropriation of space by "... planning the location of industry and population, of housing and public facilities, of transport and communications, of land uses, and so on, [it] creates an overall spatial frame to contain and facilitate the innumerable and fragmented decisions that otherwise shape urban developments."³⁴ Investment in those fundamental features of the built environment necessary for the reproduction of labour and for the more efficient accumulation of profit is pursued through the state and allows capitalists to distance themselves from direct involvement in such services. The potential for enhancing capital accumulation was a crucial factor in this process:

Individual capitalists find it hard to make such investments as individuals, no matter how desirable they may regard them. Once again, capitalists are forced to some degree to constitute themselves as a class – usually through the agency of the state – and thereby to find ways to channel investment into research and development and into the quantitative and qualitative improvement of labour power. We should recognise that capitalists often need to make such investments in order to fashion an adequate social basis for further accumulation. But with regard to social expenditures, the investment flows are very strongly affected by the state of class struggle.³⁵

Two themes related to Harvey's analysis of the dominating influence of industrial capital in the production of space in the 19th century city require mention. The first concerns the transformation of the 'bourgeois public sphere' from a mediating influence between

²⁹ Harvey, in Cox, 1978, op. cit pp. 14, 29.

³⁰ Harvey, 1985, op. cit. p. 198.

³¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848, Peking, The Foreign Language Press, 1975, p. 35.

³² Harvey echoes this perspective: "One overwhelming feature does cry out for special attention. The state provides the single most important channel for flows of value into social infrastructures... State involvement arises in part because collective means have to be found to do what individual capitalist cannot reasonably do and in part because class struggle requires the mediations of the state apparatus if any kind of investment is to be made at all in socially sensitive areas. The involvement took on a new shape when it was recognised that such investments could be both productive (in the sense of improving the social conditions for surplus value creation) and stabilising (in the sense of managing effective demand over a long period)". Harvey, 1982, op. cit. p. 404.

³³ Harvey, in Cox, 1978, op. cit. pp. 14, 17.

³⁴ Harvey, 1985, op. cit. p. 31.

³⁵ Harvey, 1978, op cit p. 108.

society and the state. Secondly, and intimately connected to this transformation, is the role of the urban bourgeoisie as primary agents for the hegemonic interest of industrial capital. An analysis of the role and function of Habermas's 'literate bourgeois public', "...as a specific domain – the public domain versus the private ... specifically a part of 'civil society'"³⁶ provides a basis for understanding the significance of the role of the production of public space in the city of the 19th century. The private sphere is composed of the family and the necessary relations for their reproduction whilst the public sphere is the space of participation, debate, informed and influential opinion formation and became a dominant conceptual division for understanding the growth and influence of the emergent urban bourgeoisie and modern industrial capitalism.³⁷ The distinction between private and public spheres became significant when an increasingly powerful, educated and literate urban gentry, critical of aristocratic power and privilege, used their ability to represent public opinion as their own in an era of enormous socio-economic change.³⁸ As Habermas puts it:

The bourgeois public sphere arose historically in conjunction with a society separated from the state. The 'social' could be constituted as its own sphere to the degree that on one hand the reproduction of life took on private form, while on the other hand the private realm as a whole assumed public relevance. The general rules that governed interaction among people now became a public concern, in which private people soon enough became engaged with the public authority, the bourgeois public sphere attained its political function. Private people gathering to constitute a public turned the political sanctioning of society as a private sphere into a public topic.³⁹

Historically, the bourgeois public sphere emerged in the late 18th century with the widening of political participation and the development of ideals of citizenship.⁴⁰ That is, the rise of the bourgeois public sphere reflected the need to represent the moral and critical authority of an emergent and economically important fraction of power in urban and industrial society. The rise in mid-19th century Glasgow and other cities of an increasingly interventionist Town Council was a significant development in the transformation of the bourgeois public sphere. Therefore, in

³⁶ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, The Polity Press, 1992, pp. 2, 3.

³⁷ "Included in the private realm was the authentic 'public sphere', for it was a public sphere constituted by private people... The private sphere comprised civil society in the narrower sense, that is to say, the realm of commodity exchange and of social labour, imbedded in it was the family with its interior domain (Intimsphere). The public sphere in the political realm evolved from the public sphere in the world of letters; through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society". Ibid. pp. 30-1.

³⁸ A point that Ely contextualises within the development of a predominantly urban 19th century, within which the social and cultural consequences of industrialisation were profoundly experienced: "The public sphere presupposed the larger accumulation of socio-cultural change. It was linked to the growth of urban culture – metropolitan and provincial – as the novel arena of a locally organised public life (meeting houses, concert halls, theatres, opera houses, lecture halls, museums), to a new infrastructure of social communication (the press, publishing companies, and other literary media; the rise of a reading public via reading and language societies; subscriptions publishing and lending libraries; improved transportation; and adapted centres of sociability like coffee-houses, taverns, and clubs), and to a new universe of voluntary association." G. Ely, "Nations, Publics and Political Culture: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century", in C. Calhoun, (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press, 1992, p. 291.

³⁹ Habermas, 1992, op. cit. p. 127.

⁴⁰ "The public sphere is a sphere which mediates between society and the state, in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion. It has its origins in the late 18th century ideals of citizenship and of a wider, informed and educated public, of representative and participatory government, and above all in the new forms of political action that these enshrined. Historically then the public sphere is particular and specific to a time and a place, and also to certain social transformations. It is linked to the demand for political reform, principally on the part of an emergent but increasingly self-confident bourgeoisie, and it depended on and presumed the prior transformation of social relations, their condensation into new political arrangements and the generation of new social, cultural and political discourse around this changing environment." P. Howell, "Public Space and the Public Sphere: Political Economy and the

... very general terms, the nineteenth-century growth of local government owed much to improvised grappling with the problems of an urbanising society (poverty, policing, amenities like lighting and sewage, commercial licensing, revenue creation, and so on), to the extent of the local state being actually constituted by the practical associational initiatives of a new citizenry in the making, as the unintended, rolling effects of structurally invited interventions, as opposed to the strategic result of a coherent design.

⁴¹

The local character of state power and the local 'provincial' basis of industry, and the inter-relationships between the two, form the basis for understanding the development of processes of urban spatial formation in which the roles of the 'urban gentry' were crucial.⁴² For Gramsci, "...the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as intellectual and moral leadership".⁴³ The development of self-conscious and organised bourgeois strata involved in a number of voluntary associations, societies and philanthropic endeavours was transmitted into the organisation and administration of the local state:

The industrial bourgeoisie constituted the *hegemonic fraction* within the power bloc - whose interests preponderate in the exercise of state power, and whose particular social relations figure in dominant ideological representations ... Various overlapping intellectual and literary cadres strongly committed to utilitarianism and free trade, staffed key new branches of the State apparatus. Moreover 'divinity and economics' ran together and the laws of political economy were closely entangled with moral, and often religiously sanctioned, norms of 'rational conduct'.⁴⁴

Thus the bourgeois public sphere developed its influence in civil society, as a realm of wider social relations and public participation and constituted an arena of considerable influence in the development of the ethos of municipal administration and, concomitantly, infrastructural investment in the physical and social environment of the city. The adherence of the municipal elites, those elected representatives as well as officials, throughout much of the period was based on the principle of public service, sound and prudent administration and a commitment to providing for the 'common good'. They were "... an elite of men of culture, who have the function of providing leadership of a cultural and general ideological nature for a great movement of interrelated parties (which in reality are fractions of one and the same organic party)".⁴⁵ Therefore, the urban bourgeoisie were implicated in the organisation and administration of the local state as well as in public sphere associations. Thus, as Gramsci puts it, "hegemony over its historical development belongs to private forces, to civil society -

Historical Geography of Modernity", *Environment and Planning D - Space and Society*, 11, 1993, p. 309.

⁴¹ Ely, in Calhoun, 1992, op. cit, p. 292.

⁴² Ruling class intellectuals were ... "[p]articularly concerned with the administrative and ideological organisation of society, they were to be found as members of statistical societies and Royal Commissions, writers and readers of the quarterly press, organisers of charity and social discipline ... They played a crucial role in the organisation of hegemony." R. Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain", in T. Bennett et al, *Culture, Ideology and Social Process*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1981, p. 237.

⁴³ A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, pp. 57-58.

⁴⁴ Gray, in T. Bennett et al, 1981, op. cit. p. 239.

⁴⁵ Gramsci, 1971, op. cit. pp. 149-50.

which is 'State' too",⁴⁶ and among these 'private forces' industrial capital dominated in the expanding urban areas. There is then a clear connection between Harvey's thesis concerning the dominance of industrial capital in producing spatial forms and structures appropriate to the accumulation of capital and the transformation of an urban bourgeois public sphere into agents of hegemonic organisation and administration of the city. However, it is also necessary to be mindful that the bourgeois public sphere did not exist in isolation or without pressure from other sections of the population, a point that Habermas is at pains to recognise:

It is important to acknowledge the existence of competing publics not just later in the nineteenth century ... but at every stage in the history of the public sphere and, indeed, from the very beginning ... The emergence of the bourgeois public was never defined solely by the struggle against absolutism and traditional authority. Also, it necessarily addressed the problem of popular containment as well ... Consequently, the public sphere makes more sense as the structured setting where cultural and ideological contest or negotiation among the variety of publics takes place, rather than as the spontaneous and class-specific achievement of the bourgeoisie in some sufficient sense.⁴⁷

It is in this context of competing publics that the production of new public spaces must be viewed. The streets, public squares and parks of the industrial city provided arenas for contest and conflict over cultural and ideological forms, representations and uses and provided the background for the democratisation of power.⁴⁸

Laws passed under the 'pressure of the street' could hardly be understood any longer as embodying the reasonable consensus of publicly debating private persons ... The competitive order no longer lent sufficient credibility to its promise that, along with the alleged equality of opportunity to accumulate private property, it also maintained open access to the public sphere in the political realm. The principle of the latter, rather, demanded the direct admittance of the labouring classes, of the uneducated masses without property - precisely through the extension of equal political rights. Electoral reform was the topic of the nineteenth century: no longer the principle of publicity as such, as had been true in the eighteenth century, but of the enlargement of the public.⁴⁹

State involvement in the organisation and provision of necessary services and amenities (such as housing, health care, education, sanitation, etc.) was in part a response to campaigns for the amelioration of the moral, physical and medical dangers perceived as having potentially revolutionary consequences in the new industrial city as well as a means for making labour more efficient, virtuous, willing and able workforce. There was an attempt to use moral persuasion through philanthropic and municipal enterprises, as Marx puts it, to 'raise the condition of the labourer by an improvement of his mental and moral powers and to make a rational consumer of him'⁵⁰ As Harvey says:

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 261.

⁴⁷ Ely, in Calhoun, 1992, op. cit. p. 306.

⁴⁸ "The liberal desideratum of reasoned exchange also became available for non-bourgeois, ... That is, the positive values of the liberal public sphere quickly acquired broader democratic resonance, with the resulting emergence of impressive popular movements, each with its own distinctive movement and cultures (i.e., form of public spheres)". Ibid. p. 304.

⁴⁹ Habermas, 1992, op. cit. pp. 132-3.

⁵⁰ Marx, 1978, op. cit. p. 516. For Harvey, after Marx, "... the 'rational' consumption of commodities in relation to accumulation of capital implies a certain balance between market purchases and household work. The struggle to substitute the former for the latter is significant because its outcome defines the very meaning of 'use values' and the 'standard of living' for labour in its commodity aspects. The

The socialisation and training of labour – the management of ‘human capital’ as it is usually called in the bourgeois literature – cannot be left to chance. Capital therefore reaches out to dominate the living process – the reproduction of labour power – and it does so because it must.⁵¹

The possibility for alliances between labour and capital exist in that consumption demands by the working class, for example for affordable housing, may coincide with the economic and political interests of capital. As Saunders makes clear:

Working class demands for a variety of consumption provisions may also be consistent with the interest of capital so long as the resources in question (schooling or health care for example) can be made available in the commodity form, and even struggles over questions concerning ‘community’ and the ‘quality of life’ may reinforce capitalist domination by attempting to re-establish in the sphere of consumption some spurious relation to nature (as in municipal parks) that the very process of capitalist production has torn asunder.⁵²

Elements of environmental determinism are evident in some of these strategies: better housing makes better workers, a better environment in the city makes healthier workers, etc. The ‘spatial environmental determinism’ of city planners, designers and administrators was a recognition that the spatial form of a city may act on human behaviour and thus on social processes. The manipulation of the spatial environment of the city was an attempt to inhibit or destroy those activities, behaviours or processes deemed negative to an efficient capitalist accumulation process. Capital attempts to discipline labour in the work place and in the times and places where workers live and play, to instil the work ethic and civilising bourgeois values over all spheres of life. To this extent, Harvey’s concern with explaining the production of the built environment of the city as a product of the needs of capital provides an insight into the production of social spaces in the city, such as the public parks, that serve no immediate production, circulation or exchange end, but have a function as part of the consumption fund that is intimately involved in the process of the reproduction of labour:

The social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living. Social competition with respect to life-style and command over space, always important for upper segments of the bourgeoisie, became more and more important within the mass culture of urbanisation, sometimes even masking the role of community in processes of class reproduction.⁵³

The parks must be considered as an example of investment in the built environment that gives access to and a relationship with nature in the consumption sphere, as well as

construction of the built environment has to be seen, therefore, in the context of the struggle over a whole way of living and being... The bundle of resources which comprise it – streets and sidewalks, drains and sewer systems, parks and playgrounds – contains many elements which are collectively consumed. The public provision of these public goods is ‘natural’ form of collective consumption, which capital can easily colonise through the agency of the state ... The built environment requires collective management and control, and it is therefore almost certain to be a primary field of struggle between capital and labour over what is good for people and what is good for accumulation”. Harvey, in Cox, 1978, op. cit. pp. 19, 20.

⁵¹ Harvey, 1978, op. cit., p. 126.

⁵² Saunders, 1981, op. cit. p. 227.

⁵³ Harvey, 1985, op. cit. pp. 256-7.

having advantageous effects for capitalism. However, there is a clear relationship between the provision of public services and amenities in the built environment and attempts at the social organisation and control of labour. Public space in the modern city, as in the ancient city, reflects the dominant ideology of ruling groups and institutions as well as giving direction and meaning to everyday life. The location, design and activities allowed within them suggests an ideological motive whereby the built environment itself becomes imbued with dominant ideologies and thus attempts at controlling the use value and meanings attached to them. The municipal parks represented an attempt to ameliorate the worst effects of alienation from nature under industrialisation by creating versions of nature in the city that rested on a sanitised, mystification of nature:

Faced with the brutalising and degrading routine of the work process in the factory, the workers themselves sought ways to ameliorate it. In part they did so by resorting to the same mystification as the bourgeoisie and, thus came to share a common Romantic image of nature... The response rested on a mystification, of course, for it reduced, 'nature' to a leisure time concept, as something to be 'consumed' in the course of restful recuperation from what was, in fact, a degrading relation to nature in the most fundamental of human activities: work... But there is a sense in which this is a necessary and unavoidable mystification under capitalism. Without it, life scarcely would be bearable. And progressive elements within the bourgeoisie knew this to be as true for their workers as for themselves. Not surprisingly, therefore, the bourgeois reformers, often under the guise of moral universals and a Romantic imagery, frequently seek to procure for their workers reasonable access to 'nature' ...⁵⁴

The production of amenities and artefacts in the city, that is the social and physical infrastructure of the built environment, was coupled with another, not necessarily antagonistic element in the urbanisation of capital and the creation of the urban environment of the industrial city. The principle of 'gilding the ghetto' involved "...a commitment to community improvement and a commitment to those institutions, such as the church and civil government, capable of forging community spirit".⁵⁵ Thus, a newly empowered bourgeoisie, along with architects, planners and social theorists sought rational solutions to the problems that threatened the health, order, economy etc. of the new industrial metropolises:

... [A]ll rode forth as saviours of the modern city, bursting with ideas as to what it might mean to the needs of efficiency, cleanliness, and, at least in some respects, to human needs ... it is undeniable that the aggregate effect was to make cities work better, to improve the lot not only of urban elites but also of urban masses, to radically improve basic infrastructures (such as water and energy supply, housing, sewage, and air quality) as well as to liberate urban spaces for fresh rounds of organised capital accumulation in ways that lasted for much of the 19th century. Compared to the best of the 'gas and water municipal socialism' of those days, one would have to say that the contemporary blasé attitude (to borrow a phrase of Simmel's concerning one of the most powerful mental attitudes to modern urban life) towards the degeneration of our cities leaves much to be

⁵⁴ Harvey, in Cox, 1978, op. cit. pp. 27, 28, 29.

⁵⁵ Harvey, 1978, op. cit. p. 128.

desired.⁵⁶

Harvey makes clear his admiration and appreciation of what was achieved in the 19th century by a mix of moral reform, civic solidarity and municipal organisation to improve the quality of life in the urban environment. The public parks were, at least in Glasgow, a very public manifestation of direct investment in the social and material infrastructure of the city that carried with them elements of attempts at the social engineering of the population and the instillation of civilised, bourgeois values:

Was it not, after all, a central aim in the work of Olmsted and Howard, to try to bring together the country and the city in a productive tension and to cultivate an aesthetic sensibility that could bridge the chronic ills of urbanised industrialism and the supposedly healthier pursuits of country life? It would be churlish to deny real achievements on this front. The marks of what were done in those years – the park systems, the garden cities and suburbs, the tree-lined streets – are now part of a living tradition that define certain qualities of urban living that many (and not only the bourgeoisie) can and do still appreciate. But it also undeniable that this ecological vision, noble and innovative though it was at the time, was predominantly aesthetic (and very bourgeois) in its orientation and was easily co-opted and routinised into real-estate development practices for the middle classes.⁵⁷

Harvey's focus on the political-economic imperatives of the production of space, and particularly the creation, organisation and administration of the built environment as part of the process of capital accumulation, has relevance to the analysis of the production of the parks. The politics inherent in the construction of prestige Glasgow parks such as Kelvingrove, Alexandria and Queens may be presented as merging with the economic necessities of suburb construction. The economic, social and cultural aspirations of an increasingly powerful bourgeois civic and municipal elite, whose desire for an improved quality of life led the way to the expansion of the city beyond its historic centre, also demanded the provision of amenities for leisure and recreation within the new suburbs. There were also financial benefits both to the residents of surrounding properties by park construction: it preserved the seeming natural beauty of undeveloped parkland whilst limiting the location of industry or less salubrious housing in close vicinity. The acquisition and subsequent development of the estates that formed Kelvingrove Park and the sale of portions for private development will, it is hoped, demonstrate not only a municipal prudence in the use and administration of public finances but a sense of what Harvey describes as a commitment to the rational improvement of the industrial city. Domination by powerful individuals or groups who organise and produce space to exercise or control its use value or the activities that occur there entails the means by which new systems of land use, transportation, communication and organisation arise with and through the development of new methods of representation. These four dimensions are not mutually exclusive of each

⁵⁶ D. Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, op. cit. p. 406.

other but exist in a relationship of dynamic inter-dependence.⁵⁸ Harvey's argument, which he attributes to the work and ideas of Lefebvre, is that command over space is one fundamental element in an interconnecting nexus of sources of social power that also includes money and time. Therefore, whoever defines the meanings, forms and material practices of space and time (as well as money) has power over the fundamental operation of the social, political and economic conditions, organisation and operation of society, a point that Harvey emphasises:

... ideological and political hegemony in any society depends on the ability to control the material context of personal and social experience. For this reason, the materialisations and meanings given to money, time and space have more than a little significance for the maintenance of political power.⁵⁹

Therefore, spatial and temporal practices and discourses become established that serve to achieve, preserve, perpetuate and expand the distribution of social, political and economic power. However, these practices and discourses are not unchallenged or unproblematic. Social and political struggle can, over time, alter the meaning, value and power inherent in spatial configurations, forms and structures, and thus effect social change. In *Justice, Nature and The Geography of Difference* Harvey returns to what is a *leitmotif* in his works: consideration of the social construction of space and time, but with the emphasis on their relationship to the social construction of place:

Political struggles over the meaning and manner of such representations of place and identity abound, most particularly over the way in which places, their inhabitants and their social functions get located, named and discursively represented ... The assignment of place within some socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action and access to power. Locating things (both physically and metaphorically) is fundamental to activities of valuing as well as identification. Placing and the making of places are essential to social development, social control, and empowerment in any social order. The processes of place construction therefore interrelate ... with the social construction of space and time.⁶⁰

Place can be defined simply as a position or location, a geographically delineated area. It can also be considered as a thing, an object or entity that solidifies relationships of space and time in that it is the institutionalised objectification of social relations of space and time, as material practices, as forms of power and discourses that come to be embedded in the landscape. The social construction of particular places then may be considered as relatively permanent physical and social structures within the social, cultural and physical landscape. That is, they become fixed capital entities embedded in the landscape as configurations of organised social relations. This serves as an important insight into the

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 427.

⁵⁸ "The friction of distance is implicit in any understanding of the domination and appropriation of space, while the persistent appropriation of a space by a particular group ... amounts to a de facto domination of that space. The production of space, insofar as it reduces the friction of distance (capitalism's annihilation of space though time, for example) alters distancing and the conditions of appropriation and domination." Harvey, 1990, op. cit. p. 222.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 227.

⁶⁰ Harvey, 1996, op. cit. p. 265.

construction/production of parks as fixed places within the urban processes of capital accumulation, exchange, circulation and consumption that manifest relations of power and capital fixed in place. It is in this context of the public parks as constructed within such historical urban processes that the substantive analysis of the production of the public parks in Glasgow will be analysed. A number of pertinent typologies are instructive in characterising the production of Glasgow's parks, as a network of physical, social and cultural spaces located and distributed within the development of the expanding city will be considered. The typologies that will be considered in relation to the production of the parks are as follows. A chronological typology relates the construction of the parks to a developmental framework associated with the demographic, geographic, social, economic, and political growth of the city. The second typology, that of the design of parks, is concerned with the possibility of making distinctions between different kinds of park spaces and the spaces within them. For example, parks as Gardens (that is formal, decorative, essentially passive spaces): parks as recreation grounds (sports fields, bowling greens, golf courses, and active spaces): parks as 'nature in the city' (as semi-wilderness, nature reserves, zoos, or as idealised representations of nature): parks as pleasure and playgrounds (children's play spaces, boating ponds, fair grounds and bandstands). Some parks may contain within them any or all of these features or be restricted to a particular form that does not easily allow their use for other purposes. The third typology is that of the distribution and location of the parks network operating in tandem with that of the city's demographic growth and geographical expansion. These typologies seek to locate park construction within the historical, political, economic and social context of infrastructural intervention and investment in the socio-spatial organisation and development of the city, and will be addressed in Chapter 4. How space (and place) comes to be analysed, understood, depicted, described and enclosed by the application of 'expert', privileged and powerful, regimes of knowledge is a fundamental element of both Lefebvre's *Production of Space* thesis as well as Harvey's political economy of space. It is Lefebvre's second dimension of space, that of representation, that will now be considered by an analysis of disciplinary discourses of space.

2.3: The Power of Representation – Foucault and Disciplinary Discourses of Space.

Michel Foucault did not propose a general theory of space or of power. However, his proposition of a 'disciplinary society' as emerging in the 19th century through a number of inter-related professions and activities, provides the opportunity for investigating both his use of the concept of power/knowledge and the importance of the spatial dimension in social relations. What will be explored and given particular emphasis are those 'disciplinary discourses' that illuminate the dispersed practices of power operative and inherent in

representations of space that expands upon and illustrates Lefebvre's second element of the *Production of Space*. These discourses are pertinent to the historical origins and development of public parks as 'disciplinary spaces' for the cultivation, instillation and propagation of 'civilised', bourgeois values. In particular, Foucault's assertion of the role of the medical professions ('the first specialists of space') will be analysed to investigate the power of disciplinary discourses for the investment of public funds in constructing 'open-spaces' for the medical and moral benefit of urban society. The following necessarily selective usage of Foucault's array of concepts and works is one that heeds Foucault's own advice for the treatment of 'original' thinkers:

The only valid tribute to thought such as Nietzsche's is precisely to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest. And if commentators then say that I am being unfaithful to Nietzsche, that is of absolutely no interest to me.⁶¹

(a) Power, Knowledge And Space

'Power-knowledge' is an essential concept in Foucault's work and is an attempt to embody the inextricably linked dynamic relationship between power and knowledge as a process. Power is distributed through and in the construction and application of knowledge in particular and localised arenas. Concomitantly, power is established, maintained and presupposed by knowledge. As Foucault states:

... it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge.⁶²

There is, for Foucault, a whole range of endeavours and practices in which the acquisition of knowledge and the exercise of power are inextricably and intimately inter-linked. He identifies what is considered as a fundamental historical transformation in the exercise of power that was intimately related to forms of knowledge, and technologies of understanding, that were based upon the discernment of local, 'micro-terrains' of power. Power is effective though its penetration and knowledge of a variety of relationships, from the most personal and intimate to the professional. How these micro-powers are constructed and effective in a number of local fields, domains or territories is essential for understanding the very existence and operation of large, centralised or global power concentrations.

Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region (a fiscal administrative, military notion), domain (juridico-political notion), implantation, displacement (what displaces itself is an army, a squadron, a population), transposition, one is able to capture the

⁶¹ M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge – Selected Interviews and other Writings (1972-1977)*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980, pp. 53-4.

⁶² M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, London, Penguin, 1977, p.28. A point Armstrong reiterates: "Power assumes a relationship based on some knowledge which creates and sustains it; conversely, power establishes a particular regime of truth in which certain knowledge becomes admissible or possible". D. Armstrong, *The Political Anatomy of the Body*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 10 in N. J. Fox, "Foucault, Foucauldians and Sociology", *British Journal of Sociology*, 49, (Sept.), 1998, p. 416.

process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power. There is an administration of knowledge, a politics of knowledge, relations of power which pass via knowledge and which, if one tries to transcribe them, lead one to consider forms of domination designated by such notions of field (an economico-juridical notion), region (fiscal, administrative, military notion) and territory (juridico-political notion, the area controlled by a certain kind of power). And the politico-strategic term is an indication of how the military and the administration actually comes to inscribe themselves both on a material soil and within forms of discourse.⁶³

Foucault's analysis of power is primarily concerned with understanding how power is exercised in different historical periods, provinces, domains, and spheres and thus has a certain relevance to understanding its operation in and through space. Rather than asking what is power, who holds it and what is its source, it is the relation of forces in the operation and exercise of power that is the focus of investigation. For Foucault, power is understood as dispersed throughout society as a heterogeneous ensemble of strategies and techniques, an open-ended 'cluster of relations' that exist in its exercise.⁶⁴ Power, is thus not the possession (legitimated in juridical relations of contracts, codes, and laws) of any particular group, class or institution. Since power is presented as having many forms it cannot be derived solely from the spheres of circulation or of production, and it is not confined to key institutions such as the state. Foucault's focus is upon how these micro-powers invade our everyday lives and relationships and constitute the conditions and means of power for the state and its apparatus. As he states:

I believe that anything can be deduced from the general phenomenon of the domination of the bourgeois class. What needs to be done is something quite different. One needs to investigate historically, and beginning at the lowest level, how mechanisms of power have been able to function ... We must escape from the limited field of juridical sovereignty and state institutions, and instead base our analysis of power on the study of the tactics and techniques of domination... What makes power hold good ... is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourses.⁶⁵

The exercise of power, for Foucault, occurs in a variety of places, through a number of individuals, institutions, and organisations at different times and places and in a number of forms. Therefore, despite space being relegated in importance to time in conventional social analysis, it is a crucial factor in the social, economic and political operation and organisation of society.⁶⁶ This is a point on which Foucault is categorical: "Space is fundamental in any

⁶³ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 69.

⁶⁴ 'Power for Foucault is enabling, exercised rather than possessed, relational and immanent, neither institution nor structure nor strength but "a complex strategical situation" which is constantly and locally shifting.' M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*, London, Penguin, 1981, pp. 92-4, in D. Matless, "An Occasion for Geography: Landscape, Representation and Foucault's Corpus", *Environment and Planning D*, 10 (1), 1992, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. pp. 100, 102, 119. A point that Foucault emphasised elsewhere: "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production." Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p. 194

⁶⁶ "Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic... [which led to it being] ... either dismissed as belonging to 'nature' - that is, the given, the basic conditions, 'physical geography', in other words a sort of 'prehistoric' stratum; or else it was conceived as the residential site or field of expansion of peoples, of a culture, a language or a State." Foucault, 1980, op. cit. pp. 70, 149.

form of community life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power...”⁶⁷ As a recent work puts it:

... relations of power are really, crucially and unavoidably spun out across and through the material spaces of the world. It is within such spaces that assemblages of people, activities, technologies, institutions, ideas and dreams all come together, circulate, convene and reconvene.⁶⁸

In other words, Foucault is suspicious of ‘total’ explanations that sought to resolve the complexity of the social world into a single ‘spirit’ or ‘principle’, theory or ideology, he rejected any idea of general or totalising theories of power.⁶⁹ Thus he is critical of theories, such as Marxist conceptions of power, that give it an ‘epiphenomenal’ status, that consider power as unitary, sovereign or centralised, belonging to one group or class, institution or body. That is, as only immanent in class relations. However, he does not dismiss entirely the contribution of Marx’s work in understanding historical processes for the operation of power in modern societies.⁷⁰ Therefore the understanding that Foucault presents of the diffusion and dispersion of power throughout society by economically dominant class interests, as analysed by Marx, is one that serves their own interests.

The bourgeoisie is perfectly well aware that a new constitution or legislature will not suffice to assure its hegemony; it realises that it has to invent a new technology ensuring the irrigation by effects of power of the whole social body down to its smallest particles. And it was by such means that the bourgeoisie not only made a revolution but succeeded in establishing a social hegemony which it has never relinquished.⁷¹

Foucault’s proposition of a dispersed system of spatial sciences that emerged in 18th century Europe as part of a general system of knowledge based on medical and administrative necessity provides an explanation of the means by which this hegemony was established and maintained. What was established, according to Foucault, was “... a type of power which is constantly exercised by means of surveillance rather than in a discontinuous manner ... it presupposes a tightly knit grid of material coercions... one of the great inventions of bourgeois society”.⁷² It is an analysis that puts knowledge of, and command over space at the centre of techniques and practices for instructing individuals and populations, in institutional settings and in wider social arrangements, at work and at rest and play. It is an analysis that seeks to understand and represent the processes by which moral

⁶⁷ M. Foucault, “Space, Knowledge and Power”, in P. Rabinow, (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1986, p. 252.

⁶⁸ J. Sharp et al, *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 24.

⁶⁹ “Nothing is fundamental. That is what is interesting in the analysis of society. That is why nothing irritates me as much as these inquiries – which are by definition metaphysical – on the foundations of power is a society or the self-institution of society, etc. These are not fundamental phenomena. There are only reciprocal relations, and the perpetual gaps between intentions in relation to one another...” M. Foucault, “Interview with Michel Foucault on Space Knowledge and Power”, *Skyline*, March, 1982, p. 18.

⁷⁰ Indeed, Foucault clearly states that: “It is impossible at the present time to write history without using a whole range of concepts directly or indirectly linked to Marx’s thought and situating oneself in a horizon of thought which has been defined and described by Marx.” Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 53. Driver succinctly makes the point that: “Put simply, *Discipline and Punish* is about the advent of a new ‘economy of power’. It is quite unthinkable without some account of the social, economic, and technical development of capitalism.” F. Driver, “Power, Space and the Body: A Critical Assessment of Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*”, *Environment and Planning D*: 3, 1985, p. 436.

⁷¹ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 156.

consent as well as methods of physical control and subservience were constructed and maintained. It is therefore an approach that provides an important understanding of how and by whom representations of space are constructed and to what end.

The development in the 18th century of an awareness and understanding of spatial forms was, for Foucault, an expression of how power came to be articulated and exercised. For example: "Architecture begins, at the end of the [18th] century, to become involved in problems of population, health and the urban question ... [it] becomes a question of using the disposition of space for economico-political ends."⁷³ It is in such assemblages, in their distribution and arrangement, of activities and people, in and around the architecture and environment of the city that the spatial dimension of the operation of power becomes concretised. Space, for Foucault, is where discourses about power and knowledge become actual relations of power rather than merely residing in abstract notions and ideologies. Foucault argues that

... in the eighteenth century one sees the development of reflection upon architecture as a function of the aims and techniques of the government of societies. One begins to see a form of political literature that addresses what the order of a society should be, what a city should be, given the requirements of the maintenance of order; given that one should avoid epidemics, avoid revolts, permit a decent and moral life, and so on ... from the eighteenth century on, every discussion of politics as the art of the government of men necessarily includes a chapter or a series of chapter on urbanism, on collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture ... The city was no longer perceived as a place of privilege, as an exception in a territory of fields, forests, and roads. The cities were no longer islands beyond the common law. Instead, the cities, with the problems that they raised, and the particular forms that they took, served as the models for the governmental rationality that was to apply to the whole territory.⁷⁴

Foucault echoes many early investigators of the shadow side of urban life when he states that behind these interventions lay a concern about the consequences for civilised society of the onrush of urbanisation and industrialisation.

A fear haunted the latter half of the eighteenth century: the fear of darkened spaces, of the pall of gloom which prevents the full visibility of things, men and truths. It sought to break up the patches of darkness that blocked the light, eliminate the shadowy areas of society, demolish the unlit chambers where arbitrary political acts, monarchical caprice, religious superstitions, tyrannical and priestly plots, epidemics and the illusions of ignorance were fomented... The new political order could not be established until these places were eradicated.⁷⁵

The control and division of space and of time thus became a fundamental means by which knowledge and power came to be exercised increasingly over all spheres of society.

Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of regions, domains, implantation, displacements, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power ... [one can] ... decipher discourse through the use of

⁷² Ibid. p. 105.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 148.

⁷⁴ Foucault, in Rabinow, 1986, op. cit. pp. 239, 240, 241.

⁷⁵ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 153.

spatial, strategic metaphors [that] enables one to grasp precisely the points at which discourses are transformed in, through and on the basis of relations of power.⁷⁶

Knowledge and power thus became operative in and through a number of diverse and inter-linked 'disciplines', what Foucault defined as forms of practice - "small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion"⁷⁷ - not as institutional structures. For Foucault space needs to be related to the functional requirements of power; thus, what is conceptualised is the emergence of a new set of specifically spatial practices and procedures that is closely linked to the development of the city and what he terms 'governmentality'. The need to create, define, manage, organise and control space for particular functions, for example, sites for the medical supervision of diseases, became inseparable from a whole series of other military and 'police' duties.⁷⁸

Particular places were defined not only by the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space... Hence the need to distribute and partition off space in a rigorous manner... Gradually, an administrative and political space was articulated upon therapeutic space; it tended to individualise bodies, diseases, symptoms, lives and deaths; it constituted a real table of juxtaposed and carefully distinct singularities. Out of discipline a medically useful space was born.⁷⁹

(b) Disciplinary Discourses of Space

What arises from the early experience of the consequences of industrialisation and urbanisation is the perception of the need for the development of new ways and means for understanding and thus controlling and organising space and, concomitantly, the individuals and groups that inhabit it. Foucault describes how this was achieved in different ways. First, discipline begins from the organisation of individuals in space in which several techniques are applied, and which he terms 'the art of distinctions'. Sometimes space needs to be enclosed to specify that it is a place of discipline, for example in the barracks, the school, the prison or the factory. Sometimes space must be partitioned with the aim of knowing, mastering and using space so that each individual can be assigned and know their place within the enclosed order of the institution or disciplinary sphere. As Foucault puts it:

Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed. One must eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation; it was a tactic of anti-desertion, anti-vagabondage, anti-concentration. Its aim was to establish presence's and absences, to know where and how

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 69, 70.

⁷⁷ Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p. 139.

⁷⁸ Foucault defines what he means by 'police'. "At the outset, the notion of police applied only to the set of regulations that were to assure the tranquillity of a city, but at that moment the police became the very type for the government of the whole territory ... In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'police' signified a program of government rationality. This can be characterised as a project to create a system of regulation of the general conduct of individuals whereby everything would be controlled to the point of self-sustenance, without the need for intervention." Foucault, in Rabinow, 1986, op. cit. p. 241.

Similarly, "Down to the end of the *ancien regime*, the term 'police' does not simply signify, at least not exclusively, the institution of police in the modern sense; 'police' is the ensemble of mechanisms serving to ensure order, the properly channelled growth of wealth and the conditions of preservation of health 'in general'." Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 170.

⁷⁹ Foucault, 1977, op. cit. pp. 143-4.

to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using. Discipline organises an analytical space.⁸⁰

The means of supervision of correct training could be most efficiently organised and administered so that "... the perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly."⁸¹ Thus, Bentham's Panopticon was considered the ideal apparatus for the most efficient organisation of disciplinary space. However, as Foucault makes clear, 'panopticism' represented a general diagram for the dissemination of disciplinary technologies throughout wider society. The panoptic schema as applied to the prison could be adapted and adopted to other spheres and spaces.⁸² The disciplinary gaze, the 'system of surveillance', the 'Eye of Power', thus became an essential and fundamental part of the machinery of production, a specific mechanism for the exercise of power as the division of labour increased in developing industrialised economies. It was also adopted and applied by professional experts and by bureaucratic officials to monitor and regulate all sorts of private and public spaces, behaviours, and activities.⁸³ Bureaucracy is the dominant mode of operation of the state and of the economy, but as with Foucault's concept of power, it is neither a class in itself nor is it the power of the state. It can serve any organisation, scheme or plan as the most efficient means of applying operative procedures for the goals and ends that are specified as useful, fortuitous or beneficial. O'Neill presents an interesting account of how Foucault's studies of the disciplinary spaces of the prison, hospital or school complements Weber's analysis of the processes by which bureaucratic techniques for the organisation and administration of society came to be diffused and established throughout society, by presenting an analysis of the rational accounting of the body, subjectivity and behaviour. "It is not far fetched to consider Weber as an archaeologist of the power man exerts over himself, and thus to see him as a precursor of Foucault's conception of the disciplinary society ... Modern society makes itself rich, knowledgeable and powerful but at the expense of substantive reason and freedom." Regulation and instruction was to be achieved without recourse to physical domination:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 143.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 173.

⁸² "The panoptic schema, without disappearing as such or losing any of its properties, was destined to spread throughout the whole social body; its vocation was to become a generalised function. The plague-stricken town provided an exceptional disciplinary model: perfect, but absolutely violent; to the disease that brought death; life inside it was reduced to its simplest expression; it was, against the power of death, the meticulous exercise of the right of the sword. The panopticon, on the other hand, has a role in amplification; although it arranges power, although it is intended to make it more economic and more effective, it does not do so for power itself, nor for the immediate salvation of a threatened society: its aim is to strengthen the social forces – to increase production, to develop the economy, spread education, raise the level of public morality, to increase and multiply." Ibid. pp. 207-8. Indeed, Foucault quotes Bentham to highlight the universal applicability of the panopticism. "Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused – public burthens lightened – Economy seated as it were, upon a rock, - the gordian knot of the Poor-Laws not cut, but untied – all by the simple idea in architecture." J. Bentham, "Works", 1843, p. 39, in Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p. 207.

⁸³ J. O'Neill, "The Disciplinary Society, From Weber to Foucault", *British Journal of Sociology*, 37 (1), 1986, p. 43.

to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over and against himself.⁸⁴

Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge described how "massive, compact disciplines are broken down into flexible methods of control which may be transferred and adapted".⁸⁵ Thus, disciplinary knowledge and techniques could be applied in the industrial era to a range of activities, people, and circumstances. As Foucault puts it:

In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power. The reproduction of the relations of production is not the only function served by power ... The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces.⁸⁶

In addition to the control of space, disciplinary techniques also required the control of the individual in time. For example, the instigation of the timetable from the practices of religious institutions such as the monastery and convent, and the army, could be adopted, transferred and adapted to the school, the prison, the workhouse and the factory.⁸⁷ Thus, working, learning and paying one's dues for transgression were all regulated by and associated with the passage, monitoring and articulation of time in supervised space. Foucault explored the concept of the 'docile-body' as the subject of the power, authority and practices of a number of disciplines that constructed an '*anatopolitics of the body*'.⁸⁸ What Foucault emphasises, despite the historical precedents,⁸⁹ is that the aim of disciplinary technology, wherever and in whatever form it operates, is the moulding of a "docile body that may be subjected to, used, transformed and improved to meet a desired end".⁹⁰ That is power is administered and applied in and through a variety of disciplinary technologies, themselves the result of knowledge, its accumulation and dispersal to ensure that

... power relations can materially penetrate the body in depth. Without depending even on the mediation of the subject's own representations. If power takes hold on the body, this isn't through its having first to be interiorised in people's consciousness...⁹¹

The body in its every act, gesture and movement must make the best, most and efficient use

⁸⁴ Foucault, 1980, op. cit p. 155.

⁸⁵ Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p. 211.

⁸⁶ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. pp. 72, 74.

⁸⁷ "The new disciplines had no difficulty in taking up their place in the old forms; the schools and poorhouses extended the life and regularity of the monastic communities to which they were often attached. The rigours of the industrial period retained a religious air..." Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p. 149.

⁸⁸ "The historical moment of the disciplines was the moment when an art of the human body was born, which was directed not only at the growth of its skills, nor at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely ... Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in terms of obedience) ... If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labour, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination." Ibid. pp. 137-8. See also J. Bale and C. Philo, (Eds.), 1998, *Body Cultures: Essays on Sport, Space and Identity*. London, Routledge.

⁸⁹ "The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power. It is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body - to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces". Foucault, 1978, op. cit p. 136.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 198.

⁹¹ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p.186.

of time:

The act is broken down into its elements; the position of the body, limbs, articulation is defined; to each movement are assigned a direction, an aptitude, a duration; their order of succession is prescribed. Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power... In the correct use of the body, which makes possible a correct use of time, nothing must remain idle or useless; everything must be called upon to form the support of the act required... A disciplined body is the prerequisite of an efficient gesture ... The principle that underlay the time-table in its traditional form was essentially negative: it was the principle of non-idleness; it was forbidden to waste time, which was counted by God and paid for by men; the time-table was to eliminate the danger of wasting it - a moral offence and economic dishonesty. Discipline on the other hand, arranges a positive economy; it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use; it is a question of extracting, from time, ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces... In becoming the target of new mechanisms of power, the body is offered up to new forms of knowledge. It is the body of exercise, rather than of speculative physics; a body manipulated by authority, rather than imbued with animal spirits; a body of useful training and not of rational mechanics, but one in which, by virtue of that very fact, a number of natural requirements and functional constraints are beginning to emerge.⁹²

The body was thus exercised, drilled, trained and manipulated in time and through space by the application of disciplinary power. The movements, gestures and activities that made up the working day were correlated to a strict time-keeping which aimed to create socially, economically and politically useful, docile, orderly, punctual, responsible, obedient, fit, healthy, educated, temperate, pious and thrifty productive bodies. E. P. Thomson identifies in the mode of production and the relations of production "...all these ways – by the division of labour; the supervision of labour; fines, bells and clocks; money incentives; preaching and schoolings; the suppression of fairs and sports – new labour habits were formed, and a new time discipline was imposed."⁹³ What was created was a new 'moral geography' replete with all those 'civilising' virtues and good habits deemed appropriate for the maximisation of economic potential and for the defence of the state. Foucault's analysis goes further in that the diffusion of disciplinary discourses from institutional settings of work, punishment, schooling, the military etc. to all social spheres and arenas identifies the means by which bourgeois hegemony tried to construct and manipulate moral consent as well as methods of physical control and subservience for its own ends. The imposition of the 'Eye of Power' to the spatial entity of the urban is, for Foucault, one of the first and most explicit examples of the operation of disciplinary discourses of space.

(c) The First Specialists Of Space – The Medical Discourse

Foucault is unequivocal in stressing the role of doctors from the end of the 18th century as being fundamentally involved in the analysis and organisation of space. The operation of medical disciplinary discourses illustrates and emphasises the exercise of knowledge and

⁹² Foucault, 1977, op. cit. pp. 152, 154, 155.

⁹³ E.P. Thompson, 1978, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London, Penguin, p. 90.

power in creating representations of space.

Doctors at that time were among other things the first specialists of space. They posed four fundamental problems. That of local conditions (regional climates, soil, humidity and dryness: under the term 'constitution', they studied these combinations of local determinants and seasonal variations which at a given moment favour a particular sort of disease; that of co-existences (either between men, questions of density and proximity, or between men and things, the question of water, sewage, ventilation, or between men and animals, the question of stables and abattoirs, or between men and the dead, the question of cemeteries); that of residences (the environment, urban problems); that of displacements (the migration of men, the propagation of diseases.) Doctors were, along with the military, the first managers of collective space. But the military were chiefly concerned to think the space of 'campaigns' (and thus of 'passages') and that of fortresses, whereas the doctors were concerned to think the space of habitations and towns.⁹⁴

What Foucault is proposing is that from the 18th century onwards medicine and politics came to be inter-linked in the consideration of and necessity for action in the increasingly, populous cities. Medicine as a discipline came to be involved in processes, techniques and interventions that were closely related to political developments, aims and objectives.

What the 18th century shows, in any case, is a double-sided process ... in short, the progressive emplacement of what was to become the great medical edifice of the 19th century, cannot be divorced from the concurrent organisation of a politics of health, the consideration of disease as a political and economic problem for social collectivities which they must seek to resolve as a matter of overall policy.⁹⁵

Foucault's proposition is that doctors were at the forefront of the diagnosis and treatment of the perceived problems of industrial society. New methods of surveillance for collecting information on populations came to be developed out of the need to produce, understand and control the spaces and populations of the newly industrialised and urbanising towns and cities. It cultivated new ways of seeing, the 'Eye of Power', and of calculating and ordering the social, economic and political existence of society. That is:

The great 18th century demographic upswing in western Europe, the necessity for co-ordinating and integrating it into the apparatus of production and the urgency of controlling it with finer and more adequate power mechanisms causes 'population', with its numerical variables of space and chronology, longevity and health, to emerge not only as a problem but as an object of surveillance, analysis, intervention, modification, etc. ... Within this set of problems, the 'body' – the body of individuals and the body of populations – appears as the bearer of new variables, not merely as between the scarce and the numerous, the submissive and the restive, rich and poor, health and sick, strong and weak, but also between the more or less utilisable, more or less amenable to profitable investment, those with greater or lesser prospects of survival, death and illness, and with more or less capacity for being usefully trained.⁹⁶

Medical disciplinary discourses may be said to be concerned with how knowledge, techniques and practices, of populations and individuals, involved medical personnel and institutions in the development of a modern form of government in which political

⁹⁴ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. pp. 150-1.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 166.

authorities (the local and national state) worked in alliance with experts in order to administer a variety of perceived problems. The medical profession was thus implicated in the operation of power and the exercise of political initiatives within the context of the development of a new understanding of the problems faced by the growth of cities, new technologies and the movement and behaviour of populations. That is, urbanisation and industrialisation brought with them problems and consequences that needed to be addressed by the state in tandem with the development of new techniques and methods of analysis. The aim was to promote public health and private well being within a realm that was considered inherently social as a means whereby knowledge about the population could be used to construct a more healthy, fit and able, efficient, obedient and docile population.

A 'medico-administrative' knowledge begins to develop concerning society, its health and sickness, its conditions of life, housing and habits, which serves as the basic core for the 'social economy' and sociology of the 19th century. And there is likewise constituted a politico-medical hold on a population hedged in by a whole series of prescriptions relating not only to disease but to general forms of existence and behaviours (food and drink, sexuality and fecundity, clothing and the layout of living space)... The doctor becomes the great advisor and expert, if not in the art of governing, at least in that of observing, correcting and improving the social 'body' and maintaining it in a permanent state of health.⁹⁷

Foucault singles out the role of the 'medical police' as being fundamental in the construction of a social model of society and of positivist social science in just such practices as were developed and applied by the medical profession in the 19th century.⁹⁸ Certainly, there is ample evidence for the fundamental role that medical personnel have played in collecting information on populations that was instrumental in advising social policy and political strategies for ameliorating urban 'problems', conditions and experiences.⁹⁹ As Foucault puts it, "... the doctor becomes the great advisor and expert, if not in the art of governing, at least in that of observing, correcting and improving the social 'body' and

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 171, 172.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 176, 177. Rose identifies in Foucault's various analyses of medical discourses five great apparatus of health— the medical administration of public space, the hygienic regulation of domestic life, the curative clinic, the medical staffing of the population, the instrumental mitigation of suffering – as being involved in different relations between experts and those subject to their intervention. The medicalisation of public space evolved in tandem with the intervention of medical personnel in the private life and space of the family. The social body was to be reconstructed through the intervention of town planning that would invade those areas long perceived as being the worst examples of disease, immorality and ill health with the purifying object of introducing light, air and education (both moral and hygienic).

"This medico-administrative government of public space was not merely a matter of medical officers of health, sanitary reformers and the policing of food and drink. It also entailed the development of spatial technologies of health, in the form of a new set of relations between medicine and architecture. In the schemes of planning space, at the macro-level of the towns and the micro-level of the design of buildings – prisons, asylums, schools, homes, bathrooms, kitchens – one sees the desire to make space healthy. Architects and planners seek to enact a medical vocation organising the relations between persons, functions, objects, effluents, activities, in order to minimise all that would encourage disease and to maximise all that would promote health. The dream of the healthy body – the healthy city, the healthy home – has, perhaps done more than most to embody the medical aspiration within the territories upon which we manage our individual lives." N. Rose, "Medicine, History and the Present", in C. Jones & R. Porter, (eds.), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, London, Routledge, 1994, p. 64.

⁹⁸ "Sociological knowledge (*savoir*) is formed rather in practices like those of the doctors ... In fact if the intervention of the doctors was of capital importance at this period, this was because it was demanded by a whole new range of political and economic problems, highlighting the importance of the facts of the population." Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 151.

⁹⁹ In Glasgow, for example, Dr Clelland in the early 19th century was involved in just such a process, and the evangelical J.B. Russell, Medical Officer of Health for the city, in the latter decades built upon his work.

maintaining it in a permanent state of health.”¹⁰⁰ Anatomical models were an attractive basis for social theorists, and for the formation of social policy for the new urban environment, in that they provided a familiar epistemology as well as empirical means and statistical evidence. Society was given as an organic form and thought of in medical terms: that is as a social body afflicted by illness and needing to be restored to health. Thus, medical personnel become involved with other authorities, such as the state and voluntary bodies, in relations whose concern is with issues of individual and population’s health, sickness and the development of techniques for surveillance, segregation and discipline. As Rose puts it:

... medical thought and medical activity, through the rationalities that unified the inhabitants of geographical space as a social body, through the compilation of statistics of birth, death, rates and types of morbidity, through the charting of social and moral topographies of bodies and their relations with one another, played a key role in ‘making-up’ the social body and in locating individuals in relation to this dense field of relations bearing upon the individual body. Medicine, that is to say, has played a formative role in the *invention of the social*. Medicine was to engage itself with one of the most fundamental sets of questions that troubled and provoked governmental thought during the 19th century and which inspired the invention of the basic administrative knowledge and techniques of modernity. This set of questions concerned the regulation of life in towns. Over the first half of the 19th century, the role of the medical police was to problematise the life of populations in towns in terms of health, and to devise a whole variety of schemes for its improvement. The diversity of tactics adopted ranged from grand schemes of architectural renewal of public space in the name of health and civility to a host of more mundane projects of social hygiene, sanitary reform and sewage arrangements, pure air and pure water, paving of streets and controls on burial of the dead. Of course, in one sense it was a concern with particular problems of illness that energised these campaigns of police. The epidemics that ravaged European cities in the 18th and 19th century struck terror into the inhabitants of the towns and those who would exercise government over them – cholera, typhus, what the 1842 Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of great Britain simply called ‘fever’.¹⁰¹

The miasmatic conception of epidemics, that is, that stagnant air breeds disease, of which there were many in the 18th and 19th centuries, was primarily concerned with the spatialisation of diseases. They were understood as occurring around and circulating in certain types of social spaces and came to afflict those of certain characters, habits and behaviours who inhabited them. Thus a geographic disposition of disease could be constructed that could be applied to and analysed in relation the geography of the town or city and the rate and level of infection could be equated with certain areas and classes.¹⁰²

The analogy of the human body and social organisation was, in the 19th century, adapted to suit the new conditions that were emerging in the industrial towns and cities. The

¹⁰⁰ Foucault, 1980, op. cit. p. 177.

¹⁰¹ Rose, in Jones and Porter, 1994, op cit. pp 55-6.

¹⁰² Whilst some doctors and public health officials such as Glasgow’s Medical Officer of Health, J. B. Russell were perhaps not firm believers in miasmatic theory, they did believe that the city could be made as healthy as the countryside and that this could be achieved through intervention in the spatial organisation of the city. “He wanted broad passages left for the entrance of air from the open country. He wanted the slums replaced with decent buildings and wide streets. He called for parks and squares and green spaces so that devitalised air could be renewed and the children would no longer be pent up in back courts and stairheads.” E. Robertson, *Glasgow’s Doctor – J.B. Russell*, East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1998, p.112.

role of scientific medicine in the apparent objective, minute investigation of the urban environment is a theme that Foucault credits to the medical profession's concern with spatialisation. Poovey and Driver credit J.P. Kay with a pioneering role in this development in Britain. *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes* was a detailed investigation of urban space that combined eyewitness reports and statistical tables to represent strategies for understanding the urban population and for suggesting remedies. Kay's analysis of the social body emphasised the significance of the 'good' parts rather than focussing explicitly on the diseased areas – those aggregations of the poor and impoverished who were already spatialised.¹⁰³ The investigation of the urban population became an essential part of the disciplinary programme for social policy. The image of the 'social body' was a defence against representations of humans as machines and, like other anatomical models, represented society as a unified whole with groups and individuals characterised by having specialised functions. But public health was not only a matter of sanitation, it involved the moral and physical regulation of public spaces and private behaviours. A point that Kay makes explicit:

There is ... a licentiousness capable of corrupting the whole body of society, like an insidious disease, which eludes observation, yet is equally fatal in its effects. Criminal acts may be statistically classed – the victims of the law may be enumerated – but the number of those affected with the moral leprosy of vice cannot be exhibited with mathematical precision. ... The social body cannot be constructed like a machine, on abstract principles which merely include physical motions, and their numerical results in the production of wealth. The mutual relations of men is not merely dynamical, nor can the composition of their forces be subjected to a purely mathematical calculation. Political economy, though its object is to ascertain the means of increasing the wealth of nations, cannot accomplish its design, without at the same time regarding their happiness, and as its largest ingredient the cultivation of religion and morality.¹⁰⁴

Kay's solution was to surgically remove the afflicted parts by increasingly sub-dividing the city's districts so as to more minutely observe, on a street and house basis, and thus make more manageable the knowledge that is acquired of them for the purposes of control and regulation. The collection, for example, of official statistics on birth, death, marriage, etc. was part of the process whereby the population came to be subject to surveillance, analysis and intervention. Strategies were varied and depended on the group or population (children, adults, parents, workers, patients, criminals, etc.) that was targeted and the specific goals that were aimed at. That is, whether the object of study and concern was a national, local or regional population; a prison or school population; the dangerous classes; or the labouring

¹⁰³ "The dense masses of the habitations of the poor, which streets and their arms, as though to grasp and enclose the dwellings of the noble and wealthy, in the metropolis, and in our huge provincial cities, have heretofore been regarded as mighty wilderness of building in which the incurable ills of society rankled, beyond the reach of sanative interference. The good despaired that their individual efforts could relieve the miseries, which, in their errands of mercy, they beheld ... One fact alone became prominent, *that the united exertions of the individual members of society were required, to procure a moral and physical change in the community*, and it was evident that some circumstances was wanting to disturb the apathy which paralysed their energies." J.P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Class*, 1832, Manchester, Morton, 1969, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁴ Kay, 1969, op cit. pp. 62, 63-4.

classes as a whole. Kay may thus be described as an early advocate of those disciplinary social practices that Damer argues were employed by the municipal housing authorities in Glasgow from the late 19th century to the beginning of WWII. The disciplinary function of inspection teams (The Factor, Sanitary Inspector and the Nurse Inspectresses – ‘the Green Ladies’), sent to monitor the working classes in their habitations, effected fear and loathing by their midnight raids on ‘ticketed houses’. Through surveillance and relentless patrolling, public health officials acted as ‘social hygienists’ constantly supervising the moral and physical ‘cleanliness’ of the poor. Damer is unequivocal in his opinion that:

The discourse of Public Health was a well-worked out exercise of hegemonic power in the class struggle, or in Foucaultian terms, ‘a technology of control,’ or a ‘mechanism of subjection.’ It was indeed all about surveillance and control, but surveillance and control in the interests of one class as against another.¹⁰⁵

Two aspects of Foucault’s concept of ‘bio-power’ illustrate how techniques of power were constructed around the medico-administrative necessity of government and were concerned with the exercise and effect of relations of power on humans, as individuals and as aggregates. That is, how they could be managed, controlled and maintained to enhance their capabilities and capacities for specific purposes. This notion of bio-power reflects an interest in the accumulation of knowledge of individuals and populations that has a specific purpose: to maximise the health (moral and physical) of individuals and populations to ensure their maximum efficiency and productivity, to minimise the negative consequences from the development of new industrial techniques in the economy, and to limit the threat from potentially revolutionary conditions through the surveillance, management and control of individual and communal activities.

The first aspect, that of the ‘docile body’, has already been alluded to. In spaces such as the prison, factory, hospital, workhouse and school, the individual movements, gestures and actions of the body were studied and controlled to produce ‘better’ efficient workers, prisoners, students, patients, etc. Architecture was one disciplinary discourse in which knowledge of space produced spatial forms that served to concretise power relations. The medical professions were directly involved in developing new forms of architecture. The sanatorium, for example, was an institution by which the beneficial and health giving properties of fresh air and sunlight could be maximised for those suffering from the debilitating effects of respiratory diseases such as TB.¹⁰⁶ There was almost inevitably a class element to the form, design and decoration of such buildings:

¹⁰⁵ S. Damer, “Patrolling the Poor: the Social Practice of Council House Management in Glasgow, 1885-1939”, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 36/11, 2000, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ ‘... one morbid influence constant throughout the progressive stages of a child’s life was the comparative withdrawal from the natural and healthful stimulus of the open air.’ ” R. Phillip, “Lecture to the International Congress on TB, Washington, 1908”, in the *British Medical Journal*, 2 1909, cited in L. Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain – A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth Century Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 31.

The treatment of working-class patients in gorgeous palaces was not only wasteful, but confusing to the patients, for they would come to regard their cure in some way associated with the facilities and luxuries enjoyed in the institution, and return home feeling that it was impossible to keep well. Thus the architecture should be 'of the simplest kind capable of being imitated in all essentials in the average home of the industrial classes'. Education was important in treatment: 'The patient treated in a sanatorium under the natural methods there adopted is taught not only how to live most healthily under his new conditions, but is also taught the whole routine of right living...' The likely success of sanatorium treatment (for the working classes) was therefore 'inversely proportional to the magnificence of the buildings and surroundings'.¹⁰⁷

Official concern was not only with the physical problems associated with urban living, such as overcrowding, poor sanitation, dirt and disease but also with the moral impact on the working classes of poor urban environments. Children were a prime target for moral and physical training and one held up as a symbol for a future, more civilised city and society.¹⁰⁸

Teach them the benefits of open air and the consequence of bad habits. Teach them to protect themselves from dirt. Hygiene in living, hygiene in the house. Air, light, cleanliness – the human flower is of all the flowers the one that needs the sun the most. Give your children health, that most precious of possessions! It is a social duty from the point of view of national interest and general well-being. Prevention is better than cure. Remember those words, 'Too late,' for then the science of medicine is powerless. Go and teach the truth: 'The Fate of Each Man is in his own Hands'.¹⁰⁹

Social reformers, religious campaigners and public health officials united in their attempts to mould the character of city children suffering what were viewed as the vitiating tendencies of urban life.

Independent of the physical evils to the working classes from the causes before adverted to, Your Committee are desirous to express the strong opinion they entertain, that the dirt, damp, and discomfort so frequently found in and about the habitations of the poorer people in these great towns has a most pernicious effect on their moral feelings, induces habits of recklessness and disregard of cleanliness, and all proper pride in personal appearance, and thereby takes away a strong and useful stimulus to industry and exertion.¹¹⁰

The principle of bodily discipline as a means of moral training is epitomised by official attitudes that came to prominence by the late 19th century of the benefits of structured rational recreation and education and the following:

¹⁰⁷ Kelynack, (ed.) "Tuberculosis Yearbook, 1913-14", p. 227, in Bryder, 1988, op. cit. p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ See I. Maver, "The Quest for Purity in the Nineteenth Century Scottish City", *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, XXXIII, 1997, pp. 802-3.

"Children became polemical devices in the crusade to create a purer environment, because they could represent such a potential metaphor for urban deprivation ... While urbanisation and industrialisation drastically cut across the integrity of this idealised and intrinsically rural society. Evangelical Presbyterianism was wholly positive in the conviction that it could be restored, and that the most unsavoury city centres could be rendered wholesome and healthy. The quest for purity thus took on a deeper meaning, because it represented the spiritual as well as the physical cleansing process that was deemed so vital for reversing the vitiating tendencies of urban life".

¹⁰⁹ "National Association for the Prevention of TB (NAPT) Council Annual Report 1924", (pp 29-31) cited in Bryder, 1988, op. cit. p. 147. This instructive method of prevention and treatment was also attempted in Glasgow early in the 20th century: "An important new departure in 1903 was the opening of a country branch at Drumchapel ... There were two large wards, each with 12 cots, and much importance was attached to 'giving the patients all the fresh air and sunshine possible'. Patients could be taken from the lower roof into a large sunroom, and from the upper ward on to the sunroom roof, which was surrounded by a parapet. But it was not entirely a life of leisure; soon it occurred to the ladies' committee that a 'little regular work' would do the patients no harm, and arrangement were made for two teachers to visit the branch twice a week." E. Robertson, *The Yorkhill Story*, Glasgow, Robert MacLehose, 1972, p. 66.

¹¹⁰ "Report XIV – Report from the Select Committee on the Health of Towns, 1840, London, House of Commons, cited in M. Poovey, *Anatomical Realism and Social Investigation in Early Nineteenth Century Manchester*", *Differences: A Journal of feminist Cultural Studies* 5(3), 1993, p. 1-2.

In giving the child an erect and manly gait, a firm and regular step, precision and rapidity in his movements, promptitude in obedience to commands, and particularly neatness in his apparel and person, we are insensibly laying the foundation of moral habits most intimately connected with the personal comfort and the happiness of the future labourer's family. We are giving a practical moral lesson, perhaps more powerful than the precepts which are inculcated by words.¹¹¹

The formation and operation of schools thus became a principle arena for the training, disciplining and inculcation of appropriate bodily practices for the enhancement of children's physical and moral health.¹¹² The emphasis in Glasgow was to combine the practical instruction and education of institutionalised techniques with the proselytising efforts of religious and charitable institutions with schemes that would improve the physical environment of the city. Thus, in schools the emphasis

... must be thoroughly religious, in which the heart may be addressed as well as the head – the kindly feelings brought into play – suitable air and exercise afforded in-doors and out-doors – habits of cleanliness, and obedience cultivated, and not simply kept from the street 'out of harms way', and from corrupting influence, but enabled for several hours-a-day to breathe a moral atmosphere.¹¹³

The second aspect of bio-power concerns the study, control and manipulation of the 'species body', that is, populations as aggregates of individuals.¹¹⁴ This intervention represented the increasing colonisation by power of more areas and spheres of social life and activity. The expansion of medical disciplines and their prominent role in managing the nation's health gave them a leading role in attempts to understand and organise industrial

¹¹¹ "Report from the Poor Law Commission on the Training of Pauper Children", London, 1841, p. 217 cited by Driver, in Jones and Porter, 1994, op. cit. p. 126.

¹¹² For example, Driver shows how children were the focus of techniques and practices that led them to be isolated and removed from the spaces and institutions that were identified as having negative effects.

"It was the disciplines themselves, the techniques for division rather than association and contagion. Children were a prime target for training. They were to be rescued not only from the city streets, those crucibles of crime and pauperism, but also from other 'inappropriate' institutions, such as prisons and workhouses, where they could inevitably be in contact with adults and irredeemably 'immoral' elements. Registers of conduct, systems of rewards, careful allocation of times and spaces would accomplish all that forceful confinement could, and more. The ultimate aim was self-control and self-regulation..." Driver, 1985, op. cit. p. 434.

Indeed, what is emphasised is the strict control and regulation of children's bodies in space to provide education and instruction only in what were considered positively beneficial actions and behaviours.

"The children are not allowed to read any combinations of letters which are not real words, and are instructed in the meaning of every word.... Gymnastic apparatus has also been erected in the exercise ground, where the boys are daily trained in exercises calculated to develop their physical strength and activity, to secure prompt obedience to the direction of the teacher, and to maintain personal cleanliness and propriety ... The moral training pervades every hour of the day, from the period when the children are marched from their bedrooms to the wash-house in the morning, to that when they march back to their bedrooms at night." J.P. Kay, 1839, "The Training of Pauper Children" in the Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales British Parliamentary Papers, 1839, Volume XX pp 91-99", cited in Driver, 1985, op. cit. pp. 433-4.

¹¹³ D. Stow, *Infant Training: A Dialogue Explanatory of the System Adopted in the Model Infant School*, Glasgow, 1833, p. 17. Thomas Chalmers, a well-known and influential evangelical Christian social reformer in Glasgow, made the case for the need to redress the unhealthy balance in the city:

"In this way, an influence, long unfelt in towns, may be specially restored to them; and they, we affirm, know nothing of this department of our nature, who are blind to the truth of the position – that out of the simple elements of our attention, and advice, and civility, by men a little more elevated in rank than themselves, a far more purifying and gracious operation can be made to descend upon them." T. Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, Glasgow, 1821, p. 27.

Another solution proposed was the combination of both moral and physical regulation and the beneficial aspects of access to fresh air and exercise in the provision of open-air schools: "... local authorities also organised open-air classes in their schools. Forty out of 221 schools in Glasgow, as well as portions of 21 others, had been constructed on 'open-air principles', with classrooms designed with open verandas and sliding-doors; it was reported in 1935 that all new schools were being constructed in this way. Glasgow also had two 'preventoria' for children 'with the stigmata of tuberculosis'." NAPT Handbook, 1935, in Bryder, 1988, op. cit. p. 95. See also R. Lowe, *The Early Twentieth Century Open-Air Movement: Origins and Implications. Proceedings of the Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain*, 1983.

¹¹⁴ "When Foucault mentions the problems of populations, health and cities, it is clear that he is referring to our modern form of power, what he calls 'bio-power' ... under regimes of 'bio-power' political intervention takes place at the level of the species as a natural population to be known and controlled. This manipulation is exercised through an ever-expanding complex of social institutions, and thereby in a widening number of building types: hospitals, prisons, workplaces, schools, street plans, housing and so forth." G. Wright & P. Rabinow,

labour and industrial society as a whole and thus influence the aims and direction of government policy.¹¹⁵ As Foucault states:

Urban space has its own dangers: disease, such as the epidemics of cholera in Europe from 1830 to about 1880, and revolution, such as the series of urban revolts that shook all of Europe during the same period. These spatial problems, which were perhaps not new, took on a new importance... The major problems of space, from the nineteenth century on, were indeed of a different type. Which is not to say that problems of an architectural nature were forgotten.¹¹⁶

19th century public health was primarily concerned with administrative discipline and efficiency and as such it was closely linked with the growth of local and national government intervention in the surveillance and management of the health of the populations, as opposed to individuals. A medico-administrative knowledge of national and local populations was constructed through the observation and collection of information and statistics on the population, on areas, households, etc. Dangerous classes and dangerous locations were identified as needing some form of remedial action. New techniques and practices developed and were employed by the growth to ensure that a fit and healthy working class would be sufficiently able to satisfy the requirements of the nation's armed services as well as the needs of the (industrial) economy. This entailed a number of interventions by the local and national state, and by charitable and voluntary organisations, that sought to understand, in order to regulate and control in the most efficient and beneficial manner, the population. This aspect of the government of whole populations is a complex task in which issues of national policy and power are interconnected with individual sexual, reproductive, physical and moral, behaviours and attitudes. The role of Medical Officers of Health were especially effective in promoting and achieving a number of important changes in sanitary organisation, disease prevention and treatment. Similarly, they played a vital role in the organisation and provision of a whole host of services that sought to improve the vitality and health of the urban environment and its populations. The practice and organisation of medicine and the institutions that delivered it became oriented around the goal of creating, managing and maintaining a fit, healthy and efficient industrial population.¹¹⁷

Foucault's analysis of knowledge, power and space illustrates how representations of space were developed, diffused and applied by disciplinary discourses and techniques in the

"Spatialisation and Power", *Skyline*, March, 1982, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ S. Sturdy and C. Cooter, "Science, Scientific Management and the Transformation of Medicine in Britain, c. 1870-1950", *History of Science*, 36 (part 4), 1998, in an explicitly, if unacknowledged Foucaultian analysis, examine how medicine, both as an institutional organisation and as a profession, was transformed through the expansion of medical disciplines and the invention, dissemination and increasing prominence of scientific procedures, techniques and skills. There was an increasing professionalism in the administration of hospital services, which saw the management of hospitals less philanthropically organised with the importation of new managers from industry and finance to promote the efficient management of hospital resources.

¹¹⁶ Foucault, 1982, op. cit. p.17.

¹¹⁷ Indeed, this aim was explicitly made in 1921 in a report by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board commenting that "... the word 'efficiency' is not to be interpreted as equivalent merely to productive efficiency, but as the physiological quality that results from favourable conditions of work. The word is in fact almost equivalent to 'fitness'." "Industrial Fatigue Research Board, Annual Report, II, 1921, p.17", cited in Sturdy and Cooter, 1998, op. cit. p. 448.

context of the origins and expansion of increasingly urbanised and industrialised societies. Foucault is concerned to present the operation of power not merely as intrinsically repressive, negative, prohibitive or universally dominating. Disciplinary techniques could act as a positive force in the creation, shaping or moulding of subjects. What is clear is that the express intention was not to exact punishment for its own sake, but to create a reflective subject who would internalise the knowledge, norms and values of bourgeois society promulgated through education and training to create more useful, orderly and civilised productive individuals and populations. Knowledge of space, and command over it, was a primary and fundamental means by which it was analysed, designed and used for the purposes of maximum functional efficiency to ensure the regulated movement and accumulation of wealth, in the burgeoning urban and industrial economy of 19th century capitalist society. Thus, architecture and design were employed in an attempt to instil a sense of self-discipline, the internalisation of 'normalising values' in miscreants and deviants (the criminal, the undeserving poor, the delinquent etc.) but also in the general population, and in particular the working classes. The development of a medical discourse, as an inherently spatial analysis for the identification of the individual body and the body of populations as the object of study, illustrates both the power of disciplinary knowledge and its diffusion throughout society. Social discipline became a technique for the control of space and time in all spheres of society through a network of inter-related disciplines. Thus, charities, reform organisations, religious and temperance movements, housing and health organisations, as well as local and national government, were all implicated and active in this movement of disciplinary diffusion.¹¹⁸ The disciplines and their discourses invaded and colonised the private as well as the public sphere. Attempts were made to control, manage and promote the most effective, that is the most 'beneficial', use of leisure and recreation time and space, as well as that of work, prison, school, etc. Rest, purposeful distraction and exercise, of the mind and body, ensures that the worker and the family unit that maintains and sustains the reproduction of the next generation of labour, is fit, willing and able to resume their economic duties and responsibilities. Foucault's account of disciplinary discourses is an analysis of the power inherent in representations of space that substantiates Lefebvre's second element of space. It also provides a means for investigating the discourses involved in the representation of the public parks as disciplinary, albeit humane, spaces, regulated, ordered, designed and controlled for the purposes of the moral and physical training and education of the population outwith the institutions or the regulated framework of work.

¹¹⁸ "Most writers on civil society agree, however, that civil society has an institutional core constituted by voluntary associations outside the sphere of the state and the economy. Such associations range from, for example, churches, cultural associations, sports clubs, and debating societies to independent media, academics, groups of concerned citizens, grass-roots initiatives and organisations of gender, race and sexuality, all the way to occupational associations, political parties and labour unions." Habermas, in Calhoun (ed.), 1992, op. cit. p. 453 and B. Flyvbjerg, "Habermas and Foucault: Thinkers for Civil Society", *British Journal of Sociology*, 49 (2), 1998, p. 210.

There are a number of discourses that represented the parks that illuminates the complexities involved in their construction, as well as in their subsequent maintenance and regulation. It is appropriate to understand these discourses as not necessarily mutually exclusive or without overlap. However, it is evident that there may be conflict and contestation between dominant values and meanings, attached to particular spaces and places and the everyday uses and practices to which they are put. The public parks may be considered as 'new' spaces where architecture and design were employed as a means by which disciplinary technologies sought to directly intervene in the social and material infrastructure and environment of the city, of its population and of individuals. The disciplinary discourses involved in the production, representation and use of the parks emphasised their role as leisure spaces designed, organised and managed to ensure the most effective, rational use of 'free' time for the benefit of a more orderly, healthy and civilised society. These discourses will be addressed in chapter 5 and include the following.

The first is that of the medical and has been alluded to in Foucault's proposition of a dispersed system of spatial sciences that emerged in 18th century Europe as part of a general system of knowledge based on medical and administrative necessity. It provides a useful insight into the creation of the 19th century parks as part of what he termed the 'modern disciplinary society'. The mental and physical health of the city's population was seen as a prime motivation for the development of a municipal parks program. The parks were variously described as the 'Lungs of the City', 'Fresh Air Reservoirs', a means to combat the threats from disease (e.g. cholera), pollution ('Smoke'), population density, etc. through the benefits of fresh air. The second discourse is a moral one. The awareness of the medical and sanitary benefits of the parks was supplemented by a perception of the need to improve the moral well being of the city's population. The provision of public parks thus provided an opportunity to apply a 'civilising' element to the population, particularly the working classes, through access to the moral and social benefits of appropriate cultural, leisure and recreational pursuits to be had in the parks. The third discourse is that of culture, in the creation and representation of the parks as symbolic landscapes imbued with the ideals of a cultural, social and political elite that had both functional intentions and aesthetic aspirations. These ways of seeing nature influenced the design, regulation and contents of the parks. They provided the possibility of recreating in the city versions of nature that could be decorated with public art and sculpture representing worthy figures from the worlds of science, the military, education and the law as well as municipal figures and memorials to civic achievements, intended to provide the visitor with uplifting examples of achievement and order on which they could contemplate. Museums and Art Galleries were also situated in some parks and were an integral part of the park experience. A fourth discourse is political,

in the sense of parks as both landscapes that manifest the hegemonic exercise of power and sites for conflict and contestation, as focal points for collective or individual appropriations of space. The need to regulate and proscribe against such a possibility witnessed the development of byelaws proscribing meetings, orations, lectures, services etc. unless previous permission had been granted. Thus there was an attempt to permit some groups and uses of the parks for collective activity whilst others were banned. The possibility of the parks being used as a focus for public disorder and indecency, for political assembly and activity, was viewed with alarm by the civic and police authorities. The parks acted as sites for popular culture and political activity that had the potential for conflict with authority over what was permissible and what was not. A fifth discourse is that of gender. The public parks as social spaces were perceived and represented as arenas where the potential for inappropriate, deviant or immoral activities could occur. Fear of such activities was considered a limiting factor to women's use and access to the parks, making their presence 'out of place' at particular times. Women were also perceived as having the potential for 'civilising' the male users of the parks. Therefore, the need to provide special facilities for women's comfort and enjoyment of the parks as well as specific sports deemed 'more suitable' for women were also considered as necessary provisions. The final discourse concerns the status of the city as 'Workshop of the World' and 'Second City of Empire', and it was advertised through the use of the parks as sites for the international exhibitions and events that sought to establish the reputation of the city as a good place to live, invest and do business.

2.4: Everyday Practices And Mythic Spaces

For the most part, the preceding presentation of Foucault's analysis of the power of representation and its exercise through disciplinary discourses that were spatially manifested primarily emphasised the underlying attempts to mould individuals and populations. The analysis of disciplinary discourses as the power and practice of representation through an inter-connected network of public and private organisations and bureaucracies is reminiscent of Weber's warning of the 'unintended consequences' of competing rationalities. Whilst Foucault warns against the use of Weber's concept of rationalisation as the underlying force in modernity,¹¹⁹ what is proposed is the potential and possibility of resistance to dominating discourses and disciplinary practices that exists in the interstices of meanings, actions, places, and rationalisations. Foucault's analysis is not necessarily entirely negative in its operation of the totalising, all pervasive dominance of people and of space in modern

¹¹⁹ "I think that the word *rationalisation* is dangerous. What we should be doing is to analyse specific rationalities rather than ceaselessly invoking the progress of rationalisation in general." Foucault cited by D. Janicaud, "Rationality, Force and Power", in T.J. Armstrong, *Michel Foucault: Philosopher*, London, Harvester, Wheatsheaf, 1992 p. 285.

society. He states that:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.¹²⁰

Lefebvre's third necessary element for understanding the production of space is that of spaces of representation in which 'new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices' are imagined and invented in the directly lived space of everyday life. The imaginative use of space in everyday life is where cultural and social relations are associated with ritual, symbol, tradition, myth, desire, dreams etc. That is, representational space is:

Space as directly *lived* through its associations and images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' ... space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.¹²¹

Whilst these spaces of representation are also subject to the domination, rationalisation, codification, measurement, intervention and usurpation as the ordered and regulated space of hegemonic power, nevertheless they also have the potential for challenging dominant spatial perceptions and representations by the everyday activities that occur within them. What will follow will be an examination both of the potential subversion of dominated, disciplinary spaces by everyday uses and practices as well as those spaces in which the ritual, mythic, and symbolic status of specific spaces confers a power to inhabit, appropriate and own them through everyday activities.

(a) Michel de Certeau and the Practice of Everyday Life

Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday* provides an antidote to the potential oppressiveness and domination of Foucault's disciplinary society. De Certeau illuminates the potential that exists in the actions and practices of everyday life for subverting the dominant discourses of the technocrats, bureaucrats and planners etc. of the urban domain. These disciplinary discourses are applied and diffused throughout society by the surveillance, control and regulation of activities, behaviours and space. He proposes that everyday practices, uses and behaviour have the power to undermine and allow an escape from the potential limits that are placed on individuals and groups by the 'grid of disciplines' in the modern, planned, designed and regulated city. As such, de Certeau defines everyday practices as "... 'ways of operating' or doing things, [that] no longer appear as merely the obscure background of social activity",¹²² but are "... tactics of consumption, the ingenious way in which the weak make use of the strong, [and] thus lend a political dimension to

¹²⁰ Foucault, 1977, op. cit. p.194.

¹²¹ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p. 39.

everyday practices.”¹²³ It is in ‘popular’ culture, in the ordinary language, games, activities, uses and practices of the everyday life of the masses that de Certeau finds the potential for the subversion of dominant discourses and representations of the disciplined spaces of the city’s social world. As such, de Certeau argues that these everyday practices are:

More generally, *a way of using* imposed systems constitutes the resistance to the historical law of a state of affairs and its dogmatic legitimations. A practice of the order constructed by others redistributes its space; it creates at least a certain play in that order, a space for manoeuvres of unequal forces and for utopian points of reference. That is where the opacity of a ‘popular’ culture could be said to manifest itself – a dark rock that resists all assimilation ... [in which] ... [i]nnumerable ways of playing and foiling the other’s game characterise the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups, which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations. People have to make do with what they have. In these combatants’ stratagems, there is a certain art of placing one’s blows, a pleasure in getting round the rules of constraining space.¹²⁴

Thus, for de Certeau, there exist conflicts and tensions between those that produce and represent space and the expression and articulation of popular culture through the actions, gestures, and language of everyday uses and practices of and in space. De Certeau identifies a distinction between what he terms ‘strategies’ and ‘tactics’. Strategies belong to those with power and are associated with space that is ordered, regulated and manipulated for given ends, whilst tactics are the means by which the weak use space:

I call a *strategy* the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that become possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated ... As in management, every ‘strategic’ rationalisation seeks first of all to distinguish its ‘own’ place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an ‘environment’ ... By contrast with a strategy ... a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus ... The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organised by the law of a foreign power ... In short, a tactic is an art of the weak ... determined by the absence of power just as a strategy is organised by the postulation of power.¹²⁵

What de Certeau postulates is that, despite the diffusion of the ‘scattered technologies’ that Foucault has identified, there exists in everyday acts the potential to re-appropriate spaces by investing them with meanings and values that resist the instrumental apparatuses, techniques and mechanisms of disciplinary discourses. The production, organisation, and administration of the city and its public spaces, such as the parks, squares and streets, were and are subject to the exercise of power. Despite the panoptic vision of the ‘Eye of Power’, the world of everyday social relations and actions exist as fragments, of individual acts, that challenge the ideologies that underpin planned space. Public spaces, for all their regulation and organisation, are also the realm of the masses who, through their actions, their movements, the associations and the stories they tell, create meanings and values that resist the

¹²² M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, London, The University of California Press, 1984, p. xi..

¹²³ *Ibid.* p. xviii.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 18.

environmental determinism of rationalised space. What is planned for space is not necessarily how space comes to be used: the weak and the less powerful also have their moments in space when it is colonised and appropriated through the everyday activities and practices. This aspect of de Certeau's analysis of the everyday will be used in Chapter 7 in relation to popular practices in the public parks.

Foucault's analysis of the exercise of power presents space as colonised and usurped by the application of the knowledge, techniques and discourses of the disciplines. Space becomes a tool, delimited, categorised and under surveillance, a means in and through which individuals and groups are inculcated, educated and trained in the values, norms and beliefs of a dominant ideology. That is, space is where the hegemonic exercise of power is concretised. It is in the city as planned space, rationally organised, administered, and represented that a universally anonymous subject, is 'constructed', and whose manipulation and control is the functional goal of its scheme. As de Certeau puts it: "The city", like a proper name, thus provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable, and interconnected properties... Administration is combined with a process of elimination in this place organised by 'speculative' and classificatory operations."¹²⁶ The rationalised 'concept-city' of planners and administrators thus privileges discourses of functionality, utility and organisation, but, for de Certeau, beneath this ideological operationalism there exist the tactical ruses and combinations of the everyday life and practices of the masses:

The city becomes the dominant theme in political legends, but is no longer a field of programmed and regulated operations. Beneath the discourses that ideologise the city, the ruses and combinations of powers that have no readable identity proliferate; without points where one can take hold of them, without rational transparency, they are impossible to administer ... one can try another path: one can analyse the microbe-like, singular and plural practices which an urbanistic system was supposed to administer or suppress, but which have outlived its decay; one can follow the swarming activity of these procedures that have reinforced themselves in a proliferating illegitimacy, developed and insinuated themselves into the networks of surveillance, and combined in accord with unreadable but stable tactics to the point of constituting everyday regulations and surreptitious creativities that are merely concealed by the frantic mechanisms and discourses of the observational organisation.¹²⁷

The discourses of the planned, designed and ordered city are essentially visual representations: maps, diagrams and texts that can be reinterpreted and transformed by ordinary, everyday practices. De Certeau considers walking in the city as a spatial tactic that is a significant everyday act for understanding how the use of the public spaces of the city may undermine or conflict with the intentions of design. Routes can be traced, measured and analysed to plot movements, trajectories and circulations, identifying the most heavily or

¹²⁵ Ibid. pp. 35-8.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 94.

under-used routes, short cuts, log-jams, etc. However, this spatial syntax says little or nothing of the different meanings that are associated with the mere act of walking. For de Certeau:

... pedestrian movements form one of these 'real systems whose existence in fact make up the city'. They are not localised; it is rather that they spatialise ... The operation of walking, wandering or 'window shopping', that is, the activity of passers-by, is transformed into points that draw a totalising and reversible line on the map ... These fixations constitute procedures for forgetting. The trace left behind is substituted for the practice.¹²⁷

Therefore 'pedestrian movements', by the very fact of not being localised, bound to a specific place, give meaning to the city, by spatialising the relations within it, by the links that people make traversing routes and fashioning pathways making connections that are imbued with significance in the everyday life and biography of the individual. It is by walking in the city, by actualising and implying relations between different points, that the geography of the city's landscape is appropriated by an ordinary act:

Walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc. the trajectories it 'speaks'... To walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place - an experience that is, to be sure, broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City.¹²⁸

The significance of de Certeau's argument is that it empowers an everyday activity such as walking with the potential to challenge the rationalising and disciplinary discourses involved in the production and representation of space. Thus, if walking can subvert the dominating ideologies of planners, landscape designers, municipal administrators, etc. by creating alternative meanings and understandings, both of the city as a whole and of particular spaces and places within it, then other everyday actions and practices may have similar effects. The small acts of disobedience and denial of authority that occur in everyday usage of regulated public spaces make such social spaces arenas for conflict, contestation and appropriation that challenge accepted representations of space. As de Certeau puts it: "One thus has the very relationship between spatial practices and the constructed order. The surface of this order is everywhere punched and torn open by ellipses, drifts and leaks of

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 95, 96.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 97. Indeed, de Certeau privileges walking as an action that gives meaning to the structured whole of the city: "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered. At the most elementary level, it has a triple 'enunciative' function: it is a process of *appropriation* of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and it implies relations among differentiated positions, that is among pragmatic 'contracts' in the form of movements (just as verbal enunciation is an 'allocution', 'posits another opposite' the speaker and puts contracts between interlocutors into action). It thus seems possible to give preliminary definition of walking as a space of enunciation." Ibid. pp. 97-8.

¹²⁹ Ibid. pp. 99, 103.

meaning: it is a sieve order.”¹³⁰ It is this puncturing of privileged discourses by the construction of alternative meanings through everyday practices that makes possible the establishment of a distinction between space and place. This offers the possibility for an analysis of both the practices that transform places into spaces and, once transformed, the distinguishing features and characteristics of such spaces. For de Certeau:

A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). The law of the ‘proper’ rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own ‘proper’ and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus, space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities ... In short, *space is a practised place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.¹³¹

It is then through the action and movement of figures that places become more than abstracted, qualified, delimited spaces. It is this movement, circulation and use of everyday space that allows the potential for its reappropriation from disciplinary discourses and planned practices. Thus de Certeau reminds us of the Lefebvre’s insistence of the need to consider the production of space in its entirety as a balance between forms of socio-spatial configurations, functional representations and everyday uses and practices, such as walking.

(b) Benjamin And The ‘Dreaming Collectivity’

It is impossible to consider walking in the city as an everyday activity, invested with meaning and resonance, without referring to the *flâneur* as perhaps the most celebrated and most studied of urban pedestrians. The flâneur, the self-conscious secret spectator, the ‘undiscoverable, hidden man’ of the crowd, as opposed to merely being in the crowd, perambulates the streets, the spaces and places of the city in search of new sensations and experiences. To venture forth with no destination and no deadline, but to wander, immersed in the spectacle of everyday metropolitan life, challenges the planned and orderly circulation of the street. To promenade without purpose is the highest ambition of the flâneur. Walking in the city is its own reward. Walter Benjamin’s contribution to the analysis of the ambiguous figure of the flâneur as the sometime dandy and bohemian “urban stroller, observer, even idler”¹³² is set within an analysis of the mundane experiences of the urban population, that is, the everyday life of the city. As Benjamin observes: “an intoxication comes over those who wander through the streets for a long time without any particular goal.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p.107.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 117.

The activity of walking itself grows in power with each step taken.”¹³³ The streets and the movements and activities that occur there take on a new meaning and perspective through the creative eye of the flaneur. They become representative of the masses’ private as well as public sphere. As Benjamin writes:

Streets are the dwelling place of the collective. The collective is an eternally unquiet, eternally agitated being that – in the space between the building fronts – experiences, learns, understands, and invents as much as individuals do within the privacy of their own four walls. For this collective, glossy enamelled shop signs are wall decoration as good as, if not better than, an oil painting in the drawing room of a bourgeois; walls with their ‘Post No Bills’ are its writing desk. Newspaper stands its libraries, mailboxes its bronze busts, benches its bedroom furniture, and the café terrace is the balcony from which it looks down on its household. The section of railing where road workers hang their jackets is the vestibule, and the gateway which leads from the row of courtyards into the open is the long corridor that daunts the bourgeois, being for the courtyards the entry to the chambers of the city. Among these latter, the arcade was the drawing room. More than anywhere else, the street reveals itself in the arcade as the furnished and familiar interior of the masses.¹³⁴

It is in the spaces and structures of the modern metropolis that Benjamin sought to investigate, the ‘invisible threads’ of social reality as ‘diverse momentary’ images or ‘snapshots’ of the ‘fleeting, the fragmentary and the transitory’ experience of modernity. The city is for Benjamin *the* site of modernity. The exploration of a number of fundamental relationships – “public and private spheres, sacred and profane, ritual and improvisation, individual and collectivity”¹³⁵ – exposes the city as both the site of bourgeois domination and as providing distraction, intoxication and excitement. For Benjamin, the city as the locus of modern capitalism creates and maintains its own myths. Instead of vanquishing myth, modernity created new ones – of progress, abundance, liberation from the dictates and whims of nature. For Benjamin, the city was a dreamscape in which the magical and the mysterious, the new mythology of the experience of metropolitan capitalism, were to be found in the objects and buildings that were created within it. Specifically, it is the creation of a mythic landscape, a ‘labyrinth’ in which the ‘fantasy world of commodity fetishism and false consciousness’ encloses modernity in a myth that lulls it into a sleep-like state of ‘dreaming collectivity’. As Benjamin puts it: “The most hidden aspects of the great cities: this historical object of the new metropolis with its uniform streets and incalculable rows of houses has realised the architecture dreamed of by the ancients: the labyrinth”.¹³⁶ It is in the architecture, the buildings and edifices that celebrate and display the products of labour, that Benjamin saw evidence for the continuance of myth, surrounding and enveloping the social relations of the city of modernity with illusions. For Benjamin “all collective architecture of

¹³² D. Frisby, “The Flaneur in Social Theory”, in K. Tester, (ed.) *The Flaneur*, London, Routledge, 1994, p. 86.

¹³³ W. Benjamin, “Gesammelte Schriften, V”, p. 525 cited in G. Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis – Walter Benjamin and the City*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996, p. 152.

¹³⁴ W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, London, Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 423.

¹³⁵ Gilloch, 1996, op. cit. p. 24.

the 19th century provides the home of the dreaming collectivity”¹³⁷ in as much as “... the buildings, spaces, monuments and objects that compose the urban environment are both a response to, and reflexively structure, patterns of human social activity. Architecture and action shape each other; they interpenetrate.”¹³⁸ Most significantly, this mythological landscape was expressed through the architecture of the ‘dream-houses’ of the phantasmogoric city. Whilst Benjamin focused, most famously on the Parisian Arcades as being at the centre of the ‘dream world’ of the 19th century metropolitan experience, he also identified other sites of the dreaming collectivity. As Frisby argues:

... in the Arcades Project, it is not individual dreams that Benjamin seeks to excavate but those of the dreaming collectivity. They are often to be found in the architectural configurations that retain the traces of mythology. These are the “dream houses of the collectivity: arcades, winter gardens, panoramas, factories, waxworks, railway stations”, and the like. Such remains, such monuments are all located within one of the central labyrinths of modernity - the city. The city is the crucial showplace of modernity and is crucial to Benjamin’s Arcades Project ... [in which Benjamin]... sought to read the hieroglyphics of the spatial and social configurations of the city’s landscape in order to discover its past.¹³⁹

It is in such constructions that Benjamin postulates the population of the city experiencing the full effects of the phantasmagoria of the metropolis. These ‘dream-houses’ represented the “primal, even auratic, threshold to the dream world of the 19th century ... [whose] ... entrance was a threshold to the waking dream”.¹⁴⁰ The key, according to Frisby, to understanding the central experiences of modernity of this 19th century dream world were to be found in the “...commodity form which enveloped the environment in its spell ... [and] ... transforms every product of labour into a social hieroglyphic”.¹⁴¹ If such places contained the key to deciphering the ‘hieroglyphics’ of the experience of the phantasmogoric dream world of the 19th century, it is possible to seek other ‘less obvious’ places and constructions with similar mythic characteristics. The urban public parks originated as products of 19th century urban experience in which myth and ideology were interspersed in their construction. The topography of the public parks represented an ideological landscape in which it is possible to ‘read the hieroglyphics’ of their social and spatial configuration. They were public spaces in which the crowd had access like the streets, arcades, railway stations etc. However, the threshold of these ‘dream-houses’ signalled the entering of a domain where the tempo and speed of circulation of the city was temporarily relaxed. They were produced and represented as public spaces for rest, relaxation and recuperation from the consequences of urban modernity, offering the opportunity to re-enter, re-experience and re-

¹³⁶ Benjamin, 1999, op. cit. p. 1007.

¹³⁷ Benjamin, “Gesammelte Schriften, V”, p. 1012 cited in Gilloch, 1996, op. cit. p. 123.

¹³⁸ Gilloch, 1996, op. cit. p. 3.

¹³⁹ D. Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1986, pp. 224-5.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 210.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 255.

create a mythic relationship, with nature, albeit a nature moulded, formed and shaped to suit particular ends, functions and ideals. They may thus be understood as 'dream-houses' of play, rather than the primary focus being the celebration and display of the commodity. The opportunities for the transgression of authority manifest in this ordered space occur through the everyday games, activities, actions and practices of the masses at play. As Gilloch states:

Playfulness contains within it utopian impulses, eschewing the division between subject and object and creating reciprocal and non-hierarchical relationships with the world of things. Play is spontaneous and creative, a counterpoint to the tedium and exploitation inherent in instrumental labour. It is the domain of freedom from compulsion.¹⁴²

The parks are landscapes that are both material and cultural product. Although the product of human labour, a direct intervention in the urban environment, they resonate with symbols and meanings represented in their form and in the social activities and interactions that occur in them. Such symbols and meanings are a result of a reciprocal reinforcement in which their status and value is reflected in the everyday social uses, practices and activities that become prioritised there, and also from their mythical status as 'natural' spaces in the manufactured environment of the city. The parks as 'mythic' spaces imbued with meaning, symbol and significance suggests the potential for conflict and contestation over their role and value by everyday use and practice. A consideration of how the physical and spatial characteristic of the parks as public spaces and their subsequent appropriation through popular and everyday usage impinges on the intentions of hegemonic, disciplinary design therefore needs to be addressed. The conception of the public parks as examples of Benjamin's 'dream houses of the collective' postulates them as different, 'other' spaces. They thus become represented as different, as 'other', as special from the surrounding spatial forms and organisation of the city.

(c) Foucault and 'Heterotopias'

Foucault's analysis of the space of the modern era emphasises those spaces that are produced, designed, constructed, controlled and regulated by disciplinary technologies with specific functional aims whose general goal has been the creation of docile bodies, as individuals and as agglomerations of people, as populations. In contrast, his concept of heterotopias provides an analysis of how mythic forms of space exist, have meaning and value, and are special despite the prevalence of disciplinary knowledge of and command over space. It provides an analysis that complements Benjamin's identification of the persistence of myth in modernity. Modern understandings and discourses on space cannot totally dispense with forms of space that have a ritualistic and sacred character. As Foucault declares:

¹⁴² Gilloch, 1996, op. cit. p. 84.

Our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites ... [but] ... despite all the techniques for appropriating space, despite the whole network of knowledge that enables us to delimit or to formalise it, contemporary space is perhaps not entirely desanctified ... our life is still governed by a certain number of oppositions that remain inviolable, that our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down. These are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are nurtured by the hidden hand of the sacred... we do not live in a homogenous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly imbued with qualities and perhaps thoroughly fantasmatic as well ... The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another.¹⁴³

Foucault's categorisation of heterotopias provides a useful analytical tool for understanding the role, function and experience of parks as produced social spaces whose character is special, and different, that is 'other' from the 'normal', manufactured spaces of the city. This 'otherness' implies a separation, but not one that is complete or total, from the rest of the urban environment. They have a privileged status in which time and actions are perceived as occurring at a slower rhythm and tempo. Those who use as well as those who provide, manage and maintain them appreciate this status and experience. Foucault describes heterotopias as real spaces, in contrast to utopias that are fundamentally unreal places, sites of the imagination with no real place. He describes the prevalence of heterotopias as probably universal social phenomena:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilisation, real places - places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia, in which the real sites, all the other sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias ... there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias. That is a constant of every human group. But the heterotopias obviously take quite varied forms, and perhaps no one absolutely human form would be found ... They are a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live.¹⁴⁴

Heterotopias, then, exist in a variety of forms but must be permanent, real and commonplace within any culture or society. Foucault presents two types of heterotopias. The first, 'heterotopias of deviation', may be generally considered as places where power is exercised to control or mould the behaviour of those deemed deviant in relation to the required mean or norm. These norms are inscribed on the topography of cities and filled with meaningful

¹⁴³ M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", *Architecture-Modernity-Continuity*, 1984, republished in *Diacritics*, Spring 1986, p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 23, 24.

emblems of the state and society's dominant ideologies through the use of architecture, landscape design and planning. Cosgrove makes clear that all landscapes are the social products of collective human interventions that transform nature. These transformations occur in historically specific epochs in which a symbiotic relationship exists between the creation of symbols and meaning and the material production of goods:

Within the apparently seamless habit of any social formation the economy conceived as the production of material goods, and culture conceived as the production of symbols and meaning, coexist and continuously reproduce social relations through the action of living human beings. Economy and culture, structural necessities and human actions, interpenetrate and relate dialectically, each structuring the other as it is structured by the other. Thus each must be given equal weight in social and historical explanation ... Culture as ideology must be broadened to incorporate culture as an active force in the reproduction and change of social relations.¹⁴⁵

Landscapes thus enshrine and manifest power relations through planning and design and are used to shape the relationship between the individual and the state and the individual and nature. Landscape is an essential arena where abstract notions of ideology become physically inscribed. The second general type of heterotopia is that of 'crisis heterotopias'. These are privileged, sacred or forbidden places reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis. They include places such as seclusion huts for menstruation, ritual ceremonial sites, honeymoon suites, etc. in which the individual or group is isolated, that is physically removed from society, for a period of time, whilst they undergo some transitional phase before re-entering society. They may be termed 'recuperative spaces' in which some form of treatment, whether ritualistic, physical or psychological is effected within the site. They are thus mythic spaces, full of symbolic value and meaning that embody and manifest social relations directly through the activities that occur within them. This description is reminiscent of the concept of 'liminality' developed by Van Gennep in his analysis of the activities associated with ceremonies that accompany individuals' 'life crises', in what he termed *rites de passage*. Van Gennep defines these rites of passage as those that mark a transition or change of state, social position or age. He identifies three distinct phases: separation, margin (or limen, from the Latin meaning 'threshold'), and reaggregation. Separation comprises the detachment of the individual or group from an earlier point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a 'state'), or from both. The 'liminal' period is when the characteristics of the ritual subject (the 'passenger') are ambiguous. They are in a cultural or social realm that is distinct from the past or coming one. The initiation phase is the suspended status/reality in which the supplicant exists in a limbo between stages in their lives. Only by ritual (initiation) can they take on their full role in society and become part of it again. Turner describes

¹⁴⁵ D. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London, University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, pp. 56-57.

people in this transitional phase as allowed to

... elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locates states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there: they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualise social and cultural transitions.

146

The third phase, reaggregation or reincorporation, is when the passage back to 'normal' society is achieved by the completion of ritual practices in space and time. Whilst the expansion of industrial and urban society has led to increased secularisation and the decline of religious ceremony associated with rites of passage, the need for some form of expression of transition, and regeneration is still necessary. In a passage reminiscent of Foucault's introduction to heterotopias Van Gennep posits that the only valid distinction left in modern societies as a result of the increasing division of labour and specialisation results from the distinction between profane, everyday activities and sites and those that are related to the sacred:

Each larger society contains within it several distinctly separate social groupings. As we move from higher to lower levels of civilisation, the difference among these groups becomes accentuated and the autonomy increases. In contrast, the only clearly marked social division remaining in modern society is that which distinguish between the secular and religious worlds – between the profane and the sacred.¹⁴⁷

Van Gennep's anthropological investigations concentrate on the 'what', the 'how' and the 'why' of specific rituals that mark the rites of passage from one level of existence, status, order etc to another. However, it is also important to consider *where* these activities occur. Sacred or significant sites are bounded and accessed only by specific gateways and ritual actions, and this delimitation, in part, confers their special status. Foucault's concern, in his conception and categorisation of heterotopias, is with the spatial characteristics, social meanings and practices that make some places special or sacred. It offers a means by which it is possible to investigate those spaces and places that Benjamin identifies as the phantasmagoric mythic spaces of urban modernity. A fundamental element in Foucault's categorisation of heterotopias is that they always presuppose a system of opening and closing. They are neither fully open nor permanently closed, neither freely accessible, nor inaccessible. They are enclosed or bounded so that access is restricted through approved and sanctioned entrances at specified times. Van Gennep considers the magico-religious nature, as well as the economic, political and legal formalities and proscriptions that exist on entering provinces, regions, areas, rooms, buildings, etc. These boundaries have been marked using, obelisks, walls, statues, and the like. He also considers the door as

¹⁴⁶ V. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, New York, Cornell, University Press, 1969, p. 95.

¹⁴⁷ A. van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 1.

... the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of an ordinary dwelling, between the profane and sacred worlds in the case of a temple. Therefore to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world ... In order to understand rites pertaining to the thresholds, one should always remember that the threshold is only a part of the door and that most of these rites should be understood as direct and physical rites of entrance, of waiting, and of departure – that is as rites of passage.¹⁴⁸

Simmel also emphasises the magico-religious meaning, use and significance of the door for social relations in human cultures and societies that parallels van Gennep's insistence on the importance of the threshold for the boundedness of sacred, liminal spaces:

By virtue of the fact that the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it, it transcends the separation between the inner and the outer. Precisely because it can be opened, its closure provides the feeling of a stronger isolation against everything outside this space than the mere unstructured wall. The latter is mute, but the door speaks. It is absolutely essential for humanity that it set itself a boundary, but with freedom, that is, in such a way that it can also remove this boundary again, that it can place itself outside it ... When the masonry openings in Gothic or Romanesque cathedrals gradually taper down to the actual door and one reaches it between rows of semi-columns and figures that approach each other more and more closely, then the significance of these doors is obviously meant to be that of a leading into but not a leading out of somewhere – the latter existing rather as an unfortunately unavoidable accidental property. This structure leads the person entering with certainty and with a gentle, natural compulsion on the right way.¹⁴⁹

One is confronted with a portal in which to be allowed entry, and the individual is compelled to assume a demeanour, make placatory gestures, submit to rites and purifications, to be permitted ingress. One is ushered over the threshold into another space in which different rules apply. This assumes the imposition and acceptance of both the significance of the special status of the place one is entering and also of the rules, rituals and regulations that pertain to it as sacred, other space. The barrier of the boundary and the controlled access to the sacred mythic space of the heterotopia is applicable to a consideration of public parks as heterotopic spaces. Parks have a system of opening and closing that makes them both isolated and penetrable. The boundary excludes/isolates the park and the park user from the urban environment. Indeed, the Indo-European root for garden, *gher*, refers to a specialised, enclosed space and a park is, in part, a public garden. Access is not denied, merely restricted, and funnelled through appropriate gates that have a symbolic and security function. They allow for the scrutiny of those entering and leaving, whilst also creating an aura that inculcates the user with the sense of entering a special place where appropriate behaviour, rules and regulations apply. These rules and regulations may be said to be secular substitutes that seek to permit, as well as to prescribe and restrict the body and its behaviour, in similar fashion to what Van Gennep describes as effected in those 'sacred' spaces of rites of passage.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 20, 25.

¹⁴⁹ G. Simmel, "Bridge and Door", in D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, (eds.), *Simmel On Culture*, London, Sage, pp. 172, 173.

For Foucault, heterotopias as extraordinary, other places must have an identifiable function. As disciplinary spaces, they serve as containers for permissible actions, what Lefebvre called "the social order function of spatial practice."¹⁵⁰ Thus a relationship exists between the formal elements (the produced design of space), the meaningful content (what the space contains) and the planned function (what the space permits). This mirrors somewhat Lefebvre's triad of necessary elements in the production of social space: the perceived (the produced spatial structure and organisation), the conceived (representations of space) and the lived (representational space).

In some sense, park spaces may serve as an allegory of the ritual process, and thus may be considered as examples of these mythical, marginal, transitional or liminal spaces, in the city, deified by codification, worthiness, and usefulness. One leaves, is isolated, from urban society through entering the gates of the park where 'reality' is suspended in the 'special' space of the park, governed and maintained according to its own logic (the byelaws that enforce discipline). One is 're-created' and refreshed by access to the rarefied and purified air of contact with the beneficial aspects of nature before re-entering urban society. Recuperation and regeneration through the purificatory function of 'Nature' in the recreation of the individual fit, able and willing to return, to 'reaggregate', into the everyday life, tempo and responsibility of the 'normal' ordered, circulatory, regulated time and space of the city in modernity. The leisure time social interactions and activities that occur in the 'special', quasi-sacred space of the public parks are fundamental aspects of their production, design and management. Thus, a functional prerequisite of public parks as produced social spaces and their conception as heterotopias is their historical and social contingency. However, as a society unfolds, historically existing heterotopias can function in different ways. Thus, through time, a society can change an existing heterotopic function to an entirely different one.

In relation to parks as designed landscapes that model social relationships in society, their leisure and recreative function may be maintained within a disciplinary ethos but changing fashions and habits, as well as social norms and values, emphasise and prioritise some practices over others through time. As an effective didactic fantasy, the parks serve as both meticulously ordered representations of nature that inform and instruct us in knowing our place in society, the state or the universe. Heterotopias cannot be reduced to a single meaning. They are polyvalent, multivocal symbolic artefacts that mean different things to different people, at different times in that there is a capacity for the juxtaposition, in a single space, several representations of places that are in themselves incompatible. Foucault himself uses the contradictory site of the garden as an example of a social and cultural product

¹⁵⁰ M. Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Space*, Austin, Texas University Press, 1985, p. 123.

invested with symbolic content and sacred meaning:

The traditional site of the garden of the Persians was a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world, with a space still more sacred than the others that were like an umbilicus, the navel of the world at its centre ... The garden has been a sort of happy, universalising heterotopia since the beginnings of antiquity.¹⁵¹

Similarly, ornamental gardens accumulate, represent, display and arrange in the same place collections of plants from all areas of the world that could not exist without designed intervention. They are, as symbolic, aesthetic and botanical constructions, imbued with meanings that represent various intellectual, spiritual, political and social traditions that can be linked to slices of time as well as of space. That is, heterotopias are heterochronic sites in that the meaning of a place is an aggregate, an accumulation of past meanings in combination with contemporary associations. As Foucault puts it: "From a general standpoint, in a society like ours heterotopias and heterochronies are structured and distributed in a relatively complex fashion".¹⁵² They constitute a break with the continuity of time in that as spaces, they can accumulate time in a general archive in which epochs or forms are collected and displayed, for example, in libraries, art galleries, and museums. Parks and Botanical Gardens may also be said to have this heterochronic capacity through their collection and display of specimens, which represent the form, taste, fashion, etc. that is particular to a specific time. A prime example would be a rose garden that displays the myriad of changing variations on a theme, which recreates the 'ideal' of the rose through time. By contrast, a heterotopia may also be a site of the most fleeting and transitory experience of time. For example, the fair, carnival or Exhibition is associated with a specific place but is limited in duration. Its scope, however, encompasses and compresses a concentrated experience of time in space. The final characteristic feature of heterotopias is that they have a function and relationship to all of the remaining places in society. They inform and illuminate them, either by being an illusion that exposes other real spaces/sites of human activity as also illusions or as a space that is ordered, meticulous, perfect and thus exposes the messy, ill-made jumble of other spaces. That is, they may be viewed as compensatory in that the heterotopia is "... another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled." ¹⁵³

Space, like time, involves the consideration of the production and representation of social, cultural and symbolic meanings. Foucault's criteria for heterotopias provides a useful conceptual tool for understanding how the spatialisation of planning and design as dominant, hegemonic discourses and techniques, incorporates meanings and uses which give some

¹⁵¹ Foucault, 1984, op. cit. p. 26.

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 26.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 27.

spaces a mythic, sacred, special status. By incorporating concepts such as that of liminality, it is possible to view Foucault's categorisation of heterotopias as providing a useful analysis for investigating the form, function, role and experience of parks as 'special places'.¹⁵⁴ A differentiated form of Benjamin's 'dream-houses' of urban modernity presents the public parks, as extraordinary places, intrinsic to but somewhat isolated from the rest of the urban environment. They resonate with polyvalent symbolic significance that is, in part, derived from their ancient association with gardens as sacred enclosures. However, they are the product of a particular epoch and societal experience in which their role and function as specific social spaces implicates them in the discourses and techniques of disciplinary society. The parks provide an opportunity to define space and create symbolic landscapes as interpretations of nature that express ideological and utopian ideals whilst also serving disciplinary functions. Commenting on the historical applicability of Foucault's concept of heterotopias, Teyssot argues that:

Briefly and in the most schematic fashion; the re-planning of the city and the development of urban services in the 19th century followed a course that can scarcely be taken for granted by present-day research ... These 'practices' went to make up a 'democratic strategy, laid down the techniques of realisation and established the 'rules of the game', by which modern spaces have been structured.¹⁵⁵

Parks were represented in discourses and practices of power, as having physical and moral benefits to the city and its population and were an attempt to provide a forum in which to instil 'civilised' values to leisure time and recreations. However, they were also new public spaces where social and political conflicts could become manifest whether in collective and organised demonstrations or in the obvious social and economic divisions that were ever more obvious in the mixing of the classes during leisure time. Everyday activities, of both individuals and group, can conflict and contest the values, norms and meanings of lived space precisely because they are arenas of creative social and cultural interaction. What is deemed as appropriate activities within particular produced spaces, what these spaces mean to different people and groups at different times and how some come to represent ideals of culture and of society, is the result of processes of contestation, conflict and transgression. Everyday activities such as walking have the potential, as de Certeau argues, to undermine the authority of ordered and disciplined space. This dynamic relationship between space as a cultural and material product, between popular meanings and values and elite representations, and between everyday practices and intended uses, reinforces Lefebvre's

¹⁵⁴ Rotenberg's application of Foucault's concept of heterotopias to the Viennese parks is an interesting parallel with my own understanding. However he is working with a different order of spaces in that he also includes private gardens. Similarly, there are a number of Viennese parks that have their origins as private aristocratic estates before becoming public spaces that does not bear close resemblance with the Glasgow parks. In addition, the municipal contribution to public parks in Glasgow was much longer and more pronounced than appears to be the case in Vienna. P. Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna*, London, John Hopkins University Press, 1995.

¹⁵⁵ G. Teyssot, "Heterotopias and the History of Space", in B. Smart, (ed.), *Michel Foucault: Critical Assessments (2)*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 83.

assertion of the need to consider the lived, imaginative use of space as a fundamental element for knowledge of the role of space in modern capitalist society.

The distinction between what people actually do in the parks and their design and representation reflects the conflict between cultural and political elites, with their dominant ideological and hegemonic influence over the use of public spaces versus vernacular traditions and the popular cultures of the city's population. The permission and restriction given to certain political, leisure and recreational practices and social groups over others, made the public parks a potentially contested arena where normalising values were pursued through the disciplining, ordering and regulation of space against the exuberance of many popular practices and pursuits. As such, the parks came to represent an everyday arena where the production of space involves relations of power, materially inscribed on the landscape. A dynamic process in which conceptions, perceptions and experiences may conflict with differing values, meanings and uses. The form, structure and function of public parks were intimately related, not necessarily with production *per se*, as in 'work' or 'labour', but with the reproduction of the relations of production through the regeneration, that is the recreation, of the labour force by the healthy use of leisure time. As Lefebvre writes, "[t]he stress of 'modern life' makes amusements, distractions and relaxation a necessity..."¹⁵⁶ A point that is echoed by David Harvey when he states that "[t]he social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living."¹⁵⁷ Parks as spaces of leisure, pleasure and relaxation offer the potential for a respite from the stresses and strains of everyday city life, that is, from the myriad pressures of over-crowding, pollution and the functional perquisites of work-time. The need is for places in which the human being can be re-created, to be fit, able and willing to return to the serious business of work. Historical substantiation of such perspectives requires an investigation of the everyday uses to which the parks were put and the ongoing negotiation over the permission and prescription of popular leisure practices.

Lefebvre seeks to establish the basis on which an analysis of a distinction between the urban and the city could illuminate the relationship between forms of produced space and their contents. He uses the example of the contract to explore how many different contents may exist within a general judicial form demonstrating a common feature. All contents exhibit a socially constituted reciprocity within an established formal arrangement. Lefebvre presents a number of forms (logical form, mathematical form, form of language, form of exchange, contractual form, form of the practico-material object, written form, and urban form etc.) that he contends exhibit a double existence as both mental and social

¹⁵⁶ H. Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, London, Allen Lane, 1971, p. 53.

¹⁵⁷ D. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, p. 256.

constructions:

Form detaches itself from content, or rather, contents. Thus freed it emerges, pure and transparent: intelligible ... None the less, philosophy brings the theoretical elements to this knowledge ... There is no form without content. No content without form. What offers itself to analysis is always a *unity* of form and content. Analysis breaks this unity. It allows the purity of form to appear, and refer back to its content... Thus, form has a double 'existence'. It is and is not. It has a reality only in contents, and yet detaches itself from them. It has a mental and a social existence. Mentally the content is defined by a form quite close to logic: reciprocity. Socially, this form regulates countless situations and activities; it confers upon them structure, it maintains them and even valorises them, including, as form, an evaluation and involving a 'consensus'.¹⁵⁸

This formulation is, for Lefebvre, both significant and fundamental for the analysis of both urban socio-spatial organisation and its experience. Whilst the above passage is Lefebvre's, the language, concepts and theoretical approach bear a remarkable similarity to Georg Simmel's work and illustrates an infuriating tendency of Lefebvre, in that he seldom cites, quotes and references other sources, apart from his own. It is appropriate, then, at this point, to consider Georg Simmel's early contribution to the social theory of space in the context of his better known contributions to the investigation of the city and of modernity, and more specifically by noting how his treatment raises aspects and considerations, developed elsewhere by later, perhaps better known, theorists of space, that are particularly relevant to the subjective experience of specific forms of space. My purpose is not necessarily to dispute Soja's claim that, in the last decades of the 19th century, space was submerged in critical social theory by the rising dominance of historicism,¹⁵⁹ or that there is a need to reassess modernity in ways that do not diminish the temporality of the historical context, but marries it to social theory and a reinvigorated geography of social space.¹⁶⁰ Nor is it to confound the "... new orthodoxy which holds that sociologists 'have paid insufficient attention to spatial variations in social phenomena'".¹⁶¹ The intention here is to acknowledge the early sociological contribution made by Simmel on the importance of space in social relation and to propose that Simmel's 'aspects of space' provide insights that are important for the substantive investigation of parks as specific social spaces, where leisure, recreational, cultural and social activities and interactions are spatially contextualised. That is, they are constructed, delimited, structured forms of space that condition and shape social activities and *vice versa*. Simmel's analysis of space prefigures other work on the significance of space

¹⁵⁸ H. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 134, 135.

¹⁵⁹ "... historicism as an overdeveloped historical contextualisation of social life and social theory that actually submerges and peripheralises the geographical or spatial imagination ... identifies historicism with the creation of a critical silence, an implicit subordination of space to time that obscures geographical interpretations of the changeability of the social world and intrudes upon every level of theoretical discourse, from the most abstract ontological concepts of being to the most detailed explanations of empirical events." E.W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies – The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London, Verso, p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ "We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology". Ibid. p. 6.

¹⁶¹ P. Saunders, "Space, the City and Urban Sociology", in D. Gregory and J. Urry, (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London, Macmillan, 1985, p. 66.

for social relations but also, it will be argued, illuminates Lefebvre's triad of inter-linked concepts of the production of space. As such, the consideration of Simmel's 'Sociology of Space' is intended as an introduction, a bridge, between Lefebvre's conceptual abstract structure and the prismatic treatment of each of his elements through the perspectives of other theorists and the substantive investigation of the public parks of Glasgow that will follow.

2.5: Simmel's 'Sociology Of Space': An Introduction to Substantive Enquiry

The city, for Simmel as for Benjamin, was *the* 'site of modernity' and provided a rich source of material for investigating the everyday 'web of interactions' that for him constituted society. Simmel's concern was with establishing the object of sociology as the "... investigation of the forces, forms and development of sociation, of the co-operation, association and co-existence of individuals",¹⁶² and includes an early contribution to the social theory of space as a fundamental feature of the analysis of modernity. The investigation of apparently, mundane, everyday, interactions and the subjective experience of them was, a fundamental part of Simmel's approach to sociology and his conception(s) of society as a 'web of interactions.' As Frisby contends, "[p]robably unique among his sociological contemporaries, Simmel explored time and time again the world of everyday social interactions and their cultural manifestations."¹⁶³ Simmel's sociology of the city, stressing the consequences and effects for the individual of the rapid growth and intensification of modern city living, is rooted in his analytical perspective on the importance of everyday, however seemingly inconsequential, forms of 'sociation'. Again, as Frisby, states:

... [a]long with time, quantity and mass, all of which receive varied treatment by Simmel during various stages of his career, it is the study of space which constitutes one of the most extensive chapters of his major sociological work *Soziologie* ... The study of social space as a crucial dimension of social interaction and also of cultural formations constitutes one of those projects in which it can be said that Simmel, in many respects, was a pioneer.¹⁶⁴

Simmel's exploration of micro-sociological phenomena, forms of sociation, takes place within the everyday life and spaces of the city and involves a consideration of the spatial dimension of human interactions: their concentration, circulation and exchange, and, by extension, the need to escape from it.¹⁶⁵ In '*The Metropolis and Mental Life*' Simmel provided a social-psychological analysis of the consequences in modernity, of the increasingly transitory, fragmented and contingent experience of urban social relations, that

¹⁶² Simmel, in D. Frisby, *Simmel and Since*, London, Routledge, 1992, p. 12.

¹⁶³ D. Frisby, "Introduction to the Texts", in D. Frisby and M. Featherstone (eds.), 1997, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 8-9.

¹⁶⁵ See Simmel, "The Alpine Journey" and "The Adventure" in Frisby and Featherstone, 1997, op. cit. pp. 219-220, and pp. 221-232.

lead concomitantly to the creation of a self-preserving blasé, urban personality. Simmel's analysis appears remarkably similar to Lefebvre's understanding¹⁶⁶ of the consequences and experience of the modern metropolis.

The psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists in the intensification of nervous stimulation which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli ... With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundation of psychic life. The metropolis exacts from man as a discriminating creature a different amount of consciousness than does rural life. Here the rhythm of life and sensory mental imagery flows more slowly, more habitually, and more evenly. Precisely in this connection the sophisticated character of metropolitan psychic life becomes understandable - as over against small town life which rests more upon deeply felt and emotional relationships.¹⁶⁷

Simmel emphasised the speed, variety, quality and quantity of sensory and social experiences and interactions in urban life that marks a distinction between town and country. This experiential distinctiveness was recognised and reiterated by Raymond Williams' analysis of *The Country and the City* in which he writes, "[t]he exploitation of man and of nature, which takes place in the country, is realised and concentrated in the city".¹⁶⁸ Again as Frisby puts it;

The sphere of consumption and the circulation of individuals as customers or as commodities is also concentrated in the metropolis ... Not surprisingly, the impact of this reified world of the metropolis and the money economy upon individuals is all the greater because human subjects are themselves compelled to respond to their 'particularly abstract existence' only by attempting to distance themselves from it. Above all they must respond to the shock of 'the rapid and unbroken change in external and internal stimuli' that is experienced 'with every crossing of the street, with the speed and diversity of economic, professional, and social life', as 'the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions'.¹⁶⁹

The spatial dimension of existence is combined with the dynamic and creative potential of human interactions. Both carry meaning and significance for activities in space and for the characteristics of the form of space itself.¹⁷⁰ Space may therefore be understood as a 'necessary though not sufficient' condition of sociation. Thus in the interest of ascertaining the forms of sociation we must enquire into the significance that the spatial conditions of sociation possess sociologically for other factors in their expression and development. Whilst sociation 'fills in space'...

[t]he spatial embeddedness of social configurations should not be confused with the actual causes of social processes. And yet, while he shows how space is in some ways socially formed, he does not treat space as simply a social construct. It retains a reality

¹⁶⁶ See pg. 12, Lefebvre, 1996, op. cit. p. 138

¹⁶⁷ Simmel, "The Metropolis And Mental Life", in Frisby and Featherstone, (eds.), op. cit. 1997, p. 175.

¹⁶⁸ R. Williams, *The Country and the City*, London, Hogarth Press, 1973, p. 48.

¹⁶⁹ D. Frisby, "Simmel and Leisure", in C. Rojek, (ed.), *Leisure for Leisure*, London, Macmillan, 1989, p. 80.

¹⁷⁰ "Social life involves spending *time* with other people, and it involves crossing *space* to be in their company. Time and space are thus two central aspects by which 'nature' constrains social activity". J. Urry, "Nature and Society: The Organisation of Space", in R.J. Anderson, et al (eds.), *Classic Disputes in Sociology*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1987, pp. 215-6.

of its own. Simmel's overall position, then, lies somewhere between spatial determinism and social constructionism.¹⁷¹

The increased rhythm of life and 'the rapid and unbroken change in external and internal stimuli' that is the everyday experiences of life in the modern metropolis engenders the 'blasé personality' as a self-preservation mechanism. The spatial dimension of forms of sociation suggests there is also a need for spaces and places where the rapid circulatory system of the city operates at a slower tempo, allowing a temporary withdrawal from the pressure and strains of 'work' time. Thus, public parks may be conceived as distinctive urban spaces within the city, where the tempo of 'leisure' time is acknowledged as beneficially restrained. What follows is a brief examination of each of Simmel's aspects of space, those 'fundamental qualities' he identified, and their significance for the substantive analysis of the production, representation and use of the social space of Glasgow's public parks. The relevance of Simmel's 'aspects of space' for a substantive analysis of the public parks will be highlighted as will their relevance to Lefebvre's necessary 'elements' and the preceding illustrative theoretical analysis.

Simmel's Aspects Of Space

The first aspect is that of 'exclusivity'. For Simmel, every portion of space is unique. That is no two objects, states, municipalities, parks, etc. can occupy the same portion of space simultaneously.

This uniqueness of space communicates itself to objects, so long as they can be conceived of merely as occupying space, and this becomes particularly important in practice for those whose spatial significance we tend to emphasise and put to spatial use. This applies especially to land, which is the condition for fulfilling and fructifying the three-dimensional quality of space for our purposes. To the extent to which a social formation is amalgamated with or is, as it were, united with a specific extension of land, then it possesses a character of uniqueness or exclusivity that is not similarly attainable in other ways... The type of association among individuals which the state creates, or which creates it, is so much connected to the territory that the concept of a second state on the same territory cannot be sustained at all.¹⁷²

Therefore, sociological forms such as state, city, or municipality exist in an exclusive space that forms and is formed by the particular associations within its territory and which may preclude the existence of another form, within that space. Thus spatial exclusivity confers on some forms of association a unique and, potentially, dominant existence. As Lechner puts it, "...social configurations vary in the extent to which they require exclusive occupation of

¹⁷¹ J. Lechner, "Simmel on Social Space", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 8(3), 1991, p.196. As Simmel puts it: "Space always remains the actually ineffectual form, in whose modifications real energies are manifested, but only in the way that language expresses thought processes, which occur *in* words but not *through* words ... space in general is only an activity of the mind, only the human way of connecting sensory impulses that are unrelated in themselves into uniform interpretations." G. Simmel, "The Sociology of Space", in D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, 1997, op. cit. p. 137-8.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 138-9.

'their' space."¹⁷³ Dominant social associations may require for their continued existence the exclusive use of space, as a commodity, a public amenity, town, state, territory, domain, etc. The creation and maintenance of such material or ideological exclusiveness requires the creation and dissemination of dominant discourses that define the particular functions, roles, uses and practices to which it is put. This aspect thus relates both to Harvey's political economy of socio-spatial organisation and Foucault's analysis of the spatial embeddedness of disciplinary discourses that were considered previously as illustrating Lefebvre's first and second elements, that of the production and representation of space. The discourses involved in the production and the location of the parks within the urban complex requires substantive investigation to illuminate the relationship between both forms and contents of parks as social spaces.

The second of Simmel's aspects is concerned with boundaries of space.¹⁷⁴ The social construction of space acts by delimiting it and this structures the spatial relatedness of objects, features, social relations within it (its contents) and the human interactions that can be manifest there (forms of sociation). The boundary serves a dual purpose. It limits the potential and possibility of social formations under the aegis of some underlying principle, function, value etc. whilst at the same time it structures the inter-relatedness of its contents. The extent to which space can be framed or bounded is significant in that not only does it close that space off from an 'outside' giving it a more 'real' and concretised spatial character, it also constructs an inner cohesiveness that is subject to its own, localised regulations. The boundary in Simmel's analysis infers that space itself is not solely a physical or material fact, but instead a social construction that frames, relationships between individuals and between groups. There is then the realisation that there are inside and outside perspectives, understandings, and readings of space. The social construction of space sets real and potential limits on that space and its contents. The boundary acts to structure the spatial and social relations that can occur between objects and human actions. By delineating its form and spatial arrangement objects and actions can be ordered and regulated under the aegis of a plan or of functional prerequisites based upon some overarching value, principle or purpose which also structures the inner-relatedness of its contents.

The boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially. The idealist principle that space is our conception, or more precisely, that it comes into being through our synthetic activity with which we give form to sensory material, is specified here in such a way that the formation of space which we call the boundary is a sociological function.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Lechner, 1991, op. cit. p. 197.

¹⁷⁴ "A further quality of space, which has a fundamental effect on social interactions, lies in the fact that our practical use of space is divided into pieces which are considered units and are framed by boundaries - both as a cause and an effect of the division." Simmel, in Frisby & Featherstone, 1997, op. cit. p. 139.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 143.

Lechner demonstrates that the quality of space that Simmel conceived of as boundedness has ramifications for who, how, why, when and where space is delimited in an increasingly urban society, in which ownership and use of land as a relatively scarce commodity signifies the creation of a space economy.

Even more important from a social point of view is the partitioning of space, since boundaries contribute to the integration, or 'centripetality', of a society. Bounded space makes any social order more concrete and intensely experienced. But spatial ordering not only reinforces social order, it also lends greater clarity to conflictual relations. Partitioning thus influences relations within and across boundaries (which can be drawn more or less narrowly).¹⁷⁶

The partitioning of space prioritises and creates the potential for social hierarchies to be created and maintained by the spatial structuring of the landscape of the city. The spatial framework that an individual or a group occupies has consequences for order and for control in and of space that feeds back into the social relations and actions of groups. This reciprocal effect, a dominant theme in Simmel's sociology, of the social construction of space being a determining factor or condition for social interaction has important implications for movement, circulation and control in the city of modernity. As Simmel puts it, "... through the structuring of its surface, space often receives divisions which colour the relationships of the inhabitants to each other and to third parties in a unique fashion."¹⁷⁷ Simmel's consideration of boundedness as a fundamental quality of space is, it will be demonstrated, particularly relevant to the analysis of social spaces, such as parks. The parks were, at least until recently, almost always enclosed by railings, fences, and hedges that framed them in much the same way that Simmel considers the art object and society itself was framed. Within the confines of the parks specific rules and regulations (the byelaws) formalised and legitimised certain social relationships within them. Set apart from the rest of the city, they conform to their own aesthetic and social parameters. The writings of park designers clearly demonstrate their awareness of and attempt to create, by the use of landscape features and plantings, the impression of the parks as 'islands of nature', distinct and separate from the city. The consideration of liminality as a feature of park spaces was considered in detail with reference to Foucault's categorisations of heterotopias as neither fully opened nor fully closed, giving the impression of isolation/exclusion which has relevance for considering them as special, 'other', mythic or heterotopic spaces.

The subdivision of the spaces and areas within parks is also an important element in the consideration of boundaries. Parks are internally delimited and defined by boundaries and markers that specify their appropriate functions, roles, and value. The division and use of park spaces for a number of practices, which were sanctioned under certain conditions and

¹⁷⁶ See Lechner, 1991, op. cit. p. 197.

¹⁷⁷ Simmel, in Frisby and Featherstone, 1997, op. cit. p. 142.

times, has parallels therefore with Foucault's concept of 'disciplinary spaces'. Indeed, the public park itself may be conceived as similar to other 19th century disciplinary institutions such as the barrack, school, prison and factory in which monitoring, controlling and disciplining work and leisure time was planned through the organisation and regulation of space. Finally, the public parks and squares of the 19th century city provided the possibility for the emergence of crowds in novel, and potentially dangerous space. Simmel is conscious of the potential disorder that inheres in crowded spaces when he considered:

[t]he often emphasised character of an assembled crowd - its impulsiveness, its enthusiasm, its susceptibility to manipulation - is certainly connected to some degree with the fact that the crowd in the open, or at least in a very large space, compared with the spaces that its members normally occupy. The greater breathing space gives people a feeling of freedom of movement, of an ability to venture out into the unknown, of an indefinite ability to set broader goals - which would be decidedly more difficult to achieve in enclosed rooms ... The suggestive and stimulative effects of a great mass of people and their overall psychological manifestations. In whose form the individual no longer recognises his or her own contribution, increase in proportion to the crowdedness and, more significantly, the size of the space that the crowd occupies. A locality that offers the individual a breathing space of an unaccustomed size through a dense crowd, necessarily favours that feeling of an expansion extending into the unknown and that heightening of powers which is so easily instilled in large masses, and which occurs only occasionally among exceptional individuals in the narrow, easily surveyed confines of an ordinary room.¹⁷⁸

Simmel's socio-psychological conception of the collective 'mind' of the crowd, of the latent disorder that inheres in large crowds is married here to an appreciation of space as a factor in its potential for disorder, as with control and regulation. The public parks in Glasgow, particularly Glasgow Green, have long been used for a large number of political and social gatherings where the potential for disorder was well recognised by the police and civic authorities. This will be considered in a following chapter. The aspect of the boundedness of space contains elements that reflect Foucault's concern with the development of disciplinary discourses that sought to 'know' space in order to control what occurred within it. Boundedness also reflects the potential for conflict and contestation over the meaning, value and use of space. As de Certeau would have it, how everyday activities have the potential for re-appropriating space by undermining its ordered and prescribed regularity. In relation to the parks, conflicting notions of what they could and should be used for, when and by who is an important area for investigation.

Simmel's third significant aspect is the capacity for social forms to become fixed by space. For Simmel, "...whether a group or certain of its elements or essential objects of its interest are completely fixed or remain spatially indeterminate must obviously affect their structure".¹⁷⁹ The fixedness of objects and social relationships in space is an important and

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 145.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 146.

fundamental element of capital relations in that there are obvious repercussions for economic arrangements and relationships.

By making such unstable objects, that existed only in mere interactions between people, once more the object of economic interactions would have led to even more unstable and precarious conditions if all these rights and relationships had not had the distinctive feature of *being immovably fixed at the place where they were exercised*. This was the stabilising factor which gave so much solidity to their purely dynamic and relativistic nature that it was possible to group additional economic interactions around them. Their spatial determinacy was not like that of a substantive object, which one would always find at the same place, but akin to the abstract stability of a pivotal point, which keeps a system of elements in a specific distance, interaction and interdependence ... This fixed point in space becomes a pivotal point for the relationships and the cohesion of the faithful, so that communal, rather than isolated, religious forces are developed ... The significance of fixed spatiality as a pivotal point for social relationships emerges whenever the contract or union of otherwise independent elements can only occur at one particular place.¹⁸⁰

The relevance of parks as fixed spatial elements lies, not in themselves as commodities in the market of the space economy, but in the economic repercussions they have for surrounding land. The economic value of fixed parkland may be said to inhere in the value of surrounding properties rather than in itself as an exploitable resource with a high market value. As spatial elements that cannot move, or be sold, the land adjoining the parks, as real estate, has a higher value than that in more densely built areas. Open aspects and views of green space are as important, if not more so in the urban real estate market than mere location or proximity to parks as social amenities. They could, in Simmel's terms, act as 'pivots' for land speculation and economic relations by the organisation and location of objects in space. Simmel considers the fixity of space as a defining characteristic of social forms.

The typical contrast between forms of social dynamism is whether they merely signify a striving beyond that which exists socially and objectively, like the cycle of alternating pastures of pastoral peoples, or, on the other hand, whether they move around fixed points. Only in the latter case are they actually formed and only there do they gain a crystallisation point for the commencement of lasting values, even if these only exist in the persisting form of relations and movements.¹⁸¹

This fixedness quality of space reflects Harvey's concern with establishing a historical-geographical materialistic analysis of the political economy of space, and illustrates Lefebvre first element of the production of the socio-spatial organisation of urban capitalism. The parks may also be viewed as pivotal points for leisure, cultural and social activities. That is, they act as spatial 'nodes' for the social cohesion of urban populations by providing a fixed point around which communal, familial and individual social activities and interactions are

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 147.

¹⁸¹ "The typical contrast between forms of social dynamism is whether they merely signify a striving beyond that which exists socially and objectively, like the cycle of alternating pastures of pastoral peoples, or, on the other hand, whether they move around fixed points. Only in the latter case are they actually formed and only there do they gain a crystallisation point for the commencement of lasting values, even if these only exist in the persisting form of relations and movements". Ibid. p. 148.

arranged, allowed and accommodated. The parks may be said to have functioned as urban 'crystallisation points', around and through which, in the form of entertainment, cultural expression and education social, moral and aesthetic values were disseminated and, potentially transferred. Park space acts to stabilise interdependent interactions, e.g. work and leisure, and as communal meeting grounds in which disparate and potential conflict could be ameliorated through some abstracted ideal such as 'the common good', the city, nation or empire. The parks may well be viewed as places where collective ideals, values and aspirations, of the city and society, could be displayed, paraded and celebrated.

Simmel characteristically, returns to seemingly mundane, everyday interactions to postulate space as of fundamental significance both for sociology and for human actors. For Simmel,

"... the rendezvous as a specifically sociological form, whose spatial determinacy is characterised linguistically through the ambiguity of the word: it signifies both the encounter and its location ... Because it is more vivid to the sense, place generally exhibits a greater associative effect for recollection than time ... the place remains the focal point around which the remembrance weaves individuals into the web of interactions that have now become idealised."¹⁸²

The parks must be considered as one significant locale in which the rendezvous, traditionally of an amorous nature, (not to mention the site of that most popularised and secretive meeting of spies, informants, secret agents and 'dead-letter' drops), has occurred. In his presentation of the rendezvous, Simmel considers the spatial element to be of fundamental importance both to the event and to its survival as a sentimental memory. Indeed, Simmel argues that space rather than time is paramount in the memory. The nostalgic biography is written in the space and memory of those important, pleasurable or eventful encounters that have become invested with meaning. The space of the parks is replete with symbols and manifestations of memory through the statues, memorials and public art that records and immortalises past deeds and individuals. The park is a manifestation of socially constructed symbolic landscapes with the potential to be considered as examples of those 'mythic' spaces of modernity that Benjamin considered as collective 'dream houses.' Similarly, as Foucault's heterotopic space in which the creation of meaning and value is dependent on the interactive association between form and everyday activities.

Mobility in space is a related aspect to that of fixity. If an object, such as a museum, art gallery, recreation facility, etc., is immobile in space then social actors must have to travel to it to use it or access its resources. The parks are fixed in location therefore, social interactions must necessarily occur in, around and through it. Whether the park as social space is defined as a material artefact or cultural object, it exists (in and of itself) in an exclusive location that

¹⁸² Ibid. pp. 148,149.

requires mobility on the part of the population to access its potentiality as a site of interaction, framed and fixed for this purpose. Thus, there is a return to the figure of the 'wanderer', the aimless, idle stroller, whose interaction with 'nature' or with fellow park users is enhanced or mitigated by their mobility within the confines of the space of the park. It is, in Simmel's terms 'immovably fixed'; around which various elements - whether material, economic, social - are kept spatially segregated in interactive interdependence. Whether a material object is mobile or immobile offers the possibility for explaining how social and cultural activities and formations can be given stability by their permanent location in a physical world that contextualises these relations through their interdependent arrangement and structure.

The immobility of a material object relevant to action thus obliges agents to go to it if they wish to utilise it in achieving a goal. This means that certain social relationships must be ordered around immobile material objects. The spatially defined location of the immobile material object thus becomes a socially important pivot of human interactions. Such a pivot may be represented by a single building or a whole town, according to the observational scale used. At all events it is clear that this fixed spot in the physical world becomes a 'pivot for the relationship and the social context' for all agents integrating this immobile material object into their actions.¹⁸³

Thus, a spatial pivot, such as a park, may acquire real and symbolic contents and meanings, which acts as a unifying force for social cohesion in an increasingly competitive, fragmented and transitory existence. That is, they may in a secular sense, '...awaken a consciousness of belonging among members of the denomination whose religious consciousness has long lain dormant in their isolation'.¹⁸⁴ In other words, parks act as arenas or fora whereby national, civic, class or communal solidarities can be displayed, expressed or promulgated in public. This has obvious similarities with Benjamin's conceptualisation of 'dream houses of the collectivity'.

The final aspect of Simmel's sociology of space is that of spatial proximity and distance. Whether social interactions take place at a distance or in close proximity has a qualitative and perhaps quantitative aspect to them. If face-to-face interactions are limited because of the distance between actors, or actors and objects, spaces etc., then the quality as well as quantity of social relations may be affected. If particular spaces have an exclusivity in terms of them being demarcated as sanctioned places for certain social interactions, activities and formations to occur then proximity and distance is clearly a factor in accessing potential opportunities for interactions. Indeed, Lechner postulates that the potential exists for the operationalism of this aspect of Simmel's for the analysis of features and spaces within the landscape: "His [Simmel's] analysis could possibly be adapted to the relationship

¹⁸³ B. Werlen, *Society, Action and Space*, London, Routledge, 1993, p. 169.

¹⁸⁴ Simmel, in Frisby and Featherstone, 1997, op. cit. p.147.

of agents to immobile objects and artefacts relevant to action.”¹⁸⁵ Harvey’s analysis the location of objects, features and the socio-spatial organisation of the infrastructure of the city supports the assertion that proximity and distance are significant when considering access to and use of amenities as well as for the circulation costs of economic production. As regards Glasgow’s public parks network the proximity or distance aspect will be demonstrated as a significant argument used by the campaigns of medical and social reformers, to spread the potential benefits of parks and open spaces in the city to working-class populations. Distance from the original three municipal parks for the majority of working-class communities was cited as a problem of access to the perceived medical and moral benefits of fresh air and exercise, cultural and educational experiences.

Simmel, in keeping with his conception of society as reciprocal interaction, presents his five ‘aspects’ as a means for investigating the significance of space for social relations and forms of interaction. It provides important insights into the manner in which space shapes and is shaped by the forms of social interactions that occur within it. That is, social forms effect and are effected by the spatial conditions in which they occur and therefore many forms of sociation then can only be understood by a consideration of their spatial context. This is a dynamic symbiotic relationship between social construction and environmental, that is geographical, determinism, which has significance for subjective experience as well as the structural and spatial organisation of the city and specific spatial forms, such as the parks, within it. Simmel’s ‘aspects’ therefore suggest conceptual avenues for the development of the substantive analysis of the public parks as specific spatial forms within the metropolis. That is what social relations and interactions are moulded, shaped and given form by the quality and arrangements of parks spaces as delimited, and defined recreational spaces by the landscape designs, features, facilities, monuments and symbols of power that represent them as such. But this is not a one-way street. Space, particularly forms of public and social space such as parks, and their contents, accrue meaning, significance and value through the forms of interaction and experiences, the popular activities and habitual usage that occur in and through them. Simmel’s early contribution to the social theory of space characteristically emphasises the reciprocal interaction between key ‘aspects of space’ and social forms and the consequences this has for subjective experience. Simmel proposes and illustrates the importance of everyday interactions and experience of social life, which as Lechner puts it “... emphasises that in principle space is one of the most ‘concrete’ features of social life, one that helps to make social life ‘real’ in terms of human experience.”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Werlen, 1993, op. cit. p.170.

¹⁸⁶ Lechner, 1991, op. cit. p. 200.

2.6: Conclusion

This chapter has sought to expand and illustrate Lefebvre's conceptual framework by illustrating his 'necessary elements' in the production of space, through the work of other theoretical perspectives. That is, to ground Lefebvre's abstract approach through an analysis of more substantive examples of the application each of his elements. The complexities involved in understanding the reciprocal role, function and use of space in which and from social relations are formed, it is proposed, requires just such a syncretic and fluid analytical foundation. The analysis of public parks as particular forms of urban social space therefore similarly needs to address their production, representation and use in the context of their historical origins and development within the specificity of the city of Glasgow. What is suggested by the preceding analysis is a treatment of the investigation of the public parks that follows the structure presented in Lefebvre's thesis and developed in the illustrative investigation of each of his necessary elements of the production of space. The socio-spatial and geographical materialism of Harvey's analysis of space supplements Lefebvre's first element and suggested a number of typologies for the substantive investigation of the chronological, design and location of the origins and development of the parks network in the city. The representation of space as understood through Foucault's perception of the operation of knowledge and power presents a number of pertinent discursive discourses for the exploration and demonstration of public parks as regulated disciplinary spaces. Finally, the uses and practices of the social spaces of the public parks manifests the potential conflict and contestation through the everyday activities that may conflict and contest the dominant representations and configurations of and within such common-place urban spaces. Simmel's early contribution to the sociology of space contained aspects for understanding these features and details of the substantive analysis of public parks as inherently social spaces of interaction and social relations within the particularity of urban modernity. The need to address this particularity, each epoch produces its own spaces, in respect of the public parks system of Glasgow necessitates that the historical context for their development is considered. The following chapter will address the development of a public consciousness of the need for public parks and open spaces as one potential solution to the negative consequences of urbanisation and industrialisation as well as the specific conditions and experience of Glasgow that led to the development of a widespread commitment to providing such necessary urban spaces.

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC PARKS

A city is not built wholly for the sake of Shelter, but ought to be so contrived, that besides mere civil conveniences there may be handsome space left for squares, courses for chariots, Gardens, places to take the Air in, Swimming, and the like, both for Amusement and for Recreation. (L.B. Alberti, 1484)¹

3.1. Introduction

The preceding two chapters introduced and established a conceptual framework for the analysis of space. Lefebvre's theoretical triad of necessary elements, spatial practices or what I have termed production, representation and use, prioritised the assertion that the specific historical context of particular epochs was considered an essential condition for the characterisation of the production of space. The subsequent chapter expanded upon Lefebvre's framework through the illustrative analysis provided by Harvey, Foucault, Simmel, de Certeau, Simmel et al, and provided essential additional insights on space for the analysis of public parks as specific examples of urban social spaces. That is, urban public parks are products of particular historical processes in which dominant discourses represented the functionalisation of space as a fundamental aspect of the growth and expansion of modern urban society. Inherent in these analyses were conceptions and perceptions that represented understandings of the historical (spatial, demographic, economic, political, social, etc.) development of the city that had both negative and positive consequences for the experience of everyday life. It is necessary therefore to consider these historical factors in relation to the development of municipal public parks in Glasgow. This chapter then will introduce and describe two overlapping and inter-related elements that were crucial in this process of public park creation.

The first concerns the growing public consciousness that came to acknowledge the medical, moral, political and social consequences of the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation on the environment, and on the populations of cities and towns. Such knowledge sought to identify public parks as a means through which the deleterious effects of urban and industrial development could be assuaged or ameliorated. The investigations and publications of the public parks movement represents a campaign in which the identification of the need for and benefits of public parks represented a spirit of the age in which arguments, analyses and principles were established within the context of the growing dominance of urban and industrial society. This identifies and explores the origins and development of representations of the parks, indicative of Lefebvre's second element

¹ B. Whitaker and K. Brown, Parks for People, London, Seeley Service & Co., 1971, p. 6.

for the production of space, within discourses, as analysed by Foucault, that promote and perpetuate the perceived beneficial aspects of urban public parks development.

The second element to be addressed is the particular experience of Glasgow, in which its rapid expansion and development as a major industrial and commercial city in the 19th century was phenomenal, and made it fertile ground for the enthusiastic adoption of the ideas and arguments of the public parks movement. This then is the local context in which the consequences of such growth engendered a response that embraced both civil society and the local state. 'Municipal socialism' was a concerted and comprehensive commitment to local authority intervention in the city on behalf of the welfare of its citizens and to the public provision of a whole range of services and facilities. The development of a large number and variety of municipal public parks in Glasgow was part of this commitment. This historical contextualisation of Glasgow provides the necessary background for the analysis of the production of the parks within the socio-spatial growth and enlargement of the city and reflects the first of Lefebvre's elements, that of the production of forms and networks of space within particular historical epochs, as explored through Harvey's analysis of processes of urban capitalism and the role of the local state and civic society.

Both these factors, the particularity of the Glasgow experience and the development of a public debate and consciousness of the need for open spaces in cities and towns, combined to create a commitment to public park provision that was unmatched by any other city in Britain or Europe. No other city had as many and as large acreage of parks spaces per head of population than Glasgow. What will be addressed here is the interconnectedness between the development of a movement advocating the need and benefits of urban public parks and how the public parks in Glasgow were part of a concerted municipal response to the perceived and real consequences of the rapid growth of the city in the 19th century. A combination of local context and the beliefs and practices of 'the spirit' of the Victorian age were at the root of the evolving strategy of public park and open spaces provision in the city.

The economic, moral, medical and social motivations behind the comprehensive development of such a large network of parks in the city were informed by the arguments of the public park movement within the specific context of the 19th century experience of Glasgow. This intermingling of the local and the national, micro and macro processes, structures and activities is of significance in the production of public parks in the city. The chronology of park acquisition and creation, the designs employed in their construction, the spatial distribution of their development, the conception of appropriate uses and users, and the actual everyday practices that occurred within them illustrate salient factors and

pertinent discourses in the origins and development of a system of parks in Glasgow in respect of the city's expansion. These factors will be addressed in the subsequent substantive chapters on the production, representation and use of Glasgow's public parks. However, the historical context for this analysis will be provided below.

3.2: The Public Parks Movement

The disparate elements collectively known as the 'public park movement' were not an ordered body of individuals and organisations but rather an umbrella under which a public debate was created and informed from a variety of sources over time, concerning the need for public parks. These included landscape gardeners and designers, parliamentary reports, official enquiries and legislation, medical, moral and social reformers, as well as early pioneers of town planning. The role of the public park movement in the creation of Glasgow's municipal parks is difficult to establish with any certainty. However, the arguments proposed for the need for public parks has resonance with factors inherent in and identified by early social reformers that led to the development of the park network in Glasgow. It is thus important to recognise the influence of this movement as one that represented a developing public consciousness and critique of the causes, consequences and possible solutions to the emergence of, particularly industrial, urbanism in the 19th century. That is a concern that the city as the increasingly dominant locus of modernity had deleterious consequences for people and for society.

What follows is a brief description of important and influential voices from the public parks movement who were key proselytisers of the need for public parks and open spaces and who advocated the intervention of the state in their provision. A number of important and recurring themes will become evident in the following arguments, which were used to promote the cause of public parks. These include the medical, moral, social and economic benefits of public parks. These will be considered in their specific relationship to Glasgow's situation and experience. That is, whilst pleasure gardens, Royal Parks and public gardens were relatively commonplace and found in many British and European cities, this was not the case in Glasgow. In 1850 Glasgow had a single accessible open space, Glasgow Green, but developed, in less than a century, a network of public parks and open spaces for the recreation and enjoyment of all communities across the expanded space of the city. These parks were created, owned and maintained public spaces. Therefore what will be under discussion in relation to the public parks movement and Glasgow are those interconnected and accumulated arguments and opinions expressed in the public parks movement that specifically relate to municipal parks. This includes the distinction that needs to be asserted that municipal parks being publicly owned, maintained

and regulated are designed and organised for the 'public' to use. As Conway emphasises:

... the municipal park is a public park and its advantage over all other forms of public park is that complete control rests with the local authority and the unalienable right of public access for recreation is secured. The term implies that it was an achievement of the municipal corporation.²

They were not conceived of as private spaces to be accessed by a limited number of privileged individuals, as in private estates, gardens, squares, commercial pleasure gardens or 'institutional' botanic gardens. They had to encompass a variety of functions and uses that required sensitivity and reflexivity in their design, maintenance and regulation. As such, there is no consideration of the aesthetics of landscape design or the development of particular types and 'fashions' of layout, features and facilities except in terms of how they were applied, adopted and adapted to the municipal park. The meaning of a 'park' has had, therefore, a variety of interpretations and meanings, some of which changed over time whilst others have had a surprising longevity. These included, as will be shown below, the association of public parks as medical, moral, and political spaces, as having economic and socially beneficial attributes and functions. That is, the following analysis of the public parks movement will illuminate different dimensions of the understanding of public parks as complex multi-functional social spaces. What will be emphasised in the following analysis of the development of the public parks movement are those themes and perspectives that were promoted as justifications for the investment of public money in urban open spaces and therefore will relate both to the theoretical analysis of social spaces as well as the substantive analysis of the production, representation and use of Glasgow's public parks that will follow in later chapters.

(a) Early Voices

The origins of the 19th century public park movement as an active and public campaign advocating the need and desirability of public parks to be created at public expense is credited to John Claudius Loudon, (1783-1843), the Scottish born landscape gardener and architect and the most influential horticultural journalist of his time.³ Loudon moved to London in 1803, whereafter he published prodigiously on various aspects of gardening, horticulture and landscape design, amongst which is the first published appeal for public parks. Loudon was a friend of Jeremy Bentham and supported many utilitarian causes which sought to provide the 'greatest good for the greatest number'. Loudon's 'Gardenesque' style, advocated irregular, picturesque gardens that had the moralistic aim

² H. Conway, *The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 16.

³ "...it does appear that he was the first British author to advocate the creation of publicly owned recreational parks, and the first British designer to lay out places of this type. These actions earn him an honoured place in the history of the public parks movement". T.H.D. Turner, "John Claudius Loudon and the Inception of the Public Park", *Landscape Design*, 140, 1982, p. 35.

of combining instruction with pleasure. This pedagogic ideal in which the control of space was viewed as a crucial element in his concern with the health and well being of ordinary working people and how they could be 'improved' by the act of caring for and appreciating gardens, is clear from the following extract:

Convinced as we are that the only effectual and permanent mode of benefiting the lower classes of society is by raising their intellectual character; rendering every man, who has a wife and family, above absolute want, by a garden or piece of ground of at least a quarter of an acre attached to his cottage; and by preventing early marriages by a prohibitory law; we would earnestly recommend attention to what has incidentally dropped from us on these subjects, and in the articles on education, the labouring Population, the Cultivation of Waste Lands, Parish Gardens in our different towns.⁴

Loudon recognised that the burgeoning populations of the Britain's towns and cities coupled with the loss of common lands through enclosure necessitated the provision of public parks from public funds. In this he proposed that the perceived moral and medical benefit afforded by access to undeveloped land for recreational purposes would offset any potential loss from lack of their economic development. His recognition that the growth of towns and cities may need to be controlled and planned in a more ordered and regulated way was pioneering, as was his prototype idea for the development of 'green belts', his '*breathing zones*', around cities and towns.

Whenever a country town is likely to extend beyond a diameter of half a mile, we think a zone of breathing should be marked out as not to be built upon, for the sake of the health of the poorer part of the inhabitants. It is much to be regretted, we think, that in the numerous enclosure acts which have been passed during the last fifty years, provision was not made for a public green, playground, or garden, for every village in the parishes in which such enclosures took place. We hope the subject will be kept in view in further enclosure bills, and we hope, also, that the legislative may not think it unworthy of their attention to take into consideration the subject of breathing places, on some systematic plan, calculated for the benefit of all ranks in all parts of the British metropolis.⁵

Loudon distinguished between scientific gardens, pleasure gardens and private gardens and estates but also provided a definition of public walks as promenades or roads among trees "and such other verdant scenery as the situation may afford, heightened and made more interesting by art" and parks as relatively large enclosed spaces "varied by wood, water, rocks, building, and other objects".⁶ This distinction between public walks and public parks is still evident in contemporary descriptions of recreational open-air amenities afforded to urban populations that define canal banks and riversides as linear parks. Such walkways provided the opportunity to take exercise by strolling and to appreciate the views and life of the city whilst accessing aspects of 'nature'. This function

⁴ J.C. Loudon, *The Gardeners Magazine*, Vol. V, 1828, Introduction.

⁵ J.C. Loudon, *Hints For Breathing Places For The Metropolis, And For Country Towns And Villages, On Fixed Principles*, Vol. V. No.23, Article VIII, 1829, p. 689.

⁶ J.C. Loudon, "Remarks on the Laying Out of Public Gardens and Promenades", *Gardeners Magazine*, Vol. 2, 1835, p. 646.

was also provided by pathways and carriage-drives in the parks that were designed to encourage walking and the promenade, and the appreciation of strategically placed public art, statuary fountains and ponds, as well as the ornamental flower beds and specimen trees. However, the availability of larger spaces that is offered in Loudon's definition of a park as an enclosed space offered opportunities for recreation other than simply walking.

Loudon was not only a proselytiser for public parks, he was also responsible, under the patronage of the philanthropic industrialist, Joseph Strutt, for laying out the first public park in Britain, in Derby (1839-41). The Arboretum was specifically conceived for the recreation of the town's inhabitants and a place where trees and shrubs are cultivated for observation and study as well as for the pleasure of the public. Loudon was an early ardent proponent of the need for public parks in the increasingly industrialising and urbanising Britain of his time, and the arguments concerning their virtues and beneficial effect on the moral and physical health of the population were to become increasingly emphasised in later debates. Loudon thus began the debate for public parks through the public forum of his magazine but also in the creation of the designs and layouts for the first public park in Derby. However, it would be other voices than Loudon who would more forcefully argue for the need for a more interventionist approach on the part of the state in creating public parks, rather than relying on the benevolence of wealthy individuals.

The need for public parks was first officially recognised through the investigations and recommendations published in the *Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks*, 27 June 1833. The committee was chaired by Robert A Slaney MP, a well-known social reformer of his day who had previously campaigned on the woeful state of education of the poorer classes and their need for moral training. Slaney had published a treatise detailing proposals for ameliorating the consequences of rapid change in rural areas. This included the effect of the enclosure of commons and the need to provide alternatives such as public walks and gardens.⁷ Slaney's interest and influence is evident in the Select Committee Report that was an extremely important and significant development in the debate over public parks. It provided official recognition of the need to preserve or create open spaces, especially in or near industrial towns and cities, and it was an acknowledgement of the desire and need of the population for relatively purer air and places for exercise, leisure and recreation, and for places to socialise, all in a moral and harmonious manner. Although evidence was collected only from London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Manchester, Salford, Bolton, Wigan, Blackburn and Bury, the similarity of some of these towns and cities to Glasgow, in terms of the consequences of industrialisation and

⁷ R. A Slaney, *Essay on the Beneficial Direction of Rural Expenditure*, London, Longman, 1824, in which Chapter 12 was concerned with Public Walks and Gardens.

urbanisation, is analogous enough to serve as comparative evidence for the promotion of parks in Glasgow. The Report is unambiguous in its recognition of the need for 'Public Walks' and the consequences for the health, moral and physical, of the lack of such open spaces for the inhabitants of Britain's expanding industrial towns and cities.

Your Committee venture to state that whilst they consider Public Walks of the first consequence in the vicinity of Populous Towns think that some mode might be devised of reserving spaces fitted for affording places of Exercise and Recreation to the humbler classes, especially to the younger part of them. Whether this could be accomplished by a small payment for admission they will not determine; but they cannot but consider it important, and are fully persuaded if no such facility for regulated amusement be afforded, great mischief must arise ... Your Committee feel convinced that some Open Spaces reserved for the amusement (under due regulations to preserve order) of the humbler classes, would assist to wean them from low and debasing pleasures. Great complaint is made of drinking houses, dogfights, and boxing matches, yet, unless some opportunity for other recreations is afforded to workmen, they are driven to such pursuits. The spring to industry which occasional relaxation gives, seems quite as necessary to the poor as the rich: it is possible that if some such places were opened on payment of a small sum, that enough would be received to defray the expense, which either a company of individuals or the Public might lay out for such a purpose.⁸

The Report is unequivocal in its expression of the expected moral and physical benefits, particularly for the lower classes, that could be achieved by the provision of open spaces, specifically set aside for relaxation and recreation. The Committee were convinced that by providing public spaces that were well regulated they could combat some of the dangerous habits of the lower orders and provide the opportunity for the betterment, the 'civilisation' of both man and of society. This aspect of regulated spaces for recreation is a key theme in public park development by the local state.

It cannot be necessary to point out how requisite some Public Walks or Open Space in the neighbourhood of large Towns must be; to those who consider the occupation of the Working Classes who dwell there; confined as they are during the week-days as Mechanics and Manufacturers, and often shut up in heated Factories: it must be evident that it is of the first importance to their health on their day of rest to enjoy the fresh air, and to be able (exempt from the dust and dirt of the public thoroughfares) to walk out in decent comfort with their families: if deprived of any such resource, it is probable that their only escape from the narrow courts and alleys (in which so many of the humble classes reside) will be those drinking shops, where, in the short-lived excitement they may forget their toil, but where they waste the means of their families, and too often destroy their health. Neither would your Committee forget to notice the advantages which the Public Walks (properly regulated and open to the middle and humbler classes) give to the improvement in the cleanliness, neatness and personal appearance of those who frequent them. A man walking out with his family among his neighbours of different ranks, will naturally be desirous to be properly clothed, and that his Wife and Children should be so also; but this desire duly directed and controlled, is found by experience to be of the most powerful effect in promoting Civilisation, and exciting Industry; and your Committee venture to remark that it is confined to no age, or station, or sex; few persons can fail to have remarked the difference usually observant in the general character and conduct of those among the Working Classes who are careful of personal neatness, as contrasted with the habits of others who are negligent or indifferent on this point. It is by inducement alone that active, persevering and willing industry is

⁸ Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks, 27 June 1833, p. 8.

promoted; and what inducement can be more powerful to any one than the desire of improving the condition and comfort of his Family.⁹

What is unmistakably evident from the Select Committee Report is the emergence of an authoritative, official voice in support of the moral and medical arguments for 'natural' public spaces and the contribution they can make in the civilising of a society, struggling to come to terms with the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation. This development of the idea of the functionalisation of space is inherent in descriptions of the city by many 19th century social and religious reformers in which the disciplining of the body, the mind and the spirit through the organisation and rationalisation of the space of city and the activities that occur within them is a crucial element of their diagnosis of social and medical problems and of their solutions.¹⁰ These aspects will be considered in detail in the following substantive chapters on the production, representation and use of Glasgow's public parks. The Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks is an important contribution to the debate on the need for open spaces in Britain's towns and cities, as well as a criticism of their woeful provision. It is also significant for proposing solutions as to how more public spaces could be achieved. The recognition that public parks may have to be provided at public expense is a critical factor in the subsequent development of municipal public parks in Glasgow as elsewhere.

A certain fund (however obtained) in many cases may be necessary and it must either arise from Public Grant, or from Voluntary Subscription, or by a low Rate, in some cases these may all be combined ... When no Subscription or Donation can be raised, it seems the duty of the Government to assist in providing for the Health of the People by whose efforts they are supported. From the Evidence adduced, however it seems probable that, in many instances, the liberality of individuals, if properly assisted, would furnish all that is necessary when their attention is directed to the importance of the subject.¹¹

The concern to establish public parks at public expense for the expressed aim of their beneficial effects on all sections of the population was a theme that was vigorously promoted by landscape designers as well as social reformers in the decades after the publication of the 1833 Committee's report. Whilst the development of municipal parks was still an unrealised dream, the consequences of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation on the quality of life of the poorer sections of the population of towns and cities was investigated and detailed in further official investigations. In the section entitled "Effects of Public Walks and Gardens on the Health and Morals of the Lower Classes of the

⁹ Ibid. p. 9.

¹⁰ "During the 1840s, while the pioneering parks were being developed, the sanitary reformers were making systematic reports of urban conditions... These reports, which formed part of many official investigations, indicated that the higher the population density, the higher the mortality rates. Clean water, adequate sewage disposal and fresh air to ventilate the crowded cities were prime essentials. Parks had a role to play as lungs, in the provision of fresh air, for it was thought that 'noxious vapours' were one source of disease and it was important for air to circulate." Conway, 1991, op. cit. p. 53.

¹¹ Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks, 27 June 1833, p. 10.

Population” in the famous 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, Edwin Chadwick collected evidence from a number of sources including the committee of physicians and surgeons of Birmingham who stated: “The want of some place of recreation for the mechanic is an evil which places very heavily upon these people, and to which many of their bad habits may be traced”.¹² Similar to Slaney’s earlier Report, Chadwick commented on the lack of spaces for outdoor recreation and relaxation and the moral consequences this had, through the lack of healthy choices upon the lives of the working classes of the industrial towns and cities. For example, describing Manchester, he stated:

There are no public walks or places of recreation by which the thousands of labourers or families can relieve the tedium of their monotonous employment. Pent up in a close, dusty atmosphere from half-past five or six o’clock in the morning till seven or eight o’clock at night, from week to week, without change, without intermission, it is not to be wondered at that they fly to the spirit and beer-shops, and the dancing-houses, on the Saturday nights to seek those, to them, pleasures and comforts which their own destitute and comfortless homes, deny.¹³

These social reformers and early advocates of public parks clearly identified the working classes as most in need of the beneficial effects of public parks and open spaces in the increasingly dominant urban landscape of the first half of the 19th century. Not only were the working classes at risk from the effects of pollution, over-crowding, insanitary conditions and exploitation in the factories and mills, but their recreations were also perceived as physically, socially and morally deleterious, if not downright reprehensible. Thus, public parks were identified as a possible means through which healthy, moral and physical pursuits could be introduced to and adopted by the working classes and thus provide an alternative, a ‘cure’ for their bad and dangerous habits. They were also viewed by some as providing the possibility of diffusing class tensions by the beneficial effect of class mixing which would imbibe the working classes with the middle-class virtues of thrift, industriousness, docility, and moral propriety. The parks would thus serve as a spatial system in and through which the ‘protestant ethic’ could be introduced through the ‘positive’ and beneficial effects of ‘rational recreation’ and moral pursuits that were to be provided in the public parks. There is then a sense that what was being developed in the ideas surrounding these early reports was an element of environmental determinism, linked to understandings of what was required in the new cities and towns of increasingly urban Britain. The role of public parks as ‘lungs’ was increasingly emphasised in articles and speeches by campaigners. For example, in an article entitled *The Lungs of London* published in Blackwoods Magazine this function was considered essential: “The prime

¹² E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, (1842), 1965, p. 335.

¹³ Ibid p. 336.

essentials to human existence in crowded cities are pure water, pure air, through drainage and thorough ventilation".¹⁴ Similarly, by 1841 it was considered that public opinion "... is gradually awakening to a sense of the importance of open spaces for air and exercise, as a necessary sanitary provision, for the habitants of all large towns".¹⁵ This social, medical, moral benefit of public park provision will be considered in detail below but what must be emphasised is that from the mid-century the acceptance of the desirability of public park provision was increasingly accepted by national and local government.

(b) Pioneering the Municipal Public Park

The first public parks to be developed with the involvement of the community were in Manchester and the neighbouring town of Salford. Mark Philips, a local businessman and MP was the driving force behind the development of the Manchester Parks. He had given evidence concerning the need for open spaces to the Select Committee on Public Walks in 1833, and was largely responsible for organising a series of public meetings in 1843 and 1844 to promote the cause of public parks in Manchester at which the increasingly familiar emphasis on the need and benefits of public parks was expressed: They "... would contribute greatly to the health, rational enjoyment, kindly intercourse, and good morals of all classes of our industrious population".¹⁶ At another meeting held in the Free Trade Hall attended by 5,000 working people, the address that was later adopted as a manifesto again emphasised the advantages that parks would have on the health and well-being of the poor. In a remarkable analogy comparing the body to a machine, fresh air is given the lubricating attributes of oil:

... it prevents the friction and corrosion of parts [and] removes impurities from the blood ... Bad air fills the body with impurities, and impedes its proper action; just as bad oil clogs and hinders the progress of machinery ... A greater amount of vegetation, open spaces for ventilation, active recreation and exercise, so as to oblige us to breathe the greatest amount of oxygen to purify the blood ... The advantages of open public walks would to the operative be very great. What a delightful scene for contemplation is the group of the husband with his life's partner leaning on his arm, and his children prattling around, and asking strange questions about every novel object! But the pleasure of such a scene is much deteriorated, when combined with a dusty turnpike road, instead of the fresh and blooming pasture or meadow ground, the poetry of nature is destroyed, when the view is bounded by a dead wall instead of the richly clothed woodland, the cloud crowned hills of the blue horizon. Parks must be established, life preserved, health confirmed or restored, intellect cultivated and morals improved, and working men and women must each cast their mites and work heartily in the cause.¹⁷

Land for the parks in Manchester was acquired in 1845 and Philips Park and Queens Park

¹⁴ "The Lungs of London", *Blackwoods Magazine*, Vol. 46 August 1839, pp. 213-4, in Conway, 1991, op cit. p. 55.

¹⁵ "Parks and Pleasure Grounds", *The Westminster Review*, January 1841, p. 418 in Conway, 1991, op. cit. p. 55.

¹⁶ "Report of the Proceedings of a Public Meeting, Manchester, 18432", in Conway, 1991, p. 50.

¹⁷ "An Address to the Working Classes of Manchester and Salford, adopted at a meeting of the Operatives of Both Towns" Sept. 10 1844 cited in G. F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town. Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, London, The Architectural Press, 1966, p. 98 and Conway, 1991, op. cit. p. 51.

in Manchester and Peel Park in Salford were officially opened to the public in 1846. The idea of the public park was at this time almost synonymous with that of the public walk where promenading was considered the primary if not sole activity that was provided for. Joshua Major, a well-known landscape designer, was employed to design the parks in Manchester, where he introduced a revolutionary idea, which would eventually become adopted as a standard in municipal park provision in Glasgow only by the end of the century. This was that facilities for games, sports and playgrounds should be provided where possible in public parks. Major describes how this was approached in laying out the Manchester parks:

In order, therefore, to make the most of the ground we had to operate upon, we designed the pleasure ground as near as practicable to the skirts of the plot, and then took advantage of every nook or recess which was to spare for the different playgrounds, - for archery, quoit alley, skittle ground, bowling green, climbing poles, gymnasium, marbles, see-saws etc. for males; and see-saws, balls, skipping rope, the Graces etc. for females. A general playground was formed in the centre of the whole plot, of about 12 or 15 acres, for cricket, knor and spell, leaping poles, football, and foot races, etc., and also for the additional purpose of large public meetings.¹⁸

No discussion of the movement for public parks would be complete without mention of Sir Joseph Paxton. Paxton is now best remembered for the Crystal Palace in London but he was a significant landscape architect who made a major contribution to the design of parks in many cities and towns throughout Britain.¹⁹ The first park Paxton designed was Prince's Park in Liverpool, which he laid out for Richard Vaughan Yates in 1842. However, Paxton's Birkenhead Park is notable not only for the designs he employed, for which he was paid a fee of £800, but also it was the first time that land for a public park was acquired by an Act of Parliament. Paxton's Birkenhead Park was also pioneering in the consideration given to the economics of park production. Initially 185 acres of land were purchased in 1844 from the Birkenhead estate of a Mr B. E. Price. 125 acres were set aside for the park with the remaining 60 acres being used to build houses around the outskirts of the park; the money raised for the sale of these houses was to be used to recoup the costs of land purchase and park construction. In his later designs for parks at Birkenhead, Dundee, Dunfermline, Liverpool, Halifax and London, as well as for Kelvingrove and Queens Parks in Glasgow, the use of part of the acquired lands for housing development to offset the costs of acquiring and laying out the parks was incorporated within the economic arguments that were used to promote municipal involvement in park development. As will be shown later, this economic argument was applied in the production of public parks in Glasgow. The attractiveness of property

¹⁸ J. Major, *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1852, in Chadwick, 1966, op. cit. p. 99.

¹⁹ "Paxton could almost be said to have had the monopoly of laying out urban and municipal parks". Conway, 1991, op. cit. p. 85.

overlooking a preserved or created open space such as a public park is recognition of the aesthetics of capitalism where land values and prices are, at least in part, determined by some value placed on their location. The value of domestic properties surrounding parks is enhanced by the aesthetic appeal of the vista provided by the image of a green and pleasant land, albeit in a bourgeois vision of nature, in the heart of the city. Thus the hegemonic internalisation of bourgeois values associated with park landscapes is combined with economic interests in the desire to enhance or maintain property values. Birkenhead Park was officially opened on the 5th April 1847 by Lord Morpeth, and was an immediate success and attracted over 10,000 visitors on its first day.

The growth and achievements of the public park movement in the 1840s and 1850s was the result of this public commitment and recognition of the need for public parks that increasingly acknowledged the concern with recreation, particularly of the urban working classes. As a result of changes to the length of the working day introduced in the Ten Hour Act of 1847 and the growing influence of the Saturday Half-Holiday Movement, increased opportunities for recreation brought with it alarm concerning the popular practices and perceived immoral pleasures that would be engaged in during the increased hours available. Thus, the public parks increasingly became the target of the social and religious reformers such as the Temperance Movement, Sabbatarians and reformers concerned with rational recreation. Paxton, addressing the Annual Soiree of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institution in 1855 makes clear his commitment to the idea of the public park as places of rational recreation, where education and instruction was to be combined with play:

I hope to see in all these large towns places of instruction and amusement combined. I hope to see a handsome park sufficiently large to contain mechanics' institute, and music hall, and schools of art, where young men may receive instruction, and places of recreation and amusement, where children and girls and women may congregate and be both instructed and amused. I believe it would tend much to the advancement of our social condition to have all these advantages brought into focus.²⁰

The recreational value of public parks was also promoted by Charles H.J. Smith, Fellow of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, member of the Caledon Horticultural Society, Highland and Agricultural Society and Edinburgh Botanical Society. Smith was an influential author and landscape designer who eloquently presented the case for public parks that have previously been made but his work reads as a manifesto and check list of features and facilities that were later to be incorporated in the production of Glasgow's public parks.

Public parks are large enclosed pieces of ground in the vicinity of cities or towns, partly covered with trees and shrubs, partly consisting of pastures, lawns, and pleasure-grounds, with their usual decorations, and provided with other means and appliances for the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants. We adopt the common title *Public Park*, though some recent examples seem to partake as much of the character of the

²⁰ J. Paxton, "Address to the Annual Soiree of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institution in 1855", in Chadwick, 1966, op. cit. p. 80.

pleasure ground as of the park. Their utility and importance in social and sanitary points of view are only beginning to be adequately appreciated.²¹

Smith made clear his belief in the universal benefits to be had by access to and use of public parks by all sections of the population:

.... in the public park, the pale mechanic and the exhausted factory operative might inhale the freshening breeze and some portion of recovered health; the busy shopkeeper and the more speculative merchant might enjoy relaxation and bracing exercise in temporary seclusion from their toils and cares; and that the family troop, the children with their nurses, or the sportive juveniles in the company of their staid seniors might take their walk or spend their play-time apart from the bustle of the streets, and secure from the accidents to which, in crowded thoroughfares, they are necessarily exposed. Without doubt it is also good for the mental health of those who are habituated to the wear and tear of the busy haunts of men to be brought face to face with the tranquillising as well as the suggestive works of God in the world of nature ... Looking to the metropolitan parks of the United Kingdom, we find all classes of the community, the day-tasked official, the night-worn senator, the slaves of business, and the votaries of fashion, even royalty itself, all availing themselves of the air and exercise, and scenes of gaiety and opportunities of social intercourse and enjoyment which these much frequented places afford. Nor is it to be overlooked that the public parks, and even the smaller streets, are fitted, if skilfully distributed, to lessen the condensation of our large cities, to extend their crowding buildings over a wider surface, to rarefy the thick, black clouds of smoke which rise from them, and so increase their light, and to provide a larger supply of salubrious air for all the inhabitants. In short, they are, as it were, the lungs of the cities and towns: and as such they are breathing places to thousands who may never wander from the streets within their actual precincts.²²

Smith's promotion of the cause of public parks also led him to consider the economics of parks provision, and how the costs could or should be met, that reiterates the arguments expressed above in relation to Paxton's parks at Birkenhead and elsewhere:

Certainly it would be no misappropriation of the public funds were a commission authorised to purchase, in the suburbs of many large towns, land sufficient for the formation of a park; thus doing what might be within the power of the local corporations: and putting sanitary considerations out of the question, we do not believe that, in most cases, the concern would be a losing one, for the ground rents of the houses contiguous to the park would be higher, and the sites would be more readily occupied by the wealthy citizens than elsewhere in the neighbourhood.²³

Smith was also aware that the parks that had been provided at the time of his writing had shortcomings in terms of their suitability for those, who had most need of them, that is, the poorer sections of society. The following statement puts forward the case for smaller, local parks, nearer to the homes of those who had most need of them. J.B. Russell, Glasgow's Medical Officer of Health from 1872-1899, made the same criticism of the lack of accessible and suitably furnished local parks for the working classes of the Glasgow that will be addressed in the following substantive analysis of Glasgow's public parks network. Similarly, Smith was well aware of the need to incorporate within parks not only a

²¹ Charles H.J. Smith, Parks and Pleasure Grounds or Practical Notes on Country Residences, Villas, Public Parks and Gardens, London, Reeve and Company, 1852, p. 155.

²² Ibid. p. 156-7.

²³ Ibid. p. 159.

landscaped garden for passive enjoyment, but also facilities for active recreation.

If instead of enlarging the parks to the extent of 150 to 270 acres, and placing them at considerable distances, they had confined them to 80 or 100 acres at one-half the distance, and had multiplied them proportionally, they would have easily procured a sufficient quantity of ground nearer and more accessible to all classes of the inhabitants ... Separate gymnasiums should be constructed for the youth of both sexes (it is always well to give loiterers something to do), and bowling greens should be formed for persons of more advanced years.²⁴

Smith's contribution is important in the development of a conception of what a public park should be and what its purpose and function was. Smith cites the recurring themes of the medical, social, economic, cultural and moral benefits of publicly provided and maintained parks. That many of his suggestions were employed in Glasgow's parks can be ascertained by considering the facilities and designs that came to be commonplace and accepted as necessary for the active and passive recreation of all sections of the city's population. Smith puts forward a vision for public parks whose suggestions were, it appears, eventually, however gradually, adopted by park designers.

Throughout the remainder of the 19th century there would be unflattering comparisons made between the provision of public parks and open spaces in British cities and those on the Continent. In particular, the sweeping redevelopment of Paris undertaken by Baron Haussmann for Napoleon III included a number of parks and boulevards. Jean-Claude Adolphe Alphand, a French engineer and landscape architect, was invited to join Haussmann in 1853 and contributed to the development of The Bois de Boulogne, the Parc Monceau, the Buttes-Chaumont and the Parc Montsouris. Alphand was advised by a young landscape architect, Edouard Andre, who subsequently introduced Parisian principles of park design to Britain in the last quarter of the century, in particular that of Sefton Park in Liverpool in 1872. W. Robinson, in 1869, contrasted the layout of the 'new' Paris under Haussman's scheme with what he considered the inadequacies of Britain's cities. Paris with its new boulevards, gardens, parks and tree lined streets afforded, according to Robinson, a more efficacious solution to the problems beset by large cities of his time. He was categorical of the need to provide access to open spaces on a parallel with what had been achieved in Paris.

There is no need to expatiate on the necessity of a thoroughly good system of public gardening in the great cities of the wealthy and civilised race; nor to describe the want of it in our own case - this is painted but too plainly on the faces of thousands in our densely-packed cities, in which the active brain and heart of the country are continually being concentrated.²⁵

Robinson was critical of the provision and design of parks, particularly concerning access

²⁴ Ibid. pp. 159, 162.

²⁵ W. Robinson, *The Parks, Promenades And Gardens Of Paris. Described And Considered In Relation To The Wants Of Our Own Cities*. London, John Murray, 1869, pp. xvii - xviii.

for the working classes who had most need of the benefits of fresh air, and displayed the faith of the Victorian reformer in the application of rational solutions to society's problems.

Parks we have, it is true; yet they but partially supply the necessities of large cities. They would serve all our wants if the population breathed only as often as they put on holiday attire or have time to walk, it may be several miles, to a park; ... There is no human want or wrong that cannot be remedied by human wisdom and energy; and the most crying evil of this period of change, when the mass of workers are steadily deserting the country for the city, is that our towns are still built upon a plan worthy of the dark ages, and barely justifiable where the breath of the meadow sweeps thorough the high street.²⁶

Robinson's characterisation of Paris as at the forefront of developing a planned cityscape as a solution to the problems facing all rapidly expanding cities and towns, that of the need to create an environment which would improve the health and well-being, and perhaps more importantly the good order, of all sections of its population, is perhaps a romantic and charitable interpretation. In comparing Paris with Britain, Robinson was holding a mirror up to Victorian society in an attempt to promote what he considered the necessary development of a system of parks and open spaces that would breathe new life and vigour into British cities. He sought to combine a claim to the universal right of all to fresh air with the social reformer's call to alleviate the suffering of the poorest in society in the name of efficiency and civilisation. As such his plea was for the commitment of the political classes to provide the means by which the cities and towns could be redesigned to suit the needs and requirements of a modern, civilised society. There is, in Robinson's promotion of Haussmann's Paris as the city of modernity, an explicit call for the development of some form of town and city planning, which could create the necessary environmental conditions for the continuing success of British civilisation.

To hope to attack the mass of disease and dirt that exists, without first giving men an opportunity of enjoying pure air and light, is in vain. These are the cheapest as well as the greatest of blessings; they are naturally the property of all; but civilised man completely annuls them by his muddling and stupid arrangements of our cities. To make them once more the property of all should be the aim of everybody who wishes well to his country. It should be one of the first and most important 'questions for a reformed parliament'. For what is the use of all our present efforts towards ameliorating the conditions of the masses in our cities, if health and all its consequences be impossible in them. Of none indeed, except it be in perpetuating much of the misery and squalidness that occur amongst us by ministering to them.²⁷

As well as influencing decision-makers at local and national level the arguments of the public parks movement also had an international dimension. Frederick Law Olmsted travelled extensively in Britain and visited Paxton's park at Birkenhead and was so enthused by what he saw that, on his return to America, he promoted the idea of a park for

²⁶ Ibid. pp. xviii-iv.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 117.

New York.²⁸ He eventually became the chief architect for Central Park in 1858, and later went on to advise and inspire the creation of other parks throughout the US. Olmsted promoted the benefits of public parks in a way identical to those in Britain. He was concerned with establishing a park in New York that would be as good as any in Europe, and which would provide the same benefits to the city and its population. The following statement emphasises the beneficial effect of nature on the quality of the urban atmosphere and its concomitant invaluable contribution to the physical and mental condition of the urban resident that is reminiscent of the arguments of the public parks movement in Britain:

... air is disinfected by sunlight and foliage. Foliage also acts mechanically to purify the air by screening it. Opportunity and inducement to escape at frequent intervals from the confined and vitiated air of the commercial quarter, and to supply the lungs with air screened and purified by trees, and recently acted upon by sunlight, together with opportunity and inducement to escape from conditions requiring vigilance, wariness, and activity toward other men if these could be supplied economically, our problem would be solved.²⁹

Olmsted was concerned that parks should be designed to provide a place in which the people could partake of the benefits of exercise, relaxation and recreation that again mirrors those in Britain advocating the same cause. He was however aware of the need to make the park accessible, in terms of design as well as location for all sections of the population and wanted nothing to stand in the way of the people making full use of parks as a resource for their cultural, social and physical betterment.

We should undertake nothing in a park which involves the treating of the public as prisoners or wild beasts. A great object of all that is done in a park, of all the art of the park, is to influence the mind of men through their imagination, and the influence of iron hurdles can never be good.³⁰

Olmsted also reflected the concerns of many municipal authorities for the prestige and status of the city. The park could have economic benefits by promoting a popular image of the city as a good place in which to live and do business. The park was thus, for Olmsted, a most important element in assuring the commercial success of towns and cities. Civic pride and status could be made manifest through the design and embellishment of parks as public spaces that reflected the 'positive' values of civic leadership. The words of Olmsted below emphasises public parks as important tourist attractions for cities, and is another feature which has a resonance with the image and promotion of Glasgow both in the present day

²⁸ R., Rosenzweig, and E. Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*, Cornell University Press, 1998, gives an excellent account of Olmsted's role and contribution to the development of Central Park. It also details the conflicts over the creation of a public park that arose in relation to its potential use and misuse by the population as well as the benefits that Olmsted foresaw for the people and the city of New York. In this there is a distinct correlation in the hegemonic representations and disciplinary discourses provided earlier in that the production, representation and uses of space is reflected in the argument and justifications given by park planners, designers, social religious reformers concerning the necessity for 'natural' public spaces such as parks in cities and large towns.

²⁹ F. L. Olmsted, *City Parks and the Enlargement of Towns* (Read before the American Social Science Association at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Feb 25, 1870) reprinted New York, Arno Press & The New York Times, 1970, p. 15.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 24.

and in the past.³¹

The Park, moreover, has had a very marked effect in making the city attractive to visitors, and in thus increasing its trade, and causing many who have made fortunes elsewhere to take up their residence and become tax-payers in it - a much greater effect in this way, beyond all question, than all the colleges, schools, libraries, museums, and art galleries which the city possesses. It has also induced many foreigners who have grown rich in the country, and who would otherwise have gone to Europe to enjoy their wealth to settle permanently in the city.³²

Olmsted sought to demonstrate, through the example of Central Park, that not only was public disorder a problem that could be easily managed and controlled, but that the public's access to the park had a truly beneficial and civilising influence on all sections of the population, but, particularly those from the lower classes, who could be invested with virtues which were of benefit to all of society as well as to themselves as individuals.

Here we touch a fact of more value to social science than any other in the history of the Park; but to fully set it before you would take an evening by itself. The difficulty of preventing ruffianism and disorder in a park to be frequented indiscriminately by such a population as that of New York, was from the first regarded as the greatest of all those which the commission had to meet, and the means of overcoming it cost more study than all other things ... No one who has closely observed the conduct of the people who visit the Park, can doubt that it exercises a distinctly harmonising and refining influence upon the most unfortunate and most lawless classes of the city - an influence favourable to courtesy, self-control and temperance.³³

The common themes and arguments propounded by the various figures considered so far stress the benefits arising from park development - medical, moral, environmental, economic, aesthetic, and cultural. The influence of social reformers and landscape designers in constructing and promoting a public debate concerning the necessity for public parks in the industrial towns and cities stressed the benefits that would arise for the most needy section of the industrial urban population, the working classes. The emphasis given to the opportunity provided by regulated open spaces in improving the 'culture' of working class recreations emphasised the educative and 'civilising' influence of parks, particularly when they were associated with cultural events and institutions such as music and art galleries and museums. The 'rough' element was to be smoothed out of the working class by providing them with the opportunity to mix with their social superiors and be influenced by their social practices and habits. Similarly, the provision for games and sport would provide healthy recreations that would not only improve their physical health but also the moral well being of the population. Thus, the sense that the city was

³¹ Certainly in Glasgow the importance of the prestigious parks such as Kelvingrove was not lost on the municipal authorities in their attempts to promote the city as successful and the paragon of municipal service provision. They were also used, in the case of Glasgow, as will be discussed in detail later, to provide a forum in which the city could be promoted on an international level through the staging of hugely popular and successful exhibitions. Kelvingrove Park was the venue for The International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, and the Scottish Exhibition of Natural History in 1911. Bellahouston Park was also the venue for the Empire Exhibition of 1938.

³² Olmsted, 1870, *op. cit.* p. 33.

³³ *Ibid.* pp. 33 - 34.

improved by the construction of public parks was not limited to the betterment of the physical environment and hence the health of the population. They were also promoted as a means by which the population could be educated and instilled with the civilising habits, virtues and aspirations of the increasingly important urban bourgeoisie. The ethos of the public park movement's propaganda was one in which public spaces were promoted as a means by which the urban landscape could be used to provide the opportunity for passive and active recreations. The parks were represented as oases of relative natural purity in the urban environment that had a number of interconnected and important functions and uses. As the ideas and arguments proposed and propounded by the advocates of the public parks movement became accepted in town councils and in Parliament they also proved important for prominent pioneers of town planning.

(c) Public Parks And The Development Of Town Planning

An influential pioneer and the most significant early Scottish advocate of town and regional planning was Sir Patrick Geddes, who combined his biological and sociological studies to produce a belief that human communities developed by the interactions between people, the environment in which they lived and the activities which they carried out. As Mellor states:

Above all, Geddes wanted to change the perceptions of his contemporaries about city life. What he was writing was not a town-planning manual, a historical or geographical analysis of town growth, or a new educational theory. It was a rationale of town life for all those who lived in cities and for all nations where the majority of the population dwelt in cities. It was a polemic on civilisation and what cities had to offer for their citizens, which for Geddes was the chance for 'cultural evolution', in the way that he specially interpreted it.³⁴

Geddes clearly demonstrated a knowledge and awareness of the aforementioned recurring themes, arguments and achievements of the public parks movement and incorporated them in his vision for public parks as essential to the health and well being of modern society:

From this standpoint the case for the conservation of Nature and for the increase of our access to her, must be stated more seriously and strongly than is customary. Not merely begged for on all grounds of amenity, of recreation, and repose, sound of the maintenance and development of life; of the life of youth, of the health of all, which is surely the very foundation of any utilitarianism worth the name; and further of that arousal of the mental life in youth, of its maintenance through age, which must be a main aim of higher utilitarianism, and is a prime condition of its continued progress towards enlightenment.³⁵

Geddes showed a magnanimity and generosity of spirit towards those who had the most need of access to parks and open spaces: those who by circumstance were forced to spend

³⁴ H. Mellor, *Patrick Geddes - Social Evolutionist And City Planner*, London, Routledge, 1990, p. 190. See also V. W. Welter, *Biopolis:: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, London, MIT Press, 2002.

³⁵ P. Geddes, (ed.), *Cities in Evolution*, Edinburgh, The Outlook Tower Association, and The Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction, London, Williams & Norgate, originally published by Williams & Norgate, (1915), 1949, p. 52.

most of their working lives and leisure time in the congested and polluted environs of the town or city, without access to the beneficial aspect of communing with nature in the country.

But the children, the women, the workers of the town can come but rarely to the country. As hygienists, and utilitarians, we must therefore bring the country to them. While our friends the town planners and borough engineers are adding street beyond street, and suburb beyond suburb, it is also for us to be up and doing, and 'make the field gain on the street, not merely the street gain on the field'.³⁶

Whilst aware of the achievements of the municipal authorities in the towns and cities of the Victorian era, he was also aware of the limitations and inadequacies that were inherent in their design, maintenance and regulation. Geddes wanted to include and prioritise in the public parks a new civic culture that would allow more direct experience of their benefits through active recreation and participation in the space of the parks rather than the visions or versions of 'nature' that had been presented previously, as primarily for passive appreciation or contemplation. This, as Geddes proclaims, would help combat the potential that youthful exuberance would deviate or degenerate into 'hooliganism'.

The city parks, which are among the best monuments and legacies of our later nineteenth century municipalities - and valuable, useful, often beautiful though they are - have been far too much influenced by the standpoint natural to the prosperous city fathers who purchased them, and who took them over, like the mansion-house parks they often were, each with its ring-fence, jealously keeping it apart from a vulgar world. Their lay-out has as yet too much continued the tradition of the mansion-house drives, to which people are admitted, on holidays, and by courtesy; and where the little girls may sit on the grass. But the boys? They are at most granted a cricket-pitch, or lent a space between football goals, but otherwise are jealously watched, as potential savages, who on the least symptom of their natural activities of wigwam-building, cave-digging, stream-damning, and so on - must instantly be cheviated away, and are lucky if they are not handed over to the police ... It is primarily for lack of this touch of first-hand rustic experience that we have forced young energy into hooliganism; or, even worse, depressed it below that level. Whereas the boy-scout movement triumphantly shows that even the young hooligan needs but some living touch of active responsibility to become a Hermes; and with similar openings and vigorous labours, we shall next make of him a veritable Hercules.³⁷

Geddes wanted to take the experience and designs of the past and expand them to make the parks of the twentieth century a combination of all the possibilities that could, or should, be included. Thus, they were to include gardens, a zoo, botanical garden, recreation ground and open-air gallery and museum, all combined in one place. His ambitious plan for Pittenween Park in Dunfermline for the Carnegie Trust in 1903 is a utopian vision of an ideal public park that would combine the virtues of relaxation, recreation and instruction that was evident in the works and words of his park designer predecessors. His plan shows

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 52-3.

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 53-54.

a bipolar concern with making the whole city a park³⁸ in which the function of a pleasure ground was augmented by its role as a means for the promotion of social reform, through educational and cultural institutes. His plan displays his evolutionary perspective, based on a sociological and ethical understanding of the nature and necessity of urban planning and city design.

At every point, therefore, from park, playground and garden to museums and palaces, these larger human and social uses must dominate our constructive tasks ... we now see the modern town evolving anew towards the culture city - city of realising ideals and thus again becoming sacred in a new sense, yet which may have within it much of what was best in the old.³⁹

Geddes' writing displays a wonderful vision of the possibilities by which park design could be used as a central focus for the betterment of the experience of living in urban areas. In this, Geddes viewed public parks as a fundamental element in the promotion and responsibility of civic culture. It was through the central construction of a park that would provide all the leisure, recreational and educational facilities of the town that Geddes saw the possibilities for the rejuvenation of urban living. He envisaged the needs of old and young, men and women, passive and active recreations, cultural and educational pursuits to be encompassed within a park which would inspire the visitor and lead them to a better quality of life, experience and opportunity.

More generally, any comprehensive park design, such as the present, has to satisfy as far as may be not only all sorts and conditions of men, all occupations also, but all phases of life - childhood, youth, maturity, old age; childhood in its innocence and play, in that admiration and that questioning, too, which are its true self-education; youth in its hope and aspiration, its ambition and energy; maturity in its strenuous life of labour and service, and its need of rest, refreshment and repose; age in its power and influence, its calmer and broader outlook ... For as the modern park is becoming the Cathedral of the People it must express, as this did in its various chapels and their altars, the various ideals to which individuals and their classes are devoted: must be adapted to their group interests and activities as to their general collective and civic functions. In short, then, our laying out of roads and paths is also one of routes for visitors and these not only practical and convenient but suggestive and educative, and even individually emotional and collectively dramatic ... routes of symbol, festival and triumph, its Processional Road, its Sacred Way.⁴⁰

The park, his 'Cathedral of the People', for Geddes was a space elevated to the status of sacred space, reminiscent of Foucault's heterotopias, that must offer opportunities for distraction, entertainment and education for people of all ages. It was also similar to Benjamin's descriptions and analysis of 'Dream Houses of the Collectivity' which included railway stations, the arcades of Paris as well as The International Trade

³⁸ There are echoes here of Le Corbusier's vision of the cities of the future, in which high rise housing, his 'Machines for Living', would be set within the landscape of the city as one gigantic park.

³⁹ P. Geddes, *City Development - A Study Of Parks, Gardens, And Culture Institutes: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust*, Birmingham, The Saint George Press, 1904, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 202.

Exhibitions, those 'folk festivals of capitalism'. Geddes in his vision displayed the zeal of many of the social and religious reformers of the 19th century and conceived the use of town planning and landscape design to improve the quality of urban existence by giving access to the beneficial effects of the environment, whether natural or human in construction. He characterised to some extent the concern of many earlier proponents of public parks of the need to bring 'nature to the city', to provide a means of communing with the benefits of a mysterious and metaphysical creator, as an experiment in social engineering through environmental and cultural opportunity and education.

We thus appreciate more fully His conception of our goodly environment - the park, the city, the world itself - as a vast open-air museum of social development.⁴¹

Geddes's work at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh had international admirers. Geddes had a long relationship with Lewis Mumford,⁴² whose own conceptions of the need for town planning was, in turn, influenced by Olmsted's work on public parks in America in the late 19th century. Mumford is clear in his appreciation of Olmsted's influence on his ideas for town and city planning:

... by 1870 Olmsted had carried his thinking about parks beyond his original conception of the big landscape park, lying in the midst of the growing city. He saw that even better tracts of land might be destroyed on the outskirts, and that by the time the urban mass had reached these outlying areas they might be just as badly needed. Hence he outlined the conception of the complete park system ... This conception of a continuous environment of public greens and open spaces as an essential element in urban planning - and not an afterthought or a mere embellishment - was an important contribution to sound contemporary city design; in a more systematic and highly developed form it must still govern every rational conspectus of the new city.⁴³

This recognition of the need to plan for the future park needs of the population as the city expanded beyond its boundaries was evident, as will be shown below, in the development of Glasgow's park system. Mumford continued the tradition of the 19th century proponents of public parks in his conception of the 'civilised city' as one that provides parks and open spaces as necessities for the health and well-being of the population. This echoed earlier advocates of public parks mentioned above, such as Loudon, Smith, Robinson, Slaney, Chadwick, et al. The recurring themes of the medical, physical, moral and educative benefits of public parks are clearly evident in the following extract.

Hygiene demands, finally, that the quality of air, even when freed from noxious fumes and smoke, must be improved by the simplest means of renovation: open spaces filled with verdure and shrubbery, which not merely tend to equalise the temperature and freshen the air, but which provide the necessary relaxation for body and mind. Gardens are for delight, and delight by itself is an important factor in the maintenance of health ... From the standpoint of hygiene, parks and gardens are not luxuries for the fortunate

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 204.

⁴² See F. G. Novak (ed), *Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes: The Correspondence*, London, Routledge, 1995,

⁴³ L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1940, p. 220.

minority: they are essential if the city is to become the permanent habitat for man. The city that adequately commands the resources of modern civilisation is not the city of stretched wharves and ships bringing goods from the ends of the earth: it is not the city of skyscraping towers that darken and congest the streets: it is not the city of the widest concrete roadways, the longest double-decked automobile drives, and the most overcrowded subways - it is the city in which every quarter is ribboned with gardens and parks.⁴⁴

A further example of the adoption of the principles of the public parks movement in the development of town and regional planning is that expressed in Ebenezer Howard's vision of the Garden City. Howard's plans and ideas concerning Garden Cities are well known as an idealised solution to the problems associated with the rapid expansion of towns and cities. Howard reflected to some extent the anti-urban rhetoric that had existed throughout the 19th century, and his Garden Cities was an attempt to rescue people from the deleterious consequences of life in the urban industrial age by an abandonment of attempts to reform the city that had occupied previous generations of advocates of parks and open spaces by starting afresh in building new cities. Central to Howard's ideas was that open spaces and parks were fundamental factors in providing for the health and well being of all people and his Garden Cities plans provided extensive parks and open spaces for his new communities. Despite Howard's intentions, the Garden City was an elitist solution in that it could only provide escape for a very limited few whereas the intention behind urban public parks was an attempt to provide access to the benefits of 'natural' open spaces for as many as possible. Howard's plans eventually were tried, in limited and adapted form, in Welwyn Garden City, where they bore little resemblance to his ambitious dreams. The Garden City scheme was a utopian dream but it symbolised an acceptance of the need for public parks and open spaces provision as essential elements in the planned development of new towns, suburbs, and housing schemes. For example, in Glasgow the Knightswood suburb began by the Corporation in the 1920s included extensive parklands and open spaces and the cottage house style and layout of the streets resembled Garden Suburb designs.

There were no Garden Cities built in Scotland but there was an interesting experiment attempted in Glasgow with the building of Westerton as a Garden Suburb. The 'Co-partnership Estate' based on Howard's principles that was built in Westerton as a Garden Suburb was a combination of the philanthropy reminiscent of the donation of lands for public parks by wealthy and benevolent individuals that had become relatively commonplace in Glasgow and elsewhere by the turn of the 19th century and a new type of venture as an experiment in solving the problem of housing that had blighted Glasgow's history. Indeed, many of the individuals involved as trustees and office bearers of the

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 428.

scheme had been active in the promotion of parks in the city or had donated lands for parks.⁴⁵ Raymond Unwin was appointed as the consulting architect for the Westerton Garden suburb and was pleased to have the chance to expand the principles of Garden Cities north of the border. Unwin had been closely involved in Howard's first Garden City at Letchworth in 1904 and was responsible for designing the first Garden Suburb at Hampstead Heath. The opening ceremony for the new garden suburb of Westerton took place on the 19th April 1913, and by May the first phase of 45 houses was completed. Despite, the intervention of World War I that brought a premature end to the scheme, with only 84 of the planned 300 houses built, the following extract from the Prospectus produced by the Glasgow Garden Suburb Tenants Ltd in 1913, illustrates the high ideals and expectations invested in the scheme.

The idea arose from the Housing Problem, and its real purpose is shown in its name - The Garden Suburb. It is a successful attempt to establish, on the outskirts of large towns, carefully and beautifully planned estates, where the number of houses to the acre is limited. The congestion of industrial centres is thus relieved, and the worker finds a home in beautiful and healthful surroundings, where he and his family enjoy better health and in consequence become better citizens ... The co-partnership estate at Westerton will be kept clear of all that goes to deteriorate a neighbourhood. It is being built as a Garden suburb not in name only but in reality with open spaces, bowling greens, tennis courts and Playgrounds for children, and it is contiguous to a beautiful golf course already in existence. Much might be said as to the amenity of its situation, its splendid air, its fine surroundings and magnificent outlook ... The Co-partnership Estate at Westerton will be for all classes, but particularly the working classes; small houses will be built, such as never have been built in a suburb of the kind around Glasgow, to suit those who toil in the workshop or the warehouse ... Of course there will be houses large and houses small, each size grouped separately in different parts of the suburb.⁴⁶

The need to provide parks and open spaces as necessary public amenities will be considered in relation to Glasgow in the following section. However, the acceptance of the ideas and arguments put forward by the public parks movement by urban planners as well as city authorities is evident in Glasgow. In 1945 the Corporation was concerned to ensure that future residential developments would have a basic minimum open space provision in any new developments.

A feature of the residential portions of community areas would be the number and disposition of playgrounds, open spaces, amenity spaces, and recreation grounds provided. The basis of providing open spaces should be that of area of open space related to population and not to houses. Thus, where tenement flats are provided,

⁴⁵ These included John Stirling-Maxwell MP for the College district who was instrumental in forming the Garden Suburb scheme after attending a lecture on Garden Suburbs in Glasgow and had donated lands for the following parks: Maxwell Park (named after the MP) in 1878, Titwood Park in 1895, the lands of Dumbreck forming part of Bellahouston Park in 1901, Newlands Park in 1913, and Auldhouse Park in 1918. Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth who donated the land that the suburb was built on would gift 10 acres to form Dawsholm Park in 1920. Other members of the Committee of Management were Sir Samuel Chisholm, Lord Provost of the city from 1889-1902 and well known sanitary and social reformer as well as Temperance advocate, William Collins a fellow Temperance campaigner and publisher, William Russell, Conservative member of the Corporation from 1902, William Martin Liberal member of the Corporation for 6 years and President of the Glasgow Ruskin Society.

⁴⁶ Extract from the Prospectus produced by the Glasgow Garden Suburb Tenants Ltd in 1913, in M. Whitelaw, *A Garden Suburb For Glasgow*, Glasgow, Gilfillan Press, 1992, p 9 and Westerton's Women's Group (K. Barrett, M. Campbell, V. Donaldson, E. Forrester, M. Gibson, E. Grimes, E. Howie, A. Kidd), *Westerton - A Village Story*, South Shields, Peterson's Printers, 1993, p. 17.

containing a larger number of persons per net housing area, correspondingly large areas of open space would be provided, the basis being as stated, population and not the number of houses. A large number of small playgrounds, within easy reach of the homes of the children using them, is preferred to a fewer number of larger playgrounds ... As much green land as possible should be provided. The lay-out of the residential parts of community areas should include for the provision of walk or footways centred on narrow strips of open space leading to the areas of undeveloped land which should 'contain' the replanned areas (so far as this is possible with the existing continuous developments which have already taken place).⁴⁷

By the 1950s the Corporation had begun to develop a commitment to the preservation of open spaces, protecting them from future building developments. Whether the quality of open spaces within new residential areas lived up to the expressed intention of the Corporation, it was a recognition that the arguments of the advocates of public parks, playgrounds and open spaces had been accepted and were considered an intrinsic part of the planning process. In the post-war boom in house-building in Glasgow after the slum clearances it is clear from reports such as *The Clyde Valley Regional Plan*⁴⁸ and various subsequent Corporation reports⁴⁹ the local authority's continuing commitment to open spaces provision for the purposes of recreation.

The development of an awareness of the necessity and benefits to be had from access to open space and public parks in industrial towns and cities was promoted and promulgated by the advocates of the public parks movement. This was an important element in the debate concerning the quality and experience of urban life in the 19th and early twentieth centuries. Concern with the consequences of the rapid growth of industry and manufacturing towns created an appeal to create or preserve open spaces and public parks as necessary spaces. In this the public parks movement provided a valuable service for those having to manage the changing urban landscape of the 19th century. What also needs to be considered is the local context, the specific experience of Glasgow's rapid growth. This context was the background the foundation for the development of the municipal authority's power and knowledge, which combined social and religious reformism with fiscal prudence, to intervene in and administer the problems of the city. This intervention includes, it will be argued, the development of a comprehensive public parks system unrivalled in Britain and Europe.

3.3: The Glasgow Experience of the 19th Century

The story of Glasgow's phenomenal growth in the 19th century is one that is written

⁴⁷ Bruce, R., Master Of Works And Civil Engineer, *First Planning Report To The Highways And Planning Committee Of The Corporation Of The City Of Glasgow*, Community Planning And Open Spaces, March 1945, p. 41.

⁴⁸ P Abercrombie, & R.H. Mathew, *1946 Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1949.

⁴⁹ See Corporation Of The City Of Glasgow, Office Of Public Works, City Chambers, Glasgow, *Development Plan*, 1951; A.G. Jury, City Architect and Planning Officer, *First Quinquennial Review of the Development Plan. The Survey Report*, Corporation of the City of Glasgow, 1960; J.H. Rae, Director Of Planning, *Planning Policy Report - Open Space And Recreation*, Glasgow Corporation, May 1975.

on the landscape of the city: in its streets, its buildings and its public spaces. The demographic, economic, political and spatial development of the city formed and was formed, by the social and cultural practices of its population, as they adapted to the needs and consequences of industrial capitalism. It is necessary to describe this process, as an unfolding text of the history of the city in modernity, through the presentation of a number of salient features, as the historical context, in which public park development occurred. Therefore, brief consideration of the demographic and spatial expansion of the city will be presented alongside contemporary accounts of the consequences these had on the physical and social environment, as well as the everyday experiences and living conditions of the inhabitants of the city. These consequences were high population growth, pollution, inadequate housing and sanitation and the concomitant threat from disease and ill health, not to mention the perceived moral and physical dangers of and from the poverty-ridden and exploited masses. The particular experience of Glasgow in the 19th century is perceived and represented as particularly subject to these consequences and is a fundamental condition for understanding the historical context of the origins and development of a comprehensive public parks network in the city. These factors were important in creating the conditions for the development of a form of civic government that took an interventionist strategy in the provision of services in an attempt to create a more healthy and attractive city. What will be demonstrated is that the response of the administrative, political and civil elites to the perceived threats from disease, social unrest and moral degradation, entailed a concerted attempt on the part of the municipal authorities to fashion a new social, physical and moral landscape. The city was at the forefront of the development of a form of civic administration and organisation that has had a significant and lasting legacy. 'Municipal Socialism' in Glasgow will be described and demonstrated as underpinned by a reforming zeal and a religious ethos that sought to ameliorate the worst effects of the city's growth, under industrial capitalism, whilst seeking to educate and instruct the masses in the 'proper' values and habits of civilised, that is, bourgeois, society. The conception, promotion and administration, of utilities, facilities and services by civic, social and religious reformers, was an integrated strategy of development for the 'good of the city' and was inherently involved in a process of social control. The provision of a comprehensive network of parks and open spaces was an intrinsic and very public manifestation of the development of such an extensive framework of services provided for the 'common good' that was used to promote the image and reputation of the city as 'the Workshop of the World' and 'Second City of Empire'. As Ruskin is reputed to have commented, "The measure of any great civilisation is its cities and a measure of a city's

greatness is to be found in the quality of its public spaces, its parks and squares.”⁵⁰

A place for nature, and for places to play, in the city, had long been considered a necessary attribute for a civilised society, but the necessity for new public spaces such as parks became increasingly important when towns and cities were no longer small enough to permit easy access to the seeming purity of the countryside.⁵¹ Until the middle of the 19th century, Glasgow had a single open grassy space, Glasgow Green, a medieval remnant of Episcopal benevolence that was threatened with coal-mining and building development. By the mid-20th century the city had more parks and open spaces for the leisure and pleasure, recreation and relaxation of its citizens than any other city in Europe. The public parks provided an escape, albeit temporarily, from the stresses and strains, the dangers and hazards of the new urban industrial experience. They became an increasingly acknowledged requirement through the 19th century, coupled with an ideology of their moral benefits that has been demonstrated as a fundamental element in the arguments of the advocates of the public parks movement. This, then, is the local historical context from which the development of a comprehensive network of public parks must be framed and which will be described below.

(a) Growth, Expansion And Development

The rapid expansion of Glasgow in the nineteenth century was the result of the city being at the forefront of the two most formative forces in the development and experience of modern capitalism, namely industrialisation and urbanisation. Glasgow, in the space of a hundred years, grew from a relatively small city with long established Cathedral and University, whose economy was based on commercial trade with the colonies, primarily in sugar, cotton and tobacco, to become a manufacturing and industrial powerhouse. No detailed consideration will be given here to the economy of Glasgow except in the broadest sense. Whilst it is the fundamental base for the growth of the city, it is the indices of growth and expansion that are most relevant to this discussion of the social, medical and moral consequences of industrialisation and urbanisation.⁵² The following three tables

⁵⁰ J. Ruskin, J. quoted in Appendices To The Minutes Of Evidence Submitted to the Environment Sub-Committee of the Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs - Twentieth Report, Town and Country Parks, 27 October 1999, HMSO-HC 477-I (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/...199899/cmselect/cmenvtra/477/47706.htm>). However, no citation appears in the document and a rigorous attempt to track down the original source has proved impossible.

⁵¹ P.F. Wilkinson, “The Historical Roots of Urban Open Space Planning”, in Leisure Studies 7, 1988, pp. 125-143, gives a brief account of the development of parks from ancient times (Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome), through the Renaissance, to 19th century urban park construction. W. Theobald, “A History of Recreation Resource Planning: the Origins of Space Standards”, in Leisure Studies, 3 1984, pp. 189-200, covers similar ground but focuses directly on the creation of space standards to be applied to populations of towns and cities.

⁵² There are a large number of texts that give accounts of the early history and development of Glasgow. The following is only a very brief selection, some of which provide detailed discussion of the rise and decline of Glasgow’s heavy industries. J. Pagan, Sketch of the History of Glasgow, Glasgow, Robert Stuart, 1847; Senex, Old Glasgow and its Environs, Glasgow, David Robertson, 1864; The History of Glasgow (from the earliest to the present time), Glasgow, John Tweed, 1872; J. Bell. & J. Paton, Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1896; G. Eyre-Todd, The Story of Glasgow, Glasgow, Blackie and Son, 1911; J.G. Kerr, (ed.), Glasgow - Sketches by Various Authors, British Association for the advancement of Science, Glasgow, McElhose & Co., University Press, 1928; C.A. Oakley, The Second City, Glasgow, Blackie and Son, 1946; R. Miller & J. Tivy (eds.) The Glasgow Region – A General Survey, Glasgow, Constable, 1958; J.R. Kellett, Glasgow, A Concise

detail the growth of population in Glasgow, as well as indicating the sources of immigration that led to such a rapid increase in population.

TABLE 3.1: Population of Glasgow 1560-1831 ⁵³

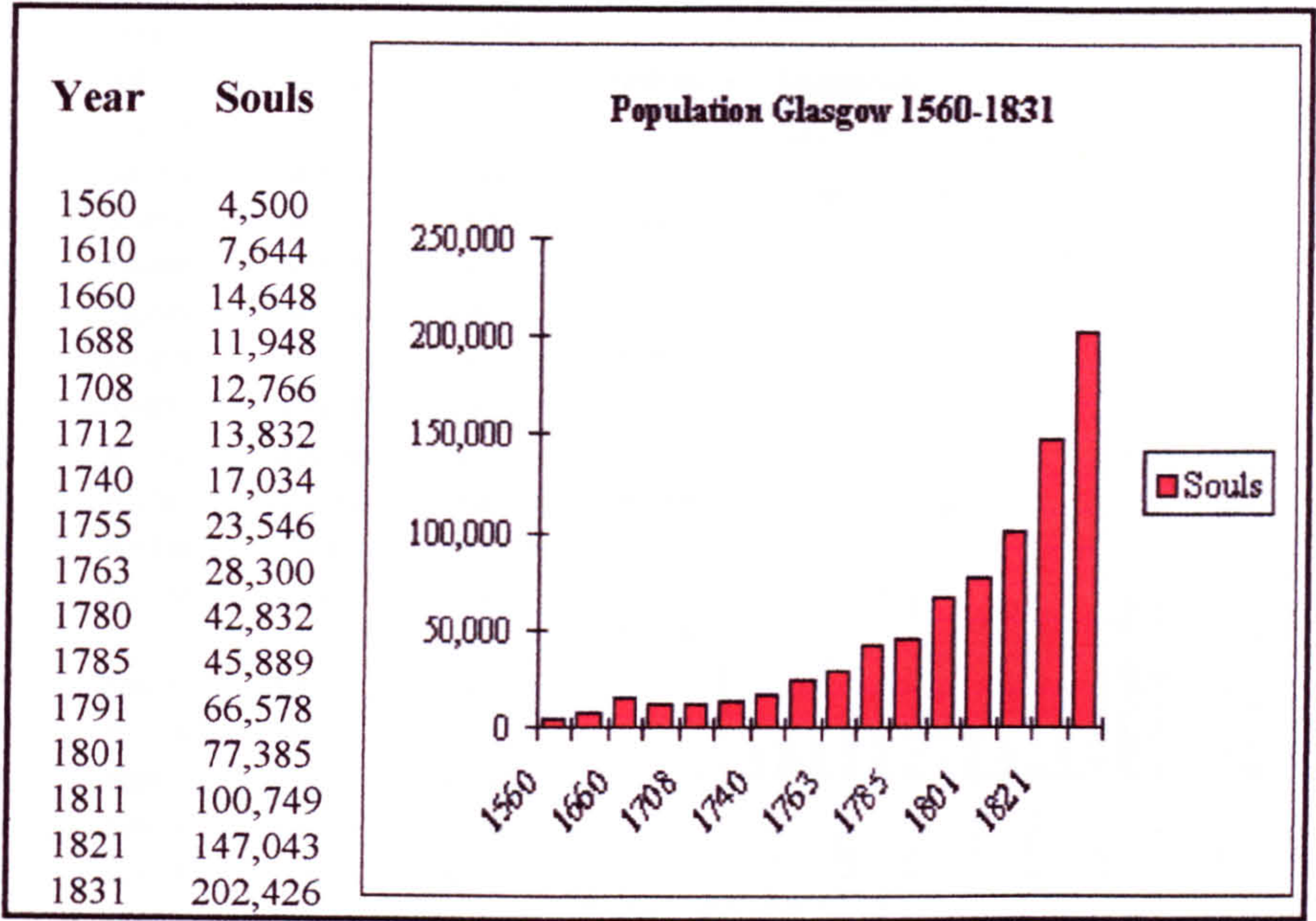


TABLE 3.2: Birthplace of Inhabitants of Glasgow, 1851-1951 ⁵⁴

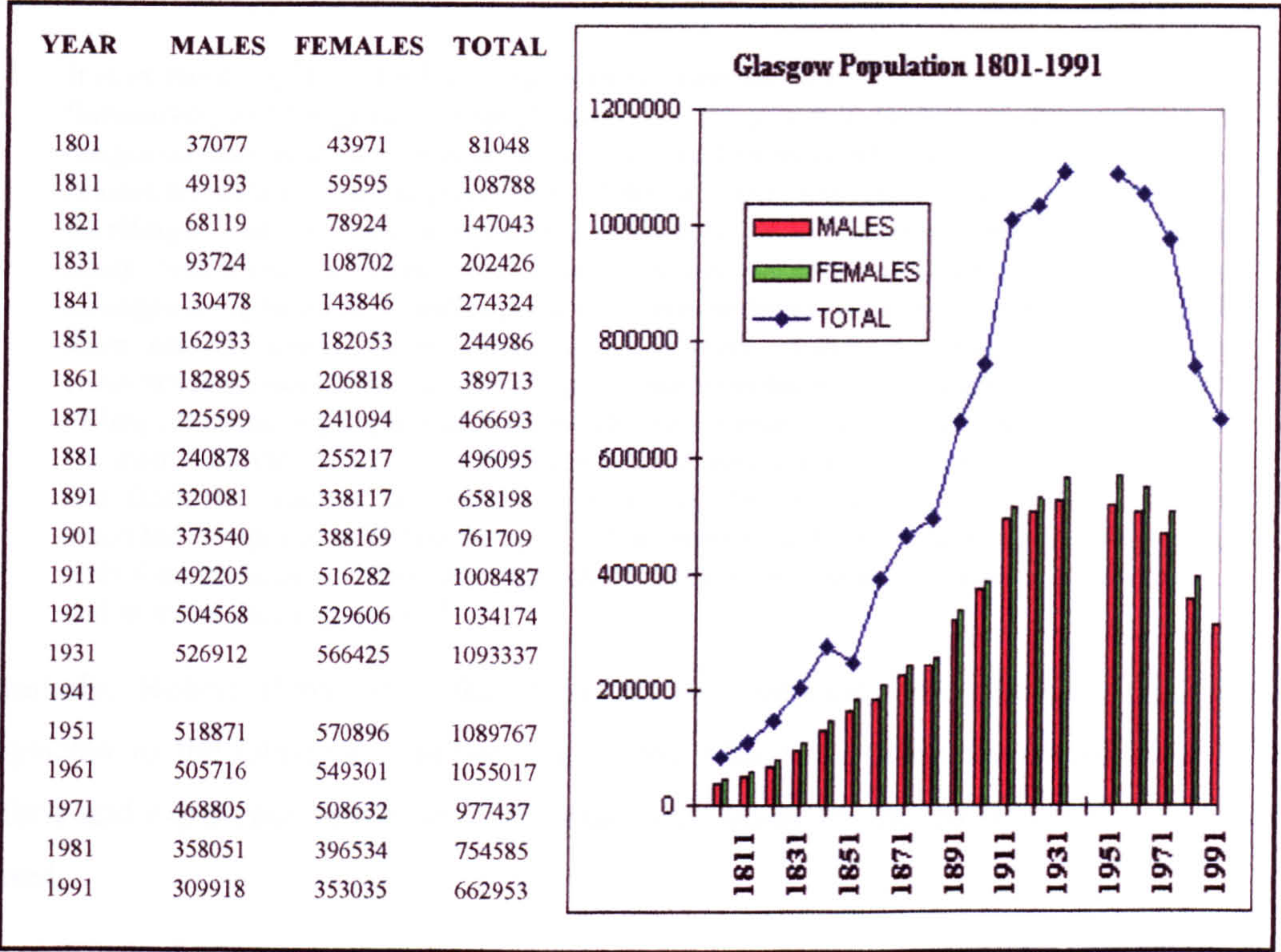
| Where Born | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1951 |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Glasgow | 145,137 | 201,555 | 226,115 | 262,156 | 312,265 | 652,933 | 482,455 | 656,580 | 749,653 | 809,508 |
| Scotland (excl.Glasgow) | 114,145 | 118,822 | 164,733 | 161,452 | 169,161 | | 205,402 | 252,837 | 260,864 | 191,382 |
| England | 8,057 | 10,266 | 14,286 | 15,677 | 40,515 | 27,537 | 29,059 | 40,515 | 39,060 | 37,032 |
| Wales | 111 | 149 | 214 | 399 | 665 | 567 | 665 | 1,086 | 1,045 | 1,584 |
| Isle of Mann & Channel Islands | 115 | 125 | 134 | 170 | 235 | 237 | 235 | 333 | 264 | 299 |
| Ireland | 59,801 | 62,084 | 68,330 | 67,109 | 59,822 | 67,612 | 52,828 | 65,688 | 52,379 | 34,475 |
| Br. Colonies & Dependencies | 923 | 1,134 | 1,436 | 1,966 | 3,183 | 3,183 | 4,926 | 4,923 | 5,093 | 5,478 |
| Foreign Countries | 854 | 1,275 | 1,788 | 2,637 | 3,486 | 9,600 | 10,530 | 10,940 | 9,798 | 9,960 |
| At Sea | 69 | 93 | 120 | 99 | 75 | 85 | 139 | 142 | 104 | 44 |
| Not Stated | | | | | | | | 1,130 | 201 | 5 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Population of Glasgow | 329,097 | 395,503 | 477,176 | 565,839 | 761,709 | 784,496 | 1,034,174 | 1,034,174 | 1,088,461 | 1,089,767 |

History, London Blond Educational Ltd., 1967; A. Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, London, Croom Helm, 1983; P. Reed, (ed.), *Glasgow: The Forming of a City*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. 1993; M. Pacione, *Glasgow: the Socio-spatial Development of the City*, Chichester, Wiley and Sons, 1995.

⁵³ Source: J.Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Bell & Bain, 1836, pg. 5.

⁵⁴ Source: J. Cumison, & J.B.S. Gilfillan, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland (Glasgow)*, Glasgow, Collins, 1958, p. 808.

TABLE 3.3: Population of Glasgow 1801-1991 ⁵⁵



The dangerous potential that was considered as existing in the city, as a result of such a rapid increase in population, that of overcrowded and insanitary conditions was a concern for a number of professional observers of the city.⁵⁶ Many medical, religious and social reformers sought to develop an awareness of the inadequate physical and social infrastructure by detailed observation and study of the new urban landscapes. Arguably the most famous official account of the conditions to be found in the towns and cities of the 19th century was that of Edwin Chadwick’s 1842, Report, as previously cited. Chadwick wrote of what he found on his visit to Glasgow in the September of 1840 and described the

... low wynds and dirty narrow streets and courts, in which, because lodging was there the cheapest, the poorest and most destitute naturally had their abodes ... It might admit of dispute, but, on the whole, it appeared to us that both the structural arrangements and the condition of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we had seen in any part of Great Britain.⁵⁷

Such views of the appalling conditions in Glasgow were not uncommon. Dr Sutherland

⁵⁵ Source: HMSO Census Returns.

⁵⁶ Foremost among the early collectors of data on the city was J., Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Bell and Bain, 1836. This work was continued by other medical figures: J.B., Russell, *The Vital Statistics of the City of Glasgow*, Glasgow, MacDougall, 1886; A. K. Chalmers, *The Health of Glasgow*, 1818-1925, Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow, 1930. More modern sources include: J. Cunnison and J.B.S. Gilfillan, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland (Glasgow)*, Glasgow, Collins, 1958; A. Gibb, *The Demographic Consequences of Rapid Industrial Growth: A case study of Glasgow, 1801-1914*, Occasional Papers Series No.24, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow, 1988.

⁵⁷ Chadwick, 1842, op. cit. pp. 97, 99.

from the General Board of Health of Glasgow eloquently provided a description that characterises the appalling conditions that he observed in 1848:

It is in those frightful abodes of human wretchedness which lay along the High Street, Saltmarket, and Briggate ... that all sanitary evils persist in perfection. They consist of ranges of narrow closes, only some four or five feet in width, and of great length. The houses are so lofty that the direct light of the sky never reaches a large proportion of the dwellings. The ordinary atmospheric ventilation is impossible. The cleansing until lately, was most inefficient, and, from structural causes, will always, under existing arrangements, be difficult and expensive. There are large square midden-steads, some of them actually under the houses, and all of them in the immediate vicinity of the windows and doors of human dwellings. These receptacles hold the entire filth and offal of large masses of people and households until country farmers can be bargained with for their removal. There is no drainage in these neighbourhoods, except in a few cases; and from the want of any means of flushing, the sewers, where they do exist, are extended cesspools polluting the air. ... The interior of the houses is in perfect keeping with their exterior ... dark and without the means of ventilation. The walls are filthy, and in many cases ruinous.⁵⁸

Similarly, Robert Perry MD, the President of Physicians and Surgeons and Senior Physician to the Glasgow Infirmary expressed what were common official fears of the effects and experience of the new industrial conurbations on the human condition when, he stated:

It is in the large cities where the greatest amount of misery is to be found, and the darkest practice of the effects of man's cupidity is exhibited. There, the human species, more vicious than their inferiors, or more preying upon each other, each in his own way, from the monopolist down to the common thief, the former with the sanction of law, the latter by stealth and violence.⁵⁹

Such investigations and reports emphasised the consequences of large-scale migration to the city, that, when combined with an inadequate housing stock and poverty, led to an inevitable over-concentration of population in some districts. Table 3.4 below indicates the density of population in various years as well as death rates. However, whilst it demonstrates the trends in population, density and death rates in the city as a whole it does not reveal the incredible disparities that existed between the worst effected and the more prosperous areas. For comparison, Table 3.5 details population, density and death rates in the Districts of Blackfriars, in the city centre and the relatively new bourgeois suburb of the West End in 1860 to demonstrate the relationship between morbidity and over crowded locality. The deaths of children were emphasised as a particular calamity by medical professionals and social reformers and cause for concern. For example, Dr Strang in his Report on the Mortality Bills of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs for 1851 expressed his distress at the high rates of child death in the city:

⁵⁸ Dr Sutherland, "Appendix to a Report of General Board of Health on the epidemic Cholera of 1848-9" in J.B. Russell, The Evolution of the Function of Public Health Administration, Glasgow, William Hodge and Co., 1895, p.21-2. Russell collected and published similar descriptions of the condition of the houses, closes and streets that provide a recurrent theme of appalling squalor, darkness, dirt and disease.

⁵⁹ R. Perry, Facts and Observations on the Sanitary State of Glasgow, 1844, (GU Special Collections Mu22-b.s).

That Glasgow should have lost by death, during the last four years, 14,371 children, under two years of age, or 32.14 per cent of the gross annual mortality, is fearful to contemplate, and loudly calls for something to be effectively done for the preservation of the infants of the poor, among whom this high mortality exists.⁶⁰

TABLE 3.4: Population, Density and Death Rates in Glasgow, 1841-1911 ⁶¹

| Year | Population (000s) | Density per Acre | Death Rate (per 1000) | Death Rate Under 5 (per 1000) |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1841 | 274 | 50 | 31 | 156.8 |
| 1851 | 329 | 65 | 38 | 171.3 |
| 1861 | 395 | 78 | 30 | 137.8 |
| 1871 | 477 | 94 | 33 | 160.6 |
| 1881 | 511 | 97 | 28.5 | 104.9 |
| 1891 | 565 | 84 | 25 | 95.9 |
| 1901 | 761 | 93 | 21 | 83.8 |
| 1911 | 784 | 60 | 17 | 61.2 |

TABLE 3.5: Population, Density and Death Rates, 1860, Blackfriars and West End Districts ⁶²

| | Blackfriars | West End |
|-------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| Population | 10,577 | 2,972 |
| Density per acre | 328 | 34 |
| % population under 5 | 13.6 | 9.11 |
| Birth rate (per 1000) | 44 | 17 |
| Death rate under 5 (per 1000) | 213 | 34 |
| Death rate over 5 (per 1000) | 95 | 5.3 |

The lack of adequate sanitation and sewerage arrangements, for the working classes inevitably caused disease and mortality on a massive scale. The evidence of the appalling consequences and cost in human lives and misery is indicated in Table 3.6 detailing the deaths from major diseases in the period. The middle decades of the 19th century witnessed epidemics of smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, typhus, scarlet fever, measles and whooping cough reap a terrible toll on the most vulnerable section of the city’s population. Table 3.6 details the death rates from epidemic diseases and also highlights the death toll from diseases and afflictions of the lungs. Some attention must therefore be paid to the question of pollution as the result of the rapid speed at which capital brought industrial production to the centre of cities (see figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). However, the initial concern of many with smoke as an obvious pollutant was with the aesthetic rather than health consequences of major industrial manufacturing production in the city. For example, in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Smokeless City: A Retrospect and a Prospect* the author, Hugh A. McLean refers to a report From the Dean of Guild of Glasgow for 1st November 1849 in which the effects of smoke pollution in the city, and in particular on Glasgow Green was described

⁶⁰ J. Strang, "Report on the Mortality Bills of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs for 1851" in S. Berry & H. Whyte (eds.) *Glasgow Observed*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, pg. 92.

⁶¹ Source: A. Gibb, *The Demographic Consequences of Rapid Industrial Growth: A case study of Glasgow, 1801-1914*, Occasional Papers Series No.24, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow, 1988, p.22.

⁶² J. Strang, "Report on the Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow for 1860", in Gibb, 1988, op. cit. p.28.

thus:

For years, the public throat has been tickled by the actual smoke, and the public fancy has been tickled by the notion and hope of its removal, but we are still smoked as before ... But the breathing of smoky vapour is not the only grievance of which the public complains; it is at length damaging, if not destroying, the only green spot which the citizens can claim as their own patrimony.⁶³

TABLE 3.6: Quinquennial Deaths from Major Diseases, 1855 – 1914⁶⁴

| | Diarrhoea Dysentery Cholera | Typhus | Enteric Fever | Scarlet Fever | Diphtheria | Measles | Whooping Cough | Bronchitis Pneumonia | Phthisis + Pulmonary Tuberculosis | Smallpox |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------|------------------|------------------|------------|---------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------|
| 1855 – 59 | 2,179 | 2,333 | | 2,427 | 757 | 1,657 | 3,163 | 4,355 | 6,493 | 1,043 |
| 1860 – 64 | 1,330 | 3,225 | | 2,343 | 1,570 | 1,817 | 3,214 | 5,984 | 8,298 | 1,115 |
| 1865 – 69 | 2,083 | 3,607 | 1,140 | 3,210 | 1,154 | 2,020 | 3,262 | 6,323 | 9,665 | 167 |
| 1870 – 74 | 2,092 | 1,191 | 1,111 | 3,397 | 1,557 | 2,001 | 3,083 | 6,721 | 9,566 | 775 |
| 1875 – 79 | 1,968 | 352 | 1,097 | 1,622 | 1,388 | 1,449 | 3,362 | 6,777 | 9,118 | 25 |
| 1880 – 84 | 1,885 | 194 | 1,032 | 1,862 | 1,475 | 1,880 | 6,437 | 5,866 | 6,335 | 23 |
| 1885 – 89 | 1,440 | 97 | 497 | 1,161 | 1,302 | 1,677 | 3,144 | 5,360 | 7,048 | 8 |
| 1890 – 94 | 1,609 | 61 | 617 | 1,163 | 999 | 2,654 | 2,985 | 5,298 | 8,290 | 38 |
| 1895 – 99 | 2,500 | 49 | 883 | 878 | 590 | 2,949 | 3,205 | 4,797 | 7,229 | 30 |
| 1900 – 04 | | 44 | 599 | 430 | 521 | 1,990 | 3,115 | 4,824 | 6,960 | 424 |
| 1905 – 09 | | 10 | 395 | 483 | 820 | 2,540 | 2,805 | 3,592 | 6,415 | |
| 1910 – 14 | | 13 | 271 | 807 | 862 | 2,815 | 3,156 | 3,206 | 4,464 | |

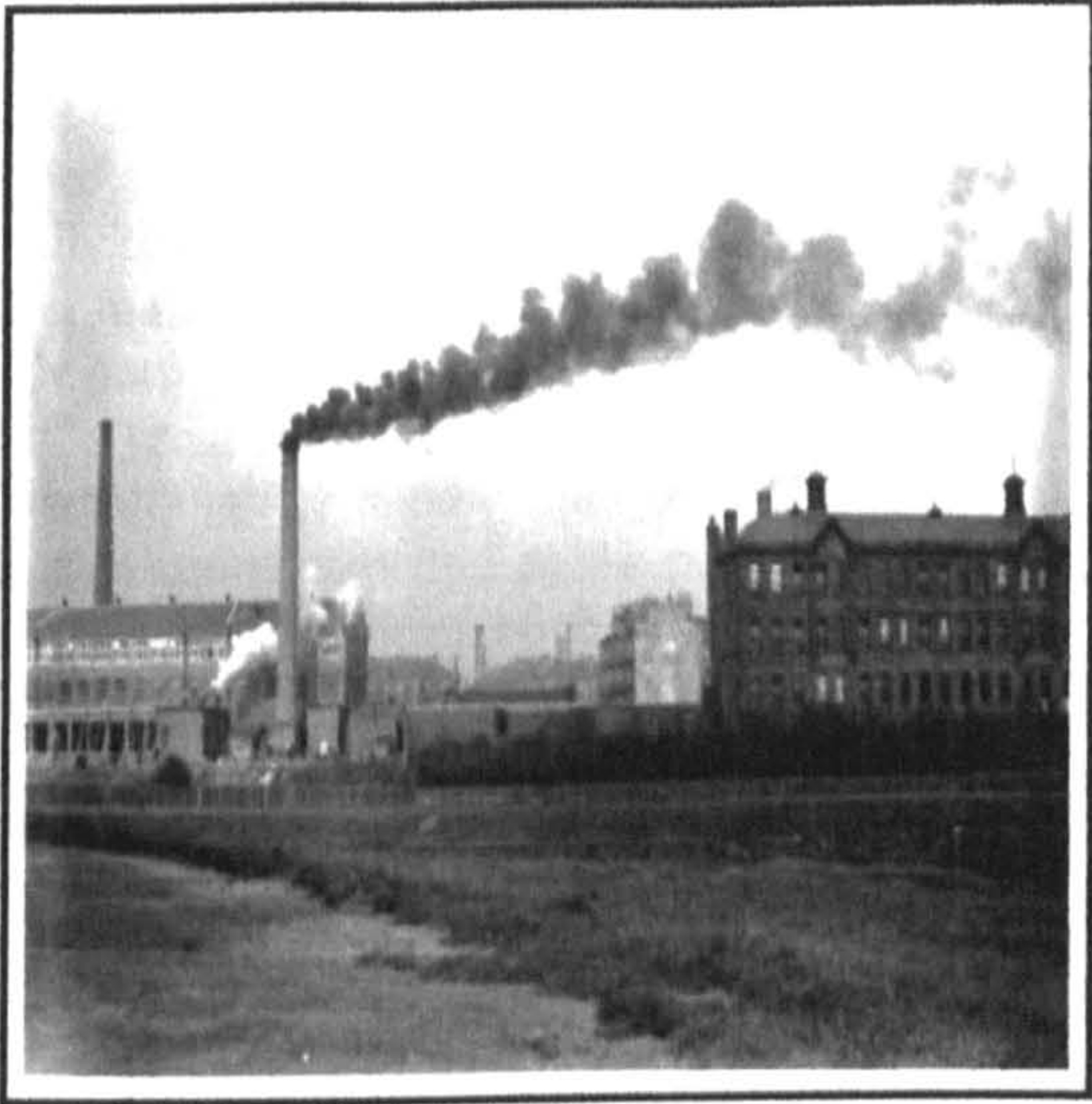
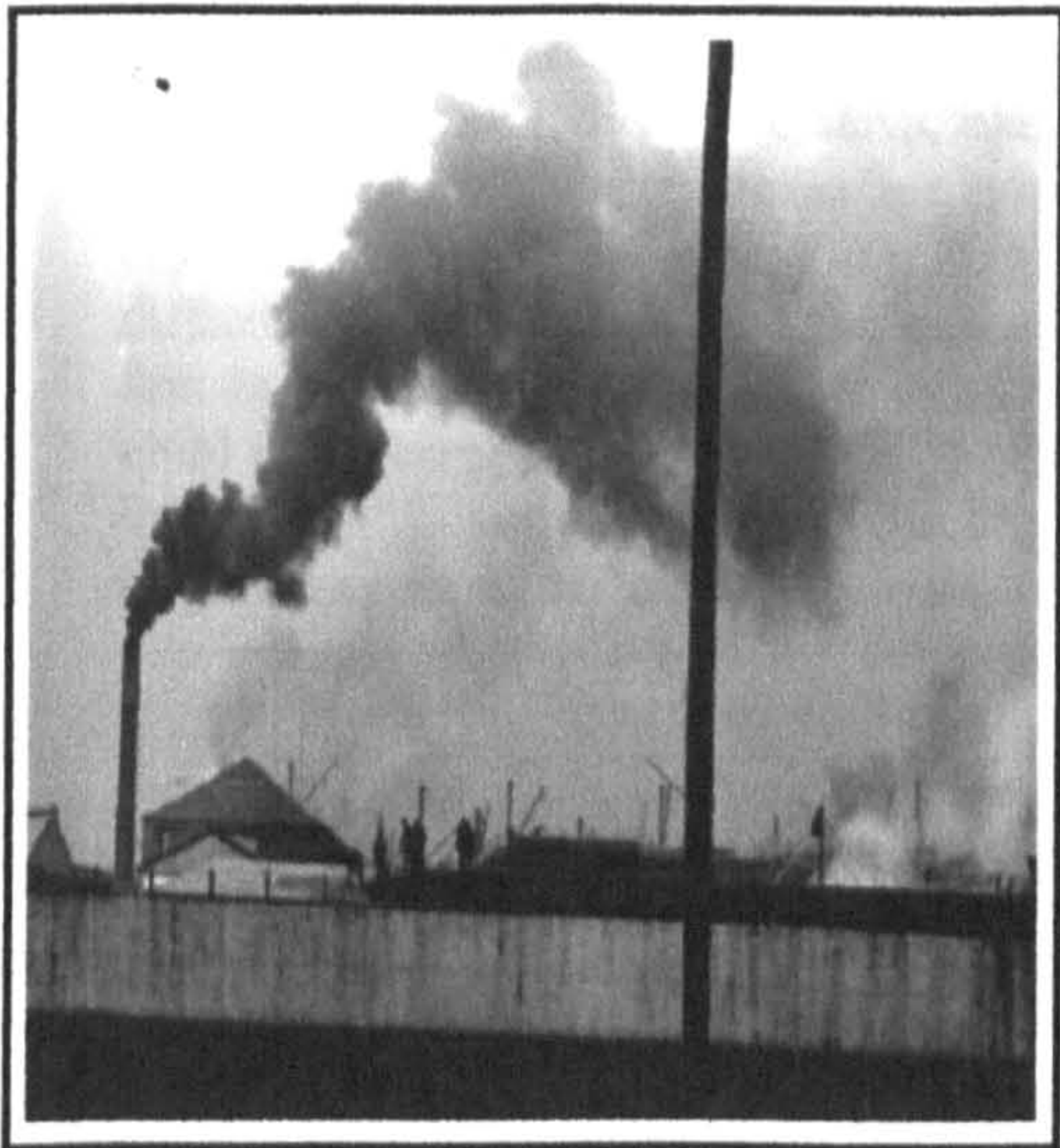


Figure 3.1: Chimneystack in Govan, April 1912 Figure 3.2: Solway Street, Dalmarnock Sept. 1910⁶⁵

Sixty years after the above Report identified smoke as a problem and despite vigorous campaigns from various societies and individuals throughout the country to have smoke recognised as an important health issue, action regulation its production and emission was ineffective. Conclusive evidence of its persistence and extent is found in an article by a P. Fyfe in the *Glasgow Herald* on October 16, 1909 entitled ‘*Glasgow’s Smoke*

⁶³ “Dean of Guild Report, 1 Nov. 1849” quoted in H.A. McLean, *The Smokeless City: A Retrospect and a Prospect*, Glasgow, 1911, pp. 6, 8. (GUL Special Collection Mu 22 - c.9).

⁶⁴ Source: Gibb, 1988, op. cit.

⁶⁵ Virtual Mitchell Archive, Record No C165 and C804.

Nuisance’ in which it was reported that a Mr. F.W. Harris after conducting experiments “with soot-collecting boxes in different parts of the city during four winter months, calculated that 45 tons of soot fell each day upon Glasgow’s area of 12,796 acres or at a rate of 16,410 tons per annum, or 820 tons per square mile per annum”.⁶⁶ The consequences for the health of the population of such extensive pollution was recognised by medical authorities much earlier as indicated in table 3.7 below. It details the number of persons per 100,000 who died in and near Glasgow in 1880 as a result of non-tubercular lung diseases. Table 3.7 illustrates that in the more densely populated areas in the city more people suffered from lung and other diseases, understood as aggravated by higher levels of smoke pollution, than those in rural districts who benefited from the relative purer and less polluted air of the countryside. An impassioned plea for action on the nuisance of smoke pollution is given below and is couched and expressed in language and sentiments in which comparisons between the city and the country reflects many of the points and arguments made by campaigners for urban public parks. That is, public parks act as ‘lungs of the city’ and have a purifying action on the tainted air of the polluted city and that the benefits of pure air are not only medical and physical but also moral:

If we can bring it home to every man, woman, and child that a smoke-laden and foggy atmosphere means directly catarrh, nasal and bronchial, sore throats, cough and colds and indirectly means an insidious process of so weakening our various respiratory organs, & c., as to predispose to undue liability to disease, undoubtedly making it more difficult to live for the best of us, and sending many others to an untimely grave, surely this can be changed – and this is no class or party question – every man, woman and child is concerned here – it is well worthy of a great enthusiastic united effort to make the change ... and to get all the health and wealth which another four or five hundred hours of extra sunshine would mean, when plot and garden and public park would be gay again with the bloom of healthy flower, the verdure of bush and tree adding immensely to the sum total of the citizens’ pleasure, making the dear old city worth living in, making our citizens, young and old, capable of living a better life, morally as well as physically, and forever destroying that wicked superstition that industrial supremacy is synonymous with dirt, darkness, and disease, and ensuring that all should have not only pure food and pure water, but what is possibly the most important of all, pure air in rich abundance.⁶⁷

TABLE 3.7: Death Rates per 100,000 in and near Glasgow, 1880 ⁶⁸

| | Contagious Diseases | Lung Diseases | Other Diseases | Total |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Rural Districts | 289 | 354 | 996 | 1639 |
| City of Glasgow | 773 | 1024 | 1232 | 3029 |
| Thinly Populated part of Glasgow, 36 persons per acre | 450 | 600 | 870 | 1920 |
| Densely Populated part of Glasgow, 512 persons per acre | 1020 | 1860 | 1600 | 4480 |

⁶⁶ In J.B. Cohen and A.G. Ruston, *Smoke a Study of Town Air*, London, Edward Arnold, 1912, p.15.

⁶⁷ McLean, 1911, op. cit. p. 8.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 73.

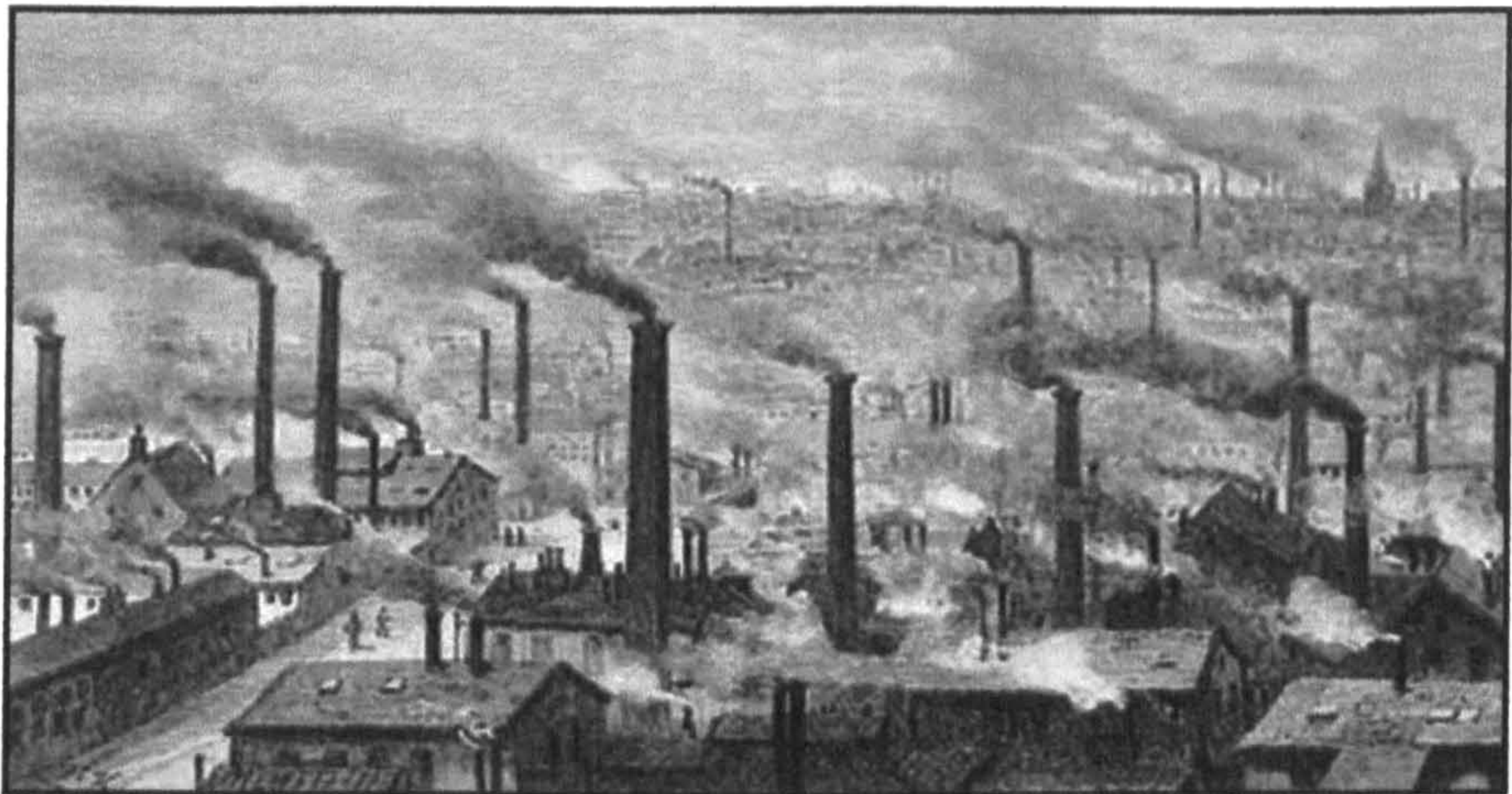
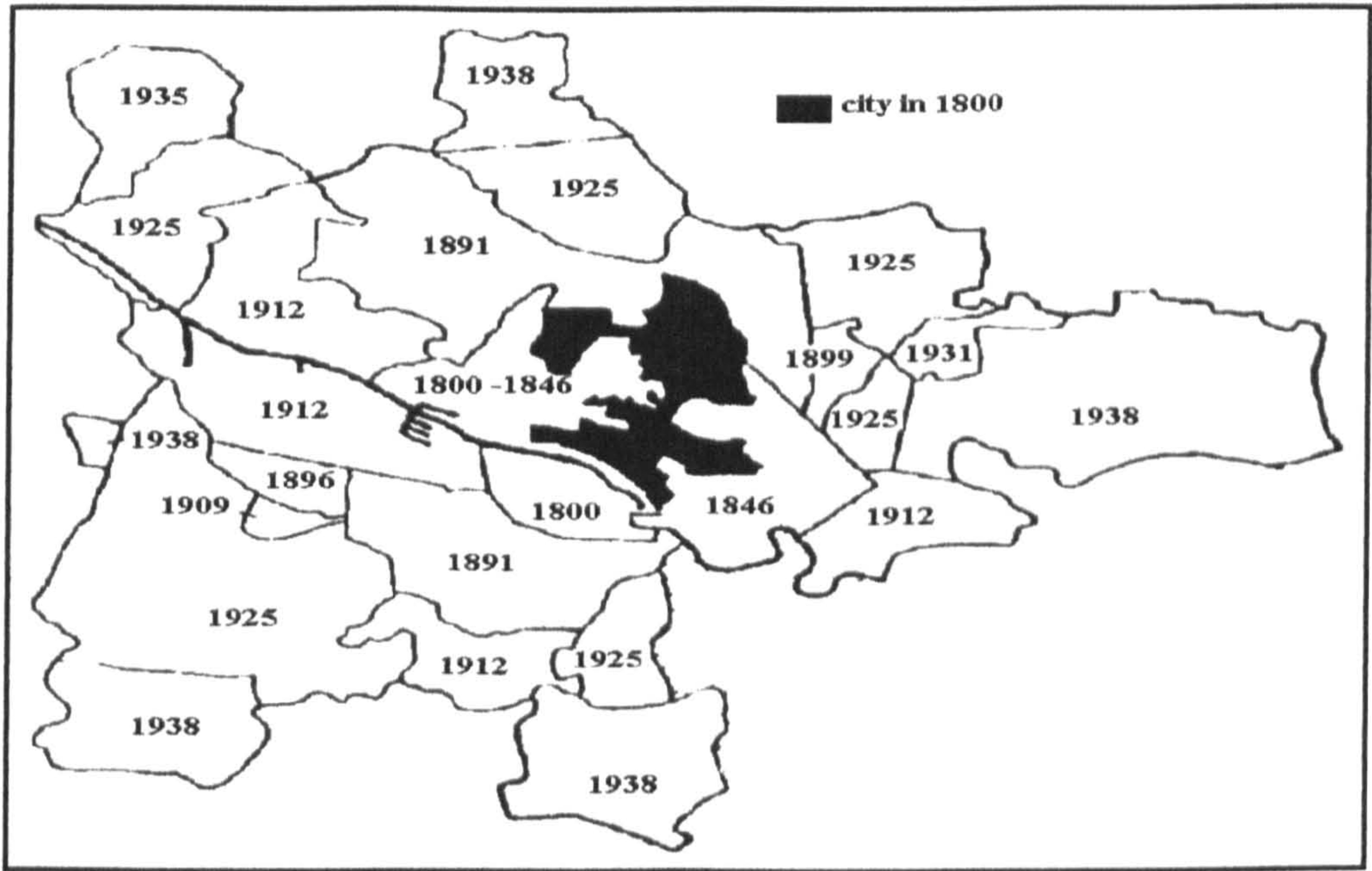


Figure 3.3: Glasgow Smoke ⁶⁹

The rapid population growth of the city and the problems detailed above was accompanied by its spatial expansion. The development of new suburbs away from the medieval centre and the subsumption of neighbouring burghs, previously under their own sovereign authority, saw a dramatic increase in the total acreage of the city. Table 3.8 and the accompanying map (figure 3.4) detail and illustrate the acquisition of new lands and the extension of the city through various Expansion Acts that increased the size of the city’s area from 1,786 acres in 1800 to 39, 725 acres in 1938. Such an expansion would have implications for the production of the public parks network, particularly in relation to the location and chronology of development. This aspect will be discussed in the following chapter.

Figure 3.4: Boundary Extensions and City Growth



⁶⁹ View of Glasgow by an unnamed artist, c. 1880, showing the profusion of smoke-emitting chimneys in the city, Picture No. 10040759, Mary Evans Picture Library (<http://online.mepl.co.uk/old-bin/dwsrun>).

TABLE 3.8: Extension of the City of Glasgow, 1800-1935 ⁷⁰

| Date | Districts Incorporated | Area added (acres) | City's Total (acres) |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1800 | | | 1,768 |
| 1800 | Part of the Green and part of the present centre of the City between Ramshorn Church and St Enoch's Burn | 96 | 1,864 |
| 1831 | The Necropolis and the lands of Blythswood, and lands of Easter and Wester Craig | 317 | 2,181 |
| 1843 | The portion of the city between Carlyle Street and Garscube Rd., South of the Canal | 192 | 2,373 |
| 1846 | Burghs of Anderston & Carlton, the major portion of the Barony of Gorbals and parts of the adjoining counties: Municipal and Parliamentary Burgh (created in 1832) now coincide | 2,690 | 5,063 |
| 1872 | Springburn, and lands at Broomhill, Port Dundas, Hundred Acre Hill, Keppochhill, Cowlairst: lands at Wester Kennyhill, Gilmorehill, Donaldshill | 970 | 6,033 |
| 1878 | Coplawhill and the remainder of Barony of Gorbals | 78 | 6,111 |
| 1891 | Burghs of Govanhill, Crosshill, Pollockshields, Hillhead and Maryhill; the districts of Mount Florida, Langside, Shawlands, Kelvinside, Springburn and extension of Belvidere | 5,750 | 11,867 |
| 1896 | Bellahouston Park, Craigton. | 450 | 12,311 |
| 1899 | Blackhill and Shawfield areas | 377 | 12,688 |
| 1905 | Burgh of Kinning Park | 108 | 12,796 |
| 1909 | Moss Park and Henderston | 179 | 12,975 |
| 1912 | Burghs of Govan, Partick and Pollockshaws and several suburban districts <u>Lanarkshire</u> - Shettleston and Tollcross: <u>Renfrewshire</u> - Cathcart and Newlands and portion west of Partick: <u>Dunbartonshire</u> - Dawsholm, Temple and North Knightswood | 6,208 | 19,183 |
| 1925 | <u>Lanarkshire</u> - Lambhill, Robroyston, Millerston, Carntyne and Aikenhead: <u>Renfrewshire</u> - Mansewood, Kennishead, Nitshill, Hurlet, Crookston, Cardonald, Scotstoun and Yoker: <u>Dunbartonshire</u> - Knightswood | 10,326 | 29,509 |
| 1931 | Hogganfield, Carntyne (east) | 535 | 30,044 |
| 1938 | <u>Lanarkshire</u> - Balmuildy, Auchinairn, Carndowan, Gartloch, Easterhouse, and Queenslie: <u>Renfrewshire</u> - Linn Park, Jenny Lind, Darnley, and Penilee: <u>Dunbartonshire</u> - Drumry, Drumchapel and Summerston | 9,681 | 39,725 |

(b) The Shadow Side of the City

Whilst the statistics presented above provide detailed evidence of the demographic and spatial growth of the city and the consequences of pollution, death, disease, and population density through the lack of facilities and infrastructure, it does not adequately depict the social conditions that existed for the mass of the population, and what Durkheim referred to as ‘moral density’, against which the development of a municipal response in the city was based. A fascinating and illuminating first-hand ‘snapshot’ of the poverty and squalor to be found in Glasgow slums in the mid-19th century, is provided by *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, originally published anonymously under the pseudonym Shadow, in 1858.⁷¹ In his wanderings into the nooks and crannies of the backcourts and wynds of the city, Shadow exposed the living conditions of the mass of the population to

⁷⁰ Table 8 adapted from *Municipal Glasgow: It's Evolution and Enterprise*, Corporation of Glasgow, 1914, p. 21: Cunison, & Gilfillan, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland (Glasgow)*, Glasgow. Collins, 1958: *Facts and Figures for Members of the Council*, Corporation of Glasgow, 1949, p. 70. Map adapted from Historical Fact Sheet 3, City of Glasgow Council, 1999.

⁷¹ Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs, being sketches of life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City*, and illustrated by George Cruikshank, Glasgow, Thomas Murray and Son, 1858. J.F. McCaffrey republished it in full, with an introduction, in 1976, Glasgow University Press. Shadow was identified as a pseudonym for Alexander Brown, a letterpress printer in business at 108 Argyle Street. The book, is presented as "... facts and observations not without value on a subject of great and increasing interest, viz., the condition of the poor, and the classes generally inhabiting the lower depths of society ... the 'night side of the city' ... 'Life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City'", p. v.

the glare of the literate public. Thomas Annan, a commercial photographer with a studio in Hope Street who was commissioned by the Trustees of the Glasgow City Improvement Scheme of 1866 to document the slum conditions before they were demolished, provides a near contemporary photographic record of Shadow's literary descriptions, his 'social photographs'. Some examples of Annan's photographs will be provided below to accompany Shadow's descriptions. Shadow's nightly walks through the city over a one-week period documents the people, scenes and impressions that he encounters, in a not unsympathetic light. He does not romanticise the ordinary people but neither does he shirk from describing in detail the conditions that he encounters.⁷² Shadow's work is in many ways comparable with Friedrich Engel's 1845 description of working class life in *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.⁷³, though without the political analysis or revolutionary rhetoric, Behind the façade of the wealthy streets and houses of the bourgeoisie, out of site of the everyday experience of the 'respectable' citizens of the city, lay a nether world, the 'night side', of appalling poverty, suffering and moral depravity. For example, Sunday night in the Briggate is described thus:

An immense concourse of men, women and children, with numbers of policemen, are to be seen lounging about in idle groups, preferring the open air to the vitiated atmosphere of their pestilential dwellings ... Yet, despite this, and the occasional drunkard who staggers across our path, the general demeanour of the people bespeaks revelry subdued; the poor attempts at face-washing and dress, on the part of some of them, even in their filthy rags, seem to elevate them a shade above the sensualities of the week ... In a few moments we grope our way, in an inclined posture, through the entrance to one of those low narrow closes. A small stream of impure water flows on the right, and with the odour of putrefying animal substances, it smells of putrefaction ... The close now becomes more open, and we breathe more freely. A score of eyes from almost every point - staircase, window and pavement - fall upon us, as we look through the hazy grey of the night. The impression at once felt is that of intrusion. No nautical explorer ever fell among savages who looked with greater wonder at his approach ... Of the six or eight families we visit, each occupies but one apartment, in size about 8 feet by 12, containing from four to five inmates, without regard to age or sex. The bedding, placed in the corner of the room, usually consists of a little straw, and the bed-clothes of a few old rags. In two cases only do we see a chair - a stool, or some other article is used. ... Reader, fancy a small room, not more than 8 feet by 9 feet or 10. In it, on a handful or two of straw, scattered in different corners sleep three poor women. One of them old, blind, and deaf with age. Another confined with a child but twenty-four hours or so before. She is already up, and commences her work on the morrow.⁷⁴

Shadow's descriptions, vivid as they are, are not unique or isolated accounts. Despite some limited attempts at slum clearance by the City Improvement Scheme of 1866, in 1886 a third of families in Glasgow lived in one room, in conditions, as the following extract

⁷² The language of his 'explorations' is reminiscent of other later Victorian investigations into the conditions of the working classes if not his remedies as to the causes of their impoverishment. See General William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, Salvation Army, London; Mearns, A., 1883, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the London Poor*, London, 1890,, (GUL Sp. Coll. Mu 61-b.4).

⁷³ F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, translated and edited by W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner, Oxford, Blackwell, 1958.

⁷⁴ Shadow, 1858, op. cit. pp. 16,18, 29.

testifies, almost identical to that described by Shadow in 1858. It would not be until well into the 20th century that council housing was provided in any significant numbers to make an appreciable difference to the 'housing problem'.

No one will dispute that the social condition of a large part of the population is deplorable in the extreme. The dwellings are wretched. The families are surrounded by an environment of squalor and degradation which renders it impossible for the children to thrive. Science and art have done much to change the face of the world; they have done but little to transform the social aspect of our great cities ... We cross several thoroughfares, and at length turn aside along a narrow close or ally, which one may have passed hundreds of times without dreaming that it leads to lands and tenements, largely consisting on innumerable one-roomed houses where many poor families consistently reside. At the foot of the stair a dungstead stands constantly reeking with unwholesome odours. It is being replenished almost without intermission. If the day is sloppy and wet the lower steps get the benefit of the overflow, and a filthy pig-sty entrance is the result. Up one, two, three, or four stairs, you find long, dark passages with no end of doors, each one opening into the wretched apartments where a whole family dwell, and whither this little group of children are finding their accustomed way. If you would follow them into the room provide yourself with a lump of camphor, that you may not run the risk of fainting away after leaving the fresh air of the street. The passage is dirty; the house is filthy; no whitewash has come near these walls for many a long day. One miserable bed occupies a dark recess, another made up of some old bedclothes is seen in a corner, and a third - a shakedown - may be found under the first to be drawn out as night approaches.⁷⁵

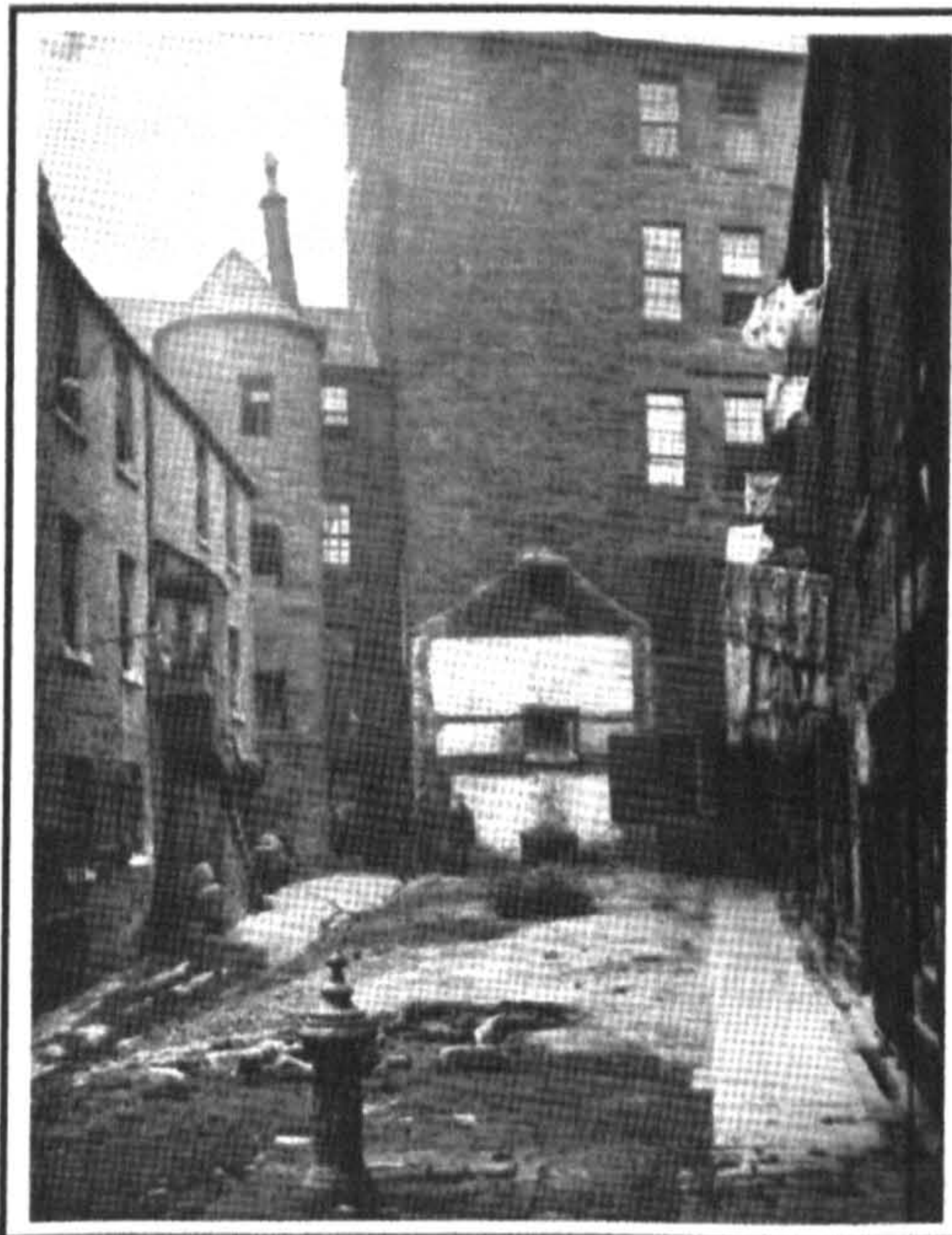


Figure 3.5: Closes, Nos. 97 and 103 Saltmarket

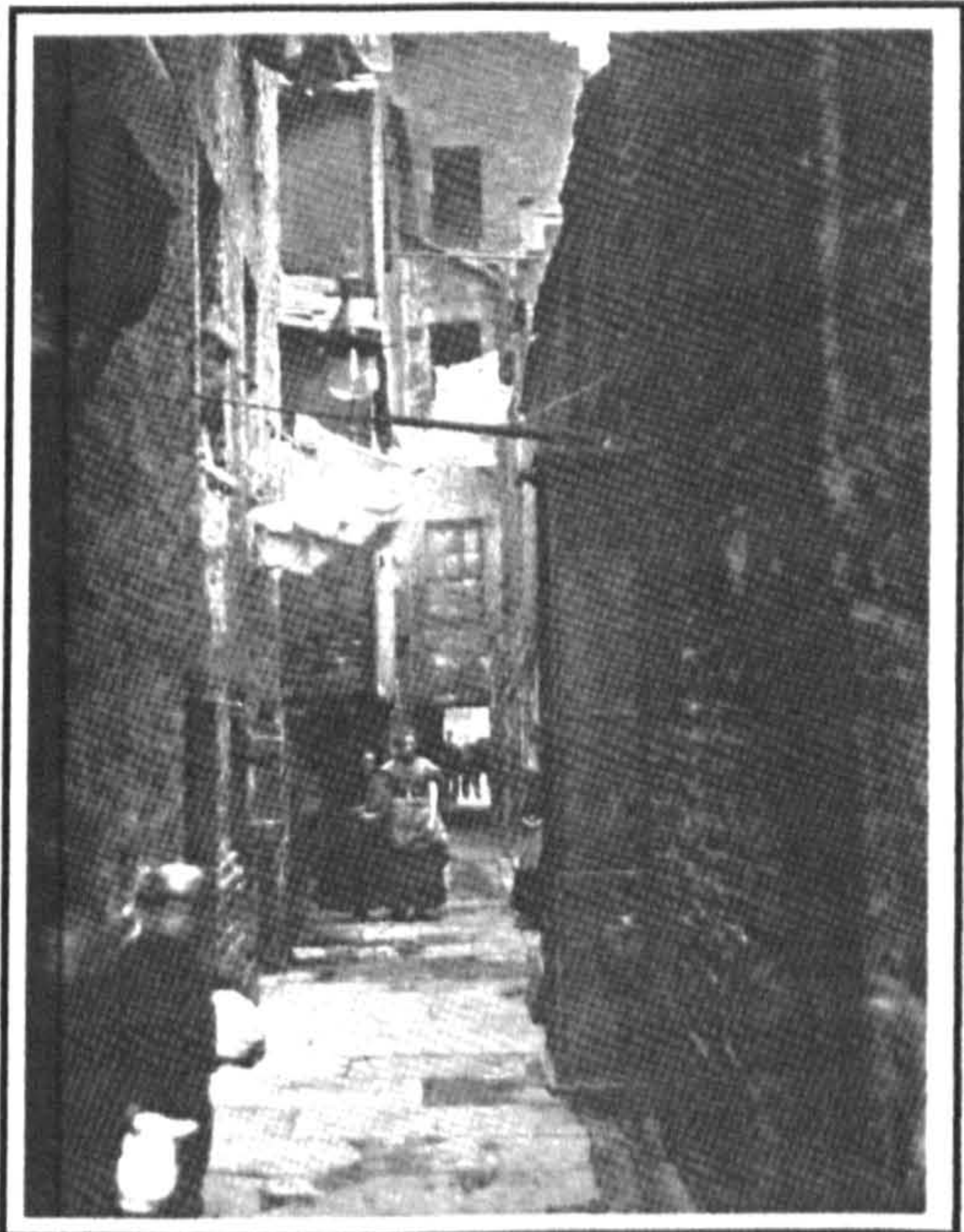


Figure 3.6: Close, No. 37 High Street⁷⁶

Whilst Shadow is sympathetic to the poor and the situation they were forced to endure he also betrays an undisguised horror and fear at some of those that he chanced upon in his investigations of the darkest alleys:

⁷⁵ Wm. Mitchell, *Rescue The Children (Or Twelve Years Dealing With Neglected Girls And Boys)*, London, Ibister Limited, 1886, pp. ix-x, 100-101.

⁷⁶ Plate 30 and Plate 15 in *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877*, New York, Dover Publications Ltd., 1977.

The impression left upon the mind of a visitant to these worst of low places, is analogous to approaching the most ferocious of wild beasts. The contour of their heads is unmistakable, and the fierce animal expression of their countenance still less so. Every feature bears the impress of crime. When they quarrel, which they frequently do among themselves, the scene is appalling ... Among the wynds of the Trongate, Argyle Street, the Gallowgate, the Calton, the Gorbals, even extending to the suburbs of the city - hundreds of the same dens, with their thousands of inmates - if now looked in upon, would present scenes not to be imagined, far less described. Riot, drunkenness, theft, profligacy of every kind - it may be murder itself - are the pastimes in which they are engaged, and all on this very quiet night of the week, Friday! ⁷⁷

The language and allusions to phrenology, was typical of his time and betrays his own social status, but it does not detract from the attempt Shadow makes to shed some light on the impoverished experience of many Glaswegians. He makes it clear that, for him, there exists in Glasgow a level of poverty and deprivation that is all too easily hidden from the eyes and minds of 'respectable' society. The moral consequences for the poor forced to endure exposure to the worst excesses of the same processes that had created the wealth of the city was explicit. Either a descent into sensuous depravity and criminality or a moral and spiritual torpor in which the few opportunities for healthy activities and pastimes are spurned or dismissed for the limited comforts and anonymous pleasures to be clutched at out of sight in their lairs and hovels, free from the dismissive eyes and judgements of the 'decent'.

The virtuous and the vicious, the halt and the blind, the motly-conditioned of the poorer classes generally are here - but alas! True to the words of the old verse, "the nearer the Kirk, the further fae grace".... Pent up in their hovels all day, they come out just to breathe a mouthful of fresh air before laying themselves down on beds of rags and straw. It is a pity that these poor people have not the moral courage to venture out during the day, while the sun might rejoice their hearts, and ventilate their unwholesome garments - for basking in God's sunshine, and thereby giving increased health to body and mind, is surely better than wallowing in low pestiferous cellars. And while the poor have been driven from the street and the public house, comparatively no effort has been made of a practical kind, by the Christian community, to fill the vacuum thereby created in the social habits of the people. The choice lies between church and home. With the former, persons of vicious habits have no sympathy; nor can they be expected to have. And so betwixt their shabby garments, and an outward prejudice all too prevalent against a Sunday walk, or other innocent enjoyment, the poor are cooped up in their dirty pestilential dwellings, consigned to sleep, or drink, or smoke away the day in peaceful indolence. How much better it would be to see the poor creatures breathing the fresh air on our lovely Green, inhaling the ruddy glow of health to the faded cheek! or, why not, says a sensible writer on the same subject, "sanctify the Sabbath evening to the poor, who have only heard the street ballad and the street organ during the week, by making it the occasion for hearing Handel and Haydn, or the Masses of Mozart set to Scripture words, or any other among the great achievements in church music, which our poorer brethren have ears to listen to - yes, and hearts to feel - if you give them a chance". On a fine summer evening in our public parks, it would be difficult to realise anything more heavenly or exalting than the effect of such praises offered to God by multitudes of our poor. ⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Shadow, 1858, op. cit. pp. 93, 94.

⁷⁸ Shadow, 1858, op. cit. pp. 23, 34-5.

What is revealed in the above extract are the commonly held conceptions of the benefits to be had from access to the medicinal action of fresh air, exercise, and sunshine, that clearly resonates with the arguments and themes propagated by the public parks movement. The call for the ‘uplifting’ experience of music in the public parks is an early appeal for what was to become a popular and extensive pastime and use of the parks later in the century. This will be considered in a later chapter but it represents here an example of bourgeois social reformers at that time. Not only did they campaign for more pay, safer workplaces, better homes, adequate sanitation, education etc., but for the beneficial exposure to ‘high’ culture rather than the dubious politics and sensuousness of popular songs. Social reform of the physical conditions of the poor was perceived as advanced alongside moral reform, to be achieved by education, instruction and healthy alternatives to popular cultural and leisure pursuits. This hegemonic strategy of social control and engineering through the environmental improvements and rational recreations is a recurrent theme in the development of the public parks.

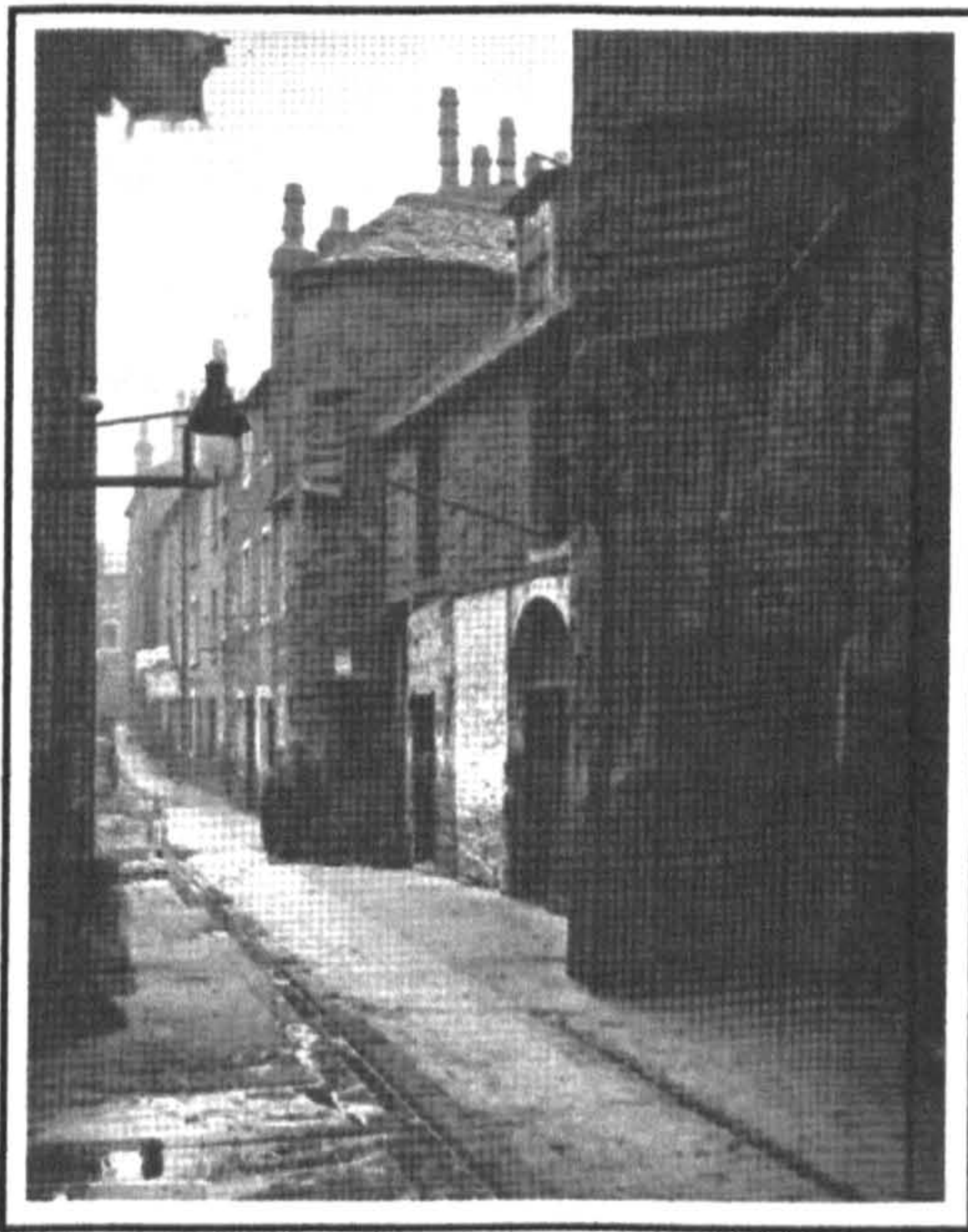


Figure 3.7: Close, No. 139 Saltmarket

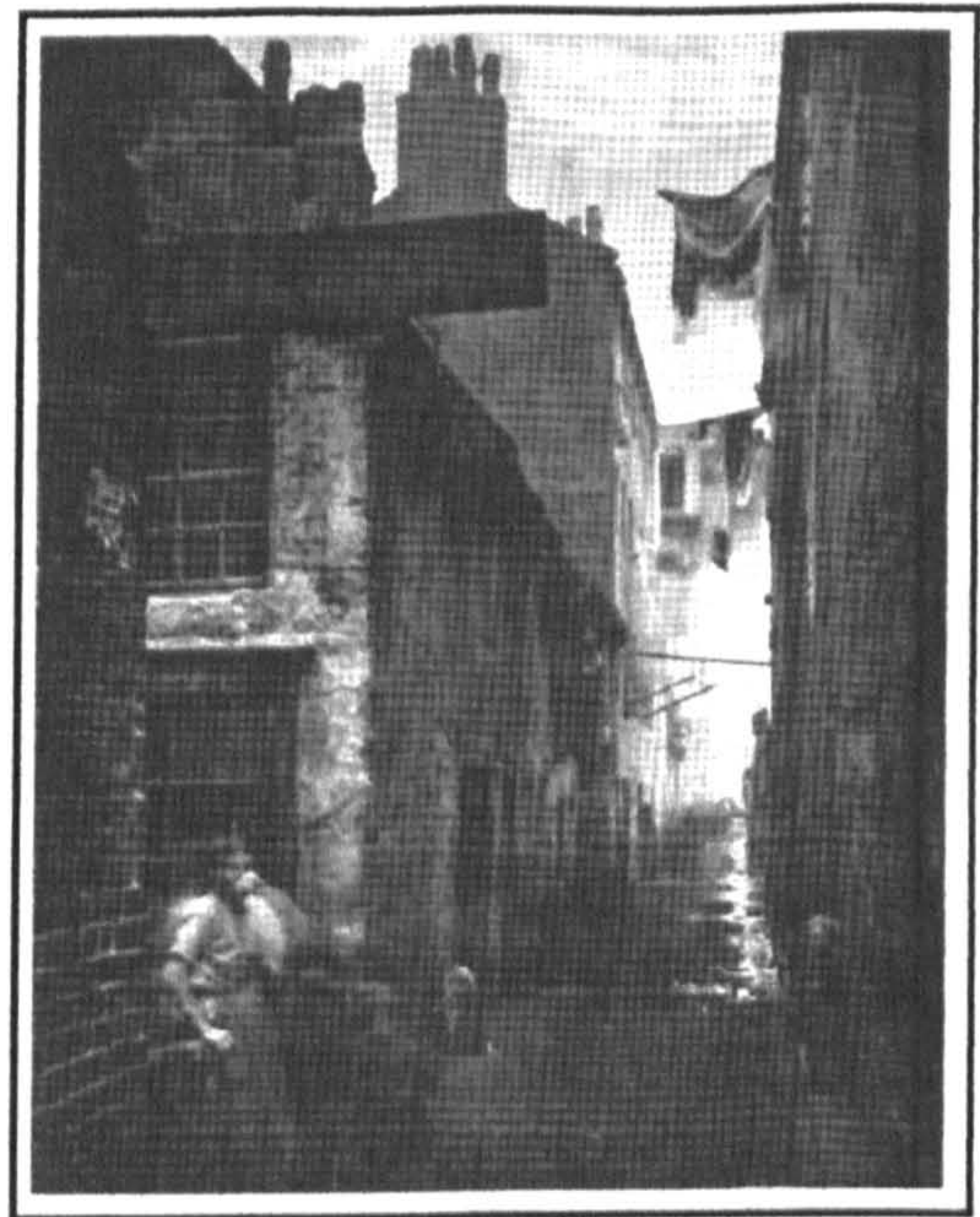


Figure 3.8: Old Vennel, off High Street ⁷⁹

For Shadow, to ignore the evidence of his investigations would be to ignore a ‘social evil’ that contained moral dangers. It was also an appeal to the consciences and claims to moral superiority of the ‘worthy’ to acknowledge and accept responsibility for the suffering, the extreme impoverishment and hardship, of their neighbours and fellow citizens. The need for action, for missionary work in the slums, to create a healthier, more civilised and moral society would benefit all classes in Glasgow. For, if the poor were left

⁷⁹ Plates 34 and 2 in Annan, 1977, op. cit.

to fester in the back alleys and closes of the city, there was not only a threat to the health, wealth and general 'good' of the city but to its status and competitiveness as a major industrial, manufacturing and trading centre:

That social evil exists in Glasgow to a most sorrowful extent, is only too apparent to the most common observer who walks our streets, and truly horrifying it is to him who would take the trouble of descending into the lower depths of society, who would visit, whether by night or day, the dens of the vicious, or the pestiferous dwellings of the poor. Statistics however exact, and description however vivid, can give no idea of the deplorable condition in which these classes are placed. We are sure that the Christian community of Glasgow are comparatively ignorant of the physical and moral destitution of their fellow creatures, and as a class for liberal benevolence, they will stand most honourable comparison with any other city ... Either these neglected people are our fellow-creatures, 'the children of God' in reality, alike with ourselves, or they are not. If they are, then all simpering sympathy and mere lip-profession of love for them is a mockery. An earnest practical effort to elevate them needs to be made.⁸⁰

Those who had benefited most from economic success understood that it was based on the new opportunities in manufacturing and commerce wrought by industrial organisation and technological innovation. For Shadow, the same processes that had brought wealth to the city created physical impoverishment and were perceived as being compounded by an ignorance of basic health measures. Therefore, the poor needed to be provided with the means to increase their standard of living through the acquisition of knowledge with which to counteract their unhygienic and inadequate living conditions as well as the improvement of the necessities. The poor, therefore, should be instructed to better themselves as well as provided with the means and the circumstances in which to apply the benefits that a modern industrial economy could supply. For Shadow, the improvement of the condition of the poorest in the city was only a possibility if moral benefits were allowed to grow in the hearts, minds and bodies of the people. This evangelical ethos will be shown to underpin underpinned the reforming zeal of both voluntary associations and the institutions of the local state as will be discussed presently in relation to the development of a vast range of municipal services.

One great cause, we believe, will be found in their effective knowledge of the laws that regulate health, and their general existence as rational beings. The whole of the external circumstances of society are against them. The capitalist, in his haste to make rich, demands from them longer hours of labour than are either needful for the respectable subsistence of their families, or for the requirements of society generally, in these days of increased production by machinery. From a niggardly parsimony, again, workmen have nearly all the complaint of the poor tailor who is consigned to a pit, exposed to the fever-exhalations of sewers, or a low roof, or a crowded workshop, which subject them to the exhausting effect of a vitiated atmosphere ... The closes and wynds – the damp cellars and fever nurseries of the poor, falsely called 'homes', have been pointedly spoken of, and described in these sketches. The presence of such places in the centres of princely wealth, surrounded by monuments of art, and all the elements of outward civilisation, is a libel upon the city, and upon her high professions of Christianity in

⁸⁰ Shadow, 1858, op. cit. pp. 116-7.

particular. The total ignorance of the unhappy occupants respecting everything like organic law, which requires for the preservation of health, pure air, light and cleanliness, precludes the possibility of their ever being able to exercise the slightest control over the unfortunate circumstances in which they are placed. Hence the almost constant presence of disease in these wretched localities. Hence the inordinate number of public houses in these afflicted neighbourhoods. Morally and physically prostrated by an open antagonism to all that is morally and physically healthful, these poor creatures have become the easy prey of intemperance and every description of vice ... The mere fact of the people being exposed to more light and purer air would, in spite of their old habits, better their moral and physical condition. Accustom the poor to better houses, and more a comfortable existence, and, like the world in general, there will follow an effort to keep and maintain these advantages. By this process has civilisation advanced.⁸¹

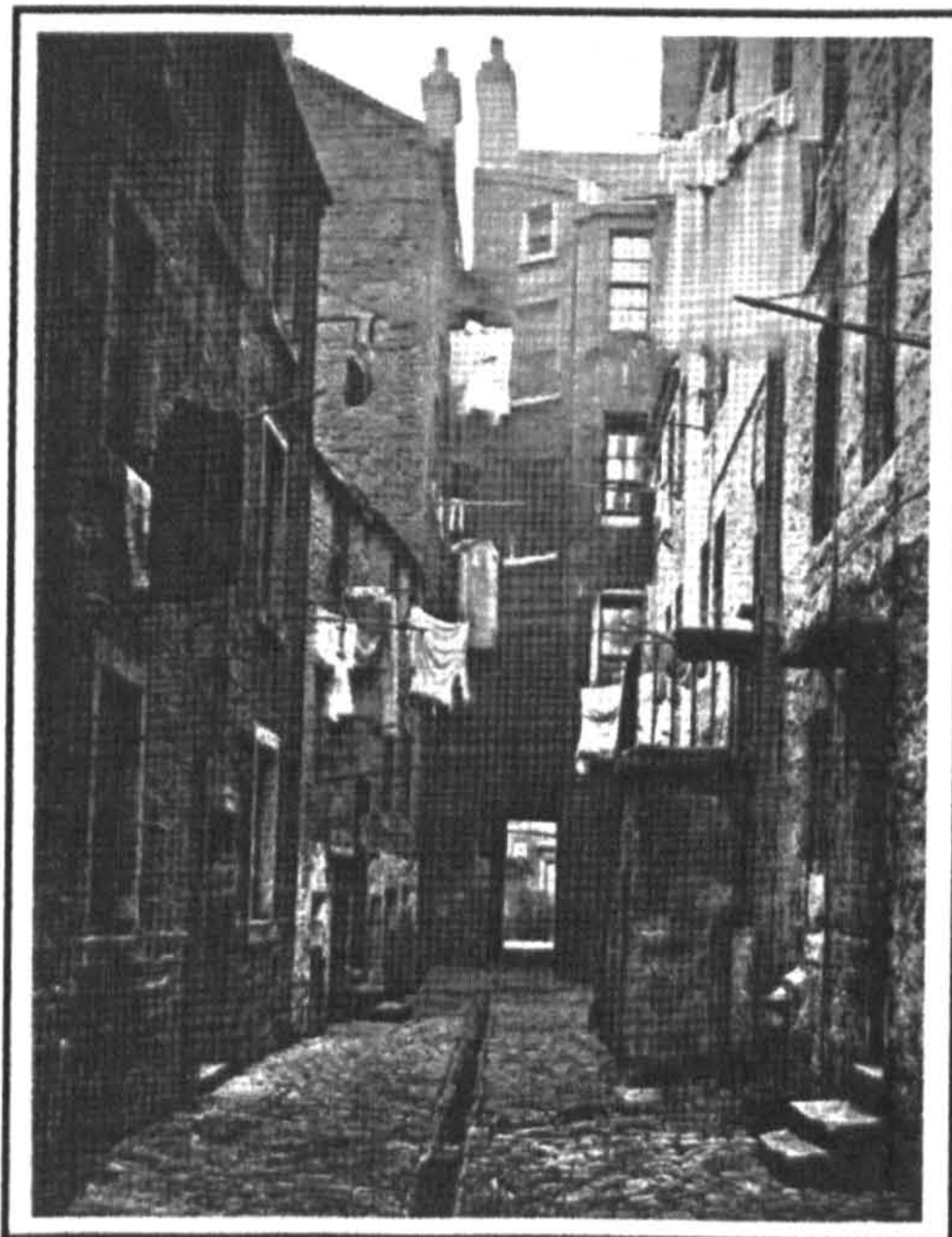


Figure 3.9: Close, No. 75 High Street



Figure 3.10: Close, No. 46 Saltmarket⁸²

Shadow's illumination of what he called the 'night side' of Glasgow of the 1850's is a powerful demonstration of the conditions in the city that the municipal authorities had to contend with. The following section will discuss the civic ethos, the social and religious idealism that permeated the creation, organisation and administration of a form of municipal authority in Glasgow that in the second half of the 19th century displayed a zealous commitment to direct intervention in the social, material and moral landscape of the city.

(c) The Civic Ethos And The Role Of Evangelism In Municipal Administration

Shadow's appeal to the Christian community to recognise and accept their duty and responsibility was expressed within a climate and tradition of religious participation in Scottish civil society. As Morton describes it,

⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 119-20, 122, 123.

⁸² Plates 12 and 28 in Annan, 1977, op. cit.

By the time we reach nineteenth century Scotland, civil society exists as a balance to the state, and is created by it, but also that civil society is, as Toqueville would have it, the necessary resistance to tyranny of the majority. For this counterbalance to achieve successful hegemonic power, the self-interested motivations which drive the heterogeneous society of individuals becomes imbued with an ideology of civic virtue. If there was no 'community' to maintain 'social order' then conflicting social norms will result from a civil society divided along religious, ethnic, regional or class lines.⁸³

Gramsci's concept of hegemony, that is, "...the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as intellectual and moral leadership"⁸⁴, predicates an examination of how, in any society a class is able to establish its leadership of other classes, as distinct from outright coercion, using specific political, cultural and ideological forms and practices. This concept of ideological and cultural leadership is useful in the context of Victorian Glasgow in that it assumes an important relevance when considering the motivations by the bourgeoisie behind the organisation and administration of public services, charitable schemes, and religious missions in the city. The role of bourgeois civil society, particularly that of the evangelical interventionists in municipal organisation, was one of inter-linked and interwoven initiatives and motivations. As Gramsci puts it, "... hegemony over its historical development belongs to private forces, to civil society - which is 'State' too".⁸⁵ The need to address the moral, medical and social consequences of the demographic, spatial, economic and municipal expansion of the city and how best it should, or could be organised for the benefit of the 'common good' was mitigated by fiscal constraints and political concerns with good order. In the cities of the nineteenth century the role of a particular group, the 'urban gentry', were prominent in their influence in civic affairs. They were

...[p]articularly concerned with the administrative and ideological organisation of society, they were to be found as members of statistical societies and Royal Commissions, writers and readers of the quarterly press, organisers of charity and social discipline ... They played a crucial role in the organisation of hegemony.⁸⁶

The historical evidence for the influence of this group has already been alluded to both in the analysis of the public parks movement and in the description of the Glasgow experience of the 19th century. Such an hegemonic intelligentsia, as Gramsci defined them, were "...an elite of men of culture, who have the function of providing leadership of a cultural and general ideological nature for a great movement of interrelated parties (which

⁸³ G. Morton, "Civil Society, Municipal Government and The State: Enshrinement, Empowerment and Legitimacy. Scotland, 1800-1929", *Urban History*, 25,3, 1998, p. 251.

⁸⁴ A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, (translated and edited) Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, p. 57-58.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 261.

⁸⁶ R. Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain", in T., Bennett et al (eds.) *Culture, Ideology and Social Process*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1981, p. 237.

in reality are fractions of one and the same organic party)"⁸⁷ The concern of civil society, whether the local state, charity or religious organisations, worthy, 'respectable' and predominantly bourgeois, was with the threat to the political, moral and physical well being of the city's population as a consequence of the growth of industrial, urbanised society. In fact, the local state, operated and maintained by the social and political elite, was, in large part, the same people and class who played such a crucial and important role in the establishment and evangelism of many organisations whose aims and ideology was concerned with the value of instruction and 'self-help'. This class represented, in Glasgow

...[v]arious overlapping intellectual and literary cadres strongly committed to utilitarianism and free trade, who staffed key new branches of the State apparatus. Moreover 'divinity and economics' ran together and the laws of political economy were closely entangled with moral, and often religiously sanctioned, norms of 'rational conduct'.⁸⁸

Foucault echoes this, when he states,

The bourgeoisie is perfectly well aware that a new constitution or legislature will not suffice to assure its hegemony; it realises that it has to invent a new technology ensuring the irrigation by effects of power of the whole social body down to its smallest particles. And it was by such means that the bourgeoisie not only made a revolution but succeeded in establishing a social hegemony which it has never relinquished.⁸⁹

The collection of statistical information on the city, reports concerning the sanitary and housing situation as well as the morals and habits of the population were observed and published as part of an over-arching concern with the consequences of the rapid growth of the city. The "...prevailing political orthodoxy in Glasgow tended increasingly towards liberalism"⁹⁰ for most of the nineteenth century in which the concept of the 'common good' was held to be more important than any sectarian or political partisanship.

Humanitarianism, or welfare capital operating at municipal level, sought to enable the deserving to help themselves: the undeserving could be taken in hand and given suitable treatment and assistance. Liberalism with a large injection of Christian duty forced the consideration of urban problems.⁹¹

The evangelical Christian philosophy of the likes of Thomas Chalmers, who led the Disruption of the established Church of Scotland in 1843, saw social reform and sanitary

⁸⁷ Gramsci, 1971, op. cit. pp. 149-50.

⁸⁸ Gray, 1981, op. cit. p. 239. Gray specifically dates the rise of the evangelism as an ideological response to the consequences of urbanisation and industrialisation and details the interlinked 'remedies' as an attempt to ensure social order amongst the urban working classes:

"One response to the social crisis of the 1830s and 1840s was an 'evangelistic' (in both a specifically religious and general metaphorical sense of the term) drive to assert control over the urban masses ... Social unrest was seen as the result of indiscipline, the lack of moral control by social superiors, and 'ignorance'. Remedies were believed to include poor law reform, the beginnings of elementary education, religious evangelism, propaganda against dangerous 'economic heresies', the fostering of more acceptable expressions of working-class self help (friendly societies, co-ops, etc.) and of safe forms of 'rational recreation' ... Common to all of them was the attempt to propagate an ideology common to the ruling class as a whole, but also certain traits specific to the urban gentry. Economic, moral and religious concerns were fused into a single image of urban social danger." Ibid. pp. 244-5.

⁸⁹ M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980, p. 156.

⁹⁰ Mavor, I. "Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century" in T. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Elite's*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1994, p. 99.

⁹¹ B. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopias: Glasgow and the United States, 1820-1920*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1984, p. 240-1.

improvements of the industrial city as integral to Christian philanthropy. The following demonstrates the style and content of the appeals to action that featured in many such commentaries on the condition of the industrial city. The language and self-identification of the author as a Sunday school teacher is intended to add authority to his descriptions of the 'moral statistics' of the city and the need for middle class action to remedy this 'social evil'.

The working classes are the foundation of society. Upon them all higher orders rest, and by them are supported ... No nation can be prosperous whose working population is diseased, ignorant or immoral: and no working population can be healthy, intelligent, or virtuous, whose homes are built in defiance of the laws of nature, where light, sunshine, and air are excluded, and where no room whatever is given for the moral nature of man to develop itself. It is impossible for the decencies and virtues of social life to thrive in a kennel. Let the rich ask themselves this question - How could they attend to all the proprieties and delicacies of domestic life, if their washing-house, water-closet, kitchen, bed-rooms, parlour, dining-room, their very ample accommodation for the necessities of home existence, were suddenly restricted to a single, dark, dingy apartment, less than twelve feet square? And yet in such hovels the poor have to live - in such dens are millions of children reared from infancy. The wonder is not that there are recklessness and immorality among the labouring classes, but that there is a spark of virtue left at all ... we weep for working men, and we see no hope for them but in the middle classes speaking to them as brothers, and yet with fidelity, and then helping to provide them with proper dwellings. The labouring man at present is a football. He is kicked by a feeling of unhappiness from the slaughter-pen to the public house, for relief, and there he is robbed of money, of health, *of the power of will*, and then kicked back to his den. And by robbing him, the public house prevents him ever getting out of his den ... There are Christianity and philanthropy enough in Glasgow to get this evil remedied. Glasgow is not an imitator; she can strike out a path for herself. We entertain no Utopian scheme. We wish to see every married man with a comfortable home, of not less than one room and kitchen, with proper conveniences and plenty of air to breathe. Glasgow enterprise can supply him with this and that without a loss.⁹²

Within this context, the reforming zeal that permeated the institutions and organisations of the city's civil society and of the local state were motivated by the same considerations. What developed in Glasgow, in the 19th century, as an explicit acknowledgement of the appalling conditions and consequences to be found in the city, was an adherence to the principle of public service, a civic ethos, of sound and prudent administration and a commitment to providing for the 'common good'.

The great evangelisation scheme of Victorian Glasgow was linked to the creation of a 'city of God' through the ballot box. The basis of municipal work was the town council, and it formed the core of evangelical attempts to reform Victorian urban society. Its work covered both material improvement and behavioural control of the citizens ... The mixture of philanthropic and municipal action was the key to the work of the civic gospel⁹³

Whilst the Town Council had pressing matters to deal with in the form of improvements to

⁹² *The Moral Statistics Of Glasgow By A Sabbath Schoolteacher*, Glasgow, 1864, pp. 21, 25 - 26. (GUL Spec. Coll. Bg. 53-C.17).

⁹³ C.G. Brown, "To be aglow with civic ardour's: the Godly Commonwealth in Glasgow", *Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. 26, (pp. 169 - 195), 1996, pp. 178, 181. See also, I. Maver, "Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the 19th Century" in T. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Elites*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1994.

sanitation, poor housing, crime and disorder, and the provision of public utilities the religious influence in council policy, strategy and administration was a prominent feature of municipal politics in the city. The personnel of various voluntary and charitable organisations were inspired by the same religious, political and social ideology which motivated the same class, and in many cases, the same people were involved in developing the municipal programme of city improvement, sanitation measures, policing and the regulation of leisure and cultural activities.

[I]nterestingly, town councillors were almost always church elders, and they applied a strongly religious policy to the improvement of the urban environment.. Indeed, Victorian social policy rested heavily on evangelical foundations with church committees and pressure groups fostering public debate about civic government. Such was the influence of evangelical thinking on social policy that it can be argued that evangelicals dictated when and in what manner state intervention was necessary ... town councils had played a crucial role in the early stages of rapid urban growth and industrialisation. They brought together ecclesiastical, educational, philanthropic and medical agencies to develop and adapt civil administration to the rapidly changing environment ... However, as already noted, Presbyterians of all denominations continued to seek the support of town councils in enforcing religious morality upon the citizens. The Free and U.P. churches in particular strove to implement Chalmers vision of a godly society in towns, wanting civic government to be a democratic 'agency' of evangelicalism. The town council was to be one agent of a wider evangelical movement based on the moral and religious preoccupations of the new urban middle classes ... The urban middle classes, products of city prosperity and opportunity, demanded separate recognition: the extension of the franchise, the reform of government policy on the basis of laissez faire, and equality with the landed classes in matters of religion... The distinguishing feature in the social identity of the new middle classes was evangelicalism. It was not so much a theological system as a framework of response to the emergence of modern urban society.⁹⁴

Thus, the reforming zeal of the local state in Glasgow was informed by those religious and charitable organisations concerned with moral as much as material conditions. A missionary zeal that distributed the word of God directly into the slums, and which identified a 'culture of poverty' that deprived their inhabitants any hope of living a moral life. Religious evangelicals, medical campaigners, and social reformers were united in their explicit condemnation of the evils to be found in the city and of their solution. The following is an explicit illustration of this understanding of the moral dangers to be found in the city.

We must confine ourselves to those distinctly lower in the social scale who, to a casual observer, are all sullied and degraded, so rampant are vice and crime, thriftlessness, dirt and drunkenness. But it is a mistake to denounce without qualification, the improvidence and profligacy of the masses. The slums contain a strain of goodness and purity; there is leaven in the lump ... There are broadly therefore, two classes below the skilled artisan: the first, the industrious but poor folk, really very poor, with low earnings, but respectable and decent – each household through depression of trade, irregularity of work, illness, and inefficiency, earning in the average about twenty shillings per week; and, second, the ill-doers, disreputable, vicious and criminal, often

⁹⁴ C.G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1997, pp. 98, 100 – 101.

earning greater than twenty shillings a week, aye, double twenty shillings a week, but lazy, drunken and imprudent, destructive and disorderly in their habits, quite able to afford fairly high rents but making the gratification of their animal instincts the first consideration.⁹⁵

To cure the ills of the city the masses were to be brought to enlightenment by a programme of education, instruction, and 'rational alternatives' to the iniquitous practices and habits of the dangerous classes in the city who threatened the stability and success of the city. Indeed this dangerous residuum, as distinct from the deserving poor, threatened not only the order and prosperity of society with their immorality, criminality and vice but the hope of salvation for the 'respectable' working class. Such a view was combined with a strong Temperance message that believed that alcohol consumption was a fundamental cause of the misery of the poor. Drink was a major part of the social life of nineteenth century society, in all classes, but was perceived as being particularly iniquitous and damaging to the "lower orders". The Temperance message spawned a movement that included a number of associations, groups and societies who offered as well as tracts, opportunities for recreation that did not involve alcohol, consumed at home, in licensed public houses or illegal dens and shebeens. The influence of the Temperance Movement in the public life of Glasgow, and in particular within the Town Council illustrates the close connection between voluntary and evangelical organisations and the municipal authorities. For example, the development of the Loch Katrine Water Supply scheme, whilst being an essential sanitary measure designed to combat the threat from water borne diseases, was also symbolic of Temperance endeavours to provide alternatives to alcoholic beverages. The Temperance movement had many adherents in all sections of society, including such working-class leaders of 'Red Clydeside' as John MacLean and David Kirkwood who were convinced that drunkenness among the working class was a formidable barrier to the political organisation and effectiveness of the working class. Similarly, Damer's analysis of two leading figures in Glasgow public life in the period, Samuel Chisholm, Lord Provost from 1899-1902, and Thomas Lipton, the famous entrepreneurial grocery magnate who pioneered retail advertising, represented the liberal ethos of self-made men who sought to make a contribution to the city that they cherished. As Damer emphasises what

... they both exemplify is a pride in a city in which the route to the top was wide open, a city with such self-confidence that it municipalised everything in sight for the ultimate benefit of its citizens - citizens like themselves, that is, morally scrupulous, hard-working, hard-headed, teetotal exemplars of the Protestant ethic. The immoral, the undeserving, the drinkers - the Catholic Irish, that is - were to be controlled and disciplined for their own good. The benefits of municipal socialism were not really for

⁹⁵ J. Mann, *Better Houses For The Poor - Will They Pay: A Paper Read To The Philosophical Society Of Glasgow*, 14 December 1898, Glasgow, Robert Anderson. pp. 4-5.

them: they were for the city's middle-class and 'respectable' working class.⁹⁶

In nineteenth century Britain, the state legitimised its authority by protecting, empowering and nourishing civil society, as a liberal compromise, which sought to bolster and support the operations and initiatives of local authorities. The Corporation of Glasgow acted as the policing and administrative authority for the moral and medical reformers whose clubs, societies and associations formed the basis of the city's civil society. The voluntary sector will be shown later to be of great importance in the organisation of 'rational recreation' in the parks as a means of curbing the working classes of the worst excesses of their leisure pursuits.

By 1900, the involvement with public health was leading to sophisticated linkages between health, housing, social habits and poverty, with strong doubts emerging about the ability of the market mechanism to secure the desired level of improvement. ... Using a mass of detailed knowledge as ammunition key councillors and bureaucrats were able to build up the case of successive modifications of policy which aided a remarkable improvement in health standards ... In Glasgow, there was a consensus on the need to implement policies effectively. Councillors and the new bureaucracy took pride in achieving better results, and 'progressive' goals were subtly adjusted to reflect the social priorities forged by combining a Christian 'social gospel' with extensive statistical data and bureaucratic experience of the changing nature of problems.⁹⁷

That a pragmatic and reforming liberal ethos would grow into the form of municipal organisation that it did in Glasgow was through a combination of patronage, religious zeal, medical proselytising, and fear of the consequences of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. The fear of popular revolt, as had happened in Europe in 1848, was a factor in the development of a system of local authority provision of services. While the Reform Acts opened up the council to middle-class and later skilled working class participation in elections, the role of evangelicals in the Council was a continuing element throughout the 19th century. This role of the Corporation as fundamental in providing for and encouraging the success of the city was promoted vigorously by proponents of the interventionist approach. Robert Crawford, a city councillor and member of the museums and art galleries committee expressed, to one such reforming and educational voluntary association, the Ruskin Society of Glasgow, what was his understanding of the Corporation's role, function and responsibility as a local authority.

From simply ministering to the elementary necessities of public life and social organisation, we have gradually discovered the inclination and ability to rise to higher things; from mere police and repressive functions, from dealing mainly with the delinquent and the defaulter, we have risen towards treating with the man and the citizen. We have found that, municipally, we can in some ways help the feeble, lift many obstruction from the paths of virtue and rectitude of personal life; that we can even throw some gleams of sunshine into the grey life of the mass of the people, and offer

⁹⁶ S. Damer, *Glasgow, Going for a Song*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1990, p. 116.

⁹⁷ T. Hart, "Urban Growth and Municipal Government: Glasgow in a Comparative Context, 1846-1914" in A. Slaven & D.H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Business, Banking and Urban History*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982, pp. 208, 210.

them some opportunities of enjoyment and happiness ... By legislation and by active enterprises we and all other municipalities have earnestly striven, and do yet strive to secure for the people decent, clean and healthy homes; we have provided them with ample means of cleanliness in their person and clothing, we defend them with success against the ravages of epidemic disease, we see that the food supplied to them is sound and wholesome in quality; in fact, we touch the citizen beneficially in his whole round of physical existence. But rising still higher, we cater for the recreation and enjoyment of the citizen, we lay out and we decorate for him such parks and pleasure grounds as could only be privately obtained by the expenditure of a princely income, and in these and in other places we provide the free enjoyment of excellent music. The demand in most instances has not come from the outside, and only rarely has it come from those the provision is chiefly intended to benefit. We have not only had to provide agencies for social amelioration, but we have had to devise means to encourage those for whom they are intended, to avail themselves of their advantages. It was by no means from the dirtier part of the population that the demand came for baths and wash-houses; and, unfortunately, it still is the fact, that those who stand in need of their purifying influence most resolutely keep away from them. The hospitals for treatment of infectious diseases began with the rooted dislike of the people whose free use and benefit they were intended. And have only won their way into the peoples entire confidence, by such careful and attractive management as would have ensured success to a private venture established for private gain.⁹⁸

The Corporation, it appears, had a responsibility to lead as well as to serve. It had a duty and a responsibility to provide the means by which self-improvement could occur, even if those who would most benefit were not the prime movers calling for such services. There is in this an explicit self-imposed role for the municipality to provide, from its more informed position and guardianship of the city and its people, a pioneering path to the moral and social regeneration of the city, its environment and its population's well being. This paternalism and moral leadership function emphasised in Crawford's speech, is clearly intended as a justification for the Corporations involvement in the provision of a whole range of services and activities for, as Durkheim made clear, the state is "... above all, supremely the organ of moral discipline".⁹⁹ The particular form of civic government that developed in Glasgow, that of municipal socialism will illustrate the extent of participation in the provision of services and facilities by the local state, and the underlying civic ethos that underpinned it.

(d) Municipal Socialism

The growth of Glasgow in the nineteenth century was marked by a commitment to, at least in the second half of the century, a particular form of public service provision as a response to the consequences of a huge population increase, social and physical infrastructural inadequacies, disease, epidemics, an increase in crime and fears of a potentially insurrectionary urban population. There was an increasing acknowledgement of the need to develop the city as a safe environment in which to live and to do business.

⁹⁸ R. Crawford, *The Peoples Palace Of The Arts For The City Of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Carter And Pratt: A Lecture Delivered To The Ruskin Society Of Glasgow, 1891, p. 7-8.

⁹⁹ E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, p. 72.

Throughout the nineteenth century the political and social elites of Glasgow's showed a degree of continuity in their commitment to intervention in the social, moral and material life of the city that may be viewed as a pragmatic and dynamic response to the changing circumstances and experiences of the city. However, this cannot be considered as wholly altruistic benevolence. As was recognised by contemporary commentators there were elements of self-preservation in what was done.

All sanitary organisation, it is true has its foundation in enlightened selfishness. If infectious diseases had in them no more menace and danger to the community than pleurisy and bronchitis, then it is no doubt that to the present moment the poor would have been left to battle with their ailments unaided by legislation and municipal organisation.¹⁰⁰

What came to be known in and of Glasgow as 'municipal socialism' had nothing to do with what is generally understood as socialism as either a revolutionary or Labour tradition. Socialists had little representation on the Council in Glasgow until 1890 and only gained control of Glasgow Town Council in 1933.

Municipal socialism ... was born in the town halls, of liberal and even conservative administrations with hardly a socialist in sight... To add to the paradox, the heroic period of this socialism without socialists was between 1885 and 1905, just before labour gained a real foothold in the town halls and with the advent of labour power municipal socialism seemed to decline.¹⁰¹

As a form of civic organisation, 'municipal socialism' was an example of liberal Victorian philanthropy which sought the organisation, control and provision of services which were considered necessary for the good governance and management of an increasingly urban society beset with problems caused by rapid growth.

Perhaps the words 'municipal socialism' should have preliminary interpretation. They are not used here with any reference to controverted theories or political doctrines, but rather as a convenient term under which to discuss certain of the numerous and increasingly complex functions of the large modern town. To speak in a popular and unscientific way, the word 'socialism' as here used might be defined to mean the sum total of all those governmental activities which have been superimposed upon the negative or strictly necessary functions. But in practice it is extremely difficult to classify public functions and activities upon any logical scheme which proposes to set individualism over against socialism ... The development and progress of all those recent and varied activities of municipal governments undertaken for the welfare of communities and their constituent members, may conveniently be termed 'municipal socialism'.¹⁰²

Table 3.9 details the development of municipal health and sanitation measures alongside outbreaks and deaths due to epidemic diseases in Glasgow from to illustrate the chronology of powers and service provision taken on by the Corporation in the period from 1800-1910. Whilst this is extensive it does not represent the totality of municipal socialism

¹⁰⁰ J. Bell. and J. Paton, *Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration*, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons., 1896, p. 189.

¹⁰¹ D. Whitham, *Municipal Socialism*, unpublished MA dissertation, Middlesex Polytechnic, cited Damer, 1990, op. cit. p. 113.

¹⁰² A. Shaw, "Municipal Socialism in Scotland", *Juridical Review Vol. 1*, Edinburgh, Green and Sons, 1889, pp. 33 – 34.

at work in the city. The following quotation cleverly puts the range of municipal services available to the citizen of Glasgow at the end of the 19th century.

[In Glasgow a citizen] may live in a municipal house: he may walk along the municipal street, or ride in the municipal tramcar and watch the municipal dustcart collecting the refuse which is to be used to fertilise the municipal farm. Then he may turn into the municipal market, buy a steak from an animal killed in the municipal slaughterhouse, and cook it by the municipal gas stove. For his recreation he can choose among municipal libraries, municipal art galleries and municipal music in municipal parks. Should he fall ill, he can ring up his doctor on the municipal telephone, or he may be taken to the municipal hospital in the municipal ambulance by the municipal policeman. Should he be so unfortunate as to get on fire, he will be put out by a municipal fireman, using municipal water; after which he will, perhaps, forego the enjoyment of a municipal bath, though he may find it necessary to get a new suit in the municipal old clothes market.¹⁰³

Whilst the author mentions a host of services that were municipally owned and provided they do not cover them all. Gas was municipalised in 1869, the electricity supply in 1890, telephones in 1900, as well as libraries in 1900. Whilst the first tram routes were provided in 1872 the system was fully municipalised in 1894, whilst other municipal services came to include public halls, golf courses, tennis courts, bowling greens, alcoholic rehabilitation, food and drink inspectors, female health visitors, tram construction, washhouses (the 'steamie'), schools, and cemeteries were also part of the gamut of Corporation services.

Glasgow Town Council's administration of various civic services was, prior to 1895, developed through a number of different capacities and legislative arrangements that empowered their activities. They acted as the Corporation of Glasgow to manage the Property of the Common Good, Tramways, Municipal Buildings, Libraries etc., and as Trustees they administered the Acts which gave the city parks, City Improvements and Markets, and as Commissioners they operated and controlled the services of the Police, Fire Brigade, Lighting and Cleansing Establishments, public baths and streets, sewers and purification, public Health and Sanitary services. Under the Local Government (Scot.) Act 1879, Education, Parish Councils and District Boards of Control transferred to the Corporation and the local authority became the sole administrator of all Local Services. After 1895 the control and management of these various civic services was transferred to the Corporation with the exception of the Police Commissioners that was merged in 1904-5 under the control of the Corporation.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950*, London, Fontana Press, 1986, p. 45.

¹⁰⁴ From *Corporation Facts And Figures for Members of the Council*, The Corporation of Glasgow, 1949, p. 3.

TABLE 3.9: EPIDEMIC DISEASES AND MUNICIPAL HEALTH REFORMS, GLASGOW 1800-1910

| MUNICIPAL MEASURES | | DISEASES | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1800 | First Police Act | | |
| 1806 | Glasgow Waterworks Co. constituted | | |
| 1807 | Second Police Act | | |
| 1808 | Cranstonhill Waterworks Co. constituted | | |
| 1821 | Third Police Act | 1818 | Typhus Epidemic |
| 1830 | Fourth Police Act | | |
| | The Cholera Acts | | |
| 1837 | Fifth Police Act | 1832 | Typhus Epidemic, First Cholera Epidemic - 2842 deaths |
| 1838 | Amalgamation of the tow water companies | 1837 | Typhus Epidemic - 2180 deaths |
| 1843 | Sixth Police Act | 1843 | Relapsing Fever Epidemic - 1398 deaths |
| 1846 | Seventh Police and Extension Act, Nuisance Removal (Scotland Act) | | |
| 1848 | Gravitation Water intro. To Gorbals by private co. | 1847 1848-9 | Typhus Epidemic - 4246 deaths Second Cholera Epidemic - 3772 deaths |
| 1854 | Scotch Registration Act | 1851-2 1853-4 | Typhus Epidemic Third Cholera Epidemic - 3885 deaths |
| 1855 | Corporation Water Works Act | 1855 | Typhus Deaths |
| 1856 | Amended Nuisance Removal (Scotland) Act | 1856 | 460 |
| 1857 | Cttee. On Nuisances | 1857 | 439 |
| 1859 | Loch Katrine Water turned on | 1858 | 549 |
| 1862 | Eight Police Act | 1859 | 504 |
| 1863 | First Medical Officer of Health, Suppression of Overcrowded houses by ticketing | 1860 | 381 |
| 1864 | First Municipal Disinfections and washing- house | | 533 |
| 1865 | First Municipal Fever Hospital Market and Slaughter Houses Act | 1863 | 671 |
| 1866 | Ninth Police Act | 1864 | 1138 |
| 1867 | City Improvement Act | 1865 | 1177 |
| 1868 | Scotch Public Health Act | 1866 | 596 |
| | Cleansing assumed by City as Special Dept. | 1867 | 497 |
| 1870 | Cttee. On Health First Sanitary Inspector Sanitary Dept. Organised Belvidere Estate acquired for Hospital | 1868 | 367 |
| | | 1869 | 970 |
| | | 1870 | 544 |
| | | | 25 |

| <u>MUNICIPAL MEASURES</u> | | <u>DISEASES</u> | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | Typhus | Smallpox |
| | | Deaths | |
| 1870 | Improvement Trust Demolitions and Impts. | | |
| -77 | | | |
| 1871 | New washing and disinfecting House at Belvidere | 1871 | 284 |
| 1872 | Scotch Education Act | 1872 | 184 |
| 1873 | Permanent Vaccination Station opened | 1873 | 149 |
| | Streets Improvement Act | 1873 | 228 |
| | | 1874 | 68 |
| | | 1874 | 13 |
| | | 1874 | 214 |
| | | 1875 | Milk Epidemic of Enteric Fever - Washington St., Pollockshaws Rd., and Kingston |
| 1876 | Hospital treatment of infectious diseases wholly municipalised | | |
| 1877 | Belvidere Smallpox Hospital opened | 1877 | Milk Epidemic of Enteric Fever - West End |
| | | -8 | |
| 1878 | Public Parks Act | | |
| 1878 | 5 district Public Baths and wash-houses opened | 1880 | Milk Epidemic of Enteric Fever - North and Central |
| -84 | | | |
| 1879 | Dairies and Milkshops Order | | |
| 1880 | Improvement Act extension | | |
| 1881 | First refuse Destructor opened (others opened in 1884, 1890, 1897, 1902) | | |
| 1883 | New washing and Disinfecting Establishment opened | | |
| | | 1884 | Milk Epidemic of Enteric Fever - Hospitals |
| 1885 | Glasgow Corporation Water Works Act | | |
| 1887 | Belvidere Fever Hospital completed | | |
| | | 1888 | Milk Epidemic of Scarlet Fever - Garnethill |
| 1890 | Housing of the Working Classes Act | | |
| | Infectious Diseases (Notification) Act | | |
| 1891 | City of Glasgow Act Extension | | |
| 1892 | Site acquired for Fever Hospital, Ruchill | 1892 | Milk Epidemic of Scarlet Fever - Paisley Rd. |
| | | 1893 | Milk Epidemic of Scarlet Fever - Kelvinside |
| 1894 | First Sewage Purification Works opened | -4 | |
| | Washing and Disinfecting Establishment opened at Ruchill | | |
| 1904 | Sewage purification works, opened at Dalmuir and Partick | | |
| | Notification of Births Act | | |
| 1907 | Glasgow Infant Health Visitors Association formed | | |
| 1908 | Children's Act | | |
| 1910 | Sewage purification works opened at Kinning Park and Shiledhall | | |

The relative merits of Glasgow's municipal organisation were the subject of investigation and comment by a number of interested parties at the end of the century. Whilst it was clear that the need for some form of civic organisation in the growing metropolitan areas of the industrialised world, the search for a form of municipal organisation of service provision that took account of the changed circumstances and the increasingly contentious political debate led many to consider Glasgow as a model.

But it is quite foreign to my present purpose to speculate upon the new monopolistic services of the future, and to construct imaginary municipal utopias. There is nothing dreamy or doctrinaire about the Scotch treatment of these matters. A certain school of socialists would have the community assume the supply of various commodities in order to make the supply free. They would tax the provident and industrious in order that the rest of the community might have free water, free light, free fuel, and free rides ... This is not the Scotch idea. There are good financiers in Scotland. Each one of these monopoly services is made to stand upon its own basis, to pay its way fully and completely, and to provide for its own maintenance and extension. Beyond the point of complete self-support, profits are distributed in the form of diminishing charges as the relative cost of services diminishes. Thus water and gas charges have gone down steadily, but without injustice to the ratepayers.¹⁰⁵

The 'success' of Glasgow's municipal organisation and administration of services, it is claimed, owed much to its strong economy during the period.¹⁰⁶ The dominant, if not sole, view of the city and its administration was one in which enlightened pragmatism, fiscal rectitude, and an applied social conscience in a difficult and changing economic and political climate, was an example for other cities to follow. Glasgow by the end of the nineteenth century was the most municipalised city in the world and was depicted internationally as the model for progressive urban intervention and administration.

The people of Glasgow are accustomed to claim for their city the second place in the British Empire. If by the words 'city', 'burgh', or 'borough', there is meant merely a populous place, - an aggregation of houses and people with a concentration of various commercial, industrial and social interests, - then metropolitan London would assuredly rank first and without rival. But if by these words is meant a distinct and complete municipal organism, the people of Glasgow may claim not the second, but the first place among the communities of Great Britain.¹⁰⁷

Glasgow's reputation as the prime exemplar of 'municipal socialism' incorporated the perception of the city as one in which liberal reform was a reflection of the steady progress the Town Council had made in the efficiency and scale of its municipal organisation and administration of publicly provided services. This efficiency was motivated not by a profit incentive but by the desire to reinvest any monies raised to

¹⁰⁵ Shaw, 1889, op. cit. p. 45-46.

¹⁰⁶ See Hart, 1982, op cit.

¹⁰⁷ A. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, New York, The Century Company, 1895, p. 69.

provide more or cheaper services that would benefit the citizens of the city.

Clearly, the initiatives to strengthen the police force and to improve the city streets were progressive. They maintained law and order while improving the transport system. The Municipalisation of water, gas, tram and electricity services was also strongly influenced by the practical desire to retain effective control over the public streets and by the more theoretical view that direct operations of unified public utilities could yield savings and allow pricing to be adjusted to meet municipal, not commercial, priorities.¹⁰⁸

The increasing powers, duties, and responsibilities taken on by the Corporation of Glasgow did not go unchallenged. The efforts of the Corporation to deal effectively and efficiently with the problems that beset the city in the 19th century were open to criticism that despite very obvious improvements, the conditions experienced by many in the city continued without respite. The municipal ethos of reform expressed in the Corporation's strategy of civic intervention was underpinned by an ethos of public service that exemplified the Victorian era. The role of the municipal authority in the provision of public services led to the following detailed and vigorous response to an article that had been published in the *Times* newspaper that criticised the extent, efficiency and operation of the council's enterprises and undertakings. Samuel Chisholm, the city's Lord Provost, is clear in his rebuttal of the allegations that the City was being slandered and unfairly reported. The label of 'socialist' it appears was one that Chisholm found particularly irksome when applied to himself and his vision of the Corporation. The Town Council and its enterprises was, according to Chisholm, the model of fiscal rectitude, run for the benefit of all its citizens which included reducing charges but also contributing substantially to the moral and physical health of the population, something that the free market could not, or would not, do.

I am not going to raise any objection to your title, though surely you do not mean to contend that in dealing, for example, with the city sewage or the city refuse, in purchasing and holding public parks, in letting or feuing (i.e. leasing in perpetuity) ground on which other people have erected, or other people are carrying on, either a church, a theatre, a studio, or a pawnshop, the Corporation has entered on a socialist course. If, however, your definition of socialism includes these things, then it appears to me that a civic corporation cannot exist, it cannot discharge its primary and most elementary duties, without in that very act entering on a course of socialism. It might have been well to have defined your term.¹⁰⁹

What is interesting in Chisholm's defence of the Corporation is the emphasis placed on the role of publicly accountable, albeit one not based on universal suffrage, elected local authority in providing for the moral and physical welfare of the city's population.

We have bought land, and on it have erected a large infectious diseases hospital –

¹⁰⁸ Hart, 1982, op. cit. p. 205.

¹⁰⁹ S. Chisholm, Municipal Socialism. A Letter To The Editor Of The Times, October 22 1902, p. 1. (GUL Spec. Coll., Mu 61-b.4.).

one of the finest in the kingdom. We have provided in the most crowded parts of the city eleven, open spaces or children's playgrounds, one of them consisting of 11,802 square yards, and costing £25,425. We have equipped these playgrounds with athletic equipment and appointed a caretaker at each to see after the children and protect them from accident. Does your correspondent desire the hospital, abolished, the open spaces sold, and the proceeds applied to reduce the rates? Are these things, in which lie the explanation of that added taxation as well as that added liability which he deplores – are they the worst which can be selected in order to show how viscous a thing Municipal Socialism is? ¹¹⁰

Chisholm stresses the necessity of the Corporation in the provision of public services as part of an overall strategy to combat the negative effects of the city's rapid growth and economic prosperity. In this justification the parks were to feature prominently: "The parks, the open spaces, the hospitals, the sewage scheme are all individual operations in a grand general attack on the sickness and death rate of the city." ¹¹¹

The direction, ethos and strategy of Glasgow Town Council throughout the nineteenth century may be viewed as representative of the struggle of the municipal authorities and civic society's concern and response to the changing demographic, social, economic, political and spatial realities of the city. Municipal initiatives were founded on the growing acknowledgement and experience of the potentially deleterious effects of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation on the physical and social infrastructure of the city as well as the medical, moral and social condition of the population of the city. Such coordinated interventions and initiatives represented a concerted strategy that was accommodated within a framework of liberal politics and religious evangelism that marked the dominant hegemony of the urban bourgeoisie in the 19th and early 20th century city. Chisholm's spirited defence of 'municipal socialism', even if he did not like the term, is an indication of the commitment to the ideals of his age, a civic ethos in which paternalism, philanthropy and good works and exhibits an obvious pride in the local authority's achievements.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Corporation of Glasgow was considered the foremost example of the efficient bureaucratic administration of a whole range of services, facilities and utilities provided for the benefit of the 'godly commonwealth' of the city and society. The Corporation was given, through permissive legislation, the power to initiate urban reconstruction, organise, raise finance and invest in public utilities, land speculation and building, and produced a very public manifestation of the potential a municipal administration could achieve in the city of modernity. The municipal buildings, the Art Galleries, Museums, public art, architecture and of course,

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 8.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 10.

parks, declared to the world that Glasgow was the very model of modern major city, so much so that “Glasgow came to be depicted as the model of civic excellence, and in 1888 the opening of the new City Chambers and the successful inauguration of the first International Exhibition did much to impress the municipal presence on the public consciousness.”¹¹² The origins of the parks must be considered within this context of the wholesale development and public ownership, provision, organisation and maintenance of the city as a response to the city’s experience. The public parks were a very visible and integral element of this process of intervention by which municipal munificence promoted and celebrated the city’s image and status as ‘Workshop of the World’ and ‘Second City of Empire’, an image that contrasted somewhat with the harsh reality experienced by many of Glasgow’s citizens.

3.4: Conclusion

This chapter has provided in some detail the historical context of the development of a public debate and consciousness and the particular experience and conditions, in which the origins of Glasgow’s public parks were set. The development of what would eventually become a comprehensive, municipally provided, owned, and maintained public parks system was the result of a complex of motivations. The production of Glasgow’s network of municipal parks was founded on the experience of the growth of the city as the major industrial, manufacturing and commercial centre in Scotland in the nineteenth century. The number and variety of publicly owned and managed parks and open spaces is a legacy of the economic, spatial and demographic history of the city as well the concerted response of the local state and civic society to address the consequences of such rapid growth to the physical and social infrastructure of the city. The public parks were depicted as a means, by which the blight of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation was offset, to some degree, by the introduction of a variety of designed open spaces for its citizens to enjoy. The civic squares and public parks of industrial towns and cities were considered as ‘humane spaces’, for pleasure, leisure, relaxation, and recreation, for all classes of the population, not only those who were privileged with access to exclusive private gardens and squares and were presented as a pragmatic and beneficial response by the state and civic society, through the local authority, to the deteriorating conditions of urban life. The construction and acquisition of such a large number, variety and acreage of parks was, in part, an attempt by the local authority to forge a physical and social landscape out of the developing industrial city

¹¹² See Maver, 1994, op. cit. p. 120.

that would serve a number of functions. They were a means in the expanding city, by which, open spaces, in the form of parks, recreation and playgrounds could be created in tandem with building development and urban regeneration.

The arguments and contributions made by the advocates of the public parks movement as it arose and progressed through the 19th century was gradually adopted and accepted by local and national government and by various professional and expert bodies such as the medical profession, sanitary and social reformers, and town planners. The ideals of the original promoters of public parks in the nineteenth century was an appeal to recognise public parks as essential for the health of the populations of the expanding and increasingly polluted towns and cities. The themes of medical, moral, environmental and economic benefits of public parks, at least from the 1850s onwards, eventually became firmly established within the municipal ethos of civic intervention in Glasgow. These disciplinary discourses and dominant representations underpinned the production, design and regulation of the public parks as necessary spaces in the city. That is, the application of expert knowledge of the space of urban public parks was inextricably linked to control of those spaces and the social activities and practices that were to be allowed, encouraged or permitted in them. Such knowledge increasingly functionalised the space of public parks through dominant representations that prioritised hegemonic conceptions and perceptions of their value and usefulness in processes of social control, supervision and regulation. Thus the creation and perpetuation of hegemonic ideals and practices is reinforced and administered by the operation of power in and through the local state.

The parks were thus conceived, promoted and ultimately constructed, within a multi-functional conceptual framework. They would serve as 'fresh-air reservoirs', the 'lungs of the city', to counteract the consequences of industrial pollution. They served as emblems of civic pride, a real and symbolic manifestation of municipal progress and achievement. They provided much-needed amenities and were a means through which the state sought to instil and inculcate bourgeois ideals through the regulation and control of the behaviour and culture of its burgeoning population. The parks in Glasgow, in common with other similar cities, were perceived as 'humane' spaces containing the possibility for 'civilising' the masses. They were

... designed to satisfy different agendas and they were financed in a variety of ways, reflecting motives which included personal and civic pride, private gain and political responsibility ... which were intended to offer to the urban population opportunities for fresh air, healthy exercise, education and pleasurable diversion. There is absolutely no doubt, too, that these parks were seen as a means of 'civilising' and cementing a society which was viewed as threateningly unstable in its diversity and

its explosive growth.¹¹³

In this sense the need to provide public parks to counteract the deterioration of the physical environment of the city and concomitantly the health of its inhabitants was intermingled with arguments concerning the control of practices and behaviours by sections of the population which were deemed anti-social at best, or a threat to the 'good governance' of the city, at worst. It was the working classes who were identified as being in most need of the benefits of public parks as forums for healthy alternatives to the popular entertainments, amusements and recreational pastimes of the majority of the population. This 'environmental determinism' viewed the nature of the environment as creating the personality; degeneration breeds degenerates, deprivation causes depravity and immorality. Such conceptions of the environment as having intrinsic properties that influence the behaviour and quality of life is promoted by the operation of expert knowledge that create and perpetuate dominant perspectives and disciplinary discourses on its spaces are essential to understanding the production and representation of Glasgow's public parks. However, they only tell part of the story. Public parks have an appeal, attraction and a use value that provides opportunities for popular practices and activities that can conflict with such dominant representations. It is the uses to which such intrinsic social spaces as parks are put in everyday life that the potential for conflict between those promoting the seeming advantages of parks and those for whom they were intended becomes evident. The appropriate uses of public spaces is inextricably linked to ideas of social control. Those 'dominant' perceptions of the parks as beneficial, for the 'good of the city' prioritised those activities that were deemed more morally, culturally or educationally beneficial. The potential for conflict between the designed and intended uses and practices and those everyday activities that were regulated through the imposition of the prohibitions and prescriptions of the byelaws is a key element in the experience of public parks. These themes will be considered in the following three chapters through the substantive analysis of the analytical framework of the production, representation and use of Glasgow's municipal public parks network in which critical issues raised by the arguments of the public parks movement and the particular experience of the city will be reflected.

¹¹³ H.A. Taylor, "Age and Order: The public Park as a Metaphor for a Civilised Society". Working Paper Number 10 from the National Study, *Park Life: Urban Parks and Social Renewal*, Stroud, Comedia (in association with Demos), 1994, p. 4.

CHAPTER 4: THE PRODUCTION OF THE PUBLIC PARKS IN GLASGOW – A SUBSTANTIVE ANALYSIS

4.1: Introduction

The preceding chapters provided a detailed account of Lefebvre's reprioritisation of space as fundamental to the understanding and analysis of modernity, through a consideration of the development of his theoretical triad of inter-related elements for the production of space. A complex interaction exists between production, representation and use. Lefebvre's analytical framework of necessary elements was then explored and extrapolated through other illustrative theoretical lenses to inform this abstract conceptual approach with concrete and tangible investigations, and to demonstrate its applicability to the analysis of the particular space of urban public parks. The intention is to adopt an analysis that is sympathetic to Lefebvre's abstract 'knowledge' of space, but that is also sensitive to a variety of perspectives, concepts and insights afforded by a range of investigations that provide a more comprehensive and concrete understanding of the complex and dynamic interaction of elements and processes involved in the production of space. It is essentially a syncretic approach that is necessarily adaptive to the substantive investigation of urban public parks, as specific examples of produced social spaces in the city of modernity. The following three chapters will be structured within this analytical framework through which historical and empirical evidence will be detailed and considered.

Given this approach, the professed historical contingency of specific forms of produced space, in which 'each epoch produces its own space', the public debates and arguments asserted by the loosely affiliated public parks movement were considered in Chapter 3 as representative of a developing historical consciousness and awareness of the need for public parks as a consequence of urbanisation and industrialisation. Similarly, the local context and experience of the production of Glasgow's public parks was presented through an account of the interventionist municipal ethos of Glasgow's Town Council as a response to the changing demographic, social, economic, political and spatial realities of the city. Municipal initiatives, such as the public parks, were founded on the growing acknowledgement of the deleterious effects (medical, moral and social) on the population of the city and were accommodated within the framework of liberal politics and religious evangelism that marked the dominant hegemony of the municipal authorities in the second half of the 19th century. The development of the parks was an example of direct municipal intervention in the physical and social infrastructure of the city as a response to the changing needs, circumstances and experience of the city.

This chapter will address the production of Glasgow's public parks within the framework of Lefebvre's first necessary element, that of spatial practices, and refers to specific places and the spatial arrangements for the organisation and structuring of social relations. Harvey's analysis of the political economy of urban space emphasises the creation of a physical landscape, the built environment of the city, as a product of the needs of capital to produce, structure and arrange space for the purposes of the production and reproduction of the social relations of capital. The urban landscape is a human organised and administered spatial realm in which the forms of features and facilities are structured to maximise the potential for capital accumulation, growth, innovation and efficiency. However, this produced space of the built environment for the benefit of the needs of capital is also the space of social reproduction, in which the local state takes an active role. Public investment in those necessary measures to improve the physical and material social conditions act as a means for effecting more stable class relations, improved amenities to benefit the health and welfare of the population, and thus enhance the conditions for surplus value creation. The production of social spaces such as public parks serve necessary functions in the reproduction and control of labour and are formed within this political economy of capitalist urban space production. Therefore, the origins and development of the parks network need to be understood as a process within which their location, construction and design is tied to the development of the city, its organisation and administration.

What this chapter will explore is the construction of a large number and variety of public parks that constitute a network of physical, social and cultural spaces. The parks were produced over an extended period, in different locations and areas of the city, and in various forms and designs. That is, they did not spring fully formed in a short intensive period of construction but involved a prolonged commitment to the investment of public funds in the municipal provision, ownership and maintenance of a variety of designed recreational amenity spaces. This process of park production, a developmental progression, will be analysed through the employment of a number of typologies. These typologies are analytical devices used to explore and to interpret the characterisation of the public parks as specific social spaces with individual features, functions, locations, dates of construction and design within the historical, political, economic and social context of infrastructural intervention and investment in the socio-spatial organisation and development of the city. The chronological typology demonstrates the periodicity of park construction; the location and distribution of the parks reveal their production within the spatial and temporal process of city enlargement and growth; finally, the design of the parks reflects the changing policies and priorities within the municipal authority over time in respect of appropriate

uses and users of the parks, as well as their location within particular areas and communities of the city. Whilst the typologies are presented here individually, they are not to be considered as mutually exclusive. Rather, they are used to elucidate and to exemplify the complex of processes and elements involved in the production of the parks in Glasgow, and to recognise and to describe the diversity and variety of spaces that have been, can be and are considered public parks. As such, details presented in one typology are applicable to and relate to the others. The typologies are therefore a means by which the details of park production (the when, where, who, how and what) can be investigated to illustrate the multiplicity of forms of public parks developed over time and in different geographical locations that constitute Glasgow's network of parks. The details of such production necessitates a degree of description: of their physical characteristics, their date of opening, their location, cost, design, facilities etc. to demonstrate the number, diversity and spread (chronological and geographical) of the parks. The juxtaposition of text, photographs and maps used in this investigation illustrates the variety of sources of data, forms of parks, features and facilities included, as well as the processes of construction, design and location within the city. Whilst some attention is paid to the activities represented within the photographs, they are primarily used in this chapter to illustrate the production of the parks as forms of social space within the spatial framework of the city. The following chapters will also use pictorial evidence to consider the representation of the parks within disciplinary discourses as well as their use as everyday spaces of urban modernity.

4.2: The Chronological Typology

The first typology for describing the production of the parks network is chronological. Periods of park construction can be identified and associated with the historical demographic, geographic, social, economic and political expansion of the city. It is possible to illustrate this periodicity by highlighting those parks that were constructed within distinct phases. Five periods have been identified as significant for the analysis of the chronology of park production. These are pre-1850, 1850-1870, 1870-1914, 1915-1945, and 1945-1980. The first period covers those spaces in the city that have their historical origins prior to the 19th century, despite their status as municipal parks not being confirmed until later in the century. The second stage is distinguished by the initial public investment in and production of parks in the developing suburbs. The third period see the extension, after a considerable delay, of parks production into working class areas and communities of the city and covers those years leading up to World War 1 in which considerable progress in park development was accomplished through public investment supplemented by a civic-minded philanthropy on the part of wealthy benefactors. The

inter-war period is justified as a distinct phase of park development due to the consequences of economic fluctuations and consequent investment in social conditions and urban infrastructure. The post-war period witnessed urban regeneration and large-scale investment in the infrastructure of the city and in social and leisure facilities and amenities. Each period will be discussed though the description and detailed presentation of public parks produced in each era. Appendix 2 provides details of each park, and together with the Map in Appendix 1, is intended as a descriptive device for understanding the detailed actuality of the process of production of the parks.

(a) Pre- 1850

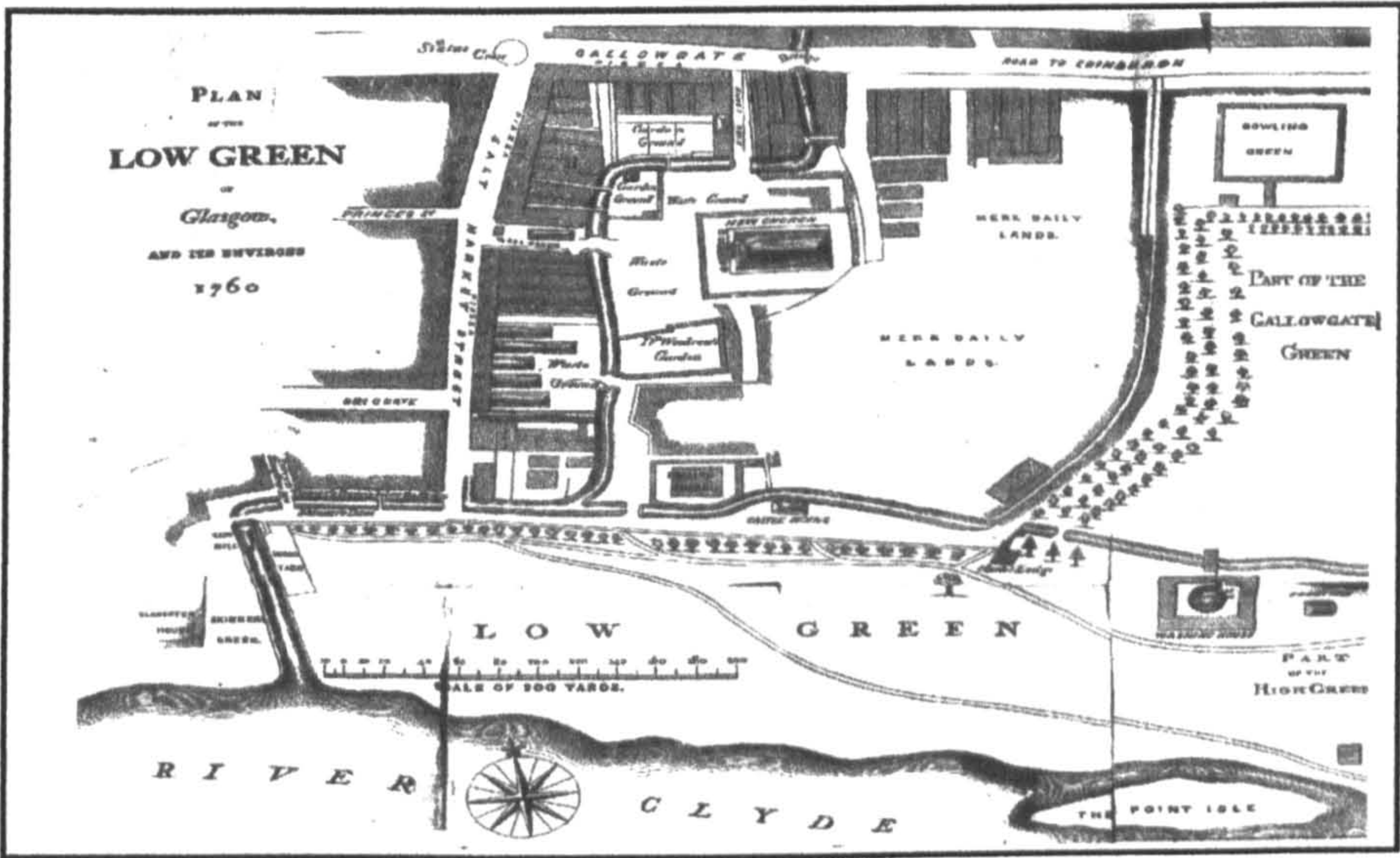


Figure 4.1: Plan of the Green in 1760

The earliest park, Glasgow Green, was based on an historical remnant of a medieval gift to the people of the city by the Bishops of Glasgow. The original Green was on the west side of the Briggate, extending along the river bank to St Enoch’s Burn, and ran from what is now Buchanan Street through St Enoch’s Square to the Clyde.¹ The commonplace assumption that the modern Green is a vestige of these ancient common lands is questionable, since, due to substantial subtractions and additions, it did not reach its relatively settled size and layout until the mid-19th century. At the end of the seventeenth century, it was only half its present size and was being gradually eroded by the expansion of the city and its population. The Council decided to provide a new, larger Green to the East and in 1837 it was recognised as a park and “maintained from the public purse for

¹ “The Terra Communis, commonly or undivided wasteland of the burgh included an elongated strip of water meadow on the north bank of the River Clyde. This area stretching westward from the present Stockwell Street to the confluence of the St Enoch Street Burn with the Clyde (around the present junction of Dixon Street with Clyde Street) was subject to regular flooding and used by the townspeople as summer pasture for stock”. A. Gibb, *Glasgow’s Parks: A Historical Review*, Glasgow, Glasgow District Council, 1991, p. 5. The commercial exploitation of the Green through the exacting of annual lets for the grazing of *milch* cows to provide milk for the citizens of the city shows the importance of the Green as a pasture prior to the construction of good transport links to agricultural areas.

purposes of recreation”.² It was described in 1894 as extending to 136 imperial acres. Various features and facilities have been developed on the Green and these will be presented below when considering the various designs of the parks.

The Botanical Gardens also falls within this pre-modern period as their origins and subsequent existence was directly related to their operation as the Physic Garden of the medieval University. Originally located in the centre of the city, the Gardens were forced to move to ensure the viability of its specimens, due to increasing pollution and population density in the centre of the city. They temporarily resided in the Sandyford area before urbanisation and industrialisation again took their toll and they were moved to their now permanent home on the banks of the Kelvin at the junction of Great Western Road and Byres Road. The Gardens were constituted by the Royal Botanic Institution and were maintained as a private facility and as a teaching and research resource for the Botany Department of the University for the study of native and exotic flora. They were opened to members of the Institution on the 30th April 1842 and the general public was allowed admittance on Saturdays at a cost of 1 shilling. On certain days entry of the “working classes on payment of 1 penny each”³ was allowed, and the Gardens were “... open free to the operatives in the week of the Glasgow Fair in July, Mr Camphill of Tillichewan Castle having given £500 for this yearly boon.”⁴ However, despite this philanthropic gesture, the cost of entry must have been prohibitive and would thus have limited the accessibility of the Gardens for ordinary citizens for most of the year.

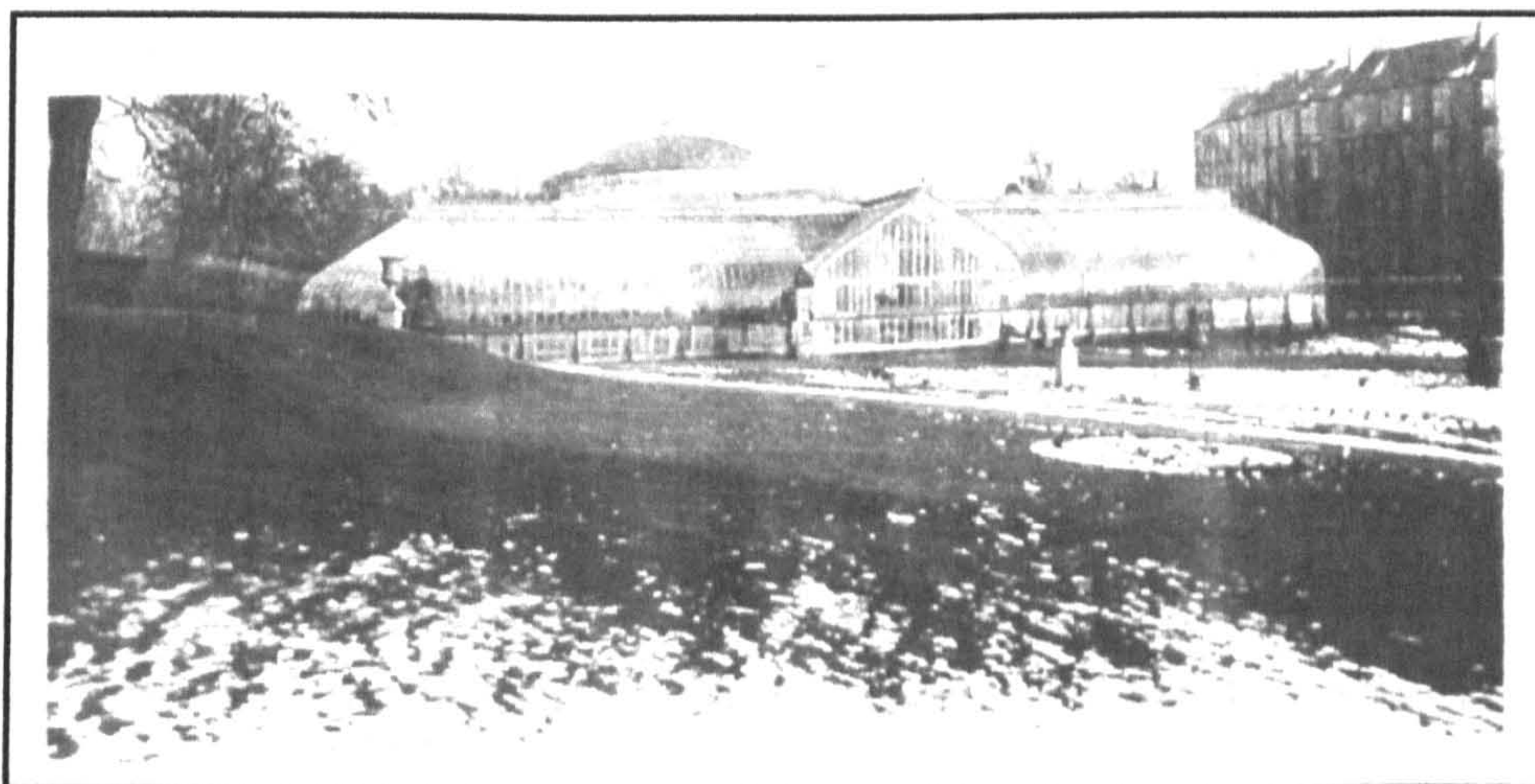


Figure 4.2: Kibble Palace in the Botanic Gardens ⁵

The Kibble Palace (figure 4.2), an immense conservatory with an area of 20,000 square feet, was transferred and erected in 1871 in the ‘Botanics’ as a winter garden. Its

² P. Reed, *Glasgow: The Forming of the City*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1993, p. 72.

³ Corporation of Glasgow Parks Dept. *A Guide to Glasgow Botanic Gardens*, 1970s, p. 3.

⁴ Oliver and Boyd’s *The Scottish Tourist*, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 100. (GUL Special Collection Mu3-f.19).

⁵ W. Gilmour, *Keep of the Grass*, Ochiltree, Ayrshire, Richard Stenlake Publishing, 1996, p.27.

previous location was at Coulport on the shores of Loch Long, at the residence of a wealthy Glasgow businessman. Further details of the Kibble Palace and its use are provided in the appendix concerned with museums. The Institution had to borrow money from the Corporation to move and to erect the conservatory and to build new plant-houses. With increasing indebtedness and inability to repay the sums owed, the City Council promoted a bill in 1887 to acquire the Gardens as a public park and took possession of them in that year, thus ensuring their survival and new status as a public park maintained by the parks department of the Corporation. The gardens were formally opened to the public in 1891 after difficulties arising from their inclusion in legislation concerning the expansion of the city boundaries. The steeply wooded sloping banks of the River Kelvin behind the Gardens were added between 1892-6 making the total acreage in 1900 43 acres.

(b) 1850 – 1870

Whilst the Town Council had pressing matters to deal with in the form of improvements to sanitation, poor housing, crime and the provision of public utilities, this period marked the first concerted effort at municipal park formation by the Corporation. The development of the three parks of Kelvingrove (1854), Queens (1862) and Alexandra (1872) represented the first acknowledgement of, and municipal commitment to, the specific need for public parks in the city beyond that provided by the historical legacy of the Green. All of these parks involved the investment of considerable sums of public money in the acquisition of land, employment of landscape designers and architects, and in laying out the parks.

The first municipal park of Kelvingrove or the West End Park, as it was originally called, owes its origins to the middle class exodus from the over-populated and polluted centre of the city. The need to provide leisure and recreational amenities for the middle-classes, whose flight to the suburbs was an attempt to distance themselves from the poverty, squalor, disease-ridden, densely packed and polluted city centre, was at the heart of the petition submitted to the Town Council in 1851 (see figure 4.3). The financial details and arrangements concerning the cost of purchase of those estate lands that were available was detailed in the plan put forward on behalf of the 'promoters of the New Park' and illustrates the concerns and aspirations of the residents of the new suburb. Comparisons made with London and Manchester, both in terms of the size and proximity of the new park to the city centre and to working classes, areas sought to demonstrate the benefit of a park in that location as providing

... an opportunity such as the present will never likely again occur, of securing a permanent Pleasure Ground for the public in a locality so well suited in every respect for such a purpose, and easy of access equally to the working classes of Tradeston,

Anderston, and the densely populated districts of the north-west and south-west of the city; and it should be kept in view that the daily extension of the town westwards renders the acquisition of such a fine open space is highly desirable... It is a well known fact that the property in Manchester, in the vicinity of the Parks, has decidedly improved in value since they were formed; and, in addition to this, the extensive and beautiful view from the high grounds of Woodlands and Kelvingrove cannot fail to secure to the houses a permanent attraction.⁶

However, if the provision of such a park was to be regarded as of benefit to the population and part of an overall provision of Corporation services there were those in the Council who sought an explicit acknowledgment of municipal investment by assuring access to the park for ordinary citizens.

The mixture of philanthropic and municipal action was the key to the work of the civic gospel ... in 1851, Kelvingrove Park was initiated with the key support within the council of William Bankier, a U.P. evangelical, who insisted that in return for the council's ten per cent funding of the proposal there should be free entry for the working classes on certain days of the week.⁷

When the private scheme for the park foundered the Corporation stepped in to finance the project in its entirety and the question of free access became a moot point. As a municipal park it was open, if not readily accessible, to all classes of the population. The landscape designer and architect Joseph Paxton, famous for designing the Crystal Palace for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London as well as a number of parks, was asked to produce designs for Kelvingrove Park. Paxton's designs incorporated the need to use part of the acquired lands for housing development that offset the costs of acquiring and laying out the parks. He had used this technique before in his earlier parks, for example at Birkenhead. The development of Kelvingrove Park can be explicitly related to the arrangements made for minimising expenditure by recouping costs through the feuing of adjoining lands on the hills above the park. The combination of park and housing development illustrates the economic arguments that were used to promote municipal involvement in the acquisition of land for as well as the construction of public parks.⁸ It is clear that the desire of the affluent residents, expressed in their 1851 petition to the Corporation for a New Public Park (reproduced as figure 4.3 along with the plans for the West End Park, figure 4.4), that access to the health and aesthetic benefits afforded by open space could be combined with the property interests of an increasingly powerful, articulate and professional middle-class through the potential for increasing the value of properties surrounding the park. The Plan of Ground to be Feued adjoining Kelvingrove Park produced by the Corporation in 1855 (see figure 4.5) illustrates the acceptance of the

⁶ Proposed New Public Park, appendix to plans submitted to the Corporation on 28th February 1851. (Glasgow City Archive, D-TC 13/655).

⁷ C.G. Brown, "To Be Aglow With Civic Ardours: The 'Godly Commonwealth' in Glasgow 1843-1914", *Scottish Church History*, Vol. 26, 1996, pp. 181-2.

⁸ See I. Maver, "Glasgow's Public Parks and the Community, 1850-1914: A Case Study in Scottish Civic Intervention", *Urban History*, 25, 3, 1998 pp. 328-329; G.F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town*, London, The Architectural Press, 1966, pp. 66-68; H. Conway, *Peoples Parks. The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 85-95.

... the annual period when the toil remitting lends it turn to play ... by day as well as by night ... At times the scene on the Green is perfectly bewildering, at least to the ears – and amidst the blowing of trumpets, the skirling of the bagpipes, the crashing of the drums, the ringing of bells, the groaning of the showmen through their speaking horns, the discharge of musketry, and the hum of the crowd, one might almost think that the peeling of a thunderstorm would pass unnoticed. The ‘stands’ for the shows and booths were free until 1815 when a charge was introduced for pitches on the Green that by 1870 these netted revenue of £590 for the Corporation.¹⁴



Figure 6.1: Glasgow Fair, 1825¹⁵

The Fair as a festival appears to have gone into decline somewhat during the mid-19th century due to a combination of factors. As the 19th century progressed, the criticism of the behaviour of those attending the Fair, as well as of the quality of the entertainments on offer, was raised by the press, religious groups and the municipal authorities. The growth of alternative attractions to spending the annual summer holiday in the city at the ‘Fair on the Green’, as well as changing official attitudes to the perceived immorality and vice that was on offer, was evident in press accounts of the dangers that were associated with it. For example, crime was considered a common feature of the experience of those who ventured to take in the dubious pleasures on offer. Under the heading of *Thieving at the Shows*, the Glasgow Herald in 1855 issued dire warnings of what to expect:

Saturday night last appears to have been a productive one for the group of idle blackguards infesting the vicinity of Jail Square, and preying upon those who are foolish enough to congregate at this spot to gaze upon the tomfoolery of the show men. No fewer than six tradesmen were relieved of their watches on this occasion, not to speak of numerous petty thefts and attempts that occurred, and which, to save the parties trouble were never reported to the police. Truly, cautioning people against wasting their time at

¹⁴ Glasgow Herald, 10 July 1844.

¹⁵ “Cartoon of the Glasgow Fair from the Roof of the Court House” in *Northern Looking Glass* Vol.1 no.4, 1825: also used as the Cover Illustration for F. Wordsall, *A Glasgow Keek Show*, Glasgow, Richard Drew Publishing, 1981.

Figure 4.4: The 1851 Residents' Proposal for the West End Park and, below, the accompanying Plan for the West End Park

PROPOSED NEW PUBLIC PARK.

in compliance with an earnestly expressed desire, the Promoters of the proposed New Park have obtained, and herewith submit, a LAMINATION COPY of the Plan, prepared by Mr. CHARLES WILSON, Architect, laid before the Town Council on 30th January last, accompanied by the following Letter to the Lord-Provost, which the Promoters consider advisable to give at length, as it contains a complete explanation of the whole scheme. The figures are altered from those stated in the original Letter, particularly in reference to the return from the building ground, in consequence of including additional buildings on the upper part of Woodlands—

“ 30, St. VINCENT STREET, GLASGOW, 30th January, 1851.

“ TO THE HONOURABLE THE LORD PROVOST OF GLASGOW.

“ Mr Lord,—I have been requested by the gentlemen who have interested themselves in the formation of a new Public Park in Glasgow, to lay before your Lordship a short statement of the manner in which such a proposal can be accomplished, in order that you may submit the same for the approval and co-operation of the Town Council. It will be unnecessary for me to recapitulate the arguments which have so often been stated, in regard to the numerous advantages which would arise in every point of view, sanitary or otherwise, were the proposed scheme carried out, but I will simply confine myself to its general practicability, without entering into the minutiae of detail.

“ It must be known to your Lordship that there are at present two properties in the market, viz.: Kelvingrove and Woodlands, offering peculiar advantages for such a purpose, not only from their proximity to each other, but from their great natural beauty, in consequence of forming the eastern bank of the River Kelvin, from Woodlands Road to the Dunbarton Road at the Partick Bridge. Offers of these two properties have been received by the Promoters, and are open for acceptance for a limited period.

“ The opposite bank of the Kelvin comprises the lands of Gilmourhill, belonging to the Fening Company of that name; and after several communications with the Directors thereof, they have expressed their cordial approval of the scheme, and resolve to recommend the Shareholders to contribute 16 acres towards the formation of the Park, in consideration of obtaining favourable access, and the increased value which their building ground will consequently attain.

“ There is submitted herewith a plan of the whole three properties, prepared by Mr. Charles Wilson, Architect, showing the situation and extent of the proposed Park, including the 16 acres to be contributed by the Gilmourhill Company, amounting altogether to 40½ acres; and exhibiting the lines of communication with existing streets, and the proposed connection with the pleasure grounds already formed opposite Claremont Terrace and Woodside Place, by the purchase of a small piece of ground belonging to Fleming’s Trustees.

“ Such being the position and extent of the Park proposed, it became matter for consideration as to the manner in which it could be carried out; and, after mature and anxious deliberation, the Promoters have come to the conclusion that the following is the best and most practicable way:—

“ On the assumption that the Shareholders of the Gilmourhill Company will ratify the arrangement approved of by the Directors, as before stated, and contribute the 16 acres, as shown on the plan, Woodlands, Kelvingrove, and the small piece of ground from Fleming’s Trustees, will require to be purchased, the offers of which in the Promoters’ hands, added to the estimated expense of laying out the Park, building the bridges, and cleansing the Kelvin, amount in all to.....£71,500

“ Towards this sum it has been proposed that the Town should contribute a donation of.....£10,000

“ And the Proprietors of the neighbouring Lands, who will be materially benefited by the formation of this Park, and the public generally, a further sum of 11,500

21,500

Leaving £50,000

to be provided by a Joint-Stock Fening Company, in such number of shares as may be agreed upon. It is further expected that the Corporation may be induced to avail themselves of this means of investment to a considerable extent after they become fully aware of the inducements for doing so.

“ The Promoters anticipate but little opposition being made to the proposed grant of £10,000, when it is considered that the Corporation are, in reality, not only acquiring for that sum 40½ acres of land for the benefit of the town, laid out as a Public Park, but are getting rid, in a certain degree, of the public nuisance which will eventually arise if the Kelvin be allowed to remain in its present filthy and unhealthy condition—or even in another view the Corporation are getting 40½ acres of ground for almost nothing, and expending the proposed grant of £10,000 in laying out the Park and cleansing the Kelvin, as it will require nearly that sum to do so.

“ I shall now briefly endeavour to show what inducements are held out in the proposed Joint-Stock Fening Company, without at present going into the particulars of detail, merely premising that all the calculations have been made from actual measurements, founded upon data sanctioned and approved by parties of great practical knowledge and experience in these matters. According to the plan herewith submitted, the ground laid out for building purposes as Woodlands and Kelvingrove is estimated at a valuation considerably below what may be realized, to be ultimately worth £100,000, without taking into consideration the sums which will be received for rights of access and various roads to be opened up.

“ It is estimated that all the building ground will be found in the course of a few years; but in order that every unfavourable contingency may be taken into account, it has, in the calculation made, been extended to 16 years; thus leaving no room for doubt as to the expectation being realized. If, therefore, from the above sum of.....£90,000

there is deducted the before-mentioned sum of.....£40,000

£50,000

“ There remains.....£50,000

to provide for the accumulation of interest during the progress of fening, and any contingencies which are likely to arise.

“ I am perfectly well aware that it is impossible, within the narrow limits of this Letter, to lay before your Lordship a clear or satisfactory statement, or give other than a faint outline of the undertaking; and it is therefore humbly suggested that a Committee of the Town Council should be appointed to examine the matter, and receive such explanations as may be deemed necessary, to enable the Corporation to judge of the propriety of the proposal; and, as the offers of the properties in question are held for a limited period, it is hoped that the Council may give it their earliest consideration, as such an opportunity for carrying out so desirable an improvement will never again occur.

“ I think it right to state that the Promoters are in no way connected, directly or indirectly, with either of the properties alluded to.

“ I have the honour to be, Mr Lord, your Lordship’s humble servant,

“ J. WYLLIE GUILD.”

The consideration of this Letter was remitted to the Finance Committee, who have, after several Meetings with the Promoters, an inspection of the ground, and a careful examination of the whole matters connected with the scheme, cordially approved of the proposal, and reported to the Council, recommending the grant of £10,000.

This Report will be brought before the Council at their next meeting, and it is earnestly hoped that no opposition will be made to its approval, when it is considered that an opportunity such as the present will never likely again occur, of securing a permanent Pleasure Ground for the public in a locality so well suited in every respect for such purpose, and easy of access equally to the working classes of Tradeston, Anderston, and the densely populated districts in the north-west and south-west of the city; and it should be kept in view that the daily extension of the town westwards renders the acquisition of such a fine open space highly desirable. The expense of keeping up the Park, when once formed, will be trifling; but, in order that every objection on this ground may be removed, the Promoters are prepared to convey to the Council the present Mansion House of Kelvingrove, for the purpose of being used as a Reading-Room and place of Entertainment, the revenue from which will, in all probability, be considerable.

The nature of the ground is peculiarly adapted for being laid out as a Park, and even in superficial extent it will bear a favourable comparison with most of the Parks in England.—In Hyde Park the length of the grand drive is 4300 yards; in St. James’s the drive is 2500 yards; while the proposed one is in all 2800 yards.

The length of St. James’s Park, from St. George Street to Buckingham Palace, is.....835 yards.

While this, from Claremont Terrace Pleasure Grounds to Partick Bridge, is.....870 do.

The breadth of St. James’s Park at greatest point is.....335 yards.

While this, from top of Woodlands to Trades’ House Ground, is.....650 do.

The three recently formed Parks in Manchester contain only 30 to 33 acres each, while this, as before stated, will contain 40½ acres.

The distance of the Manchester Parks from the Exchange are, Pod Park, 1½ mile; Queen’s Park, 2 miles; Phillips’ Park, 2½ miles; and the distance from the Glasgow Exchange to the Kelvingrove (Park) is exactly 1½ mile.

It is confidently expected that the neighbouring proprietors and the public, generally, will not be wanting in furthering this object, and when we consider that the people of Manchester contributed £33,000 towards the purchase of their Parks, in sums varying from £1000 to 12l., it is not too much to hope that Glasgow will not fail in raising only one-third of that sum.

While the Promoters regret that the Finance Committee recommend the Council not to embark in the Fening Company, in consequence of not considering it advisable for a Corporation to do so, they do not anticipate any great difficulty in its being carried out, in consequence of the almost certainty of a good return. It is a well known fact that the property in Manchester, in the vicinity of the Parks, has decidedly improved in value since they were formed; and, in addition to this, the extensive and beautiful view from the high grounds of Woodlands and Kelvingrove cannot fail to secure to the houses a permanent attraction.

In consequence of certain erroneous statements which have been made in regard to this scheme, whereby it is implied that it was originated by parties interested in the properties mentioned, in order to get them disposed of, the Promoters have again most emphatically to state that they are in no way connected, either directly or indirectly, with any of those properties, nor is it the case that the interest which the Town Council has already evinced in this matter has arisen from any other source than an earnest desire to secure to the inhabitants a great and important boon.

The plan herewith submitted exhibits a portion of the surrounding grounds, laid out in a uniform manner, which it is hoped the respective proprietors will agree to, particularly in the case of the Trades’ House Lands, with the members of which it is desirable some arrangements may be made to secure a frontage to the Park.

In conclusion, the Promoters will be happy to give every further explanation which may be considered necessary.

3/655 30, St. VINCENT STREET, }
Glasgow 30th February, 1851 }

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Figure 4.5: 1851 Plan of the West End Park

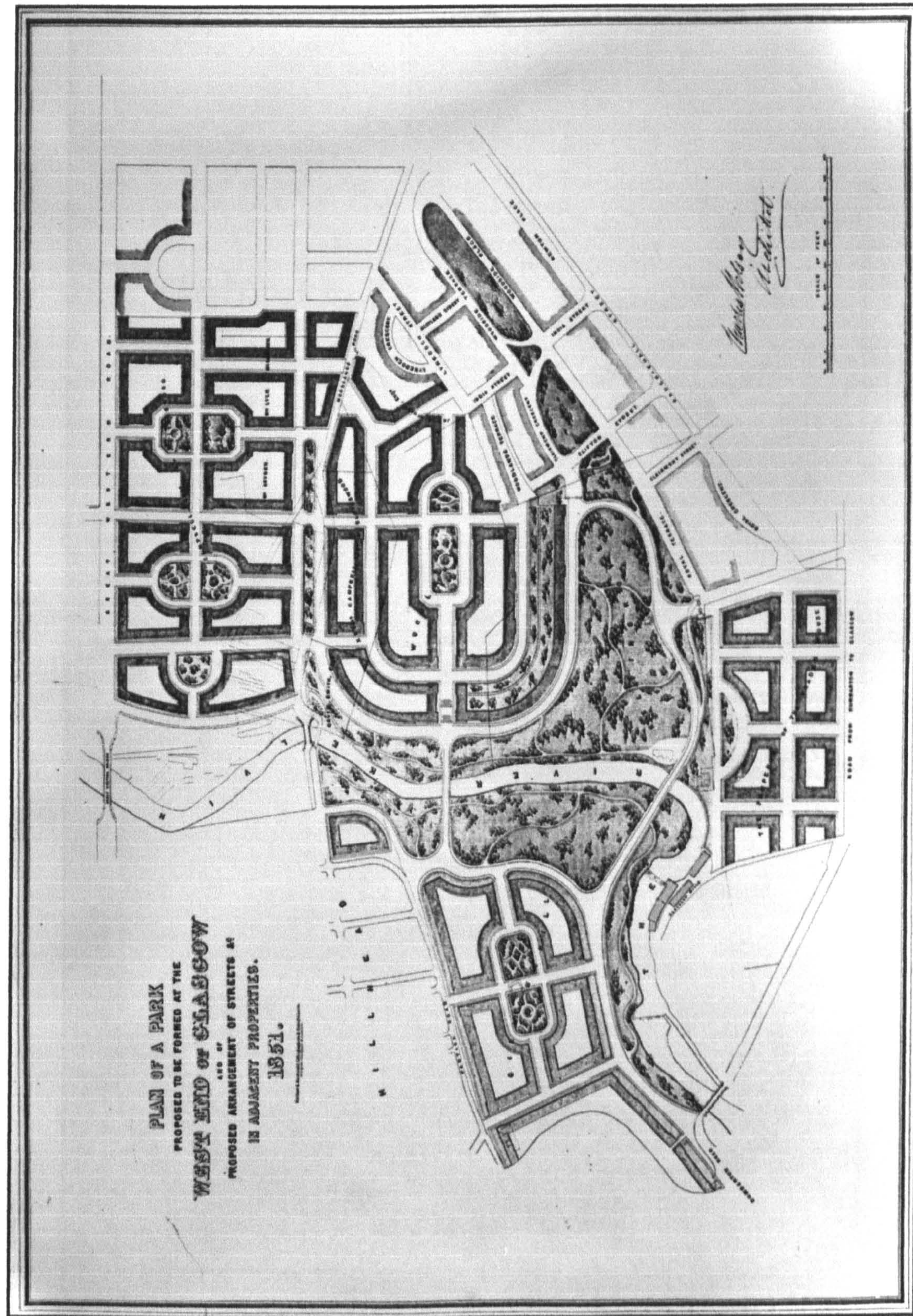
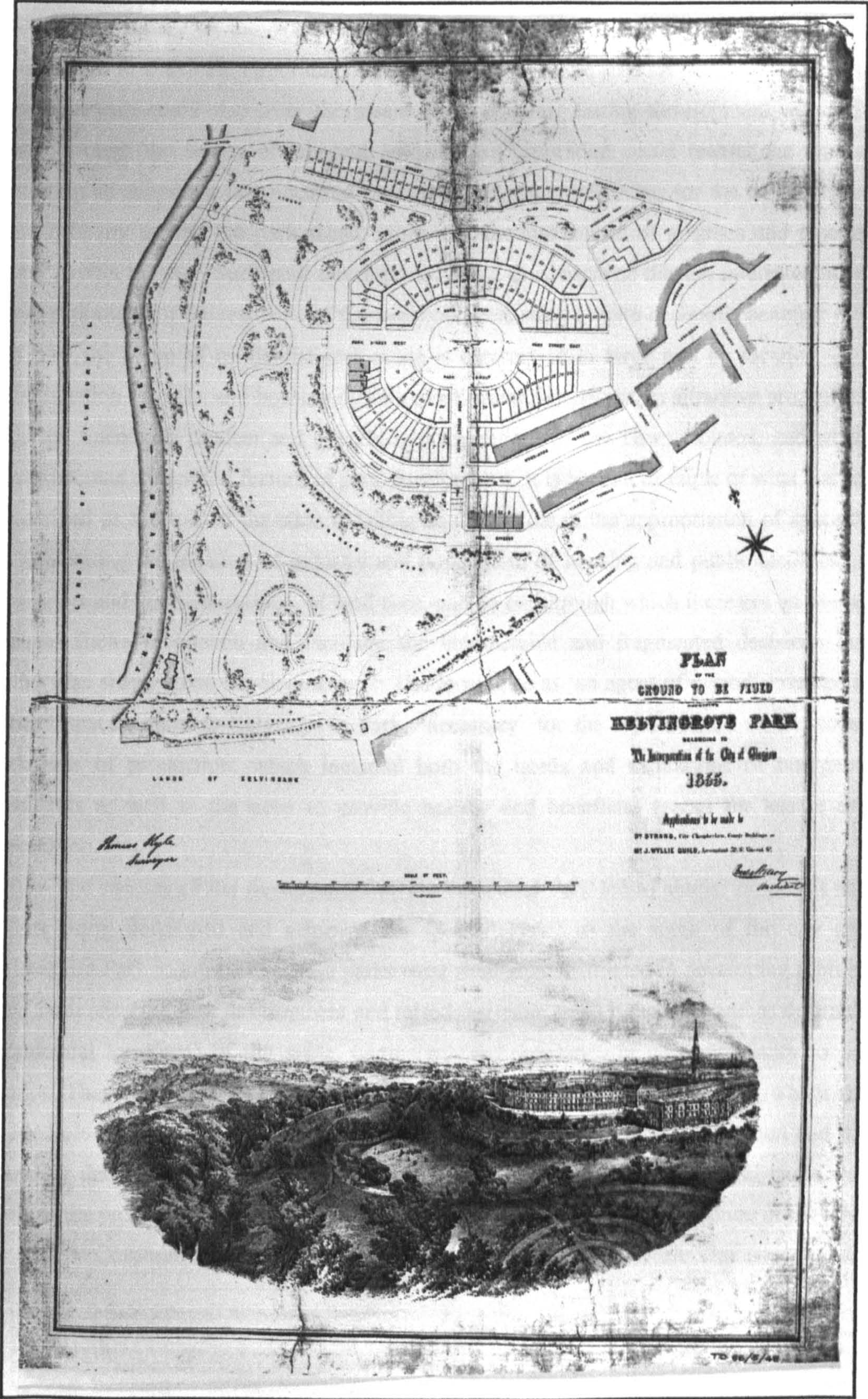


Figure 4.6: The Corporation's Feuing Plan for the Land Surrounding Kelvingrove Park



The location and design of the original municipal park of Kelvingrove in the developing suburb of the West End of the expanding city was presented as a business investment in which the opportunity of securing the available land for the amenity value of a public park could also offer the means for controlling further development within the area through the feuing of adjacent lands. The Corporation could restrict the type of building development that occurred on feued land, thus preserving for the adjacent land and property around the park scenic views and the appearance of a 'green and pleasant land' within the city. Such park development could thus combine the self-interested needs and aspirations of the residents of the new bourgeois suburbs with economic benefits: then as now the value of residential real estate is determined in large part by location. This combination of parks and housing development eventually proved an attractive proposition for the financially prudent and expansionist aspirations of the Town Council, and would later become a common feature of park development. It is also an example of what Harvey described as the role of the state in taking an active role in the appropriation of space by "... planning the location of industry and population, of housing and public facilities, of transport and communications, of land uses, and so on, through which it creates an overall spatial frame to contain and facilitate the innumerable and fragmented decisions that otherwise shape urban developments."¹² The local state as 'an agent of capital' invested in social spaces, such as Kelvingrove Park, 'necessary' for the reproduction of the social relations of production, which included both the needs and aspirations of bourgeois residents as well as the need to provide healthy and beneficial spaces for leisure and recreation.

The success of the development of the West End Park led to similar proposals and plans being developed and achieved for Queens Park¹³ to the south of the city and Alexandra Park in the north. These parks were similarly constructed in developing suburbs and both attracted new development and raised the value (both financially and as desirable residential locations) of the areas, particularly the properties in close proximity to the parks. They may be viewed as part of the process of gradual evolution by which the boundaries of the city were expanded to accommodate the increase in population and the housing demands of the middle-classes. The development of these municipal parks was part of the production, organisation and control of the spatial form and structure of the city.

The Corporation of the City of Glasgow acquired from Mr. Neale Thomson the 143

¹² D. Harvey, *The Urbanisation of Capital*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1985, p. 31.

¹³ "Kelvingrove having proved such a boon for the western district, and the fact that the city was extending almost as rapidly southward, were the dominating influence that decided the purchase. The opposition to the scheme was very strong and feeling at the time ran high. The authorities were accused of being in a 'hurry', and the ground was said to be too far outwith the city bounds to be serviceable to the inhabitants. The Council was very evenly divided, and it was only by the casting vote of the Lord Provost that the purchase of the farm of Pathhead was ultimately carried." Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p. 56.

acres for Queens Park in 1857 for a price of £30,000. Sir Joseph Paxton was again invited to prepare plans for the laying-out of the Park. (Paxton's Plan for Queen's Park is reproduced as figure 4.7). However, the Corporation's Master of Work, John Carrick, to ensure the fullest possible return from the feuing of adjoining lands, amended Paxton's scheme and the grand design for a crystal palace in the park was never realised due to prohibitive costs. Baillie Gemmill, Convenor of the Parks Committee, opened Queens Park to the public on 11th October 1862.

Queens Park existed outside the City boundary for thirty years and "the various small neighbouring burghs enjoyed the full advantage of the park without contributing anything toward its maintenance"¹⁴ until The City Boundaries Act of 1891 absorbed the burghs and the park into Glasgow. Nevertheless the development of a park on the south side of the river helped to stimulate the development of the surrounding areas. The Park was named not after Queen Victoria but Mary, Queen of Scots who had watched the defeat of her army in the Battle of Langside in 1568. Monies raised by public subscription in 1887 erected a monument to the battle. In 1894 the patrons of Hutcheson Hospital offered the whole of the Camphill property to the City at a price of £63,000. This extended the acreage of the park by 58 acres to make a total of 191, although 50 were set aside for feuing purposes. The mansion house of Camphill was also acquired and altered to provide a museum in the park that was inaugurated by a Photographic Exhibition (see details of Camphill House Museum in Appendix 7).

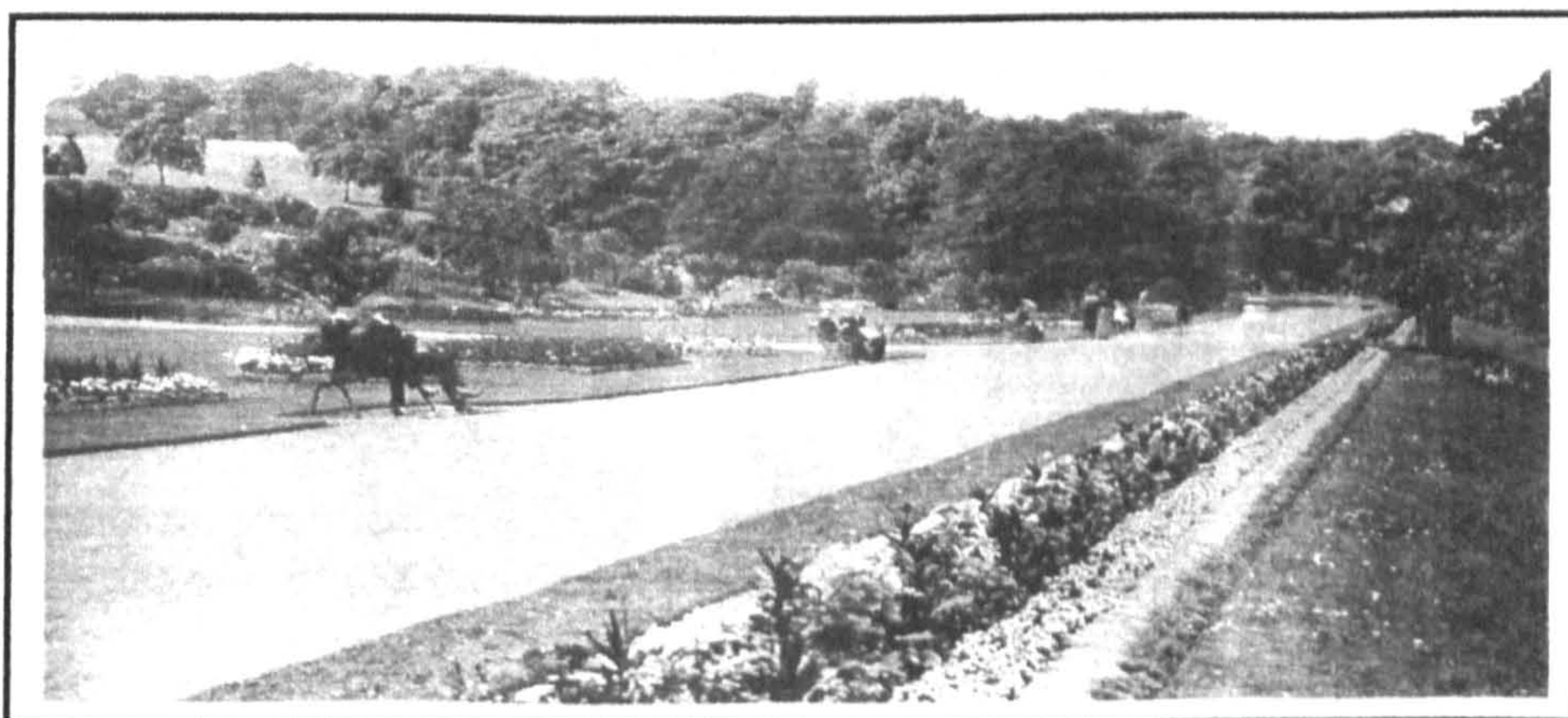


Figure 4.7: The Esplanade, Queens Park where Paxton's 'covered Promenade', Music Hall and Refreshment Rooms were intended to be built. ¹⁵

The City of Glasgow Improvement Trust was established in 1866 specifically to develop the urban infrastructure of the city by direct intervention in the built environment as an attempt to change the physical structure of the city, decrease population density and

¹⁴ Ibid. p.57.

¹⁵ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 75.

thus improve the ‘moral and physical’ living conditions of the population.¹⁶ The Preamble to the Act was explicit in its aims:

... it would be of public and local Advantage if various Houses and Buildings were taken down, and those portions of the said City reconstituted, and new Streets were constructed in and through various Parts of said City, and several of the existing Streets altered and widened and diverted, and that in connection with the Reconstruction of these portions of the City Provision was made for Dwellings for the Labouring Classes who may be misplaced in consequence thereof.¹⁷

Under the Act, twelve old streets were to be altered, 39 new streets were built, and the ground that was cleared was to be sold off or leased to private developers for the construction of houses for the working class. It was not until the second quarter of the 20th century that social housing built by the state would become a fundamental part of urban regeneration schemes. This Act was a significant development in the local state’s intervention in the built environment and significantly also included powers to acquire land and construct a public park, Alexandra Park, by the purchase of 79 acres of Wester Kennyhill, land lying between the Monkland Canal and Cumbernauld Road, from the Haghill estate. Unemployed labour was used in part to landscape the park under a scheme of public works. During the depression years of 1867 and 1868 “... several hundred unemployed and starving artisans and labourers were used.... to convert an old quarry to a swimming pool, and construct a miniature lake.”¹⁸

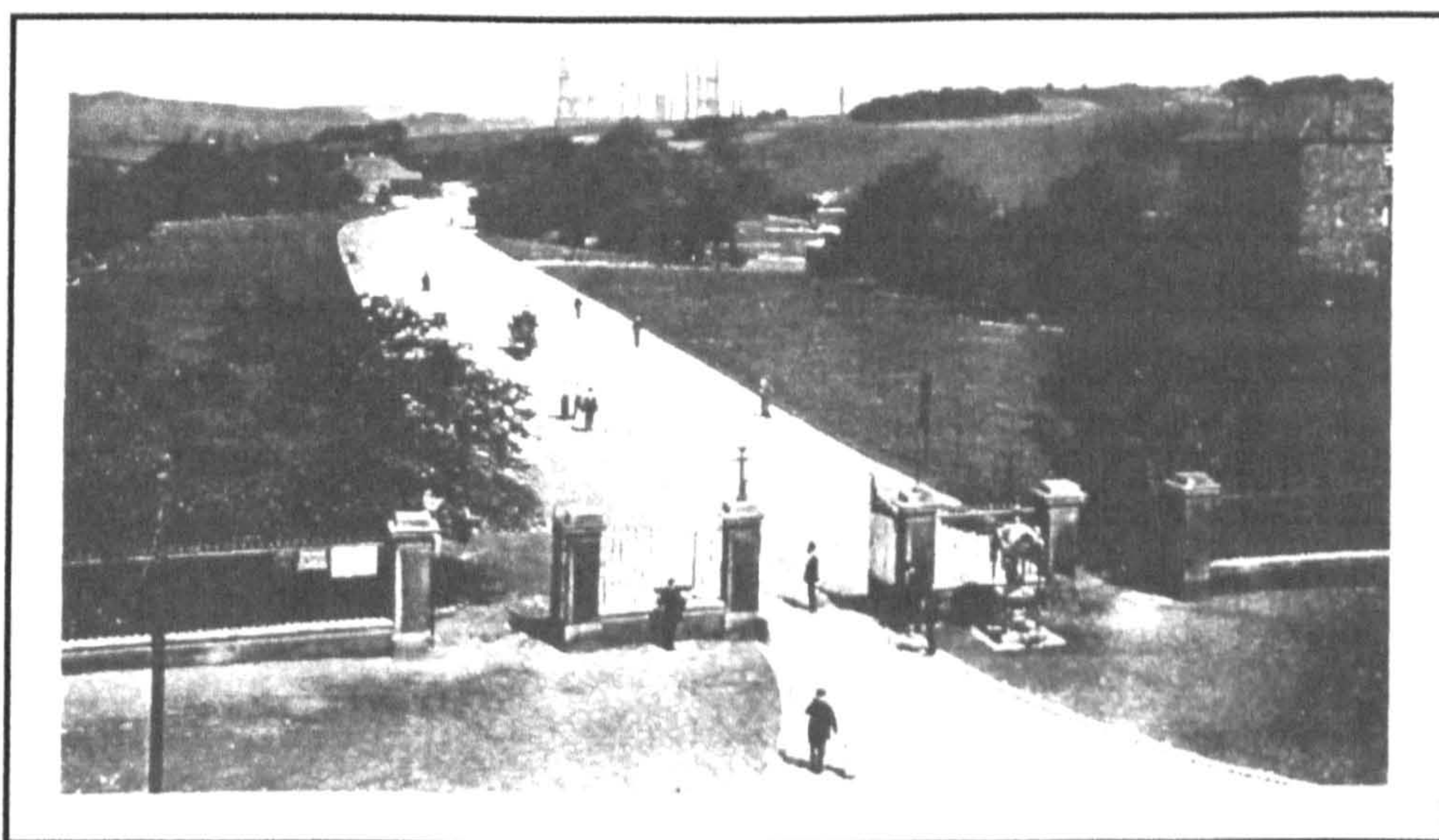


Figure 4.8: The Main Entrance to Alexandra Park¹⁹

¹⁶ A description of the conditions that the Improvement Act was attempting to address was provided in the previous chapter, specifically with reference to *Shadow's Midnight Scenes* and Thomas Annan's photographs.

¹⁷ *Preamble to the Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866.*

¹⁸ Gibb, 1991, op. cit. p. 16.

¹⁹ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 6.

The provision of a park on the northeast of the city was intended to serve the inhabitants of this area of the expanding city. The park was seen for some time to be rather isolated and it was not until Alexander Dennistoun gifted 5 acres to the park that it became connected to the newly built road of Alexandra Parade. This provided the main entrance to the park (see figure 4.9), in turn attracting new building development in neighbouring areas, and the park was considered conveniently located for the populated residential areas of Townhead and Dennistoun. Alexander Dennistoun's gift of land was the first to be made for the purpose of park development and was not altogether altruistic in that he "recognised that the proximity of a public park would greatly enhance the value of his estate".²⁰ The park was in close proximity to industry and thus suffered from the blight of pollution. It was "... in the direct line in which prevailing winds drive the great smoke canopy of the city, and on its north-west boundary Blochairn Steel Works belch forth huge volumes of dense black smoke".²¹ Alexandra Park was home to the Glasgow Golf Club until it moved its clubhouse to Ayrshire in the 20th century. The extent of the park was set at 101 acres by the end of the 19th century when the Council acquired further land in 1874-7 and again in 1891: 15 acres were used to build houses for the working classes under the City Improvement scheme, 6 ½ were sold to the Gas and Housing Departments and 9 ½ were set aside for feuing purposes. The park eventually extended to 101 acres.

The production of these three public parks in this period represents the beginning of municipal involvement in the creation of public parks as social amenity spaces and specifically acknowledged interventions in the built urban landscape. Their production and development in the expanding suburbs of the city also identified them with particular populations and communities, as well as being for the seeming benefit of the city as a whole. The fiscal arrangements for park and housing development in the suburbs indicate the inter-relationship of different forms, features, and facilities in the spatial organisation and structure of the expanding city. There was also something of a far-sighted and expansionist vision in the approach of the municipal authorities in acquiring land, designing and laying-out parks such as Alexandra and Queens Parks which, at the time of their initial acquisition and construction, were both situated outwith the boundaries of the Council's administrative area.

(c) 1870 – 1914

The next stage of park development continued the Corporation's interventionist strategy of municipal investment in the provision of social spaces for leisure and recreation

²⁰ Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p 68.

²¹ J. Bell and J. Paton, Glasgow: Its Municipal Organization and Enterprise, Glasgow, James MacElhope and Sons, 1896, p 339. (Mu 25 – c.2).

for the population of the city. Various Acts of Parliament from the late 1850s to the 1870s provided the Corporation of Glasgow with the necessary powers to raise money to acquire and to regulate lands for the purposes of public parks. The Glasgow Public Parks Act of 1859 (see figure 4.10), enabled the Magistrates and Council of the City to levy an annual assessment for expenses to ‘lay out, maintain and improve’ the Kelvingrove and Queens Parks along with the Galleries of Art and Corporation Halls for the “purpose of promoting the Health, Recreation and Improvement of the Inhabitants of the City”.²² The Glasgow Improvement Act of 1866 empowered the Trustees to acquire and layout “ground for a public park or playground suitable and convenient for the inhabitants of the north-eastern district of the City”,²³ what became Alexandra Park, at a cost not exceeding £40,000. This inner ring of parks (see Appendix 1) formed by these three municipal parks and Glasgow Green and the Botanic Gardens had given some of Glasgow’s citizens’ access to open spaces for recreation and leisure. For many others, the accessibility of these parks was limited because of their distance from residential districts.

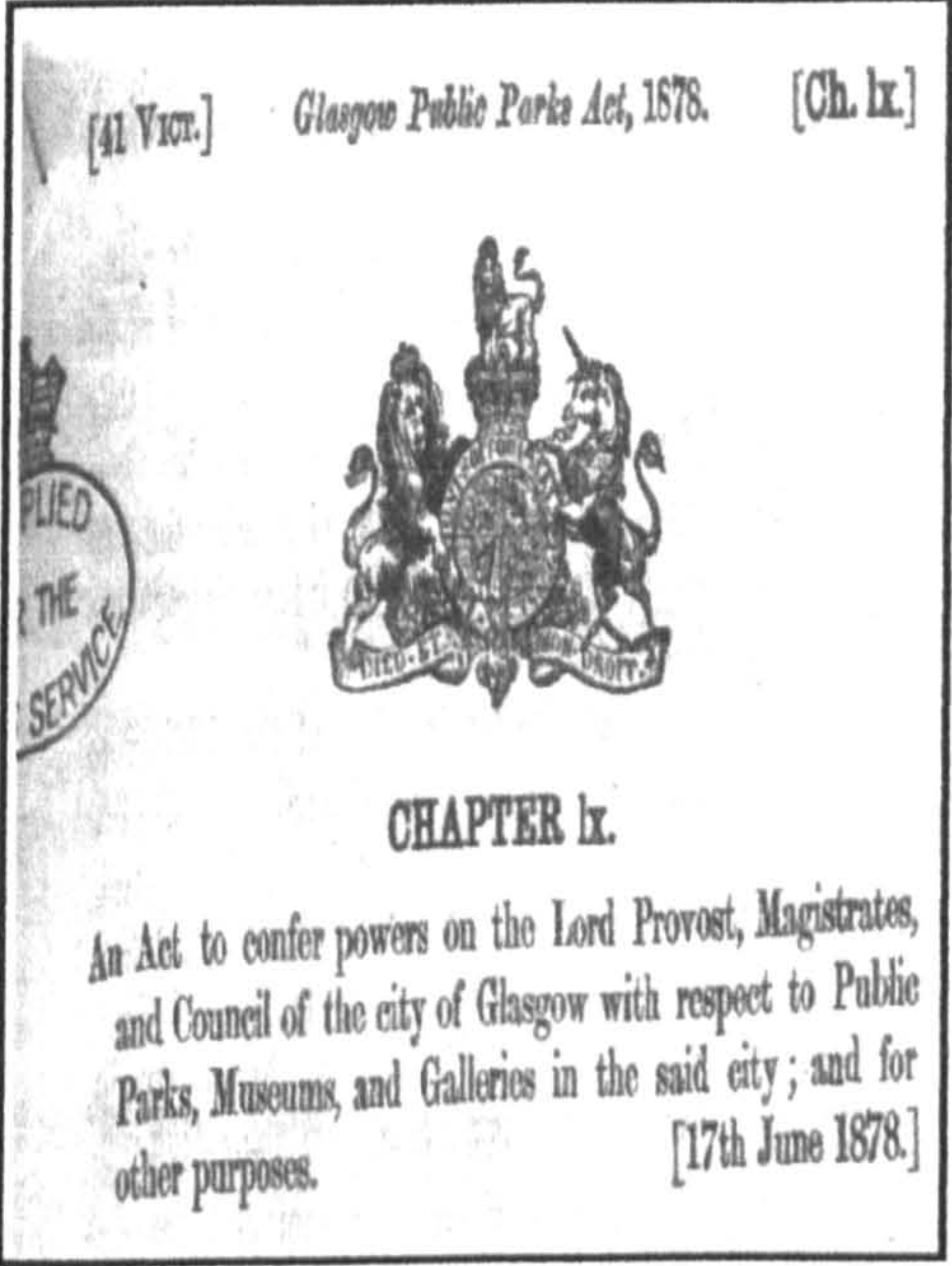
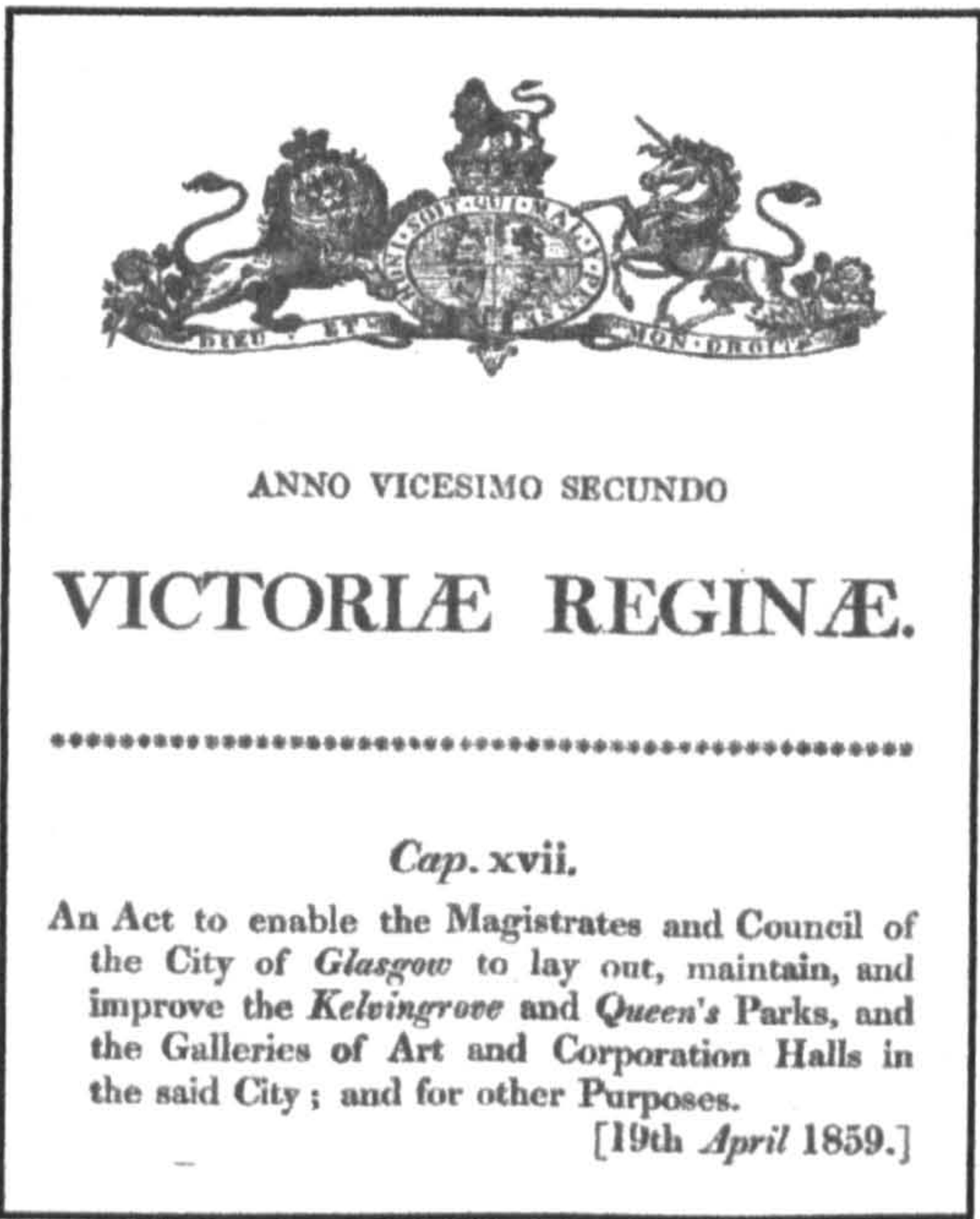


Figure 4.10: Glasgow Public Parks Act of 1859 Figure 4.11: Glasgow Public Parks Act of 1878

The legislative foundation that underpinned the Corporation’s eventual strategy of public park provision across the whole of the city and its disparate communities was to be found in the Public Parks Act (Glasgow) of 1878 (figure 4.11). It provided the powers by which the Corporation could establish a network of parks and playgrounds and to provide the facilities which it deemed necessary and appropriate for their maintenance and for the

²² Glasgow Public Parks Act 1859, p. 1.
²³ Glasgow Improvement Act, 1866, cited in “Report and Opinion by the Town Clerk, J. Lindsay”, in *General Finance Committee Minutes*, Glasgow Corporation, 1914, p. 8. (Mitchell Library Archives DTC 14/2/12).

recreational needs and requirements of the people. The preamble to the Act of 1878 gave a clear indication of the powers that the Corporation was given: "...to purchase or take in lease, layout, plot, improve, and maintain lands for the purpose of being used as parks, public walks, or pleasure gardens, and may support or contribute to the support of parks ... provided by any persons whatsoever."²⁴ It also allowed the Council to open disused graveyards and cemeteries:

... in a way and manner conducive to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and to the amenity of the city ... And where it is expedient that the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council should be empowered to lay out, maintain and extend other public parks, recreation grounds, and open spaces in the said city, and also the open space called and known as Glasgow Green, and for these purposes to purchase, acquire and hold additional lands.²⁵

The 1878 Act was also important because it enabled the Corporation to ensure eventual access for the people of Glasgow to the grounds and greenhouses, walks and flower gardens of the Botanic Gardens, an important educational and leisure amenity space that had had severe restrictions on access, given its ownership by the Royal Botanical Institution.²⁶ This Act unquestionably gave the Council the powers to expand its parks provision throughout the city,²⁷ and the period of the 1870s -1914 saw a concerted effort on the part of the Corporation to acquire land for park construction. It was during this time that the necessity of municipal park provision began to have not only an expressed but also a realised egalitarianism that became firmly established in the public as well as the civic authorities' mind. It was in this period that parks began to be constructed in working class areas and provided much needed and appreciated access to open spaces and recreational facilities. There is then an extension of the production and organisation of a network of forms and structures in the landscape of the city specifically designed and regulated as social spaces. The need for the local state to extend its authority and power over the whole of the city was in part to create an urban infrastructure that would facilitate the needs of industry and commerce. In the last quarter of the century, Glasgow was competing not only nationally but also internationally for markets. The city's image and status, as well as the health and efficiency of its workforce, were prime factors in its ability to sustain its competitive edge. Therefore, the creation of parks and open spaces in and for the working classes demonstrated the logic and practical expediency of other capital investments in the

²⁴ Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878, Preamble.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 2.

²⁶ The Act gave power to "... transfer to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the said Royal Botanic Gardens, and all right, title and interest therein or connected therewith, and for the maintenance and improvement of the said gardens, in all time coming, for the recreation and benefit of the inhabitants of the said city." Ibid. p. 3.

²⁷ "The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council may from time to time lay out, improve, maintain, and extend the public parks in or adjacent to the city, known respectively as the Kelvingrove Park, Queens Park, and the Alexandra Park, and also the Glasgow Green, and the Kelvingrove Museum and the Galleries of Art and Corporation Halls, and the public parks which may be hereafter acquired by them under this Act ... and may from time form and maintain swimming ponds in such of the same public parks, green, or open spaces as they may consider expedient, with all the needful buildings, approaches, walks, and conveniences connected with such parks, green, museums, galleries, open spaces and gardens." Ibid. p. 7-8.

urban landscape.

The need to provide public parks for ordinary working people, to give “...space in which the populace could look on green grass, growing trees and shrubs, and which they could call their own”,²⁸ was one that had been recognised and promoted in much of the literature emanating from the public parks movement as detailed previously. Various officials within the Corporation had appreciated the importance of more widespread park provision for some time. For example, a report dated 22nd November 1877 stated “the importance of finding free space for amusements within a moderate distance of their dwellings is yearly increasing for the poorer classes”,²⁹ a point that was still being emphasised in respect of Ruchill Park eight years later:

It would be a matter of lasting regret if the opportunity was lost of securing some land on the summit of the surrounding hills as fresh air reservoirs for the dense population which crowds the valley, and is compelled to breathe a smoke-laden air and otherwise tainted atmosphere.³⁰

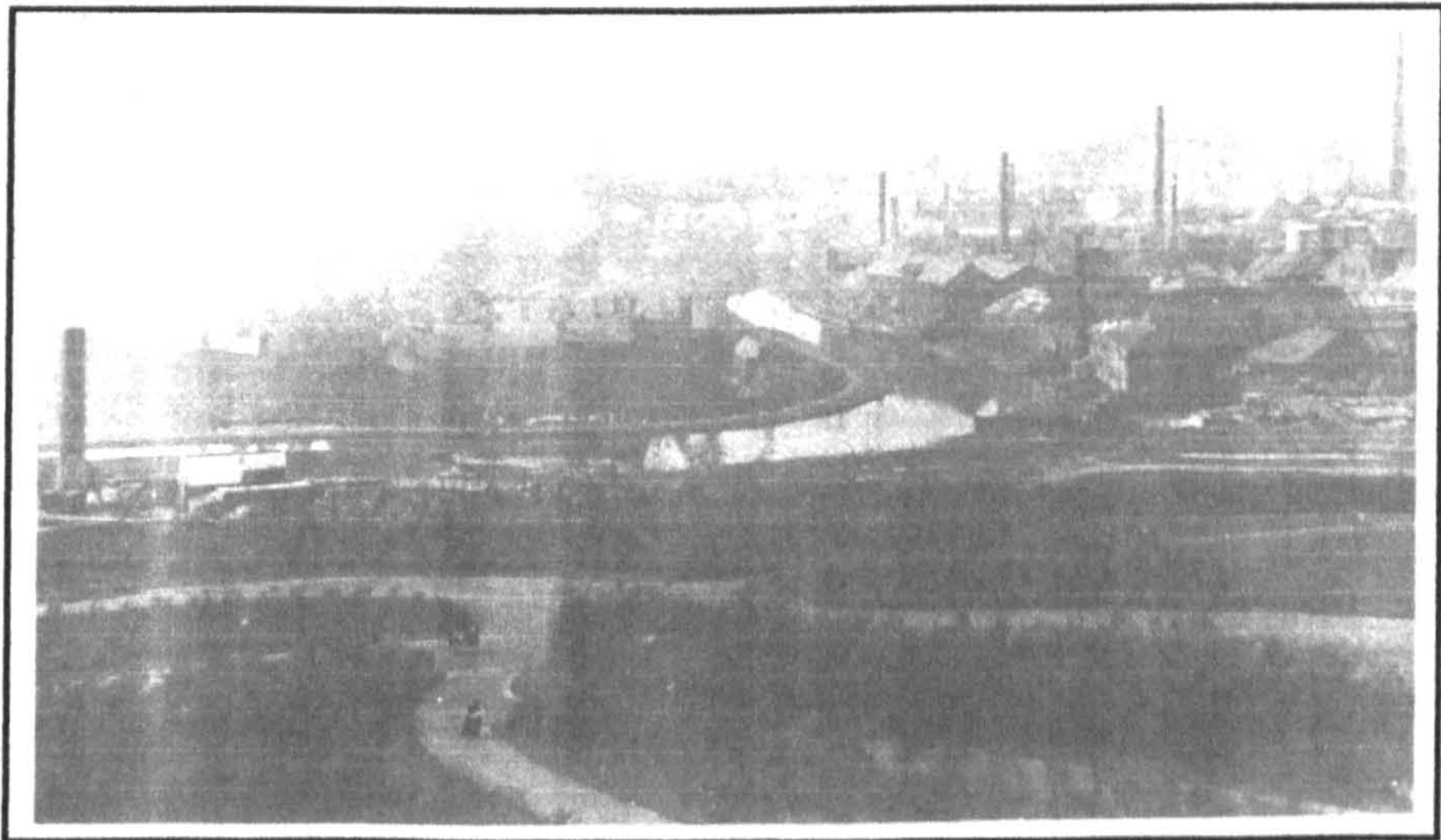


Figure 4.12: The view of ‘smoke-laden Glasgow’ from Ruchill Park³¹

The continued expansion and development of the parks network in the 20th century was built, in large part, on the foundations laid down by the municipal authorities in this period. However, at the turn of the century there was still criticism that, despite the considerable achievements of the Corporation in providing parks and open space, still more needed to be done. For example, Dr J.B. Russell, the Medical Officer of Health for the City, commented that:

... in this period systematic efforts were for the first time made to provide Children’s Playgrounds. The city has always been supplied with suburban parks. The historic

²⁸ Bell & Paton, 1896, op. cit. p. 335.

²⁹ Dr. J. B. Russell and Mr J. Carrick, Report On Sanitary Aspects of the Proposal to Acquire A Public Park in the Lands of Ruchill, Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow, 22 Nov. 1877. (Mitchell Library Archive D-Pk 1).

³⁰ Prof. J. Carrick and A.B. MacDonald, Report on the Desirability of a Public Park at Ruchill issued to the Parks sub-committee, 1/5/1885, Glasgow Corporation Parks Dept. (Mitchell Library Archives D-Pk 1).

³¹ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 84.

Glasgow Green was purchased at various times in the 17th and 18th centuries. It remained the sole park until 1854, when the West End Park was obtained, and several new parks and large additions to old ones have since been acquired from time to time. Still no provision had been made near to tenement houses in the shape of *pro indiviso* gardens or pleasure grounds. George Square, St. Enoch Square and St. Andrews Square are examples of spaces left near the houses of the wealthy of former generations which remain for the use of the many.... Power was obtained in 1878 to lay out and throw open the graveyards which had been closed. Six of these now furnish attractive spaces in the midst of crowded localities in the oldest parts of the city, and make one thankful that the necessity of 'the provision of a burying place' preserved from the builder of former generations some space for the living now to enjoy the reversion. Since 1892 the Committee on Health has made it a part of its ordinary business to secure, as opportunity offers, play places for the children of the poorer and more crowded localities. There is a special Sub-committee for the purpose.³²

The following gives some details of those parks acquired by the corporation in the period. Springburn Park (figure 4.13) was bought in 1892 at a cost of £20,710 and was described as "... a most excellent health resort for the daily toilers of that important and busy manufacturing district".³³ The original extent of the park was 53 acres but additions were made in 1900 and 1904 when the Council was gifted adjacent property and the house and gardens of Mr. A. Reid, bringing the total to 75 acres. The high point of the park is 351 feet above sea level and continuous readings for the Meteorological Office in Edinburgh have been made since 1896. The park was equipped with a bandstand, model yacht pond, three bowling greens, six tennis courts, putting green, cricket pitch, four football pitches, two hockey pitches, paddle boats, Old Men's Shelter, Winter Gardens and pony riding.

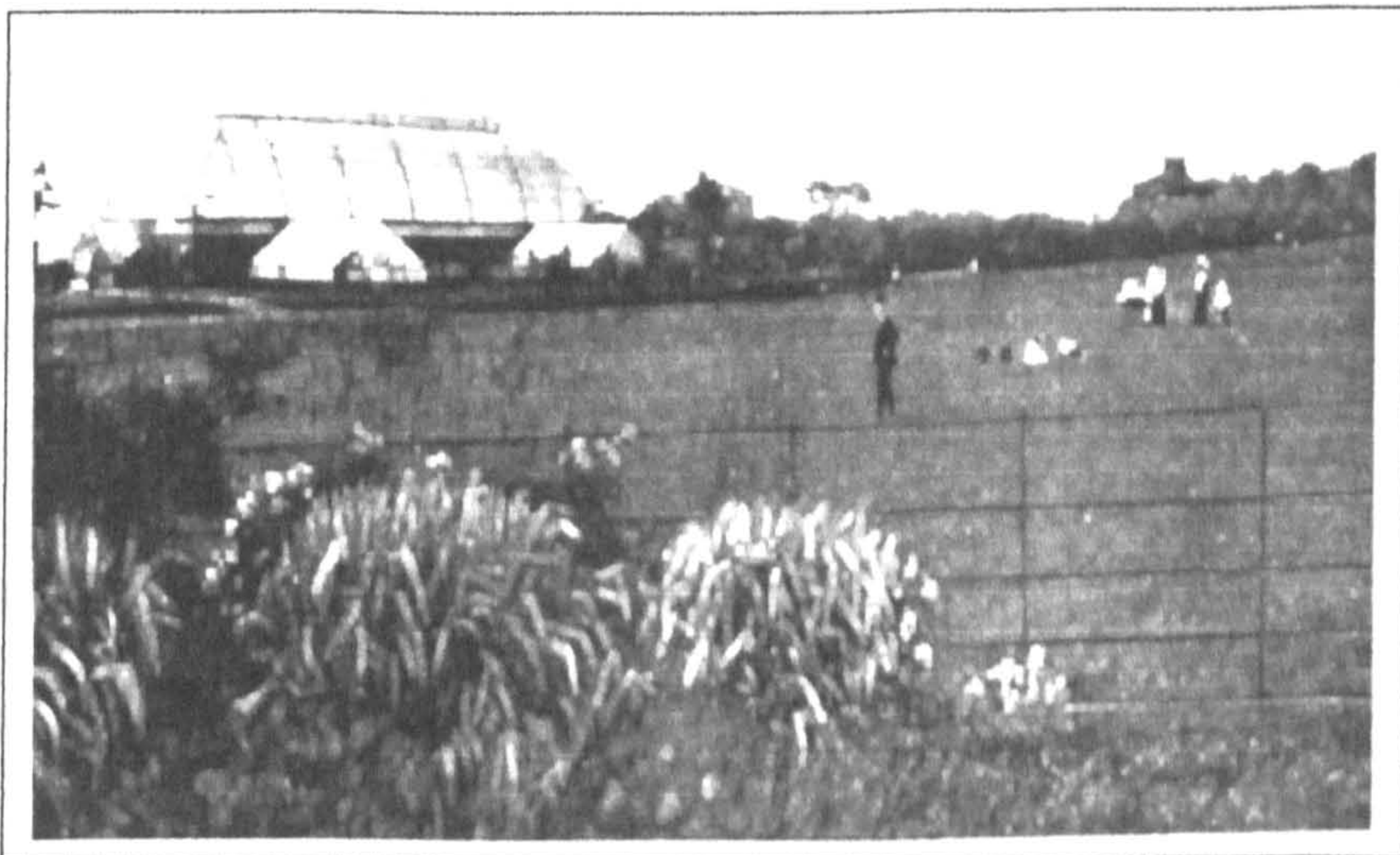


Figure 4.13: Springburn Park³⁴

Maryhill Park was purchased in 1892 and, like Springburn Park, was essentially for the working classes. It was described as "... a quiet retreat for the old and young of the

³² J.B. Russell, *The Evolution of the Function of Public Health Administration*, Glasgow, William Hodge and Co., 1895, p. 47-48.

³³ Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p. 78.

³⁴ Corporation of Glasgow, *Municipal Glasgow: It's Evolution and Enterprise*, Glasgow, Robert Anderson, 1914, p. 174.

district”.³⁵ Ruchill Park was also purchased in 1892 and extended to 52 acres. In a Resume of New Work undertaken in the year 1895-95 the “...wisdom of the Committee in providing this breathing space for the populous North-western District is justified by the increasing extent to which it is being taken advantage of by the citizens.”³⁶ The 9-hole golf course (2208 yards, scratch score 30) acquired in 1928 added 41 acres. The park also included two bowling greens, two football pitches, and an Old Men’s Shelter. Some clarification of this latter feature of the public parks is required.

In Glasgow, and in other similar cities, these Shelters were provided as meeting places and communal resources for workers and ex-servicemen who, due to old age, infirmity or disability could no longer be employed productively. The Shelters were usually equipped with a stove, tables and chairs and provided the opportunity for company and comradeship, card and other games, in an environment that offered more than the cramped conditions of the home but less temptation than the public house. They were unquestionably exclusively male establishments. The location of these shelters in parks provided a supervisory mature adult influence on the behaviour and activities of some young people in the parks. Whilst they still exist as buildings in some parks, they are no longer used for their original purpose as changing habits of and attitudes to pensioners have provided alternative roles and places for social activities. They have in many instances suffered from neglect and vandalism, but there are signs of them being refurbished and put to other uses. In Dowanhill Park, for example, the Shelter is currently undergoing renovation that will see it transformed into a nursery and play group for residents of the local area.

Bellahouston Park was acquired in 1895 from the Trustees of Elizabeth and Grace Stevens on the condition that “...the property should be held and used exclusively, and in all time coming as a public park for, and on behalf of, and for the use of citizens of Glasgow.”³⁷ Conditions were also imposed on the Corporation concerning the selling, feuing, gifting or building on the land. Additions to the park were made in 1901 by the purchase of part of the neighbouring lands of Dumbreck from Sir J. Stirling Maxwell at a cost of £2,824. In 1903 the lands of Ibroxhill were added at a cost of £40,222 bringing the total area of the park to over 185 acres, one of the largest in Glasgow, room enough to accommodate an 18-hole golf course. With smaller additions of land the park now consists of 209 acres with a large central hill, surrounding slopes and areas of level ground.

Due to the size of the park and its location in the city, Bellahouston Park has been used for a number of large events including the 1938 Empire Exhibition, various

³⁵Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p. 80.

³⁶Resume of New Work Undertaken or carried out by the Corporation During the Year 1895-6, Glasgow Corporation, p. 16. (Mu 25 – c. 16).

³⁷Bell & Paton, 1896, op. cit. p. 343.

international pipe-band festivals as well as the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1982. It now houses a version of Charles Rennie Macintosh design, 'The Art Lovers House'. The park was provided over the years with the following facilities: four bowling greens, six tennis courts, pitch and putt course, eleven football pitches, an Old Man's Shelter, and running track. An artificial ski slope was opened in 1968. The Bellahouston Sports Centre, opened in 1967 and jointly administered by the Corporation of Glasgow and the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, cost £216,000 to complete. Its aim was to provide facilities for active participation rather than a stadium for spectator events. The Hall measures 120ftx120ftx25ft and can accommodate cricket and golf practice, up to nine badminton courts, tennis, basketball, netball, volleyball, indoor hockey and 5-a-side football. Two squash courts have also been added as well as an outdoor Activities Centre opened in 1970.

Tollcross Park was considered a solution to the "difficulty in securing a suitable site for the immense and growing population of the 'far east'"³⁸ of the city and consisted of 83 acres of the mansion and grounds purchased in 1897 for £29,000 from a Mr. James Dunlop. Further land was acquired for the park in 1921. The park was provided with two bowling greens, pitch and putt course, putting green, eight tennis courts, four football pitches, cricket and hockey pitches, children's playground and an Old Men's Shelter. Richmond Park on the south bank of the Clyde opposite Glasgow Green was named after Sir David Richmond, the then Lord Provost, who opened it to the public and consisted of 44 acres bought in 1898 at a cost £44,000. Facilities included 2 bowling greens, cricket pitch, 2 putting greens, children's playground and paddling pool, Old Men's Shelter, model yacht pond and paddleboats. Richmond Park was considered as providing further open space in the still congested areas of the East End, and its acquisition recognised the need for such park development in working class areas.

This 'large lung' adequately meets the wants of residents in the southeastern districts, such as Polmadie and the wide and populous Hutchestown areas, and forms an important feature in the park system of the city. The ground is largely available for all forms of sport, and it contains the largest pond in any of the city parks. The future, no doubt, holds in its hand many improvements in the way of adornments, and this park will be ultimately made an ideal one for the district in which it is placed.³⁹

A number of public spirited and philanthropic individuals gifted estates, as well as tracts of land, to complement the efforts of the Council. Of the 27 parks identified as constructed in this period, eleven involved gifts from individuals whilst the rest involved purchases of land as well as transfers from other Council Departments. These gifts were highly prized and encouraged by the Corporation:

There are few methods in which philanthropists can better serve the citizens than the

³⁸ Noremac, 1908, *op. cit.* p. 85.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 87.

presenting, or equipping, of Public parks. Next to the Infirmaries they are undoubtedly the most noble institution in the possession of the city.⁴⁰

The following details some of the most important gifts. Maxwell Park was presented by Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell to the Burgh of Pollockshields in 1878 whose Commissioners laid out and enclosed its 20 acres and erected a Burgh Hall at its south-east corner. Maxwell Park became the responsibility of Glasgow Corporation's Parks Department when the Annexation Act of 1891 absorbed the area into the city. Mr. James Dick purchased Cathkin Braes, familiarly termed 'Gutta Park', in 1886 and immediately handed it over to the Corporation, on the condition that "it should be held in perpetuity as a place of resort for the community and the inhabitants of the City of Glasgow",⁴¹ and that "...as far as possible the natural features and configuration of the ground should be maintained or preserved."⁴² The park consisted of some 49 acres and afforded some views of the city despite "... the pall of smoke which fills the valley but seldom lifts, and it is only in snatches that the landscape is revealed."⁴³ The park was a semi-wilderness and it was intended to be a rural retreat for the people of Glasgow, and therefore sports such as football and cricket were strictly prohibited. Rouken Glen was originally owned by the Montgomeries of Eglinton Castle and gifted to the City in 1906 by Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, later Lord Rowallan, for the use and benefit of its citizens. The 135 acres of the park included landscaped gardens and semi-wilderness on the southern edge of Glasgow as well as a pitch and putt course, a once very popular boating pond, running track and cricket pitch.

Some mention must also be made of the gift of the Ardgoil Estate. It is not a 'park' as such, but 14,659 acres in Argyll situated at the head of Loch Goil, 40 miles from the city. Mr. A. Cameron Corbett MP gifted it to the city in 1908 whereupon an afforestation scheme was initiated that provided work for existing estate staff and some unemployed farm labourers. The George Square Xmas tree, as well as those in other public buildings and many churches, traditionally came from the city's 'Highland Estate', of *Ardkinglas*, as it was also known. Each summer, for a fortnight in July, the corporation arranged for a steamer to take mothers and children from the more deprived areas of the city to the estate for a day trip (figures 4.14 and 4.15). A report by the Town Clerk, J. Lindsay dated 6th July 1913 attests to the popularity of these trips:

The number of mothers with their children under school age who participated in the 12 excursions was 11,608, and including 3,353 infants in arms made a total of 14,961 ... It was a natural delight to watch the young children, many of whom have rarely an opportunity of leaving their back courts, playing games and romping on the deck of the steamer, -enjoying the swings and other amusements, and sporting themselves on the

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 78.

⁴¹ D. McLellan, *Glasgow's Public Parks*, Glasgow, Smith and Son, 1894, p. 95.

⁴² Noremac, 1908, *op. cit.* p. 65.

⁴³ Bell & Paton, 1896, *op. cit.* p. 341.

recreation field of 'Glasgow's Highland Estate'.⁴⁴



Figure 4.14: Steamer Trip to Ardgoil



Figure 4.15: Annual Picnic at Ardgoil⁴⁵

Another important factor in the acquisition of public parks in this period was the absorption of the outlying burghs, such as those of Govan, Partick and Pollockshields. Victoria, Elder, Plantation and Dowanhill Parks all came under the authority of the city's Parks Department due to this extension of the city's boundaries. The two largest and most important are detailed here. Elder Park was gifted to the burgh of Govan by Mrs. John Elder in memory of her husband and his father, founder and director of Randolph, Elder and Company that later became the Fairfield Shipbuilding Company. It was opened by the Earl of Roseberry in June of 1883 and comprised an area of approximately 35 acres. Mrs. Elder had clear instruction as to the use to which the park should be put. She made provision for the prohibition of all games and stipulated that the park should be used "... principally for the use and enjoyment of the inhabitants in the way of healthful recreation by music and amusements."⁴⁶ The Parks Department, on acquiring the park as a result of

⁴⁴ C. Whitton, *Report on Ardgoil Estate*, Glasgow, Glasgow Corporation. (Mitchell Library Archives DTC 14/2/12 p. 591).

⁴⁵ Figures 4.14 and 4.15 from Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. pp. 13, 11.

⁴⁶ Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p 84.

the boundary extensions of 1912, produced a report that highlighted the biggest problem associated with the Elder Park.

The worst feature of the case is that workmen from the shipyards use of the ladies' room in which to take their meals, and they are not particular as to the manner of their disposal of slops and crusts, and as to the use of the lavatory ... There seems to have been a laxity in the observance of Park Regulations, as many parts are disfigured by misuse.⁴⁷

Despite Mrs Elder's restrictions on games and sports the park did eventually come to include two bowling greens, two putting greens, a children's playground and paddling pool, tow Old Men's Shelters, model yacht pond, paddleboats, and five multi-purpose courts for basketball, netball and tennis.

Victoria Park was begun by the Burgh of Partick when they feued land from J. Gordon Oswald of Scotstoun in 1886. It was named to celebrate the Queen Victoria's Jubilee and opened to the public on the 2nd July 1887. Many workers in the shipbuilding industry had been laid off in 1886 as the result of a periodic downturn in trade and were used in much of the work of laying out the park. In the Quarry Knowe area of the park a Mr. T. Morrison discovered the fossilized remains of trees and the area was covered over to protect the unearthed specimens. The resultant Fossil Grove became a visitor attraction, details of which are provided in Appendix 7. A miniature lake, rockeries, a small deer field, two public bowling greens, and open spaces were provided for sports and recreation. A bandstand was built by the Burgh and opened in 1908 and the park was absorbed into Glasgow in 1912. Facilities provided in the park came to be as follows; three bowling greens, cricket pitch, croquet lawn, three football pitches, rugby, shinty and hockey pitches, model yacht pond and paddle boats, pony riding, children's playground, an Old Men's Shelter, eight multi-purpose courts for basketball, netball, and tennis. Some parkland was lost in the 1960's due to the construction of the Clyde Tunnel.

(d) 1915 – 1945

This period, despite the intervention of two world wars, saw the further expansion both of the city and its number of parks. Severe overcrowding in the city's tenements meant that in 1921 approximately two-thirds of the city's population lived in one or two bedroom houses. The death rate due to diseases such as bronchitis and tuberculosis at the time testify to the dilapidated state of the city's housing. Therefore, the pressure to increase the city's housing stock was the dominant influence on Glasgow's landscape in this period. The Housing Acts of 1919, 1923, and 1924 testify to attempts made to address the problem of substandard housing provision in the city. The growth of new residential suburbs

⁴⁷ Memorandum by Superintendent of Parks as to the Parks, Open Spaces and Playgrounds in the Burghs of Pollockshaw, Govan and Partick – and Recommendations by Parks Committee Approved by the Corporation on, Glasgow, Glasgow Corporation, 17th April, 1913, pg. 3. (Mitchell Library Archives DTC 14/2/12, p. 595).

produced a concomitant investment in parks as socially necessary amenity spaces for the burgeoning population that reached its apex just shortly after World War II. The pattern of land acquisition for park development was a mixture of transfers and purchases from other Departments to the Parks Department as well as purchases and gifts.

The majority of the large number of parks and recreation grounds developed in this period can be associated with the provision of recreational amenity space near to or in new housing developments. These were of various sizes and facilities and were distributed in a variety of locations, the details of which can be found in the table and map 1 in the appendix. One feature of park production in this period was the use of unemployed labour to level the land for laying-out as parks. The picture below (figure 4.16) is of Dawsholm Park in the north west of the city, which was opened in 1920 and shows the removal of shale bings on the site.

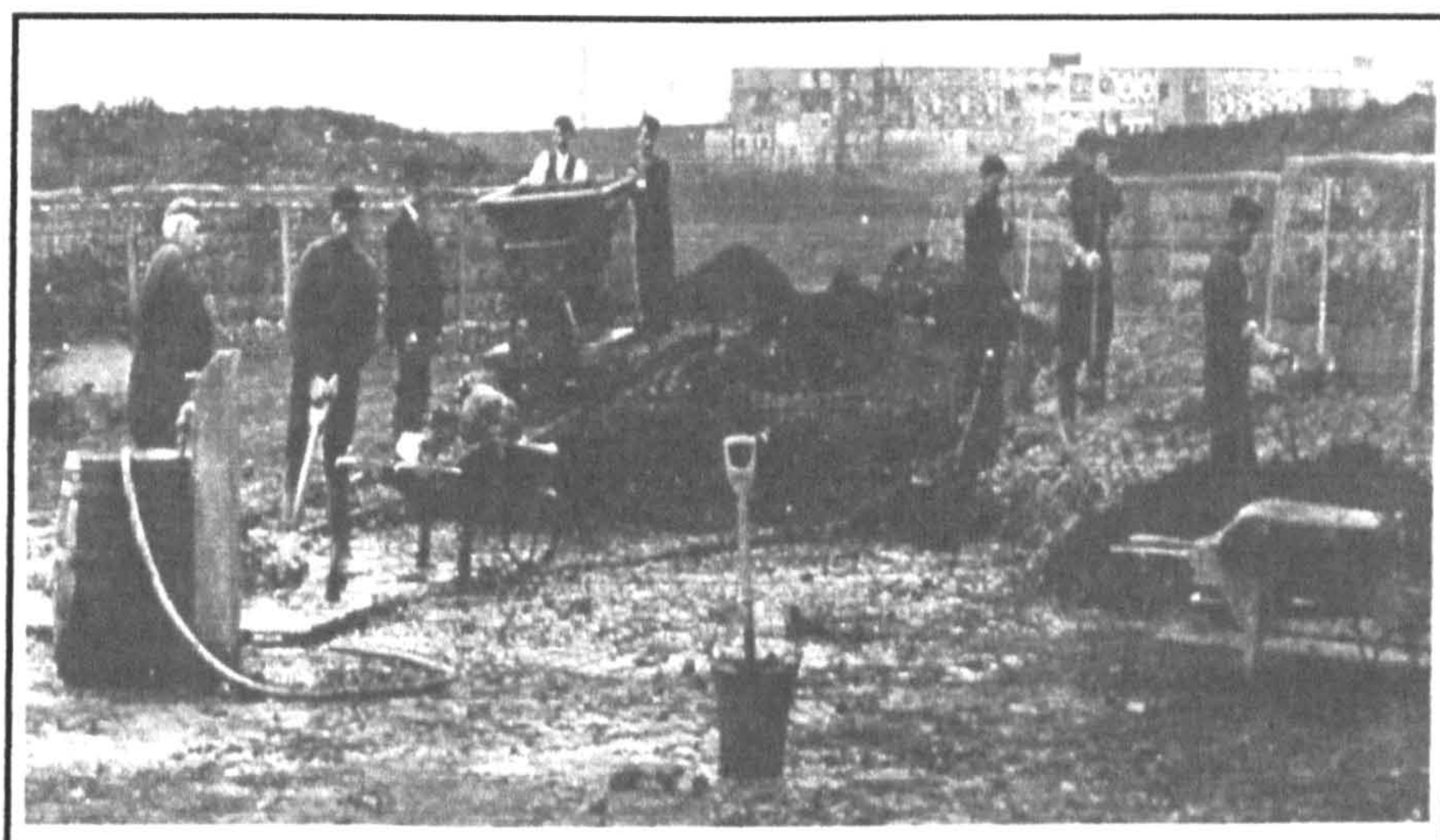
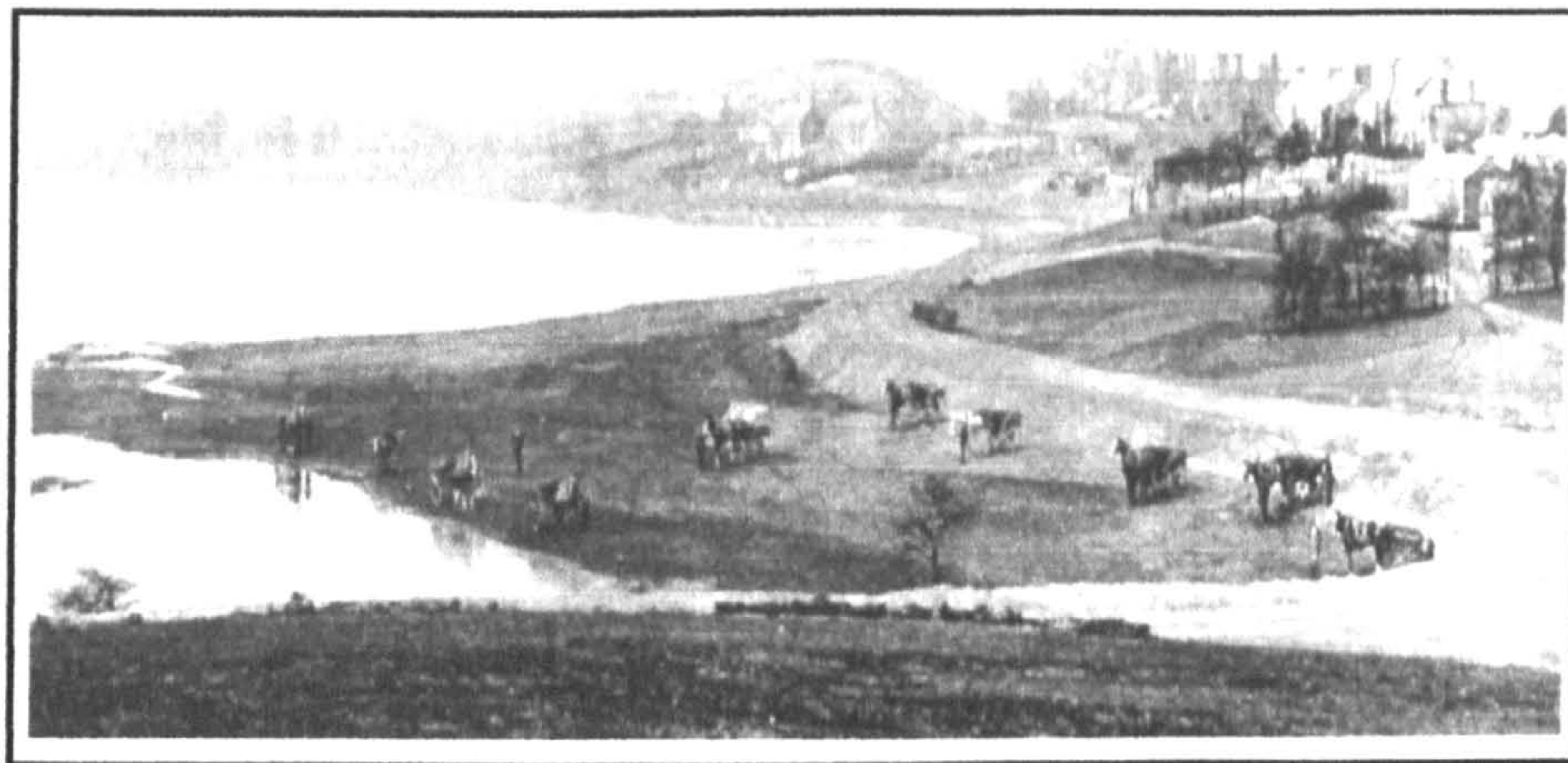


Figure 4.16: Unemployed Labour Digging-Out Dawsholm Park, c. 1920 ⁴⁸

Two exceptions to this were the semi-wilderness parks of Linn and Hogganfield Loch. The 212 acres of ground for Linn Park were acquired between 1919 and 1933, and eventually included an 18-hole golf course with 2 putting greens. Linn Park was originally part of Hagtonhill Estate belonging to the Maxwells of Pollock and, as a semi-wildscape on the city's southern periphery, it was ideally located for the establishment of the first Nature Trail in the city in 1965. Hogganfield Loch was acquired between 1920 and 1932 and consisted of 124 acres of semi-wilderness on the eastern edge of the city. The large loch (see figure 4.17) was constructed in part using unemployed labour, a common practice in the period, and was primarily intended to be used for boating.

⁴⁸ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 30.



4.17: Excavating Hogganfield Loch circa 1920s⁴⁹

The most exceptional acquisition in this period was undoubtedly that of Loch Lomond or Balloch Park. Loch Lomond Park was acquired by Glasgow Corporation for the Common Good at a cost of £30,000 in 1915 after a protracted investigation by the General Finance Committee into the purchase of the Estate of Balloch for “permanent public right of access to Loch Lomond and the formation of a National Park”. In March 1914 it was suggested that the Corporation contribute £10,000, the rest to be raised by public subscription, towards the cost of acquiring Balloch Estate from the trustees of the late Alexander Dennistoun Brown. The General Finance Committee and the Town Clerk performed a thorough investigation of the feasibility of the scheme before recommending that the corporation should buy the 812-acre estate in its entirety for the sum of £30, 000. At a ‘Special Meeting of The General Finance Committee’ on the 9th July 1914 the acquisition of Balloch Estate was approved by a majority of 17 to 6. Of the 812-acre estate only 200 acres was appropriated for use as a public park. The majority of the rest was made up of farms and feued properties. Parliamentary permission for the purchase of Balloch Estate had to be granted to the Corporation because the terms of the 1878 Glasgow Public Parks Act stipulated that land acquisition for the purpose of public park formation had to be in or near the vicinity of the city. The Glasgow Corporation Parks, Harbour, Tunnel, Gas Etc., Order Confirmation Act of 1915 granted the Corporation the power to purchase the Estate for a price of £30,000. The terms of this act gave the Corporation the power to

... lay out the estate, or such portions thereof, as they may think proper, as a public park, to be called Loch Lomond Park, and in the establishment and maintenance, management, and administration of such park ... [and] ... sell, lease, feu, excamb, or convey such portion or portions of the estate as may be used for the purposed of a public park.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 54.

⁵⁰ Cited in T.C.F. Brochie, Loch Lomond and the Braes of Balloch, Official Guide, Glasgow, Glasgow Corporation, 1920, pp. 47-8.

The main features, the woodlands, plantations, the lawn and gardens surrounding Balloch Castle, were left unchanged in the formation of paths and walkways of the park. Loch Lomond Park was initially used for convalescing armed forces personnel recovering from injury and the trauma of the trench warfare of World War I. Glasgow District Council leased Balloch Park to Dumbarton District Council after local government reorganisation in 1974. In 1981, the park achieved Country Park status and thereafter was known as Balloch Castle Country Park. Balloch Park is included in the new arrangements for Loch Lomond that has become Scotland's first National Park.

(e) 1945 – 1980

The post-war era of reconstruction that took place in the city involved the development of a new transport infrastructure as well as the large-scale demolition of substandard housing. New parks such as Sighthill were developed from reclaimed land as a result of demolition. In the 1950s, Auchinlea, Barlarnack and Cranhill Parks were created, landscaped then passed on to and managed by the Parks Department for the benefit of the surrounding population with the completion of the housing schemes. Examples of those parks provided alongside peripheral estates are Castlemilk Park, 4 acres acquired in 1961, opened by Lord Provost Meldrum on the 1st of June 1963, and including two bowling greens, three tennis courts, and a children's playground; Drumchapel Park, 11 acres acquired in 1961 and including three bowling greens, four tennis courts, a putting green and two football pitches, described as "a great boon to mothers";⁵¹ South Pollock Recreation Ground, 46 acres acquired in 1950 and including a children's playground, sixteen football pitches, with a Pavilion providing hot and cold showers. Other parks acquired in this period include the following: Penilee and Dalmarnock Recreation Grounds, acquired in 1947; Rosshall Estate purchased by the corporation in 1948; Househill Grounds, 1950; Greenfield Park, acquired in 1950 and opened in 1958; Milton Park and Danes Drive Bowling Greens, acquired in 1954; Newfield Square Recreation Ground, 1955; Croftcroighn Park, 1959; Lochar and Blairtummock Parks, opened in 1967.

It was also in this period that one of Glasgow's most revered and popular parks, Pollock Park, was gifted to the city. The Stirling-Maxwell family held Pollock Estate for 700 years until the Maxwell-McDonalds family gifted it to the city for the use of a park in 1967, although 121 acres had been open to the public since 1911. Pollock House in 1752 was designed by William Adam and is now in the custodianship of the National Trust. The park extends to 361 acres and consists of formal gardens, open grassland, an animal enclosure, woodland walks, and the Burrell Collection, gifted to the city by wealthy ship-

⁵¹ *Leisure in the Parks: Official Programme*, Glasgow, Glasgow Corporation, 1970, p. 27. (Mu Add. 164).

owner and eclectic art collector Sir William Burrell and now housed in a purpose-built museum. The Burrell collection is today one of the most visited tourist attractions in the city.

Strathclyde Country Park, on the eastern fringes of the city, is the largest and last of Glasgow's parks to be produced. The original idea for creating a park on the site for the purposes of recreation is credited to Professor Patrick Abercrombie in 1946 to serve as a resource and amenity for the population of the city, as well as for those of surrounding areas of the west central belt of Scotland. Some work was undertaken in the 1960s by the local authorities, but the main multi-million pound project involving the reclamation of the low haugh land that had been used for the dumping of colliery and other waste was adopted and completed by Strathclyde Regional Council. It was opened to the public in 1979. Strathclyde Regional Park is on a different scale from all the other parks. The 1601 acres consists of a large area of open grassland, planted trees and shrubs and incorporating surviving woodland and hedgerows that surround the human-created loch constructed to provide for a wide variety of water based sports activities.⁵² It also has an extensive range of outdoor activity facilities for team games including changing areas and floodlit pitches for rugby, football, hockey, tennis, cricket and bowls and putting. There is a municipally owned 9-hole golf course and a camping and caravan park on site, as well as loch side footpaths, picnic areas, and car parks. Parts of the park have SSSI status and the extensive nature reserve consists of flooded land beside the Clyde that attracts large numbers of waterfowl to over-winter.

The chronological development of the network of public parks in Glasgow may be viewed as a progression of parks and open spaces being acquired, constructed and laid out within distinct periods. The early parks up to 1870 were few in number but the importance of these spaces to the city cannot be underestimated. Glasgow Green, the Botanic Gardens, Kelvingrove, Queens and Alexandra Parks were, and remain, hugely popular leisure spaces and are also important in terms of their status and profile to the local authority that uses them to promote the city as an attractive locale for business and tourism. The period of 1870-1815 marked the high point of municipal socialism and the civic ethos previously discussed is evident in the large number of gifts of land for public parks by wealthy individuals. This period also marked the development of public parks within working class areas as well as their provision and equipping with sports and play facilities. The period 1915-1945 and 1945-1980 saw the entrenchment of public parks and open spaces within the planned expansion of the city with their inclusion within new residential suburbs and

⁵² The water sports facilities are a central feature of the park. No powerboats are allowed which allows for the safe usage of a host of other craft and activities. The loch has been designed to cater for a 2000m rowing course or a 9-lane canoeing course, both to international competition standards, and also for sailing, windsurfing etc. The water sports centre is open to the general public and has changing facilities, restaurant, viewing area, and boat storage and repair facilities. Fishing is also available in the stocked loch.

housing schemes. Whilst the impression is of the gradual extension of both the number and acreage of parks since the 1850s to 1980, it must be recognised that some parkland has been lost due to urban regeneration and, in particular, to new road and motorway development. Phoenix Park, for example, a popular small park at the junction of Great Western Road and Maryhill Road, was completely lost due to the M8 motorway being driven through the heart of the city. Smaller portions of parkland have been similarly lost, for example in Victoria Park, due to the excavation of the Clyde Tunnel and adjacent slip roads. In more recent years, the extension of the M77 motorway sparked controversy and a vociferous campaign because of the loss of areas of land in Pollock Park. However, the number, variety and acreage of parks that Glasgow did produce substantiates the claim not only to be the 'Dear Green Place' but also to having more parkland per head of population than any other city in Europe.

4.3: The Distribution Typology

The second typology is that of the spatial distribution and location of the parks. Map 1 (in Appendix 1) illustrates the link between the chronological development and distribution of the parks network that arose in tandem with the city's demographic growth and geographical expansion. It demonstrates how this distribution was effected through time, since the distribution of the parks is inextricably linked to and mirrors the periodicity of park construction referred to in the chronological typology in the previous section. Many details of the parks have already been presented, and so what will be emphasised here is the location and distribution of the parks as illustrating processes of city growth with concomitant park development. That is, the expansion of the city is reflected in the distribution and location of its public parks.

The process of city expansion and growth encompassed the bourgeois suburbs of the West, North and East of the medieval centre of the city and included the first three municipal parks of Kelvingrove, Queens and Alexandra. The movement of the Botanic Gardens, previously referred to, mirrors this exodus from the centre to avoid the consequences of pollution and population explosion. The inclusion of parks as part of the development of these suburbs has already been detailed, and it represents not only the need to provide open space as a social amenity for the residents of the bourgeois suburbs but also an elementary means of controlling planned development. The link with the feuing of parts of the purchased land for park development in these suburbs was a means by which the Corporation sought to proscribe the type of development and use to which land surrounding the parks could be put. Implicit was the intention to limit or to prevent the development of industrial enterprises or of high concentrations of working class housing

that would affect property values as well as the open aspects of the parks. This proscription in developing land surrounding parks employed in the first instance in these three parks, was adopted and applied to parks in other areas serving different communities. For example, the benefit of park construction to surrounding residential property development was made explicit in the case of Maxwell Park:

Visitors to Maxwell Park will at the same time see one of Glasgow's best and thriving suburbs. In the east of the burgh the height of the buildings is restricted, and in the west feus are only available for villas; so that leading to and surrounding the park are rows of beautiful houses, all built on similar lines. The effect of this wise arrangement on the part of the superior makes Pollockshields one of the most desirable residential districts to be found anywhere.⁵³

Whilst the Corporation had been given the necessary powers in the act of 1878 to provide parks in all areas of the city and for all of its population, it took some time to achieve a comprehensive network of parks, playgrounds and open spaces. Criticisms of the bourgeois parks were directed in part due to their location at some distance from working class residential areas. The location of the majority of the newer parks in or near densely populated areas was important, in that it recognised problems associated with accessibility. J.B. Russell, Medical Officer of Health from 1872-1899, was one such prominent critic. Russell was a zealous campaigner for public parks for the relaxation and recreation of the masses was a recognition of the medical benefits of parks and open spaces that repeats the arguments used by earlier social reformers. Russell's campaign to improve the public health of the city had to persuade middle-class opinion and the municipal authorities of the need to invest in measures that would provide health benefits for all the population of the city, and he considered "...every public park, and the flowers and music which attract people thither, every open space and children's playground, every cricket and football field, every gymnasium and drill ground, is a precaution against Consumption".⁵⁴ His criticisms of park design and departmental policy led him to question the Council's investment in the neatly laid out and purely decorative suburban parks of Kelvingrove, Alexandra, and Queens, which were "...useful for the cultivation of aesthetic sense rather than the improvement of health".⁵⁵ He was an ardent campaigner for more accessible open spaces for the working classes of the city that included sports pitches for games and play equipment that would promote healthy exercise. As such, Russell's criticisms were fundamental to the revision of policy that sought to provide parks and playgrounds in the poorer parts of the city. His concern with the quality of the city's air as a consequences of smoke and pollution from the city's many industries on the health of the city's poorer

⁵³ Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p. 77.

⁵⁴ J.B. Russell, *The Evolution of the Function of Public Health Administration*, Glasgow, William Hodge and Co., 1895, p.564.

⁵⁵ J.B. Russell, "The First Principles of Cleanliness as regards Earth, Air, and Water: lecture to Airdrie and Flowerhill parishes' Young Men's Society, Nov. 1878". *The Sanitary Journal*, January 1, 1879, p. 341.

population in the form of lung disease led him to advocate measures which he believed would help make the city as healthy, he hoped, as the countryside:

We must purify that vast canopy of smoke which envelops our towns and even invades the country, not only directly injurious to the lungs but perhaps even more injurious indirectly by cutting off the sun.⁵⁶

The further extension of the city in this period included the construction of a large number of parks. The absorption of outlying Burghs (e.g. Partick, Govan, Pollockshields etc.) also included their parks as detailed in Table 1 (Appendix 2). Map 1 (Appendix 1) shows this significant increase in the number of parks at this time and illustrates how they were largely distributed geographically outwith areas of previous park development. The location and distribution of parks within specific communities with perceived needs and aspirations, different from those associated with the bourgeois parks, is a significant development in the production of the parks network but also has repercussions for the design, maintenance and regulation of all the parks. This will be considered in following chapters. The exceptions to the distribution profile of parks in this period are Rouken Glen and Cathkin Braes, both gifted to the city by wealthy benefactors, which were well beyond the then southern boundaries of the city. The acquisition of Cathkin Braes at such a distance from the city was justified by an explicit acknowledgement of the future needs of the city and its population and represented the expansionist aspirations and ethos of the Corporation. In the case of 'Gutta Park' this was made explicit:

Already the citizens of Glasgow are being rapidly attracted to the vicinity of this park, and the pretty little suburb Burnside, to which the Corporation cars will shortly run, is steadily gaining in popularity. In a year or two, it will undoubtedly have become an important residential district. The value of such gifts to the Corporation of ground suitable for public parks is inestimable, no matter the position appears at the time a distance from the city centre. The usefulness of the open spaces and recreation grounds is now so fully recognised that outlying burghs, not already provided, very often, if not always, make the acquisition of such a fundamental condition in their agreement to annexation. It is not an easy task to purchase such a large tract of ground when such is absolutely required, as the cost of the land naturally rises when it can be seen that the city is gradually extending in the direction where the site is required.⁵⁷

The process of expansion in the period from 1915-1945 saw both the city and the number of parks continue with the development of new housing estates. Knightswood in the west of the city is an example of a new style of large suburb with cottage style housing and an open uncongested street plan designed to accommodate 25-30,000 people. The park was viewed as an integral element of the housing project's social and amenity provision, one that included shops, libraries, public halls, schools etc. Knightswood Park begun in 1929 was an extensive open space covering an area of 141 acres that featured a number of

⁵⁶ Ibid. pp. 340-1.

⁵⁷ Noremac, 1908, op. cit. p. 66-7.

municipally provided sporting facilities. These included a 9-hole golf course, two bowling greens, four tennis courts, cricket pitch, pitch and putt, three football pitches, croquet lawn running track, putting green, hockey pitch, children's playground and an Old Men's Shelter. It was described in the following terms:

The comprehensive nature of the park makes it an attraction to all age groups. It is hoped that future developments, particularly for children, will further enhance it and make it more advantageous and attractive to the family group. The male members of the family can turn their attention to the excellent pitch and putt course or the 2412-yard golf course...⁵⁸

The period from 1945 saw the development of the peripheral housing schemes and accompanying parks, open spaces and recreation grounds for the communities and population who had been re-housed after the demolition of sub-standard inner-city tenement houses. Again, the distribution of the parks in this period as illustrated in Map 1 (see Appendix 1) demonstrates the expansion of the city. What is also demonstrated is that post-war infrastructural development resulted in the acquisition and construction of a number of parks within areas not previously well served by parks or amenity open spaces and thus consolidated park provision across the whole city.

The outlying parks of Loch Lomond, Strathclyde and Ardgoil operated at different times and in different ways as regional resources for the city. They also illustrate changes in attitudes as well as means of providing access to these more far-flung open spaces. For example, the distance and location of the Ardgoil Estate meant that only limited numbers of the population could benefit from specially arranged and seasonal municipally organised trips. The location of Loch Lomond Park at such a distance from the city could only be justified if sufficient people could make use of it. This necessitated the Corporation gaining the assurance of the General Directors of the North British and Caledonian Railway Companies that reduced fares would be available for visitors between Glasgow and Balloch during the months from May to October inclusive and on the city's public holidays. Strathclyde Regional Park not only reflects the need to provide different facilities for changing patterns of outdoor recreation through the provision of facilities for a wide range of sporting activities, but also the awareness of increased access to the countryside by increased ownership and use of private motor cars. These outlying parks located at a distance from the city reflect strategies of open space provision that acknowledges both the benefits of such 'rural' parks as well as accommodating problems of transportation, access and different uses. Loch Lomond Park was originally a private estate and little landscaping was done in its transformation to a public park. The location of Balloch Park on the shores of what is one of Scotland's most visited and famous scenic locations emphasised the

⁵⁸ Corporation of Glasgow, 1970, op. cit. p. 41.

attractiveness of the park as a municipally owned rural resource for the city's population to use for walking and the appreciation of nature and the countryside. Strathclyde Country Park, located at the opposite eastern fringe of the city's boundaries, was almost completely a wholly manufactured park including a large lake designed for water sports. Although there are areas within the park that are semi-rural or important sites for nature, it was designed predominantly for the purposes of active recreation. Aspects of the design of different parks and parks spaces for different purposes will be addressed in the next and final typology.

4.4: The Design Typology

The third typology is concerned with the distinctions between different kinds of parks based on landscape design and the facilities and features that are included within them, and reflects the variety of spaces that can be identified and labelled as a 'park.' Dictionary definitions of a park variously describe them as large areas of land preserved in a natural state for recreational use by the public and/or a piece of open land in a town with public amenities. For example, the entry in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that it is a

... large area of ground set aside for recreation ... An area devoted simply to green landscape, a salubrious and healthful breathing space as a relief from the densely populated and industrialised city of the mid-nineteenth century ... The primary purpose was to provide for passive recreation – walking and taking the air in agreeable surroundings reminiscent of the unspoiled country ... What primarily differentiates modern parks is their accommodation for active recreation ... Almost universally, there is recognition of the creative possibilities of leisure and of community responsibility to provide space and facilities for recreation.⁵⁹

What this entry suggests, and what will be explored in this typology through description and reference to particular examples, is that, far from being simple areas of uniform design, parks are complex spaces whose form and function and the facilities and amenities provided within them vary both through time and in relation to their location. Therefore, many forms and features can be included in the design and construction of parks as 'ground set aside for recreation'. The relationship between the form (design and layout) and content (features and facilities) is intimately related to how parks are represented as fulfilling desirable or necessary social and environmental functions. This creates the potential for conflict between popular and elite notions of how the space(s) of the parks should be used, maintained and regulated. This relationship will be explored in detail in the following chapters. However, it is clear that the different designs employed and features and facilities provided reflects the understanding of the need for the provision of a variety of parks to fulfil different functions and to serve different communities or classes at

⁵⁹ <http://www.eb.co.uk:180/bol/topic?bmap-id=157088000&bmap-ty=tx> (17/09/99 10.56).

different times. Such an understanding was recognised by the municipal authorities in the city, as the following statement indicates:

The parks of the city are of an exceedingly varied description, comprising as they do such distinctive types as the flat and somewhat bleak Glasgow Green, right in the heart of the town, and the heather hills of Ardgoil estate, some 40 miles distant from the city. In large industrial cities like Glasgow the importance of possessing an adequate number of parks to meet the necessities of the various districts cannot be overestimated. These open spaces are the one great deterrent to physical deterioration consequent upon city life. In the smoke laden air of a great manufacturing city they are welcome breathing-spaces, and afford a pleasant change from the unending pavements of the busy streets.⁶⁰

It is possible to identify a variety of public park designs that are portrayed and administered in various forms, suggestive of the organisation and structuring of space to meet or to fulfil functional requirements. There are public parks that are laid out as 'gardens', which are more or less formal, essentially passive, decorative spaces and include aspects that have featured in the history of landscape design in private gardens and estates. Such spaces are essentially aesthetic representations of artistic or cultural interpretations of 'beauty' and/or 'nature'. The privately owned garden or estate signifies and is symbolic of power by the strict limitations imposed on access. Only immediate family or workers, such as gardeners, are allowed to view and to appreciate the private garden. The public park designed as a formal garden is 'open' and though, designed to be viewed and appreciated by a 'public' audience. However, it is still symbolic of power through the creation of designs and arrangement of the space, features, facilities, trees, shrubs, flowerbeds etc that are included within them. They are created to be viewed from particular vantage points only, one must keep to the paths, only sit on the benches provided, and are policed to ensure that no one interferes with them. Similarly, the use of specimen plants, shrubs and trees as well as classic examples of 'municipal gardening', such as the 'floral clock' that is still to be found in some public parks, is indicative of the application of designs to be appreciated in a passive and 'approved' manner. Parks may also be understood as cultural spaces in which particular artistic, social, educational and political values, ideals and beliefs are represented in the aesthetic forms, in the institutions and in the public art that is located in and distributed within the space of a park.

A different design, which may also be considered as a park, is that of the 'recreation ground' or sports field. The inclusion of bowling greens, golf courses, tennis courts, football, rugby and cricket pitches, etc gives emphasis to their operation as 'active spaces'. Such delimiting and organisation of space within parks or of whole parks designates and characterises their use as well as their status. The association of parks or areas within them with particular activities, functions and uses, as well as their strict regulation, implies an

⁶⁰ Corporation of Glasgow, *Municipal Glasgow: Its Evolution and Enterprise*, Glasgow Corporation, Glasgow, Robert Anderson, 1914, p. 162.

order and control over their structure, arrangement and relationship with other features of both parks and the built environment. For example, one can only create sports pitches where the topography allows and where their use by large number will not adversely affect neighbouring land use. Similarly, parks or areas within them may be designed as pleasure or playgrounds, with children's play equipment, boating ponds, fair grounds, bandstands etc. bestowing the impression of the park as a space of entertainment, fun and play. This acknowledgement of the need to provide for the recreative benefits of 'fun' and play, entertainment and the distraction of amusements in the open-air requires the organisation and ordering of space within the parks. Other parks and park spaces have also been designed or incorporated as examples of 'nature in the city', as remnants of semi-wilderness or as specifically designated nature reserves, which may also include animal enclosures. It may be said that such parks are symbolic manifestations that provide a highly stylised and idealised representation of nature produced or preserved for the urban population denied access to the 'real' nature of the countryside by the expansion of the city. Such examples of park designs will be described and considered in relation to Glasgow's parks. However, it must be emphasised that a public park may contain within it any or all of these features or be restricted to one particular form, design or expression that does not readily allow or permit its organisation to embrace or to use a variety of functions. The need to accommodate such variety necessarily requires the power to structure, order, define and control space for and through its form and functional prerequisites, within the social and spatial processes of the landscape formation under urban capitalism.

Until the West End Park was formed, Glasgow Green was the only open space in which the citizens of the city could escape the closeness of the narrow streets and alleys of the old town. Therefore it is appropriate to begin with the oldest of Glasgow's open spaces. A description of the historical origins and development of the Green was provided previously. What follows is an account of how the needs of the population for the open space of Glasgow Green has required or necessitated the construction or provision of features and facilities to accommodate them, and how this has required the organisation and delimiting of it a social space. The Green was originally simply a grassy sward, liable to flooding in places and used for a variety of commercial and domestic chores and activities, as well as those of leisure. The reproduction of *Arn's Well* on the Green (figure 4.18) illustrates some of the activities and features of the Green in the 1830s, including the washing and bleaching of clothes, walking, social gatherings, romantic liaisons, boating, etc. It was also used for a variety of other activities including sport, play, meetings of various sorts and horse riding.

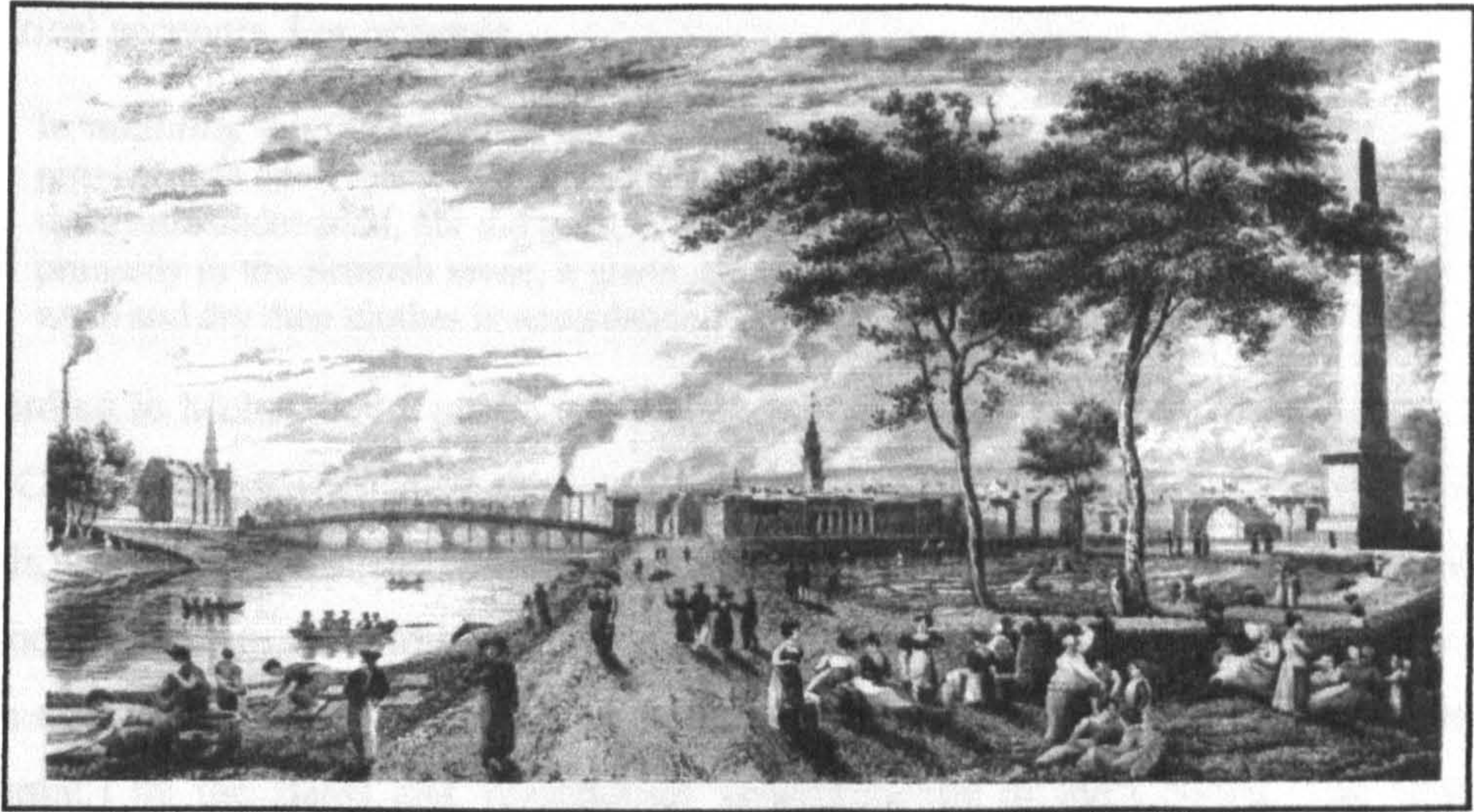


Figure 4.18: Arns Well on the Green, 1830s ⁶¹

A colourful description from *Tweeds Guide to Glasgow* illustrates how important this space was for the poorest inhabitants of the congested East End of the city in 1872, whilst the photograph of bodies strewn on the grass in the 1920s (figure 4.19) demonstrates the continuing importance of this outdoor ‘sleeping apartment’.

As we draw nearer the city, we find numbers of loafers both men and women, lounging on the railings, or sleeping on the sward. It is to this part of the Green that the inmates of the dens in the Saltmarket and Bridgegate come to breathe the caller air, or make up by prolonged slumbers the rest which their characters as nightbirds deny them at the proper season. Especially on a Sunday is the Green converted into a vast sleeping apartment, where men and women, provided the weather is good, snore the livelong day away. ⁶²



Figure 4.19: Sleepers on the Green in 1920 ⁶³

The functional requirements of the population were essential to the development and characterisation of the Green as the People’s Park, a point that was well recognised by

⁶¹ Drawing of Glasgow by John Fleming and engraved by Joseph Swann, reproduced in Glasgow Museums, *The People’s Palace Book of Glasgow*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 1998, p. 14.
⁶² *Tweeds Guide to Glasgow, 1872*, reprinted as *Glasgow: A Hundred Years Ago*, Glasgow, The Molendinar Press, 1972, p. 27.
⁶³ M. Moss and J. Hume, *Glasgow As It Was*, Vol. II, Lancashire, Hendon Publishing Co., 1975, plate 32.

historical accounts. For example,

In acquiring the Green our seventeenth century ancestors had no thought merely of providing an open space, a lung or a pleasure ground for their little city. These purposes were little understood, nor did great necessity for them exist at that time. The place was primarily in the Scottish sense, a green, a grassy sward on which the population could wash and dry their clothes in accordance with the practices of the country.⁶⁴

According to McLellan,⁶⁵ a public washhouse had existed on the Green from at least 1730. The Council constructed near the site where the Nelson Monument (erected 1806) now stands, a washhouse for the convenience of the population, which included the installation of wooden pipes in 1803 to bring water directly from the Clyde. It was abandoned in 1822 when a new building was erected in William Street in 1878 (the precursor to the famous ‘Steamie’) by the Baths and Washhouses sub-committee of the Council. The historical practice of washing and drying clothes on the Green, as the photographs (figures 4.20 and 4.21) illustrate, continued well into the 20th century.



Figure 4.20: ‘Scotch Washing’ on Glasgow Green⁶⁶



Figure 4.21: Washing and drying clothes on the Green, circa 1910⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Bell & Paton, 1896, op. cit. p. 329.

⁶⁵ McLellan, 1896, op. cit. p.33.

⁶⁶ Illustration on lid of Glasgow Washing House Snuff Box, E. King, *Glasgow Green and the People’s Palace*, Edinburgh, Chambers Ltd. 1985, p. 24.

The first permanent building to be constructed on the Green was the Humane Society House founded in 1709 to co-ordinate rescue efforts on the river. Suicides, accidental deaths through drink, dares, misadventure or mischief kept the officers of the society busy rescuing unfortunates, or their corpses, caught up in the currents and eddies of the Clyde. In 1826 private subscription and Corporation funds (£400) were used to construct a 2½-mile carriage drive around the Green at a total cost of £2050. Unemployed weavers and other trades were employed to undertake the work and the roadway was opened for vehicles in May 1828. Originally a Toll Road, fees were abandoned in April 1857, as the scheme never proved profitable. However, the Green *was* always a popular resort for promenading, whether by foot, horse or carriage, and a stroll on Glasgow Green has been credited as the venue for the birthplace of the industrial age:

...the building of that new world which was to begin on a Sabbath afternoon in the spring of 1765 when James Watt walked over the Glasgow Green occupied with sinful week-day thoughts. The new age began sinfully on that Sabbath, for James Watt had solved the problem of the separate condenser, and as he walked over Glasgow Green a changed world lay pregnant in his brain: a world of steel and iron, tall chimneys and speed.⁶⁸

In 1866 drinking fountains were erected in the Green by the Corporation to replace the old spring wells that were found to have become contaminated and unfit for use. Various gifts of fountains were made by leading citizens (Baillie Sir James Bain erected one at the entrance to the Green on Charlotte Street) and in commemoration of them (friends of Sir William Collins erected a drinking fountain at the main entrance to the green in recognition for his services to the Temperance cause). In June 1881 a club known as 'Rambles Round Glasgow' was given permission to erect a fountain in memory of Hugh Macdonald who popularised many beautiful walks and places in the city. The original location had been on Gleniffer Braes, near Paisley, but it had become subject to 'bad usage from the public' and had to be relocated. The Doulton Fountain originally located in Kelvingrove for the Exhibition of 1888 was re-erected in the Green and formally handed over to the city on 29th August 1890. The most prominent permanent building on Glasgow Green remains the People's Palace and Winter Garden, opened in January 1898. The role of the Peoples Palace and other cultural institutions located in the parks will be considered later, specifically in respect of the moral and cultural representation of the parks. A full and detailed description is included in the appendix on museums in the parks.

⁶⁷ Glasgow Museums, op. cit. 1998, p. 14.

⁶⁸ H.V. Morton *In Search of Scotland*, London, Methuen and Co., 1929, p. 251.

In Watts own words: 'One Sunday afternoon, I had gone to take a walk on the Green of Glasgow, and when about half-way between the Herd's House and Arn's Well, my thoughts having been naturally turned to the experiments I had been engaged in for saving heat in the cylinder, at that part of the road the idea occurred to me, that steam was an elastic vapour it would expand, and rush into a previously exhausted space; and that if I was to produce a vacuum in a separate vessel, and open a communication between the steam in the cylinder and the exhausted vessel, such would be the consequences.' *Oliver and Boyd's The Scottish Tourist*, Edinburgh 1860, pp. 96-7 (GUL Special Collection Mu3-f.19).

The need for facilities for physical exercise and recreation was acknowledged when Mr. D.S. Fleming from Manchester erected the first 'open-air gymnasium' in the city in 1860 in remembrance of his native city. An illustration of an 'old-style' gymnasium is reproduced in figure 4.22. In 1894, the original gymnasium was

... renewed in an improved and substantial manner, and the area laid with tar-macadam, which has enhanced the appearance of the place, and the children have been making much use of it. A new gymnasium for children has been laid out adjoining Greendyke Street, and it, like the similar places of recreation in other quarters of the City, is the scene of much healthful merriment.⁶⁹



Figure 4.22: A Gymnasium on Glasgow Green⁷⁰

The importance of sport on the Green is emphasised by the origins of both Celtic and Rangers Football Clubs being linked to it, clubs who represent an important element in popular perceptions of the culture and mythology of the city as driven by sectarian rivalries. Yet the status of the Green as the 'people's park' is not only limited to its influence on the 'people's game', but is also based on the freedom and accessibility with which sport was enjoyed versus the restrictions and bans placed on sport in some of the other parks. Other features and facilities on Glasgow Green include those provided for sport include Glasgow Golf Club which originally played there until the club moved to Alexandra Park in the late 19th century: numerous football pitches and a Pavilion with 460 lockers and hot and cold showers for players were subsequently provided, as well as tennis courts, bowling greens, a paddling pool and the aforementioned gymnasium, now replaced by more modern, and safe, children's play equipment.

The above descriptions of the features and facilities that have been added to the Green have been presented to highlight its special status as the oldest park in the city but also its role as 'the people's park'. Many of these elements will be shown to be shared with other parks, but it must be emphasised that the central location, the antiquity and affection

⁶⁹ Resume of New Work Undertaken or carried out by the Corporation During the Year 1894-5, op. cit p. 25.

⁷⁰ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit p. 42.

with which the Green has been held by the ordinary citizens of the city, has been influential in its survival and in the development of other parks. These factors will be discussed in the following chapters in respect of how different needs and different parks have been represented through a diversity of discourses and how different groups have used them over time.

Details of the construction and development of the original three municipal parks of Kelvingrove, Queens and Alexandria have been described previously. The design of these parks is markedly different from that of Glasgow Green and, it will be shown, from the vast majority of parks that were subsequently constructed. These three parks were highly designed landscapes containing formal arrangements of paths, flowerbeds and water features. They were laid out with a degree of sophisticated planning to adhere to accepted standards and traditions of garden design that would satisfy the aesthetic tastes of the bourgeois suburbs in which they were located. The layout of Kelvingrove Park, for example, consisted of pleasant walkways and cultivated flowerbeds, trees and shrubs which took advantage of the River Kelvin to provide a water backdrop to some of the paths and features. It was not designed for the enjoyment of games, being described as "... more of a garden than a playground"⁷¹ and "The Park has little, almost no space devoted to recreation as distinguished from pleasure – no ground for cricket or football."⁷² Kelvingrove Park, in the 20th century, did eventually come to have five bowling greens, six tennis courts, a putting green, a croquet lawn, children's playground and paddling pool, a skateboard rink and two Old Men's Shelters.

Queens and Alexandra Parks were also laid out in developing suburbs and included highly formal designs similar in intention and practice to Kelvingrove Park. They were also latterly equipped with sport and recreational facilities. Queens Park came to include five bowling greens, pitch and putt course, two putting greens, model yaught pond, paddle boats, children's playground, seven football pitches and two Old Men's Shelters. Alexandra Park was provided with a 9-hole golf course, three bowling greens, six tennis courts, putting green, pitch and putt course, model-yacht pond, three football pitches, children's playground and an Old Man's Shelter.

The municipal buildings, the Art Galleries, Museums, public art, architecture and, of course, the parks declared to the world that Glasgow was the very model of a modern major city. An important element in the establishment of these original municipal parks was the prestige and status that they were perceived as giving to the image of the city. This was manifested in two ways and had "...dual significance: they may be seen as artistic

⁷¹ Noremac, 1908, op. cit p. 31.

⁷² Tweeds Guide to Glasgow, 1872, 1972, op. cit. p. 42.

forms ... and they may be assessed in social and ethical terms".⁷³ The use of the parks for the location of public art, statuary and exhibitions and for the permanent location of municipal collections of art, culture and history served this dual purpose. They were intended to demonstrate and to instruct the visitor, by their judicious and aesthetic positioning, in the 'correct' virtues and values of society, (that is, the work ethic, temperance, thrift, self-improvement, modesty etc.), and they were an attraction for discerning visitors to the city. The significance of the design, organisation and regulation of the parks as social spaces reflected the hegemonic practices and concerns of the social, political and cultural elite of Glasgow society, and reflected too their concerns with the leadership as well as the domination of the urban masses. As the city authorities strove to promote its economic and municipal achievements to a local, national and international audience, the parks operated as a very public demonstration of a commitment to civic progress, as a model of civic government and of civilised citizens. The major municipal parks represented the outward success and prestige of the city itself. It was built into their design, their architectural features and in the public art they displayed, which represented the aesthetic and cultural values writ large on the landscape of the parks, of dominant groups and virtues within Glasgow and society.



Figure 4.23: The Stewart Memorial Fountain in Kelvingrove Park ⁷⁴

As an illustration, Kelvingrove Park came to include a large number of public art works such as statues and memorials that were located in appropriate settings to attract the attention of promenading couples and families. These emphasised the reverence to be paid to highly selective figures and events, celebrating a vision of municipal, colonial, martial

⁷³ J. Carre, "The Public Park in Victorian Britain", in B. Ford (ed.), *The Cambridge Cultural History Of Britain, Vol. 7*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 77.

⁷⁴ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 61.

or intellectual achievement and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 concerning the representation of the parks as cultural spaces. However, The Stewart Memorial Fountain, for example, pictured in figure 4.23 in Kelvingrove Park with the University buildings in the background, was erected in 1872 to commemorate Lord Provost Stewart who was instrumental in bringing the Loch Katrine water supply to Glasgow in 1859. The fountain, 60 feet in diameter and 40 in height and topped by a statue of the Lady of the Lake from Walter Scott's famous poem, also included a portrait of Lord Provost Stewart with the following inscription:

To commemorate the public services of Robert Stewart of Murdostown, Lord Provost of the City of Glasgow, from Nov. 1851 to Nov. 1854, to whose unwearied exertions the Citizens are mainly indebted for the abundant water supply from Loch Katrine. This Fountain was erected 1872, James Sellers, Architect.

Kelvingrove, Alexandra and Queens Parks were built in the burgeoning suburbs and were laid out to reflect the aesthetic tastes as well as the recreational habits of its middle-class residents. An awareness of the class distinction in landscape design was prominent in critiques of Corporation policy for the provision of parks and open spaces for the majority of the population of the city. As will be shown below, there were powerful voices calling for a more egalitarian commitment on behalf of the Council to all sections of the population of the city. The development of what would eventually become a comprehensive, municipally provided and maintained public parks system was the result of a complex of motivations. It was a pragmatic response to the deteriorating conditions of urban life and a means by which the state, through the local authority, sought to regulate, control and mould working class behaviour and culture through the creation and maintenance of 'civilised' spaces. The recognition of the need for parks for the working classes was also recognition of the need to define these spaces for particular purposes:

The public park was perceived essentially as an empty space, as vacant land in the middle of intensely busy towns where each square foot had a precise role, whether for housing, trade, industry or administration. When the need for such recreation grounds was identified, the question of their significance in the urban context had to be answered; in such a utilitarian-minded society, the layout of the park had to serve an explicitly defined purpose. The following formula coined by the Rev. J.E. Clarke in the late 1850s neatly sums up the social function of public parks: 'Recreation is the Re-creation, the creation anew of fresh strength for tomorrow's work'.⁷⁵

Parks that were designed for and located within working class communities displayed a more functional and utilitarian ethos. The emphasis was on the necessary provision of playing fields, playgrounds and entertainments rather than ornamentation, decoration and complicated floral beds interspersed between highly organised and formal promenades and pathways. They were provided with facilities and features that emphasised and encouraged

⁷⁵ Carre, 1989, *op. cit.* p. 79.

the active participation in sport and other healthy physical activities that were deemed to be suitable and appropriate leisure time activities for the working classes. It is possible therefore to identify some parks as designed open spaces where the provision for games and play was the principal objective or primary aim of their layout. For example, Maryhill, Ruchill, Springburn, Bellahouston, Plantation and Dowanhill Parks were designed as playgrounds or as playing fields. Similarly, the recreation grounds of Holmlea, Temple, Yoker, Springfield Road, Smeaton Street, Westhorn, Langlands Dalmarnock, Newfield Square, Petershill, Penillee, South Pollock and Barlia Drive are self-explanatory in that their names are recognition of the functionalism behind their design and the features and facilities to be found within them. This functional element is also to be found in the parks that were provided for the new housing schemes such as that of Knightswood and Drumchapel.

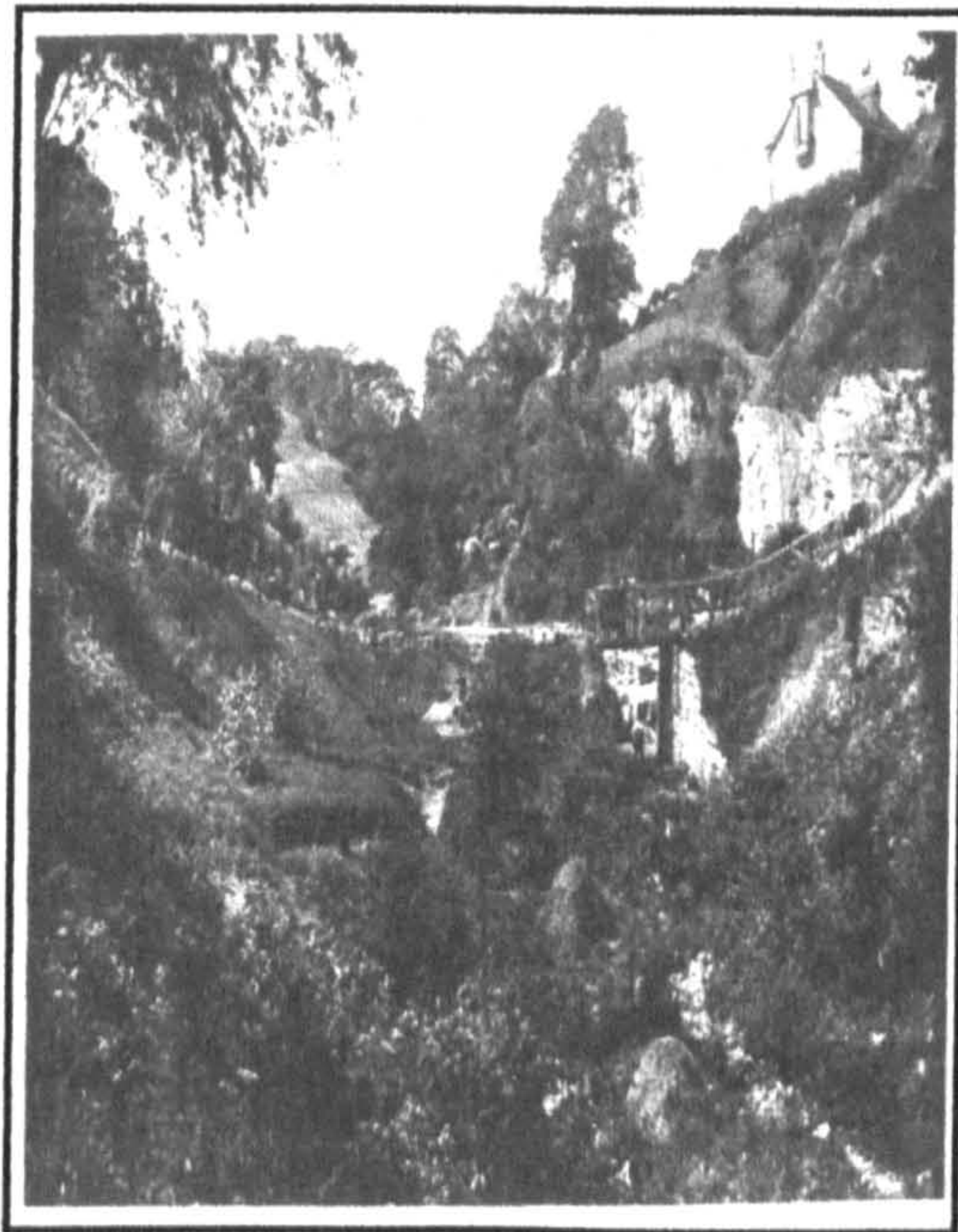


Figure 4.24: Cambuslang Park ⁷⁶



Figure 4.25: Waterfall in Rouken Glen Park ⁷⁷

Whilst it may be possible to view all urban public parks as symbolic representations of nature constructed in the city, it is apparent that some parks were more overtly represented, regulated and maintained as such. For example, Cathkin Braes on the southern edge of the city was specifically gifted to the people of the city on the condition that it was left in its semi-wilderness state and explicitly forbade all sorts of games and activities. Rouken Glen, Cambuslang Park, Hogganfield Loch and Linn Park are also examples where, despite some landscaping and the creation of water features, the design and the activities that were

⁷⁶ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p.28.
⁷⁷ Municipal Glasgow, 1914, op. cit. p. 180.

promoted specifically emphasised the natural elements and features to be appreciated within them. Similarly, Pollock Park was a large private estate with many highly landscaped design elements within it. Its subsequent operation and maintenance as a municipal public park stressed the ‘natural’ beauty of the woodland and riverside walks. In addition, the inclusion of animal enclosures with examples of farm and working beasts illustrates the representation of nature within the city. Parks such as Bellahouston, Tollcross, and Linn Park all had animal enclosures as part of their facilities and attractions for park visitors (see figure 4.26).



Figure 4.26: Feeding the deer in Tollcross Park circa 1920s⁷⁸

Loch Lomond Park and the Ardgool Estate, whilst still being representations of nature, are somewhat exceptions to this understanding of parks as designed and manufactured simulations of nature in the city. There is no doubt as to the appeal and attraction of Loch Lomond as a ‘natural’ wonder with beautiful scenery that was well known and used by tourists and visitors.⁷⁹ Their location well beyond the city boundaries, situated in the rural countryside was problematic for an urban council to justify purchase and ownership of parks so far from the city. However, the access that was afforded to them by the frequent and subsidised transport links to Loch Lomond and the organised municipal trips to the Ardgool Estate gave these municipally owned ‘parks’ a particular resonance as highland retreats and daytrip ‘escapes’ for the city’s population. If nature could be brought to the city, then some at least could also be brought to the ‘true’ nature of Glasgow’s Highland estate of Ardkinglas and the romantic vistas of the bonnie banks of Loch Lomond (see figures 4.27 and 4.28).

⁷⁸ Gilmour, 1996, op. cit. p. 92.

⁷⁹ The use of the Glasgow’s public parks as tourist attractions and resources, including that of Balloch Park at Loch Lomond, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

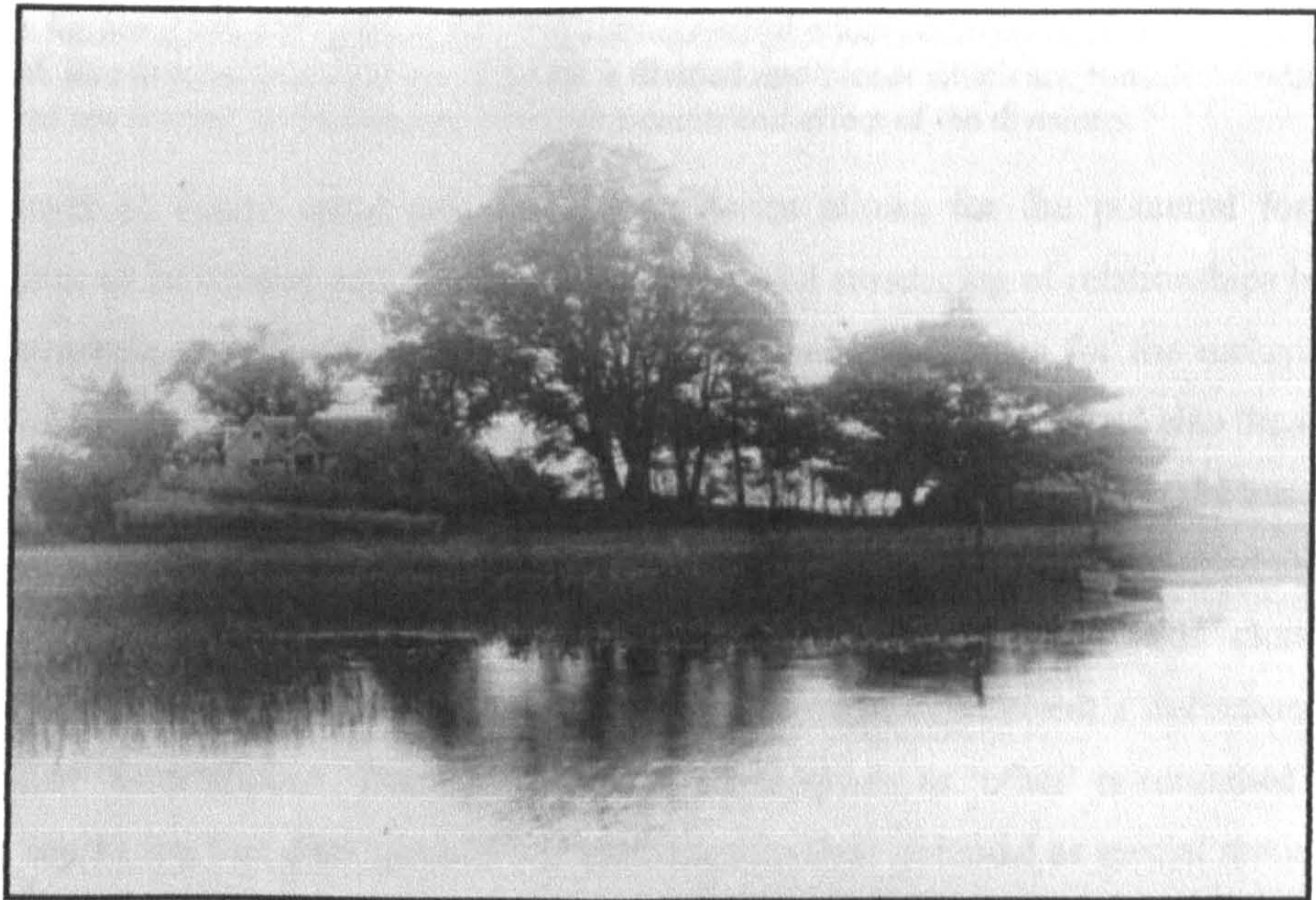


Figure 4.27: Loch Lomond at Balmaha, 23 May 1889⁸⁰

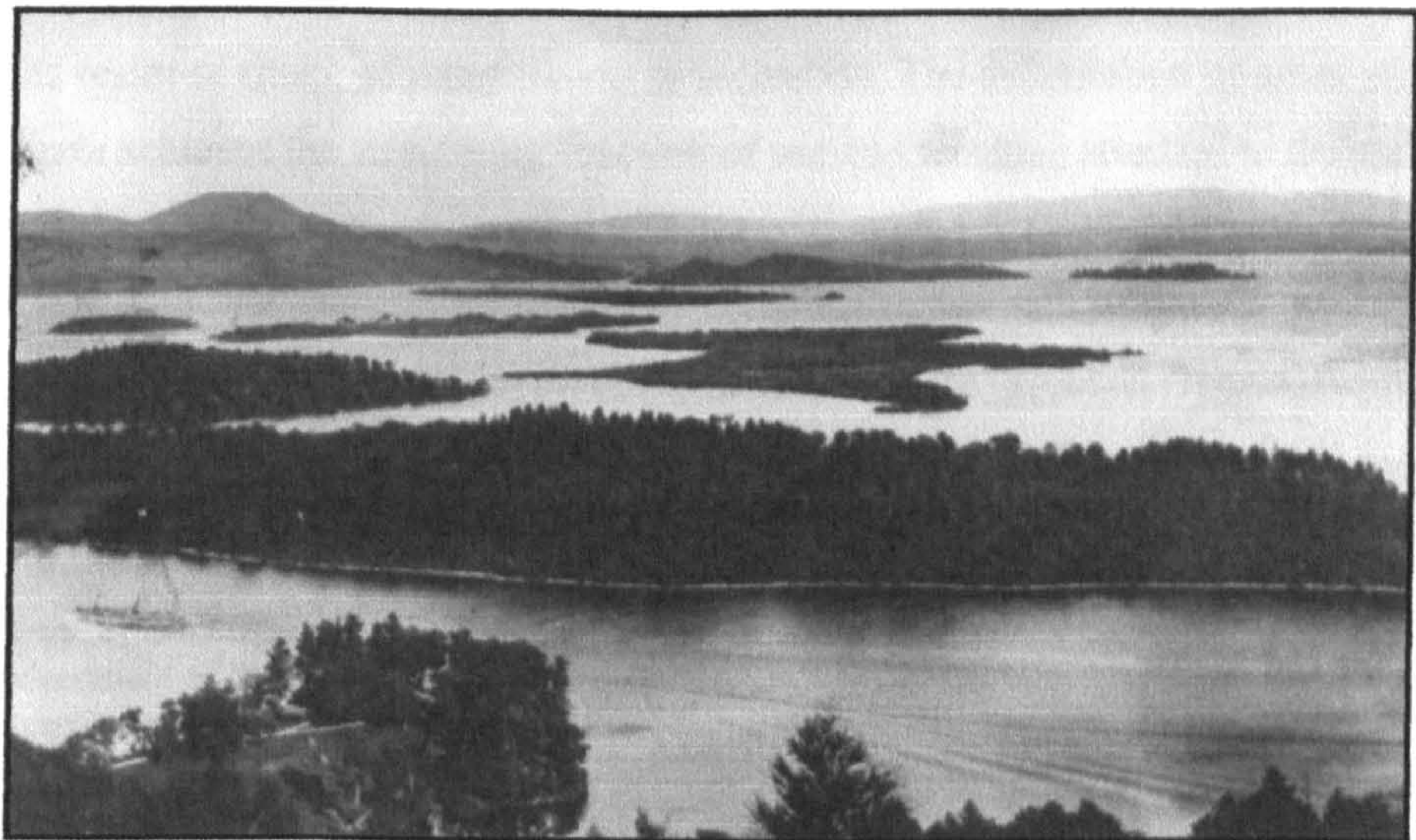


Figure 4.28: The Islands of Loch Lomond⁸¹

A universal feature of the design of all parks is the manner in which they are distinguished, separated from other structures and forms of the built environment. The use of iron railings and the judicious planting of hedges and trees achieved this definition of park space as separate from and therefore different to the streets and buildings of the city. Similarly, areas within the park were delineated according to facilities and functions by the use of railings or fences. This delimitation of space, which has significance for understanding the space of parks in this instance, was, as Simmel stressed, an ‘aspect’ that had consequences for its subsequent representation and use:

⁸⁰ Old Pictures Around the Loch, Vol. 1, at <http://www.loch-lomond.net/images/oldpics/2.jpg>.
⁸¹ Old Pictures Around the Loch Vol. 2, at <http://www.loch-lomond.net/images/oldpics/52.jpg>.

A further quality of space, which has a fundamental effect on social interactions, lies in the fact that our practical use of space is divided into pieces which are considered units and are framed by boundaries – both as a cause and effect of the divisions.⁸²

The power to frame space and create boundaries allows for the potential for social hierarchies to be created and maintained by the spatial structuring of relationships between form, structure and function. For example, the boundary provides for the inclusion and exclusion of people and of activities, both within the space of the park and also the times at which it is permissible to be used. Thus the boundary of the park achieves the purpose of separation, but also allows for the control of routes into and out of the parks and the times in which the park was open and closed. This aspect of opening and closing, of boundedness and separation, is also an important feature in Foucault's definition of his concept of 'heterotopias'. The significance of some spaces as 'other' is contained in part by this separation that distinguishes and characterises their potential as special spaces. This was considered earlier in relation to the survival or production in modernity of 'mythic' spaces which, through entering, provided an intensification of experience or access into a symbolic realm of ritual, of recuperation or recreation. The delimitation of areas within the parks again achieves the structuring function of use and meaning attached to defined areas. This would include those areas considered out of bounds ('keep of the grass', do not pick the flowers, 'no ball games', no smoking, no drinking, no picnics, etc) as well as those specified and designed to serve particular functions (playgrounds, sports fields, band stands, boating ponds, etc.). There are numerous examples found in Corporation reports of the necessity and benefits to be had from the enclosure of parks and areas within them:

Very considerable progress has been made during the year in the formation and adornment of the new Parks recently acquired by the City. At Springburn, the plots have been fenced ... At Ruchill Park the boundary fences are nearly completed ... At Govanhill, a children's playground is being formed on ground acquired from the Patrons of the Hutchesons Hospital, at a cost of £12,200. Streets have been made along its boundaries, and the space, 14,788 square yards in extent, will be fenced and laid out accordance with a plan approved by the Parks committee ... [At the Botanic Gardens] It has consequently been found possible to complete the new railing, and to have the handsome new entrance gates hung ... The new boundary walls on the west side of the Gardens have been completed, as also at the entrance gate at Kirklee Station. In the Alexandra Park ... a new fence has been erected round the swimming pond ... the Govanhill Ground ... has been enclosed with a neat malleable-iron fence ... It has been arranged that the lower portion of the ground be set apart as a playground for children, and that the upper portion of the main area should not be used for games, but be available for the general public.⁸³

McLellan, the Superintendent of Parks makes a similar point in the 1882 *Report Upon the Public Parks and Squares of Glasgow*, when he comments that

⁸² G. Simmel, 'The Sociology of Space', Frisby, D and Featherstone, M. (eds.), *Simmel on Culture*, London, Sage, 1987, p. 139.

⁸³ *Resume of New Work Undertaken or carried out by the Corporation During the Year 1893-4*, op. cit. p. 93-4; ditto 1894-5, p. 24-5, 26; ditto 1895-6, p. 15. (GUL Special Collections Mu 25 – c.16).

It would be of advantage to erect in several places over the Green a few hundred yards additional iron fencing, so that the general appearance of the Park might be improved, by preventing track or footpaths being made through the grass plots ... The laying out of the grounds connected with the University and the Western Infirmary has been planned and carried out so as to harmonise with the general features of the [Kelvingrove] Park. The dividing fences have been constructed of a light character, and groups of trees and shrubs have been placed on both sides of the fences at intervals, so that at a short distance off there does not appear to be any dividing lines between the several properties.⁸⁴

However, McLellan also pointed out that the fences were not always a deterrent.

In Overnewton and Oatlands Squares ... the sward of grass is very good, but it is to be regretted that thoughtless youths leap over the railings and break the trees and shrubs. The seats in the concrete walk have been fixed against the railings, thus affording the means of getting over the fence which otherwise could not easily be climbed. By removing the seats back from the railings this means of access will be taken away, and, after the broken trees and shrubs have been replaced, it is to be hoped that the public will take a greater interest in protecting what is provided for their health and enjoyment.⁸⁵

The definition of the parks as separate from other spaces, forms and structures within the city, as well as areas within them, was an integral part of their design and production as circumscribed spaces in which features and facilities were provided for particular purposes in specified places. Evidence from photographs (figures 4.29 and 30) such as those below of Richmond Park and the railings and gates of Alexandra Park substantiates the enclosure and delimiting of public parks and illustrates, indicating how much fencing was sometimes considered necessary to ensure that the appropriate use and access to the parks was observed.

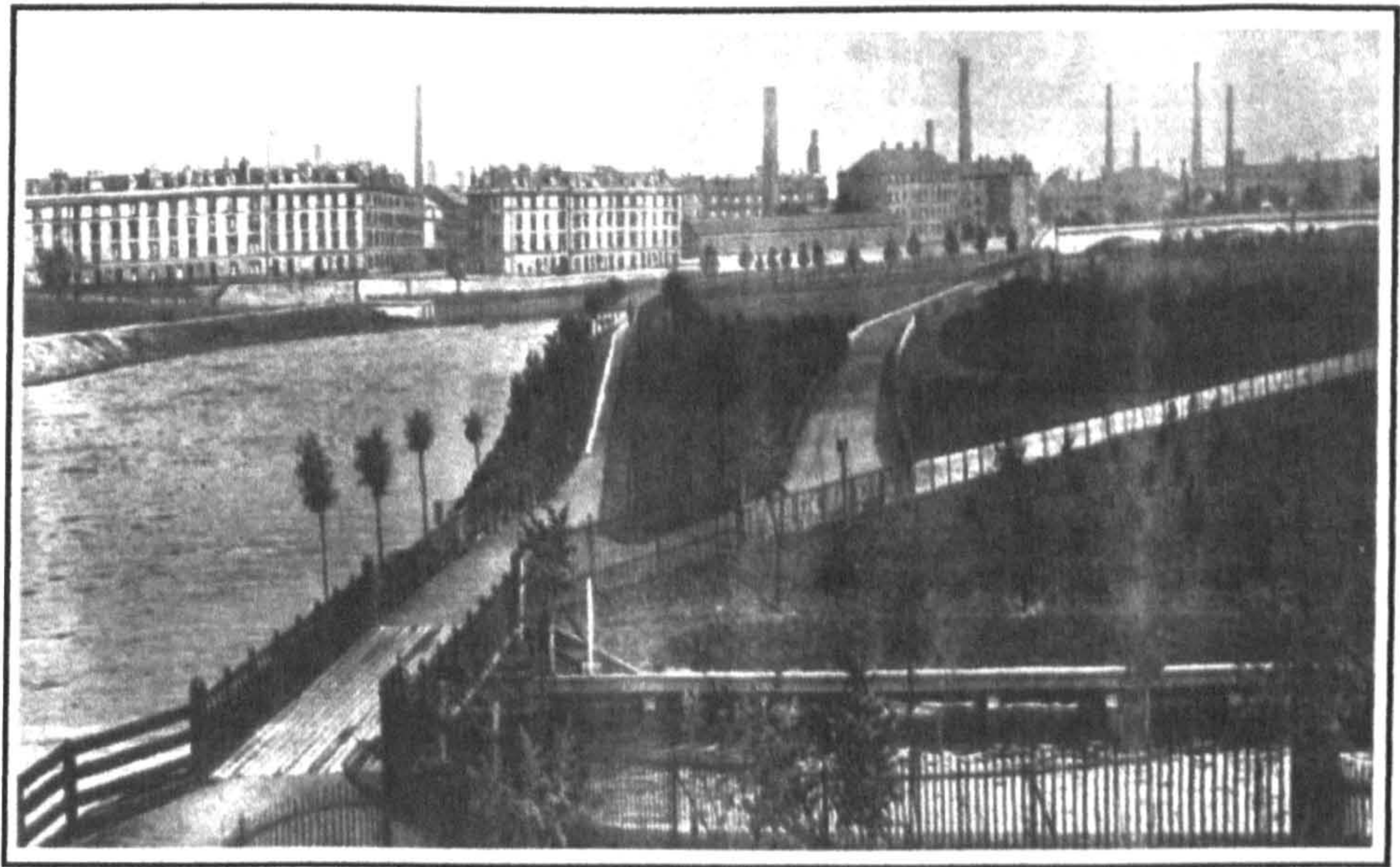


Figure 4.29: The fences and railings of Richmond Park⁸⁶

⁸⁴ D. McLellan, Superintendent of Parks, *Report Upon the Public Parks and Squares of Glasgow*, 1882, pp. 4, 8.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁸⁶ Gilmour, 1996, *op. cit.* p. 77.

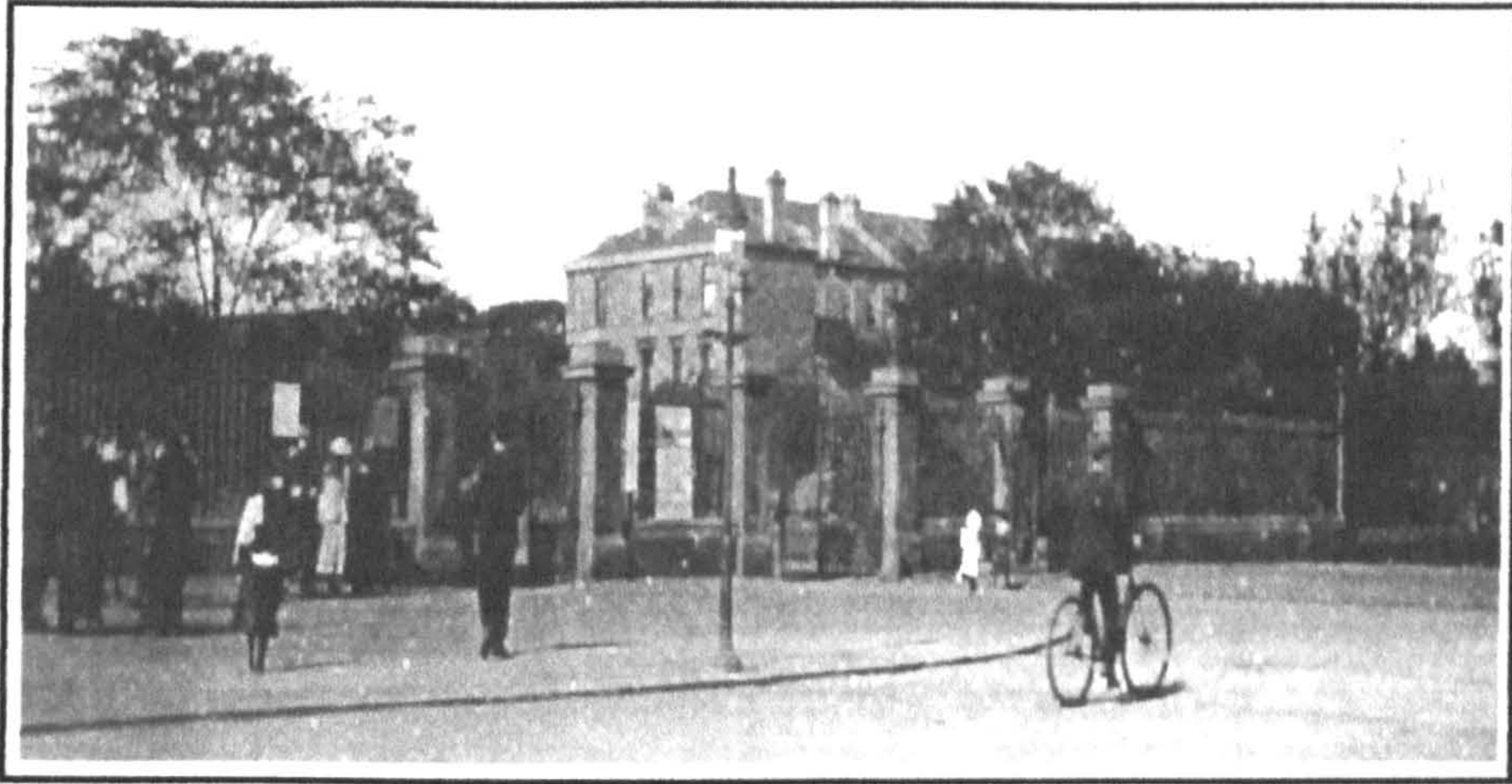


Figure 4.30: The imposing gates and railings of Alexandra Park ⁸⁷

4.5: Conclusion

This chapter has provided details of how Glasgow, ‘the Dear Green Place’ of popular affection, was provided with a network of public parks using an interpretive typological schema to illustrate their production within the context of the growth of the city and the evolution of its municipal administration and service provision. A number of features of the socio-spatial development of the city, as well as the historico-geographical development of its space economy, were highlighted through the analysis of the chronology, distribution and design of the parks. That is, when the parks were produced (the periodic process of development) indicates how public parks production combined with both the expansion of the city and the economic and social necessities of (sub)urban development. Individuals who were instrumental in public park acquisition (municipal purchase or private gift) emphasised how properties adjacent to public parks were viewed as having increased value due to the aesthetic worth of proximity or views of such important amenities as green spaces in the city. Therefore, processes of city growth, the evolution of a planned approach to the enlargement and regeneration of the urban environment, entailed the organisation, structuring, location and arrangement of inter-linked features and elements. The commitment of the local state in Glasgow to the provision of a large number and variety of planned recreational spaces is indicative of processes of urban capital investment in the development of a necessary social and physical infrastructure conducive not only to the production needs of capital, but also to the social relations necessary for that production to occur and develop efficiently the maximisation of surplus value. When and where the parks were located illustrates aspects of the spatial development and organisation of the city, in that the availability and cost of

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 8.

land and the categorisation of the surrounding area, for example as working or middle class residential areas, industrial, commercial etc, were inter-linked factors in the production of individual parks as well as the development of the network of parks as a whole

The number and variety of public parks produced in the city from 1850 onwards demonstrates the municipal commitment to providing a multiplicity of spaces for various social functions serving a number of separate communities. The size, dimensions, design, and the features and facilities included within individual parks exemplifies the diversity of spaces that could be considered as parks, as well as aspects of the space economy where cost was a limiting factor in the development of public parks, competing for public money with other socially necessary municipally provided services. The variety of park types and designs (formal gardens, recreation grounds, preserved or constructed 'nature', etc) was the result of an evolving process of conflict and negotiation, promotion and propaganda, from a variety of sources within the city, which took up the arguments of the advocates of the urban parks movement and applied them, over time, to the context, the physical as well as the socio-political terrain, of the city of Glasgow and the needs of its different communities.

The need to provide different types and kinds of spaces for different activities and communities in locations across the city was also reflected in the organisation and regulation of the parks, as well as in their design. Form and function combined to produce public parks that were considered as essential elements in the physical, social and environmental infrastructure of the developing city of modernity. They were promoted, maintained and regulated as beneficial for the people and for the city. The following chapter will investigate the diversity of discourses through which the parks were represented and how these representations functionalised the space of the public parks. Such discourses provide a key to understanding the commitment of the local authority and civic society in producing such a network of public parks and open spaces in the city, an encouraging of the physical and moral health and well being through access to fresh air, rational recreation and civilised entertainments.

CHAPTER 5: THE DIVERSITY OF DISCOURSES IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC PARKS

5.1: Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the origins and development of the public parks network in Glasgow through the analysis of various typologies (chronological, distribution and design). The development of the public parks network in the city was inherently related to those processes of capital investment in the social and material infrastructure of the city that was considered necessary for the reproduction of the relations of production necessary for the success of urban capitalism. The role of the local state was fundamental to providing those services, facilities and amenities, such as public parks, which were beneficial to all but too costly for individual capitalists to provide. Thus there was a public investment in parks to be collectively consumed. The pattern of chronological development, the distribution and the design of the parks was discussed in relation to the evolution of the administration of the city's spatial and demographic growth that required an increasingly interventionist municipal strategy. This was expressed in the particular forms and locations that evolved into the park network over time. This investigation was grounded in the analytical foundation of Lefebvre's first necessary element, the social production of space or spatial practice, as extrapolated and illustrated by Harvey's analysis of the political economy of urban space production. The public parks were established as specific spatial forms that embedded, internalised and manifested the practices of spatial production within the overarching structure of 19th century urban development.

However, parks are also the product of particular social relations that express the economic, political and cultural priorities, aspirations and ideals of a civic and social elite in the city of the 19th century. Thus, the public parks as public spaces need to be analysed as produced, shaped, moulded and designed within the historical specificities of the city and society in the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. This chapter will address Lefebvre's second 'necessary' element, that of representations of space, what Gregory refers to as "constellations of power, knowledge and spatiality – in which the dominant social order is materially inscribed (and, by implication, legitimised)".¹ Representations of space are described as the dominant space in society, the realm of expert knowledge conceptualised and discursively constructed by "professionals and technocrats such as planners, engineers, developers, architects, urbanists, geographers ... it is always a conceived and abstract

¹ D. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, Oxford, Blackwell 1994, p.403.

space since it subsumes ideology within its practice.”² In representing space the social order seeks to create material landscapes in which they represent themselves, their ideals and values. For Lefebvre, “any representation is ideological if it contributes either immediately or ‘mediately’ to the reproduction of the relations of production. Ideology is therefore inseparable from practice.”³ It is then through representations of space that the operation of processes of power seeks to create and to define the meanings and values attached to space. Therefore, knowledge of space is fundamental to how space is represented, by whom and for what purposes, and is essential for its production, design and ultimately use. Foucault’s proposition of a dispersed system of spatial sciences that emerged in 18th and 19th century Europe as part of a general system of knowledge based on medical and administrative necessity provides a useful insight into the means by which such bourgeois hegemony was established through and in space. The administrative and bureaucratic organisation of technologies and practices of power sought to rationalise, that is to delimit, design, and formulate space for specific, functional requirements. Through the rational regulation of movements in space, the space of the prison, the school, the barracks and, by extension, the other buildings, streets and open spaces of the city and town, including the public parks, “the individual, with his [*sic*] identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces.”⁴ Therefore knowledge of and the exercise of power over space through the operation of procedures within it attempted to limit, regulate and control movements, choices, behaviours etc. in space to promote the internalisation of bourgeois ‘civilising’ values and the creation of a ‘modern disciplinary society’. As Foucault puts it,

The bourgeoisie is perfectly well aware that a new constitution or legislature will not suffice to assure its hegemony; it realises that it has to invent a new technology ensuring the irrigation by effects of power of the whole social body down to its smallest particles. And it was by such means that the bourgeoisie not only made a revolution but succeeded in establishing a social hegemony which it has never relinquished.⁵

The origins of the public parks in Glasgow and elsewhere, it has been argued, were explicitly linked to national and local debates concerning the medical and moral health of the city. They were an attempt to ameliorate the perceived dangers and negative consequences, inherent in the fundamental changes wrought by industrialisation and urbanisation. There was a complex coalescence of concerns preoccupying medical, moral and social reformers, planners and administrators, as well as industrial, commercial and financial capital, centred on the necessity for investing in the economic, social and physical

² A. Merrifield, “Place and Space: a Lefebvrian Reconciliation” in *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers* 18: 1993, p. 523.

³ H. Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism*, London, Allison and Busby, 1976, p. 29.

⁴ M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge - Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, C. Gordon, (ed.) London, Harvester Wheatsheaf 1980, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 156.

infrastructure of the city. The municipal public parks were “constellations of power, knowledge and spatiality”, the product of dispersed practices of power - disciplinary discourses, in which the need to create, define, manage, organise and control these new urban spaces for particular functions and uses was fundamental in their representation as ‘necessary’ (socially, politically, morally, medically, culturally) beneficial spaces in the burgeoning city of the 19th century. In short, the public parks were represented as ‘disciplinary spaces’, ordered, maintained and regulated in accordance with the ‘habitus’, that set of ‘classificatory practices’ and ‘ultimate values’ belonging to the increasingly dominant, predominantly bourgeois, paternalistic and interventionist municipal administration and civil society. The parks were represented as facilitating the good, moral ordering of the city and society, that had social, economic and political benefits, through the creation, cultivation, instillation and propagation of ‘civilised’, bourgeois values. They were part of a concerted campaign to improve not only the physical environment and aesthetic appearance of the city, but also the medical and moral health of the city population by providing parks as leisure spaces designed, organised and regulated to ensure the most effective, ‘rational’ use of ‘free’ time for the benefit of a more orderly and civilised society.⁶

The public parks were constructed, designed and identified as specific spaces of leisure, pleasure and relaxation that offer the potential of a respite from the stresses and strains of everyday city life, that is, from the myriad pressures of over-crowding, pollution, and the functional perquisites of work-time. As Lefebvre writes, “[t]he stress of ‘modern life’ makes amusements, distractions and relaxation a necessity...”⁷ so much so that, as Harvey emphasises, “[t]he social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living.”⁸ The parks were spaces where form, structure and function were intimately related, not directly with production per se, as in ‘work’ or ‘labour’, but with the reproduction of the relations of production through the regeneration, that is the re-creation of the labour force by the healthy use of leisure time. However, “relations of leisure cannot be studied meaningfully in isolation from the power structure of capitalist society”,⁹ and the necessity for ‘social spaces of distraction’ such as the public parks cannot be divorced from the perceptions and representations involved in their production which are intimately connected to the development and transformation of leisure practices and popular recreations that began to arise with the development of the

⁶ Katz and Kirkby succinctly summarise this relationship in which ... “Urban parks were established in concert with the rise of industrial capitalism, a corrective to dense urban settlement, which provided open spaces as, ... ‘pleasure grounds’” C. Katz and A. Kirkby, “In the Nature of Things: the Environment and Everyday Life, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16, 1991, p. 266.

⁷ Lefebvre, 1971, op. cit., p. 53.

⁸ D. Harvey, *The Urbanisation of Capital*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1986, p. 256.

⁹ C. Rojek, *Capitalism and Leisure Theory*, London, Tavistock, 1985, p. 7.

modern metropolis.¹⁰ This is a point that Frisby makes clear in relation to Simmel's treatment of leisure: "The organization of leisure, however individual its form, was also permeated by the objective, material culture, by the social."¹¹ It is therefore appropriate, in this context of the representation of public parks as a very public manifestation of the desire to provide 'necessary' social spaces, to consider the coterminous development of the 'rational recreation movement', whose influence and role in promoting beneficial leisure and recreational pursuits is crucial to such representations of the parks as regulated and controlled 'licensed spaces' where appropriate leisure forms and activities occur. As Duncan and Ley make clear, "... the reproduction and transformation of social relations must take place somewhere."¹²

Leisure in the 19th century increasingly became viewed as a right of all and not only a privilege for the few: "The old idea of keeping the people moral by keeping their noses to the grindstone will be abandoned. As things are going, people will, and, what is more they ought, to have all possible means of healthy recreation."¹³ The development of the Victorian and Edwardian philosophy of rational recreation was both a recognition of and reaction to the perceived dangers of the seeming lawlessness, licentiousness and rowdiness of the people's popular games and pleasure pursuits to be found on the streets and thoroughfares of the 19th century city. New opportunities for leisure also developed from the mid century with the rise of real incomes, the shortening of the working day and the increasing implementation of the Saturday half-holiday. The use of the streets as play grounds, the 'living rooms' of the masses, was a highly visible indictment of the lack of provision of an adequate social infrastructure which, combined with the increasing population density of industrial cities and towns, was considered an alarming and potentially serious threat to social order by the political and civic authorities. With housing uncomfortable and overcrowded, using the street as a recreational resource was for many a necessary, free and pleasurable leisure pastime. Sauchiehall Street was described in 1901 as:

... the street of youths and evening promenade. Here comes every night the young persons who have spent the day cooped in shops or warehouses or offices, and who find sitting at home in dreary lodgings an intolerable torture. On Saturday night they come in all the greater number – 'the crood brings the crood' – the lighted street demands no

¹⁰ Parks were playgrounds, sites for entertainment, sport and leisure and locations for cultural and educational institutions. They provided access to an albeit sanitised and constructed nature which was increasingly difficult for the urban masses as the city spread inextricably out from its medieval core. As Greenbie emphasises: "For urban residents of all ages and classes, small and large parks offer contact with nature, animal, vegetable and mineral. They provide the opportunity to have a good time just being alive in an approximation of our original environment of earth and sky, plants and water, with space to run in or simply reflect in". B. B. Greenbie, *Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape*, London, Yale University Press, 1981, p. 251.

¹¹ D. Frisby, "Simmel on Leisure", in C. Rojek, (ed.), *Leisure for Leisure*, Macmillan, London, 1989, p. 76.

¹² J. Duncan & D. Ley, (eds.) *Place/Culture/Representation*, London, Routledge, 1993, p. 262.

¹³ W.J. Jevons, "Methods of Social Reform", *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XXXIII, London, Strathan and Co., Oct. 1878, p. 502.

admission money, and so they come in droves.¹⁴

The rational recreation movement constituted an attempt to 'educate' leisure experiences within an encompassing social order by the development of appropriate forms of leisure that were viewed as safe, escape routes for the passions, nervous excitements, and the violent and dangerous forces that were considered concentrated in modern urban society.¹⁵ At the core of the rational recreation movement's philosophy was the need to provide leadership, education and instruction, by the moral organisation, management and regulation of alternative rational forms of leisure, entertainment and leisure activities that would provide a civilising influence to the masses and lead them away from the temptation that was perceived as existing in most popular recreations. There was little doubt in the eyes of reformers as to the necessity of such attempts:

It is a great fact – a practical proof – that the people, if encouraged and assisted by those who are able to serve them, would choose the good before the evil, and turn their opportunities to account ... No more satisfactory indication need be required that with means of exercise and rational recreation within reach, the people with rare exceptions, would not sadden themselves with drink even it were placed before them ... but the case is different when the inborn universal craving for relaxation, amusement, and variation has no vent save in places where drink is in the ascendant, sometimes accompanied by questionable music, nauseous performances and coarse songs. This question of popular play and amusement is really amongst the most pressing as well as the most important, with which we have to deal. We cannot postpone it without dangers to ourselves. If only on the pure (or impure) ground of selfishness, we must grapple with it. Its bearings go to the root of the social tree, to the deepest foundations of the political fabric. Looking beyond the restricted vista which great subjects are sometimes unwisely narrowed, it would be seen that probably the primary cause why our jails, asylums, and workhouses are so full, and why, notwithstanding the peculiar prosperity of the last few years, crime stalks so rampantly generally in the neighbourhood of abject misery – is because the people have neither been taught or enabled to play and recreate properly.¹⁶

There was no doubt as to the spiritual mission in which rational recreationists saw themselves engaged. The attempt to civilise leisure activities, times and spaces was a moral duty as well as a social necessity:

In advocating recreation here as a religious duty – that means a duty necessary for the right development of our being – we do not mean the encouragement of public exhibitions, because these mainly trade on mere nervous excitement in seeing feats performed beyond our own capability of performance; but we mean that harmonising agency between labour and rest which must enter into our daily life, and which by doing so will lose that dangerous characteristic now bestowed upon many ideas of pleasure – 'The throwing off restraint and letting the passions loose, whatever form these may represent in the individual. The more we encourage rational recreation, the more we

¹⁴ J.H. Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, Oxford, White Cockade, 2002, p. 185-6.

¹⁵ "The target audiences were essentially working class. For the urban bourgeoisie, the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution represented greater wealth, freedom of choice and mobility to a wider range of recreational and cultural experiences. However, there was another side to the coin in the working class districts of the towns spawned by the Industrial Revolution. Here there was remarkable squalor, ugliness and poverty... To many politicians, industrialists, philanthropists and religious leaders, the leisure time world constituted by the urban proletariat – featuring on the hedonistic pleasure of pub, music hall, brothel and the like – appeared wanton, irrational and socially disruptive." J. Heeley, "Leisure and Moral Reform", *Leisure Studies* 5, 1986, p. 61.

¹⁶ F. Fuller, "A Paper on the Paramount Duty to Provide Wholesome and Pure Recreation and Amusement for the People and the Dire Results and Dangers Which attend Our Neglect Of It", C.W. Ryalls, (ed.), *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, London, Longman Greenan and Co., 1874, p. 746.

study it, the more we train our children to be capable of it, the more we place its means in the path of our youth of both sexes, the nearer we bring it to our adults; the more we lessen sexual license and its evil consequences, excessive alcoholic consumption, the delight at immoral exhibitions, the admiration for torturing animals dependent on us for protection; and, above all, the more we diminish the number of human beings that pander to the false pleasures of those who can or will pay for and buy them ... rational recreation ... will drive away evil desires that prey upon society by self-indulgence, and it will purify our being by keeping off that devil of temptation that Luther dreaded so much .¹⁷

The pursuit of rational recreation was not only to be considered as a religious duty, it was also the mission of the middle classes as social reformers to take it to the most needy. The public parks were promoted as just such places where healthy pursuits and beneficial pastimes could be organised.

The want of places in which a population so large, and so much confined in workshops, might healthfully and morally exercise themselves, has been long and deeply deplored ... Thus, the mechanics and artisan have been left to their own resources, have had to satisfy that part of their nature which asks for and requires relaxation, recreation, and amusement, by such means as offered themselves. It need not be said that these, for the most part, have been of a nature neither conducive to health nor to morality.¹⁸

Whilst many of the original rational recreationists were explicit in their aims at social engineering,¹⁹ middle class reformers were not the only ones to embrace the philosophy of appropriate and beneficial leisure and recreational pursuit. Many of the skilled working classes found the appeal of clubs, societies and self-help groups in which improving as well as enjoyable leisure activities could be combined. Similarly, the role of the state in the provision, management and regulation of leisure facilities was a crucial feature of this process of rational recreation. Thus, 'rational recreation' was promoted and perpetuated not simply as a repressive method of class control but as the replacement of principally violent means of control with a more psychological process which sought to internalise self-restraint through education, training, drill, spiritual teaching, the love of Nation and Empire, the constitution of family life, etc. This is a point that Rojek makes explicitly:

Rational recreation must be considered as another front of regulation. Through it the bourgeoisie sought to bring about moral improvement not by physical repression, but by

¹⁷ A. Lewis, "Recreation - A Religious Duty", *The Dark Blue Vol. 1*, 1871-1873, p. 350. Other accounts are just as explicit in the need for a leading role in providing respectable and rational leisure pursuits and pastimes, as a national priority for social order and imperial prosperity.

"Neglect of our countrymen's pleasures have devolved on us a great deal to undo as well as to do. Let us provide them with amusements of the right sort; let us take away the temptation - the cruel compulsion (for it is substantially this) - which, as it were, forces them to seek enjoyment through the only resorts - coarse, low, and base - in which they can at present be obtained; and we shall find that the better influences will gradually displace the bad, even amongst those whom it is the custom to designate the depraved and irreclaimable classes." Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 747.

"If we ourselves were more earnest in our citizenship, more resolutely bent upon extending downwards the quiet joys of national sobriety, industry, thrift and social justice, we should be able to find more efficient instruments ... The community whose morals are genuinely socialised is like a strong man in mind and body, fit to meet any ordinary emergency." H. Jones, *The Working Faith of the Social Reformer*, London, Macmillan, 1910, pp. 269-270.

¹⁸ J.A. Langford, "Parks and Public Places of Recreation for the People", *Inaugural Address and Select Papers of the Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences*, London, Parker and Son, 1857, p. 447.

¹⁹ "Our real purpose, I take it, is to make and keep our people competent. We would add to their ability, energy and resources, strengthen their affections, and increase their pleasure in a healthy, robust existence; and, as we do this, it would follow, as the night the day, that their power of preserving their independence in all the ordinary contingencies of life and in the strain of hard times would increase proportionally." C.S. Loch, *Methods of Social Advance*, London, Macmillan, 1904, p. 1.

example and persuasion ... Construction rather than redemption was the real object of rational recreation. It was part of the phalanx of nineteenth-century regulative mechanisms formed to create an obedient, able-bodied, law-abiding and docile class of 'working people'... From the late 1860's the idea of 'civilising a rough' through organised and edifying recreation became more popular in middle-class circles. Typical forms of rational recreation were physical exercise, educational instruction, craft, musical training, excursions, and games. The aim was to instil habits of saving, perseverance, hygiene, temperance and self-control in the poor.²⁰

Therefore, there is a tension between the control and regulation of some leisure and recreation activities and behaviours and the encouragement of others. The municipal urban public parks were constructed within this context of concern with the appropriate and beneficial use of leisure time that was fundamental to the rational recreation movement and was an essential element that was expressed in the design, location and organisation of the parks and the features and facilities that were included in them. Different parks and different areas within the parks provided facilities for different functions, from the quiet, passive contemplation of 'nature' to active sporting pursuits. The population of the city was actively encouraged to use the parks in the manner for which their designers had intended. As such, they were highly organised, supervised and regulated leisure spaces designed for specific functions and uses that were intended to improve the population of the city. These functions and uses were the product of disciplinary discourses that represented the parks as having the potential for exerting a 'civilising' influence by providing opportunities to instil, inculcate, propagate and cultivate the social norms and moral values of dominant elites within society. As such, they were represented as 'licensed' leisure spaces in that ideological concerns over what they should and should not be used for were of paramount concern. The permission and restriction given to certain political, leisure and recreational practices and social groups over others made the public parks a contested arena where normalising values were pursued through the disciplining, ordering and regulation of space against the exuberance of many popular practices and pursuits. The values and meanings, regulation and control that was attached to and exerted over particular parks and spaces within them by dominant representations had the potential for conflict with popular understandings and the everyday uses and practices to which the citizens sought to use them. As such, the parks represent an everyday arena where the production of space involved relations of power, materially inscribed on the landscape: a dynamic process in which conceptions, perceptions and experiences represented differing and potentially conflicting values, meanings and uses.

What follows is a discussion of a number of discourses that reveal the complexities involved in the representation of the parks as well as in their subsequent maintenance and

²⁰ C. Rojek, *Ways of Escape*, London, Macmillan, 1993, pp. 32, 34.

regulation. These discourses involve the description and delineation of the space of the parks as intrinsically associated with discursive practices. That is, the parks are subject to the application and operation of knowledge and power that produce dominant discourses in which particular practices, functions and uses are ascribed and privileged. The parks, then, are represented in various diverse expositions that prioritise and characterise their value, worth and benefit through their role and status as necessary and advantageous social spaces for appropriate uses and activities. It is important to view these discourses as not necessarily mutually exclusive and without overlap but as discursive practices for understanding the parks, as the product of knowledge in which the overarching theme of the representations applied to them is their practical utility. Whilst the discourses are necessarily presented within the structural constraints of a written paper, no significance, or hierarchy of importance is attached to the sequence in which they appear. The selection of the order, whilst not arbitrary, is not designed to impart more relevance to one discourse over another because it is addressed first.

5.2: The Medical Discourse

Foucault's work on the subject of space forms an important foundation in formulating the medical discourse on the origin and development of the public parks. Foucault's proposition is that, in 18th century Europe, and as part of a general system of knowledge, a dispersed system of spatial sciences emerged based on medical and administrative necessity. This was responsible, in part, for the creation of a 'modern disciplinary society' that included technologies of surveillance, regulation, and control. Doctors, it is argued, were central in this process.

Doctors at that time (circa 1800) were among other things the specialists of space ...doctors were, along with the military, the first managers of collective space ... [they were] concerned to think of the space of habitations and towns ... In fact if the intervention of the doctors was of capital importance at this period, this was because it was demanded by a whole new range of political and economic problems, highlighting the importance of the facts of the population.²¹

This conception of doctors as being concerned with space as an element to be studied, understood and manipulated for medical and administrative ends emphasises the role of the medical profession as agents in the reconstruction and reorganisation of industrial society.²² In Glasgow, the concern of doctors with the collection of statistics on the health of the population dates to at least the end of the 18th century. For example, James

²¹ M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, C. Gordon (ed.), London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980, p.151.

²² For Foucault, in the 18th and 19th century, doctors posed four fundamental problems associated with contemporary urban life. These were: Local Conditions - the study of climates, soil, humidity, dryness etc. and how their combination favoured particular diseases. Co-existences - questions of density, proximity between people, and things and animals, the dead. Residences- that is the environment of the city and associated urban problems of housing, sanitation etc. Displacements - the migrations of people and diseases.

Clelland produced statistics as evidence of the medical condition of the city in much the way that Foucault describes.²³ The concern of the medical profession, social and moral reformers, and official enquiries with the consequences and conditions which the majority of the population had to endure under industrial capitalism is evident from a number of sources. The medical professions were at the forefront of attempts to ameliorate the worst of the conditions, consequences, and dangers of the industrial city through reform of the environment and the provision of a basic sanitary and health infrastructure. Government for the 'common good' was a much-vaunted principle of the 19th century 'triumph of liberalism'. Major health, social and environmental problems occurred in Glasgow in the 19th century that were sufficiently recognised and acknowledged to have acted as major factors in the conception and implementation of an interventionist municipal programme of public service provision that made Glasgow a model of municipal socialism, as discussed previously. The municipal authority's commitment to providing such a wide range of social amenities and sanitary services was not a wholly altruistic or benevolent philanthropy. Elements of self-preservation and self-interest were recognised by contemporary commentators such as Bell and Paton:

All sanitary organisation, it is true has its foundation in enlightened selfishness. If infectious diseases had in them no more menace and danger to the community than pleurisy and bronchitis, then it is no doubt that to the present moment the poor would have been left to battle with their ailments unaided by legislation and municipal organisation.²⁴

The provision of public parks and open spaces for recreational, leisure and health purposes must be viewed within this context of the wholesale municipal provision of services. They were, in Glasgow, part of an overall strategy to develop the city in such a way that it would be a safe and healthy urban environment as well as a source of civic pride. The medical profession in Glasgow, it will be argued below, made an important and influential contribution to the arguments that were promulgated as a justification for the necessary expenditure of public funds on municipal public parks and open spaces. The medical benefit of public parks was a recurrent theme in the public parks movement's campaign for the provision of open spaces in cities and towns. The mental and physical health of the population of cities was seen as a prime motivation for the development of municipal parks programmes. The public parks in Glasgow as elsewhere were variously represented as 'Lungs of the City', as 'Fresh Air Reservoirs', as a means to combat threats from water-borne disease (e.g. cholera), pollution ('Smoke'), population density, etc. The perceived medical benefits of public parks were based on the restorative and health-giving

²³ See J. Clelland, *Statistical facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Bell and Bain, 1837.

²⁴ J. Bell and J. Paton, *Glasgow: It's Municipal Organisation and Administration*, Glasgow, MacLehose and Sons, 1896, p 189.

properties that were accorded to the relatively fresh air and exercise to be had in them. The need for places in which the human being could be re-created, to be fit, able and willing to return to the serious business of work was emphasised by many contributors.²⁵ For example, Charles H.J. Smith in 1852 stressed the benefits to be had in public parks by all classes of the population:

... in the public park, the pale mechanic and the exhausted factory operative might inhale the freshening breeze and some portion of recovered health; the busy shopkeeper and the more speculative merchant might enjoy relaxation and bracing exercise in temporary seclusion from their toils and cares; and that the family troop, the children with their nurses, or the sportive juveniles in the company of their staid seniors might take their walk or spend their play-time apart from the bustle of the streets, and secure from the accidents to which, in crowded thoroughfares, they are necessarily exposed. Without doubt it is also good for the mental health of those who are habituated to the wear and tear of the busy haunts of men to be brought face to face with the tranquillising as well as the suggestive works of God in the world of nature.²⁶

Whilst the Corporation had been given the necessary powers in the Parks Act of 1878 to provide parks in all areas of the city and for all of its population, it took until the end of the 19th century to achieve a comprehensive network of parks, playgrounds and open spaces for leisure and recreational purposes across a wide spectrum of the city's communities that would provide "... space in which the populace could look on green grass, growing trees and shrubs, and which they could call their own".²⁷ It was not until Government recognised the "...benefits to the health of the working man that parks began to be built at public expense to alleviate the effects of the Industrial Revolution."²⁸

The commitment of one of Glasgow's most important sanitary reformers, J.B. Russell, Medical Officer of Health from 1872-1899, was crucially important in the city. He was responsible for many of the schemes adopted by the Corporation that sought to improve the health of the city.²⁹ Russell's commitment to public health was promoted zealously through a number of pamphlets, lectures and reports. He was concerned that the environment of the city had a deleterious effect on the health and well being of the city's population, and in particular, the working classes. Russell's concern with the inadequacies of the city's housing stock³⁰ was rooted in his belief that the environment had a serious impact on the health of the city's inhabitants. The Corporation acknowledged that poor

²⁵ Simmel makes the point that leisure and by extension leisure spaces have been generally considered only in the context of work and labour, so it may be said of the medical benefits of the public parks. They were promoted because of recognition of the ill health of cities and their populations. "Just as it has been said that the peculiar thing about the history of women is that it is not the history of women but of men, so one can say that the history of recreation, of games and amusements, when viewed more closely, is the history of work and serious things". G. Simmel, "Infelices Possidentes! (Unhappy Dwellers)", D. Frisby, & M. Featherstone, (eds.), *Simmel On Culture*, London, Sage, 1997, pp. 259-60.

²⁶ C.H.J. Smith, *Parks and Pleasure Grounds*, London, Reeve and Co., 1852, p. 156.

²⁷ Bell and Paton, op. cit., p. 335.

²⁸ B. Whitaker and K. Browne, *Parks for People*, London, Seeley Service & Co., 1971, p. 19.

²⁹ For a description of Russell's contribution to the organisation of sanitary improvements in Glasgow see:

J. B. Russell, *Public Health Administration in Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1905, a memorial volume edited by Russell's successor, A.K. Chalmers and E Robinson, *J.B. Russell, Glasgow's Doctor, 1837-1904*, East Lothian, Tuckwell Press, 1998.

³⁰ See J.B. Russell, "Life in One Room", *Public Health Administration in Glasgow*, 1905, pp. 189-206.

housing had a negative effect on the health of the population: "Various portions of the City of Glasgow are so built, and the buildings so densely inhabited, as to be highly injurious to the moral and physical welfare of the inhabitants."³¹ As well as collecting statistics on the population (births, deaths, diseases, cases treated etc.), Russell also collected together a number of first hand accounts from doctors and other medical practitioners issued in pamphlets or as evidence to Royal Commissions of the deplorable conditions which existed in Glasgow from the period of 1818 to 1850. Russell sought to transform the city by removing the slum housing and replacing it with decent and affordable habitations:

It is proved beyond question that a considerable proportion of the population lived in districts in which the houses were so crowded upon the soil as to be beyond the reach of sun or air, and to leave no more space than was necessary for access of the residents to the recesses of those continuous masses of building, that those houses were crowded without consideration either of health or decency, and their inhabitants left uncared for and so shut out from all chance of cleanliness of life as to have reached the lowest depth of physical and moral degradation.³²

While it may be fair to say that Russell was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempt to improve the housing conditions for the bulk of the most needy, he was successful in promoting a number of measures that had a direct effect on the quality of life of the city's poorer inhabitants. Russell's concern with the quality of the city's air as a consequences of smoke and pollution from the city's many industries on the health of the city's poorer population in the form of lung disease led him to advocate measures which he believed would help make the city as healthy as the countryside.

We must purify the that vast canopy of smoke which envelops our towns and even invades the country, not only directly injurious to the lungs but perhaps even more injurious indirectly by cutting off the sun.³³

Russell's campaign to improve the public health of the city needed to persuade middle-class opinion and the municipal authorities for the need to invest in measures that would continue to provide public health benefits. Russell was concerned to attack the causes of disease and infection whether they were located in the dense over-crowded slum housing stock or in the behaviour and attitudes of the population. Russell promoted other measures to the Council that attempted to reduce the density of the housing stock and improve the provision of health care services. The widening of the streets would facilitate the flow of fresh air revitalised by parks, squares and green spaces which would allow children places to play which were more healthy environments than the dirty and confined back closes, stairways and busy streets. Russell's recognition of the medical benefits of

³¹ Bell and Paton, op. cit., p. 218.

³² J.B. Russell, *The Evolution of the Function of Public Health Administration*, Glasgow, Hodge and Co., 1895, p. 23.

³³ J.B. Russell, "The First Principles of Cleanliness as regards Earth, Air, and Water: lecture to Airdrie and Flowerhill parishes' Young Men's Society, Nov. 1878", printed in *The Sanitary Journal*, January 1, 1879, pp. 340-41 and cited in Robertson, op. cit.

parks and open spaces is clear in his writings and repeats the arguments used by earlier social reformers and advocates from the public parks movement. He considered

... every public park, and the flowers and music which attract people thither, every open space and children's playground, every cricket and football field, every gymnasium and drill ground, is a precaution against Consumption.³⁴

Russell was a zealous campaigner for public parks for the masses through the publication of pamphlets and public lectures in which he sought to give practical health advice as well as campaign for improvements in the city's environment. He sought to shape opinion by appealing to the conscience as well as the self-interest of those whose views were important in influencing civic policy:

Have we not all been children? Are our Members of Parliament and Town Councillors some strange order of beings who sprang like Minerva, full grown, into life, and had no experience of nurseries, or playgrounds, or cricket fields.³⁵

Russell was fundamental to the revision of policy that sought to provide parks and playgrounds in the poorer parts of the city. His criticisms of the design and landscape of the parks led him to question the Council's investment in the suburban parks of Kelvingrove, Alexandra and Queens, which were, he claimed, "useful for the cultivation of aesthetic sense rather than the improvement of health".³⁶ This distinction will be considered later. However, Russell was concerned to improve the access and availability of open spaces for relaxation and recreation in and near to the residential districts of the working classes: "The importance of finding free space for amusements within a moderate distance of their dwellings is yearly increasing for the poorer classes."³⁷ As such he sought to persuade the municipal authorities to acquire land, lay out and design of new parks and open spaces in areas where they were most needed: "It would be a matter of lasting regret if the opportunity was lost of securing some land on the summit of the surrounding hills as fresh air reservoirs for the dense population which crowds the valley, and is compelled to breathe a smoke-laden air and otherwise tainted atmosphere."³⁸ Russell took every opportunity to applaud the Corporation for their achievements and also to remind them of their responsibility in acquiring and laying out parks for all of the people:

In this period [1890s] systematic efforts were for the first time made to provide Children's Playgrounds. The city has always been supplied with suburban parks. The historic Glasgow Green was purchased at various times in the 17th and 18th centuries. It remained the sole park until 1854, when the West End Park was obtained, and several

³⁴ Russell, 1895, op. cit., p.564.

³⁵ J.B. Russell, "The Children of the City", No. 6 in the Seventh Series of Health Lectures for the People, delivered under the auspices of the Edinburgh Health Society, in Russell, 1895, op. cit., p. 320.

³⁶ Russell, 1878, in First Principles ... op. cit., p. 341.

³⁷ Corporation of Glasgow, Report by Dr. J.B. Russell and Mr J. Carrick, On Sanitary Aspects of the Proposal to Acquire A Public Park in the Lands of Ruchill, 22 NOV 1887.

³⁸ Prof. J. Carrick and A.B. Macdonald, Report to Parks sub-committee, dated 1/5/1885 on the desirability of a Public Park at Ruchill Parks Dept. Records D-Pk 37/1.

new parks and large additions to old ones have since been acquired from time to time. Still no provision had been made near to tenement houses in the shape of *pro indiviso* gardens or pleasure grounds. George Square, St. Enoch Square and St. Andrews Square are examples of spaces left near the houses of the wealthy of former generations which remain for the use of the many... Power was obtained in 1878 to lay out the and throw open the graveyards which had been closed. Six of these now furnish attractive spaces in the midst of crowded localities in the oldest parts of the city, and make one thankful that the necessity of 'the provision of a burying place' preserved from the builder of former generations some space for the living now to enjoy the reversion. Since 1892 the Committee on Health has made it a part of its ordinary business to secure, as opportunity offers, play places for the children of the poorer and more crowded localities. There is a special Sub-committee for the purpose. The noblest of the acquisitions hitherto is 'Phoenix Square', which, in place of being one of the grimmest, most repulsive spots in the city, now smiles in the sunshine and echoes with the laughter of happy children.³⁹

But Russell also appealed directly to the ordinary people themselves. He implored them to recognise their own needs and not to accept the limitations imposed by the design of the decorative landscapes of the Corporations showpiece parks in the developing suburbs of the city:

My warning is that you workingmen should remember that for you the most useful open spaces are those which are close to your dwellings. Observe I do not object to those distant parks in themselves, but solely as substitutes for the occasional simple playground in the heart of the city. Both together form a complete provision for your children whenever they can venture out during a sunny hour, as well as for yourselves on Saturday afternoons and holidays when you can go to the park with your families. I fear corporations have hitherto as a rule spent all their rates for open spaces upon these parks, and have chiefly benefited suburban communities of wealthy people who have congregated around them beyond the area of taxation. I praise and commend for imitation by other cities the wisdom of the Corporation of Edinburgh in not only providing parks, but also clearing and paving small areas here and there in the dense portions of the city. There your youngest children can sprawl about in the sunshine, and your older ones enjoy their games. See to it in the distant pleasure grounds the flowerbeds do not usurp all the space, but that vacant areas are left for cricket and football. There your young lads, who cannot afford to lease fields like the golden youth of the wealthy, will have the same scope for wholesome recreation. Parks should not be places for merely dawdling along looking at flowers or admiring grass through iron railings.⁴⁰

There was eventually a shift from the neatly landscaped and decorative parks of the bourgeois suburbs towards the provision of pitches for games and play equipment that would promote healthy exercise, and Russell's contribution to the development of this strategy of comprehensive park provision in the Glasgow should not be underestimated. He promoted the medical benefits of parks, playgrounds and open spaces and echoed the concern expressed by earlier reformers for smaller, more accessible parks that would be equipped and designed to facilitate the needs of ordinary people. His concern with the promotion of healthy exercise in parks, recreation grounds, playgrounds, and open spaces represents an acknowledgement of the medical benefits of public parks provision. In

³⁹ Russell, 1895, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

⁴⁰ "The Children of the City, No. 6" in the Seventh Series of Health Lectures for the People, delivered under the auspices of the Edinburgh Health Society, Russell, 1895, op. cit., p. 321.

Glasgow, the recognition of the need to provide for the sporting and recreational needs of all of the city's population led to a comprehensive network of variously designed open spaces distributed throughout the city. Russell's zeal and commitment was important in forming and developing Corporation policy that made park provision more appropriate to the aspirations, needs and benefit of the majority of the population of the city. This official recognition of the medical benefits to be achieved from public parks is found in the Corporation's records and official publication. Springburn Park was described in 1908 as: "...a most excellent health resort for the daily toilers of that important and busy manufacturing district". Similarly, Maryhill Park was considered "... a quiet retreat for the old and young of the district",⁴¹ words that Russell would have recognised and warmly welcomed.

5.3: The Moral Discourse

The awareness of the medical and sanitary benefits to be gained from the parks was supplemented by a perception of the need to improve the moral well being of the city's population. The provision of public parks provided an opportunity to apply a 'civilising' element to the population, particularly the working classes, through access to the moral and social benefits of what were judged to be appropriate cultural, leisure and recreational pursuits to be had in the parks. The role of the state in promoting, maintaining and regulating the moral purpose of the parks is crucial to the representation of the parks as moral landscapes. As Emile Durkheim recognised in *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, the state is "... above all, supremely, the organ of moral discipline",⁴² and as Rojek emphasises, "[t]he state in bourgeois society managed the essential economic, legal and political framework which supported moral regulation ... However, the crucial interventions were made at the municipal level through the initiatives of the local authorities."⁴³ As has been demonstrated, the local state in Glasgow, the Corporation, played a fundamental and extensive role in the interventions that were made in the social, economic and physical infrastructure of the city in the 19th century by the creation of a huge range of municipally provided services. The state was also considered by many advocates of rational recreation as having a responsibility for the provision of facilities for worthwhile recreation: "Government ought to create a fund in every department for clubs, reading rooms, and other social places of meeting."⁴⁴

Whilst the benefits of healthy exercise in the relatively purer air of 'nature in the

⁴¹ Noremac, *The Public Parks of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Cameron, 1908, pp. 78, 80.

⁴² E. Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, London, Routledge, 1904, p. 72.

⁴³ Rojek, 1993, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁴ Lewis, 1871-1873, op. cit., p. 349.

city' had been a major theme in the promotions of the public parks movement, there were concerns that the parks as public spaces needed to be maintained and regulated to achieve their most effective and beneficial use as moral spaces. The 'surveillance' and 'policing' of park space and the control of unacceptable or unruly behaviour was a prime concern and indicator of 'official' attitudes to 'rough', licentious, unruly and loud behaviour. That is they were 'licensed' spaces in which the state sought to cultivate, monitor and control, through the imposition of rules and regulations regarding their use, the parks as moral spaces. This discourse was concerned with the representation of the public parks as moral landscapes that acted as venues and locations for and in which morally beneficial leisure and recreational activities could be organised, supervised, controlled and promoted. Therefore, the role of the state in creating the conditions and means for regulation will be considered as will the representation of the parks by other organisations as landscapes in the city of moral benefit.

Whatever the origins underlying the construction of the parks, their status as 'social spaces' that are 'public' and 'open' (in terms of their use and access) is mitigated and maintained by ongoing oppositions between those who seek order and control on the one hand and those who seek places for unmediated social interaction or activity on the other. This raises questions as to the 'ownership' of the parks in that they are public spaces, owned by the public in the form of the local authority and as such may be considered as 'open' in terms of their use. However, the regulation and control of these social spaces and the activities allowed within them is a fundamental feature of the representation of the parks themselves as moral spaces. Therefore, what is allowed or prescribed, when and where and by whom are essential questions for the real, as opposed to hypothetical, 'freedom' that a public park implies. As Mitchell makes clear: "Public space is the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space - order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction."⁴⁵

From their inception in the 1850s, the city authorities in Glasgow displayed a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the public parks. Whilst recognising their value to all sections of the population as a leisure and recreational resource, there were also fundamental concerns expressed about the potential for their negative use. The public parks were subject to the enactment of specific byelaws that sought to maintain their status as beneficial for the population. These byelaws were published and posted in prominent positions in each park and detailed the rights, obligations and duties of any visitor to the park. The first bye-laws were enacted under powers conferred by the 1859 Glasgow Public

⁴⁵ D. Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? Peoples Park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85 (1), 1995, p. 115.

Parks Act, subsequently, added to by the 1866 Glasgow Improvement Act and 1878 Glasgow Public Parks Act, that gave the Magistrates and Council of the City of Glasgow powers for the 'Good Governance and Regulation' of the parks. The Byelaws for Alexandra Park enacted in 1872 is reproduced in Appendix 3.

The byelaws sought to impose order on the space of the parks by regulating access to them as well as activities that were deemed inappropriate, prescribing those activities and behaviours that were not. The following examples are taken from the *Byelaws for the Public Parks, Recreation Grounds and Open Spaces* produced by the Corporation of Glasgow and published in April 1896. They are reproduced in Appendix 4 and illustrate the extent to which the parks were subjected to policing and surveillance. The byelaws sought to delimit particular spaces within the parks that were designed for particular activities. For example, access to and the movement within greenhouses and plant houses was strictly controlled (byelaw III). The ponds, lakes, and streams in parks were protected by byelaws (XXX), as was the ice that formed on them in winter (XXXVI). Access to the ice was controlled, one assumes for safety reasons (XXXVII), as was the acceptable use to be made of it. Thus, ice-skating was permitted so long as "every skater going round must keep to the right, and in the event of crowding, follow a regular course round the margin, so as to leave the central area clear for sliding and other authorised purposes, and no skater shall go at a greater speed than eight miles an hour. Not more than three persons abreast" (XXXVIII). Curling was also an approved use of the ice (XXXIX).

The use of the ponds and lakes for appropriate leisure activities also required that they be 'properly' protected - "No person shall throw or put sticks, stones or substances of any description, into any water, or cause the water to be polluted" (XXXI) - and regulated. Model yaught building and sailing was a popular leisure activity in Glasgow, a city that had a world-wide reputation for shipbuilding, but the use of the water features in the parks required restrictions and rules governing their use. "No person shall wilfully interfere with or obstruct any yacht or boat belonging to another person, and spectators must keep back from the water so as to allow the persons in charge of the boats or yachts to manage them" (XXXII), and "No person shall sail any yacht or boat of any description of greater length than seven feet six inches over all: and no person shall sail or cause any boat or raft on any water, except such as are specially set apart by notice for such purpose" (XXXIII).

The prescriptions of particular forms of behaviour were explicitly detailed in the regulations governing the parks in an attempt to preserve and maintain them as safe, and moral spaces. These are reminiscent of Foucault's analyses of the operation of the 'Eye of Power' in creating disciplinary spaces, in which the individual is not only externally constrained but develops a self-control over their behaviour and actions. For example,

official concern with the use of the parks for immoral or sexual activity was explicit in byelaw VII that stated, “No male person shall molest or importune any female, and no prostitute or street walker shall loiter in the Park or importune any person”. Other behaviour and activities were also considered as inappropriate for the parks. Thus, being drunk and incapable (X), “commit[ting] any nuisance, or jostle, trip or cause any obstruction or annoyance to any person”(XI), smoking in the greenhouses (XII), shouting, making unseemly noises or being engaged in ‘rough play’ (XVIII), unauthorised singing, preaching, lecturing (XIX), and the playing of musical instruments (XX) were all activities that were deemed as having the potential to threaten the serenity and morally improving qualities that the parks were deemed as possessing. Likewise, “No person shall ... expose or offer for sale, distribute or exhibit any articles, and no person shall solicit money or alms, or expose wounds or deformity, or act so as to induce, or for the purpose of inducing, the giving of money or alms” (XVI). Similarly, lotteries, betting or gambling in the parks were also prescribed (XXIV). Riotous, disorderly, or indecent behaviour, or using any obscene, profane, indecent or insulting language that may provoke a breach of the peace were officially frowned upon (XXVII).

Commercial activities in the parks were also deemed as bearing the possibility for tainting the moral atmosphere of the parks. All vehicles with the exception of cabs or private carriages were prohibited from entering the parks and using the carriage drives, thus ensuring that hawkers and vendors of refreshments or of merchandise were restricted from using the parks as markets for their wares (IV). Similarly, “no person shall carry large baskets, packages, or other large articles” (IX), presumably for the same reasons as commercial vehicles. The control of animals in the parks was also strictly regulated by the byelaws. Livestock, whether horses, cows, sheep or cattle, were prohibited from the parks except where they had been engaged for grazing purposes (VI) and dogs were allowed as long as they were “led by a cord, strap or chain and kept on the walks” (XXVIII). It was also an offence to “... interfere with any birds nest, or molest or ill-treat any bird or other animal, or instigate or take part in any dog fight or other fight or battle, or snare or catch, or trap any animal, bird, or fish, or use any appliance for such purpose” (VII). The ‘proper’ use of the park’s features and facilities was also actively encouraged by the byelaws: “No person shall lean against, sit on, or climb any of the trees, gates railings, posts or fences, or stand, lie, or place anything on the seats” (XXI). The natural features and fabric as well as the buildings and equipment in the parks were also protected: “No person shall touch the plants, flowers or labels, or deface or injure any tress, shrubs, grass, or turf, or do any damage to any of the buildings, fountains, monuments, seats, walks, fences, or other property” (XXII), and “No person shall walk upon any flowerbed, verge border, shrubbery,

sloping terrace, or plantation, or go over or through any fence or railing. No person shall walk upon any grass lawn on which a notice is placed requesting person not to go upon the same" (XXIII). Whilst the byelaws allowed "Chairs on wheels and perambulators, moved by hand, with invalids or children", they were to be kept on the walkways and paths (XXIX). The use of the parks for drilling "military evolutions" was not allowed except without the written permission of the Corporation (VIII). The peace and quiet of the parks was not to be disturbed by the discharge of "any firearm or fire-work, or ... any fire-balloon" or by the lighting of bonfires (XIV). Similarly, the beauty of the parks was not to be defaced by "any rubbish, paper, or other substance" or by unauthorised picnics or luncheon parties (XV).

In addition to these byelaws, specific spaces within the parks such as children's playgrounds were subject to supplementary regulation (see figure 5.1) and supervision, often by employing an elderly person to monitor the behaviour and activities of young people using the facilities. Figure 5.2 illustrates a playground and gymnasium showing both the superintendent and an example of an 'Old Man's Shelter', as discussed in the previous chapter. Of interest is the authority given to the 'caretaker' to supervise and to regulate the space of the playground. They would be responsible not only for the opening and closing of the gates, thus limiting access, but also for its proper use. This included ensuring that no damage was done and that the children behaved in a proper and respectful manner. It is interesting to note that the offences listed as potentially resulting in children being ejected from the playground and possibly reported to the police for prosecution or 'a clip round the ear' illustrates that the issue of problem children and bad behaviour is not only a contemporary one, but was needed to be addressed by the provision of separate rules and regulations for playgrounds in parks at the end of the 19th century. Also of note is the upper age limit restricting the use of the playground equipment to children less than twelve years of age. After reaching this 'maturity', children were no doubt assumed no longer to need or to want such 'childish things', and would 'graduate' to youth groups such as the Boys and Girls Brigades, the Scouts and Guides for more appropriate training in rational recreation. This aspect will be discussed below. What is also important to recognise in these rules is the gender segregation that was applied after children reached the age of six. Such segregation no doubt was applied in such a manner as to reinforce gender stereotypes that limited girls' access to some equipment and activities whilst encouraging others deemed more suitable and appropriate for prospective 'young ladies'.

CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW
(PARKS DEPARTMENT).

REGULATIONS FOR
CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUNDS.

1. These playgrounds and the gymnasia are solely for the use of children under twelve years of age, and any one over that age, except guardians, found on the playgrounds may be summarily ejected by the caretaker.
2. The playgrounds will be opened every morning (Sundays excepted) at nine o'clock and closed at sunset.
3. Any one found breaking the surface of the playgrounds, climbing the fences, maliciously injuring the property or gymnastic apparatus, playing at football, rounders, shinty, or similar games, committing a nuisance, using indecent or bad language, or quarrelling or fighting, shall be at once ejected, and may also be handed over to the police for prosecution.
4. Boys and girls over six years of age shall only use the portion of the playgrounds and gymnasia assigned to them respectively, and all infants must be under the care of guardians.
5. The caretakers shall see that the above regulations are carried out, shall arrange the rotations in which children may use the gymnastic apparatus, and see that no child unduly monopolises any part thereof.
6. No responsibility shall attach to the Corporation for any accident caused by or connected with the use of the gymnastic apparatus on the ground or otherwise.

CITY CHAMBERS,
GLASGOW, 20th April, 1899.

J. D. MARWICK,
Town-Clerk.

Figure 5.1: Regulations for Children's Playgrounds, 1899 ⁴⁶

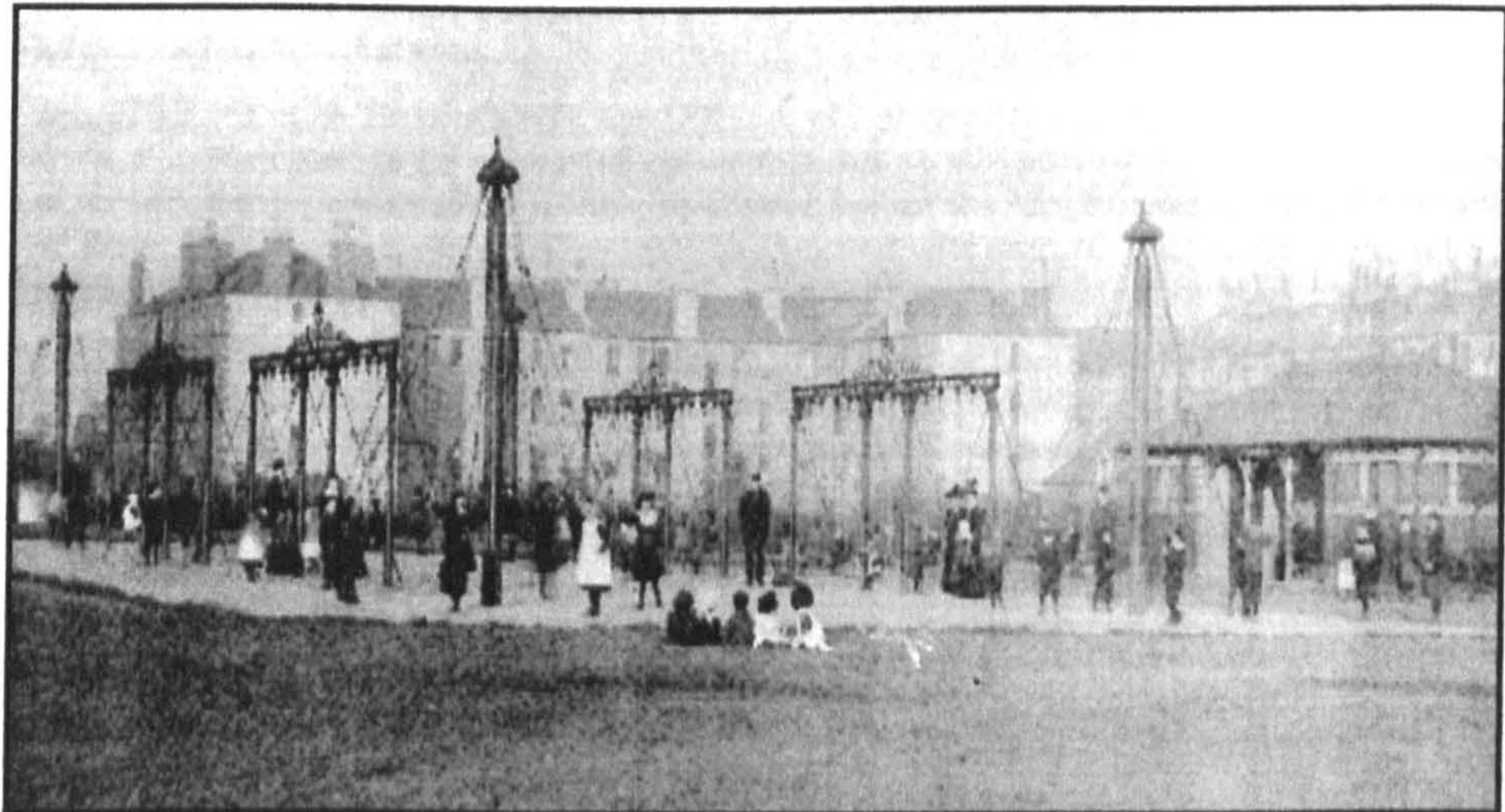


Figure 5.2: The Playground and Gymnasium in Govanhill Park ⁴⁷

The need to adapt the regulations for the control of specific activities as developments in leisure took place resulted in specific regulations being created as a

⁴⁶ MP32, p. 839, Mitchell Library Archives.
⁴⁷ W. Gilmour, *Keep off the Grass*, Ochiltree, Stenlake Publishing, 1996, p. 51.

response to the perceived dangers or threats of such new leisure and recreational pursuits. For example, the craze for cycling that swept the country in the 1890s⁴⁸ led to prescriptions controlling the speed and movement of cyclists in the parks (see Appendix 5 for poster giving *Notice as to Cycling in Kelvingrove Park*). Similarly, the specific topography of some parks or the restrictions that were detailed as conditions of the gift from private individuals resulted in specific regulations and notices being produced and adopted to meet these circumstances, as demonstrated by *The Regulations for the Cathkin Braes Park* reproduced in the Appendix 6.

The necessary provisions for the regulation of the parks as moral spaces is illustrated by the detailed byelaws and underlines the extent to which they were ‘licensed spaces’. The sanctions and penalties that accompanied these prohibitions and prescriptions were contained within the Public Parks Act and are reproduced below, and state clearly how, and by whom, transgressors were to be apprehended and punished. Authority was given to the Police and Parks Department employees to summon help from the public to apprehend anyone who contravened any of the byelaws. The punishment of a fine of 25 shillings was increased by the end of the century to a maximum fine of five pounds, a not inconsiderable sum.

N.B. - The officers of Police, Rangers, and other Servants will take notice and act upon the following provisions of the Statute:

Sec. XII, “Any person contravening any part of the 8th Bye-Law, shall, ...be liable to a penalty not exceeding Five Pounds for each offence; and for contravening any part of the other Bye-Laws above specified, to a penalty not exceeding Twenty shillings for each offence; the above several bye-laws to be enforced before the Magistrates of Glasgow, by imprisonment or otherwise...”

Sec. XXII “It shall be lawful for the Officers of Police of the City, and for the Rangers, Officers, or servant to be appointed under this Act, to cite parties charged with breaches of, or offences against such Bye-laws, to appear before the Magistrates of the City, or any of them, to answer to such charge, and to summon witnesses to give evidence in respect thereto”.

Sec. XXIII “Such Officers of Police, Rangers, Officers, or Servants, and all persons called by them to their assistance, may seize and detain any person who shall be found in the act of committing any breach of or offence against such Bye-laws, and convey him, without undue delay, before any one or more of the Magistrates of the City, sitting in any of the Police Courts thereof, without any other warrant or authority than this act.”

Figure 5.3: Extract from the 1878 Glasgow Public Parks Act

The byelaws were an attempt to address the concerns of city authorities to monitor and maintain public order, public morals and public decency within the public space of the municipal parks. What is demonstrated is that the public parks were clearly delimited and ordered spaces that were highly regulated and controlled and served an explicitly

⁴⁸ A fascinating account of the inventor of the world’s first pedal bicycle, Kilpatrick Macmillan, including his inaugural journey to Glasgow in June 1842 can be found in G. Irving, *The Devil on Wheels*, Alloway Publishing, Ayr, 1986.

acknowledged role in providing spaces where 'civilised' leisure habits, behaviours, practices and activities could occur and be inculcated into the mass of the urban population. In Foucault's terms, they may be viewed as 'disciplinary spaces' in which 'Power' sought knowledge of that space to control the activities within them for the purposes of producing a healthier, fitter, more able, efficient, obedient, moral and docile population. The state's role was thus not only the production of the parks as leisure spaces, but also their regulation and maintenance to enable their representation and use as moral spaces in which a particular type of person was to be created.

The state was assisted by a large number of voluntary and charitable organisations whose guiding principles were founded on the need to provide alternative forms of healthy and beneficial leisure and recreation through which the good habits, attitudes and behaviours could be instilled. The dominant strands of the rational recreation movement were aimed particularly at protecting children from the evils and dangers of popular leisure and recreational practices by providing more healthy and moral alternatives. As such, the role of the pioneering organisation of the youth movement, that of the Boy's Brigade, the promotion of physical games for the young, and the concerns with the ill effect of drink will be considered as having particular interest and concern with the role of Glasgow's parks as moral spaces:

There seems little doubt that some of the activities brought in were part of an exercise in social control, in the sense that many of the initiators of activities aimed at the working class had fears of unregulated popular pursuits. Social reform groups were at the forefront of providing alternative leisure activities ... Young idealists among the middle classes saw a need to encourage working men to participate in organised activities. This would be a way of bringing the classes together; it would help bring healthiness to an obviously unhealthy section of the population; it would introduce potential leaders of the working class to the habits of organisation and what was called self-government.⁴⁹

Working class children were the focus of attention of a large number of organisations that sought to protect their morals from the degrading influence of the streets, the drinking dens and immoral exhibitions and attractions.

The desire to imbue children's out of school life with a moral purpose was evident in a wide range of religiously inspired initiatives ... a plethora of youth organisations mounted an offensive against the street-corner boy.⁵⁰

Whilst the parks were not necessary for their existence they were widely used by various organisations that promoted 'outdoor pursuits' as investing the user with a moral purpose to their leisure time. Thus they were venues for events and activities that required open spaces for organised games, sports and physical exercises, as well as for numerous 'social' events such as organised picnics, musical performances, regattas, fairs and organised

⁴⁹ W.H. Fraser, "Developments in Leisure", W.H. Fraser & R.J. Morris, (eds.), Edinburgh, John Donald, 1990, p. 251.

⁵⁰ J. Heeley, "Leisure and Moral Reform", *Leisure Studies*, 5, 1986, p. 59.

sporting events. One of the most important of these organisations for representing the desire of middle-class evangelists to 'educate' 19th century youth in respectable Christian values and behaviour was the Boys Brigade. William Smith, the founder of the Boys Brigade in Glasgow in 1883, was concerned by the absence of discipline that had hindered his ability to teach his Sunday School class.

Smith had been an officer in a Volunteer regiment, militias that had appeared as a result of a perceived external threat to Queen and country from a French invasion in 1859.⁵¹ These Volunteer militias were in addition to the garrisons and arsenals stationed within most cities and towns, including Glasgow, and provided for the internal and external security of the country. They provided an opportunity for young men of all social classes to drill, practice healthy exercise and become more valuable members of society. They also provided status and social contacts in addition to physical improvement and comradeship. Smith sought to provide the same opportunities for boys that he had found beneficial in the Volunteers. The object of the Boy's Brigade as recorded in its Constitution was "The Achievement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the Promotion of habits of reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness".⁵² Smith was explicit in both the goal and means by which he aimed to shape the physical and moral lives of boys by providing spiritual instruction combined with enjoyable pursuits that would create a more civilised and moral adult.

By associating Christianity with all that is most noble and manly in a boy's sight, they would be going a long way to disabuse his mind of the idea that there is anything weak or effeminate about Christianity – an idea that is far too widespread among boys. Our aim was to band the boys together and create an esprit de corps that would make them proud of their company, jealous of its honour, ashamed to do anything to disgrace it, and prepared to make any sacrifice rather than be dismissed from it ... Through games, camps, clubrooms, ambulances, bands and so on, we take the boy on every side of his nature, and surround him with a continual influence for good at that critical period of his life when his character is taking a mould that would affect his whole future.⁵³

The success of the Boys Brigade in Glasgow was soon followed by the establishment of other Brigades and similar organisations in towns and cities throughout the country. It provided a successful model for a large number of similar ventures that included the Boy's Club Union, the Boy Scouts, the Army Cadet Force, the Church Lad's Brigade, the Roman Catholic Boy's Brigade and the Jewish Lad's Brigade. In Glasgow, the Brigades used portions of the parks to practice their drills; for example, Cathkin Park was used until 1906 and Queens Park Recreation Ground was first used in 1907 and became the regular venue.

⁵¹ For an account of the Volunteer Movement see H. Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force – A Social and Political History, 1859 – 1908*, Hampden, Connecticut, Archon Books, 1975.

⁵² F.P. Gibbon, *William A. Smith of the Boys Brigade*, Glasgow, Collins, Clear type Press, 1934, p. 40.

⁵³ W.A. Smith, Sunday School Chronicle of 11 May, 1888, Report Of A Speech Made At The Sunday School Conference, in Gibbon, op. cit., p. 81.

The Boy's Brigade (B.B.) used the parks to practice their drills, for physical education and for and practices and performances (see figure 5.4 of the 1st Glasgow Company of The Boys Brigade, pictured outside the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery in 1912). The Boys Brigade also formed the Honour Guard to line the route for the opening Great International Exhibition 8th May 1888 and similarly for the 1901 Exhibition. The Brigade held their annual reviews and special celebrations in Glasgow's parks. For example, the Semi-Jubilee celebrations in Queens Park in 1908 were reviewed by HRH Prince Arthur of Connaught and consisted of 10,528 officers and boys formed up in fifteen battalions. The Jubilee Review of 1933 is illustrated in figure 5.5 and consisted of 32,520 Officers and Boys on Parade.

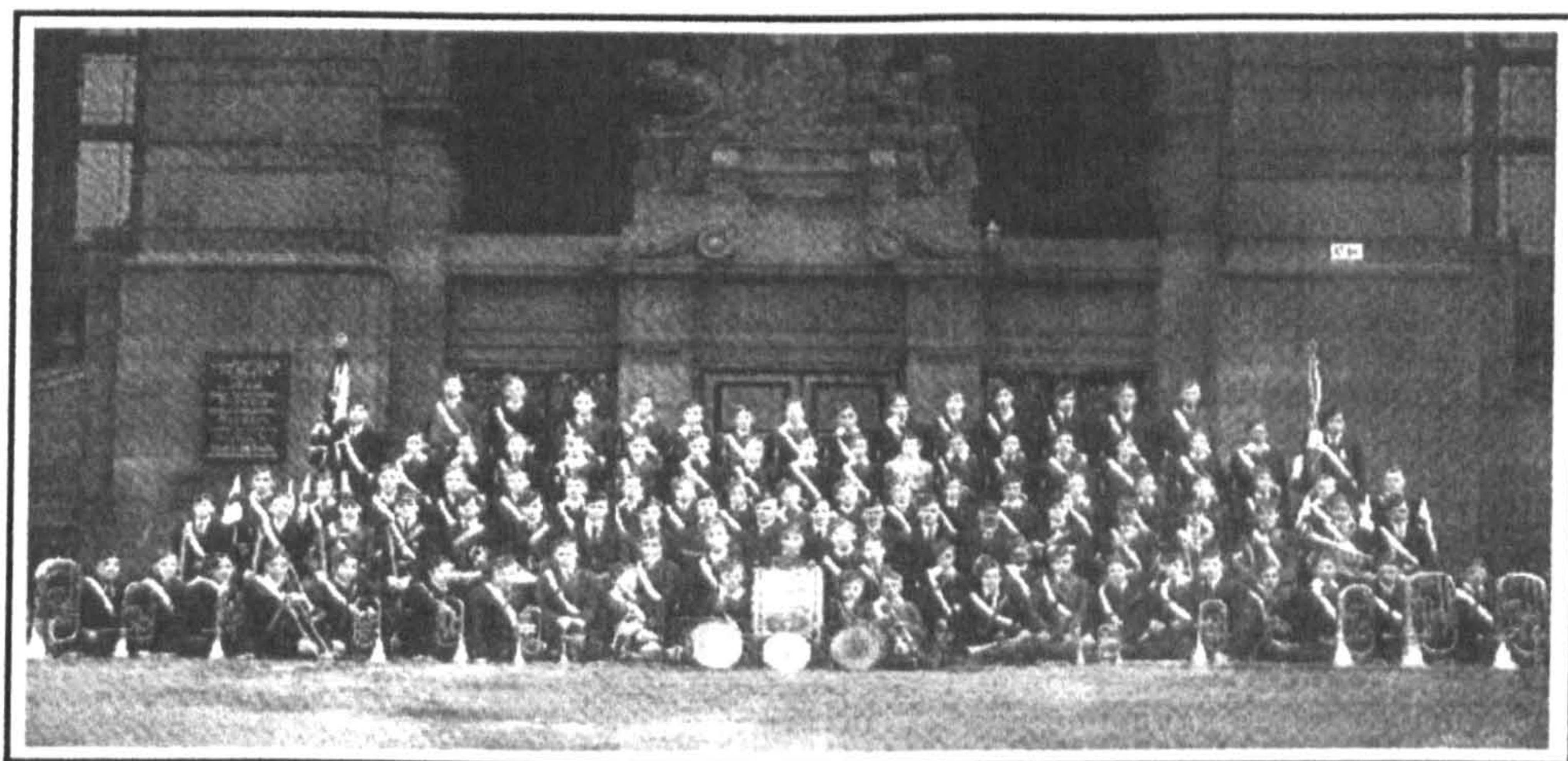


Figure 5.4: 1st Glasgow Company, The Boys Brigade, 1912, at the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery⁵⁴

The Boy's Brigade, combined gymnastics, team games and military obedience with religious education. It emphasised cleanliness, obedience and love of country, as well as extolling the virtues of hard work, self-reliance and thrift, all of which were cornerstones of the rational recreation movement and which reiterate Foucault's analysis of the training of the body through repetitive exercise. The Boys Brigade was also responsible for the establishment of organised sport as "a means of friendly intercourse between Companies during the summer months". Football predominated but there were also sponsored cricket matches and swimming galas.⁵⁵ The Girls Guildry was founded in 1900 and was the pioneer of organisations catering for girls. It was organised by a B.B. Officer, Dr. W.F. Somerville, who had been a Captain in the B.B. for seven years in Glasgow and received encouragement and practical help from Smith: "We have often said would it not be a good thing to start a Girls' Brigade on the lines of the Boys' Brigade to do for the girls what the

⁵⁴ Gibbon, op. cit p. 65.

⁵⁵ J.B. Shaw, *Glasgow Battalion of the Boys Brigade, 1883-1993*, Edinburgh, Saint Andrew's Press, 1983, pp. 20-1.

B.B does so well for boys.⁵⁶



Figure 5.5: Boys Brigade Jubilee Review of 1933⁵⁷

The combination of military discipline, religious instruction and leadership, and healthy recreational pursuits proved highly successful and was recognised as providing a model for the development of other youth organisations. This ethos was acknowledged and promoted as necessary to maintain the prestige and power of Britain in the world. Thus, moral discipline and physical exercise was promoted as a patriotic duty as well as a necessity for the continued economic and political success of the country and the Empire:

... it is an established truth that physical is not less important than intellectual education – that, in short, a waked-up, active, alert body, vigorous and healthy and normally developed, is the necessary complement of the trained and educated intellect which must be possessed by the modern citizen if our country is to maintain its position in the Commonwealth of Nations ... Then there is the large mass of well-conducted industrious youth who are without means of recreation, and whose education has rarely fitted them for the keener competition with the foreign workman which is nowadays demanded of them. Military drill attracts and occupies young people, it associates them in a manner which enables them to feel the invigorating influence of comradeship, of esprit de corps, it enables them to take the part in the defence of their country by land or sea; in short, it endures them with the virtues which are essential to a good citizen.⁵⁸

The importance of organised games and sports as rational alternatives to unhealthy forms of leisure and recreation was an important and enduring feature of the use of the parks. The benefits of games for health, moral and physical, and as means of giving the masses something to do was recognised both by proponents within the public park movement as well as municipal officials. Sport was considered a healthy and beneficial pastime, especially for those the young and the ‘lower orders’, and needed to be encouraged and promoted:

⁵⁶ Gibbon, op. cit., pp. 138-9.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p.113.

⁵⁸ Col. O. T. Duke, in Loch, op. cit., pp. 40, 56.

... separate gymnasiums should be constructed for the youth of both sexes (it is always well to give loiterers something to do), and bowling greens should be formed for persons of more advanced years.⁵⁹

Their love of out-door sports is one that is healthy, both mentally and physically, and which is especially antagonistic to alcoholic intemperance.⁶⁰

Some parks prohibited sport and organised games altogether because of their design and landscaping, but their benefits was eventually acknowledged as popular aspects in the appeal of the parks. For parks to be useful spaces for rational leisure and recreation, they needed to include facilities for active as well as passive recreations. The eventual commitment of the Corporation in providing recreation grounds, bowling greens, tennis courts, golf-courses, football pitches etc. was a recognition of this. Thus parks were represented as places for moral and healthy play where games

... if wisely and systematically conducted, may powerfully influence character and conduct, aid in healthy body-building, and assist in future citizen-making by implanting early the social significance of play and the value of co-operation for a common end. Its ethical importance cannot be under-estimated. As a test of true discipline, good play – well ordered and directed – is as good as ordinary work.⁶¹

However, such games as were allowed had to be rigorously organised and regulated to ensure their most beneficial and worthwhile effect:

The regular practice of Organised Games under right conditions and sympathetic leadership and direction, will also improve health and ability to resist disease, develop growth, stature, stamina, physique and staying power, and prove a potent factor in the rearing of a future and desirous A1 population, especially in the congested areas and often uninviting surroundings in big industrial centres...⁶²

The parks became represented as moral spaces by their inclusion of organised games, sports and the facilities that these required. William Mitchell, a Glasgow solicitor, was responsible for producing the rules and regulations for bowling. Such an organised recreational activity in its early days emphasised the friendship and fellowship to be had from playing the game in an organised and regulated network of clubs. Some sports were particularly promoted as having a beneficial effect on moral improvement. For example, the Glasgow Herald informed its readers in 1869 on the 'Moral Uses of Croquet':

For success at croquet the moral qualities demanded are command of the temper in the widest use of the word, patience, courage and calmness under momentary defeat, due subordination of means to ends, a habit of sacrificing brilliancy to security: in other words, the repression of vanity and sanguine impulses, and the power of concentration.⁶³

But football was by far the most popular of sports and its increasing regularisation as a

⁵⁹ Smith, op. cit., p. 161-2.

⁶⁰ Report On Sanitary Aspects of the Proposal to Acquire a Public Park in the Lands of Ruchill, Dr. J.B. Russell & Mr. J. Carrick. 22 Nov 1877 Mitchell Library Archive.

⁶¹ R.S. Wood, Organised Games for the Playground, Park and Field, London, Macmillan, 1921, p. 7.

⁶² Ibid., p. 202.

⁶³ Fraser op. cit., p. 245.

professional and spectator sport also led to the organisation of some parks and recreation grounds to include the need for the mass participation in the game. Many of the parks were given over almost entirely to playing fields with the exception having no pitches or areas for games and sport.

The role of the many temperance organisations and association that flourished in Glasgow in the 19th century must be mentioned as proving of influence to the moral regulation and appreciation of the parks as rational alternatives to the debilitating degradations held to be found in the popular pursuit of drunkenness. Many in all classes in Glasgow were concerned at the ill effects that drinking had on the physical and moral health of the population. The Temperance Movement's attempt to wean the working classes away from drink through education and healthful pursuits provided drinking fountains in some of the parks as well as musical entertainments and sporting and cultural events. The parks were viewed as providing alternatives to drink and were represented as places where, given the regulations that the Corporation imposed on inappropriate behaviour, the whole family could recreate safely. Temperance organisations of many varieties formed to offer alternative entertainments and recreations to the demon drink as well as campaigning for reform of the licensing laws. The Forbes Mackenzie Act became law in Scotland in 1854, and its provisions sought to limit the selling and consumption of alcohol by grocers. The opening of Hotels and pubs to non-residents and travellers needing refreshment to sell intoxicating drinks was restricted to after eight in the morning and not after eleven in the evening. No intoxicating drinks were to be sold throughout the Sabbath, except in hotels, and these only to lodgers and bona fide travellers. Support for temperance on Glasgow Council was strong, including three Lord Provosts in 30 years as prominent supporters of the movement. These included Sir William Collins (1877-1880), Sir Samuel Chisholm (1889-1902) and Sir Daniel Macauley Stevenson (1911-1914). Such powerful and influential supporters had a direct influence on how municipal property, including the parks, should be used.⁶⁴ Collins, an ardent Temperance campaigner as well as a publisher summed up the problem of drink as follows:

So much has spirit drinking become associated with customs in and practices in Scotland, that there is scarcely an event in life, scarcely a circumstance that occurs, not a transaction can be done, or a change can be effected, with which spirit drinking is not associated: it is associated with our births, and with our deaths, with our marriages and baptisms; it is associated with a man's entry on any employment, with his apprenticeship, with his change in employment in the same work; it is the symbol of hospitality where friends meet, and forms the complementary usage of life among the middling and lower orders; it is employed in making bargains, at the payment of accounts, at fairs and rous, and every possible circumstance of life. And that is the

⁶⁴ An entertaining and informative account of the Temperance movement in Scotland is E. King, *Scotland Sober and Free. The Temperance Movement 1829 – 1979*, Glasgow, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1979.

greatest difficulty we have to contend with: it struck its fibrous roots into everything so deeply, that to tear up the spirit-drinking practices is like tearing up the whole social system of society.⁶⁵

It should be noted that Temperance principles were not only a bourgeois or elite concern. There was a strong radical temperance movement that developed many different forms and included Chartist, Socialist, Liberals. Many famous Glasgow labour leaders, including Keir Hardie, Willie Gallagher, and David Kirkwood, it is claimed, had their first political experiences and education within Temperance organisations.⁶⁶

The parks were created as social spaces by the commitment of the Corporation of the city that recognised the need for places where healthy leisure and recreational activities could be pursued. As such the Corporation sought to police them by the institution of byelaws and regulations that attempted to preserve their heightened status and beneficial aura. Whilst it may be conceded that all public spaces need rules by which the safety and comfort of the public is preserved, the byelaws and regulations, the rules of the game by which park visitors must play to use the parks, were the product of moral discourses whose aims sought the promotion of certain activities and proper conduct that perpetuated an ideological ethos of hegemonic power through the promotion of 'civilising' and virtuous use.

5.4: The Cultural Discourse

The public parks were also perceived in a number of ways, as cultural spaces. They served and were represented as necessary spaces for the medical and moral health of the population, but they also were represented as particular landscapes in the city that provided the opportunity for the display of ideals, tastes and values that not only demonstrated, through their embodiment in the landscape of the parks, elite notions of art, culture and nature, but were also regarded as serving a 'civilising' purpose through their educational and didactic value as aesthetic spaces. The representation of the parks as cultural spaces employed here in the context of the public parks as cultural spaces involves an understanding of the role of culture in the hegemonic operation of power that sought to inculcate civilised virtues and values, as well as the amelioration of class conflict, by exposure to and appreciation of the 'finer things in life'. As Mathew Arnold states, culture

... does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes; it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready-made judgements and watchwords. It seeks to do away with classes; to make all live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, and use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely, - to be nourished and not bound by them ... This is the *social idea*; and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. The great men of

⁶⁵ William Collins, Parliamentary Papers 1834 viii 402 in King, 1979, op. cit.

⁶⁶ See, E. King, E., "Popular Culture in Glasgow", R.A. Cage, (ed.) *The Working Class in Glasgow*, Croom Helm, London, 1987.

culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the best knowledge and thought of the time, and the true source, therefore, of sweetness and light.⁶⁷

The creation and representation of the parks as symbolic landscapes imbued with the ideals of a cultural, social and political elite had both functional intentions as well as aesthetic aspirations. The interpretation of nature civilised and civilising was employed in the landscaped designs of the major bourgeois parks and developed in the civic spaces of the municipal parks the ideas and influences that had been employed in the private parks and gardens of previous centuries. Thus, the influence of such designers as Humphrey Repton and Capability Brown, who had created the 'ideals' of the aesthetics of landscape design, found expression in the designs, features and facilities within the 19th century municipal parks that helped to define them as cultural and aesthetic spaces in the developing industrial cities. In themselves they were designed landscapes representative of landscape designs within a historical tradition in which the aesthetic tastes and opinions of a 'cultured' elite were written on the landscape of the parks. The various designs employed in the diversity of park types sees an engagement with form as well as content to portray and illustrate particular interpretations and 'ways of seeing' the parks as forms of 'nature' in the city. Particularly in the major parks the landscape designs employed were intended to emphasise the values and virtues to be had from access to the 'natural' environment of the parks, to provide; "... space in which the populace could look on green grass, growing trees and shrubs, and which they could call their own".⁶⁸ The extensive use of walkways as the means of traversing the park was intended to highlight the specimen trees, shrubs and flowerbeds to be found there. Such specimens were labelled to provide an educational function as well as an appreciation of the variety and beauty of nature. The large number and variety of public parks, as green and open spaces, that came to be provided in the city were viewed as adding to the aesthetic appearance and appeal of the predominantly industrial city. They were viewed as a means through which the image of the city of Glasgow as an industrial 'great wen', an unhealthy and unpleasant environment with concomitant problems of poverty, pollution, disease and deprivation, could be contrasted with the vision of the green city, with a large number and variety of parks replete with museums and galleries and leisure amenities that provided the cultural context of civic commitment to the promotion of economic opportunity and development. The necessity of providing such aesthetically appealing spaces of refuge from the increasingly populous and developing industrial city was a feature of the role of public parks expressed by such

⁶⁷ M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, S. Lipman, (ed.), London, Yale University Press, 1869, (1994), pp. 48, 49.

⁶⁸ Bell & Paton, *op. cit.* p. 335.

organisations as that of the Kyrle Society, inspired by the social reformer Octavia Hill which she described as one formed for giving pleasure to the poor;

We are getting more and more - quite necessarily, but rather sadly - in our parks to regard as too rare and costly to step on ... The space, the quiet, the sight of grass and trees and sky, which are a common inheritance of men in most circumstances, are accepted as so natural, are enjoyed so wholly in common, that, however largely they were given, they could be only helpful. Have you ever thought what the sense of quiet is to the member of a poor family? Many of them have never for years been alone, hardly ever been in silence: crowd, noise, dirt, confusion all round.⁶⁹

This view of the uses and benefits of culture was emphasised by Robert Crawford, a Councillor and Chair of both Health and Museums Committee in the Corporation. It is worth quoting at length Crawford's explicit linkage of the role of the municipal authorities in providing not only the material and social infrastructure of the city but also opportunities and facilities for the recreation and leisure of the population of the city.

As Chairman of the Committee of Health, including hospitals, cleansing service, and sanitation generally, my duties bring me in view of the awful moral and material waste and refuse of a great city, and some of the vast problems involved in our modern civilisation, as they are presented in this crowding, struggling mass of human life called Glasgow ... Can any popularly elected administrative body - sensitive to all the constantly changing breezes and currents of public opinion - fight and struggle with gross material conditions, with vested property interests, with filth, laziness, ignorance, crime, disease, with strength enough to encourage among the people the love of Art, the cultivation of taste and refinement, and appreciation of the purest pleasure? ... From simply ministering to the elementary necessities of public life and social organisation, we have gradually discovered the inclination and ability to rise to higher things; from mere police and repressive functions, from dealing mainly with the delinquent and the defaulter, we have risen towards treating with the man and the citizen. We have found that, municipally, we can in some ways help the feeble, lift many obstructions from the paths of virtue and rectitude of personal life; that we can even throw some gleams of sunshine into the grey life of the mass of the people, and offer them some opportunities of enjoyment and happiness ... By legislation and by active enterprises we and all other municipalities have earnestly striven, and do yet strive to secure for the people decent, clean and healthy homes; we have provided them with ample means of cleanliness in their person and clothing, we defend them with success against the ravages of epidemic disease, we see that the food supplied to them is sound and wholesome in quality; in fact, we touch the citizen beneficially in his whole round of physical existence. But rising still higher, we cater for the recreation and enjoyment of the citizen, we lay out and we decorate for him such parks and pleasure grounds as could only be privately obtained by the expenditure of a princely income, and in these and in other places we provide the free enjoyment of excellent music.⁷⁰

The public parks in the city can also be considered as cultural spaces in the sense that they became used as the locations for public art, memorials and sculpture. In the previous chapter some details and descriptions was given to the design of the parks that also included a number of references to water fountains, statues and memorials that were found

⁶⁹ O Hill, "Colour, Space and Music for the People", J Knowles, (ed.) *The 19th Century - A Monthly Review*, Vol. XV Jan - July 1894, London, Kegan Paul, p. 751.

⁷⁰ R. Crawford, *The Peoples Palace Of The Arts For The City Of Glasgow. A Lecture Delivered To The Ruskin Society Of Glasgow*, Glasgow, Carter And Pratt, 1891, pp. 4, 7.

in various parks. The architecture of the city, and in particular new civic buildings such as the imposing City Chambers in George Square, opened by Queen Victoria on the 6th of October 1883, and the Kelvin Hall opened in 1927 by King George V, as well as Glasgow University's neo-gothic Gilbert Scott building in Gilmorehill in the west end, opened in 1870, promoted an image of success both to outsiders and to the population of the city. In the 19th century the public spaces of cities increasingly came to be used for the location of public art and statuary,

which had previously been confined predominately to church crypts, graveyards and the private property of the landed classes, spread into the arena of public secular space ... Monuments were not just decorative appendages erected to beautify cities and towns, and their location within public space was no historical accident. They represented self-conscious attempts to solicit public participation in the politics of the day.⁷¹

Therefore, the public art and monuments found in such public spaces as the public parks was indicative of their existence as symbolic landscapes in which culture is implicated in the dynamic process of hegemonic power. Culture, politics and the spaces and places in which such art is located are inter-related elements in the establishment of the representation of views and ideals that seek to educate, promote and inculcate 'civilising' and politically cohesive cultural traditions, histories and ideals. The parks served as ideal locations for public art, as Charles Mulford Robinson, one of its foremost supporters, wrote:

Modern civic art finds in the open space an opportunity to call the citizens out-of-doors for other than business purposes. To keep them in fresh air and sunshine, and in their most receptive mood to woo them by sheer force of beauty to that love and that contentment on which are founded individual and civic virtue.⁷²

The public art, monuments and statues to be found in the public parks therefore represent the 'great and the good' of civic society, municipal success and benevolence, the heroes, martyrs and exploits of Nation and Empire and leading local luminaries in the fields of knowledge and literature. As Baudelaire lyrically attests, public statues have the potential for stopping the eyes of the present in contemplation of the past, but few if any of these great figures memorialise the deeds and sacrifices of women or the working classes:

You are passing through a great city which has grown old in civilisation, one of those cities which harbour the most important archives of the universal life, and your eyes are drawn upwards, to the stars, for in the public squares, at the comers of the crossways, stand motionless figures, larger than those which pass at their feet, repeating to you the solemn legends of Glory, War, Science and Martyrdom, in a dumb language ... Be you the most heedless of men, the most unhappy or the vilest, a beggar or banker, the stone phantom takes possession of you for a few minutes and commands you, in the name of the past, to think of things which are not of the earth. Such is the divine role of

⁷¹ N.J. Johnson, 'Sculpting Heroic Histories', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19, 1994, pp. 78-93, p.78.

⁷² C. M. Robinson, *Modern Civic Art and The City Made Beautiful*, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903, p.170 in R. Deutsche, *Evictions: Art And Spatial Politics*, London, The MIT Press, 1998, p. 23.

sculpture.⁷³

On Glasgow Green can be found a number of drinking fountains donated by the city, and by or in commemoration of leading citizens such as Baillie Sir James Bain, Sir William Collins for his promotion of the Temperance cause, and Hugh Macdonald of ‘Rambles Round Glasgow’ fame (see figure 5.6). The Doulton Fountain (figure 5.7), originally located in Kelvingrove for the Exhibition of 1888, was re-erected in the Green and formally handed over to the city on 29th August 1890. Other parks such as Kelvingrove had similar fountains that celebrated municipal achievements. Details of the Stewart Memorial Fountain were given in the previous chapter.



Figure 5. 6: The McDonald Memorial Fountain



Figure 5.7: The Doulton Fountain⁷⁴

The parks were important sites for locating art and memorials then, and were a public manifestation of municipal investment and achievement that could be used to promote a positive image that countered the all too obvious negative impressions and associations of the city, its burgeoning population and administration. Kelvingrove Park, for example, still today has a large number of sculptures and memorials that demonstrate that the choice of subjects and material considered appropriate and suitable for public subscriptions and display represented lofty ideals. There are statues to Lord Lister, Lord Kelvin and Thomas Carlyle, representative of the important contributions to knowledge of these Glasgow natives. Another important statue is that of the Bengal Tigress and her cubs designed by Rosa Bonheur, a copy of the original prepared for the 1867 Paris Exhibition and donated to his native city by an exiled Glaswegian John S. Kennedy of New York at a cost of £1000. Russian guns captured at Sebastopol in 1855 and presented to the city by the Government

⁷³ *Art In Paris 1845-1862 Salons And Other Exhibitions Reviewed By C. Baudelaire* Translated And Edited By J. Mayne, Oxford, Phaidon 1965, p. 204.

⁷⁴ Virtual Mitchell Gallery Images C3810 and C8160.

in 1857 were erected in the park in memory of the campaign. In addition, other military sculptures and memorials include the bronze statues to the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) War Memorial unveiled by Earl Haig in 1924; the equestrian statue of Field Marshal Earl Roberts (1832-1914) and distinguished in many campaigns including the Afghan and Boer Wars; The Highland Light Infantry Memorial in sandstone commemorating the soldiers of the Glasgow Regiment who died in the Boer War. Similarly, other imperial successes were incorporated into the landscape. The park's ornamental pond was designed with an island formed in the shape of Cypress in 1880 to celebrate its secession to Britain from Turkey in 1878 and was until recently inhabited by up to twelve species of duck and four of geese. In a different vein the park still functions as the location for more modern memorials. On Kelvin Way near University Avenue, the Suffrage Oak was planted on 20th April 1918 to commemorate the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and the Women's Committee of Glasgow District Council erected a plaque on the 8th March 1995.

The parks act as fora for the location of a variety of artefacts and monuments that are imbued with the power of representation by the choice of subject, event, form and the location of various memorials, sculptures, fountains, etc to provide an illustration of the 'civilisation' of the great and the good as well as their achievements. Thus, public art and sculpture was situated in most parks and represented worthy figures from the worlds of science, the military, education and the law as well as municipal figures and memorials to civic achievements. They were intended to provide the visitor with uplifting examples of achievement and order on which they could contemplate. These selected examples serve to demonstrate the use of the public parks as outdoor art galleries that would act to 'improve' the taste and cultural values of the masses. This use of art as a means of 'raising' the mass of the people by exposing them to the benefits of art was an explicit aim of some municipal figures:

If the debasement or want of taste manifested by the people is to be cured, it can only be done by opening up the ways towards a higher level of culture, by showing them what is lovely and admirable, and putting them in the way of eliminating evil by living with the good.⁷⁵

The use of several parks as the location for museums and art galleries in which the cultural and educational benefits of exposure to the varied cultural, scientific and social collections of the municipality could be displayed for the benefit of the population is a major element in the representation of the parks as cultural spaces. The need for such facilities and amenities and their location in the public parks were clearly interlinked. The location of galleries in the attractive settings of the parks was intended to add to the appeal

⁷⁵ Crawford, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

of visiting both the parks and the galleries and museums that were located in some of them. In language similar to that used by Sir Patrick Geddes in his proposal for Pittenween Park in Dunfermline, Robert Crawford, an influential Councillor, described how a museum in a park was 'a diamond set in pearls, Art and Nature entwined':

The essential aim of a municipal art gallery and museum, in a crowded industrial and commercial city, should be pure and elevating pleasure of the best and highest kind. Provision for the study of form and design, natural history, antiquity, etc., is unquestionably a great and absolutely necessary part of work which must be done, but the primary element must be the popular one - namely, to provide such means of artistic cultivation and enjoyment as can be freely and fully partaken of by every citizen according to his capacity to receive, from the wondering boy up to the aged and highly cultivated man or woman ... Clearly, then, a first essential is to attract. How is this attraction to be obtained? In many different ways. Among these I place first the site - attractive surroundings, fresh air, trees, grass, flowers, and birds; water if you can. Let your building and its contents be a diamond set in pearls, Art and Nature entwined... I am therefore, of opinion, that the people's parks are the proper situations for the peoples galleries.⁷⁶

The selection of the public parks as the desired and ideal location for art galleries and museums has clearly resulted in Glasgow of a variety of galleries and museums located in or on the boundaries of parks. Details and illustrations of these museums and art galleries are given in Appendix 6. In Glasgow, municipal government involvement in the provision of museums and art galleries began in 1855 with the acquisition of the private art collection and galleries of Archibald McLellan. The museums in the parks as well as the parks themselves featured as focal points for visitors to the city. They represented a positive image of the city as a place of cultural and artistic endeavour and appreciation that sought to counteract the all-too often negative portrayals of the city. That is, the city as a centre of industrial pre-eminence and concomitant decline into urban decay and deprivation, poverty, sectarianism, drink and drug abuse, etc. They provided the opportunity to display cultural and artistic artefacts that were deemed instructive to the population:

Therefore the assertion that the mass of the people do not care for Art, if true, instead of being an argument against the establishment of Art Galleries, is a strong reason why the authorities should by every means in their power, seek to awaken, nourish and advance that dormant faculty which is among the most glorious heritage's of our race - a right appreciation of the beautiful.⁷⁷

One last example of the park being represented as cultural spaces is their use for the staging of musical events. Indeed music was considered as an essential element in the facilities and features that needed to be included in public parks:

Already it has dawned upon people that a town is incomplete without its public park ... But I would hold that a public park should be considered incomplete without its

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 17.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 10.

winter garden and music pavilion, and naturally the music pavilion is incomplete without the music. It is well to have places where people may take the air; but it is better still to attract them every summer evening into the healthy, airy park by the strains of music ... I hold that musical cultivation is the safest and surest mode of popular culture; and it is greatly to the low state of musical education among the masses of the English population that I attribute their helpless state when seeking recreation. In the majority of the Continental towns it is quite the rule to find a fair orchestra giving daily open-air concerts in the public square or park. The merchant, the shopkeeper, and the mechanic, as a matter of course, stroll down on a fine evening and spend a tranquil hour or two with their families and neighbours.⁷⁸

In Glasgow the Corporation built bandstands and pavilions in many of the parks and provided free musical entertainments outdoors during the summer months. In addition, the winter gardens that were provided in many of the parks also staged musical events throughout the year, unaffected by the vagaries of the Glasgow climate. This need for municipally funded public musical performances was recognised by the Corporation as a role that the parks could provide as venues:

The people evidently desire that Music should, to a certain extent, be provided by the municipality, and no doubt they are prepared to pay for it, either through the rates or for value received. I am entirely of the opinion that such music as is provided by the civic authorities should be free alike to all, and that, as far as possible, no competition should be set up between our ordinary concert music and the people's music.⁷⁹

The popularity of these regular events will be considered in the next chapter that will detail the use of the parks for such purposes. However it is clear that the popularity of music in the parks was, in part, linked to the variety of causes to which it could be linked. Christian and temperance organisations were given permission to stage musical events in the parks and the overall tone of most performances emphasised patriotic and civilised themes rather than the traditions of ribaldry and sensuousness to be found in many of the musical halls in the city despite the intentions of influential members of the Council, such as those of Crawford above. Music that was regularly performed in the parks was almost invariably intended to inspire patriotism, religiosity and deference to bourgeois tastes and sensibilities, and not the traditions of the music hall. This suggests that the music in the parks was intended to serve a particular role in the promotion of meanings, values and uses associated with the parks as cultural spaces. However, some parks, Glasgow Green in particular, were used as the location for political meetings in which bands and music was part of the celebration and promotion of working class consciousness and solidarity that may well have conflicted with the expressed intention and representation of the park authorities:

If it were not heresy, I would advocate the opening of all such institutions on Sundays. I am quite sure that the citizens are entitled to use and enjoy their own property on the

⁷⁸ Jevons, op. cit., pp. 502, 504.

⁷⁹ Crawford, op. cit., p.18.

seventh day of the week as much as the first. When they want this, no doubt they will say it so, and it is not easy for any to say 'Nay'.⁸⁰

What is demonstrated is that the parks were represented as cultural spaces, media in and through which art, and nature, culture and education, could be located and presented for the benefit of civilising the population of the city by exposure to the refined and edifying aesthetic landscapes populated by improving art, sculpture and memorials to the inspiring achievements of previous generations.

5.5: The Political Discourse

A fourth discourse is political, both in the sense of parks as landscapes that manifest the hegemonic exercise of power and as fora for conflict and contestation. The parks can be understood as political spaces by reference to a number of interconnected elements. They are political spaces in that power is implicated in the production, representation and regulation of the public parks as public spaces designed for specific activities that are deemed appropriate and suitable. The parks are public spaces in which hegemonic power is manifest in the variety of designs employed in various locations with particular communities of users in mind. Thus the production of different parks, recreation grounds and open spaces within particular areas and locales is a process in which the allocation and distribution of resources provided in each circumstance is indicative of processes of political power; knowledge and spatiality become manifest in the forms, facilities and features of the parks.

The parks are political spaces as arenas where political organisations could demonstrate and represent their support or opposition to events and the political process. They were important, especially in the period before universal adult suffrage, as focal points where collective or individual appropriations of space represented very public manifestations of the political will and power of groups and individuals who were excluded from the franchise and the constitutional political process. The possibility of the parks being used as a focus for public disorder and indecency, for political assembly and for popular culture, was viewed with alarm by the civic and police authorities. The parks acted as sites for popular culture and political activity that had the potential for conflict with authority over what were permissible, appropriate and legitimate activities and what were not. The need to regulate and proscribe against such a possibility may be viewed in the development of byelaws proscribing meetings, orations, lectures, services, etc. unless previous permission had been granted. Thus there was an attempt to permit some groups to use the parks for collective activity whilst others were banned. The designation of certain

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 19.

activities and events within the parks as appropriate and permissible and the prescription of other activities are representative of the operation of power and for the potential of conflictual relations between different groups, classes, and orders within society over their use.

The parks were representative of the hegemonic will and power of a political elite expressed through the aesthetic ideals and tastes of landscape design as well as the operation of rules and regulations by which the parks were policed. The emphasis on the role that the parks could play in promoting medical and moral benefits by providing the working classes access to constrained nature, as well as being venues for the display of public art and as sites for cultural events and institutions, has been detailed previously. Implicit in these discourses was the creation of the parks as public spaces in which the inculcation of values, behaviours, tastes and ideologies of proper conduct and civilised activity were paramount in their representation. There can then be said to be a political discourse to the representation of the parks through their promotion and regulation as public spaces where these 'socially beneficial' uses provided the opportunity for the possibility of increasing social cohesion by social mixing and 'learning from one's betters'. The hegemonic power of dominant bourgeois elites sought to represent and regulate the parks as a means to ameliorate the potential for class conflict by providing opportunities for peaceful, non-conflictual class relations through leisure, recreational, artistic and cultural activities as arenas where pride in civic virtues, values and achievements could be promoted and celebrated.

The processes of park production suggest that decisions concerning the construction and allocation of resources for land acquisition, facilities and features revealed disparities in provision based, in part, upon the socio-economic classification of the location and likely or intended users and uses of the parks. They can therefore be considered as illustrating an aspect of the political discourse of the public parks. The chronology of park development emphasised the provision of the earliest municipal parks as social amenity spaces in predominantly bourgeois locations. Working class areas received parks at much later dates as the result of a number of factors including recognition of the consequences for the health of the population from the expansion of the city. Whilst it was recognised very early that public parks benefited the working classes the most, it was not until the late 19th century that parks, recreation grounds and playgrounds were provided in areas and locations accessible to and designed for working class play and recreation. The various designs of parks created in the city have been illustrated and demonstrate differences in form, features and facilities based upon the location and more importantly upon the perceived needs, requirements and aspirations of the communities for which they were

produced. What is suggested is that it is possible to differentiate individual parks as well as the production of the parks network as a whole by the application of a class analysis that distinguishes the design, location, maintenance and regulation of parks spaces as dependent upon the class of their intended users. The potential for the development of the public parks network in the city being the focus for conflict and contestation through the perception, real or imagined, that one class benefited in the provision of amenities and the distribution of resources, at the expense of others, was a very real manifestation of class antagonism over the allocation of municipal resources. The following will demonstrate the potential for class conflict over the production and development of the public parks as municipally owned and provided open spaces in the city.

The first such 'class' conflict revolved around the development of the first municipal park. For centuries the public ownership of Glasgow Green and its free use by the citizens of all classes of the city had led to conflict over the need to develop, provide and pay for facilities as well as the control and regulation of activities that could occur within it. Various 19th century schemes and enquiries into the possibility of extracting coal and 'fire-clay' from under the Green never came to fruition after being met with vehement opposition from the inhabitants of the East End who feared that the Green would be lost or severely damaged in the process. The most detailed scheme to mine the estimated 1½ million tons of coal deposited under the Green was proposed by James Cleland in a series of Reports to the Corporation between 1822 and 1836.⁸¹ Whilst the scheme was not acted upon at that time, in 1858 John McDowell, the owner of the Milton Iron Works, proposed that Cleland's scheme be re-introduced to allay the cost of purchasing and laying out the land for the West End and South Side Parks as well as the new Art Gallery to be built to house and display the former Provost McClellan's art collection, which he had donated to the city. The motion was approved by a majority of the Council that the scheme be implemented to more than offset the costs incurred by these developments. The resulting subsidence caused by the mining of coal (estimated at a one foot drop for every two feet excavated), it was argued, could easily be filled by Glasgow's rubbish. The plan was then to turn Glasgow Green into a public rubbish tip for a generation in order to pay for parks in the richer parts of the city. A wealthy tea merchant and East End Councillor, Bailie James Moir (known as the 'Gallowgate Slasher' because of his low prices), led the opposition to

⁸¹ Cleland produced a number of reports to the Council in respect of the minerals, including coal, that were to be found under the Green as well as the feasibility and consequences of mining these reserves.

See J. Cleland, Report Respecting the Improvements in the Green of Glasgow with an Account of its Minerals, 1828.

Cleland, J. Boring for coal in the Green, Report to the Hon. the Lord Provost, magistrates, and Council of Glasgow, Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow, 1822, (Mu24-y.19).

Cleland, J. Extracts From Dr. Cleland's Report Of Improvements In The Public Green Of Glasgow, submitted to members of Council, in reference to Mr. Hugh Tennent's motion as to working the coal in the Green, Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow, 1834. (Mu 2 - g.43).

Cleland, J. Account of the Minerals, etc. in the Public Green, Easter and Wester Common, Petershill, etc. Belonging to the Corporation of Glasgow, with the Reports of the Various Engineers Employed to Examine Them, Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow, 1836. (Mu22-a.16).

the plan to deprive the poor to pay for the privileges of the rich. Popular sentiment and anger at the plan was expressed in contemporary songs published in the east end. One such known as ‘Airn John’⁸² (John McDowell’s nickname) clearly expressed the working class opposition to the plan to build a park for the rich in the West End at the expense of the poor of the east whose only access to open space was the Glasgow Green. It reads as follows:

Airn John

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| <p>Airn John, since that’s your name, Let me say this to thee; Ye’d better try some ither scheme, An’ let the green a be. Look at it yourself John Is’t no dishonest wark O you, to sell the Glasgow Green To pay the west-end Park.</p> <p>But honest men like you, John, Are unco laith to steal Frae big folk like ye’re sell’ John Ye’er unco laith at weel.</p> <p>Ye’d rather skin the puir, John Who has nae second sark Ye’d pu’ the buttons aff oor coats,</p> | <p>To pay the west-end park If ye maun sink a pit, John, Sink it in George Square, Or sink it in the crescents John, Amang the rich folk there, An’ they’ll be highly pleased, John. To see sic noble wark, Gaun on amang thesel’s, John, To pay the west-end park.</p> <p>If ye come to the Green, John, Ye may expect a fecht For a’ the folk in this gate-en, Ill stan’ oot for their richt. Wi’ sticks an’ stanes, we’ll come John An’ fecht while we’ve got spark; Ye’ll never get the Glasgow Green To pay the west-end park.</p> |
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Other epistles in favour of the Green can also be found that demonstrated the anger and antipathy of many working class citizens to plans to develop suburban parks at the expense of the Peoples Park of Glasgow Green, such as that below:

Glasgow Green, with her beautiful walks, her refreshing springs, her traditional sights, her splendid views, her grandeur and majestic worth is she to be broken up, annihilated and swept from the face of the earth forever? No! It cannot be. Surely they will not deprive the citizens of Glasgow of the Green, which for centuries, has proved so much benefit to them as a place of resort for pleasure; where youth can freely gambol, sport and play, where age can slowly bend their peaceful steps and breathe the fresh air of heaven. When our humble artisan, after a day’s incarceration in the foul and poisonous air of the city, finishes his daily toil and bethinks himself for a stroll, where can he go but the Green? If it were but for this alone the Green could stand unmolested, for were it not for the working man, there would be no West End Park ... Taking all the benefits of this noble place into consideration, we think it highly improbable that the authorities of Glasgow will touch it, save for its improvement and cultivation.⁸³

The threat of violent resistance to the scheme to mine coal was also backed up with threats to invade the genteel surroundings of the West End park by the angry and embittered residents of the East End, Glasgow Green’s most vociferous defenders. The following

⁸² ‘Airn John’, 12 June 1858, in the Poets Box Collection, Mitchell Library cited in King, op. cit. 1985, p.30.
⁸³ ‘The Diggings in Glasgow Green’, 3rd April, 1858, in the Poets Box Collection, Mitchell Library, cited in King, 1985, op. cit., p. 31.

lengthy extract from the Glasgow Daily Herald of Wednesday, 18th July 1860, demonstrates that the potential for conflict over the parks was recognised as rooted in the disparate class experiences and perceptions of Glasgow's population. The Herald author makes clear that regardless of Moir's intention, the threat to 'fair and reasonable use' to Kelvingrove Park was a threat of destroying "the beauties, the attractions and the positive usefulness of Kelvingrove Park ... [as] ... a flower garden and ornamental policy" that, does not apply to the unrestricted use of the Green. There is then a clear distinction made between the Park and the Green, one that is heavily inscribed with class perspectives:

The beautiful grounds of Kelvingrove have not been infrequently in the mind and voice of the community since the beneficial project was started of converting them into a public park ... Our people are proud of this Park; it is pleasing and health giving to ourselves, and it is a feather in our cap in the eye of strangers, for there is little so good, and nothing superior to it, in connection with any large town in the kingdom. But just when provision has been made for payment of all the bills, and when everything has been made compact and comfortable, the Park runs the various risk of being damaged by a gentleman who has the best intentions in the world. Mr Moir, we observe, has given notice that he will move in the Town Council for the granting of a fair and reasonable use of the surface of Kelvingrove Park for recreation and amusement. At the first glance this project wears an amiable and benevolent aspect; but a very little consideration may show that should this motion be carried, the beauties, the attractions and the positive usefulness of Kelvingrove Park are likely to be affected in a most prejudicial way ... But the cases of Glasgow Green and Kelvingrove Park are materially different. The former extends to upwards of 100 acres, the latter to barely 45. The Green is generally a flat, open expanse, to which the inhabitants have had almost unrestricted access for generation. But the Park may be fitly termed a flower garden and ornamental policy ... The Park itself, as we all know, is laid out in a series of terraces, descending gradually from the summit level to the Kelvin. There are no fewer than eighty seats, or benches, set down in the shade of the trees, on which the aged or tired may rest and repose; and the springs rival in purity those of the Banduaian fountain. ... Now, being honestly interpreted, the 'fair and reasonable use' of the surface of Kelvingrove means that every unit in a population of 400,000 may take his will of it - that the multitude may tattoo its beautiful face and rut its sward by beaten track in all direction - may trample upon its flower beds, and scramble thousands strong amongst the branches of its trees, and damage, if not obliterate those features for which we prize Kelvingrove so highly. As it is, this Park or parterre is an honour to the city, and surely the citizens may enjoy all its blessings, and admire its foliage, its flowers and its verdant sward without asking liberty to lie on top of them. But until Mr Moir felt himself moved by the spirit of benevolence we never heard that any fault had been found with the reasonable restrictions that have been requisite alike for the enjoyment and the preservation of the place. We have not heard in this instance of that free expression of opinion, the birthright of every Briton, which works itself out in an indignation meeting with a tail, a powerful resolution, to be followed by a deputation which presents to the Municipal Conscript. Rather something which looks quite as much like a threat as a petition. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that the Park as it stands, and as it is now regulated, is admired and appreciated by the whole body of the people - as well as the patrician who looks down upon it from his Italian mansion in the Terrace, as by the humble artisan who works in Anderston or Cowcaddens; and it is a matter of fact that, when the 'summer days are prime', these same artisans, with their wives and little ones, take their pleasure in it to the amount of 20,000 on a single Sunday. They find its walks, cut out in all directions through scenes of freshness and beauty, are quite enough for them.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Glasgow Daily Herald of Wednesday, 18th July 1860.

The whole episode involving the coal extraction scheme emphasised the class divisions involved in the creation of the first public park, seen as a bourgeois park, at the seeming expense of the People's Park of the Green. The city authorities faced with such opposition dropped the plan to mine for coal on the Green but it was resurrected in 1869 and 1888, again without coming to fruition. The seeming class disparity in the provision of parks was ameliorated somewhat in the period after the 1878 Glasgow Public Parks Act eventually produced parks of real benefit for and in working class communities. However, it may be argued that it took concerted pressure and campaigning both from advocates within the corporation as well as the public itself before accessible and appropriately designed public parks were comprehensively provided for working class communities. For example, as mentioned previously, J.B. Russell, the second Medical Officer of Health, campaigned for improvements in the city's environment. Through the publication of pamphlets and public lectures he sought to shape opinion by appealing to the conscience as well as the self-interest of those whose views were important in influencing civic policy.⁸⁵ The eventual provision of parks for and in working class communities whilst not being invested with the same status as well as facilities as the wealthier suburban communities, did seek to meet the needs and wishes of the majority of the population by providing areas for sport and recreation. Some contained bandstands, winter gardens, statues, fountains and galleries and museums, but overall the emphasis was less on ornamentation than on spaces for active healthy pursuits. However, despite these positive developments, there were still objections raised as to the unbalanced provision of amenity spaces for the working class citizens of the east end at the turn of the century. The acquisition of Tollcross and Richmond Parks in 1897 and 1898 respectively was acknowledged as attempting to meet these demands for parity and were accompanied by a statement of municipal intent that recognised public criticisms of their park provision policy:

Residenters of the east end have no reason to grumble at the provision made for them by the Corporation in the matter of parks and open spaces. It is well that this is so, as the great mass of the population in the east end is of the working class, who have neither the time nor the money to seek the advantages of the fresh breezes further afield. To have beautiful flowers and green fields at the door is an inestimable boon. To 'Let Glasgow Flourish' might be added Let Glasgow's Parks Flourish and increase in number, a sentiment that has many adherents.⁸⁶

This recognition of the need to provide parks and open spaces specifically for working class communities was an acknowledgment that their need for open space was as great if not greater than their more affluent neighbours. In the 20th century the widespread

⁸⁵ "Have we not all been children? Are our Members of Parliament and Town Councillors some strange order of beings who sprang like Minerva, full grown, into life, and had no experience of nurseries, or playgrounds, or cricket fields." J.B. Russell, "The Children of the City", No. 6 in the Seventh Series of Health Lectures for the People, delivered under the auspices of the Edinburgh Health Society, in *Public Health Administration in Glasgow*, 1895, p. 320.

⁸⁶ Noremac, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

development of new housing schemes included within or near them parks, recreation grounds and or playgrounds as an integral part of their construction. These parks and amenity spaces varied enormously in size and in the facilities and the features that were included within them. They could be comprehensively planned and equipped for a variety of sports and recreations or amount only to areas of grass, trees and shrubs. What can be concluded is that in the history of the origins and development of the parks network, it is possible to identify individual and types of parks that represent class interests, tastes, aspirations and perceived needs designed or containing features and facilities that can be associated with class interests and the perceived leisure activities and pursuits of perspective users. The maintenance and regulation of these different park spaces can also indicate the planned activities and pursuits for which they were designed, and these may in turn serve as indicators as to the class association of the park(s) in question. The representation of parks as spaces designed to fulfil a number of diverse functions is reflected in the discourses presented. This designed intention, it is demonstrated, had the potential to lead to conflict over the meanings, values and uses that were attached to individual parks.

The byelaws adopted by the Corporation and reproduced here as an appendix make clear that policing the parks was a serious consideration in their provision as public spaces. As such, transgressions of the byelaws were dealt with rigorously in accordance with the penalties and sanctions allowed by the legislation. The problems of the control and regulation of urban populations, for example from threats to public order and decency, seem inherent in the provisions of a number of the byelaws as they relate to the public parks. The possibility of political assembly and activity provided by public parks, which served as a focus for large number of people, was viewed with alarm by the civic authorities.

Glasgow Green is well recognised as the most important gathering place in the West of Scotland for the public to express their sentiments. Demonstrations in support of the Chartists, temperance, electoral reform, Irish Nationalists, Orangemen and radical causes, as well as a host of other political events, have taken place on the Green. This role and the affection in which the people of Glasgow hold it was emphasised in many accounts of the Green:

It may be regarded as the central park of the city, and on every side it is surrounded by dense population. The Green is esteemed as peculiarly the birthright and property of the people, and the east ender watches over it with a jealous care which is almost savage in its manifestations. By use and wont, rights and privileges have been established on the Green – as sacred in the eyes of their possessors as they are shaky from a legal point of view – and the mere moving of an orators chair from one side of a railing to another has been known to occasion a riot. The Green is the Areopagus of the east end; although it

cannot be said the frequenters of its sward spend their time in hearing what is entirely new. There the fervid Orangeman denounces unweariedly the Pope and all his doings, and nightly he goes over, point by point, against his Romanist antagonist, the whole argument of the well-thumbed 'Hammersmith Discussion': there the blatant atheist with ease bowls over the enthusiastic but simple minded soldier of the Salvation Army: there the fiery radical pours withering scorn on the present Government; there the indignant but long-suffering rate-payer – who probably dwells in a lodging house and who pays no local rates, but who contributes liberally to Her Majesty's revenue – denounces the blood-sucking Council: there the pure-minded teetotaller rails fiercely against the whisky shop: there every faddist, every crank, and every quack finds a stand and an audience. The Green area is a marvellous and valuable institution, giving free course and comparatively harmless outlet to sentiment and opinions which otherwise might sometimes attain explosive force. It is a safety valve which should find a place in every community.⁸⁷

Glasgow Green was the principal meeting place for a large number of overtly political events; for example 100,000 marched on the Green in 1831 in support of the Parliamentary Reform Bill and 60,000 demonstrated there in 1920 against the new Rent Act as part of the National Rent Strike. The need to regulate and proscribe against the possibility that unregulated political meeting could degenerate into unlawful activity appeared implicit in the development of byelaws proscribing meetings, orations, lectures, services etc. in the parks unless previous permission had been granted. Thus there was an attempt to permit some groups to use the parks for collective activity whilst others were banned. For example, the right of public assembly on Glasgow Green was revoked in 1927 and was not restored until 1932. The overtly political use of the parks for meetings and events presents an interpretation of the parks as political spaces in that their appropriation can be considered political if and when it conflicts with the designed intentions or regulation of the parks. The power and authority of the Corporation to regulate activities, especially political activities, was challenged both in the parks by actions and activities that contravened the byelaws and in the courts by various groups and individuals. The following is an account of just such a challenge made by individuals expressing an explicit acknowledgement that the power to delimit and regulate space was a political power and that public parks were understood by different groups, classes, organisations or individuals as political spaces.

John Quinn, George Hepburn, and Guy Aldred, on the 6th of July 1924, and Peter Colin Blair McIntyre, John Quinn, George Hepburn, and Guy Aldred, on 13th July 1924, took part in a meeting of the Scottish Workers' Republican Party at the Nelson Monument, Glasgow Green, in which they addressed members of the public without the written

⁸⁷ J. Paton, "A Peoples Palace", Museums Association Annual Report, 1898" cited in King, 1985, op. cit., pp. 27-8. It was similarly described in a later account of this role of the Peoples Park as

"... the public forum where it is exercised that liberty of speech which is said to make for the safety of the realm. In this respect it may be called the Hyde Park of Glasgow, where on a Sunday the voice of the religious and political orator may be heard declaiming against theories of life and conduct other than his own with the wisdom of a Plato and the elegance of a Demosthenes." J. G. Kerr, (ed.), Glasgow – Sketches by various authors, The British Association for the Advancement of Science Glasgow, McElhose and Co., 1928) pp. 36-7.

authority of the Corporation, contrary to the byelaws for the 'good government and regulation of the public parks, gardens, recreation grounds, open spaces,' enacted under the powers conferred upon them by the Glasgow Corporation Parks Acts. Specifically, Byelaws No. 20 and 32,⁸⁸ in which each was liable to a penalty not exceeding £5, or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding thirty days. Aldred had published an Open Letter, entitled "Glasgow Free Speech Fight", and arranged the meeting to challenge the authority of the Corporation to make and enforce such byelaws that interfered with the right of free speech in Glasgow Green on the grounds that the Green was a common bequeathed to the citizens of the city, and as such was not a public park to be regulated under the various Public Parks Acts appropriate to the city. Therefore, they did not need prior written permission to hold a meeting or address members of the public. Lord Anderson in the judgement in favour of the Corporation stated that Glasgow Green was a public park and that the byelaws in question were legal, and that

the paramount purpose for which Glasgow Green exists is recreation, not the holding of public meetings. If there be indiscriminate and uncontrolled assertion of the right of public meeting, this would, or might, defeat the paramount purpose for which the Green exists. Surely, then, it is proper that the magistrates should decide when and by whom the right of public meeting should be exercised.⁸⁹

Guy Aldred, in a similar challenge to the authority of the Corporation to regulate the Green for public meetings, organised a demonstration at the Nelson Monument on Glasgow Green on the 5th July 1931. He had pleaded not guilty and after evidence was heard was fined £3, with the alternative of twenty days in prison, on the 4th August 1931 at the Central Police Court in Glasgow. The facts of the case were stated in the appeal in the High Court of Justiciary heard on the 5th November 1931 by the Lord Justice-General, Lords Sands and Blackburn, against the Corporation's right to regulate public meetings on the Green:

On Sunday, 5th July 1931, a large demonstration consisting of five to six thousand persons was observed by police officers approaching Glasgow Green, one of the public parks of the city of Glasgow. The officers followed the demonstrators, who entered the Green and proceeded as far as the Nelson Monument, where, from an improvised platform, the appellant, as well as the other accused, lectured to the crowd. The accused Andrew Reilly acted as chairman, and each speaker spoke from five to fifteen minutes, the subjects being "Free Speech" and the "Imprisonment of the Tramp Preachers". The meeting, which lasted from 3.15 P.M. until 5 P.M., was quite an orderly one, and during its progress a collection was taken by means of a hat. The name of each speaker was taken by the police officers, and all frankly admitted that they had not the written

⁸⁸ Byelaws 20 and 32 are as follows:

20. No person shall, in any of the parks, sing, preach, lecture, or take part in any service, discussion, meeting, or demonstration, or hold any exhibition or public show, for any purpose whatsoever, or play any musical instrument, except with the written authority of the Corporation or the superintendent, and then only on such places as may from time to time be by the Corporation or the superintendent set apart by notice for such purposes.

32. Every person contravening any of the foregoing byelaws, or of the notices before referred to, shall, for each offence, be liable to a penalty not exceeding five pounds.

⁸⁹ Aldred v Miller, 1925, Scots Law Times Reports on CD, W. Green and Son, Edinburgh, pp. 33 – 39, p. 38.

authority of the Corporation or the Director of Parks for the holding of said meeting as required by No. 20 of the bye-laws ... Neither the appellant nor any of the other accused, with the exception of the accused Daniel Lanaghan, had ever at any time applied to the Corporation or the Director of Parks for such a written authority. An application by the accused Lanaghan to hold a meeting in the Green on 1st May last under the auspices of the Irish Labour League was refused by the Parks Committee of the Corporation. Lanaghan's object in going to the Green on 5th July 1931 was to protest against this refusal. Between the years 1916 and 1931, 116 applications for permits to hold meetings in Glasgow Green have been made to the Corporation. Of that number 94 were granted and 22 refused.⁹⁰

Lord Justice Clyde similarly stated in his judgement that

Broadly speaking, public parks are provided in the interests of the health of a city population - as the city's 'lungs', to use a common expression - and for recreation from the crowded labours of an urban population. It is therefore inevitable that the power of regulation should include the prohibition of the use of the parks for purposes which are, or may be, inconsistent with, or detrimental or alien to, these general interests, or which may be harmful to the parks themselves. The Corporation's bye-laws contain many examples of prohibitory regulation of this kind besides Byelaw No. 20 - Byelaw No. 9, for instance, which prohibits any person from bringing a dog into a public park except on leash; and also many examples of prohibitory regulations which are subject to exception by way of special permission - Byelaw No. 18, for instance, which prohibits picnics in a public park without special permission. All these byelaws are, I think, plainly *intra vires* of a corporation empowered to regulate, by byelaw, the public parks under its administration and the public resorting thereto.⁹¹

Lord Blackburn agreed and stated unequivocally that the rights of the population to use a city's public spaces was not unlimited nor was it unreasonable for the civic authorities to seek to regulate them for the benefits of all:

The use of a public place in a great city is common to all, and is not confined to those only who desire to hold meetings and collect a crowd around them. It seems therefore very proper that the Corporation should have the power to regulate and control the use of a public place for such purposes by individual members of the public.⁹²

The power to create the 'rules of the game' for the use of the public parks was thus tested and found to be a legitimate political power that is expressed in the delimiting of the space of the parks and in the control and regulation of activities within them. This power, as illustrated above, does not go unchallenged. The selection and implementation of rules for the appropriate use of the parks implies that all of the users of the parks either can or do know that the rules exist and accept that they apply to all. The Corporation sought, throughout their existence, to educate the public in the proper use of the parks. Thus, the display of the byelaws and notices of regulations were prominent in the parks and, with the increasing popularity of cinema, short public relations films were produced and projected in cinemas throughout the city.⁹³ However, these rules change and adapt in a dynamic

⁹⁰ *Aldred v Langmuir*, 1931, *Scots Law Times Reports on CD*, W. Green and Son, Edinburgh, pp. 603 - 610, p. 604.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 608.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 610.

⁹³ One such is "Our Public Parks", a silent black and white Public Information Film from 1949 in which various examples of good and bad

relationship with the changing needs, expectations, uses and practices of the population of the city through time. For example, the Corporation in the first decades of municipal park provision sought to limit sport being played in the parks. By the end of the century the Council became the most important provider of sporting facilities and the promotion of sport as healthy recreation. As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, everyday uses and practices of public space can subvert official, dominant representations and lead to changes in the meanings and values that inhere and attach to them.

5.6: The Discourse of Competitiveness

The public parks were important manifestations of the commitment of the municipal authorities and civic society in the social and physical infrastructure and landscape of the city for the purposes of improving the medical and moral health of the people and the urban environment. The parks were also important in projecting an image of the city that was ultimately considered beneficial to the commercial success of the city and its business community. The promotion of competitiveness discourse entailed the representation of the parks as beneficial to the status and image of the city, specifically the use of the parks as venues for 'great exhibitions'. Glasgow hosted four large-scale international exhibitions in 1888, 1901, 1911 and 1938, all of which used public parks as venues. The first three exhibitions were located in Kelvingrove Park whilst the latter was held in Bellahouston Park. Each exhibition was a triumph of design and style and served a multitude of functions. They promoted the industry and commerce of the city; they attracted visitors and encouraged tourism; they educated and entertained and projected the city's identity and image to the world that sought to enhance its prestige as 'Second City of Empire' and 'Workshop of the World'. This was an important practical and pragmatic utilisation of the space of the parks in the promotion of an image of the city to the outside world as cultured and civilised as well as a successful industrial, manufacturing and commercial centre. This 'selling of the city' through the staging of exhibitions was an important feature of inter-urban competition in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Details of each of Glasgow's Great Exhibitions will be given below but a brief contextualisation of the phenomena of world fairs is pertinent to the experience of Glasgow's staging of such events. The '*Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations*' in London in 1851 inaugurated the era of international expositions. Paxton's innovative Crystal Palace provided the backdrop in which the attempt to exhibit the international achievement of human ingenuity married the Victorian ideals of the promotion of art and industry as indicative of the progress of civilisation to the tastes,

values and attitudes of the increasingly powerful dynamism of the middle classes. Thus competitiveness and materialism were bound up with patriotism and imperial chauvinism in the expectation of the commercial benefits to be accrued from the opportunity of an international 'shop-window' for goods, products and services. However, the 1851 exhibition also sought to educate and entertain the millions of visitors who attended by providing a forum for the dissemination of ideas and information on new products, processes, art forms and architecture, as well as a certain anthropological element. After the 1851 Exhibition in London, Dublin staged a great Exhibition of Art and Industry in 1853 and the International Exhibition of Art and Industries in 1865, following a further London Exhibition in 1862. New York held the first American International Exhibition in 1853, but it was Paris that was to become the world's premier city for exhibitions in the 19th century. Major events were held in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900. Other cities staging international events included Vienna in 1873, St Louis, 1904, Berlin, 1896, Dresden, 1903, San Francisco, 1915.⁹⁴ Such enthusiasm for world fairs and exhibitions is at least in part, as Simmel emphasised in his consideration of the Berlin Trade Exhibition of 1896, a means by which the city came to represent the world and itself to the world through the collection and display of the world's wares:

It is a particular attraction of world fairs that they form a momentary centre of world civilisation, assembling the products of the entire world in a confined space as if in a single picture. Put the other way round, a single city has broadened into the totality of cultural production. No important product is missing, and though much of the material and the samples have been brought together from the whole world they have attained a conclusive form and become part of a single whole. Thus it becomes clear what is meant by a 'world city' ... [t]hat is, a single city to which the whole world sends its products and where all important styles of the present cultural world are put on display.⁹⁵

What will be demonstrated is that in Glasgow the city authorities, business and commercial interests all enthusiastically embraced the ideals, goals and values inherent in the production of such exhibitions as having a positive benefit for the city. Glasgow's four exhibitions in 1888, 1901, 1911 and 1938 "shared the same mutually reinforcing aims of all major exhibitions: to promote industry and commerce; to attract tourism; to educate; to entertain; and in general to project the city's identity and enhance its prestige".⁹⁶ Detailed facts and figures for all four exhibitions are given in Appendix 8, but it is important to provide descriptions and illustrations that demonstrate that the parks, albeit temporarily transformed into spectacular and fantastic landscapes, were fundamental in providing the space in which they could occur and represent the aspirations and achievements of the city.

⁹⁴ Further details of chronology of world fairs can be found in B. Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, London, Scolar Press, 1983; and J. Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions*, Studio Vista, London, 1977.

⁹⁵ G. Simmel, "The Berlin Trade Exhibition", in Frisby and Featherstone, op. cit., p.256.

⁹⁶ P. Kinchin and J. Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, Oxford, White Cockade Publishing, 1988, p. 13.

This staging of the exhibitions in the parks also had implications for their eventual development and layout after the events, as well as cementing in the minds of visitors, Glasgow citizens and outsiders alike the fundamental role of the public parks as venues, sites and fora for cultural and leisure pursuits that contrasted somewhat with the promotional aims of the city authorities. The former will be considered in the following chapter.

The 1888 International Exhibition

Civic rivalry, particularly with Edinburgh, which had staged an International Exhibition in 1886, and with Manchester, an industrial competitor whose Royal Jubilee Exhibition of 1887 was a success, proved a spur to the city authorities to stage an international exhibition in 1888. The status of the city at the end of the 19th century as the ‘Workshop of the World’ and ‘Second City of Empire’ was to be reinforced and celebrated by the staging of its first exhibition.⁹⁷ The general stated aims of the Exhibition were “to promote and foster science and Art, by exciting the inventive genius of our people” and “to stimulate commercial enterprise by inviting all nations to exhibit their Products both in the raw and finished state”.⁹⁸ It was to be the largest exhibition held in Britain since the London Exhibition of 1862, and the Prince and Princess of Wales conducted the obligatory Royal opening to the Exhibition on the 8th May. Whilst most of the visitors and contributors to the Exhibition were expected to come from the vicinity of Glasgow, it was part of the intended aims of the organisers to encourage visitors and tourists from further afield.

The city’s impressive and extensive communications and transport facilities and its proximity to the newly popularised Scottish countryside were promoted as part of the attraction of visiting the Exhibition. A further specific aim of the Exhibition was to raise money to build a new Art Gallery, Museum and School of Art, seen as a necessary adjunct to the growing status and prestige of the city. The municipal collection of fine art, natural and industrial history had long outgrown the limited gallery and museum accommodation available in the city. Thus the ideology of Glasgow’s 1888 International Exhibition was to promote the general level of wealth and prosperity in the city through the display and celebration of art, education and industry, by promoting the city as an internationally successful, industrial and commercial city as well as a visitor attraction and base for tourists to the nearby lochs and Highlands.

⁹⁷ Thanks are due to Stanley K. Hunter for giving up his time and for trusting me with a manuscript of his book, *Kelvingrove and the 1888 Exhibition*, and for allowing access to his collection of ephemera from the exhibition.

⁹⁸ Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit. p. 19.

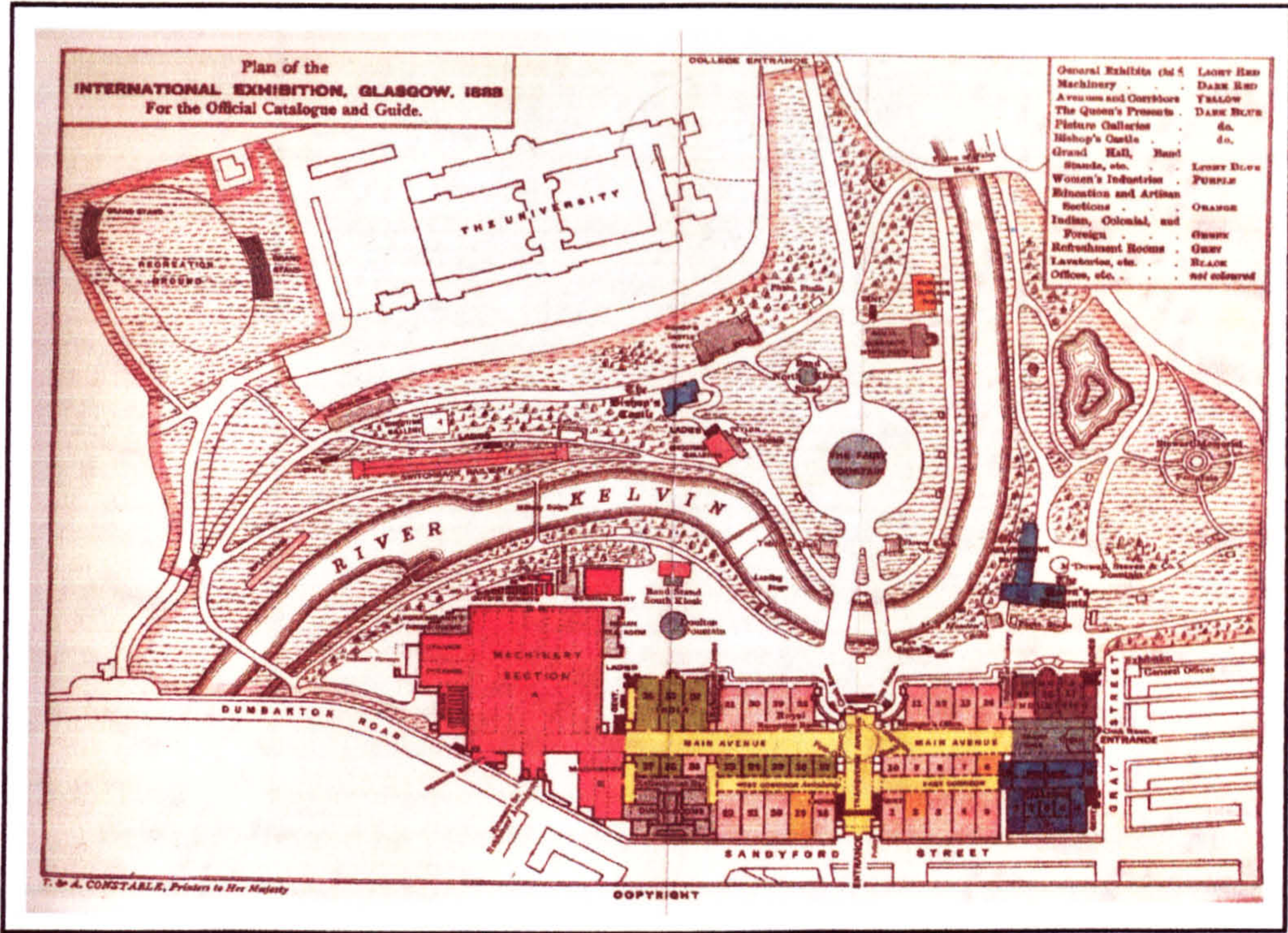


Figure 5.8: Plan of the 1888 International Exhibition ⁹⁹

The competition to design the Exhibition was won by a local architect James Sellars who divided it into three main parts – an international industrial section, Fine Art and Scottish Antiquities. The industrial section covered a range of manufacturing from heavy engineering and chemicals to lace making and embroidery, with the bulk of the contributions coming from local enterprises. The ‘international’ nature of the exhibition was provided mostly from the Empire with only a limited number of foreign contributors including a few American firms, some French, Germans and Italians, Viennese, Dutch and Danish. Thus there were extensive exhibits from Canada, India, Australia and South Africa. The most truly international part of the Exhibition was the large Women’s Art and Industries section which was located near the Grand Hall and “adopted the serious aim of promoting opportunities of gainful employment for women, particularly ‘educated’ women, displaying work in fields like typewriting, wood engraving and other crafts which were now respectably open to them.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ibid. pp. 23–4.
¹⁰⁰ Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit., p. 38.



Figure 5.9: Cover of the Official Catalogue for the 1888 International Exhibition¹⁰¹

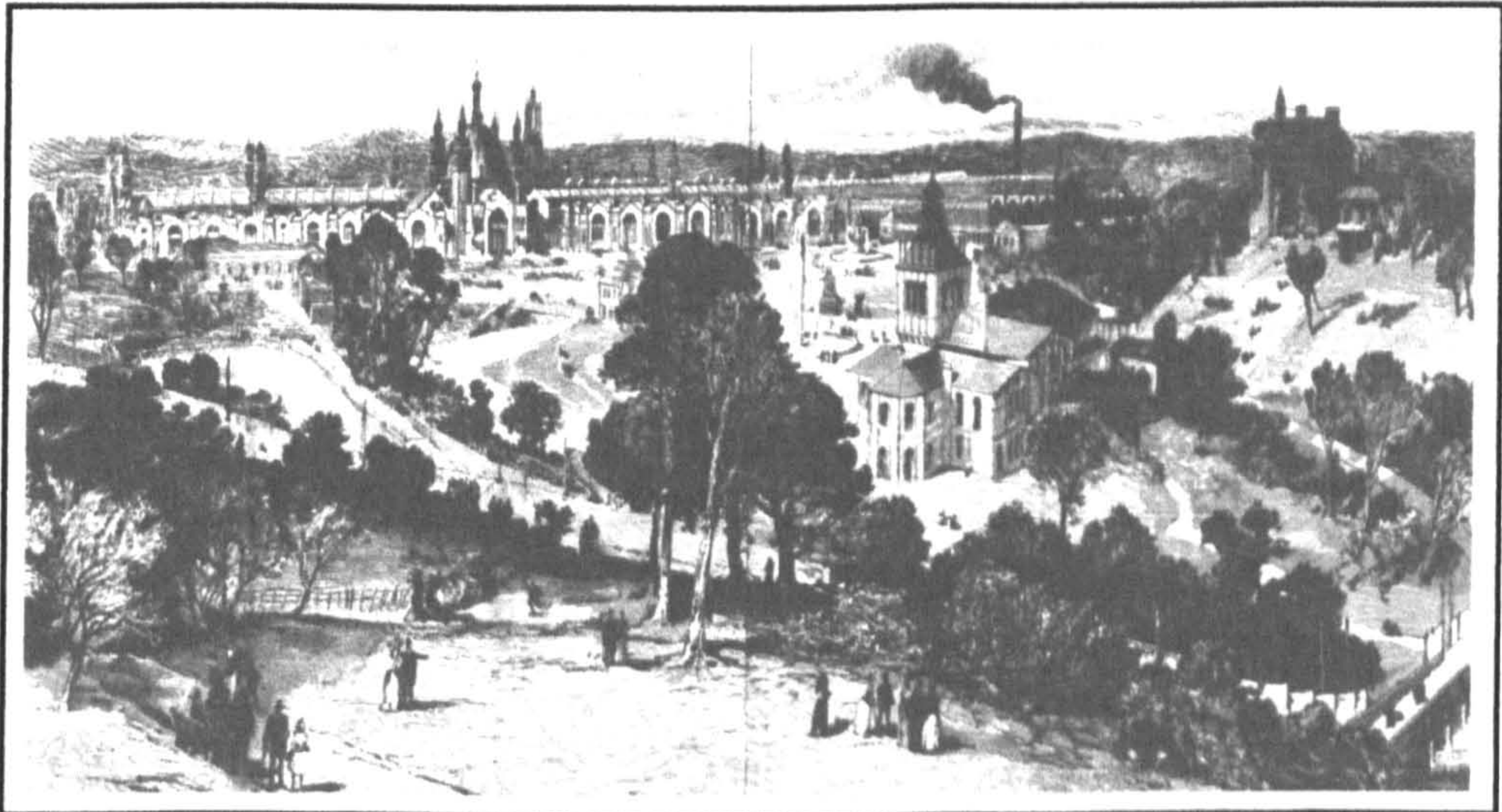


Figure 5.10: Panorama of the 1888 Exhibition¹⁰²

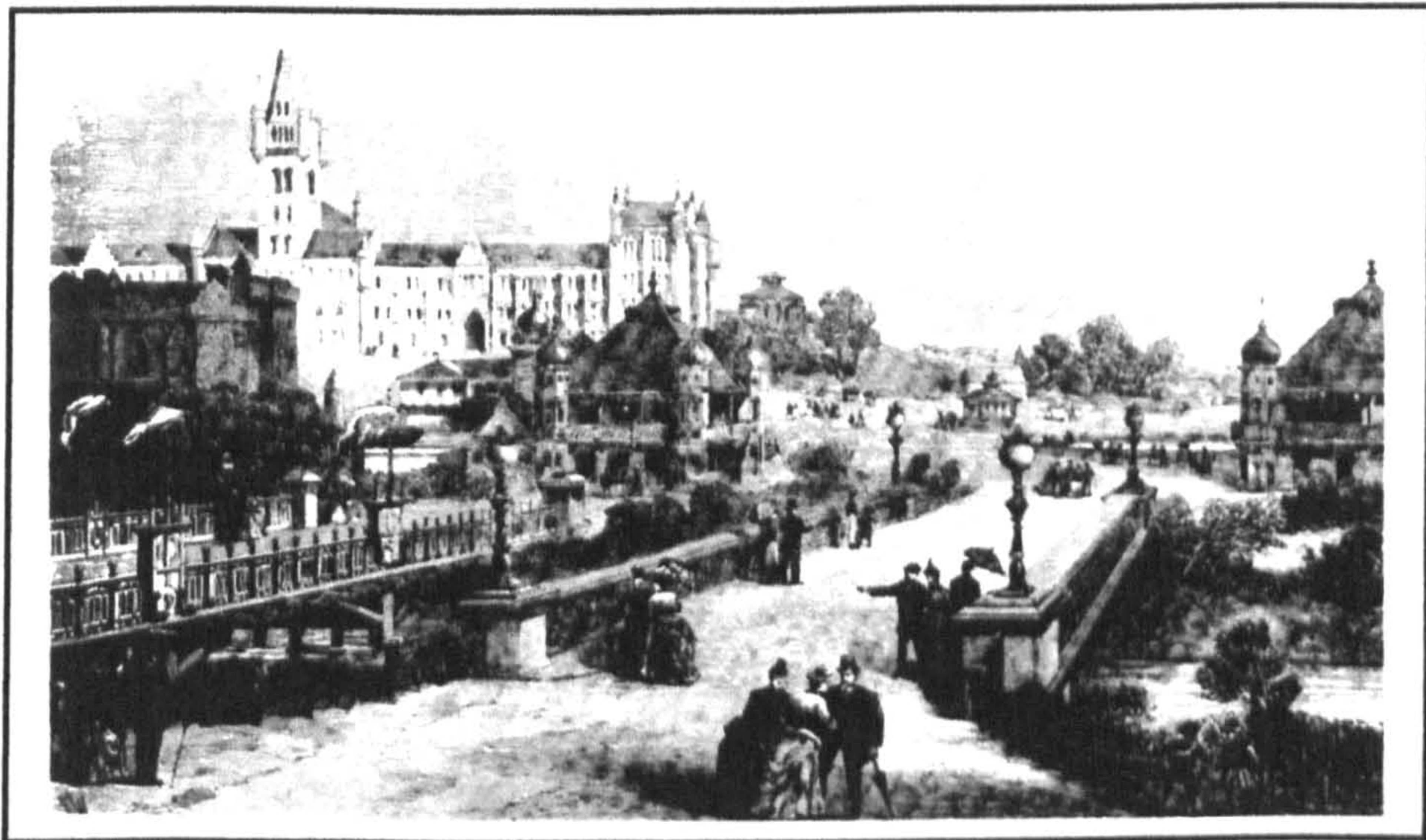
The exhibition site was dominated by Sellers 'Eastern Palace' (or 'Baghdad on the Kelvin' as it became universally known in the city) which adopted a Moorish style complete with minarets, towers and a huge dome, made of iron, 80 feet in diameter and over 150 feet in height. The Fine Art Galleries included exhibitions of watercolours, oil paintings, sculpture, photography and architectural drawings which were on loan from British and foreign collections, as well as articles for sale at the end of the Exhibition. The Scottish Antiquities section was housed in The Bishops Castle, a re-creation made from timber, plaster and paint of the demolished Episcopal residence that had once stood at the

¹⁰¹ Reproduction of the original from the J. Kinghorn, *Centenary Celebration of the 1888 International Exhibition*, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1988.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 51.

Cathedral. Its rooms were furnished and decorated in a number period of styles and were filled with a huge variety of items lent by town corporations, museums and individuals from across Scotland. The huge number and variety of the exhibits as well as the extensive nature of the Exhibition required that refreshments were available in a variety of places and forms. These were designed to cater for the tastes and budgets of all visitors, but, as Glasgow was at the centre of the Temperance Movement in Scotland, only one licence to sell liquor was given to a George Mackenzie, who profited substantially from his monopoly. However, there were plenty of non-alcoholic alternatives including Jenkins Temperance Refreshment Rooms ('Working Men's Dining-Rooms' on the Exhibition plan), the genteel Royal Bungalow, a Bachelor's (men-only') Café, the large Bishop's Palace Temperance Café run J. Lyons and Co., The Indian and the Ceylon tearooms, Van Houten's Dutch cocoa house Lipton's Working Dairy complete with 'scientific' milkmaids. Also popular were two oriental kiosks on either side of the main bridge from which a Mr Assafrey "provided chocolate, ban-buns and ices, whilst Mr Howell catered for the smoker"¹⁰³ (see figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11: View North from the Main Building showing the two 'oriental' refreshment kiosks¹⁰⁴



The 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition

The second of Glasgow's 'great exhibitions' was again held in Kelvingrove Park and was intended to build on the success of the first as well as to inaugurate the opening of the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. The centrepiece of the Exhibition was to be Simpson and Allen's new Art Gallery and Museum, and was hailed in the Official

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 46.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 17.

Catalogue as “one of the most elaborate edifices devoted to Art in Europe”.¹⁰⁵ The beginning of the new century was considered an appropriate time for the celebration of the city’s status as ‘the first municipality in the world and the second city of the British Empire’, to demonstrate the progress in Industry, Science and Art of all nations in the 19th century and from which the new century would hopefully build, held appropriately, in the jubilee year of the Great Crystal Palace Exhibition. The 1901 Exhibition was to move away from the traditional exhibition style of trying to house all of the exhibits under one roof by the use of individual pavilions that emphasised new developments in presentation and display, and was described as the “breaking away from the gingerbread show-case style of design which has hitherto been considered elegant and appropriate, . . . a happy augury of the closer relation which may be expected to exist between Art and Commerce in the new century”.¹⁰⁶ The educational purpose of the Exhibition was unmistakably linked to the commercial benefit of local contributors faced with increasing foreign competition, as illustrated in the following contemporary press account:

The British workman is no dullard . . . who knows that our own Clyde workmen may improve on the machines they will set here - and thereby bring credit and increased prosperity to our grand old city. The educational value of the Exhibition cannot be overestimated, and if it only has the effect of stimulating the energies of our workmen, the Executive will feel that their labours have not been in vain.¹⁰⁷

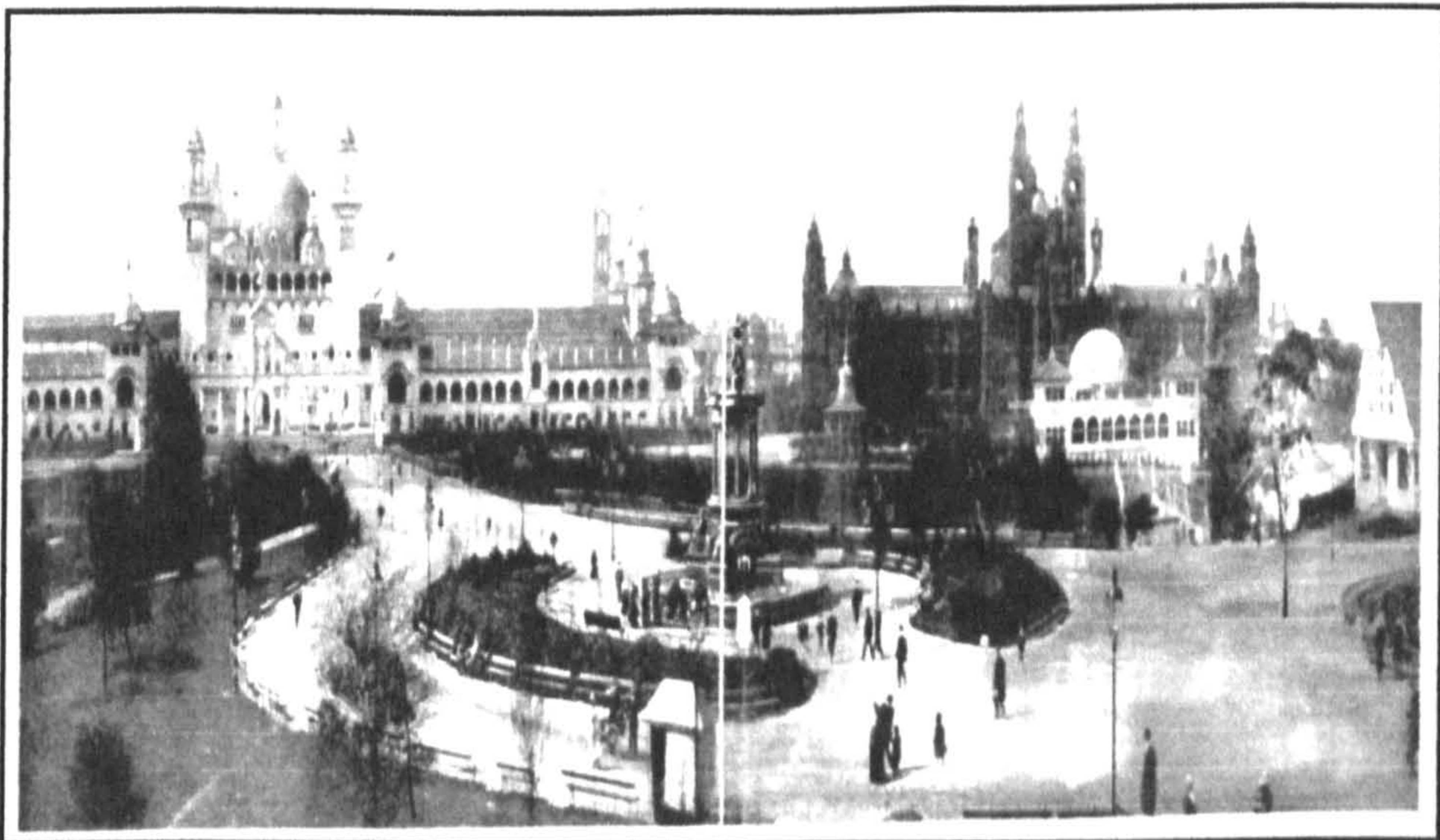


Figure 5.12: Panorama of the 1901 Exhibition¹⁰⁸

Whilst the international element of the 1901 Exhibition was clearly more developed than the 1888 event, there were some inevitable negative comparisons with both the previous exhibition and with the great Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, the first 20th

¹⁰⁵ Cited in Ibid. p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Studio, no 23, 1901, p. 48 in *ibid.* p. 67.

¹⁰⁷ John Shearer, *Exhibition Illustrated* 1, (4th May 1901) p. 15 in *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 58.

century world fair:

... every section of the Paris exhibition offered more to the public than the whole industrial hall at Glasgow . . . International Exhibition? What a delusion! ... Can a fair of this nature be taken seriously . . . There is nothing but a provincial exhibition of local, or perhaps national, Scotch interest, but foreign countries have sent nothing but market-ware, stock things from Paris. ¹⁰⁹



Figure 5.13: Plan of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition ¹¹⁰



Figure 5.14: Frontispiece to the Official Guide to the Exhibition ¹¹¹

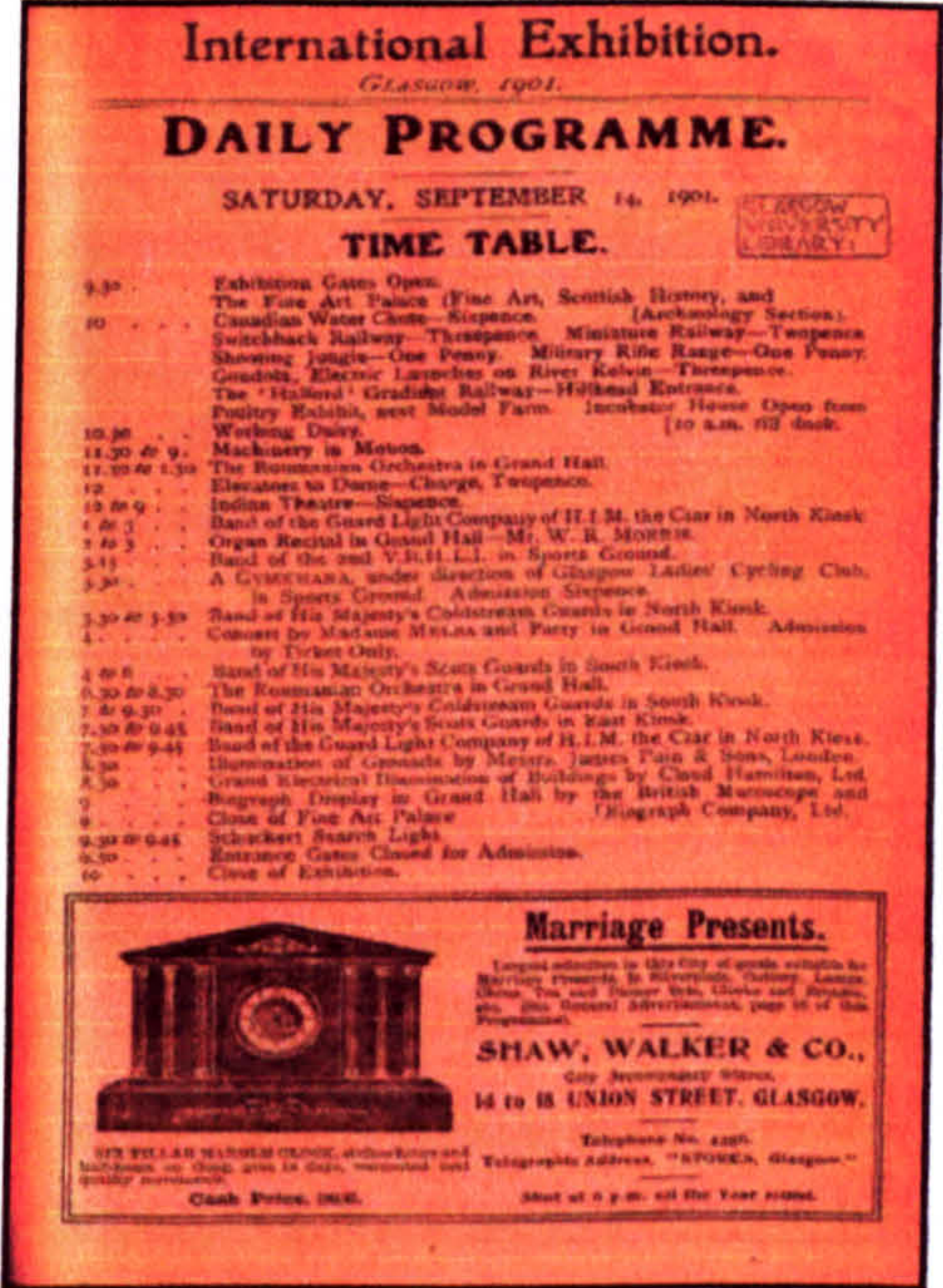


Figure 5.15: A Daily Programme

¹⁰⁹ The Artist, Sept 1901, pp. 26, 28 in Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit., p. 80.

¹¹⁰ GUL Special Collections Mu 25a.29.

¹¹¹ GUL Special Collections Mu 25a.29.

Two events somewhat clouded the timing of the Exhibition: the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 had dented the confidence of the imperial and military might of the Empire, and the death of Queen Victoria in the January of 1901 cast a shadow over the months leading up to the opening. There was thus, understandably, a considerable patriotic element to the event, one that emphasised the relationship of the colonies to the 'mother country' and there was an extensive showing of a variety of products from Canada, Australia, Rhodesia, Ceylon and India all housed in their own pavilions. The largest and most admired of the international section was, however, that of the Russians. The complex buildings of the 'Russian Village' (figure 5.16) were built under the direction of the architect Shekhtel (an admirer of Charles Rennie Mackintosh) by 180 Russians carpenters in front of admiring bystanders and decorated in a variety of colours and extensively gilded. The photograph of Shekhtel's Russian Village below gives some indication of the elaborate construction, although, alas, the black and white print does not do justice to the colourful impact that it must have made on visitors.

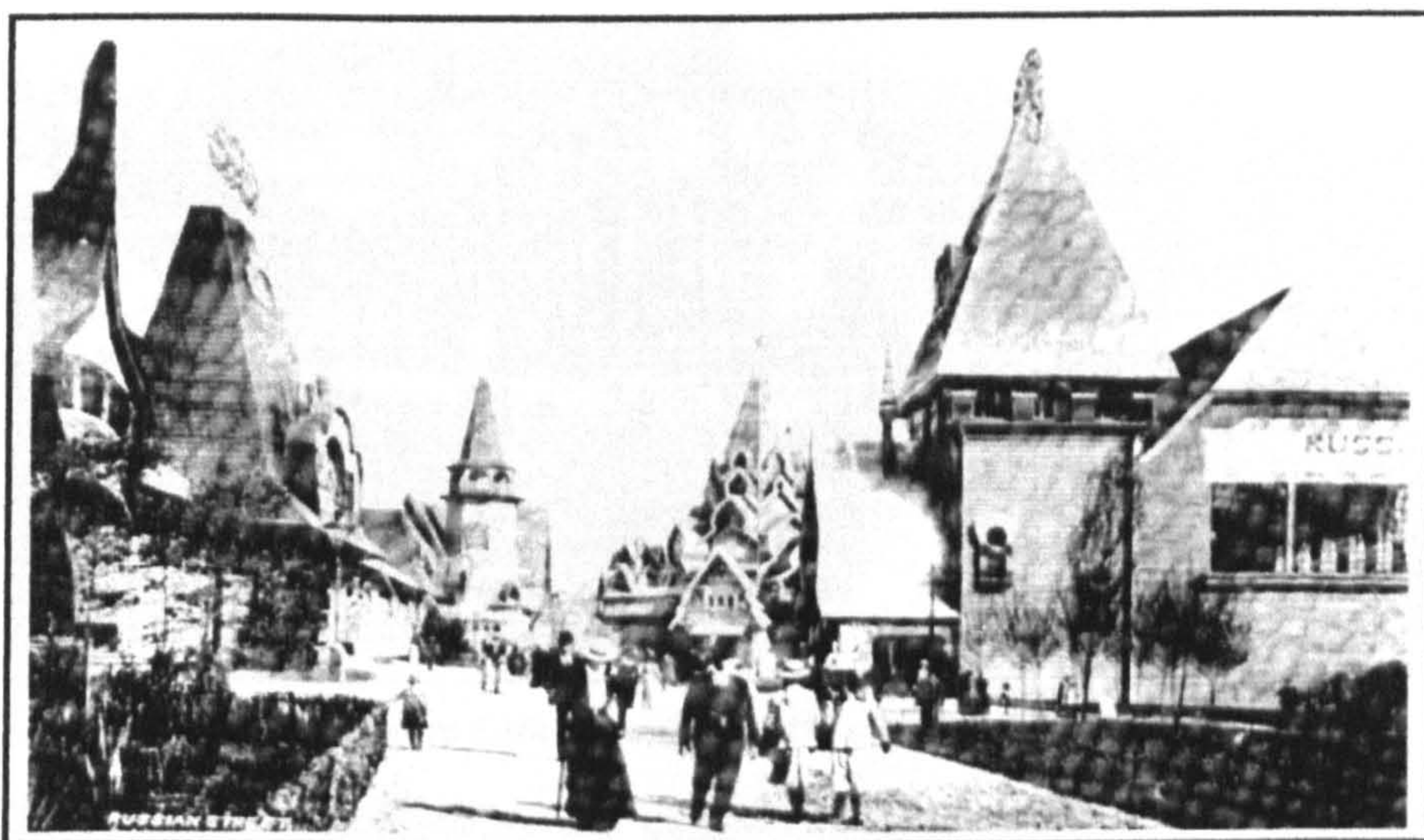


Figure 5.16: Shekhtel's Russian Village ¹¹²

The most impressive building though, was the Grand Concert Hall (figure 5.17) that sat more than 3000 where daily recitals were given on its electrically powered Grand Organ. Despite being considered by some critics as parochial, free music was a huge attraction and in part responsible for the increase in the number of season tickets sold. The popularity of the concerts led to complaints that they were being used as a 'retreat for tired mothers with squalling infants' and nursemaids and to the suggestion that an additional charge be levied. This only materialised for special concerts such as those of Dame Nellie Melba who performed three times in September.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 85.



Figure 5.17: The Grand Concert Hall at the Exhibition of 1901¹¹³

The Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry of 1911

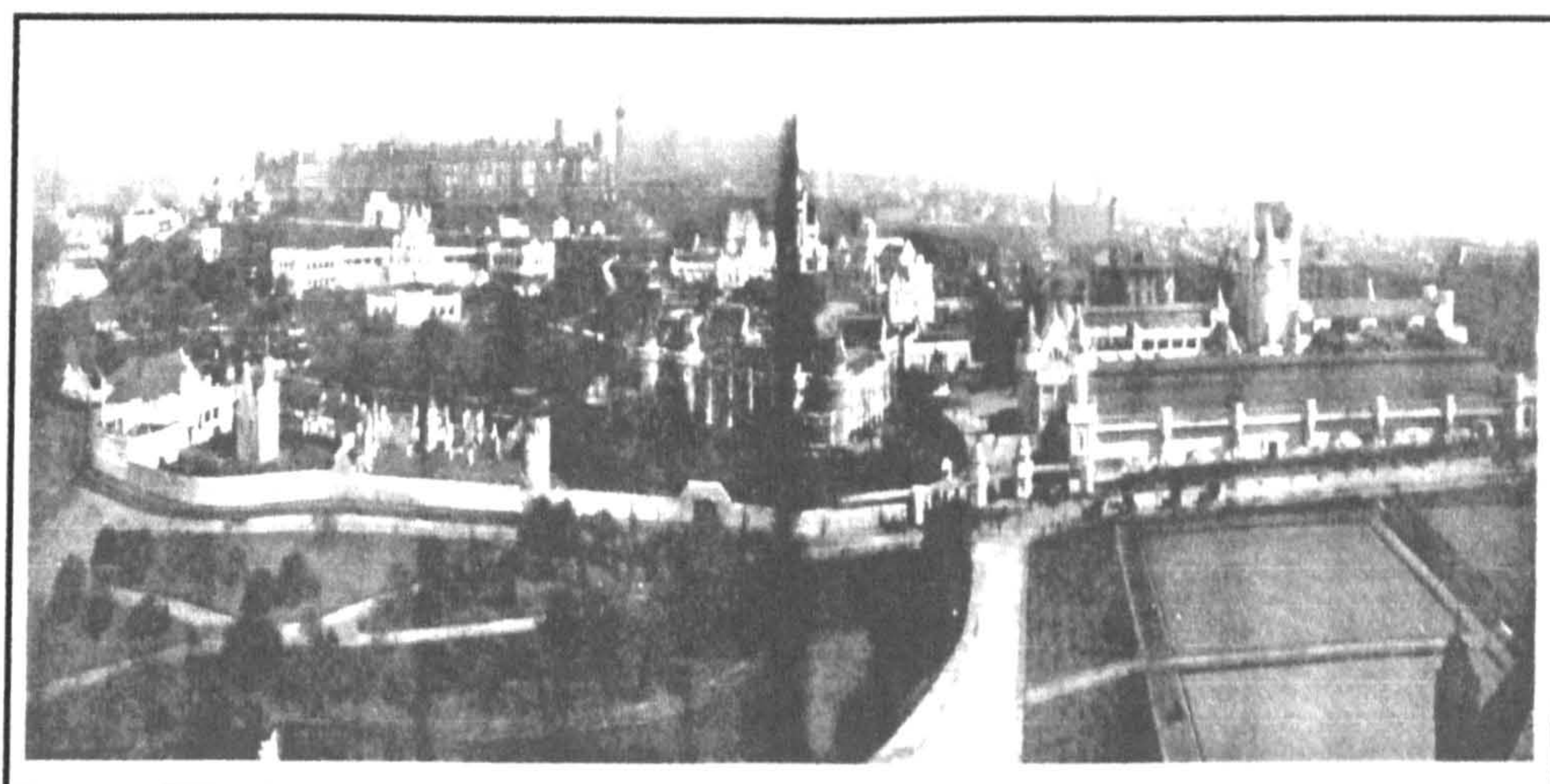


Figure 5.18: Panorama of 1911 Exhibition¹¹⁴

The success of the previous two exhibitions represented the zenith of Glasgow's Victorian self-confidence and growing economic and civic status both nationally and internationally. The Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry was somewhat of a departure from the previous two exhibitions in that its aim was to fund an endowment of a chair of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow University, and as such the focus was on history rather than industry. As the Official Programme stated, "the time has fully arrived when Scottish history should be placed on a different plane from that which it had hitherto occupied in the education of the rising generations".¹¹⁵ Kelvingrove Park was again used as the site for the setting of representations of Scottish History, Art

¹¹³ Virtual Mitchell Image No. C550, Glasgow Museums and Libraries.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 125.

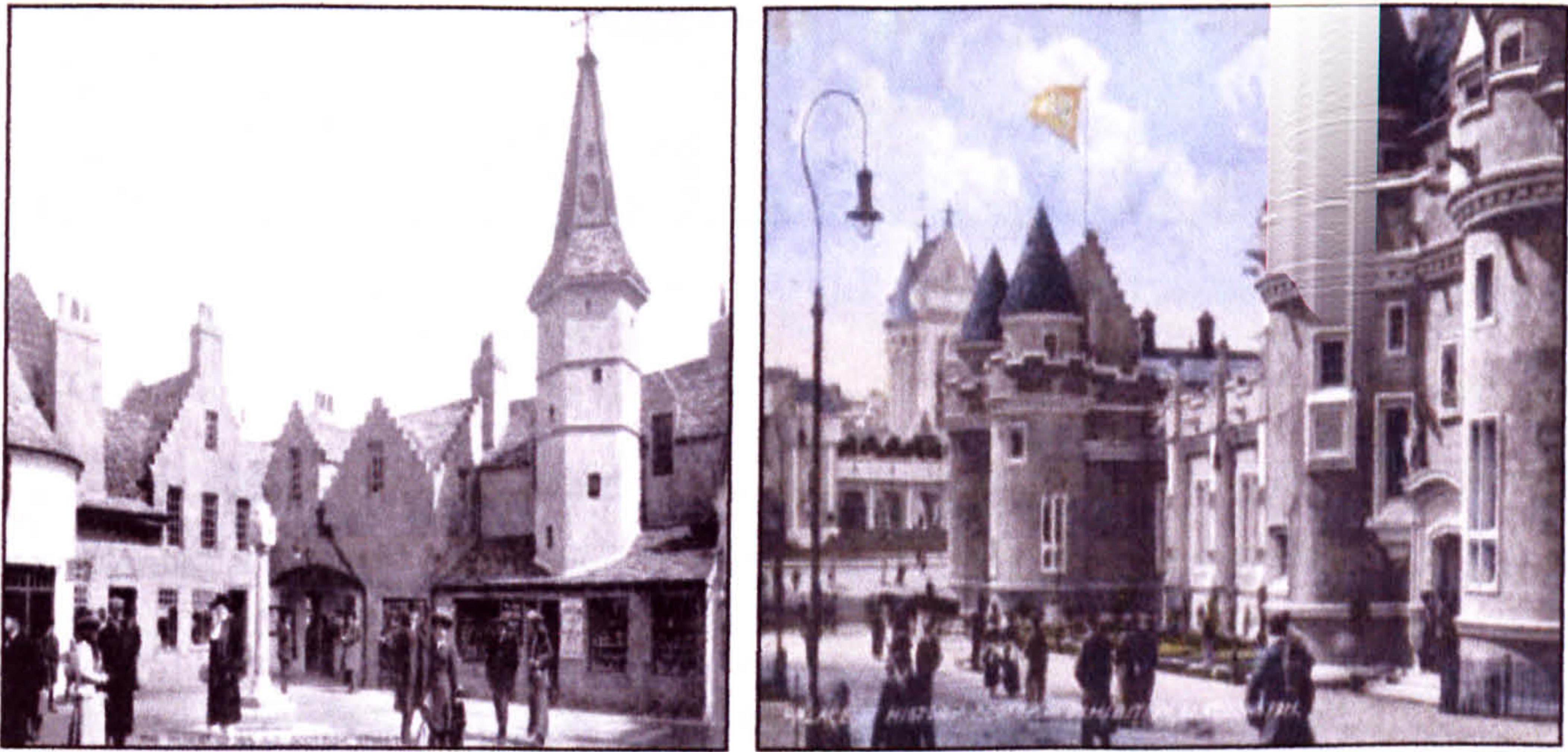
¹¹⁵ Quoted in Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit., p. 95.

and Industry, and the stated aims of the organising committee were that:

The Exhibition should be so designed as to create a greater public Interest in Scottish History and Literature; should celebrate distinguished Scotsmen; and should represent a realistic picture of Scottish Burghal Life in bygone times, exhibiting those Arts and Industries in which the Scottish people are, or have been, pre-eminent, and encouraging Exhibits from all sources for comparison and instruction, and for the stimulation of national enterprise - due attention being given to Modern Art, Music and Out-Door Entertainment.¹¹⁶

Professor John Glaisher, in charge of categorising and displaying the thousands of artefacts and exhibits, stated in the Official Catalogue that the Exhibition was to “keep alive, in the breasts of all who reverently look upon them, the love of their native land - the ancient kingdom of Scotland - and will sustain affection for those who have made their nation’s history that makes her loved at home, revered abroad”.¹¹⁷ The result was a fantastic recreation of archetypal scenes and sites of Scottishness that turned the park into a living open-air museum and amusement park. The buildings and exhibits sought to relate not only Scottish history and art but also the contribution that the nation had made in the world. Figures 5.20 and 5.21 demonstrate that, despite their temporary construction, the building appeared substantial and ‘real’ recreations of ‘typical’ Scottish architecture and design.

Figure 5.19: Postcard of the ‘Mercat Cross’¹¹⁸**Figure 5.20: Colour postcard of the Palace of History**¹¹⁹



The Empire Exhibition Of 1938

The decision to stage an exhibition at a time of lingering economic depression, and with political developments in Europe taking a militaristic turn, was a bold and courageous one. The era of Glasgow’s status as ‘Second City of Empire’ and ‘Workshop of the World’

¹¹⁶ Resolution of a meeting held on 3rd March 1909, quoted in the Exhibition prospectus, cited in *ibid.* p. 97.

¹¹⁷ Cited in *ibid.* p. 100.

¹¹⁸ Virtual Mitchell Image No. C4474.

¹¹⁹ Virtual Mitchell Image No. C552.

had diminished as the city's reliance on heavy engineering and foreign markets had suffered a major collapse during the recession. Despite some recovery as a result of investment in re-armament, The Empire Exhibition of 1938 was seen as a bold strategy to inspire confidence in the city's industrial and manufacturing industries and as a much-needed catalyst, after years of economic and civic stagnation, to promote once again the image of the city internationally. Unfortunately, the outbreak of war in the following year dashed this optimistic hope.

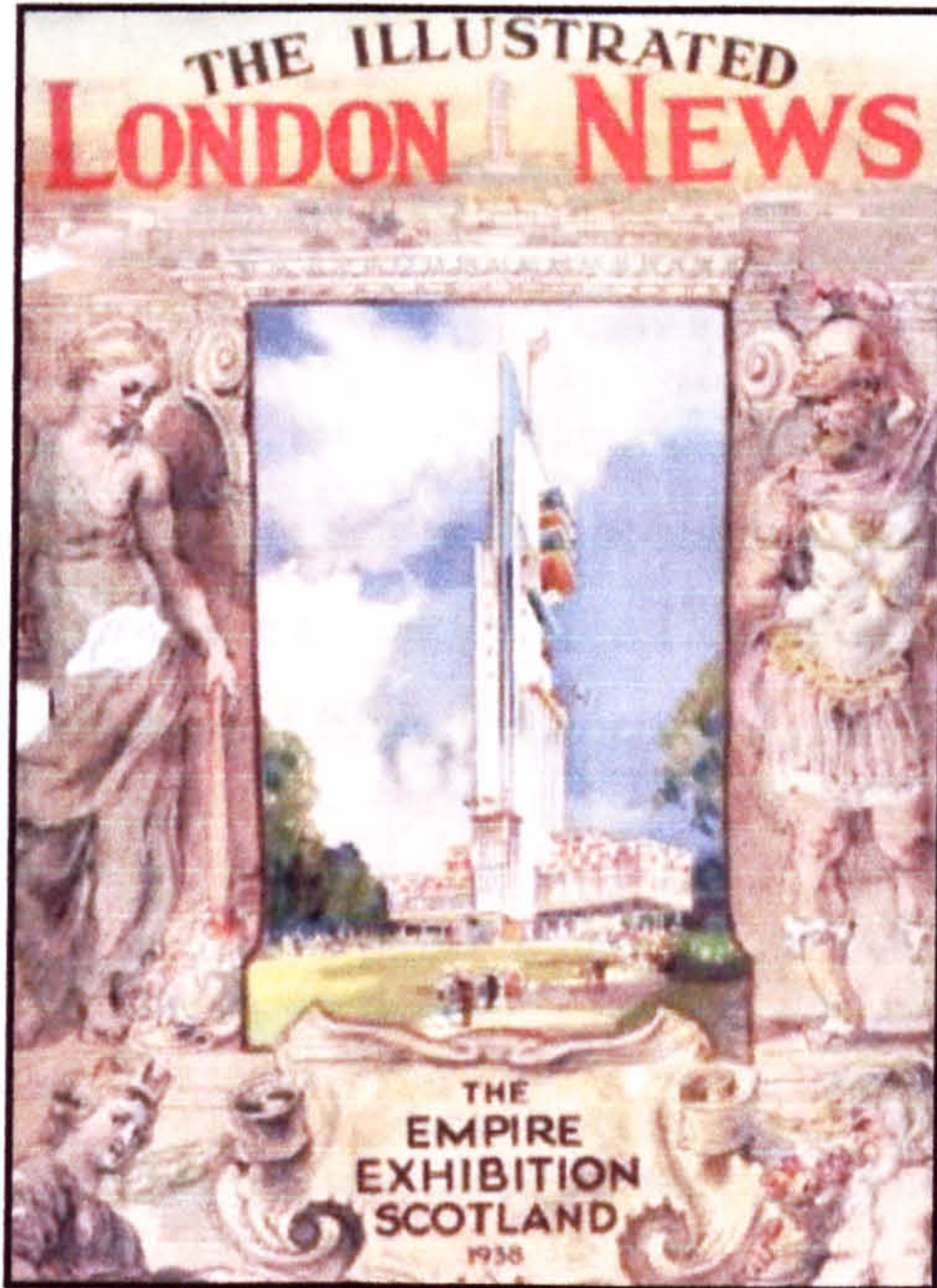


Figure 5.21: Cover page of the ILN featuring the Exhibition¹²⁰

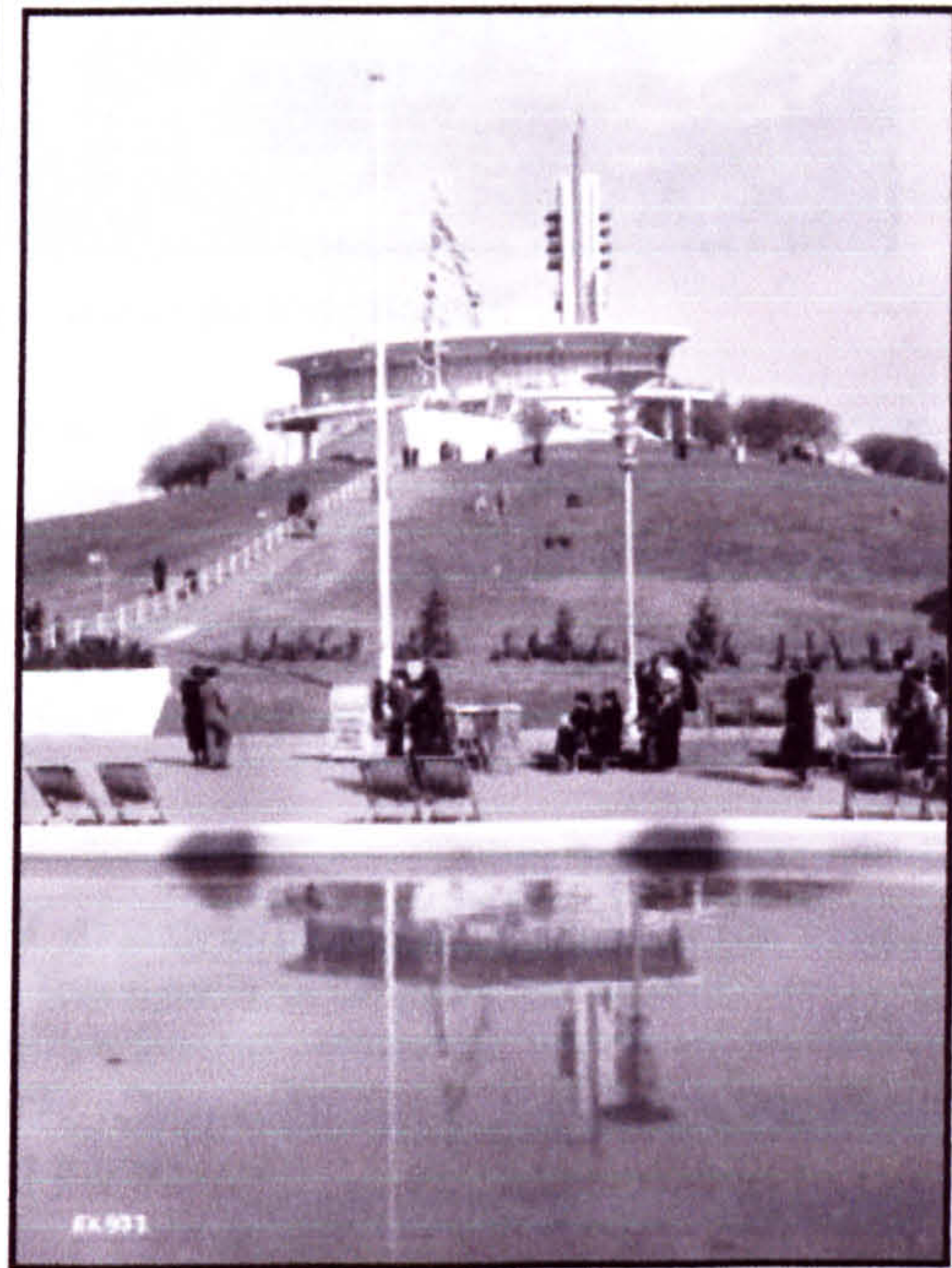


Figure 5.22: The Ship's prow inspired design of the Atlantic Restaurant¹²¹

The high ideals of the Exhibition, its 'five objects' as stated in the Official Guide, represented a mix of traditional exhibition goals as well as concerns with the international situation:

1. To illustrate the progress of the British Empire at home and abroad.
2. To show the resources and the potentialities of the United Kingdom and the Empire Overseas to the new generation.
3. To stimulate Scottish work and production and to direct attention to Scotland's historical and scenic attractions
4. To foster Empire trade and a closer friendship among the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations.
5. To emphasise to the world the peaceful aspirations of the peoples of the British Empire.¹²²

¹²⁰ GUL Sp. Coll. Mu Add. 123.

¹²¹ Virtual Mitchell Image No. C773.

¹²² Cited in Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit., p. 129.

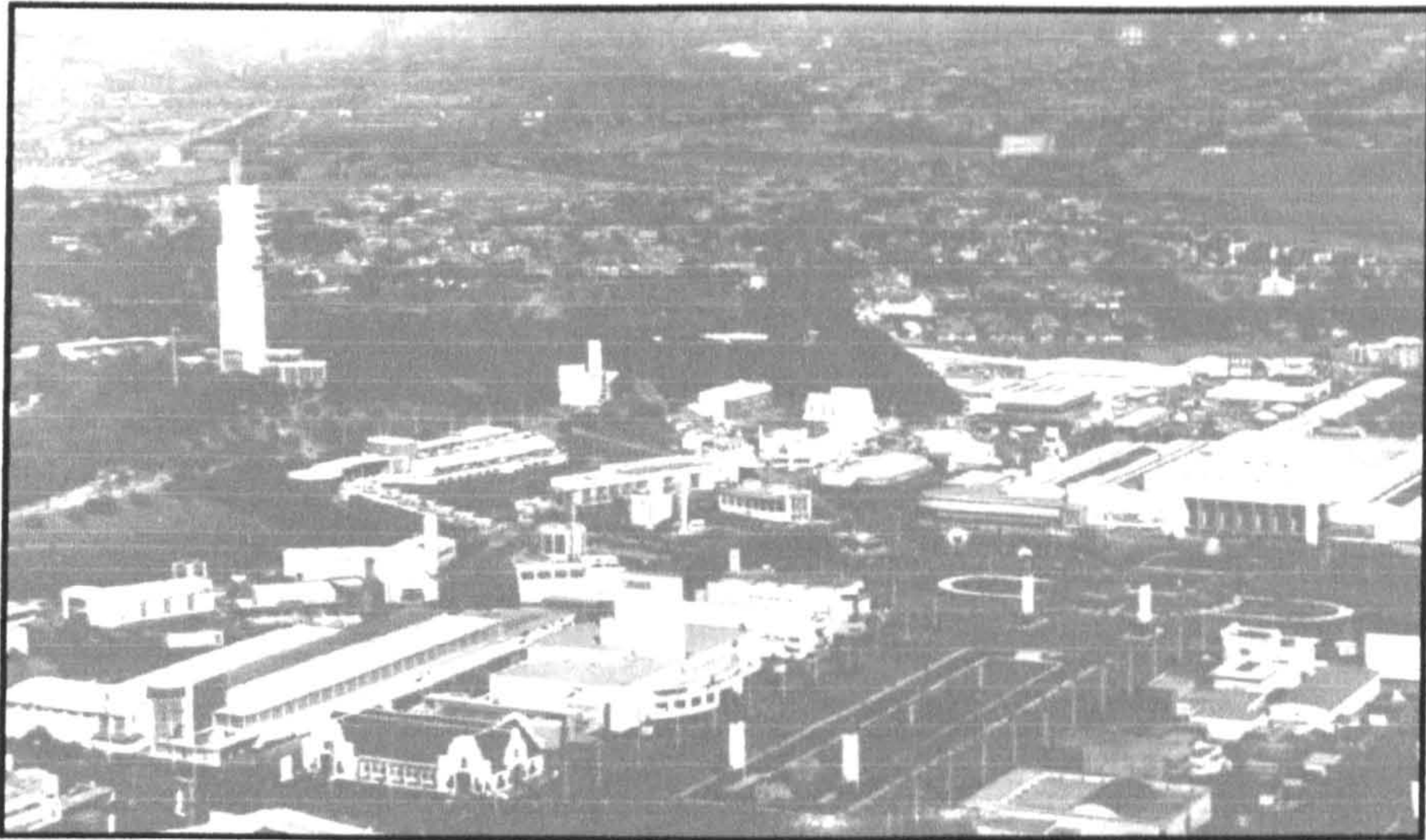


Figure 5.23: Birds-eye view of the Exhibition¹²³

The site for the 1938 Empire Exhibition was in Bellahouston Park. Kelvingrove Park, although more central and accessible, was considered too hilly for the proposed extent and design of the exhibition. The Exhibition was opened on 3rd May 1938 by King George IV, at which Lord Elgin, President of the Exhibition, expressed the sentiments associated with it:

Scotland is proud to have the privilege of staging this symbol of unity of the British Empire. In Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, there have been gathered together exhibits illustrating the resources of the whole British Empire, resources which are limitless, which are produced and directed by a people whose capacity for work is also limitless, whose capacity for play at the proper time is boundless, and whose desire is for peace.¹²⁴

A striking feature of the architecture of the exhibition that was found throughout the park was the emphasis given to modernism. The Paisley born and Glasgow educated architect in chief of Exhibition, Thomas Smith Tait, created in the designs and ornamentation of the buildings an optimistic modern image of Empire. This was evident in the many pavilions of the Commonwealth contributors, but perhaps most striking was ‘Tait’s Tower’, which stood at three hundred feet. The 1938 Empire Exhibition, as those before it, sought to combine business and commercial interests through the collection and display of goods, products and services from throughout the Empire, which also served to promote and project the city. The aim of educating those who attended the exhibition was married to the need also to entertain them, and as such a large amusement park was built on site.

Each of Glasgow’s ‘great exhibitions’ was a triumph of design and style that served a variety of functions: commercial, industrial, civic promotion and celebration, patriotism, leisure, etc. The use of the parks for the staging of the Exhibitions was fundamental to their

¹²³ Virtual Mitchell Image No. C645.

¹²⁴ Cited in Kinchin and Kinchin op. cit. p. 136.

financial success and huge popularity, as well as enabling the city to project its image nationally and internationally by its involvement in hosting international exhibitions. Though most visitors to the exhibitions came from the west of Scotland people from further afield, both in Britain and abroad, were also actively encouraged to visit. Tourist guides promoted attractions in the region as an adjunct to the attraction of the exhibitions.

The temporary transformation of the parks from 'natural' retreats from the built environment of the city into phantasmagorical show grounds and pleasure parks had a lasting impression on the landscape of the parks themselves as well as on the citizens of the city. The parks became associated with leisure and pleasure, culture, art and amusement of a not necessarily sedate nature in the imagination and experience of the city's population. They subsequently came to be viewed as a means to promote the city as a visitor attraction and as a good place in which to live, invest and do business in, as well as spaces for beneficial recreation. They also became inextricably considered as spaces for play, fun, amusement, entertainment and distraction. These aspects of the use of the parks will be considered in the next chapter.

5.7: The Gender Discourse

The final discourse to be addressed in relation to the representation of the parks is that of gender. Without seeking to engage in an analysis of the creation of the public/private sphere dichotomy as a consequence of the operations of capitalism in the modernity of the 19th century city, it is appropriate to consider a gender discourse as a factor in the creation and representation of the public parks as leisure spaces. The public space of the city in the early 19th century was increasingly considered inappropriate if not downright dangerous for bourgeois women. As Rojek confirms:

The metropolitan street was regarded as a place of menace. Unchaperoned women tempted fate by going out alone. Poorly lit, unpaved and littered with nuisances, the metropolitan street was also seen as a place where injury and disease might befall 'the angel of the house' ... The bourgeois association of menace and plague with the metropolitan street were also symbols of deeper, class based fears of degradation and pollution. For the street was the habitat *nonpareil* of the working class. It was part of the 'exterior', part of the unnatural, chaotic world of society and its inhabitants were seen as nomads, wanderers and primitives.¹²⁵

The city was then increasingly viewed as a physically, morally and sexually dangerous environment that required 'respectable' women to remain in 'safe' spaces such as the home, unless accompanied by a responsible adult male. Whilst working class women had more freedom of movement and their visibility on the streets was in relation to their life and work needs, there was little concern expressed for their 'safety'. The street

¹²⁵ Rojek, 1993, op. cit., p.79.

and public life was portrayed as potentially degrading, demoralising and debasing for bourgeois women, and at least until the mid-century the family and the home became the centre for most leisure activities. This is a point that Wilson makes clear:

Women of the bourgeoisie had already begun to withdraw from commerce and other employments in the eighteenth century. Now the trend accelerated. It became undesirable and even indecent for a lady to walk in the streets unless she was accompanied by a husband, father, brother or at least by a male servant. These rules were strictly enforced so far as young unmarried women were concerned. Once she had passed the age of thirty, the marginal, single women might gain a small measure of freedom, but this was double edged as it signalled that she was ‘on the shelf’, and had dropped out of the marriage market. Governesses, too, were granted this rather humiliating freedom – a kind of sexual invisibility, and a condition of lessened worth.¹²⁶



Figure 5.24: Glasgow Department Store Advert, from the 1901 Exhibition Programme¹²⁷

The development of the department store in the city of modernity (the Bon Marche in Paris opened in 1852 is generally agreed to be the first in Europe) is credited as providing the opportunity for shopping to become a social and leisure activity for women. They became ‘temples’ of fashion in which shopping was a leisured and civilised activity in which ‘respectable’ women could participate unchaperoned and in public. Access to department stores became increasingly easier with the development of safer, policed and lit streets and pavement, as well as transport services. The commercial benefits were not lost on store owners who advertised their stores as spectacles to be admired as much as for the goods and commodities they contained (see figure 5.24). This opened up opportunities for employment for middle class women, as well as assisting in

¹²⁶ E. Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, London, Virago, 1991, p.30.

¹²⁷ Kinchin & Kinchin, op. cit., p. 69.

the freeing of middle-class women from the shackles of the home. It became a place where women could meet their women friends in safety and in comfort, unchaperoned, and to which they could repair for refreshment and rest.¹²⁸

Two reports in the *Glasgow Herald* commenting on the opening of Argyle Arcade emphasised the European dimension of this new safe space for women to gather and to enjoy the benefits of an indoor promenade in addition to the development of department stores:

The situation is admirably adapted for an establishment of the kind, being a communication between Argyll and Buchanan Streets, two of the leading or principal Streets in Glasgow, form an obtuse angle at the centre, running in from Argyll Street half the extent of the passage, and then turning into Buchanan Street. The idea of the thoroughfare appears to be taken from the many passage of a similar description in Paris, other cities on the Continent, and the Burlington Arcade in London; but for simplicity of style, elegance, and lightness, we believe the Argyll Arcade exceeds and that have yet been completed. The Burlington is larger, but two or three feet narrower, and the roof is more enclosed, there being only about one fifth of the whole glass; whereas the Glasgow Arcade is almost entirely one sheet of latticed glasswork, and the ventilation very complete; so much so, that from its construction it forms the coolest Shade in summer, and will be comfortably sheltered in winter ... When the whole is finished and painted, we have no doubt but it will become one of the most frequented places of business in Glasgow, from its cleanness, the comfort of shopping under cover, in all kinds of weather, and the regulations for the attention of the gatekeepers and watch, preventing many obstructions and inconveniences to be met with in the open streets. We understand the shops are nearly all let; and there is such variety as almost to preclude the necessity of leaving the Arcade for any article that may be wanted. *Glasgow Herald* 1st July 1828

The Argyll Arcade . . . where, in particular, the comfort and convenience of Ladies who resort to it has been so much studied, and where amusement is combined with utility, we have little doubt but it will be found attractive. The place will form an agreeable promenade in every kind of weather. Those arriving in carriage may be set down at the one end, and the carriages be sent round to pick up the company at the other. *Glasgow Herald* 14th July 1828¹²⁹

What the example of the department store demonstrates is the ambivalence in the development of the city and of public spaces in the city as 'free' and accessible to all genders and classes. The potential of the city as a liberating arena was enhanced by the creation of such spaces as the department store where women could freely go without fear for their safety and reputation.

Yet the city, a place of growing threat and paranoia to men, might be a place of liberation for women. The city offers women freedom. After all, the city normalises the carnivalesque aspects of life. True, on the one hand it makes necessary routinised rituals of transportation and clock watching, factory discipline and timetables, but despite its crowds and the mass nature of its life, and despite its bureaucratic conformity, at every turn the city dweller is also offered the opposite – pleasure, deviation, disruption. In this sense it would be possible to say that the male and female 'principles' war with each at the very heart of the city. The city is 'masculine' in its triumphal scale, its towers, and vistas and arid industrial regions; it is 'feminine' in its enclosing embrace, in its

¹²⁸ E. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London, Virago, 1985, p.150.

¹²⁹ From F. Wordsall, *A Glasgow Keek Show*, Glasgow, Richard Drew Publishing, 1981, pp. 96, 97.

indeterminacy and labyrinthine uncentredness.¹³⁰

Contemporaneous to the development of the department store was the beginning of other spaces for leisure, pleasure and recreation. The development in the urban modernity of Glasgow of a municipal commitment to the production and provision of a public parks network represented an expansion of leisure spaces in the city. It is appropriate to consider the parks therefore as ‘new’ public spaces in the city of modernity that were designed, ordered and regulated as ‘safe’ and moral spaces that women could and did use in large numbers (see figures 5.25, 5.26 and 5.27). It is thus possible to identify the parks as gendered spaces in that bourgeois women in particular were actively encouraged, by the policing and regulation of the parks, to use them as spaces for recreation that provided a haven from the ‘threat’ of the city streets and the closed security of the home. The parks as public havens of nature held more promise of pleasurable encounters and enjoyable deviations than the private gardens to which many middle class women from respectable families would have had access. The public parks were not private gardens where access and opportunities for social mixing were limited by the private control of visitors to the extended outdoor family space. As Wilson alludes, the development of new public spaces, such as the public parks, particularly those in the new bourgeois suburbs, presented an albeit temporary ‘way of escape’ for bourgeois women in the city:

The protection and control over women have everywhere gone hand in hand, but cities have posed a challenge to men’s ability to retain their hold. The city is a zone of individual freedom. There the ties of family and kinship may be loosened and avenues of escape may open up.¹³¹



Figure 5.25: Woman walking in Bellahouston Park¹³²

¹³⁰ Wilson, 1991, op. cit., p.7.

¹³¹ Ibid. p.16.

¹³² Gilmour, op. cit., p. 14.

The public parks network in Glasgow began with the development of three parks all situated in the newly established bourgeois suburbs of the city. Intrinsic to their development was a consideration of the need to maintain and regulate them as spaces where the medical, moral and recreational benefits of access to the relatively purer air of these designed aesthetic spaces could be appreciated by all. Thus the authorities, as has already been described, were intent on ensuring the prescription of acts and behaviour that could cause offence or threaten the peace and security, the ‘good governance’ of the parks. This has a particular resonance with the expressed concerns of the bourgeoisie about the negative influences that were perceived as belonging to the city street. It is in this sense that the gender discourse of the parks shall be presented.



Figure 5.26: Women entering Bellahouston Park from Dumbreck road in 1908 ¹³³



Figure 5.27: Women in Rouken Glen Park ¹³⁴

¹³³ Ibid. p.14.

The public parks as social spaces were perceived and represented as arenas where the potential for inappropriate, deviant or immoral activities could occur. Fear of such activities was considered a potentially limiting factor to women's use and access to the parks. Many of the byelaws enacted to police the parks prohibited access of the public at times when such behaviour was less susceptible to surveillance, such as during the hours of darkness. The need to protect 'respectable women' from unwanted advances and from exposure to perilous or improper contact with persons, classes acts or behaviours was acknowledged in the byelaws that made specific reference to women. Respectable women needed protection from inappropriate male behaviour, particularly if it was of a sensuous, libidinous, 'rough' or crude nature. Women were also perceived as having the potential for civilising the male users of the parks. Where women were lacking these 'natural' skills and abilities they were to be educated and trained to carry out this socially useful function:

If our object is to increase happiness, to lessen grief, and mitigate suffering, I contend that gentleness, kindness and good nature, thus instilled and strengthened, will richly repay our efforts, and be the best fruits of education. Girls, afterwards to be the affectionate wives and mothers of our workmen, will thus early learn the arts of softening sorrow and disarming harshness by gentle words of solace; will learn how valuable is self-control; sometimes by a kind answer' and sometimes by no answer, to an angry question, to disarm and conquer violence.¹³⁵

Whilst women were encouraged to view the parks as safe spaces for their enjoyment, their presence was understood by the parks authorities as having a functional and socially beneficial consequence on other, especially, male users of the parks. Women's role as paragons of virtue and goodness in Victorian society would, according to this patriarchal paternalism, calm the passions and provide a socially useful role in providing an example of respectable and civilised benevolence:

Because 'women' as a category have not been perceived as an urban problem, park policy makers have used females primarily to help ameliorate other problems which disrupted social order, such as alcoholism, prostitution, psychological anonymity, loss of community, physical degeneration due to lack of exercise, disease, delinquency, and the absence of a shared civic order.¹³⁶

In recognising this role there was a need to provide facilities for women's comfort and enjoyment of the parks. The Corporation provided toilet facilities for women and in some parks there were refreshment rooms. The parks may be represented as gendered domains in a number of ways. The use of the parks by different groups and genders at different times of the day and days of the weeks was mitigated by the functional requirements of labour. Freedom for leisure in the parks or for utilising its space as an outdoor nursery or

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 78.

¹³⁵ R.A. Slaney, "On the Moral Education of the Working Class", *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Inaugural Address and Select Papers*, London, Parker and Son, 1857, p. 201.

¹³⁶ G. Cranz, "Women In Urban Parks", *Signs, Journal Of Women In Culture And Society*, Vol. 5 No 3 Supplement, S79-S95, Autumn 1980, p. S79.

playground was determined by the interlinking of class and gender. Paid employment or domestic labouring responsibilities may not have provided much time for working class women to access the parks during weekdays, but they were safe playgrounds for working class children whose only alternatives were the overcrowded tenements, closes and backyards or the dangerous streets. It is possible to view the parks as gendered domains in which the majority of users during the daytime hours of the working week were women and the children associated with their nurturing and domestic responsibilities. Whether these were governesses, nannies or mothers, the parks were represented and regulated by park managers and designers as occupied during the daytime hours of the working week predominantly by women (see figure 5.28). In the evening and at weekends a more evenly balanced gendered usage of the parks was the norm, with a blend of families taking the air and the benefits of the healthy ‘lungs of the city’ after a day or week of labour.

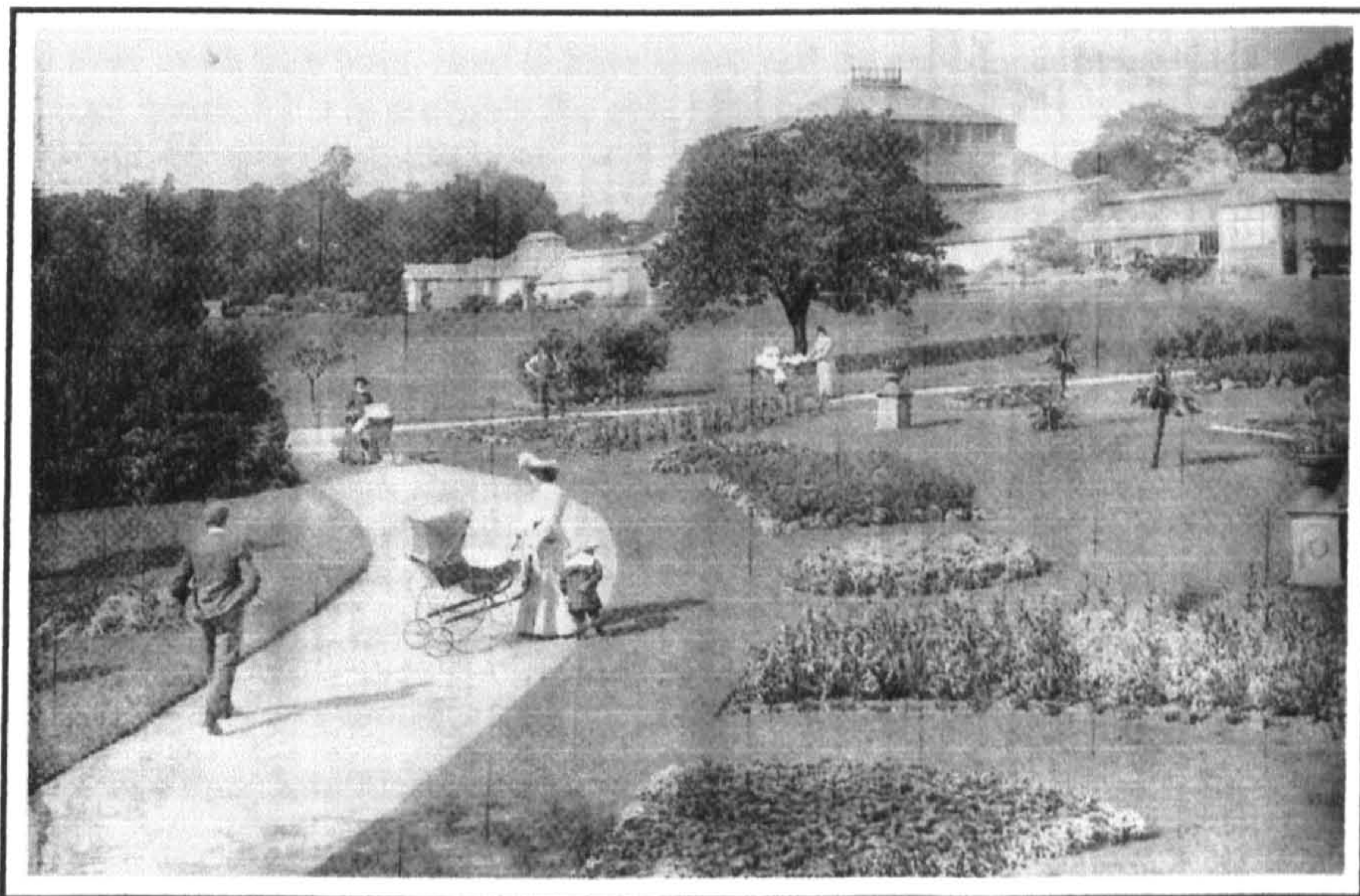


Figure 5.28: Pram pushing in the Botanic Gardens ¹³⁷

However, with the increased promotion of the parks as spaces for active recreation, in particular sport, at certain times the parks were predominately male spaces. Massey, in recalling her childhood in Merseyside, illustrates how the use of parks can clearly be viewed as gendered space that could inhibit women’s access at certain times and places. She writes in *Space, Place and Gender*:

I can remember very clearly a sight which used to strike me when I was nine or ten years old. I lived then on the outskirts of Manchester, and ‘Going into Town’ was a relatively big occasion; it took over half an hour and we went on the top deck of a bus. On the way into town we would cross the wide shallow valley of the River Mersey, and my memory is of dank, muddy fields spreading away into a cold, misty distance. And all of it - all of these acres of Manchester - was divided up into football pitches and rugby

¹³⁷ Gilmour, op. cit, p. 26.

pitches. And on Saturdays, which was when we went into Town, the whole vast area would be covered with hundreds of little people, all running around after balls, as far as the eye could see ... I remember all this very sharply. And I remember, too it striking me very clearly - even then as a puzzled, slightly thoughtful little girl - that all this huge stretch of the Mersey flood plain had been entirely given over to boys.¹³⁸

The public parks became the primary venues for the playing of sport and active recreation by the end of the 19th century. However, as Rojek makes clear, this was not a process that openly welcomed women's involvement: "Few types of male public space in early capitalism were protected more exhaustively and fiercely from female entry and participation than sport."¹³⁹ Girls had been increasingly encouraged to participate in physical activity at school, and by the end of the 19th century by an increasing number of voluntary and charitable organisations such as the Girl Guides, who expressed the need for rational recreation for girls. Indeed the organisation of games for girls was viewed by some as more necessary than for boys:

Girls even more than boys, need to have active and concerted games provided for them in school hours, for it is probably the only time when the majority have an opportunity for combined and recreative play, says Mrs Alexander, a well-known authority on Physical Training. "At home they have far more calls upon them than boys. Numberless household duties await them, and when they are performed, they often lack the necessary energy to make their games a reality, even if they attempt to play at all ... Often when left to themselves, girls lack the craving or the power to organise or initiate games in the recreative period set out on the school timetable. Such time is often spent in chatting, aimlessly wandering arm in arm, or in merely rioting and screaming to pass the time allotted. Though shouting is to a certain extent beneficial, yet it may lead to vulgarity and coarseness if indulged in too freely and frequently".¹⁴⁰

Yet there was a certain ambivalence expressed towards adult women participating in organised sports. The prevailing male wisdom was that "women who played men's game would jeopardise their femininity and physical and moral health."¹⁴¹

Victorians developed a series of myths centred on two main themes: women were physically and emotionally unfit for sport and sport was unsexing. Moral judgements supporting traditional ideas about propriety and innate female weakness were presented as medical, historical and aesthetic evidence.¹⁴²

McRone details some of the arguments presented for limiting women's active sporting life. For example, cycling became a national passion of both sexes by the mid-1890s due to technical innovations that produced the chain-driven, safety bicycle with pneumatic tyres that increased the comfort, safety and ease of use. Women cyclists were branded as "ungainly, fast, indecorous, conspicuous, unsexing, and dangerous" and would produce "bowleggedness and unnaturally large lower leg muscles ... endanger the heart and

¹³⁸ D. Massey, *Space, Place And Gender*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994, p. 185.

¹³⁹ Rojek, 1993, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁴⁰ Wood, op. cit., p. 11-12.

¹⁴¹ K. McRone, (ed.) *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, London, Routledge, 1988, p. 147.

¹⁴² Ibid. p. 280.

produce varicose veins ... hardening of the arteries, emphysema, insomnia, asthma, anaemia, epilepsy, rheumatism, obesity or pelvic disease.”¹⁴³ Football for women was damned as “dangerous to the reproductive organs and breasts because of sudden jerks, twists and blows. Competitive rowing and swimming were condemned as bad for the heart. Swimming when overheated was blamed for turning the hair white.”¹⁴⁴ This received male medical opinion reinforced social values and norms concerning the appropriateness of physical activity for women. However, there was certain ambivalence towards the benefits of female sport, and pressure for active participation in sports did effect change in attitudes towards sports women and in the provision of facilities that permitted and encouraged them. Hargreaves sums up this ambivalence:

The story of women’s sport and physical recreation during the latter part of the nineteenth century comprises themes of continuity as well as change; contradictions and ambivalences, advances and compromises characterised the complicated processes of its history. The biologically determined stereotypes existed along with the more vigorous model of the sporting women. There continued to be common opposition to sport for women because of its believed negative effects on sexuality and childbirth, at the same time, as it became increasingly popular and acceptable pursuit. By their actions in sport women were effecting a change in public opinion about their physical image at the same time, as they were having to accommodate to social pressures.¹⁴⁵

As the century progressed, the demand for access to more active recreational and sporting activities created tensions and conflict over the gendered nature of some park space. Women increasingly became involved in tennis, bowling, croquet and hockey as well as using the parks carriageways for cycling. Therefore women, through their demands for participation in active sports, challenged not only the gender stereotypes that were applied to them but also the representation of the parks as highly gendered domains.



Figure 5.39: The Ladies First Team of Newlands Lawn Tennis Club, 1913. ¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ibid. pp. 178, 179, 180.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 201.

¹⁴⁵ J. Hargreaves, “Playing Like Gentlemen”, in McRone, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁴⁶ M. Moss and J. Hume, *Glasgow As It Was Vol. II – Sports and Pastimes*, Lancashire, Hendon Press, 1975, plate 16.

5.7: Conclusions

What this chapter has sought to demonstrate is that a number of inter-related discourses sought, in various ways, to depict the public parks as socially necessary and beneficial spaces, in which processes of knowledge and power were involved in the creation of dominant representations of the parks as disciplinary spaces. Through the delimiting of the space of the parks and the control and regulation of the activities that could occur within them, attempts were made by the municipal authorities to influence, at the least, the behaviour of those who used them. Thus, the parks were variously represented as medicinal, moral, cultural, political, promotional and gendered spaces. In some respects, these discourses were concerned with the justification of investment of public monies in the acquisition of the land for the parks as well as the necessary design and landscaping that were required. In such a fiscally prudent era as the mid to late 19th century, public money not only needed to be spent well it also needed to be seen to be spent well. Such public spaces as the parks could be used to demonstrate the commitment of the Corporation to providing a very wide range of necessary and beneficial services that were less conspicuous and attractive and thus harder publicly to celebrate. The parks were highly visible municipal achievements that could be used to promote a positive image of the city both to its own citizens and to the outside world. That such services were supported by a wide range of civic and social reformers both within and without the Corporation would, no doubt, have contributed to the zeal with which Glasgow adopted a very interventionist policy of municipal services provision. Such representations would have provided more 'grist for the mill' for those who advocated the need for a wider variety and distribution of municipal public parks.

The discourses discussed above presented arguments pertaining to the positive benefits to be secured for the city and its population by access to and proper use of the public parks as open spaces. The parks were very public and prominent manifestations of the will and power of the municipal authorities to intervene in the social and spatial infrastructure of the city. They were also attempts at intervening in the everyday life of the population. By representing the parks as 'licensed' leisure spaces in which there was the need to control actions, movements, behaviours, etc., they were also 'disciplinary' spaces in which attempts were made, through the manipulation and control of space, to transform the popular habits, customs and recreations of the populace. Such attempts at social engineering were couched in the language of social, moral and religious reformers concerned at the negative consequences that industrialisation and urbanisation had wrought. But, there were also political considerations to be taken into account. Whilst it was hoped that the parks would provide opportunities for social cohesion through the

mixing of the classes in healthy leisure and recreation, they also highlighted the clearly delineated fault lines in which disparities in wealth and opportunity were displayed, if not flaunted. That the parks were also spaces in which the masses could gather in huge numbers for political or cultural activities was also potentially a serious threat to public order that needed addressing by the civic authorities. Thus, surveillance and 'policing' of the parks was a fundamental element in their representation through such discourses as well as in their maintenance as socially useful and beneficial urban spaces.

The public parks were therefore not simply social spaces within the city, but also representations that sought to mould and shape the uses and activities that occurred within them through surveillance and regulation. But they were also new public spaces in the city that provided opportunities for leisure and recreation that had previously not existed, or had either occurred in private or in locations of dubious propriety. The public parks can be perceived as spaces in which a gendered discourse was applied in that they were created as 'safe' public spaces for 'respectable' women who were encouraged to use them and from whom a 'civilising' influence was to be imparted to the male users of the parks. Whilst many assumptions concerning women's access to and use of public space can be made concerning the patronising and paternalistic prevailing attitudes of the time, the parks did provide hitherto unavailable opportunities for leisure and recreation, such as in the development of women's participation in sport. What all of these discourses have in common was their emphasis on processes of power that sought to create and represent the parks as valuable spaces for the city and the citizens through the particular functions that they could or should serve. The extent to which the everyday use of the parks by the population adhered to these deigned intentions of these disciplinary discourses will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 – “WALKING ON THE GRASS” – (MIS)USING THE PARKS

6.1: Introduction

The public parks have been considered in previous chapters as produced spaces within the developing spatial structure of modern urban capitalism in which, through a variety of interlinked disciplinary discourses, they become invested with values that privileged particular meanings and functions as appropriate and apposite. Knowledge of space, for Lefebvre, must take account not only of the social and economic materialism of its production and its ideological representation but also the way in which space is used in everyday life. This triad of necessary elements highlighted a dynamic and reciprocal process in which production, representation and utilisation influence and impact the others. This chapter will address Lefebvre's third necessary element, that of spaces of representations, the space of everyday life in which commonplace and ordinary uses and practices have the potential to ascribe different values and importance that can conflict and contrast with the priorities and plans of designers, architects, planners, officials and administrators. Space is inhabited by people whose own actions and activities invest meanings, values and symbolic significance to it that can challenge the authority of those who seek to delimit and to regulate it. That is, in everyday use, space becomes invested with meanings and values that contest the operation of hegemonic power and its production of spatial forms and structures in which the dominating priorities and representations of discursive discourses functionalise, organise and regulate it for permitted, appropriate and 'respectable' activities, uses and practices.

For Lefebvre, everyday life is "... made of recurrences: gestures of labour and leisure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic"¹ in which the potential for unreserved participation could provide a counter to the dominating and alienating practices, strategies and techniques of the hegemonic perception and conception of the space of capitalism. Everyday use of space offers the potential for its reappropriation through the popular practices and activities that celebrate the opportunity and promise of play, of games, of the enjoyment and joy of unmediated social interaction.

Fairs, collective games of all sorts, survive at the interstices of organised consumer society, in the holes of a serious society, which perceives itself as structured systematically and which claims to be technical ... The space of play has coexisted and still coexists with spaces of exchange and circulation, political space and cultural space ... To inhabit finds again its place over habitat. The quality which is promoted presents and represents as playful.²

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* De Certeau provides an analysis that similarly considers

¹ H. Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. London, The Penguin Press, 1971, p. 18.

² H. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*. Oxford, Blackwell., 1996, p. 172.

everyday practices and activities, such as walking in the city, as isolated individual acts that resist the dominating schemes and designs of the imposed systems and ideologies of power that exist in planned space, in that there are "... innumerable ways of playing and foiling the others' game [that] characterise the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups, which since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of established force and representations."³

Simmel's micro-sociological analysis "... of finding in each of life's details the totality of its meaning"⁴ supports the examination of the fragments of everyday life and activity, within space, as a means of theorising the uses and popular practices of the public parks. Benjamin echoes Simmel's interest in the microscopic detail of everyday life, its activities, settings and situations and his investigation of the 'fleeting, the fragmentary and the transitory' experience of modernity was, as detailed earlier, focussed on the streets and collective architecture of the city as the 'home of the dreaming collectivity'. These 'dream houses', in which the phantasmagoria of modernity has its fullest effects, it was argued, have resonance with the produced spaces of the public parks. They are ideological landscapes in which upon entering one has passed a threshold to a new domain where experience is heightened and concentrated. This analysis has an obvious affinity with Foucault's concept of heterotopias in which, "... despite all the techniques for appropriating space, despite the whole network of knowledge that enables us to delimit or to formalise it, contemporary space is perhaps not entirely desanctified."⁵ The special mythic quality of Foucault's 'other spaces' has pertinence for the analysis of public parks as produced and separated semblances of nature in the city, symbolic landscapes replete with a variety of meanings and values that are created not only by the dominant discourses of power but also by the everyday uses to which they are put. The parks as 'social spaces' were conceived, designed, organised, regulated and supervised for sanctioned 'licensed' activities. They were spaces in which 'rational' alternatives to disorderly social, moral and political activities in the city could be provided and controlled, and were created as

an institution of 'rational recreation' to direct the working classes from their 'disorderly' leisure pursuits... [and] ... the tension between non-organised and organised and informal leisure patterns, and the 'proper' use of public space forms a central and unbroken thread in the history of the public parks, and the same theme recurs in the policing of other public spaces. ⁶

The parks offered the opportunity for those who had no other spaces for leisure and recreation, except the potentially dangerous streets, cramped closes and back courts, to take advantage of the relatively fresher air and open space to be found in the parks. The mass of

³ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. London, University of California Press, 1984, p. 18.

⁴ G. Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, translated by Frisby D. and Bottomore, T., London, Routledge, 1990, p. 55.

⁵ M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, Spring 1986, p.24.

the population may have had to use the established forms, features and facilities that existed in the parks, but could create their own meanings and values by subverting and challenging the regulations and limits imposed on that space. The parks became the playgrounds of the people and the range of everyday practices for which the people sought to use them for could conflict with the dominant representations of the designed intentions of the municipal authorities that provided them. The subversion of dominated, rationalised, disciplinary spaces by everyday activities, uses and practices invest and confer on the parks a symbolic and authentic status and reality in the experience and imagination of those who make use of them. That is, everyday life invents new meanings and activities that can conflict and contrast with those sanctioned 'official' uses and representations of space. Therefore, the everyday activities, uses and practices that occur in and to which the parks, as lived space, are put by the population create new understandings and definitions of them. Such practices in space challenge the functionalised, structured, delineated, delimited and regulated space through which hegemonic ideology seeks to dominate it by disciplinary discourses. The Corporation exerted its authority over the spaces of the park through its park keepers, gardeners and attendants who, generally speaking, sought to deter unruly or inappropriate behaviour or unregulated activities in unsanctioned areas of the parks. A range of byelaws and regulations were deployed to police the parks and to punish those who contravened the authority of the Corporation in organising and administering the activities that occurred within them. This aspect of the parks as regulated and supervised space needs to be emphasised in considering them as the setting and arena for the expression of popular cultural and leisure activities. The parks were rule-governed spaces in which all aspects of their use were subject to supervision and control.

This chapter will present the parks as social spaces in which a number of uses were planned and promoted, but which existed alongside and sometimes in conflict with popular manifestations of celebration, carnival, festival or holiday, as well as with more mundane and prosaic aspects of games, play and the commonplace exuberance of the everyday lived use of the parks. What follows is not an exhaustive list of all those uses and practices to which the parks have been put, but illustrative examples of how popular everyday practices may subvert the designed intentions of such functionalised space. The parks as necessary, social, lived spaces of leisure, pleasure and recreation in the city offered the potential for the reappropriation of the meanings, values and symbols associated with them. However, in analysing everyday mundane practices, there is a difficulty in accessing evidence for such activities. Whilst written documentary records exist for official accounts of the use and representation of spaces, there is a limited amount of evidence for the everyday practices

⁶ J. Clarke and J. Critcher, *The Devil Makes Work – Leisure in Capitalist Britain*, London, Macmillan Press, 1985, p. 125.

through which individual resistance, transgression, subversion, etc. has arguably been performed by ordinary, relatively powerless people. Such difficulties in investigating the everyday acts and practices that form an account of resistance to totalising practices is that they rarely leave such written records. These ‘hidden transcripts’ or ‘the unwritten history of resistance’ can then only be inferred and interpreted, as much by their absence as their presence, in secondary accounts as “forms of silent and anonymous class struggle”.⁷

The following will present examples of everyday practices and activities that demonstrate the (mis)use of the parks through the subversion and transgression of the rule governed space of the parks, as well as of the ‘official’ events and activities that were organised, allowed or licensed within them. The activities and practices that occur in the parks ranged from formal, scripted events to the more ad hoc, impromptu utilisations of parks as spaces for play, for fun, for relaxation and the escape from the stresses, strains and pressures of employment and domestic duties and responsibilities. Therefore, the structure of the accounts of the use of parks spaces will begin with examples of those large organised events in parks and how they were appropriated. Following this will be a consideration of more commonplace and individual activities and practices that also exhibited the potential for conflict and contestation through the inhabitation of space in the lived experience of the population of the city who used them for their leisure and pleasure.

6.2: The Glasgow Fair

Public parks as large open spaces are prominent features of the landscape of the city and their use as sites for the public display and exhibition of goods, services and entertainments has been a highly visible and extremely popular feature of their traditional use, in Glasgow as elsewhere. The parks were a spatial resource used for the staging of annual festivals, special events and exhibitions. One such historic festival that is associated with Glasgow’s oldest open space, the Green, is the Glasgow Fair which had its origins as an annual market reputed to date to the 12th century when the then Bishop of Glasgow Jocelyn secured a Charter from King William the Lion to hold a fair on the Green in around 1190. Up to the 18th century the Fair combined the traditions of a market whereby people from all parts of the West of Scotland would congregate in the first week of July to buy and to sell produce and goods, as well as to meet old acquaintances and to take advantage of the entertainments that were an integral part of the Fair. These ‘shows’ were a mixture of a theatre, music, dance, acrobatics, tumbling, freak shows and exhibitions of ‘exotic’ animals and freaks of nature. An 18th century song, *The Humours of the Glasgow Fair*,⁸ gives an account of the festivities:

⁷ J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak – Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, London, Yale University Press, 1985, p. 36.

Twas there the funning and speoting
 Eh, Lord! What a swarm o' braw folk;
 Rowly-powly, wild beasts, wheel of fortune,
 Sweetie tan's, Maister Punch, and Black Jock

The Fair was also traditionally an annual holiday, "... the chief features of which were the shows and booths of a somewhat vulgar and rude character",⁹ in which the ordinary people had the opportunity for suspending the pressures of work and indulging in the typical excessive pleasures of a Bacchanalian carnival, in which the world, in Bakhtin's description, was 'temporarily, turned upside down'.¹⁰ The fair as a popular festival for all the citizens of the city was rooted in traditional entertainment and popular leisure activities with the centrality of drink, excess, and rough, sensuous spectacle emphasised for a short period of time.¹¹ However the potential for disorder that inhered in large crowds intent on making the most of their free time, whilst not necessarily characteristic, was a recognised feature of annual fairs and Carnivals:

The most that can be said in the abstract is that for long periods carnival may be a stable and cyclical ritual with no noticeable politically transformative effects but that, given the presence of sharpened political antagonism, it may often act as *catalyst* and *site of actual and symbolic struggle*.¹²

Many accounts of the Glasgow Fair emphasise the celebration of opportunity and excess that the annual holiday provided. The illustration (figure 6.1) gives an indication of the popularity of the shows that took place at the fair in 1825. There was also much disapproval expressed concerning the 'entertainments' to be found, as Smout records, in the account of a fictitious highlander, 'Sandy Mcalpine', who described a visit to Glasgow Fair:

Ther wuz the usual quantity o' shows, cirkuses, an' magic temples, wi' the usual quantity o' undecent strumpery, coorse buffoonery an' brazen-faced quackery exheebeted ootside; ther wuz the penny an' tuppenny theatres, twa or three galleries o' mur'ers and murd'resses ... everything o' that stamp did a rowsi', roarin, bizness. The musick salloons an' the whisky palaces ... did ther wark bravely.¹³

The Glasgow Herald published various accounts of the Fair that give the flavour of the event. In July 1844 the Fair was described as

⁸ In C.A. Oakley, *The Second City*, Glasgow, Blackie and Son Ltd, 1948, p.140.

⁹ Bell and Paton, op. cit., pg. 332.

¹⁰ "As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrates the temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order; it marks the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions". M. Bakhtin, *Rabelias and His World*, Cambridge MA, M.I.T. Press, 1968, p. 109.

¹¹ There are other analyses of the role and importance of Carnival in pre-modern societies as a ritual celebration that temporarily reversed not only hierarchies of power but also moral constraints on behaviour, thrift and consumption. See in particular A.J. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, Routledge, London, 1985; *Medieval Popular Culture*, Cambridge UP, 1988; *Historical Anthropology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992.

"Carnival was a holiday, a game, an end in itself, needing no explanation or justification. It was a time of ecstasy, of liberation ... Carnival was, in short, a time of institutionalised disorder, a set of rituals of reversal ... (where) ... the rules of culture were suspended." P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1994, pp. 186, 190.

¹² P. Stallybrass, & A. White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Methven, London, 1986, p. 14. E. Ladurie, *Carnival at Romans*, London Penguin, 1979, gives such an account of the violence that erupted at the Carnival at Romans. The combination of politics, material conditions, 'the grotesque realism' of the carnival caricatures, the ribald insults, the ritual violence of festival games, too much drink, was a recipe that ended in many deaths.

¹³ William Walker, 'Glaiska' Fair', no date, p.4, quoted in T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950*, London, Fontana, 1987, p. 150.

... the annual period when the toil remitting lends it turn to play ... by day as well as by night ... At times the scene on the Green is perfectly bewildering, at least to the ears – and amidst the blowing of trumpets, the skirling of the bagpipes, the crashing of the drums, the ringing of bells, the groaning of the showmen through their speaking horns, the discharge of musketry, and the hum of the crowd, one might almost think that the peeling of a thunderstorm would pass unnoticed. The ‘stands’ for the shows and booths were free until 1815 when a charge was introduced for pitches on the Green that by 1870 these netted revenue of £590 for the Corporation.¹⁴



Figure 6.1: Glasgow Fair, 1825¹⁵

The Fair as a festival appears to have gone into decline somewhat during the mid-19th century due to a combination of factors. As the 19th century progressed, the criticism of the behaviour of those attending the Fair, as well as of the quality of the entertainments on offer, was raised by the press, religious groups and the municipal authorities. The growth of alternative attractions to spending the annual summer holiday in the city at the ‘Fair on the Green’, as well as changing official attitudes to the perceived immorality and vice that was on offer, was evident in press accounts of the dangers that were associated with it. For example, crime was considered a common feature of the experience of those who ventured to take in the dubious pleasures on offer. Under the heading of *Thieving at the Shows*, the Glasgow Herald in 1855 issued dire warnings of what to expect:

Saturday night last appears to have been a productive one for the group of idle blackguards infesting the vicinity of Jail Square, and preying upon those who are foolish enough to congregate at this spot to gaze upon the tomfoolery of the show men. No fewer than six tradesmen were relieved of their watches on this occasion, not to speak of numerous petty thefts and attempts that occurred, and which, to save the parties trouble were never reported to the police. Truly, cautioning people against wasting their time at

¹⁴ Glasgow Herald, 10 July 1844.

¹⁵ “Cartoon of the Glasgow Fair from the Roof of the Court House” in *Northern Looking Glass* Vol.1 no.4, 1825: also used as the Cover Illustration for F. Wordsall, *A Glasgow Keek Show*, Glasgow, Richard Drew Publishing, 1981.

the shows seems to have no effect; and so long as the authorities permit exhibitions to exist at this season, so long as the authorities permit exhibitions to exist at this season, so long will crime continue to increase. It is a well-known fact, that yearly many youths of both sexes date their ruin from the Fair - police cases of every sort are augmented - police officers are overworked- and the persons who obtain most benefit are the mountebanks, thieves, and gamblers, who look forward anxiously to this annual gathering, from which they reap a rich harvest at the expense of the simple.¹⁶

What is clear is that in the period after mid-century the Fair was regarded as having reached its peak in terms of popularity and in the quality and appeal of its attractions. The correspondent whose account in the *Glasgow Herald* 16th July 1864, *Glasgow Green - What I Saw When I Walked The Fair*, describes the Fair as in the 'last stage of decline' and, although still crowded with the 'poorer classes', it lacked appeal for the more refined tastes and pleasures of the bourgeoisie and the more respectable working class:

Glasgow Fair is evidently in the last stage of a decline. It is afflicted with old age and poverty, and the "ill matched pair" are laying the very deuce with the time-honoured carnival. It is getting more ragged, dirty-looking, and disreputable year after year, and to all appearance the beginning of the end is at hand. The booths, as a general rule, consist of rickety erections of bare fir deals, covered with patched and rotten canvas, instead of the bright yellow painted caravans, with their magnificent pictures of wild beasts, dwarfs, and giants that were wont to fire the youthful imaginations, and fill the heads of old and young with exaggerated ideas of the sights to be witnessed within. The jokes and wry mouths of the Merry Andrews have at length become stale, flat, and unprofitable; the tumblers and touters are getting more hoarse and more shabby in appearance; and the brass instruments are evidently afflicted with bronchitis, and are dying for want of wind ... Well, the dingy looking Saltmarket is crowded, as usual on such occasions, with a moving mass of men, women, and children, in every style of dress, but the great majority evidently belong to the poorer classes ... The square in front of the South Prison is filled to overflowing with a motley collection of sightseers, and the air is resounding with strains of music, chiefly of the ear-piercing kind. There are bagpipes and bass drums, cymbals, trumpets, trombones and touring horns of all shapes and dimensions, and the medley of tunes torn and twisted out of these instruments by men and boys, almost black in the face with blowing, is positively sufficient to drive a sensitive person mad. And then the touters and tumblers, in stage dresses of many colours sailed and threadbare, are yelping, shouting, cutting capers, and doing their very best to attract attention, and get people with pennies in their pockets to "walk up and be in time" ... The brass bands are tearing away at a variety of tunes; gangs and cymbals are sounding here and there, bells are ringing, hoarse and "heloquent" men are bawling tremendously, and the din is absolutely deafening. It is hot and stifling; and no wonder, for everybody is squeezing his neighbour, there is not a breath of air, and the sun is glaring in the heavens. I am perspiring copiously outside, and dry as dust within; so, in these circumstances, I take leave of the Fair, and the reader at the same time, and - that's all.¹⁷

The rowdiness and uncouth activities associated with Glasgow Fair as an annual carnival and popular festival were perceived as being somewhat outdated in the developing city of modernity. The Fair offered an albeit temporary contrasting use of the Green to the organised and regulated 'normality' of the sedate appeal of its green walks and river views. In 1871 the Council prohibited the pitching of the shows on the Green and the truncated Fair

¹⁶ "Thieving at the Shows" - *Glasgow Herald* 2nd July 1855.

¹⁷ "Glasgow Green - What I Saw When I Walked The Fair", *Glasgow Herald* 16th July 1864.

moved to Flesher's Haugh, a smaller area of the Green. The Glasgow Fair from the 1850s onwards became associated with the annual city summer holiday and "the better order of the working classes, instead of gazing after childish and senseless sights was making trips to the country and the coast".¹⁸ The era of the steamer trips 'doon the watter' to the seaside resorts of Rothesay and Dunoon, and eventually the seaside specials to Blackpool, Scarborough and the like, was beginning and marked the end to the traditional Fair on the Green as the city's great holiday event, but not to the use of the parks as sites for the setting of large public events. The potential for such carnivals to provide a disruption and distraction to the serenity and peace of the park is well documented. The need for such collective celebrations is, as Lefebvre and de Certeau both stress, an essential aspect of everyday life that is increasingly threatened by the rationalising processes of urban capital. However, opportunities for revelry, entertainment and amusement find their expression at the edges and boundaries of other events in the parks whose endeavours are aimed at other more 'serious' affairs than pleasure seeking.

6.3: Glasgow's Great Exhibitions

The decline of the traditional annual festival on the Green did not end the use of the parks as venues for large events. From the late 1880s to the beginning of World War II Glasgow staged four major exhibitions that used the space of parks as venues. The following will examine the Exhibitions as demonstrating many prominent and significant aspects of the developing use of Glasgow's public parks that were associated with the popular experience of the Exhibitions, in particular, their association with leisure and pleasure. Whilst these were included in the official aims of the Exhibitions, they were somewhat secondary to that of the promotion of the image and status of the city, as detailed in the previous chapter. Simmel, in his consideration of the Berlin Trade Exhibition of 1896, demonstrated that the simultaneity of the assault on the senses of such a number and variety of products, collected, displayed and presented in such a concentrated experience, was crystallised into an inevitable experience of entertainment and amusement:

In the face of the richness and diversity of what is offered, the only unifying and colourful factor is that of amusement. The way in which the most heterogeneous industrial products are crowded together in close proximity paralyses the senses - a veritable hypnosis where only one message gets through to one's consciousness: the idea that one is here to amuse oneself ... It is on the architectural side that this exhibition reaches its acme, demonstrating the aesthetic output of the exhibition principle. From another point of view its productivity is at least as high: and here I refer to what could be termed the shop-window quality of things, a characteristic which the exhibition accentuates. The production of goods under the regime of free competition and the normal predominance of supply over demand leads to goods having to show a tempting exterior as well as utility. Mere competition no longer operates in matters of usefulness

¹⁸ Oakley, *op. cit.*, p.140.

and intrinsic properties, the interest of the buyer has to be aroused by the external stimulus of the object, even the manner of its presentation. It is at the point where material interests have reached their highest level and the pressure of competition is at an extreme that the aesthetic ideal is employed. The striving to make the merely useful visually stimulating - something that was completely natural for the Orientals and Romans - for us comes from the struggle to render the graceless graceful for consumers. The exhibition with its emphasis on amusement attempts a new synthesis between the principles of external stimulus and the practical functions of objects, and thereby takes this aesthetic superadditum to its highest level. The banal attempt to put things in their best light, as in the cries of the street trader, is transformed in the interesting attempt to confer a new aesthetic significance from displaying objects together - something already happening in the relationship between advertising and poster art.¹⁹

Similarly, Benjamin, in his analyses and interpretation of the Paris exhibitions emphasised the fetishisation of the commodities on display in the fantastical spectacle of the exhibition as acting as a training ground through which the masses could be educated and entertained by the seeming limitlessness of technological innovation and production, the aestheticisation of consumption, and the celebration of civic, national and/or imperial power and status, amid the vicarious experience of the pleasure park. In these 'folk fairs of capitalism' the seeming distraction of the amusement park and the entertainments were an inherent component of the propaganda role of the exhibitions:

World exhibitions are places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish ... It arises from the wish "to entertain the working classes", and it becomes for them a festival of emancipation. The worker occupies the foreground, as customer. The framework of the entertainment industry has not yet taken shape; the popular festival provides this ...

World exhibitions glorify the exchange value of the commodity. They create a framework in which its use value becomes secondary. They are a school in which the masses, forcibly excluded from consumption, are imbued with the exchange value of commodities to the point of identifying with it: "Do not touch the items on display!" World exhibitions thus provide access to a phantasmagoria which a person enters in order to be distracted. Within these *divertissements*, to which the individual abandons himself in the framework of the entertainment industry, he remains always an element of a compact mass. This mass delight in amusement parks with their roller coasters, their "twisters" their "caterpillars" in an attitude that is pure reaction. It is thus led to that state of subjection which propaganda, industrial as well as political, relies on.²⁰

Each of Glasgow's exhibitions demonstrated to a greater or lesser degree the enthusiasm of visitors for the amusements that were increasingly fundamental to their popularity and success. The attractions specifically provided in the 1888 International Exhibition in Kelvingrove Park were segregated from the main site and included a switchback railway that proved immensely popular to Glaswegians and created an enduring memory of the Exhibition. There was also a captive air balloon, a military range and a shooting gallery. Sport was also a popular entertainment, with a number of events, including football matches, rugby, cricket, athletics, cycling, pedestrianism, highland games and military tournaments,

¹⁹ G. Simmel, "The Berlin Trade Exhibition" in *Simmel On Culture*, D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, (eds.), London, Sage, 1997, pp. 255, 257. For a fuller examination of Simmel's treatment of Exhibitions see Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001.

²⁰ W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, translated by H. Eiland and & K. McLaughlin, London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 7, 18.

taking place in the University Athletics Ground. The River Kelvin was used for swimming regattas, as well as for a range of pleasure craft, electric and steam driven, including an imported Gondola from Venice, complete with genuine gondoliers.

Alongside the attractive winding walkways beside the small lake and the banks of the River Kelvin, the extensive grounds included the fountains, flower plots and borders, and specimen trees, all of which added to the recreational value and enjoyment of the event. There was a daily programme of music in the Grand Hall, and in the bandstands within the park grounds featuring British and Continental bands, which left a considerable impression on the population of the city. This introduction of music in the open air would lead to the parks becoming popular venues for music in the years that were to follow the Exhibition. An innovative feature of the exhibition was the extensive use made of electricity, to light the exhibition halls by day, but also to illuminate the park and many of its amusements and attractions by night. The most spectacular use of electricity was the illumination of the 'Fairy Fountain', whose 150 feet jets of water were lit at night by 18 arc lights coloured by glass slides to create "numberless dancing molehills of varied rainbow taints and exquisite beauty".²¹ This was one reason, presumably, that led some to claim that within the park, for the duration of the exhibition, Glasgow became a cosmopolitan city of comparable status and esteem as that of Paris:

By day, with bands playing and well-dressed crowds of promenaders, the scene is one of gaiety and brightness, and when night falls, and the electric light shines brilliantly, and from the fairy fountain the many-coloured waters climb into the sky, the sober-sided citizens of Glasgow can hardly believe that some spirit of enchantment has not transformed their own grey, steady-going town into the likeness of Paris on a fine day.²²

The success of the 1888 International Exhibition is attested to both by the number of visitors that were attracted to it and by the profit that was recorded after all the bills had been paid (see Appendix 8). The original intention to stage the exhibition as a means of raising funds for the building of a new art gallery and museum was provided with seed money by the success in the organisation of the 1888 event and the art gallery and museum was to be a permanent reminder of the exhibition. The profits were more than doubled by public subscription and the Corporation gave part of the Kelvingrove Park as a site for the building. The publication of a popular history and guide to the city to coincide with the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition included an appreciation of the experience of the previous event. It incorporated an appeal to the Corporation not to neglect the true and lasting benefits that such great exhibitions had to those in the city much in need of wholesome entertainment and amusement. The expectation of the delights and benefits to be obtained from such an event was clearly expressed:

²¹ P. Kinchin and J. Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, Wendlebury, White Cockade Publishing, 1988, p. 43.

The years after their last Exhibition the people of Glasgow began to turn uneasily in their heavy sleep of the provinces, and dreamed of enjoying life in the open air, of spending summer evenings in amusements less monotonous than listening to voluntary bands. And, thirteen years after their last one, comes this opportunity of acquaintance with gracious things in life, to which formerly they were strangers. This, far more than the gigantic advertisement of manufactures, will be the merit of the Exhibition. The costly apparatus seems designed to obtain a more imposing result, but, in truth, nothing short of it could have produce, the result at all. And it will be something if the people have pleasure strewn before them, which are denied to them in ordinary summers. Their lives will blossom like "roses in a dessert place, and they who took their pleasures dully will, with zest, enter into new delights". It must needs be that they will be instructed also. Machinery will teach them, foreign contrivances will teach them, and colonial produce will correct their ideas of climate. But the main lesson will be that their lives in other years lacked charm and grace, and that, even without an Exhibition, the town could do much to afford them both.²³

Despite the increased number of locals using the Exhibition as a summer amenity, no great increase in facilities for refreshment was provided, leading to complaints concerning prices and queues. Similarly, the organising committee underestimated the interest in amusement, notwithstanding the above plea. The most popular new attractions were the Canadian Water Chute and a miniature railway that did a circuit round the Russian Village. The amusements that had been popular in 1888 proved so again in 1901 and included the Venetian Gondoliers and various launches, the switchback, the shooting 'jungle', rifle range, and penny-in-the-slot biographs: The switchback claimed to have attracted 1,111,000 passengers, and the water chute (see figure 6.2) 651,000. Glasgow's 1901 Exhibition was relatively deficient in entertainments and various private enterprises took advantage of the gap in provision by setting up sideshows just out of bounds of the Exhibition site. The Scottish Zoo and Variety Circus supplied some interests and an aquatic panorama called "The River", which floated visitors past scenes of different lands was opened in June. The building of a new stadium on the University grounds with a banked cycle track and grandstand catered for the increasing popularity of sport. This was used for athletics and cycle racing and also for the novelty of automobile trials. The decision to stage an exhibition match between Glasgow's great football rivals, Rangers and Celtic, on the opening day was no doubt intended to stimulate interest in the Exhibition amongst Glasgow's working class males. However, the sectarian rivalry between the clubs and their supporters made the match a potentially fraught affair for the police and Exhibition organisers as only the worst publicity could be achieved if violence broke out at the game. The popularity of the amusements and entertainments on offer at the exhibition raised fears of general unruliness and petty crime. The Lord Provost in his message to Glasgow citizens on the closing day of the Exhibition thanked them for their 'splendid order, decorum and mutual courtesy' (see Appendix 13), and the Exhibition was again deemed a success with record numbers of visitors and a healthy profit.

²² *The Art Journal*, No. 6, p.5, cited in Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit. p 49.

²³ James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow In 1901*, Wendlebury, White Cockade Publishing, 2001, p. 229.



Figure 6. 2: The Water Chute on the River Kelvin 1901 ²⁴

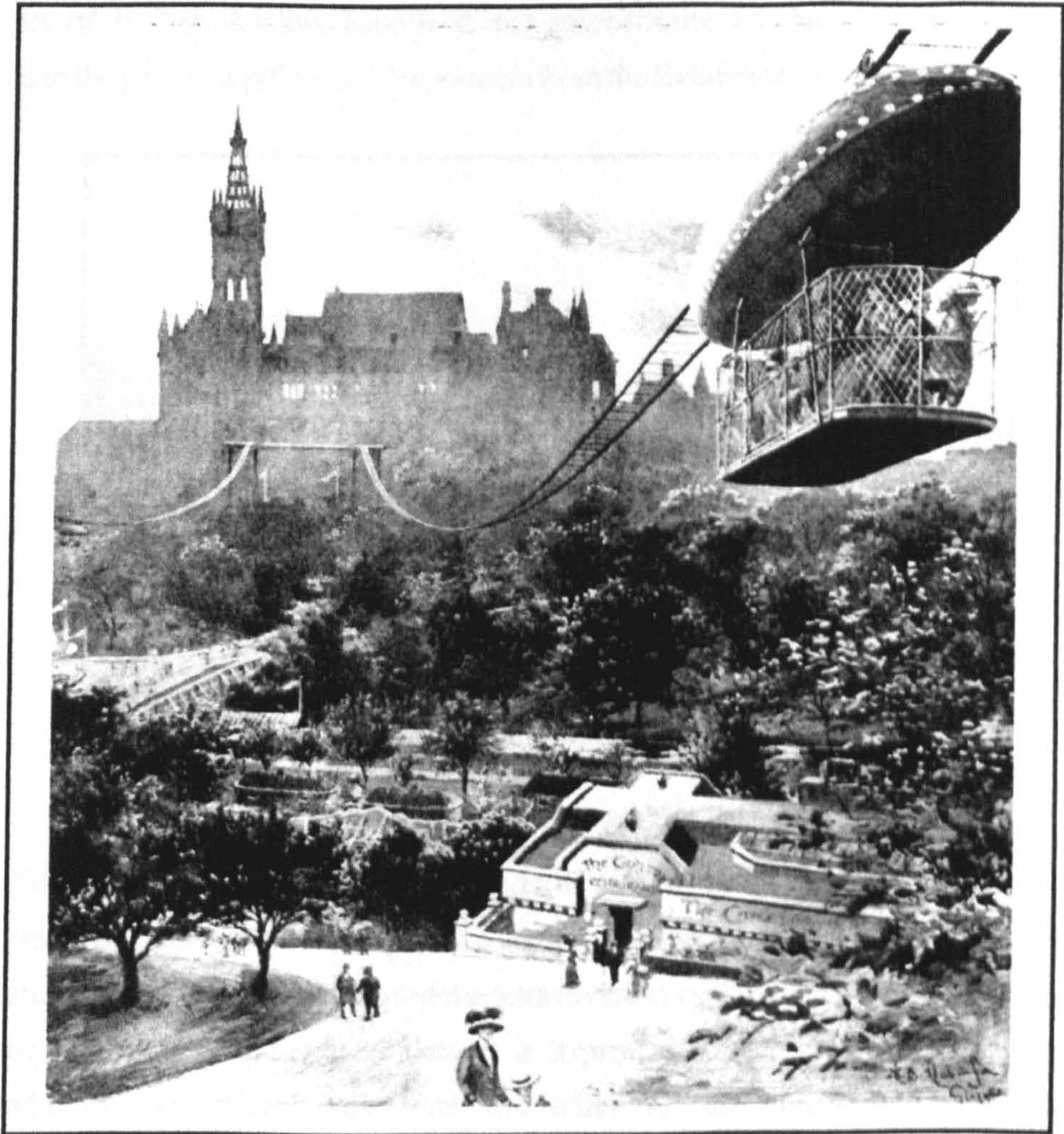


Figure 6.3: One of the Amusements in 1911 - Flying Across the Kelvin on the Aerial Railway ²⁵

²⁴ Moss & Hume, op. cit., plate 19.
²⁵ Kinchin and Kinchin, op. cit., p. 118.

As with the previous two exhibitions, the aims of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art And Industry of 1911 was to encourage education and industry, promote the image of the city and to attract visitors. Thus there was, in common with all exhibitions, the recognised need to provide amusements as a way of appealing to visitors and keeping their interest once in the park. There were historical pageants held on the Kelvin using model ships and the organisers had allowed, unlike at the previous exhibitions, the construction of a substantial amusement area at the north end of the park that included such distractions as the Mountain Scenic Ride, an improvement on the switchback, a Mountain Slide, the Tumbling River Ride, the Joy House or Hall of Illusion, camera obscura, jungle and military shooting ranges. The most genuinely novel attraction was the Aerial Railway invented by W.L. Hamilton that utilised a gas-less dirigible suspended on cables that flew above the River Kelvin, (see figure 6.3). Music was again an extremely popular entertainment and lavish provision was made through the building of a Grand Amphitheatre that had a seating capacity of 10,000. Another bandstand and amphitheatre was built that was designed to remain in the park as a gift to the Corporation from the Exhibition organisers (see figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4: Music at the Exhibition Bandstand ²⁶

The Empire Exhibition of 1938, whilst it sought to celebrate and to promote the achievements and progress of the city, the country and the Empire, recognised the need for entertainment as a fundamental part of the attractiveness of the event. Thus, while there was a Palace of Art and a representation of a ‘typical’ Scottish village, ‘the Clachan’, a comprehensive amusement park what was billed as ‘the biggest and most original amusement park in Europe’ was also constructed.²⁷ The Butlin’s amusement park included a

²⁶ Ibid. plate 22.

²⁷ Ibid, p.159

mile-long switchback ride, various rides and side-shows, as well as a West African Yoruba village and an Indian Theatre, as well as a number of restaurants, cafes, and souvenir shops. The amusement park proved again to be one of the most popular aspects for visitors to the exhibition. Figure 6.5 and 6.6 below show an early version of the dodgem cars and ‘an ultra-modern’ roundabout in the amusement arcade at the 1938 exhibition.

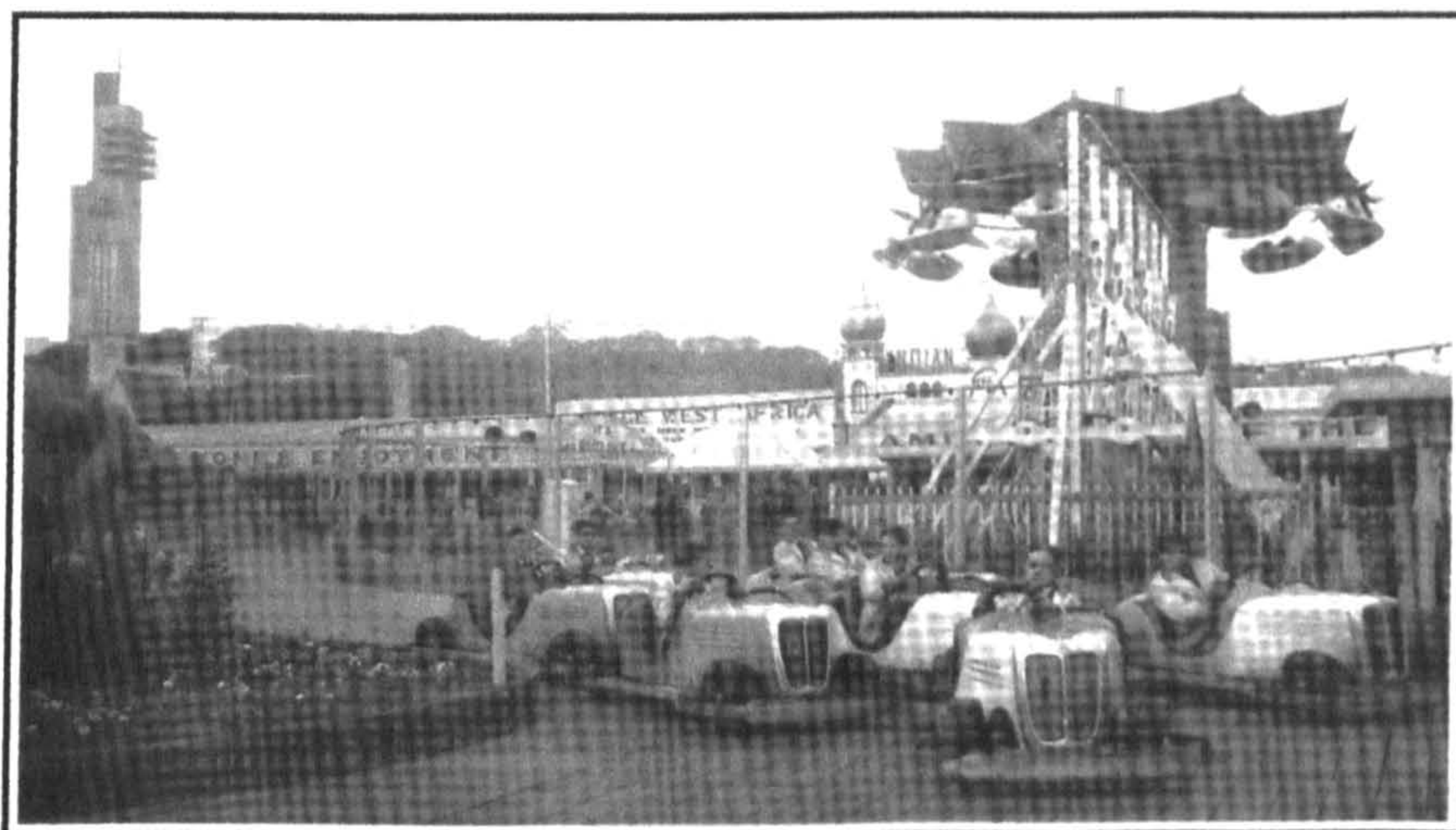


Figure 6.5: The Amusement Arcade at the 1938 Exhibition ²⁸

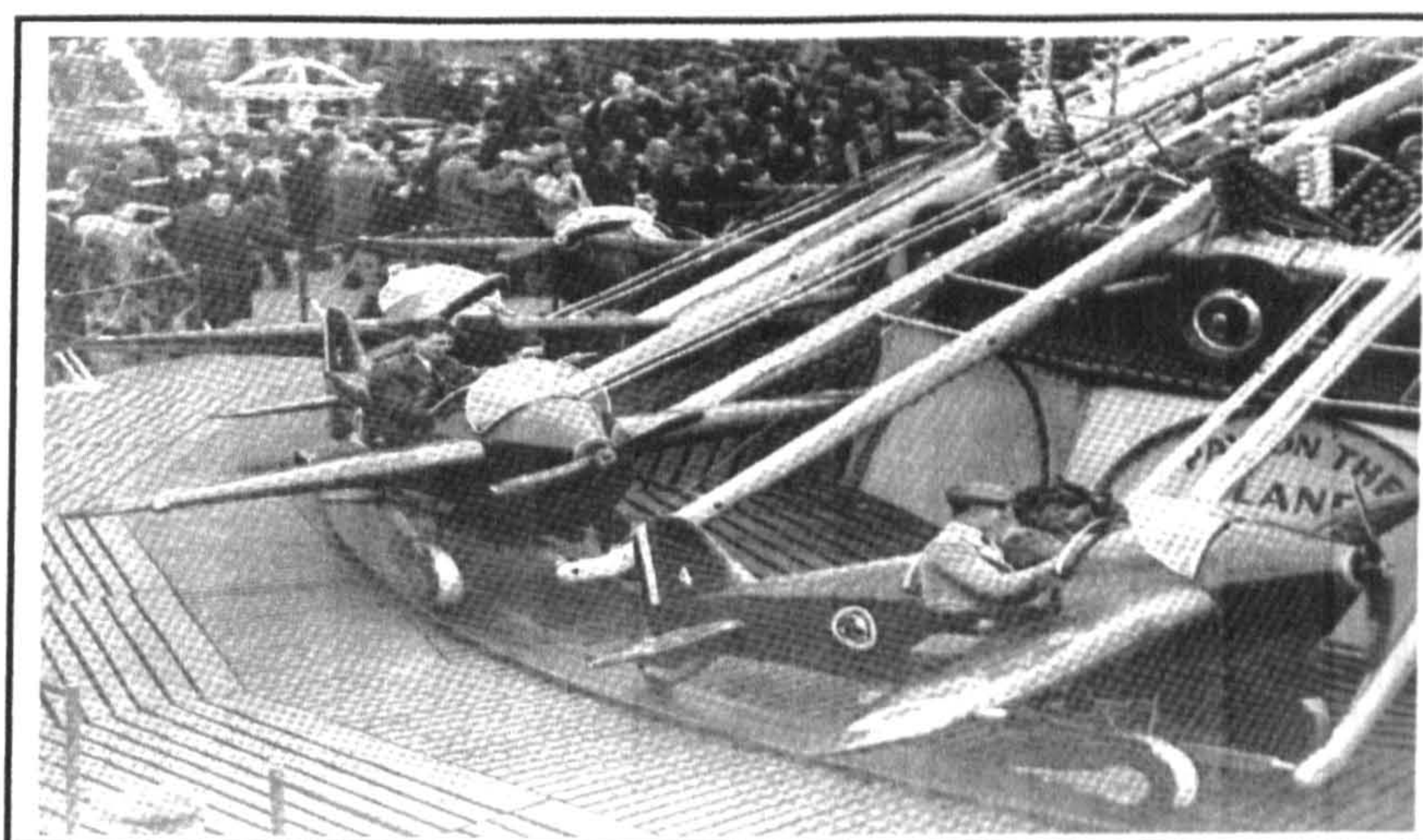


Figure 6.6: The ‘Ultra-Modern’ Roundabouts at 1938 Exhibition ²⁹

Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions represent a continuation of the carnival experience of ‘all the fun of the fair’, using new technological developments for the more sophisticated ‘modern tastes and appetites of the public’ that subverted the expressed ethos of the aims and ideals of the organisers of Glasgow’s world fairs. These events transformed the space of the parks into gigantic phantasmagorical pleasure grounds and amusements parks and, for a while, through the experience of the spectacular and the fantastic, they were temporary utopian escapes from the commonplace. This was what was popularly remembered by most

²⁸ Virtual Mitchell Record No. C1894

who visited the exhibitions, and this association of the parks with leisure, pleasure, entertainment and fun was an important consideration in the development of facilities and features within the parks that appreciated these aspects as fundamental and intrinsic factors of park enjoyment. The pleasure seekers as well as the sedate promenaders and contemplators of nature all needed accommodation within the confines of the space of the parks.

6.4: Tourism And The Parks

Public parks as prominent social spaces in any city offer the potential for a variety of uses and practices to local inhabitants and to visitors. As such, the extensive network of parks has played, and continue to play, an important role in representing to the outside world an image of Glasgow as a 'green and pleasant' cityscape that contrasts with the dominant and usually disparaging views of the city as an industrial 'great wen', an unhealthy and unpleasant environment with concomitant problems of poverty, pollution, disease and deprivation. In essence, parks are places within the city that are intrinsically associated with the consumption of leisure time, as opposed to work, with processes of reproduction not production. They are produced social spaces in which the creation or preservation of 'natural' spaces in the city provides opportunities for locals and visitors to experience a temporary escape through leisure from obligations and pressures of work and home. They provide, as Urry describes in the *Tourist Gaze*, aspects and opportunities for solitude, contemplation, privacy and a spiritual appreciation of an albeit produced nature which is characteristic of the 'romantic' gaze. They are also public places designed to attract and be used by large numbers of people engaged in social activities and interactions that are fundamental to the organisation and design of the features, facilities and events that are possible within such public space. That is, they are collective spaces to be consumed, admired and appreciated by collective associations and the consumption of the spectacle of the mass.

It is not the intention here to present a detailed account of the historical development of tourism or to provide a thorough theoretical analysis of the topic. What is pertinent here is the analysis of the public parks as spaces in the city that served as amenities, 'green oases', for visitors that provided an aesthetic and physical escape from the built environment in a semblance, a manufactured, version of 'nature'. These sites, it will be argued, were important landscapes in the city for visitors in which, within some of the parks, were located significant art galleries and museums that were attractions in their own right. The parks also came to be cultural and symbolic landscapes within the city to be promoted and consumed as

²⁹ P. Harris, *Glasgow Since 1900*, Archive Publications, 1989, Plate 130.

representing both the experience of the city at play and temporary escape from it. As such, they arise as spaces that provide facilities for amusement, distraction and the potential opportunity for mixing between the social classes, between insiders and outsiders, between the genders. They provide a means of observing the locals at play, taking their leisure, in which the tastes, culture, customs and traditions may be observed and participated in. The parks were also venues for large-scale events, such as the great Exhibitions previously discussed, which were organised specifically to encourage visitors.

What follows are brief accounts from a variety of sources that demonstrate the parks' role as visitor amenity spaces. The parks appear as a common feature in the descriptive narratives of the experiences of visitors to the city in the form of published memoirs of tours of Scotland. These usually include visits to Loch Lomond, a prime tourist attraction that, due to its close proximity, facilities and transport links, saw Glasgow used as a base or a stop en route. The attractiveness of green spaces in the city as pleasant and attractive features was well recognised by those seeking to encourage or to convey tourists. Therefore, the universal inclusion in tourist guides of the city of images and descriptions detailing the park network will be discussed as illustrating the importance of the public parks in attempts to 'sell' or to promote an impression or representation of the city as having the necessary infrastructure and interests for visitors. Similarly, the parks network featured in official publications about or by the city detailing the history of the development of the city, its municipal services provision and economic and social profile, and such publications characteristically highlighted the prominent use of parks for leisure and recreation and as adding to the aesthetic attractiveness of the city.

Whilst the development of mass tourism did not take off until the extension of the railways network in the mid 19th century, Glasgow had many visitors prior to this, whether in the city for business or embarked on tours of the country. The city, in close proximity to the beautiful scenery of Loch Lomond, the Trossachs and beyond, made it an ideal staging post for travellers, who left accounts of their impression of the city and its parks as they passed through on their way to the more rugged countryside beyond. Loch Lomond has long been recognised as an important leisure and recreational amenity resource, a particularly beautiful and picturesque site that has been an important, valuable and enduring attraction for tourists. Its inclusion here in this discussion is for two main reasons. Firstly, visitors to Loch Lomond, in particular, and the Trossachs, Highlands and Islands, often made use of the transport and communications services provided in the city. Secondly, the recognition of the importance of access to Loch Lomond for Glasgow citizens as well as to visitors was instrumental in the decision by the Corporation in 1915 to use public funds to purchase the Balloch Estate as a public park. Such investment in land for a public park at such a distance beyond the city

boundaries was clear recognition of the importance of Loch Lomond to the population of the city.

An early account of Glasgow by a foreign visitor is that by B. Faujas de Saint Fond, whose geological survey of Britain in the last quarter of the 18th century features descriptions of the types of stone, lava, schist, etc. as well as interesting geological features of the landscape. He did also record his observations and impression of the 'beauty' to be found in the streets and on Glasgow Green:

I was most astonished, in a climate so cold and so moist as that of Glasgow, to see the greater part of the lower class of women, and even many of these in easy circumstances, going about with bare feet and bare heads, their bodies only covered with a bodice, a petticoat and a cloak of red stuff, which descends to the middle part of their legs; their fine long hair hanging down without any other ornament than a simple curved comb to keep what would otherwise fall over their faces. This garb of the females, quite simple as it is, is not without grace, and since nothing impedes their movements, they have an elegance and agility in their gait so much the more striking, as they are in general tall, well made and of charming figure. They have a bright complexion, and very white teeth. It is not to be inferred because they walk bare legged, that they are neglectful of cleanliness; for it appears they wash frequently, and with equal facility, both their feet and their hands. In a word the women of Glasgow will be always seen with pleasure by the lovers of fair nature.³⁰

Dorothy Wordsworth, in memoirs of her tour of Scotland with her brother, William, also felt compelled to write down her impressions of Glasgow Green as well as the shops, streets and houses of the city:

Tuesday, August 23. A cold morning. Walked to the bleaching ground [Glasgow Green], a large flat field bordering on the Clyde, the banks of which are perfectly flat, and the general face of the country is so nearly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. This field, the whole summer through, is covered with women of all ages, children, and young girls spreading out their linen, and watching it while it bleaches. The scene must be very cheerful on a fine day, but it rained when we were there, and though there was linen spread out in all parts, and great numbers of women and girls were at work, yet there would have been many more on a fine day, and they would have appeared happy, instead of stupid and cheerless.³¹

In keeping with many tourists, her stay in Glasgow was a precursor for further journeys. She had, as the following extract illustrates, fore-knowledge of Loch Lomond but still managed to convey the awe with which her trip to the Loch inspired in her:

The reach of the lake is very magnificent... On a splendid evening, with the light of the sun diffused over the whole islands, distant hills, and the broad expanse of the lake, with its creeks, bays, and little slips of water among the islands, it must be a glorious sight ... What I had heard of Loch Lomond, or any other place in Great Britain, had given me no idea of anything like what we beheld: it was an outlandish scene – we might have believed ourselves in North America.³²

William Cobbett visited Glasgow, on 19th October 1832 and was impressed by the

³⁰ B. Faujas de Saint Fond, *A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784 Vol. 1*, translated by A Geikie Hugh Hopkins, Glasgow, 1907, p. 201.

³¹ D. Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour in Scotland, AD1803*, C.J. Sharp, (ed.), Edinburgh The Mercat Press, 1981, pp. 53-4.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 69-70, 73.

appearance and activities, both commercial and industrial, that he found in the city as well as including a positive mention of Glasgow Green:

And now what am I to say of this Glasgow, which is at once a city of greatest beauty, a commercial town and a place of manufactures also very great? It is Manchester and Liverpool in one (on a smaller scale) with regard to commerce and manufactures; but, beside this, here is the City of Glasgow, built in a style, and beautiful in all ways, very little short of the New Town of Edinburgh ... By the side of the river, above the bridges, there is a place modestly called Glasgow Green, containing about a hundred English acres of land, which is in very fine green sward, and is at all times open for the citizens to go for their recreation.³³

By the end of the century the increasing commitment of the municipal authorities to the provision of a wide range of services and facilities, including the public parks, was acknowledged and appreciated by visitors as a welcome development that was increasingly necessary in the expanding city. J.J. Dunstone delivered a lecture in 1874 that applauded the Corporations efforts in creating the parks:

In this neighbourhood there has recently been laid out an extensive pleasure ground. And if there is anything which the municipality has displayed sagacious and economic foresight, it is the purchase of these large open spaces for public uses, whilst still existing as rural territory. To buy such immense tracks in the centre of town, or when its circumference has reached them, would demand a king's ransom; and, by the time the Alexandra Park is in the city, it may be fairly computed that Glasgow will contain at least a million of inhabitants.³⁴

One last interesting example of a travel memoir is that of Max and Marianne Weber who took an extended break in 1895 to visit the 'solitude of the Scottish highlands' before travelling on to the west coast of Ireland. Whilst there is no mention of Glasgow's parks, the Webers must have passed through the city on their way to Luss on the banks of Loch Lomond and of which Max left an account in a letter to his mother.

To Helene, Weber's mother: Luss on Loch Lomond, August 14, 1895.

When we started out the sun was shining – but, as it goes in this country, the next thing you know a few clouds come rushing along over the mountaintops, and then it is as though someone were squeezing out a sponge. However, by now it already is part of the scenery, at least for me. As you walk you hardly pay any attention to whether or not it rains for five minutes, and on one day – almost regularly – one experiences the gamut of weather ... There really are but two basic colours, green and steel grey, but there are countless combinations. The mosses and the ferns that cover the always moist rocks up to the summit, interrupted only by heath, are brownish green, yellowish green, bluish green; the little rivers that flow through the meadows catlike and swift as an arrow are a brownish grey. Lead grey is the colour of the lakes, which seem incapable of strong undulation. And on top of it all there is a gentle, variously thick haze through which the sun shines ... But all this is only incidental to the great, wonderful solitude that forces itself into the foreground of feeling and seems to mark the landscape ... This morning we travelled by 'coach' over the mountains to the Trossachs – the only forest worth mentioning – on Loch Katrine. It is strange how lead grey the foliage of the Holm oaks, the chestnuts, the larches, and the plants with thorny leaves are; with their tangle of curiously deformed branches they make up the major part of these bushy copses. Of

³³ W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Tour of Scotland*, D. Green (ed.), Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1984, pp. 54-55.

³⁴ J.J. Dunstone, *Reminiscences of Glasgow by an Englishman: A Lecture Delivered At the Literary Institution of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association*, Glasgow, Robert Lindsay Publishers, 1874, p. 5.

course there was a tremendous sudden downpour lasting for fifteen minutes, and then it rained on the trip to Loch Lomond. But when we were on the lake the sun came out, and in the afternoon there even was the rare spectacle of an almost completely blue sky and sunshine, with the kind of heat that is customary here: moderate and wonderfully comfortable, moist and yet fresh. During the trip and on a walk afterward, the lake showed itself to us in its full splendour.³⁵

These admittedly highly selective accounts, in effect literary postcards, are evidence of the importance of open space for the tourist and traveller. The public parks provided an appreciated resource and amenity for those who visited the city and recorded their impressions both of the landscape and of the people that inhabited it. The common feature of these accounts is their use by visitors for walking and as an accepted means of taking in sights of the city that was distinct from the buildings and streets but considered an essential part of the visitor's itinerary. The use of the public parks as visitor attractions in this way is demonstrated in their universal inclusion in the many guides to the city and the country, in particular those produced by 19th century railway companies (see Appendix 14 for some examples of these railway guides). The descriptions in these guides of the facilities to be made use of when visiting the city on business or for pleasure emphasises the public parks as indicative of the status and success of the city. They often described in detail the features and facilities worthwhile visiting in the parks, how to get to them, regular events, as well as significant cultural resources, such as museums and galleries. The following are some examples of the descriptions of the city parks to be found in these tourist and railway guides.

The Scottish Tourist from 1838 described Glasgow as

... the Metropolis of the West, a city of great elegance ... it is the first city in particular of population in Scotland and second only to London in Great Britain; and is the chief seat of the manufacturing classes and community of Scotland ... The Botanic Gardens... is situated about a mile and half westward, and consists of nearly 6 ½ Scottish acres. Though formed only 12 years ago, it is already almost unrivalled for the richness and variety of its tropical productions. Strangers are admitted at all times by an order from a proprietor.³⁶

³⁵ Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: A Biography*, edited and translated by H. Zohn, Oxford, Transaction Books, 1988, pp. 208-9. In an interesting and illuminating admission, the Webers only seem to have relaxed and enjoyed their visit to the Loch when they met up with a German acquaintance and could indulge themselves in both conversation and ample food – something which they had seemed to have been denied on their trip previously.

"Incidentally, the world is a village in Great Britain, too. Would you believe that we met acquaintances from Berlin here? When we were taking the steamer to Loch Katrine I suddenly noticed on the "peer" among the pinched English mouths of those running to get aboard, the Germanic bard's face of Gierke. We then travelled together as far as Loch Lomond, where our ways parted. Meeting a compatriot does affect one strangely. Ordinarily we have become acclimated to the point where we have adopted the general custom of speaking in a whisper. We act as if we did not see the people to the right and to the left of us. We answer only when asked, and then briefly and very politely. We always eat less of everything than we would like to, open our mouths as little as possible, and even when our stomachs rumble audibly. We splash about in the soup with our spoons as if we didn't care about the grub. But no sooner were Germans nearby than there was such an outburst of laughter while we were waiting for the 'coach' that all the English came rushing up to see the barbarians, and in the 'coach' I overheard someone say 'merry Germany.' Before we parted, we had a 'lunch' that the waiters there won't soon forget. G. began to eat as though we were in the Teutoburg Forest, and I joined in. When everything kept disappearing, the perplexed 'waiters' finally brought superhuman quantities of "roast beef" (sic), salmon, etc., presumably for fear that otherwise we were going to bite people. Three of them stood around our table and they stared aghast at the debris of their property. They were obviously relieved when a signal finally came from the steamboat and put a stop to the meal. To the astonishment of the waiters, we also drank - G., the terror of all temperance hotels, out of conviction and I to keep up with him - I don't know how many decanters of water." Ibid. p. 209

³⁶ R.B. Stirling, *The Scottish Tourist*, 7th Edition, Kenney and Co. Edinburgh, 1838, pp. 136, 139. Oliver and Boyd's *The Scottish Tourist* edition of 1860 similarly promotes Glasgow as a vigorous manufacturing and industrial city and specifically mentions the parks as attractive for the visitor to the city:

"The Green of Glasgow is a large park on the north bank of the river, at the south-eastern corner of the city, and notwithstanding the frequent murkiness of the atmosphere from smoke, has considerable beauty. It contains an area of about 136 acres of grass and pleasant

The 1842 *Guide to Edinburgh and Glasgow Railways* extols the virtues of Glasgow as a city whilst mentioning the beauty and benefits provided by Glasgow Green.

If wealth, population, industry and intelligence, constant improving, Glasgow, though not a metropolis, is certainly the first city of Scotland ... In no district of the British Islands has the importance of this manufacture been more sedulously or more successfully cultivated, than by the inhabitants of the Scottish Venice ... Right in front of the Jail is Glasgow Green, a feature of the town which every true son of St Mungo honours with a special admiration, and so indeed he may; it is a truly noble possession. Skirting the stream of a peculiarly fine river, traversed by fine walks and rides, open to the general public without limitation or condition, and containing a space upwards of 100 acres in extent, it cannot fail to form an object of great attraction and advantage. To any densely populated city, the privileges of such an open space would naturally be of much importance to the public health, but to one so eminently manufacturing, and with so extensive a population as Glasgow, the benefits must be incalculable, affording the means and holding out, as it does, the inducement to healthy recreation, it is no wonder that the Green is assembled in the minds of the Glasgow inhabitants with sensations of delight and is spoken of in terms of affection and triumph.³⁷

Black's *Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* of 1855 describes Glasgow Green whilst mention is also made of the new park in the West End of the city:

Glasgow Green is the Public Park of Glasgow. It is diversified with walks, some of which are shaded by rows of trees, and is the common property of the inhabitants. A carriage drive, about two miles and a quarter in circumference, extends around it. An obelisk, 143 feet in height, is here erected to the memory of Nelson. When the tide is at its full, the Clyde appears at this point to great advantage, and there is a fine landscape view down the river, with the various bridges in the distance, and long ranges of buildings, public and private, on the opposite banks ... Part of the picturesque lands of Woodlands, Kelvin Grove and Gilmore-hill, occupying here both banks of the Kelvin, have been purchased by the Corporation at a cost of £60,000, to form a west-end park for the free use of the public. This place of recreation has now been laid out, and is named 'Kelvin Grove'. The Botanic Gardens (Great Western Road) are of considerable extent, and occupy a site along the banks of the Kelvin. Of foreign plants there is a very complete collection, and the grounds are beautifully laid out.³⁸

What is clearly expressed in the tourist guides is the promotion of the parks as places of interest and entertainment for visitors to make use of during their stay in the city. They are considered as valuable amenities that add to the attraction of the city and as representative of a positive aspect of its development and experience. Glasgow Corporation produced their own publications that gave detailed itineraries of the parks in the city, their features and facilities, as well as spelling out where, when and how to access them via the city's transport system. These guides appear designed to lead the visitor in an exploration of the city via its parks and sights of interest. The 1905 *Official Guide To Glasgow and Its Neighbourhood by the Tramway Car Routes* (see figure 6.7 of the 1905 Guide as well as figure 6.8, a 1960s *Official Guide to Glasgow*) provided descriptions of the following parks:

walks. A conspicuous object is an obelisk, erected in 1806, at a cost of £2000, in honour of Nelson... The Botanical Gardens are situated to the North West of the city, on the Great Western Road on the banks of the Kelvin, which is easily reached... They are open free to the operatives in the week of the Glasgow Fair in July, Mr Camphill of Tillichewan Castle having given £500 for this yearly boon." Oliver and Boyd's *The Scottish Tourist*, Edinburgh, 1860 p. 100.

³⁷ John Wilcox, *Guide To Edinburgh and Glasgow Railways*, Edinburgh, Johnstone and Johnstone, 1842, pp. 97, 103-4, 108-9.

³⁸ Black's *Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 11th Edition, Edinburgh, 1855, pp. 99, 104.

Springburn Public Park ... on a Sunday, or when a kindly wind blows the smoke veil aside, one may stroll up there and cast one's eyes over the noble panorama and which the Springburn weavers used to enjoy... With its bandstand, winter gardens, and model-yaught pond, the park forms a pleasant breathing-place for the hard-working artisan ... Arn's Well on the Green was then a fair trysting place for lovers. In their stead, of a Sunday evening, the region is now haunted by a hundred orators, each holding forth his own gospel on some point of morals or politics ... Queen's Park is by far the fairest belonging to Glasgow ... In Kelvingrove Park, the Great Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 were held. Their gay pavilions, cupolas, and minarets have disappeared, but a permanent memorial remains in the fine Art Galleries, built from their profits ... These Botanic Gardens, were once privileged and exclusive, are now the property of the city... The Kibble Palace, of glass and iron, was once the wonder of the town.³⁹



Figure 6.7: Frontispiece to Todd's 1905 Official Guide To Glasgow and Its Neighbourhood by the Tramway Car Routes⁴¹

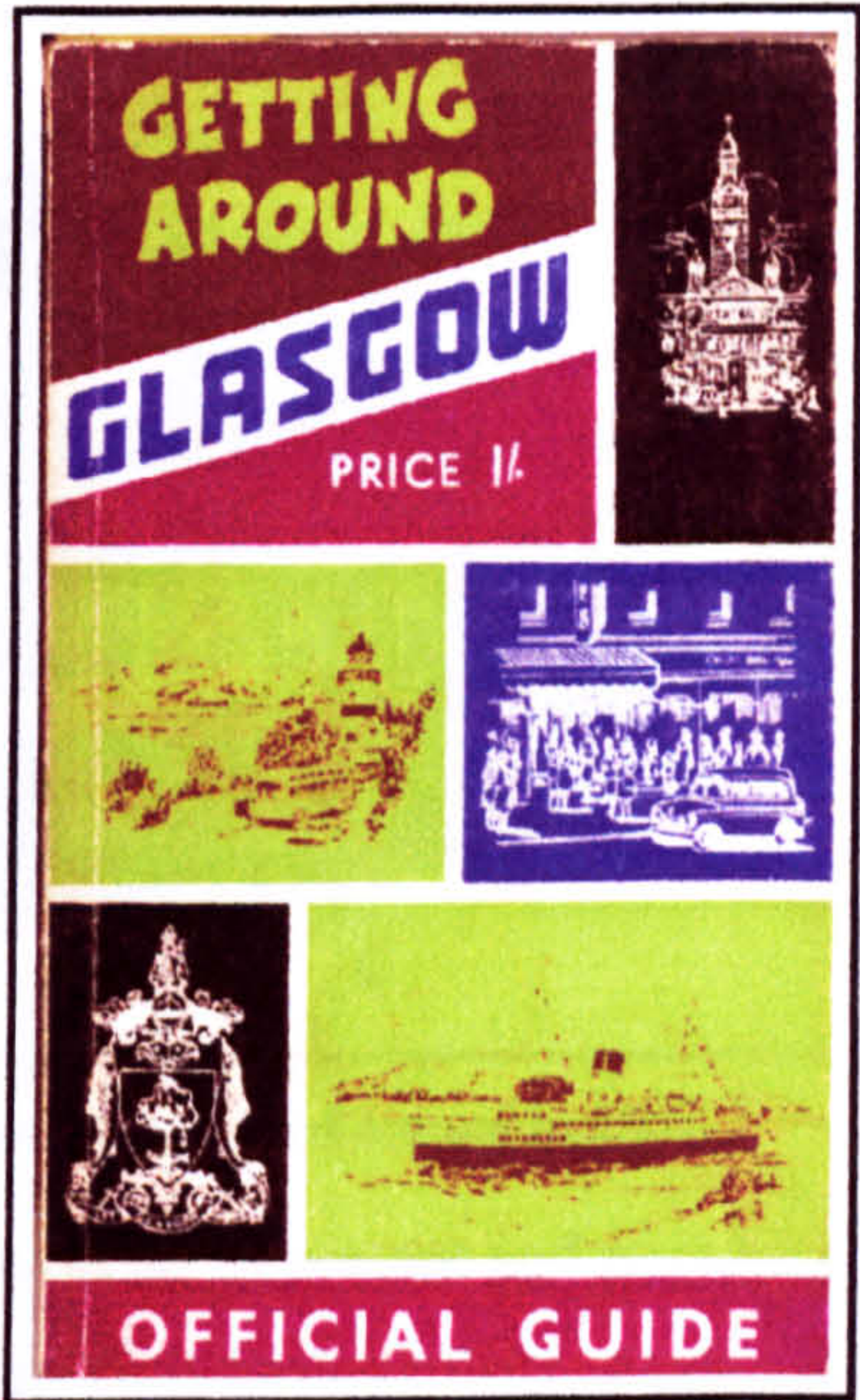


Figure 6.8: 1960's Official Guide to Glasgow⁴⁰

Loch Lomond features prominently in many guides to the city and is included here because of its close proximity to the city and because the Corporation had invested heavily in the purchase and maintenance of Balloch estate as a park for the city's population. Loch Lomond has long been a popular tourist attraction, and Black's Guide of 1855 recommends it as "unquestionably the pride of Scottish Lakes" and the opportunity to view the "... scenery of Loch Lomond has been rendered so accessible by the opening of the Dumbartonshire Railway, that tourists will in many instances prefer visiting it from Glasgow". Details of a round-trip from Glasgow were provided that gives the flavour of the advertising techniques of the time, as well as of the sites and scenery to be enjoyed:

Proceed from Glasgow by one of the Castle steamers to the new railway pier at

³⁹ George Eyre-Todd, *Official Guide To Glasgow and Its Neighbourhood by the Tramway Car Routes*, Corporation of Glasgow, MacLehose and Co., 1905, pp. 5, 10, 12.16.
⁴⁰ Corporation of Glasgow, *Getting Around Glasgow - Official Guide*, 1960s.
⁴¹ George Eyre-Todd, op. cit.

Bowling, and from thence to railway station adjacent. The new quay at Bowling will be found exceedingly convenient at all states of the tide. The train stops at Dumbarton, Renton and Alexandria stations. On reaching Balloch, the quay is on a level with the terminus, and the steamer is on a level with the quay, so that no effort is necessary to step out of the carriage into the Loch Lomond steamers. As soon as the passengers are on board, the steamer sets off, along the eastern shore of the loch, threading her way amongst the picturesque wooded islets which dot the lower expanse of the Queen of Scottish Lakes. The steamer calls at Tarbet, the landing place for Inverary, and Inversnaid, the landing place for Loch Katrine and the Trossachs, after which it proceeds to the head of the loch (Ardlui Hotel). By returning to Glasgow the same way, one is enabled to visit Loch Lomond, and enjoy the beauties of the lovely and picturesque scenery between Glasgow Bridge and the base of lovely Benlomond, in seven hours.⁴²

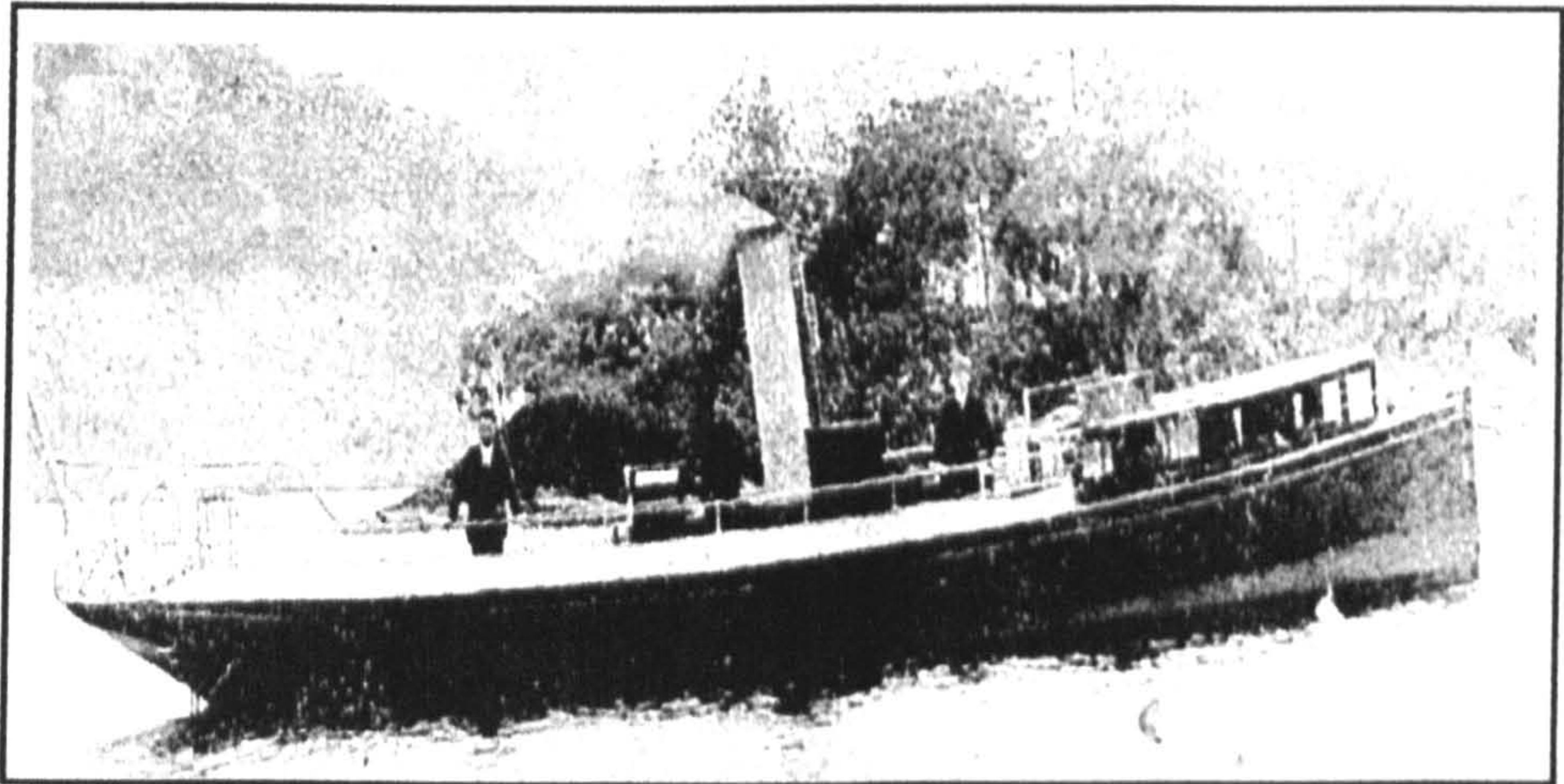


Figure 6.9: Henry Lynn and his steam launch the Lomond in 1907⁴³

Loch Lomond continued into the 20th century as an important and popular attraction for day-trippers from Glasgow as well as for tourists from further afield. As of July 2002 it has finally been opened as Scotland's first National Park. The development of a whole range of facilities for visitors to the loch side villages, particularly in Luss and Balloch, in the early period of the 20th century is indicated in the poster advertising 'Loch Lomond (Queen of Scottish Lakes)' reproduced in Appendix 15. As well as details of the topography of the loch, tearooms and hotels are advertised, but a particular focus is, unsurprisingly water sports and boating trips. The most prominent entrepreneur in this field was Henry Lynn of Balloch, pictured above in figure 6.9, on his steam launch the 'Lomond'. He continued to hire boats on the Loch until the late 1930s.

The public parks in Glasgow also featured in many official publications, variously described and illustrated as attractions in the city, and used as a means of promoting an image of the city that contrasted with more popular conceptions that have variously represented it as a dirty and polluted industrial centre with bad housing and health and a population besotted with drink and/or drugs, divided by sectarian hatred and prone to violence. Whilst there is no doubt that the parks were used to promote the image of the city

⁴² Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland, 11th Edition, Edinburgh, 1855, p. 254.

to the outside world, accounts of tours and activities recorded in memoirs substantiates the assertion that the detailed leisure, cultural and recreational pursuits and activities to be found within them that the parks were well used popular attractions for tourists and visitors. What tourists did in the parks may have been little different from that of locals enjoying their leisure time, that of taking advantage of all the features and facilities that were to be found there and enjoying the opportunity to socialise and interact in the open air. The outsider may view and compare these facilities with those that they have experienced at home or elsewhere or appreciate their novelty or impact with a more open mind not dulled by familiarity or clouded by an awareness of the historical, political and economic arguments associated with their development. The exploration and experience of the city by tourists and visitors has been enhanced and promulgated by the information found in the guides that detailed the leisure and recreational value of the parks. The use of the parks by visitors is still an important element in their maintenance as well as regulation. The economic value of tourism to any city or region requires that the necessary provisions be made to ensure their safety, comfort and enjoyment. This ensured that the high status parks and those that included important museums or galleries in particular needed to accommodate the changing needs and priorities of the tourist as well as those of the local user of the park. Such considerations reinforce the appreciation and understanding of the parks as special spaces in the city.

6.5: Sport

The movement towards the recognition and regulation of games as part of an organised and rational response to the changed circumstances and requirements for leisure in modern industrial society has been considered in a number of studies.⁴³ In general, the development of codified and organised sport in the 19th century was part of strategy in which some forms of violent and bloodthirsty popular entertainment (bear-baiting, cock and dog-fighting, bare knuckled fighting etc) were gradually outlawed and/or replaced by more civilised and acceptable sports. For example, the Marquis of Queensbury's rules for boxing introduced a gentlemanly etiquette of rules and regulations that made the sport more respectable. Other such instances of the codification of popular sport is that of football where the free-for-all, no-holds-barred street game was transformed via the playing fields of private schools into football and rugby, with associated organisations, rules and regulations for its pursuit. There was then an encouragement of participation in some organised sporting activities whilst

⁴³ A. Taylor & B. Osborne, *The Lennox Albums – Transport*, Dumbarton, Dumbarton and District Libraries, 1982, p. 24.

⁴⁴ See R. Holt, *Sport and the British – A Modern History*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988; R. Holt, *Sport and Working Class in Modern Britain*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990; G. Jarvie, & G. Walker, (eds.), *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1994; C. Rojek, (ed.) *Leisure for Leisure: Critical Essays*, London, Macmillan, 1989; C. Rojek & E. Dunning, *Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*, London, Macmillan, 1992; J. Clarke, & J. Critcher, *The Devil Makes Work –*

others were discouraged or prohibited. This aspect of the 'civilising process', as applied to sport in the parks, will be considered briefly below as concerning the gradual acceptance of the benefits to be had from sport leading to its promotion as a fundamental facility and feature of municipal parks.

Municipal public parks have become closely associated with the playing of sport, which, in part, was a manifestation of municipal enthusiasm and commitment to providing the means, spaces and facilities, for rational recreation. However, the original three parks of Kelvingrove, Queens and Alexandra were designed not for 'wanton' and unregulated games and sports that could, through the excitation of the passions, lead to violence and disorder, and the embarrassment or discomfiture of 'respectable' families, but for passive, orderly recreation. As such, they were carefully designed for walking and promenading past the carefully tended floral displays and statues to local, national and imperial worthies. A number of byelaws were enacted that sought to preserve the peace and orderliness of these public parks from the potential disorder of disorganised games.

Whilst Glasgow Green was regularly used for a variety of sports there was concern expressed at the damage caused by unlimited and unregulated sporting activities on the fabric and appreciation of the park. For example, in commenting on the improved regulations and Byelaws drawn up by the Parks Department in 1881 to limit access to sport on sections of the Green, Duncan McLellan, the Superintendent of Parks noted that that:

These have proved of very great use in contributing to the comfort of visitors and in preserving the amenity and general appreciation of the whole park, as all games are now confined to Flesher's Haugh, and certain other restricted portions. So long as games were allowed over the whole area of the park, nothing could prevent unsightly, bare patches appearing here and there, which gave an untidy and ragged appearance to the whole park.⁴⁵

However, it was not until the 1890s that the Corporation generally accepted sport as appropriate, healthy and beneficial recreation in the parks, as long as they were suitably organised and regulated, and began to provide space and facilities for sport and organised games with the construction of more parks and recreation grounds in working class communities. This occurred after the Corporation had conducted a number of enquiries into the provision for sport in Glasgow parks compared with other cities in Britain and Europe. As such, James Whitton, the Superintendent of Parks, was commissioned to inspect and to report on parks in Liverpool, Birkenhead, Birmingham, London, Manchester and Leeds and reported as follows:

In comparing the facilities enjoyed in these towns with those of our own, it is apparent to an impartial observer that any scheme for the extension of our present arrangements

⁴⁵ *Leisure in Capitalist Britain*, London, Macmillan Press, 1985.

⁴⁵ Corporation of Glasgow, Parks Department, *Report upon the Public Parks and Squares of Glasgow for the year 1882*, p. 2. (Mitchell Library Archive LP 4/48).

must be considered with a due regard to the obvious difference in the temperament and tastes of the average English population and those of our own city. This is as much in the predilection of the former for outdoor games as in other points of character ... One point, which I would like to emphasise, is the system of park ranging. In nearly all cases, a special staff of constables is regularly employed in that duty. Consequently, the men are familiar with the requirements of the park, and are imbued with an interest in it. By these arrangements, the parks are controlled in a most satisfactory manner. ⁴⁶

Similarly the provision of facilities for recreation in continental city parks was also investigated with a view to assessing the quality and extent of that provided in Glasgow. In reporting on the features and facilities to be found in the cities of Hamburg, Hanover, Berlin, Potsdam, Frankfurt, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Laeken and Ghent in May 1899, Whitton made some illuminating comments on the needs and requirements of Glasgow citizens for outdoor recreations relative to their continental brethren:

Our own much-abused climate demands more vigorous forms of exercise than what could be borne in a hotter country, hence an active, energetic spirit is inbred in our race; our requirements are different, even in parks, from those of a warm climate, where the tendency is to avoid any active form of exercise which would further exhaust the system already enervated by the labour and heat of the day. There being then little necessity for the class of outdoor games dear to the youth of our city, our continental friends do not make the same provision as we do for them; in fact our impression is that any form of amusement likely to interfere with the amenity or the peaceful enjoyment of the frequenters of the park is not favoured ... One of the features of most continental parks we do not possess viz. refreshment rooms; but we do not think that restaurants of the continental type would ever be a success in public parks in our country, at least not in Glasgow, as the actions and habits of the people are so very different. But we are not to say that refreshment rooms would be a failure. Much depends on their management.⁴⁷

By this time, at the end of the 19th century, many popular sports had become increasingly codified and organised into rule bound games of teams and leagues. Thus, whilst some parks were still considered as places designed for a family stroll and appreciation of the flora and statuary on display, more emphasis and appreciation of the need for sport became included in park design and maintenance. The relationship between sport and the public parks was therefore one of change and adaptation. The Corporation reacted to popular demand for sport in parks and also accepted the social and medical benefits of organised sport. Thus, initial resistance on the part of the municipal authorities towards sport being played in parks gave way to the provision of facilities, equipment and areas within parks, specifically allocated for a wide range of designated games and sports. This represented a change in parks designed primarily for passive recreation to those designed for active participation in which the functional delimitation of park spaces and activities, with concomitant rules and regulations enacted and enforced, produced a tension between organised activity and ad hoc, everyday, spontaneous, informal and impromptu games. Some consideration of this tension and

⁴⁶ Corporation of Glasgow Parks Department, Report by the Superintendent of Parks on the Inspection of Some Public Parks in England, Oct. 1895, pg 26-7. (Mitchell Library Archive MP 28 pp 668-695).

⁴⁷ Corporation of Glasgow Parks Department, Report by James Whitton Superintendent of Parks on his Visit to Continental Parks, Gardens and C. in 1897. Dated May 1899, p.39-40. (Mitchell Library Archive D-Pk 1 1865-1889).

conflict will be given below alongside an account of the development of organised sporting activities in the parks. However, given the nature of informal games and everyday play, it is difficult to provide direct evidence, with reference to specific accounts.

It is appropriate to begin the examination of sport in parks with football due to its position as the people’s game and the particular popularity, intense affections and loyalties it has inspired in Glasgow. Glasgow Green has long associations with the game and it is worth noting that both of Glasgow’s most famous football clubs, Celtic and Rangers, had their origins on the green sward of the Green.⁴⁸ However, Queens Park, formed as an amateur club in 1867, was the earliest and had its origins in the south side park and was instrumental in founding the Scottish Football Association, responsible for formulating the rules and regulations of the game in Scotland. With this codification of the game the antipathy towards the playing of football in the parks gradually subsided and with the establishment of recreation grounds and parks in working class areas of the city by the 1890s, there was a considerable degree of investment made in providing pitches and facilities. Table 6.3 is reproduced from Corporation Parks Department records and illustrates the extent of provision for adults and for youth in the city’s parks by 1909.

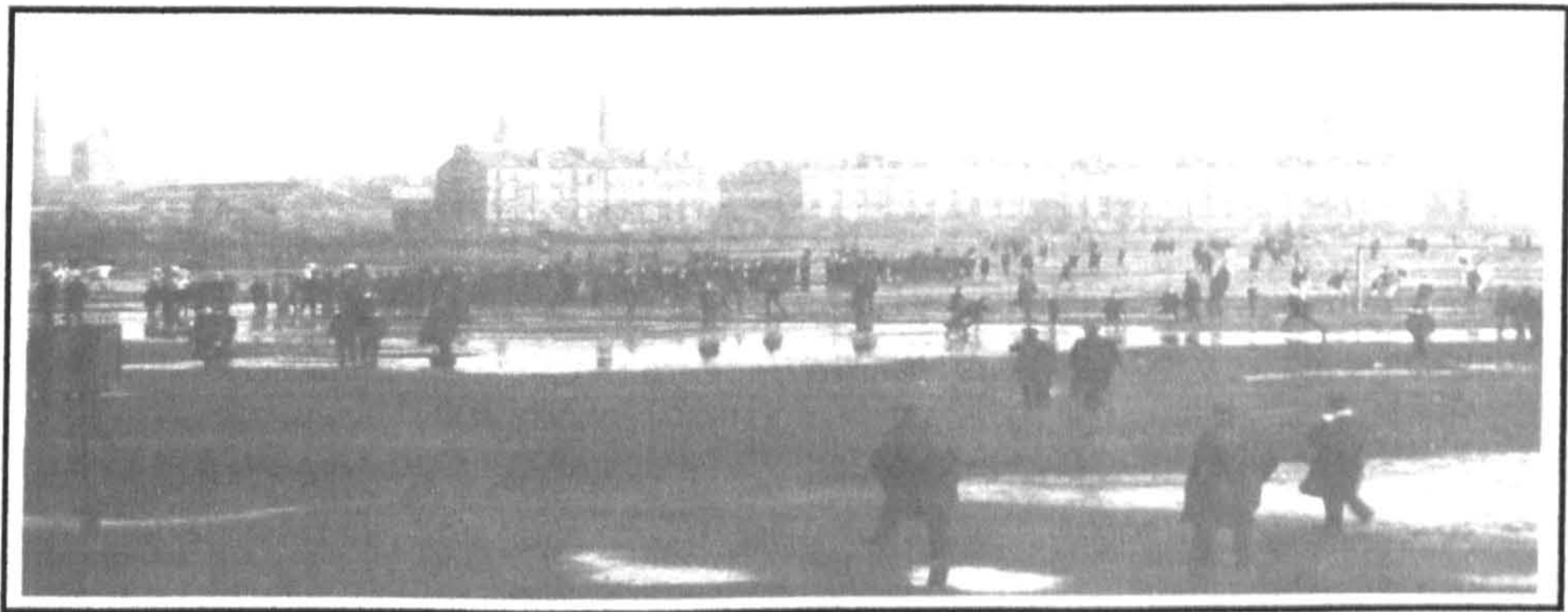


Figure 6. 10: Football on the Green c.1900 ⁴⁹



Figure 6.11: Glasgow Green Football c. 1910 ⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Brother Winifred founded Celtic in 1887 as a means of raising money to give free meals to poor Catholic children in the East End of the city. Rangers were founded in 1872 originally for men from the West Highlands.
⁴⁹ Gilmour, op. cit., p. 43.

| PARK | | No. of Pitches | Size |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|
| Kelvingrove Park (Bunhouse) | Adults | 2 | 100 x 50 yds |
| Kelvingrove Park (Bunhouse) | Juveniles | 2 | 70 x 40 yds |
| Glasgow Green | Adults | 6 | 100 x 50 |
| Glasgow Green | Juveniles | 4 | 70 x 40 |
| Alexandra Park | Adults | 3 | 100 x 50 |
| Alexandra Park | Juveniles | 3 | 70 x 40 |
| Springburn Park | Adults | 2 | 100 x 50 |
| Springburn Park | Juveniles | 2 | 70 x 40 |
| Ruchill Park | Adults | 1 | 100 x 50 |
| Ruchill Park | Juveniles | 1 | 70 x 40 |
| Bellahouston Park | Adults | 3 | 100 x 50 |
| Bellahouston Park | Juveniles | 2 | 70 x 40 |
| Queens Park | Adults | 7 | 100 x 50 |
| Queens Park | Juveniles | 4 | 70 x 40 |

Table 6.1: Size, Number and Types of Football Pitches in Glasgow Parks, 1909 ⁵¹

The requirements insisted on before pitches could be hired illustrates how the Corporation sought to regulate access to the use of football pitches in municipal parks. For example, the playing season only ran from November to April, and priority was given to “such clubs as are properly constituted under the rules of any league or association in Glasgow. The clubs must have a duly elected President, secretary and treasurer and have a membership of not less than 25”.⁵² The charges for the use of the marked-off pitches and goal posts were as follows: “Adult Club Teams, 3s 6d per game; Junior Club teams, 1s 6d; Casual Adult Teams, 3s; Casual Junior Teams, 1s 6d; and Elementary School Teams, 6d.”⁵³ There was in the provision of these pitches an emphasis on their use by clubs properly organised and affiliated to leagues and associations whose rules and regulations for proper conduct, it was hoped, would minimise any potential disorder amongst players and spectators. There is no doubt that participation in organised football matches in the parks was a highly popular and pleasurable pastime for Glasgow males, as figures 6.10 and 6.11 illustrate.

However, football is a relatively simple game that, despite its rules and regulations, ‘need’ for laid out pitches, goal-posts, and team strips etc., can be played by anyone with a ball and a couple of jumpers. The enthusiasm for using the park green spaces for football therefore could not be limited, despite the regulations, to specific areas and seasons. The commonplace sight of boys and youths enjoying a kick-about was often accompanied by the similarly routine intervention of park staff seeking to preserve the peace and quiet, flowers and shrubs, disrupted by unruly games of fitba’. Figure 6.12 shows boys playing football in Govanhill Park in 1910, and demonstrates how games could spring up anywhere where there

⁵⁰ Glasgow Museums, *People's Palace Book of Glasgow: Centenary Edition*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 1998, p. 16.
⁵¹ Corporation of Glasgow Parks Department, *Rules for the Use of Sites and Spaces in Parks for Football and Other Games*, Corporation of Glasgow Reports, 12 Feb. 1909, p. 813. (Mitchell Library Records C2 1.9).
⁵² Ibid. p. 813.
⁵³ Ibid. p. 814.

was space and whenever a ball was around to be kicked.



Figure 6.12: Boys Playing Football in Govanhill Park, 1910 ⁵⁴

Other sports popularly played in the parks included golf, which had been played on Glasgow Green for centuries before municipal provision of golf courses began in the late 19th century. Like football, although possibly more potentially hazardous, hitting balls long distances with a stick does not necessarily require an organised and delimited space. Any relatively open space, such as the parks, provided ample opportunities for practicing the game that caused conflict with officials and other park users. Cricket, whilst never as popular in Scotland as in England, was played on the College Green of the University and municipal provision of cricket pitches was provided in a number of parks. Similarly, croquet, hockey, shinty, rugby, putting, and pitch and putt, although provided for in a number of parks, could also be played in unauthorised and regulated spaces, which again offered the potential for conflict with park authorities. A popular sport in the 19th century, which has become a museum exhibit, catered for in the parks by the municipal authorities despite claims about its resistance to middle-class attempts to civilise it, was the game of quoits, a hoop and ring game which, according to Tranter,

more so than soccer or any other sport ... was a thoroughly working-class game in composition, practice and outlook, with none of the hostility towards professionalism among its players and gambling among its spectators, which characterised the early evolution of sports like athletics, rowing and soccer. Most striking of all is the fact that of all sports which attracted working-class participation quoiting alone seems entirely to have escaped the efforts of middle-class society to fashion a sporting culture based on strictly amateur ideals according to which winning mattered far less than the joy of simply taking part. ⁵⁵

One sport that became increasingly popular and associated with public parks is that of

⁵⁴ Gilmour, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵⁵ N.L. Tranter, 'Organised Sport and the Working Classes of Central Scotland, 1820-1900: the Neglected Sport of Quoiting', in R. Holt (ed.) *Sport and the Working class in Modern Britain*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 61.

bowls. Whilst bowling is an old game, its modern manifestation was the result of the need to have some form of uniform and universal laws by which teams could play each other. The Scottish Bowling Association met in 1892 and appointed William Mitchell, a Glasgow solicitor to draw up the regulations and rules of the modern game and what was emphasised was the “contribution that bowling made to the development of fellowship, and this was to be a recurrent theme in much of the early organised recreational activities. In a world of increasing individualism, fellowship and conviviality in a safe regulated network was important.”⁵⁶ The increasing popularity of bowls as a participation sport in towns and cities in the late 19th century led to the establishment of private clubs and the eventual demand for the municipal provision of bowling greens in the city. A report to the Parks and Galleries Committee of the Town Council of Glasgow by the Superintendent of Parks, Duncan M’Lellan, dated 17th October 1892, states the following:

After visiting and carefully inspecting these various public parks in Scotland and England, I am of the opinion that, however much has been done in Glasgow during the last 40 years towards providing out-door amusement for the general public, we are still far behind England in the way of bowling, lawn tennis and gymnasia. The greens that I inspected were not expensively made – local turf, in all cases, being used. Strict regulations were enforced for the preservation of the turf, which, in most cases was in wonderfully good order, considering the fact that it was towards the end of the season when my inspection was made ... I take the liberty, therefore, of suggesting to you that, as an experiment, bowling greens, lawn tennis grounds and gymnasia might be tried in several of the parks here, to be conducted along the lines of those in Newcastle and Bolton. In both Queens and Alexandra Parks, there is fairly good turf available for making greens.⁵⁷

Whilst this recommendation appears to have been accepted, the provision of bowling greens in parks was a gradual process. For example, Alexandra and Queens Parks bowling greens were added in the period 1905-1924, as were tennis courts in these and other parks at this time. Whilst the provision for sports such as tennis, bowls, football, rugby, etc is now seen as almost quintessential features of public parks, it was not until the first quarter of the 20th century that they became regarded as fundamentally necessary facilities. A comprehensive list of the sporting facilities provided in 1970 by the Corporation and the charges for using them is provided in Appendix 11. Similarly, some examples of sporting activities in Glasgow parks are illustrated in Appendix 12.

Sport as an organised and regulated activity appears to have been gradually accepted and accommodated in Glasgow by the city authorities, as well as influencing the development and design of the parks. However, it is also a social activity that can be performed and take place in areas outwith the control and regulation of the parks authorities. As such the potential for creating unofficial pitches and arenas where games are played

⁵⁶ W.H. Fraser, “Developments In Leisure”, in W.H. Fraser & R.J. Morris, (eds.), *People And Society In Scotland II, 1830-1914*, Edinburgh John Donald Ltd. 1990, p. 244.

⁵⁷ *Bowling Greens in Parks - Report to the Parks and Galleries Committee of the Town Council of Glasgow* by the Superintendent of Parks,

illustrates the way in which sport as an everyday activity can challenge the dominant representations and organisation of the space of the parks. Such recreations can have associated meanings of the parks that are fundamentally different from that of those who produce, maintain and seek to regulate them, and which in turn has to be acknowledged when considering how such social spaces develop over time, for as Lefebvre makes clear, "space is permeated with social relations: it is not only supported by social relations but is also producing and produced by social relations".⁵⁸

6.6: Art and Culture

The parks as aesthetic, designed interpretations of nature in the city was discussed previously as a cultural discourse, they also functioned as green spaces for play, recreation and relaxation that offered a welcome break from the 'built environment'. Details of the art and sculpture to be found in the parks has been discussed previously in relation to the exhibition of the ideals and tastes of hegemonic power seeking to represent worthy and important figures and events in the history of learning, the city and the empire. To what extent these art works and public memorials were appreciated and venerated by the populace is open to question. Whilst Glasgow was proud of its role in the Empire, as evident in the naming of streets as well as monuments to colonies and military exploits, there is also a radical and popular tradition that pokes fun at the elevation of individuals to the seeming mythic status of an elevated stone plinth. Clearly, the ideological intentions behind the aesthetic designs and the location of public art and sculpture in the parks need not necessarily be one that was adopted or accepted by all the communities and traditions that used the parks for their leisure and recreation.

A discussion of the role of the parks as sites for the location of museums and art galleries as an aspect of the cultural discourse was considered in the representation of the parks. Glasgow Corporation viewed the municipal provision of art galleries and museums, as well as parks, as providing a potentially civilising influence on the population of the city, as well as being emblematic of the status of the city. Robert Crawford, an influential Town Councillor, chair of both the Health committee and the committee for Galleries and Museums, put the paternalistic bourgeois perspective on the function of culture in his address to the Ruskin Society of Glasgow in February 1891:

The Art Museum and the Picture Gallery is therefore a recognition on the part of the authorities of the lofty function of Art, and an expression of their faith, that those whom they serve, are, or may become, sufficiently cultivated and refined to enter into the enjoyment of the kingdom of the beautiful ... [A]ll that Art and healthy recreation can do should be done with much faith and hope, that under such fostering care the people

Duncan M'Lellan dated 17th October 1892. (Mitchell Library Archives D-Pk1).

⁵⁸ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p. 286.

will come to understand and enjoy the higher forms of pleasure. In my opinion, it is one of the departments of municipal work in which it is our province to lead and educate the people.⁵⁹

Such lofty ideals were clearly associated with the provision both of the parks and the museums that came to be located in them. Appendix 7 provides details and descriptions of the museums and art galleries that have a close association with the city's public parks. It is not possible to define or to clarify the direct relationship between the use of the parks and the museums located in them. Both the museums and the parks were attractions in their own right and they mutually reinforced the experience or opportunity offered by a visit to either. Similarly, the difference between museums and the collections they displayed, whether local, historical, individual, natural history, etc. makes it difficult to assume the universality and homogeneity of acceptance of the values and objects that they displayed. However, the popularity of the museums can be attested to by the visitor figures that are available (provided in Appendix 7). Clearly, the location of museums and galleries within the parks provided another aspect of the use of the parks that differentiated them from the surrounding built environment of the city and reinforced their status as special, other realms.

6.7: Music In The Parks

A further popular feature in Glasgow parks, adding to their 'romance', was the free open-air music concerts held at bandstands erected in many of the parks during the summer season of May until the end of August (see figures 6.13 and 6.14 below). The free provision of musical performances in the public parks began on a small scale and in an experimental manner, and was considered as "an inducement to the citizens to resort to the open air for exercise and recreation"⁶⁰ and, as such, was deemed a worthwhile expense by the Corporation. The cost of providing music in the parks for the year 1895-6 is recorded as £2139 0s 10d, an increase in from the previous year of £152.

At first, about the year 1883, only a few performances were given, principally by local volunteer bands, in the principal parks, and the expenditure in the form of the actual outlay and gratuities to performers was very modest. But the demand for such performances increased; the appreciation of public music grew apace, and the service was organised on a scale adequate to the requirements of the City. Now varied performances are given almost nightly in one or other of the parks; and on Saturdays in them all; and during the season bands of the highest reputation are occasionally brought from London and other centres.⁶¹

Free open-air concerts added to the attraction of the parks for the population of the city. They provided the opportunity not only for fresh air and exercise but also for social interaction

⁵⁹ R. Crawford, Speech to the Ruskin Society of Glasgow: 'Peoples Palace and the Arts', Feb 1891, pp. 8, 10. (GUL Spec. Coll. Mu.22-d.17).

⁶⁰ Abstract of the Account of the Revenue and Expenditure and Stock Account of the Corporation acting under the Glasgow Public Parks Act, for the Year from 31st May 1895 to 31st May 1896, p. iv.

⁶¹ J. Bell & J. Paton, Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Enterprise, Glasgow, James MacElhope and Sons. 1896, p. 325.

across the genders as well as the classes, although many well-off middle-class families departed the city to stay in their summer residences along the Clyde Coast. Nonetheless, the concerts in the park were an enjoyable and memorable activity for city dwellers during the summer and were the subject of popular humorous publications featuring poems, stories and illustrations of characters to be seen at the concerts (see illustrations in Appendix 9). The popularity of the parks with the population of the city can be gleaned from the estimated audience figures for the year 1894, given in table 6.2 below.

| PARK | NO. OF PERFORMANCES | TOTAL ATTENDANCE | AVERAGE ATTENDANCE |
|------------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Botanic Gardens | 36 | 87,550 | 2,432 |
| Kelvingrove Park | 33 | 199,000 | 6,030 |
| Queens Park | 33 | 142,400 | 4,315 |
| Glasgow Green | 32 | 204,000 | 6,375 |
| Alexandra Park | 16 | 15,900 | 994 |
| Phoenix Square | 15 | 15,000 | 1,000 |
| Maxwell Park | 14 | 9,150 | 654 |
| Springburn Park | 14 | 14,840 | 1,060 |
| Possill Park Bandstand | 14 | 6,100 | 436 |
| Maryhill Park | 13 | 3,790 | 292 |
| Hutcheson Square | 13 | 45,800 | 3,523 |
| Pollock St. Band Stand | 7 | 12,900 | 1,845 |
| Cathkin Braes | 3 | 1,500 | 500 |
| George Square | 2 | 12,450 | 6,225 |
| TOTAL | 245 | 770,380 | |

Table 6.2: Estimated Attendance at Band at Band Performances Given in the Various Parks and Squares During the Season of 1894. ⁶²

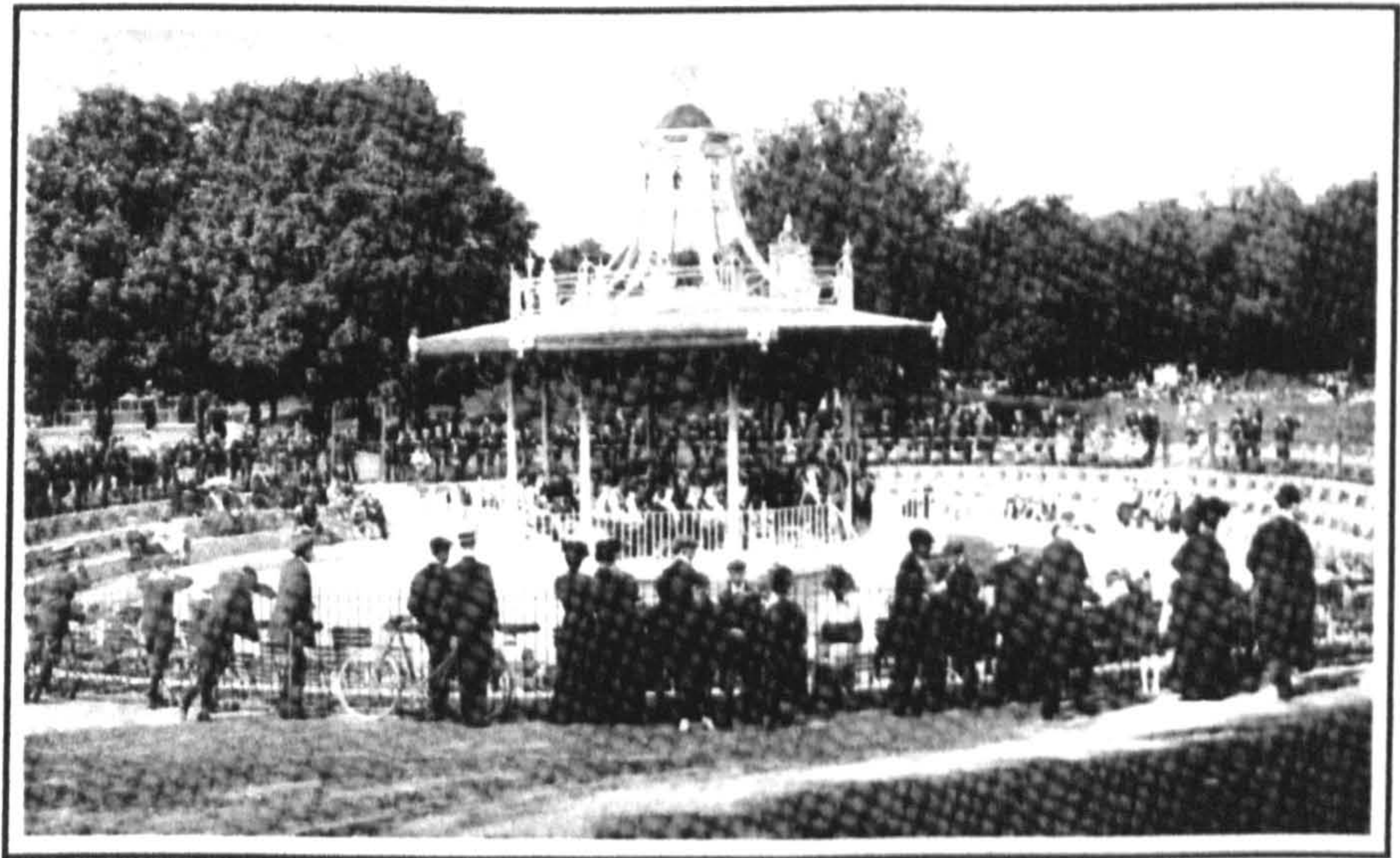


Figure 6. 13: Bandstand at Rouken Glen ⁶³

The Corporation produced programmes for each season that included details of the

⁶² MacLellan, op. cit., p. 155.

⁶³ Gilmour, op. cit., p. 80.

bands that were to play as well as the venues and times (see Appendix 10 for examples). The Corporation was proud of the number and variety of musical performances that they staged, but the type of music featured was predominantly light entertainment brass bands from various industries and services playing a mix of popular and patriotic medleys. What were actively discouraged were the songs from the music halls with their more overtly sensuous and scurrilous lyrics and sentiments, deemed inappropriate for the rarefied air of the mixed companies of the parks performances. What is also evident in the choice of music is perhaps the class bias and bourgeois sensibilities of those who licensed and organised the music in the parks. There is a clear sense that sanctioned musical entertainments became established as an attractive adjunct to the facilities and features provided in the parks but were enjoyed passively. However, whilst organised ‘official’ musical performances were encouraged, the desire to participate or ‘make one’s own music’ was considered as inappropriate to the enjoyment of the parks and prohibited by the byelaws regarding the unauthorised playing of instruments or of singing. Technological developments after WWII provided more opportunities for satisfying the desire for music through cheaper and more widely available phonographs, stereos, tapes machines, etc, not only making music possible at home but allowing the portable and personal choice of the individual to be carried into the streets and parks. Similarly, youth cultures and the musical genres that are associated with them made it more difficult to appeal to the tastes and styles of all ages. The provision and popularity of music in the parks has therefore declined along with the material fabric of the bandstands.



Figure 6.14: Victoria Park Bandstand c. 1913 ⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The refurbished Victoria Park Bandstand that attracted audiences of 107, 500 in the season of 1913, which included 23 performances. The following year after the outbreak of war attendances had dropped to 59, 000 for the same number of performances. *Ibid.* p. 95.

6.8: Parades And Marches

In the previous chapter, the representation of the parks as political spaces was considered in relation to a dominant discourse in which power was manifest in the creation and regulation of the parks as social spaces. This ideological imperative produced particular forms and designs as well as operating to limit and to restrict the social relations and activities that could occur within the parks. In particular, the local state had the power to police the parks and sought to control any use of the parks for political purposes. The parks were therefore subject to the dominating influence of hegemonic forces that seek control of the use of the space of the parks. The reappropriation of the space of the parks through political activities, such as marches, demonstrations and rallies, can contest and conflict with the dominant meanings and symbols attached to the parks as hegemonic spaces produced and represented by power. If, as De Certeau claims, walking as an everyday activity has the potential to challenge and usurp the control of designed and dominated space, then such political collective acts, political walks, as it were, can similarly take over, however temporarily, the parks.

Glasgow Green is the foremost political space and has been the most widely used for such events, due to its central location, reputation and popular affection as the people's park. Demonstrations in support of a huge range and variety of causes and campaigns have taken place on the Green. The need to regulate such uses of the parks may be viewed in the development of byelaws proscribing meetings, orations, lectures, services etc. unless previous permission had been granted. The possibility of the parks being used as a focus for large-scale public disorder and indecency, for political assembly and activity, was viewed with alarm by the civic and police authorities. Indeed, the right of public assembly on Glasgow Green was revoked in 1927 and was not restored until 1932. The parks thus acted as public fora for popular culture and political activity that had the potential for conflict with authority over what was permissible and what was not. The following includes only a few examples of those large-scale demonstrations that have used the parks. Demonstrations in favour of Burgh reform and the extension of the franchise were organised in the 1830s by the Liberal Party. They have been described as essentially pageants demonstrating the respectability of the reform movement as well as its popularity. A crowd of 100,000 is reputed to have marched on the Green in 1831 in support of the Parliamentary Reform Bill and again in 1867 and 1884. King describes how a sense of participation in a great historical struggle was evident in the pride and ingenuity in which participants sought to represent themselves and their trades:

the Glasgow Upholsterers in 1884 carried a full size bed, 'the death bed of the House of Lords' while potters carried model kilns on poles stuffed with smoking rags ... The Handwarpers had a rhyme on their banner: 'We warp the web and will not stand an intermeddling lordly band, their web is warped, their lease is ta'en, The House of Lords shall not remain'.⁶⁵

In 1920, 60,000 demonstrated on the Green against the new Rent Act as part of the National Rent Strike. This campaign is credited as being crucial for the development of Glasgow's reputation as 'Red Clydeside', a hotbed of socialist radicalism. The use of Glasgow Green for a large number of trade union and industrial demonstrations has continued to the present day. May Day festivals were and are held annually on Glasgow Green (see figure 6.15 of the 1934 May Day March on its way to Glasgow Green), seeking to celebrate the historical legacy of union and socialist activism. The use of Glasgow Green for Trades Union rallies and meeting is a legacy that continues. The organisers of the famous work-in by Upper Clyde Shipbuilders regularly held rallies on Glasgow Green to garner public support for the cause of heavy engineering on Clydeside (see figure 6.16). A host of other causes, ranging from Temperance Societies, the Orange Order, Irish Republicanism, to CND, Gay Rights, Women's Rights, Animal Rights, etc. have held rallies and demonstrations on the Green. In addition, the parks are also the venue for large-scale events such as music concerts, pipe band championships, flower shows, and, famously, Bellahouston Park was the venue for Pope John-Paul II's visit and celebration of mass in Glasgow (see figure 6.17)



Figure 6.15: 1934 May Day March on route to Glasgow Green, showing Communist Party banners opposing the rise of fascism⁶⁶

⁶⁵ E. King, *The People's Palace and Glasgow Green*, Edinburgh, Chambers, 1985, pp. 34, 36.

⁶⁶ *Evening Times Millennium Memories Part 7 Celebration City*, ETM70040 p. 13.



Figure 6.16: The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders Rally on Glasgow Green in June 1971 ⁶⁷

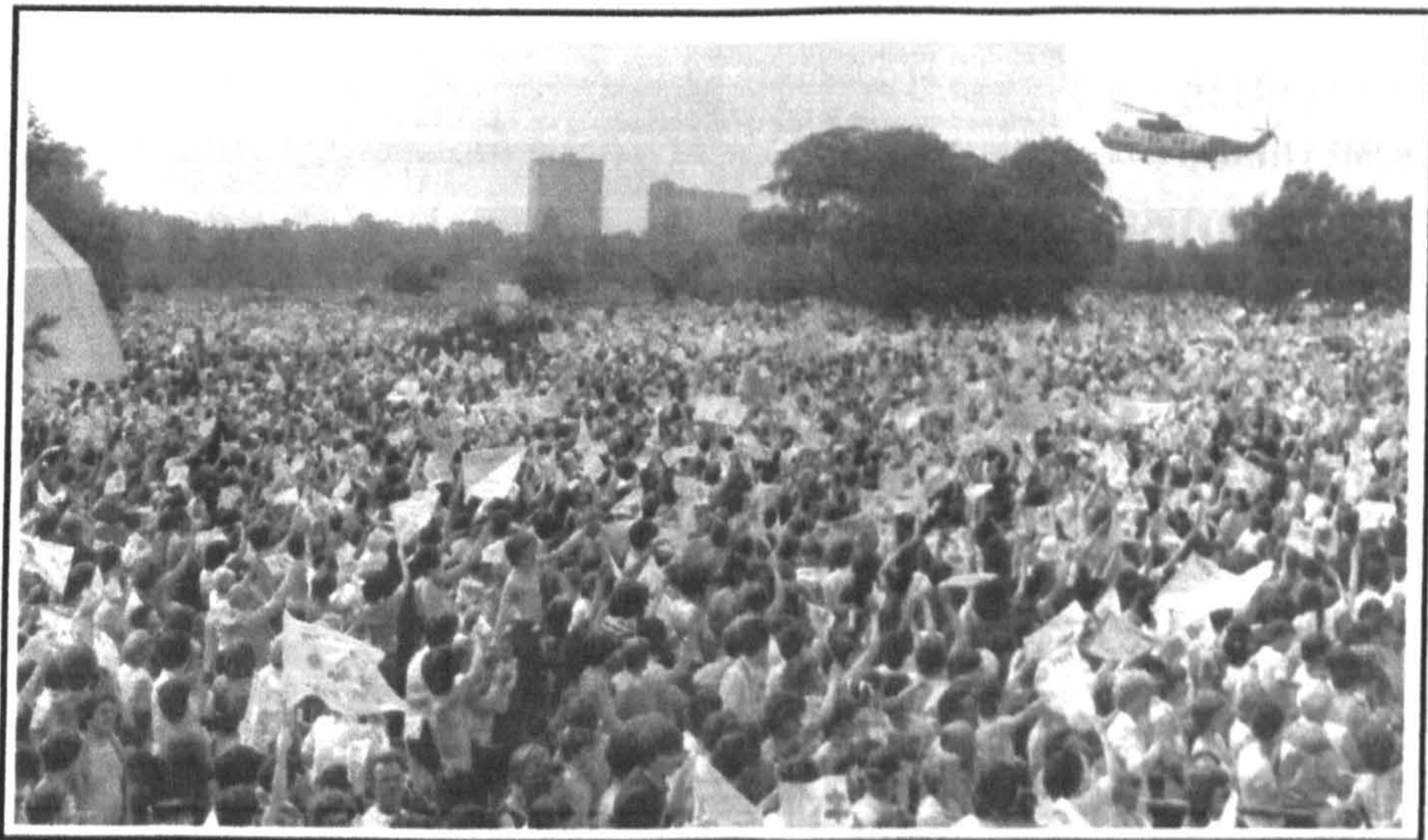


Figure 6.17: The Pope lands in Bellahouston Park in June 1982 to meet 250,000 worshipers who had gathered to meet him ⁶⁸

The use of public parks for overtly political demonstrations represents an example of the reappropriation of their space that can challenge the authority of those who seek to regulate as well as to maintain the form, structure and organisation of the parks. When large groups of people are gathered together in pursuit of a common aim or goal, the potential is for not only the spatial form and fabric of the park being disrupted but also the memory of events creating associations with the space that have a lasting symbolic significance for those who attended.

⁶⁷ *Evening Time Millennium Memories Part 6 Workop of the World Photo ETM60048, p. 13.*

6.9: Love, Romance And Sex

However, the parks are also used for more pleasurable encounters. They are places where the opportunity for escape from the pressure and stresses of everyday life, whether the timetabled activities of employment, or the routines of domestic labour, or the surveillance of bosses, parents, family, are provided by the parks as landscapes in the city in which nature has been constructed and represented according to some 'romantic' ideal. The public parks were arenas not only for the mixing of the social classes but also of the genders, and the potential for meeting and socialising with potential sexual partners was popularly recognised. Thus, activities in the parks could provide the means by which the young in particular could congregate and, through promenading, display themselves to their peers. Once introductions were made and mutual interest was expressed, the parks provided a space away from the policing surveillance of the family but one which offered a certain security in being public, regulated space. The notion of being 'private in public' that is often associated with the romantic assignation was provided in the parks as venues for romantic liaisons, sites for the amorous rendezvous, and the location for pre-arranged 'dates'; all were popular if not universal features of park use. The sight of courting couples or groups of young people promenading under the watchful eye of an older chaperone, or seeking out the secluded corners, glades, wooded and riverside walks, demonstrated that the parks were not only romantic scenery but were the background in which romance itself was performed and acted out. The parks were well known and used by the public as just such places for romance, which added to their attraction as leisure spaces in the city, particularly in past times when more rigid controls operated over the display of sexuality, and when elaborately constructed codes sought to maintain standards of public decency and moral probity. The parks had an aura of romance that made them, particularly during the more clement seasons, a resource in which popular sentiment attached strong emotional and symbolic value. Thus, popular songs such as that of Kelvin Grove⁶⁸ reproduced below reflected the associations of the parks as romantic and potentially sexually charged spaces, a popular association and use that could well prove problematic in attempting to maintain the parks as 'civilised' and 'safe' havens, for the young and impressionable.

⁶⁸ *Evening Times Millennium Memories Part 7 Celebration City*, ETM70051, p. 17.

⁶⁹ J. Pitman & C. Brown, (eds.), *Songs of Scotland*, Vol. 1. London, Boosey and Co. Ltd., 1877, p. 15.

Kelvin Grove

Let us haste to Kelvin Grove, bonnie lassie, O,
Through its mazes let us rove, bonnie lassie O,
Where the roses in their pride deck the bonnie dingle side,
Where the midnight fairies glide, bonnie lassie, O

Let us wander by the mill, bonnie lassie, O,
To the cove beside the rill, bonnie lassie, O,
Where the glens rebound the call
of the roaring waters fall
Through the mountains rocky hall, bonnie lassie, O,

O Kelvin banks are fair, bonnie lassie, O,
When the summer we are there, bonnie lassie, O,
There the may-pinks crimson plume
O,
throws a soft but sweet perfume
to the fragrant scented briar,
Round the yellow banks of broom, bonnie lassie, O.

Though I dare not call thee mine, bonnie lassie, O,
Yet with fortune on my side,
I could stay thy father's pride

But the frowns of fortune lour, bonnie lassie, O
On thy lover at this hour, bonnie lassie O

Ere yon golden orb of day
wake the warblers on the spray,
From this land I must away, bonnie lassie, O.
Then farewell to Kelvin grove, bonnie lassie, O,
And adieu to all I love, bonnie lassie, O

To the river winding clear,
Even to thee of all most dear, bonnie lassie, O.

When upon a foreign shore, bonnie lassie, O,
Should I fall midst battle's roar, bonnie lassie,

As the smile of fortune's thine, bonnie lassie, O,
Then, Helen, shouldst thou hear of thy lover on
his bier,
To his memory shed a tear, bonnie lassie, O

As the song indicates, for those who had nowhere else to go and whose desire for relative privacy, away from the prying eyes of family or of society, the parks provided secluded spaces for romantic assignations and/or engagement in sexual activities. Young people in particular used the parks as a romantic backdrop to their sexual experimentation. This feature of park use was recognised by the city authorities, who sought to keep illicit sexual activity under control and out of the parks. The explicit reference in the byelaws to streetwalkers and prostitutes being prohibited from plying their trade in the parks illustrates that the parks provided in the more secluded or isolated areas potential opportunities for commercial sexual activities to occur.

As the 19th century progressed and technological developments improved the quality and quantity of street lighting, making the streets of most advanced cities more visible to surveillance, the parks became one of the few dark areas of the night left in the modern metropolis. As such, they were viewed with suspicion by the municipal and police authorities because of the potential for public disorder or moral disreputability that resided in them if they were open and accessible to the public during the night. As Schlör puts it, in *Nights in the Big City*, "The danger of the development of uncontrolled spaces increases with darkness",⁷⁰ a point that Simmel emphasised in his analysis of how the character of a crowd - its impulsiveness, enthusiasm, susceptibility to manipulation - is connected to the unaccustomed experience of being in the open or in a large space. This effect is heightened even more so in the dark:

The darkness gives the meeting a quite special spatial frame, which brings the significance of the narrow and the broad into a peculiar unity. By being able to survey only the most immediate environment, with an impenetrable black wall rearing up behind it, the individual feels closely pressed together with the most immediate surroundings; the delimitation against space outside the visible surroundings has reached its limiting case: this space seems simply to have disappeared. On the other hand, this very fact also causes the actually existing boundaries to disappear; fantasy expands the darkness into exaggerated possibilities; one feels surrounded by a fantastically indefinite and unlimited space. Relieving the fearfulness and insecurity that are a mutual part of darkness through that tight crowding and mutual dependence of a multitude gives rise to the feared excitement and incalculability of a large gathering in the dark, as a quite unique elevation and combination of the enclosing and expanding aspects of spatial limitation.⁷¹

Other scholars have undertaken the analysis of the symbolic and mythic character of the night in urban history and the development of public lighting in the cities. However, the experience of Glasgow mirrors that which is detailed in Schivelbusch's account of the industrialisation of light, *Disenchanted Night*, in which he states: "...the police conquered and controlled the night by installing street lighting".⁷² The first gas streetlights were introduced into Glasgow in September 1818 when 1,472 were installed. By 1914, the city had 19,437 gas lamps in the public streets as well as 1,541 electric lamps operated under the auspices of the Corporation's Police Department, employing some 1,050 attendants. In addition, there were over 6000 gas lamps in private streets and courts and some 126 electric lamps.⁷³

The closure of the parks at night through the locking of the gates at dusk was at least in part an attempt to ensure not only that their features and facilities were not damaged under cover of the night, but that they also could not be used for unregulated, immoral, illicit or inappropriate sexual activities. There was thus recognition that the parks were likely to be used for sex and were in need of protection from the threat to public decency that may occur within them either from sex-workers or from the overly passionate embrace of young love. What is important is the recognition by the authorities of the perceived need to limit access to spaces such as the public parks because of this potential for disorder, disarray or disreputable activity taking place under cover of the night. The parks were clearly bounded spaces, separated from the built urban environment around them by the use of hedges, railings and gates that controlled the access and egress of the public.

Fundamental in the move to relatively unrestricted and open access to the parks after dark was the removal of the gates and railings of many parks, during World War II as a contribution to the war effort (see figure 6.18) melting down and use for the manufacturing of armaments. This had the effect of removing the physical barriers from around the parks

⁷⁰ J. Joachim, *Nights in the Big City*, London, Reaktion Books, 1998, p. 35.

⁷¹ G. Simmel, "The Sociology of Space" in D. Frisby, and M. Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture*, 1997, pp. 145, 146.

⁷² W. Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialisation of Light in the 19th Century*, London, University of California Press, 1988, p. 137.

that ensured their closure to the public. The only park that still has an intact boundary and which locks the gates each evening is the Botanical Gardens. A second factor involved the reorganisation and restructuring of local government. The parks had always been viewed as a service to the community, not part of the statutory responsibilities of the local authority, and the merging of the Parks Department with that of Leisure Services therefore led to a loss of identity and the problem of competition for public funds to maintain the parks. Consequently, the park keepers and gardeners who were identified, located, worked with, and in some cases also resided in individual parks were lost in an ongoing process of economic rationalisation. The centralisation of park maintenance services and the personnel who provide them has engendered the sense that the parks have declined in status as they have become isolated and neglected. No longer are the parks protected from the unobserved activities of the public at night but the public had free reign to use the parks for their own purposes.



Figure 6.18: Cutting down the park railings in 1939 ⁷⁴

Some parks in Glasgow have developed a not unwarranted reputation as sexual arenas for homosexuals to engage in ‘cruising’ and ‘cottaging’. With the removal of railings, Kelvingrove, Queens and Strathclyde Parks became well-known and popular meeting grounds for Glasgow’s gay community. However, police harassment and opprobrium by sections of the public, although diminished with the development of more liberal attitudes towards sexuality, has been a very real, and potentially dangerous problem for homosexuals using the parks. The dangers involved in approaching strangers in the parks at night are highlighted by the prevalence of ‘queer-bashing’.⁷⁵

⁷³ Corporation of the City of Glasgow, *Municipal Glasgow: Its Evolution and Enterprises*, Glasgow, 1914, pp. 134-8.

⁷⁴ B. Osborne & R. Craig (eds.), *Scotland - 1939*, Motherwell Scottish Library Association, 1989, p.34.

⁷⁵ When different night-time users of the park occupy the same space and time tragic consequences can prevail. On the night of 2nd of June 1995, a gang of three boys, aged between 14 and 20, and a 14-year-old girl went on a queer bashing rampage in Queens Park. Before the

6.10: Walking, Strolling and the Promenade

Probably by far the most popular use of public parks is as spaces for walking, relaxing and historically, as a means of temporary escape from the stresses and strains, dirt, noise and pollution of the built environment of the city streets and pavements. In a city infamous for the appalling state of its over-crowded housing stock and where the bulk of the population worked in confined offices or noisy and dirty factories, Glasgow's network of 19th and 20th century public parks provided some of the few accessible spaces in the city where relative peace and quiet provided breathing space and elbow room to experience restful relaxation. The design, the regulation and restrictions, such as 'keep of the grass', were vigorously enforced in parks such as Kelvingrove and the Botanic Gardens, and characterised the priority given to their use as places to take a stroll, a walk or a promenade, as illustrated by figure 6.19 below, which would not be interrupted by boisterous games or raucous sports. The creation of winding walkways stressed their use for promenading and was intended to emphasise the appreciation of the arrangement of floral displays, specimen trees and public statuary, best seen from the paths. The walk, the stroll the promenade in the park provided the ability to see, and to be seen, in a representation of 'nature' provided specifically for recreation. This aspect of the promenade has similarities with the description of the *flaneur* observing life on the streets and boulevards of the city, as described by Benjamin, with perhaps the suggestion of a more morally and medically healthier pastime.

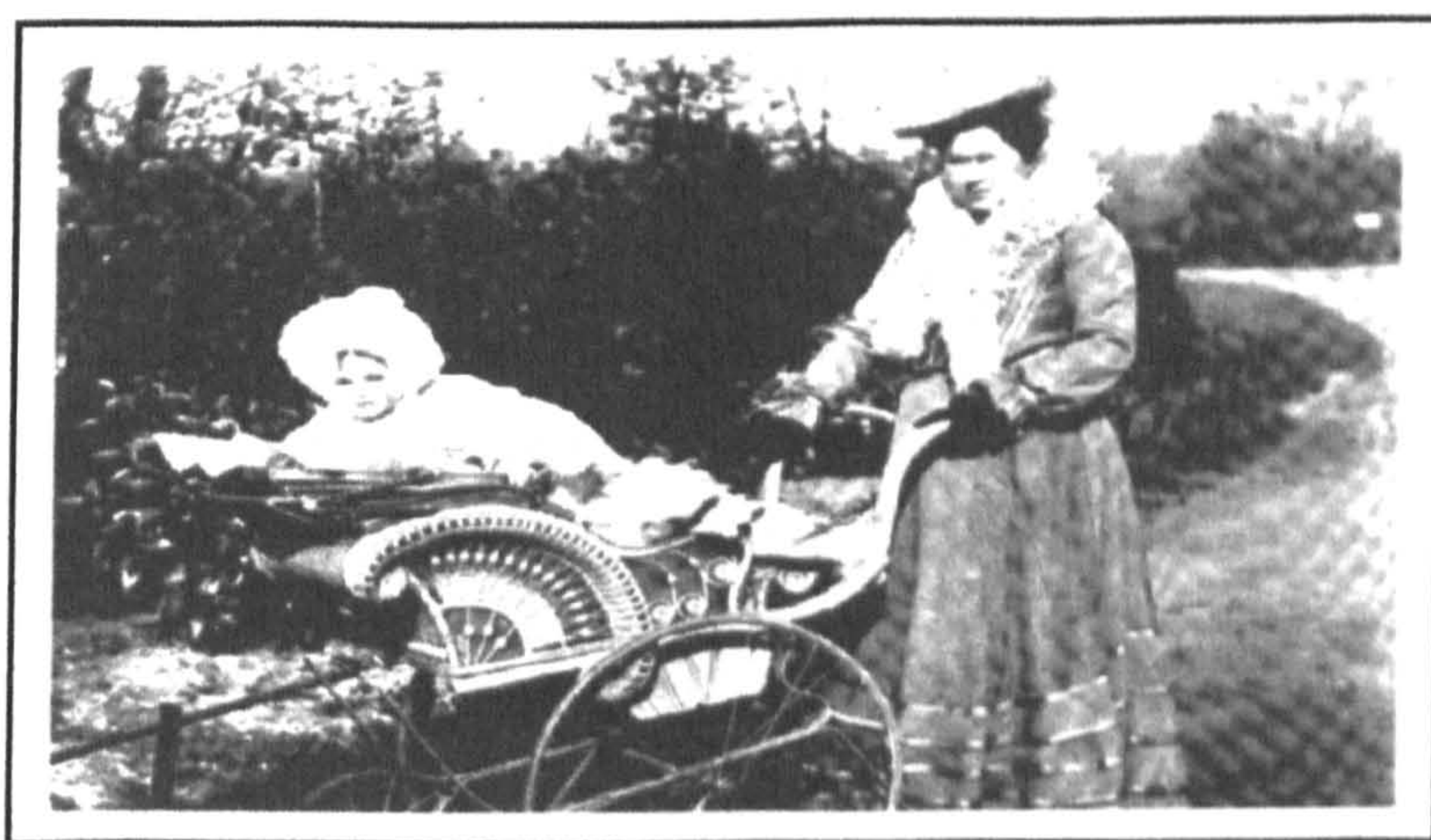


Figure 6.19: Taking the Air – A walk in the Park with Baby and Pram, c. 1890 ⁷⁶

However, walking, as de Certeau demonstrates, is an everyday activity that can challenge the spatial forms and structures and structures of the produced space of the parks, as well as their representations as civilised, humane, moral and medically beneficial spaces.

night had ended they had critically injured one man, cracked the skull of another before they attacked and mortally wounded 35-year-old Michael Dorian. He received 83 blows to the face that broke every bone in his head. He was repeatedly stabbed in the groin before he was left to die, choking on his own blood in the bushes. Such a brutal killing, however, rare in the extreme, highlights the perspective that the parks are dangerous places after dark.

The restriction in the byelaws on accessing or using various sections of the parks, to keep to the paths, keep of the grass, etc., demonstrates this understanding of the power of walking to subvert the hegemonic organisation and representation of the space of the parks. In walking there is the possibility of making new trajectories through the park and its landscapes that produce new vistas or views, as well as routes that are not possible by staying on the paths. By subverting the structured order of the organised promenades and walkways, the possibility of creating and recreating the space of the park in ways not intended or envisaged by their designers illustrates the potential for conflict with the park authorities.



Figure 6.20: Taking a rest in Phoenix Park 1911 ⁷⁷

The location of benches and seating, strategically placed, accommodated the observer of park life and allowed for the weary to take their rest from the stresses and strains of work or to admire the beauty of ‘nature’ in the park, whilst contemplating their place in the busy world of the humanity of the modern city. Figure 6.20 illustrates that all classes could make use of the seating arrangements in parks, whether ‘dressed’ for the occasion or making their way home from a day of dirty toil. Whilst such figures would have been more or less common sights in working class parks, their unwashed appearance and the ease of their posture could have been considered an affront to the gentility and respectability of the bourgeois parks. From their inception in the mid 19th century the city’s parks proved popular amenity spaces for leisure and recreation, of which walking was, and still is by far, the most practised activity. Table 6.3 provides a snapshot of the number of users of the parks on a particular Sunday in the summer of 1893.

⁷⁶ M. Moss, & J. Hume, (eds.), *Glasgow As It Was Vol. II*, Lancashire, Hendon Publishing Co., 1975, plate 27.

⁷⁷ Ibid. plate 51.

Table 6.3: Census of Visitors to the Public Parks on Sunday, 6th August 1893 ⁷⁸

| | | | |
|------------------|--------|-----------------|---------|
| Glasgow Green | 78,420 | Ruchill Park | 3,790 |
| Kelvingrove Park | 48,175 | Springburn Park | 2,097 |
| Queen's Park | 43,300 | Cathkin Braes | 2,725 |
| Alexandra Park | 15,810 | Maryhill Park | 1,089 |
| Maxwell Park | 9,500 | Total | 204,906 |

6.11: Children And Play

The parks are also widely associated with their use as play spaces for children. The creation of specific spaces for children’s recreation was a prominent aspect of the justification for public parks. What was emphasised and recognised in the provision of playgrounds was that children needed space and opportunity for safe outdoor play to encourage healthy mental and physical growth through the exercise of the bodily. It was also viewed as necessary to provide areas in the city where children could play safely considering the dirty and dangerous streets and closes, derelict sites, and such potentially hazardous areas as canals, rivers and reservoirs. The parks were produced, organised and maintained, in part, to provide access to ‘nature in the city’ and its quiet contemplation which was considered as educationally as well as morally beneficial to the growth and well-being of children. Family outings to the parks were common and popular uses of leisure time, and provided the opportunity for ‘treats’ such as that of the ice-cream vendor pictured below at Hogganfield Loch (see figure 6.21).



Figure 6.21: A Day Out at Hogganfield Loch – Fresh Air Boating and Ice Cream ⁷⁹

⁷⁸ D. MacLellan, *Glasgow's Public Parks*. Glasgow, Smith and Son, 1894, p. 154.

The parks were also used as venues and sites for children’s fairs, carnivals and festivals; for example, the municipal authority sponsored or organised various children’s days that were held annually in the parks during the summer. Similarly, charity and church organisations regularly held picnics, fairs and events for children in the parks in the summer months (see figure 6.22 of the Children’s Day in Alexandra Park, in 1900, and 6.23, the Sunday School outing in Kelvingrove Park, 1900). Youth groups such as the Boys Brigade and the Scouts also held regular events in the parks, from organised sports meetings, band practices and performances, and drilling, to fair days, jamborees and competitions (see figure 6.24, Scouts Soap Box Derby in Glasgow Green in 1952).



Figure 6.22: Dancing round the Maypole at the Children’s Day in Alexandra Park, 1900⁸⁰

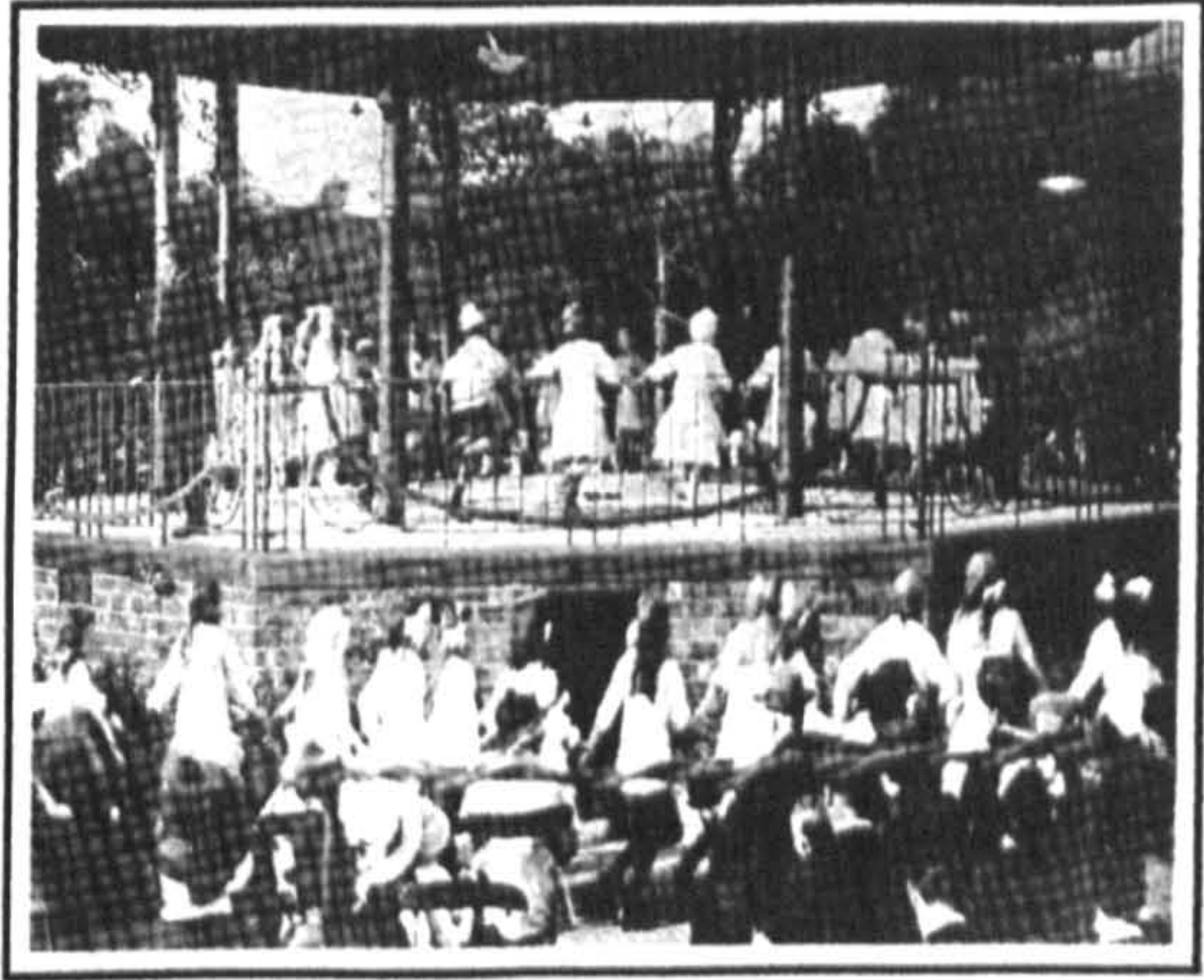


Figure 6.23: Sunday School children at Kelvingrove Park’s Bandstand 1900⁸¹

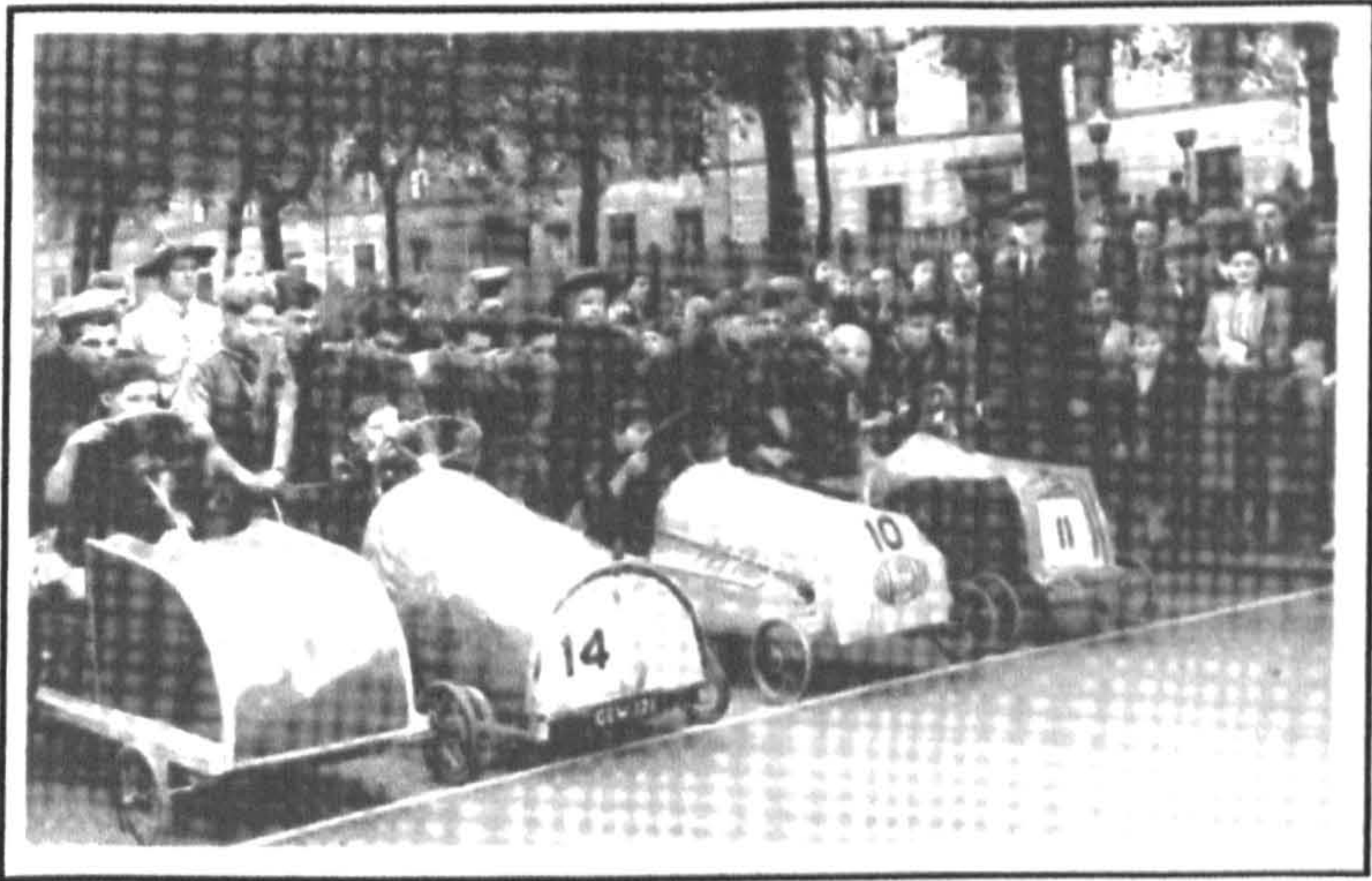


Figure 6.24: Boy Scout’s ‘Soap Box Derby’, Glasgow Green, 1952.⁸²

Also included in many parks were paddling pools, which were especially popular and

⁷⁹ Moss & Hume, op. cit., plate 5.
⁸⁰ Gilmour, p. 5.
⁸¹ Gilmour p. 56.
⁸² Kenna, R., 1996, Scotland’s Children in Pictures, Caledonian Newspapers, Glasgow, p. 44.

appreciated during the summer holidays by families who could not afford vacations or regular day trips to the seaside. The paddling pools and sandpits in the parks could not compete with the experience of a day ‘guddling’ by the shore, but they did provide a substitute that was a pleasant and enjoyable feature of the parks in summertime, (figures 6.25 and 6.26 demonstrate the popularity of the park’s paddling pools). The paddling pools were also used throughout the year for other activities. Many a Glasgow schoolchild practised the sailing of their first model boat in the paddling pool before graduating to the model yaught pond where adult craftsmen sailed their lovingly created reproductions of ships built on the Clyde.



Figure 6.25: Children in the paddling pool, Glasgow Green, late 1920s⁸³ (the sandpit and pool, known as the Sannie Pon’, was built in 1914)



Figure 6.26: Paddling Pool and Sandpits in Elder Park, 1936⁸⁴

However, the common and innocuous practice of bringing a picnic to eat could well have conflicted with byelaws prescribing refreshments and sitting on the grass. Whilst picnics are no longer considered a ‘problem’ for park discipline, the newly reconstituted prohibition of alcohol consumption in public spaces by the city authorities applies to the parks and represents a return to the original regulations regarding the policing of the parks. This commonplace activity results in a almost continual challenge to the authorities, not least by those who consider its application as being somewhat selective. A family picnic that included a bottle of wine is less prone to attracting the attentions of the park rangers or police than a group of youths enjoying a ‘carry-out’ of cheap beer or alcopops, not to mention Glasgow’s other favourite tippie, Buckfast fortified wine. Similarly, the increasing acceptance of public displays of semi-nudity, in the form of bikini-clad sunbathers and the naked torsos and legs of men, has challenged the austere and formal modesty and gentility

⁸³ W. Gilmour, *Keep of the Grass*, Ochiltree, Ayrshire, Richard Stenlake Publishing, 1996, p. 38.

⁸⁴ R. Kenna, *Scotland’s Children in Pictures*, Glasgow, Caledonian Newspapers, 1996, p. 11.

that was attached to the ambience of what was considered appropriate park use. This represents an example of the developmental aspect of rules and regulation concerning the government of the parks as a consequence of social changes in respect of the expression of sexuality in public.

Whilst the above are examples of facilities being provided or made available for organised, supervised or formal play, some mention must be made of the use of the parks as playgrounds and spaces for less regulated recreations. The provision of equipment in formal playgrounds often included some form of supervision to ensure that disorderly or unregulated play would not disturb the peace of the park for other users. For generations of Glasgow's working classes, particularly the young, the parks have provided areas of escape from the confined and congested streets, closes and back yards of the tenement city, as well as providing areas of seclusion and relative privacy away from the eyes of authority, whether this is parents, adults or the police. The appeal of the various landscapes within the parks, the large grassy swards, wooded areas, water features etc, gave the opportunity for collective games, sports and pastimes that had little opportunity for expression elsewhere. This access to nature fed the imaginative play of children who could invent in their games new worlds of meaning in the parks not associated with dominant representations and discourses. For example, games of 'cowboys and Indians' or 'playing soldiers' renamed or made use of features and aspects that took on different understandings as they were used and renamed as the 'last outpost', 'frontier post', castle or battleground. The park was a strange domain, an exotic location for games and playing, far removed from the streets, alleys and closes. It is little wonder that the park offered a temporary utopia, filled with interesting places and things to play on and with, and which could be adapted to any number of uses through the imagination of children inventing worlds to be in. The common shout of 'the parkie's coming' testifies to the regulation of children's over-exuberant play or unsupervised activities in areas of the parks deemed unsuitable or inappropriate.

The appeal of the parks to children as wide open grassy spaces to play on with trees to climb, as well as the formal playground equipment and boating ponds (see figures 6.27 and 6.28), is understandable and constant vigilance was considered necessary to keep children off the grass and to prevent damage to trees, shrubs, fences, statues, flowers and playground equipment. The Corporation also adapted its means of getting the message across of how to behave appropriately in the parks. Originally posters and notices would be prominently displayed on boards at the entrances to the parks detailing the rules and regulations governing the parks. However, with the popularity of the cinema in the city, they also produced their own public information films that were shown in Glasgow cinemas in the interwar years that sought to educate the population, through examples of proper and

improper uses of the parks.

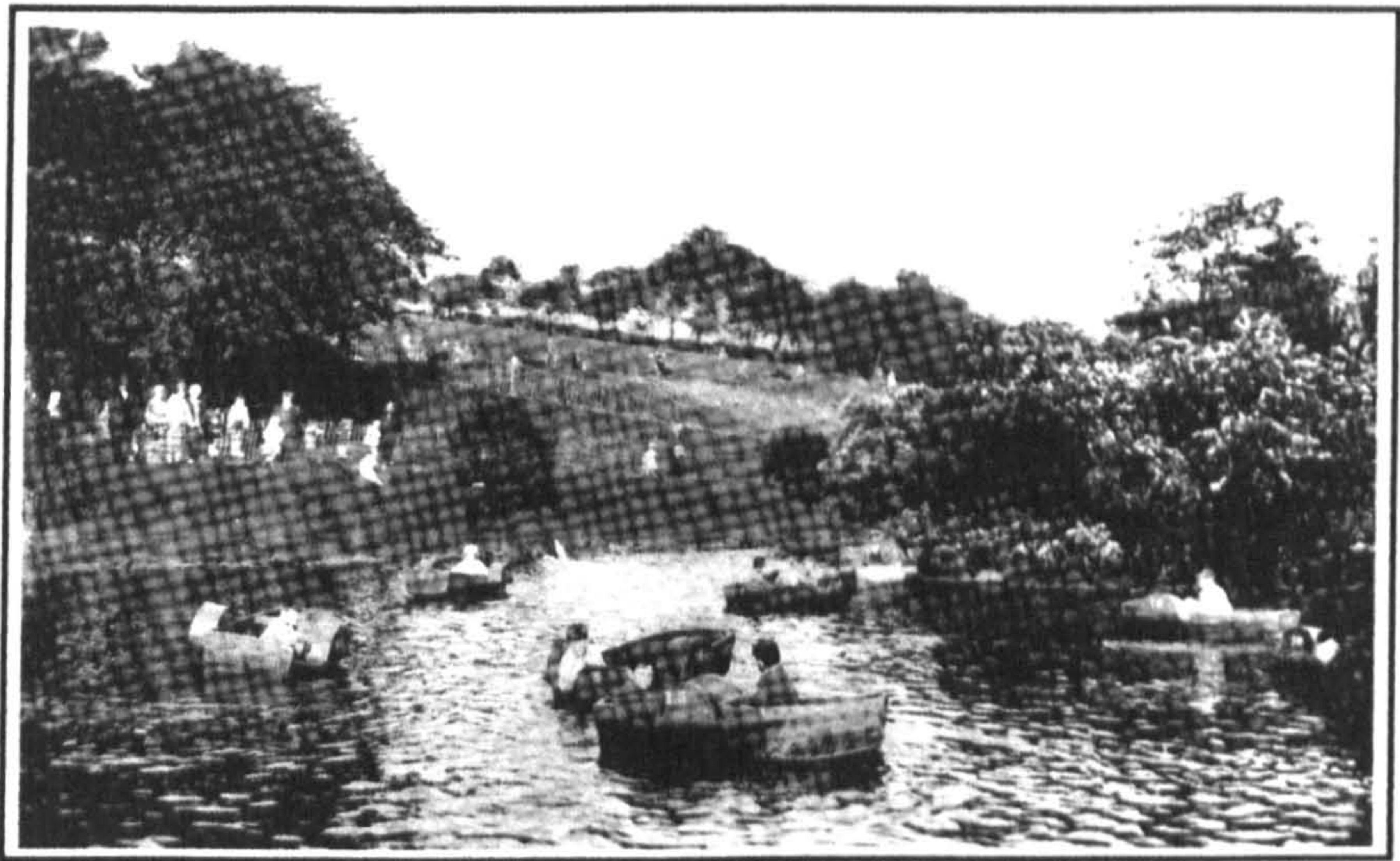


Figure 6.27: Boating Pond in Alexandra Park⁸⁵

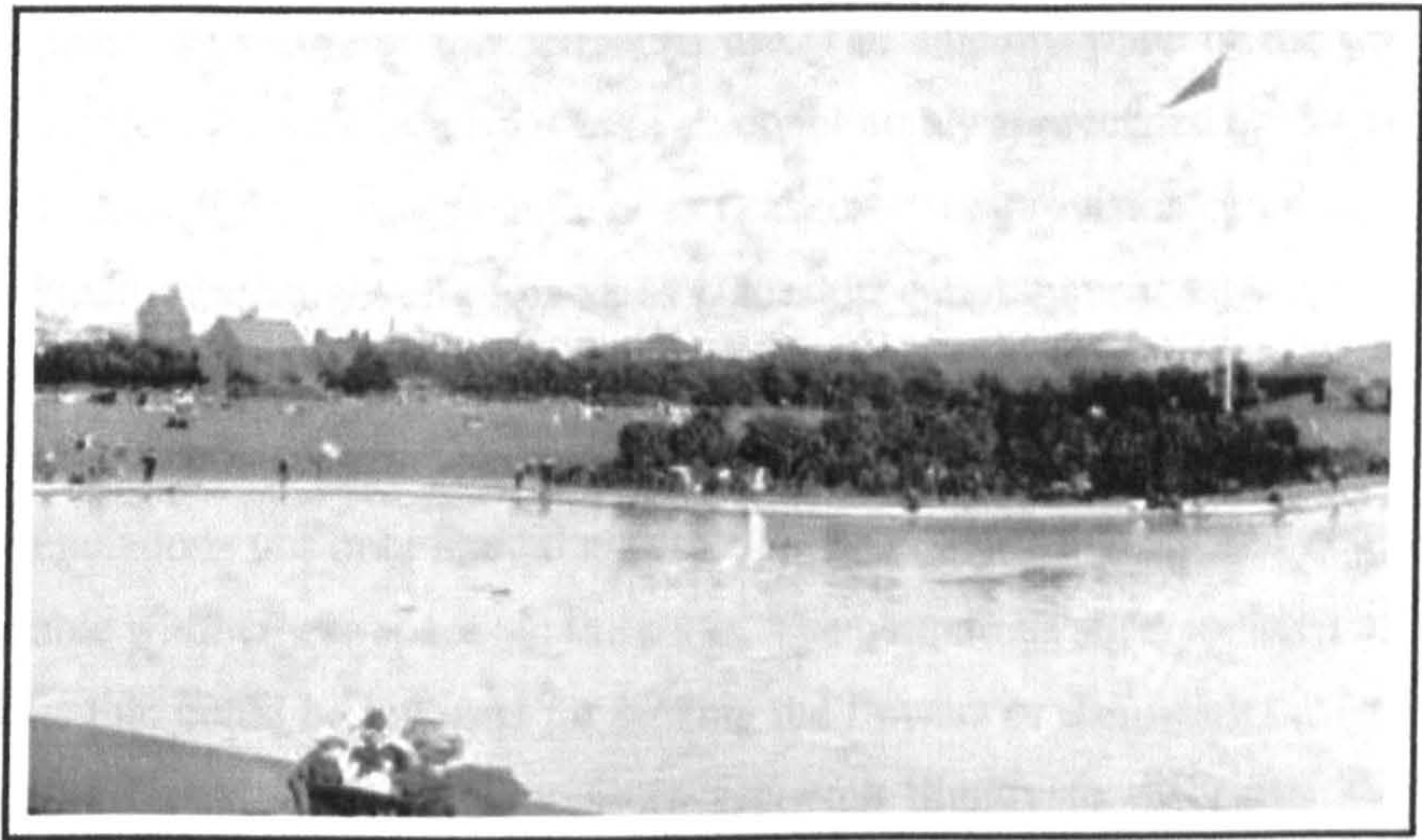


Figure 6.28: The Boating Pond in Maxwell Park⁸⁶

Another activity, associated with Glasgow’s parks, both historically and in more contemporary experience is as meeting places and ‘theatres of war’ for youth from different areas in the city. Such violent confrontations are an obvious threat to the policing of the parks. One such infamous and best-selling fictional account of Glasgow gang violence, *No Mean City*, used Glasgow Green as the stage for a set-piece encounter between two gang leaders – the Razor King and Big McLatchie:

Just across the Clyde from the Gorbals lies Glasgow green, the city’s most frequented park. There, in a triangular patch on the bend of the river between the King’s Street and St Andrew’s bridges, is an open air gymnasium much frequented by the youth of the slums and, occasionally, the battleground of conflicting gangs ... A crowd numbering close upon a thousand assembled on Glasgow Green to watch the fight between Razor

⁸⁵ W. Gilmour, *Keep of the Grass*, Ochiltree, Ayrshire, Richard Stenlake Publishing, 1996, p 4. It is reported by Gilmour that 60,000 people used the pond in the summer of 1878 according to a Corporation report.

⁸⁶ Virtual Mitchell C569.

King and big McLatchie. Lizzie, as good as her word, had mustered about a hundred young women from the Gorbals district, and the Townhead lasses were present in almost equal strength ... Now the ring was set not far from the gymnasium itself, where the grass slopes away a little towards the river ... Traffic had come to a standstill on Govan Street Bridge that overlooks the Green. The parapet was black with spectators and the trams queued up one behind the other until there were five or six of them on the bridge itself. There were police, who saw and hurried away to fetch reinforcements. But the confused volume of sound from the bridge was lost in the frenzied yelling of the ring itself.⁸⁷

Whilst such events are relatively rare, they do represent an aspect of park use that challenges the representation and regulation of the parks as 'civilised' spaces for rational recreation and peaceful pleasure.

6.12: Conclusion

The parks are complex multi-faceted social spaces produced and designed to fulfil a number of functions. As such they were provided with a number of features and facilities to encourage their 'appropriate' and beneficial use. The amenity value of the walkways, the flower-beds, trees and well-kept lawn were no doubt highly appreciated by the population of such an industrial and manufacturing city as Glasgow. The provision of music in the parks likewise added to the attraction of parks as places for entertainment as well as leisure. The children's playgrounds, gymnasias, boating ponds and sports fields similarly added to the formal, organised and thus regulated activities that were on offer in the parks. However, such rules and regulations not only limited access and use but also defined and delineated what was acceptable within these spaces in the parks. The ubiquitous signs to 'keep off the grass' and the fines that could be imposed for picking the flowers or damaging the tress, benches and fences etc. were intended to preserve a certain dignity to the parks as spaces for 'rational' and healthy recreations.

What the parks provided, and what they have been used for by generations of Glasgow citizens and visitors, was the opportunity to escape from the hustle and bustle of the streets and pressures and strains of everyday domestic and work commitments and responsibilities and to engage in some form of active recreational activity or to listen to music, stroll around and admire the flowers and trees or simply to sit in the sun contemplating one's lot or place in the grand scheme of things. The public parks, despite or because of their being licensed leisure spaces, provided opportunities for recreation or enjoyment of a speed of life that was different from that usually experienced. This use illustrates the notion of Foucault's heterotopic spaces as having attributes that define them as 'other' and special, entailing the potential for imagination and experience to combine to produce new meanings and values associated with that space. Similarly, Benjamin's 'dream houses' appear as architectures of

⁸⁷ A. McArthur, & H. Kingsley-Long, *No Mean City*, London, Corgi Books, 1956, 17th edition 1983, p.28, 121.

the imagination in which aspects of the experience of modernity are more fully experienced. They point to the use of the parks as leisure zones where the heightened simultaneity of existence is provided with an antidote in the slower, rhythms and sensory experiences of the textures, smells, sounds etc that are to be found in the parks but not in the streets and buildings of the city. Such a juxtaposition of experiences existing in close proximity, separated only by a hedge, a fence or a row of trees, illustrates in Simmel's analysis the importance of the boundary and of location, which for Foucault, is a fundamental characteristic of the heterotopia.

However, as has been demonstrated above, the potential for a variety of leisure uses, activities and practices offered the potential to subvert the regulated 'disciplined' space of the parks. At various times and places within the parks, the popular everyday uses and practices of the population could conflict with the dominant representations and designed intentions of the parks authorities. Such appropriations of space have occurred from the practice of such ordinary, everyday activities as an individual not heeding the signs and proscriptions for walking or sitting on the grass, or by children fashioning new playgrounds in the shrubs, bushes and trees, or by the spontaneous enjoyment of a game in an unauthorised area. The 'natural' scenery of the parks provided a backdrop for romantic encounters and liaisons that created different associations of their space than those intended by the park planners and authorities. The sexualisation of some parks as 'meeting-grounds' for homo and heterosexual activities has fashioned new meanings and values for some parks. The appropriation of the parks by youth, particularly at night for a variety of practices, has subverted the dominant representations of the parks as safe, healthy spaces. Events in the parks such as the 'Great Exhibitions' were staged and promoted with particular designed intentions and aims. The popularity of the associated entertainments was such that they subverted somewhat the more 'lofty' and commercial purposes of the organisers.

There was a degree of evolution in official attitudes to the uses of the parks, particularly in relation to sport and to the opening up of the lawns for use. Some of the pleasures offered in the parks are a timeless expression of the need to be out of doors in good weather and as breathing spaces provided much needed elbow room in a crowded and busy city. Other activities and recreational pursuits allowed or enjoyed in the parks have suffered the vagaries of fashion as well as developments in leisure practices and pursuits that have curtailed previously popular events such as music concerts or the mass participation in weekend sports. Nonetheless, some restrictions and prescriptions have remained an enduring feature of the policing of the parks, for example in the licensed use of the space for political activities and in the restrictions on drink and rowdiness. However, both of these restrictions have been and still are generally subverted by an insistence on using the parks for public

events, whether permitted/licensed or not. Similarly, the love of an alcoholic refreshment imbibed in the pleasant surroundings of a park, particularly in the summer months, is one pleasure that, despite recent changes in attitudes to alcohol, is a continual source of friction and contestation.

The variety of uses and leisure practices to which the parks have been put illustrates their importance to the population of the city as recreational spaces as well as their complexity in having to fulfil competing and potentially conflicting functions. The everyday use of such inherent and commonplace social spaces as public parks illustrates that the production and representation of designed and formalised, delimited and functionalised space also needs to account for how that space is used by ordinary people engaged in ordinary practices and pleasures. Such imaginative uses of space provide an antidote to the potential of overwhelming discourses of domination, design and the functional prerequisites of experts and officials. By using them as popular play and pleasure grounds, as sites of protest, fun, leisure and recreation etc., by inventing new rules for their use, or by ignoring the regulations that are enacted for them, the parks become inhabited, colonised and appropriated as everyday space(s).

CONCLUSION – PARK SPACES: LEISURE CULTURE AND MODERNITY

Public parks are commonplace, everyday spaces. Their ubiquity as intrinsic features of the modern urban environment makes their analysis both complex and challenging as they encompass complementary and competing elements and features of the social and spatial development of the city as the locus for modern capitalism. The modern city concentrated processes of production, consumption, communication, population, leisure, art, culture, and education. Such a complex of services, features, facilities and functions required the production, organisation and regulation of a spatial network that provided a framework for such processes to be accommodated. Space is not 'natural, neutral, objective or dead'. It is not simply an object, a thing, a product created, shaped and moulded by social relations. It is also a process within and through which social formations and interactions occur and thus change it. The analysis of a specific example such as public parks can inform and illuminate the processes operative in the production and reproduction of the space and the social relations of the modern urban environment. Therefore, the analysis of public parks elucidates the production, expansion and experience of the development of modernity.

The analysis of public parks as specific forms of space, whose origins and development occurred at a particular time in the development of modern urban society, requires the consideration of the essential role of space, its significance and importance in the historical development of modern social relations and structures that characterise urban modernity. Public parks represent an active intervention in the landscape as well as in the social and physical infrastructure of the city. Their production and distribution within the city reflect processes of urban capitalism's enlargement and expansion. The parks as specifically designed spaces symbolised and manifested the aspirations and intentions of a dominant hegemony in attempting to shape the leisure and cultural practices and experiences of the population, as well as the aesthetic appearance and image of the city.

The conclusions drawn from this thesis falls into two categories. The first concerns a critical analysis of the veracity of existing social theories of space and spatial theories that was used to synthesise the syncretic conceptual framework that has been applied to the comprehensive investigation and analysis of the specificity of particular forms of space. The second category of conclusions is concerned with the application of this theoretical framework for the substantive historical and social analysis of an example of such particular forms of space, namely a case study of Glasgow's public parks. Therefore, what follows is a consideration of both the theoretical analysis and the substantive investigation.

A fundamental starting point for the analysis employed in this work is an engagement with the importance of Henri Lefebvre's reinvigoration of the importance of space in the analysis of the development and perpetuation of capitalism as a mode of production. Lefebvre's triadic conceptualisation of the dynamic interplay of three necessary elements in the production of space provided an initial framework for the analysis of the historical specificity of park production as specific forms of space that were created within the developing social and spatial relations of modern urban cities. Lefebvre's project, culminating in the seminal work, *The Production of Space*, reprioritised space as essential for understanding the survival and perpetuation of capitalism. Lefebvre provides an initial conceptual framework for exploring and understanding how space is produced in each historical epoch according to the needs of the mode of production of that era. In particular, Lefebvre's analysis of the development of modern cities as produced spatial formations in which the concentration of the means of production produced spatial forms that influenced the social relations that developed within them emphasises the complexity involved in understanding the space of modern capitalism.

Thus, Lefebvre's 'elements' of spatial practices (or what I have termed production), representations of space and spaces of representation allows the creation of a conceptual framework for analysis that could be adapted and applied to the substantive analysis. However, Lefebvre's theory of space is an overly abstract conceptualisation that provides only a limited understanding of the applicability of each of his elements to the investigation of particular forms of space. Lefebvre's account of the production of space is grounded in a historical-materialist analysis in which the concept of fetishism is spatialised and applied to the analysis of the social relations necessary for the production of space. That is, instead of treating space as simply existing outwith the means and mode of capitalist production, Lefebvre prioritises the space in and through which social relations are structured, organised, perceived, experienced, represented, imagined and used. However, Lefebvre provides little in the way of concrete illustration or substantive exploration of the veracity of the conceptual understanding he has constructed for the analysis of the fetishisation of space. Lefebvre's overarching theory provides key analytical insights to understanding the fundamental importance of the consideration of the spatial in the analysis of the social, but is limited in the exploration of its application to the space of the modern urban that he identified as the key produced space for the survival of capitalism. Although Lefebvre's triadic framework provided the structure for analysis, this deficiency required the consideration of other theoretical 'lenses', which provided more concrete analyses of space that would go beyond this conceptual approach by addressing the material and ideological basis for the production of space.

David Harvey's project of historical-geographical materialism provides a useful and insightful adjunct to Lefebvre's first conceptual element, that of the production of spatial forms and structures. Harvey provides an explanation of processes of urban capital creating an urban form that is conducive to the needs of production and the accumulation of surplus value. Thus, the city was the product of the need to create the conditions for the most efficient organisation of production and, by extension, of the social relations of production. As capitalism concentrated production, consumption, circulation, educational, artistic and cultural institutions and leisure etc. in the city, the form and spatial arrangement, distribution and location of these necessitated an investment and active involvement of the local state in the production of the social and physical infrastructure of the city. Such processes Harvey identifies as 'circuits of capital' were fundamental in shaping the way in which urbanisation and industrialisation took form within specific cities. Fundamental to any urban spatial form was the inclusion and creation of socially necessary public spaces for the beneficial use of non-work time. That is, spaces for leisure and pleasure, recreation and play were an inherent part of the spatial and social framework necessary for the efficient operation and perpetuation of capitalism. However, Harvey's analysis of the processes of capital in the production of the urban lacks an adequate discussion or elucidation of the role of the public sphere and civil society by and through which networks of spatial forms, such as public parks, were promoted, created and represented not only as essential for the efficient organisation of the processes of production and consumption of urban capitalism but also for the development of other aspects of the social and physical environment of the city. As such, the contribution of Jurgen Habermas was essential in initiating the debate and analysis of the specific bourgeois hegemony that could be applied to the public sphere in Victorian Britain, and it was necessary to contextualise these circuits of urban capital as an ideological as well as material contribution to the processes and consequences of urban growth and city enlargement. This was essential for the analysis of the specific experience of 19th century urban and industrial growth and development in Glasgow, in which the primary role of the local state in the creation of Glasgow's public parks network was fundamental.

Public parks are multifaceted spaces whose origins reside in a complex of inter-related material, historical and ideological factors. Public parks are specific examples of the production of forms of space within the overarching processes of urbanisation and industrialisation that drove the production of an urban spatial environment to become a key site of modernity. Lefebvre's second necessary element emphasises the role of specialist knowledge in creating representations of space that functionalised and commodified it. Such representations are expressions of how knowledge of space creates the means by

which power can be exercised over space and Michel Foucault provides, through an analysis of disciplinary spaces, an understanding of the representation of how such knowledge and power is exercised in specific spatial formations. Thus an understanding of the institutional space of prisons, schools, military barracks, monasteries, etc., provides an analysis of how power operates through and in space by creating dominant meanings and discursive practices. Foucault extrapolates this understanding of institutional spaces in his consideration of doctors as the 'first specialists of space' who sought knowledge of the space of cities, and of the populations who inhabited them, to organise, control and regulate them as a means of limiting or preventing disease. Foucault's epistemology of 'disciplinary discourses' provides the basis for an analysis of the interconnectedness of knowledge and power at both the micro and macro level that provided a rationale for the local state to intervene in the production of social and material services and facilities that included the commitment of public money to park construction. Thus, various representations or 'disciplinary discourses' were applied to the public parks that reflected their promotion and endorsement as functional spaces. These included medical, moral, cultural, political, symbolic, and gendered representations of the public parks as beneficial spaces. However, such dominant meanings and associated privileging of their functional use as disciplinary spaces required their surveillance and policing. Therefore the investigation of the regulation of parks spaces by which power, through the local state, sought to delimit, delineate and functionalise the spaces of the parks for particular, sanctioned, licensed and appropriate activities illustrated the relationship between the organisation of space and its representation by discourses of power and knowledge. Such an understanding of disciplinary discourses emphasises the importance of meanings and values being attached and applied to spaces in an attempt to produce an environmental deterministic effect through its functional prerequisites on the behaviour and social relations of the population who access and use them.

The third element of Lefebvre's triad of necessary elements for 'true knowledge of space' is that of spaces of representation or the directly lived, everyday experience and use of space. Lefebvre posits that the forms and structures of dominated and organised spaces not only produce social relations, but that social relations also produce space. It is uses of space in everyday life that Lefebvre suggests can subvert and challenge such dominant representations and formations, and he specifically notes the essential need for spaces for the creative expenditure of accumulated energies in play and recreation, that is, social spaces for reproduction not only production. Lefebvre only hints at what such spaces entail and how everyday practices and activities can create new meanings, values and worth. It is in the work of Walter Benjamin and Michel Foucault that the elaboration of these mythic

or 'other' spaces is found. Benjamin in his analysis of the 'dream houses' of everyday life, such as the streets, shopping arcades, railway stations, etc. reflects the need to consider public spaces in the city as essentially social spaces where interaction, experience and possibility is heightened. Foucault's concept of heterotopias reflects a similar concern with the survival or creation of mythic spaces in urban modernity that have different qualities and characteristics from those that surround them and which are the dominant forms of productive space. Benjamin and Foucault provide the context for considering specific spaces as having qualities and features that provide the potential to create meanings and values that emphasise their use as reproductive rather than productive space. Whilst still being regulated and organised, designed and maintained, such a conceptualisation of special spaces provides an essential component for the analysis and understanding of parks as specifically social spaces used for leisure and pleasure. It is Michel de Certeau who provides a clarification for Lefebvre's insistence on the potential subversiveness of everyday life. In small individual acts of resistance to rules, the ignoring of regulations, the remaking of routes and trajectories in the practices of everyday life, the forms, structures and patterns of space can be remade and reused to reflect the values and concerns, meanings and ideals of ordinary, relatively powerless, people. This understanding of everyday life provides the conceptual foundation for the analysis of the uses and practices to which public parks have been put in the everyday life of the population in contrast to the designed and intended uses of planners and architects, police and officials.

The availability for the first time of an English translation of Georg Simmel's *Sociology of Space* provide useful insights into a number of factors that are important for developing the conceptual framework for the substantive analysis of the social spaces of interaction that are the public parks. Whilst not an overarching theory of space, Simmel's five 'aspects of space' present key areas for the consideration of how certain qualities of space such as mobility in space and the proximity or distance to an object or activities fixed or associated with particular framed and bounded spaces are details that need to be addressed in considering public parks as produced spatial forms that are located within the nexus of the structured and organised space of the city. Public parks can thus be conceived as pivots around which certain social interactions occur. They are nodes for leisure practices. Where they are located affects the ease of access, and use of these social amenities.

The above reiteration of the theories of space and spatial theories considered, adapted and applied in this work emphasises the difficulty of investigating space in social enquiry. What has been achieved in the critical examination of these various approaches is, hopefully, sophisticated understanding of the importance of a comprehensive theoretical

analysis of the role of the spatial in social relations and formations. In attempting to reconcile supposedly conflicting theoretical traditions and perspectives that are at times presented as mutually exclusive paradigms, what is achieved is a heterodoxy in approach that seeks inclusiveness rather than exclusivity. Rather than carrying 'the baggage' of internecine disciplinary 'ownership' of the subject or ideological allegiance to a tradition or school, what is important is the need to provide a comprehensive understanding that addresses the multivariable issues of produced spaces for leisure and culture within modern urban capitalism. What appears as the combination of some strange 'bedfellows' - Simmel, Foucault, Lefebvre, Harvey, Benjamin and de Certeau - is the result of the limitations encountered in the analysis of those theories addressed. Since no one theory provides, on its own, an adequate explanation for the analysis of the origins, development and praxis of the complex, multifunctional social spaces of public parks, it is necessary to combine a variety of approaches and perspectives. Therefore, what is applied in this analysis is a framework, based on Lefebvre's abstract triadic 'skeleton' that is 'fleshed out' by the adoption of more concrete analyses of space, to provide a 'body of knowledge' of space that could be applied to substantive analysis. Such a syncretic formulation was necessary to provide the flexibility for a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the complexity of public parks as forms of space that come in many shapes, sizes and designs, that are distributed across the whole of the area of the city, serve a multitude of functions and uses, and have conflicting and contrasting values and meanings attached to them. This approach is a reflexive response to the need to operationalise theory in the pursuit of knowledge of the empirical reality of social spaces in the modern city. It is this conceptual framework that is used to structure the substantive analysis of Glasgow's public parks network within the historical contingency of the experience of urban expansion and industrial growth in modernity.

The substantive analysis of the case study of the origins and development of Glasgow's public parks applies the syncretic theoretical perspective described above. That is, the production of the parks as a network of social spaces in the developing nexus of the enlargement of the city is investigated through the application of a number of typologies - chronological, distribution and design. The representation of the parks is analysed through the consideration of a number of inter-related discourses, that of the medical, moral, cultural, political, the promotion of the status of the city, and gender. Finally, the everyday uses and practices to which the spaces of the parks were put is examined in relation to the designed intentions of the park planners and administrators as well as the more mundane and popular activities of the population at play. A number of conclusions can be drawn

from this substantive analysis that illuminate and illustrate the parks as spaces of leisure and culture in the city of modernity.

The public parks in Glasgow were products of a complex coalescence of local conditions and historical processes that led to the growing awareness, recognition and acceptance of the concomitant negative consequences that arose from rapid urban and industrial expansion. The parks were produced over time as the city expanded, spatially and demographically, and they were spatially located and distributed within processes of industrial and urban development that was part of an overall commitment on the part of the local state to invest in the material and social infrastructure of the city. The parks were a very visible manifestation of the commitment of the local state in Glasgow developing a form of municipal organisation and administration in which the provision of a large number of public services were an attempt to ameliorate the consequences of the city's rapid expansion in the 19th century.

The complex of forms, structures and designs employed in the production of the large number and variety of public parks in Glasgow represented the multi-functional roles that they were intended to serve. That is, they were produced spaces of 'nature' that manifested in the physical landscape of the city the ideological ideals, values, ambitions, concerns and priorities of the ruling bourgeois hegemony. The public parks provided the opportunity for the ruling elite to create landscapes that were designed, constructed and represented as serving a number of beneficial functions. They were an example of the local state's attempt to create specific spaces in the city in which leisure and recreation could be combined with instruction and education to promote the rational and 'appropriate' use of leisure time and imbue a particular emphasis to dominant cultural values.

The parks were an attempt at environmental or spatial engineering that was intended to have a beneficial effect on the social, economic, moral, medical and political well-being and prosperity of the life of a modern city. They reflected and represented growing concerns with the deterioration of the quality of the physical landscape of the city through rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, alongside the concomitant problems of pollution and an inadequate infrastructure to cope with the rapid rise and concentration of population. The parks also represented an attempt at influencing the life, habits and popular practices of the population of the city by exposing them to the benefits to be had from access to rational forms of leisure and recreation, and from the 'improving' influence of approved public art and culture through the use of the parks as locations for events, institutions and artefacts. However, a clear distinction can be made between different types of parks. For example, Kelvingrove Park was designed as a flower garden with riverside and tree-lined walkways specifically for the recreation and leisure of the predominantly

middle-class population of the new 'West End' suburb and was a qualitatively different park space from that of the more sparse and utilitarian grassy swards of the 'recreation grounds' that were produced in other areas for working class leisure. The parks retained their social differentiation and reinforced class and social division in the city. Some parks were therefore used for the location of public statues and memorials that celebrated individual and municipal achievements as well as the exploits and successes of empire. Thus, these parks were symbolic spaces that were themselves representations of 'nature', tamed, idealised and landscaped to reflect the ideals of a dominant ideology. Other aspects of the operation of dominant representations of the functionalisation of the space of the parks are detailed below. However, the ideals of the male, middle class hegemony of social, political and civic elites were ones that were not necessarily universally shared or accepted by other classes and genders.

The parks were designed to improve the physical environment of the city, as 'breathing spaces' or 'lungs in the city', areas of 'nature in the city' that would benefit the health and sanitary conditions of the city and the population. This medical discourse was a prominent theme in local and national debates concerning the efficacy and value of urban public parks and was promoted within the local authority in Glasgow by prominent campaigners for public health such as the influential Medical Officer of Health, Dr J.B. Russell. Such medical benefits to be had from access to and exercise in the fresher air of the parks combined with their representation, organisation and control as 'disciplinary' spaces maintained and regulated as places where 'appropriate' forms of leisure, recreation and culture could be introduced, propagated, cultivated and hopefully inculcated into the experience and popular practices of (particularly the working classes) population of the city. They were an attempt to instil the dominant values and ideals, habits and behaviour of 'civilised', bourgeois hegemonic society into a dangerous and potentially insurrectionary working class.

The parks also functioned as a means for the planned development of the city. Their construction provided the opportunity to limit the scope and enlargement of the initial suburban expansion by specifying the type of development that could occur in the area. This provided economic benefits both for the local authority and for those whose residential properties were located near or overlooking the parks. This aspect of park development is evidence of how processes of urban capitalism included the local state to provide a necessary social infrastructure as well as the planned development of the city. The provision of open spaces and parks as necessary social amenities eventually came to be considered as essential elements of new housing scheme development in the city.

The parks were represented as a means to enhance the status and esteem of the city and reflected the moral, cultural and artistic values and ideals of the ruling elite. The space of the parks was utilised in the staging of large-scale events that were designed to enhance the reputation, image and prestige of the city. Similarly, the parks were also the location for a number of artistic and cultural institutions that not only enhanced the status of the city as a cultivated and civilised place to live and do business, but also provided the opportunity to educate and instruct the population in the values and benefits of 'high' art and culture. These aspects of the use of parks as leisure and cultural resources also emphasises their role in the marketing of the city as a mass tourist attraction. The example of the city's great exhibitions demonstrates their use as venues for events that were designed to attract large numbers of visitors. Similarly, the success and appeal of cultural institutions located in the parks, such as Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum and The Burrell Collection in Pollock Park, illustrates the multifaceted attractions and facilities within the parks that were and are used to promote the city as a tourist attraction. The appeal of Loch Lomond as a visitor attraction is well documented, and the city's investment in Balloch Park represented an acknowledgement on the part of the Corporation of the benefits and value of access and ownership of a leisure resource that emphasised the consumption and experience of nature through a romantic gaze on the undisputed beauty of the loch. Whilst a key justification inherent in many of the discourses used to justify the Corporation's ownership and maintenance of the city's public parks network emphasised the benefits to be had from access to 'nature in the city', what is also suggested is that some parks at least catered for 'outsiders' as much, if not as well, as the 'insiders' of the city. The parks were also represented as gendered spaces. They were 'new' spaces in the city where women were encouraged to take advantage of the safety of their policed and regulated features and facilities. This provided opportunities for a variety of leisure practices and activities that previously had been denied or limited to working and middle class women. Thus, a range of sports became available for women as well as participation in musical and cultural activities that provided the potential for social interactions of an educational, entertainment as well as sexual nature.

The above examples illustrate representations of the parks as 'disciplinary spaces' in which the population was encouraged and 'policed' to use the parks for appropriate uses and practices. The parks were used for a large variety of activities that ranged from the relatively formal, organised and thus 'approved' events and activities such as the 'great exhibitions', to commonplace and everyday individual actions such as walking or sunbathing or for a variety of collective games and play. A number of activities were detailed that explored the potential subversiveness of everyday activities and practices that

could subvert the dominant discourses and representations applied to the space of the parks and thus appropriate the parks through their use as play and pleasure grounds, as the setting for romance and sexual encounters, and for the 'disorganised' playing of sports and games. Such flaunting, disregard or ignoring of the rules by which the parks should be used invested them with new meanings and values that recreated the form and structure by which the space of the parks sought to influence social relations. Thus, the changing popular use and practices of the parks influenced and affected the way in which they were organised, maintained and regulated through time and, as such, their form and structure had to adapt to changes in the nature of popular leisure and recreational practices.

The substantive analysis of the origins and development of Glasgow's public parks network highlights their variety of form, structure and location within the context of the development and expansion of the city. The relationship between design and functionality is explored and illustrated through the examination of a number of discursive discourses that represented the parks as having beneficial utility for the city and its increasing population. The potential conflict between the organisation and regulation of the parks as disciplinary and functionalised spaces in the city and their ubiquitous, everyday use as social and leisure spaces is examined through the analysis of a variety of common activities. This disparity between the designed and intended use of the parks as represented in a variety of discourses illustrates aspects of class conflict over the appropriate use of leisure time and also cultural conflict over the values and meanings attached not only to the spaces of the parks but also in their organisation and maintenance. This substantive examination of Glasgow's public parks reflects the complexity involved in their analysis as produced spaces of urban modernity, and of the significance of space in the structuring and experience of modern social relations and formations. The modern city provides opportunity for a cornucopia of experiences in a plethora of places designed and provided for a variety of functions and uses. The study of public parks provides the prospect of investigating conflicting and competing meanings, values, functions, uses and practices that is characteristic of the expansion and colonisation by capitalism of the intimate, the personal and the private through the increasing commodification of leisure times and spaces for play, enjoyment and pleasure. Urban public parks are social spaces specifically created in the city that reflect processes of urban capitalism and the experience of modernity in their location and design, in their multi-functional representation as well as in the changing and conflicting everyday practices to which they have been put as popular cultural and leisure spaces.

The syncretic construction of a conceptual framework, one that uses and adapts a number of theoretical perspectives and applies it to the substantive analysis of the

particular circumstances and experience of Glasgow as a case study, provides a strong analytical basis for the consideration of the complex features and multifunctional spaces of the parks. Lefebvre's triad of necessary elements for the production of space provides a valuable structure to the substantive analysis. In particular, the consideration of various interconnected factors and aspects involved in understanding space as both objective materiality and social process is an important insight in seeking to clarify the various aspects involved in understanding the origins, development and use of the parks. However, Lefebvre's theory of space proved to be limited in its applicability to the concrete analysis of the specific context of the parks in Glasgow. What is necessary therefore, is the expansion of this framework through the consideration of other theorists who make available insights and examples of forms, structures, processes and experiences of space that could be adapted and applied to the analysis of the public parks. What the substantive analysis shows is that such an approach was justified in that the complexity of forms, designs, regulations and activities associated with the parks is reflected in the historical contingency of park production, representation and use in the city of modernity.

The origins and development of the network of parks in the city reflects recurrent themes in the analysis of the experience of modernity. The growing awareness of the need to provide public parks in modern cities was an acknowledgement and recognition that the process of modernity had consequences that needed to be addressed by the concerted and continual investment by the local state in the social and physical infrastructure of the city. The location, distribution, design and chronology of parks in the city illustrate the developmental approach that was applied by the state as it came to terms with the spatial, demographic, economic, social and political growth, expansion and influence of the urban sphere. The local state was essential to the production of a structured and organised urban space in which capital could operate most effectively, and illustrates the development of local government service provision and control in the city of modernity. The provision of urban public parks were variously represented as important elements in the creation of a healthy, fit, able and willing labour force that was necessary for the success of a capitalist city. Such ameliorative benefits of bringing 'nature' into the city were also perceived as providing an aesthetic benefit to the image and status of a predominantly industrial and manufacturing city, especially when combined with such important cultural institutions as art galleries and museums. This production of such necessary 'natural' spaces was also indicative of the consequences of the growing separation of the country and the city. As the urban spread enveloped the surrounding rural areas, arguments for 'green belts' and country parks reveal similar concerns as were expressed by the public parks movement. The increasing importance of leisure time and the concern with its appropriate use in

modernity is also emphasised in the study of the public parks. The parks were social spaces specifically provided for leisure and recreation and designed, maintained and regulated to be accessible to all classes, ages and genders. This universality has perhaps been challenged by the increasing privatisation and commodification of leisure in which the many communal events, entertainments and activities that were previously a mainstay of public park life have become less important and popular. Similarly, changes in travel and tourism have made the use of urban parks less important to the city dweller as private cars have opened up the countryside and package tours have made foreign lands a more accessible and exciting use of holiday and leisure time. This is also illustrated in the development of Strathclyde Country Park, designed to be almost wholly accessible by motor transport and provided with features and facilities that reflect changes in sporting and leisure activities. The origins and development of the public parks in Glasgow reflect the changing needs and priorities of the organisation and structure of the city, the changing leisure and recreation practices of the population, and the importance of creating and sustaining an image of the city in modernity as a good place to live, visit, invest and do business.

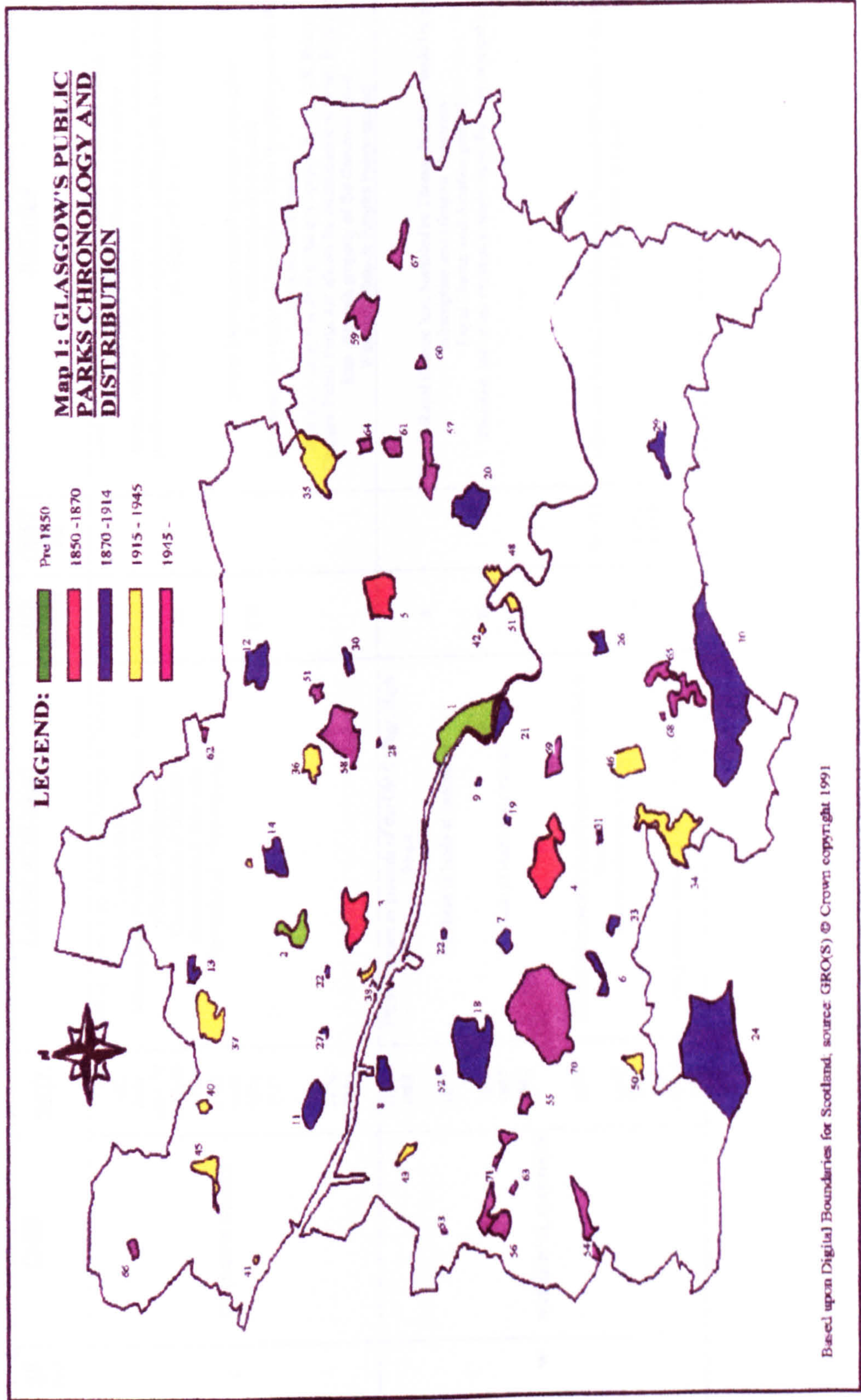
In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of this complexity involved in the origins and development of Glasgow's public parks as a case study, it is necessary to investigate the historical context for the development of such forms of space in the city. This requires an understanding of the demographic, spatial, political and social development of the city as it experienced rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in the 19th century. Whilst the experience of Glasgow is considered here in some detail, the justifications that led to the provision of the largest network of open space and parks in Britain and Europe were underpinned by processes and conditions that were not unique to Glasgow. There is then in this approach the abstraction of the salient features and characteristics of a case study that can be used as an analytical tool for the investigation of the generality of the phenomena of urban public park production, as well as for other empirical instances or investigations. That is, the approach developed here could be adopted for the analysis of the production of parks in other cities, not only in Britain but elsewhere in the world. The extent to which it is possible to extrapolate from the conclusions based upon the evidence for Glasgow would need to ensure that there was enough convergence of factors, both within the historical experience of the city and society, to make such inferences valid and sustainable. However, further research, taking account of cultural and historical variables, would test the veracity of such generalisations. Similarly, processes of park production in capital cities would need to take into account their specific conditions and status as national centres of government, the arts and culture,

entertainment, etc. For example, the existence of royal parks in London and the preponderance of aristocratic estates subsumed and maintained under state control in many European cities are not present in Glasgow. Glasgow's public parks, whilst including gifts of private land to be used as public parks, were a manifestation wholly of municipal endeavour, within the context of an extremely interventionist and civic-minded local state. Whilst this should not affect the applicability of the analytical framework nor the method employed, further research is required.

APPENDICES

1. MAP1: Glasgow's Public Parks Chronology and Distribution
2. Glasgow's Public Parks
3. Byelaws For Alexandra Park, 1872
4. Bye-Laws For The Public Parks, Recreation Grounds And Open Spaces - Corporation Of Glasgow, April 1896
5. Poster Giving Notice Of Restrictions Applied To Cyclists In Kelvingrove Park, 1897
6. Regulations For The Control Of Activities Specific To Cathkin Braes
7. Museums In The Parks
8. Glasgow's Exhibitions – Facts And Figures
9. 1889 Souvenir Of Band Nights
10. Excerpt of Programmes of music in the Parks, 1908
11. List of Recreational Facilities available in the parks as well as charges in 1970
12. Sporting Activities In Glasgow Parks
13. Message From The Provost To The Citizens On The Last Day Of The 1901 International Exhibition
14. Examples of Tourist and Train Guides
15. Poster Advertising Loch Lomond, 1930s

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2: GLASGOW'S PUBLIC PARKS

| <u>N</u> <u>o.</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | C GLASGOW GREEN | 1175-8 | Gift of 'Commony' from the Bishops of Glasgow Linningshaugh Mildamhead, Pietbog & Dassie (Daisy) Green Kilelaith & Milindam Cropnestock & Milnhill Broomlands & Kilncraith Provosthaugh (Fleshershaugh) | 59 | | Used for: Grazing, pasturage and fodder for animals (ended 1870) Washing, drying, and bleaching of clothes Sports, political rallies, leisure and recreation, 22 football pitches, tennis courts, gymnastic equipment, paddling pool, bowling greens (6 added 1903-11) Nelson Monument erected by private subscription 2 ½ mile carriage drive opened Recognised as a park and "maintained from the public purse for the purposes of recreation." First open-air gymnasium in the city opened by Mr. D.S. Fleming Glasgow Public Parks Act allows for maintenance of Green from Parks Rate although property of the Common Good. Winter Gardens & Peoples Palace opened |
| | | 1662 | | | | |
| | | 1664 | | | | |
| | | 1664-70 | | | | |
| | | 1680-90 | | | | |
| | | 1770 | | | | |
| | | 1792 | | | | |
| | | 1806 | | | | |
| | | 1826 | | | | |
| | | 1837 | | | | |
| | | 1878 | | 136 | | |
| | | 1887 | | | | |
| 2 | W BOTANICAL GARDENS | 1705-1805 | Physic Garden in grounds of the Old College, High Street. Purchase of lands at Sandyford Purchase of lands at Kelvinside Kibble Palace moved from Coulpport and erected in Gardens New Glasshouses erected Steep wooded slopes of banks of River Kelvin | 8 20 | | Run by Royal Botanic Inst. Founded by Thomas Hopkirk, funded by public subscription and Glasgow University Royal Charter and donation granted Pollution and urban expansion made Sandyford site unsuitable Taken over by the Corporation due to financial difficulties of the Inst. Opened to the public as a park |
| | | 1817 | | | | |
| | | 1818 | | | | |
| | | 1837 | | | | |
| | | 1842 | | | | |
| | | 1871 | | | | |
| | | 1882 | | | | |
| | | 1887 | | | | |
| | | 1891 | | | | |
| | | 1892-96 | | | | |
| | | 1900 | | 19 | 59,531 | |
| | | | | 4 | 9,360 | |
| | | | | Total: 43 | 2,144 | |

| <u>N</u> <u>o.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3 | W | KELVINGROVE PARK | 1852 | Woodlands, Clairmont, Kelvingrove & Kelvinbridge estates | 66 | 77,945 | Plan for park designed by Sir Joseph Paxton Park opened Baillie McClellan's Art collection acquired, displayed in Kelvingrove House International Exhibition held in park International Exhibition held to inaugurate opening of Museum & Art Gallery Tennis Courts and Bowling greens added; bandstand Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art & Industry held 1901. |
| | | | 1853 1854 1856 1881 1888 1901 | Claysaps, Overnewton & Kelvinbank | 19 | 270,000 | |
| | | | 1904 1905-6 1911 | Woodlands Rd. (from Improvements Dept.) | 3 | 66,626 | |
| | | | | | Total: 88 | 11,419 | |
| 4 | S | QUEENS PARK | 1857 | Pathhead Farm from Mr. Neale Thompson of Camphill | 143 | 30,000 | Laid out from plans by Paxton, opened on 11 Oct. by Baillie Gemmill, Convenor of the Parks Committee: named after Mary, Queen of Scots 50 acres set aside for feuing, Parks includes tennis courts, bowling greens (7 added 1905-24), 7 football pitches, children's playground, 2 Old Men's Shelters; bandstand; pond for model yacht and paddle boats |
| | | | 1862 | | 58 | 28,350 | |
| | | | 1894 | Camphill from patrons of The Hutchesons' Hospital | Total: 148 | 63,000 | |
| 5 | N | ALEXANDRIA PARK | 1866 | Wester Kennyhill | 80 | 26,000 | From Mr. Walter Stewart of Haghill by City Improvement Trust Gifted by Alexander Dennistoun. Lands transferred to Parks Dept. 15 acres sold to City Imp. Trust, 1900; 5 ½ acres sold to Gas Dept. 1902; 9-½ acres feued, 1 sold to Housing Dept. Playgrounds; paddling pool; 9 acre golf course; 12 tennis courts; 5 bowling greens (1907-24); bandstand Playground; 6 tennis courts; 2 bowling greens (1924) |
| | | | 1866 1872 1874-6 1891 1903 | Lands of Kennyhill | 5 12 ½ 32 ½ 1 ½ Total: 101 | 3,375 8,000 3,971 | |
| | | | | | 4 | 2,323 | |
| | | | | Gift from Sir John Stirling-Maxwell | 13 1 1 Total: 19 | 819 | |
| 6 | S | AULDHOUSE PARK (Formerly Greenbank Park) | 1872 1918 1920 1935 | Gift to Burgh of Pollockshields by Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell | 20 | | Responsibility of Corporation Parks Dept. after Annexation Act abs. Burgh Playgrounds; 4 tennis courts; ornamental model yacht pond; bandstand |
| 7 | S | MAXWELL PARK | 1878 1891 | Gift to Burgh of Govan by Mrs John Elder | 35 | | Opened by Earl of Roseberry City Extension Act absorbed burgh and park maintained by Parks Dept. 2 bowling greens; 2 putting greens; playground & Old Man's Shelter; paddling & model yacht pond; 5 multi-purpose courts Garden with shelter |
| 8 | SW | ELDER PARK | 1883 1912 | | 2 | | |
| 9 | C | GORBALS REST GARDEN | 1885 | | | | |

| <u>N</u> <u>a.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10 | S | CATHKIN BRAES (GUTTA PARK) | 1886 1922 | Purchased by James Dick and immediately gifted to Council | 49 23 Total: 73 | 1,731 | Topography (hilly semi-wilderness) and byelaws prescribe sports and games |
| 11 | W | VICTORIA PARK | 1886 1895 1912 | Land feued by Burgh of Partick from J. Gordon Oswald of Scotstoun | 46 16 Total: 65 | 6000 in perpetua 1 feu-duty | Opened in 1887 by Provost Sir Andrew M'Lean after unemployed local workers taken on to lay-out park. In Quarry Knowe area ten fossilised stems and roots of extinct trees discovered and led to Fossil Grove Museum being established City Extension Act absorbed burgh and park maintained by Parks Dept. Playgrounds; 8 tennis courts; 5 bowling greens (1908-23); bandstand (1908); 4 acre ornamental model yacht and paddle boat pond; rugby pitch; 3 football pitches; 1 hockey pitch; 1 shinty pitch; 1 cricket pitch 3 acres set aside for feuing Bandstand; model yacht pond; 6 tennis courts; 3 bowling greens (1905-1924); 3 football pitches; 3 hockey pitches; 1 cricket pitch; paddle boat pond; winter gardens Meteorological Office readings taken continuously since 1896 |
| 12 | N | SPRINGBURN PARK | 1892 1900 1900 1904 | 6 acres gifted by 2 'public-spirited individuals' Gifted by Sir Hugh Reid | 56 6 14 2 Total: 75 | 20,710 4,475 | Gymnasia, bandstand, & drinking fountains |
| 13 | W | PHOENIX PARK | 1892 | | 3 | £25,000 | 2 bowling greens (1908); 2 football pitches; playground; 2 Old Men's shelters Transferred from Housing Dept. |
| 14 | N | RUCHILL PARK | 1892 1928 | 9 hole Golf Course | 51 ½ 40 ½ Total: 92 | 35,700 | |
| 15 | NW | MARYHILL PARK | 1822 1922 1922 | | | | |
| 16 | | MEADOWSIDE PARK | 1894 | | 2 ½ | 4,560 | 2 bowling greens (1912); playground; |
| 17 | S | TITWOOD PARK | 1895 | Gift from Sir John Stirling-Maxwell | 3 | | Garden & play park |
| 18 | SW | BELLAHOUSTON PARK | 1895 1901 1903 1921 1938 1967 1968 | Trustees of Eliz. & Grace Stevens Dumbreck from Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell Ibroxhill Purchased from Housing Dept. | 178 7 ½ 28 ½ 6 ½ Total: 175 | 50,000 2,857 40,222 1,270 216,000 | Conditional on "... the property should be held and used exclusively, and in all time coming as a public park for, and on behalf of and for the use of the citizens of Glasgow". 3 acres set aside for feuing; 6-10, & 27 acres sold to Housing Dept (1921 & 1927) 6 tennis courts, 6 bowling greens (1916-38) Empire Exhibition held in park Sports Centre opened Dry ski slope opened |
| 19 | S | GOVANHILL PARK | 1896 | | 4 | 12,200 | Playgrounds, Old Man's Shelter. |

| <u>N</u> <u>o.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20 | E | TOLLCROSS PARK | 1897 1900 1921 | Mansion and grounds purchased from Mr. James Dunlop Lands of Shettlestonhill | 83 ¼ 19 Total: 99 | 29,000 | ¾ acre transferred to Police Dept. (1936); 2 ½ acres to Educ. Dept. (1936) Playground: 8 tennis courts; 3 bowling greens (1910, 1916); 4 football pitches; 1 hockey pitch; 1 cricket pitch; bandstand; |
| 21 | S | RICHMOND PARK | 1898 | | 44 | 44,000 | Opened & named after Lord Provost Sir David Richmond in 1899 Playground; 4 bowling greens (1915, 1924) cricket pitch |
| 22 | SW | PLANTATION PARK | 1898 1912 1915 | Burgh of Govan park | 7 ½ 7 ½ Total: 15 | 22,459 6,740 | City Extension Act absorbed burgh and park maintained by Parks Dept. Playground; 5 tennis courts; 3 bowling greens (1911, 1929); 3 football pitches; |
| 23 | W | DOWANHILL PARK | 1904 1912 | Ground feued by Burgh of Partick | 2 ½ | | Playground; Old Men's Shelter City Extension Act absorbed burgh and park maintained by Parks Dept. |
| 24 | SW | ROUKEN GLEN | 1906 1910 1913 1921 | Gift by Mr A. Cameron Corbett MP (later Lord Rowallan) Stanalane Deaconsbank Golf Course (18 holes) Capelrig | 135 12 72 ½ 7 ½ Total: 225 | 2,016 14,000 1,605 | Cricket pitch; large pond used for motor & rowing boats; large landscaped grounds and walled rose garden. |
| 30 | N | GLENCONNER PARK | 1914 1921 | Gift from Lord Glenconner Purchased from North British Railway Co. | 13 1 Total: 14 | | 4 tennis courts; 2 bowling greens (1924); 4 football pitches; playground |
| 31 | S | HOLMLEA RECREATION GROUND | 1914 | | 4 | | 4 tennis courts; playground; 2 bowling greens (1929); |
| 32 | W | LOCH LOMOND/ BALLOCH PARK | 1915 1927 | Balloch Castle Estate acquired by Common Good 33 acres set aside for feuing rest sold | 812 Total: 200 | 30,000 | Used as a convalescent area for Armed Forces personnel recovering from injury sustained in WW1. Large wooded and landscaped estate with magnificent views and trails. Castle used as visitor centre and tea-room. |
| 33 | S | NEWLANDS PARK | 1913 1919 1921 1927 1933 | Gift from Sir John Stirling-Maxwell Cathcart Castle Grounds Court Knowe | 13 ½ 180 8 ¾ 18 ½ 4 ¾ Total: 212 | 10,000 1,000 2,300 150 | 4 tennis courts 18 hole, 64 acre golf course; semi-wildscape; 1 st Nature Trail in city in park est. 1965 |
| 34 | S | LINN PARK | | | | | |

| <u>N</u> <u>o.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 35 | E | HOGGANFIELD LOCH & GROUNDS | 1920 1922 1923 1924 1933 | Part of lands of Ruchazie & Frankfield, incl. 53 acres of loch Purchased from General Dept. Purchased from Educ. Dept. | 93 3 13 14 1 Total: 124 | 17,000 819 6,642 14,030 800 | Semi-wilderness on edge of city: the loch island is a designated bird sanctuary and the loch is used for motor and rowing boats. |
| 36 | N | COWLAIRS PARK | 1920 1928 | Purchased from Housing Dept. | 34 2 Total: 36 | 9,000 2,481 | 5 tennis courts; 4 bowling greens (1924); 9 football pitches; playground; Old Man's Shelter |
| 37 | NW | DAWSHOLM PARK | 1920 | 10 acres gifted from Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth | 79 | 5,868 | 5 football pitches; playground; Bird Sanctuary; Nature Trail est. 1970 |
| 38 | W | YORKHILL PARK | 1921 | | 10 | 5,000 | 2 football pitches |
| 39 | N | LITTLEHILL GOLF COURSE | 1921 | Laid out & gifted by the Reid family | 95 | | |
| 40 | W | TEMPLE RECREATION GROUND | 1925 | Transferred from Housing Dept. | 14 ½ | 1,475 | 2 bowling greens (1935); 5 football pitches; pavilion. |
| 41 | W | YOKER RECREATION PARK | 1926 | Gift from A.A. Hagart Spiers of Elderslie | 2 | | Children's playground; |
| 42 | S | SPRINGFIELD ROAD RECREATION GROUND | 1926 | | 5 | 7,819 | 2 bowling green (1928); |
| 43 | SW | CARDONALD PARK | 1928 1945 | Transferred from General Dept. Transferred from Transport Dept. | 51 2 Total: 53 | 18,591 994 | 16 football pitches, Old Men's Shelter. |
| 44 | NW | SMEATON STREET RECREATION GROUND | 1928 | | 5 | | Children's playground; 2 bowling greens (1939); |
| 45 | W | KNIGHTSWOOD PARK | 1929 | Purchased from Housing Dept. | 147 ½ | 40,920 | 6 tennis courts; 4 bowling greens (1936,1940); hockey pitch; cricket pitch; 18-hole pitch & putt course; 64 acre 9-hole golf course; 3 football pitches; children's playground; Old Man's Shelter; running track; pond |
| 46 | S | KINGS PARK | 1930 1934 | Gift from Sir John A. MacTaggart Gift from The Western Heritable Investment Co. - 9 hole golf course | 68 29 Total: 97 | | Cricket pitch; putting green; Old Mans & Picnic Shelter, |
| 47 | E | LETHAMHILL GOLF COURSE | 1933 | Adjacent to Hogganfield Loch & Grounds | 97 | | |
| 48 | E | WESTHORN RECREATION GROUND | 1935 | Purchased from Water Dept. | 20 | 1,000 | Hockey pitch; 2 bowling greens (1938); Old Man's Shelter; cycle & running track; |

| <u>N</u> <u>a.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 49 | SW | LANGLANDS RECREATION GROUND | 1935 | Purchased from Education Dept. | 3 | 4,380 | 2, bowling greens (1935); |
| 50 | SW | KING GEORGE'S FIELD | 1937 | Gift from Nether Pollock Ltd. to Corporation on behalf of King George's Filled Foundation | 35 | | Opened 1951 by Princess Elizabeth, 2 bowling greens (1950); putting green; 4 tennis courts; 5 football pitches; children's playground & paddling pool; |
| 51 | SE | DALMARNOCK RECREATION GROUND | 1940 1947 | Transferred from Electricity Dept. Purchased from Electricity Dept. | 2 20 ½ Total: 22 ½ | 4,500 | 2 bowling greens (1947); |
| 52 | SW | PETERSHILL RECREATION GROUND | 1947 | Gift from Glasgow & District playing Fields Association | 14 ½ | | Playground |
| 53 | SW | PENILLEE RECREATION GROUND | 1947 | | 7 | | Bowling green; putting green; playground |
| 54 | SW | ROSS HALL PARK | 1948 | Formerly Ross Hall Estate | 33 | 17,000 | Nature Trail; woodlands & gardens |
| 55 | SW | SOUTH POLLOCK RECREATION GROUND | 1950 | | 46 | | 16 football pitches & Pavilion. |
| 56 | SW | HOUSEHILL GROUNDS | 1950 | | 33 | | Woodland and riverside walkway and park |
| 57 | E | GREENFIELD PARK | 1950 | | 53 | | Opened 1958; bowling green; 3 tennis courts; 10 football pitches; putting green; playground; Pavilion; |
| 58 | N | SIGHTHILL PARK | | Reclaimed from derelict land as a result of demolition | | | |
| 59 | E | AUCHINLEA PARK | | | | | |
| 60 | E | BARLARNACK PARK | 1954 | | 7 | | Bowling green; 2 tennis courts; playground; |
| 61 | E | CRANHILL PARK | 1957 | Opened 1961 | 26 | | 2 bowling greens; 4 tennis courts; pitch & putt; children's playground |
| 62 | N | MILTON PARK | 1954 | | 7 | | Bowling Green; 2 tennis courts; playground |
| 63 | SW | NEWFIELD SQUARE RECREATION GROUND | 1955 | | 7 | | Bowling green; 3 tennis courts; putting green |
| 64 | E | CROFTCROIGHN PARK | 1959 | | 9 | | Bowling green; 2 tennis courts; putting green; children's playground |
| 65 | S | CASTLEMILK PARK | 1961 | | 4 | | Opened June 1963 by lord provost Meldrum; 2 bowling greens; 3 tennis courts; playground |
| 66 | W | DRUMCHAPEL PARK | 1961 | | 11 | | 3 bowling greens; 4 tennis courts; putting green; 2 football pitches; Play Centre opened 1966 described as "a great boon to mothers" |
| 67 | E | BLAIRTUMMOCK PARK | 1964 | Opened 1967 | 21 | | 2 bowling greens; 3 tennis courts; putting green; playground |
| 68 | S | BARLIA DRIVE RECREATION GROUND | 1965 | | 14 | | 2 football pitches; playground |

| <u>N</u> <u>O.</u> | <u>AR</u> <u>EA</u> | <u>PARK</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LANDS ACQUIRED</u> | <u>SIZE</u> <u>(acres)</u> | <u>COST</u> <u>(£)</u> | <u>DETAILS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 69 | S | TORYGLEN | 1965 | Reclaimed from tipping site of former Dixon's ironworks | 14 | | Landscaped grassland and trees; 10 football pitches; |
| 70 | SW | POLLOCK PARK | 1967 | Gift from Maxwell-McDonalds | 361 | | 121 acres had since 1911 been opened free to public. Mansion House open as museum and visitor centre. Burrell Collection housed in purpose built museum, opened 1983 |
| 71 | SW | LOCHAR PARK | 1967 | | | | Bowling green; pitch & putt; putting green, playground |
| 72 | E | STRATHCLYDE COUNTRY PARK | 1979 | Undertaken and Completed by Strathclyde Regional Council | 1601 | | Large areas of open grassland, trees, shrubs, footpaths, picnic areas and car parks. Artificial loch includes water sport facilities: 2000m rowing or 9lane canoeing course; fishing; rowing boats (no powered craft allowed); sailing; windsurfing. Football, rugby, hockey, tennis, cricket, bowling and putting facilities. 9 hole municipal golf course & 18 hole private golf course Camping & Caravan Park. Some parts of the park have SSSI status. |

APPENDIX 3: BYELAWS FOR ALEXANDRA PARK, 1872

BYE-LAWS FOR THE ALEXANDRA PARK, GLASGOW.

At GLASGOW, the Eighteenth day of July, Eighteen hundred and seventy-two.

THE MAGISTRATES and COUNCIL of the CITY of GLASGOW being in Council Assembled, under the powers conferred on them by "The Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859," Section 14th, HEREBY ENACT and ORDAIN the following BYE-LAWS, for the Good Government and Regulation of the ALEXANDRA PARK, Glasgow, lately acquired by them from the Trustees under "The Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866," to be strictly observed and enforced, until repealed or altered, from and after the date of the same being confirmed by the Sheriff of the County of Lanark:—

I.

No person shall enter or leave the Park except by the ordinary Gates.

II.

No person shall use any part of the Park with Horses, Mules, or Asses, Carriages, or Vehicles of any description, except the Roads laid out as Carriage Drives.

III.

No person shall take any Dog into the Park, unless it be led by the party in charge.

IV.

All furious Riding or Driving is prohibited.

V.

No Groom or Horsebreaker shall exercise or train any Horse in any part of the Park.

VI.

No person shall cut, or injure, or pull up, or deface any of the Trees, Shrubs, Flowers, Grass, Turf, Fences, Fountains, Seats, or Regulations in any part of the Park.

VII.

Certain portions of the Park, consisting of Artificial Sloping Terraces, fringed with Flowers and Shrubs, being very liable to injury, all persons are strictly prohibited from Walking, Running,

Squatting, or Lying, or being upon any part of said Slopes or Flower Ground bearing the intimation, "Please keep off the Grass."

VIII.

No Games of any kind shall be played in or upon any part of the Park, except upon such portions thereof as may be specially set apart for that purpose.

IX.

The Park shall be open, from 1st April till 30th September inclusive, from Six o'clock Morning till Ten o'clock Evening; and from 1st October to 31st March inclusive, from Daylight till Dark.

X.

Any person contravening any part of the 6th Bye-Law shall, in so far as not otherwise provided, be liable to a penalty not exceeding Five Pounds for each offence, and any person contravening any part of the other Bye-Laws above specified shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding Twenty Shillings for each offence.

**APPENDIX 4: BYE-LAWS FOR THE PUBLIC PARKS, RECREATION GROUNDS
AND OPEN SPACES - CORPORATION OF GLASGOW, APRIL 1896**

- I. No person shall enter or leave except by the gates, and persons shall only remain in the Park during the time the same is open.
- II. The Parks shall, except as aforementioned, be open to the public as follows, viz.: - During the months of November, December, January and February, from 5.30 o'clock am to 6 o'clock pm; and during the other months of the year from 5.30 o'clock am to 10 o'clock pm, or at such other hours during the year as may from time to time be stated in the notice after mentioned ... A notice stating the precise time of opening and closing for the day will be posted near the entrance gates.
- III. Persons visiting any planthouse of greenhouse, which the Corporation may at any time open to the public, must pass through it in the direction indicated by notice boards therein, and must not cause any obstruction to other visitors or to employees of the Corporation.
- IV. Except as provided by articles No. 27 and 29 hereof, no vehicles, other than cabs or private carriages, shall enter the Park, without the written authority of the Corporation. No person shall ride or drive any animal except on the roads, if any, laid out and marked as carriage-drives. No persons shall allow any animal belonging to him or under his charge to stray into or in the park, and stray animals may be seized and dealt with according to law.
- V. No person shall recklessly or furiously ride or drive any horse or other animal.
- VI. No person shall, without the written authority of the Corporation, exercise, train, or exhibit with a view to sale, any horse or other animal. No cattle or sheep shall, without the consent of the Corporation, be taken into the Park, except for the purpose of going or returning from any part thereof which may be let by the Corporation for grazing purposes. No person shall lead any animal nor ride any animal in stable clothing or without a saddle.
- VII. No person shall interfere with any birds nest, or molest or ill-treat any bird or other animal, or instigate or take part in any dog fight or other fight or battle, or snare or catch, or trap any animal, bird, or fish, or use any appliance for such purpose.
- VIII. No male person shall molest or importune any female, and no prostitute or street-walker shall loiter in the Park or importune any person.
- IX. No person shall carry large baskets, packages, or other large articles.
- X. No person who is drunk and incapable of taking care of himself shall be allowed to enter or remain in the park.
- XI. No person shall commit any nuisance, or jostle, trip or cause any obstruction or annoyance to any person.
- XII. No person shall smoke in any of the plant or other houses.
- XIII. No person shall drill or practice military evolutions except under written authority etc. ... and no person shall wilfully or unnecessarily interfere with or obstruct the movements of any authorized persons drilling or practicing military evolutions.
- XIV. No person shall except etc.... discharge any firearm or fire-work, or set off any fire-balloon, or make any bonfire, and no person shall throw any stone, snowball, or other missile.
- XV. No person shall throw down or leave any rubbish, paper, or other substance, or take part in any picnic or luncheon party, except on such place as may from time to time be set apart by notice for such purposes.
- XVI. No person shall except etc. ... expose or offer for sale, distribute or exhibit any articles, and no person shall solicit money or alms, or expose wounds or deformity, or act so as to induce, or for the purpose of inducing, the giving of money or alms.

- XVII.** No person shall beat, shake or clean any carpet or other articles, or dry or bleach any clothes or other articles, except at such place, if any, as may from time to time be set apart by notice for such purposes.
- XVIII.** No person shall shout or make unseemly noises, or indulge in any rough play or unseemly conduct.
- XIX.** No person shall sing, preach, lecture or take part in any public service or discussion, or meeting for any purpose, without the written authority of the Corporation, except on such place as may from time to time be set apart by notice for such purposes.
- XX.** No person shall play any musical instrument, except under the written authority etc...
- XXI.** No person shall lean against, sit on, or climb any of the trees, gates railings, posts or fences, or stand, lie, or place anything on the seats.
- XXII.** No person shall touch the plants, flowers or labels, or deface or injure any tress, shrubs, grass, or turf, or do any damage to any of the buildings, fountains, monuments, seats, walks, fences, or other property.
- XXIII.** No person shall walk upon any flowerbed, verge border, shrubbery, sloping terrace, or plantation, or go over or through any fence or railing. No person shall walk upon any grass lawn on which a notice is placed requesting person not to go upon the same.
- XXIV.** No person shall take part or engage in lotteries, betting or gambling.
- XXV.** No person shall be riotous, disorderly, or indecent in his behaviour, or use any obscene, profane, indecent or insulting language. No person shall use words or behave in a manner fitted or intended to provoke a breach of the peace, or whereby a breach of the peace may be occasioned.
- XXVI.** No person shall play at any game, or take part in any sport, race or gymnastics, except on such place, if any, as may from time to time be set apart by notice for that purpose, and then only in conformity with the Bye-laws and Notices applicable to such games, sports, races or gymnastics. No person shall play at any game on Sunday.
- XXVII.** No velocipede, bicycle or tricycle shall be used or driven except on the carriage drives, or on such place, if any, as may be set aside, by notice, for cycling, and shall not be driven at a speed exceeding eight miles an hour. No person shall cycle except during hours to be mentioned in notice. Cycle rider must dismount when the drives are crowded.
- XXVIII.** No person shall cause or allow any dog belong to him or in his charge to enter or be in the Park, unless such dog be led by a cord, strap or chain, and kept on the walks.
- XXIX.** Chairs on wheels and perambulators, moved by hand, with invalids or children, are allowed, but must be kept on the walks. They may, however, be taken on to such part, if any, as may be set aside by notice as a recreation ground.
- XXX.** No person shall use any pond, lake or stream for any purpose or at other times than those stated from time to time in notice.
- XXXI.** No person shall throw or put sticks, stones or substances of any description, into any water, or cause the water to be polluted.
- XXXII.** No person shall wilfully interfere with or obstruct any yacht or boat belonging to another person, and spectators must keep back from the water so as to allow the persons in charge of the boats or yachts to manage them.
- XXXIII.** No person shall sail any yacht or boat of any description of greater length than seven feet six inches over all: and no person shall sail or cause any boat or raft on any water, except such s are specially set apart by notice for such purpose.
- XXXIV.** The Corporation may grant any club permission to sail or race or hold a regatta, and said club shall have the exclusive use of the pond, lake or stream for the time specified in such permission, and no person shall interfere with or impede the sailing of boats in such races or regattas.
- XXXV.** All clubs desiring permission to sail races or hold regattas must make application to

the Superintendent of Parks not later than the fifteenth of April in each year. After said date no application for special days will be entertained for the then ensuing season. Forms of application will be supplied by the Corporation, on request from the Superintendent of Parks.

- XXXVI. No person shall throw or put on any ice any stick, stone or any substance of any description; nor shall any unauthorized person break, cut, or in any way injure the ice.
- XXXVII. No person shall go upon any ice until a notice intimating that the ice is safe is posted near the place.
- XXXVIII. Every skater going round the ice must keep to the right, and, in the event of crowding, follow a regular course round the margin, so as to leave the central area clear for sliding and other authorized proposes, and no skater shall go at a greater speed than eight miles and hour. Not more than three persons shall skate abreast.
- XXXIX. The Corporation may grant permission to any club to curl on nay part of the ice.
- XL. No person shall cross any curling rink during a game, or in any way impede the game, or interfere with the players.
- XLI. - LX. These byelaws specifically relate to the playing of Gold in Corporation Parks.
- LXI. In the event of any dispute arising in connection with the sailing of yachts, boats or rafts, or the playing of any game, the officer of the Corporation in charge will decide the same.
- LXII. Every written authority required by these Byelaws must be exhibited on demand to any Police Constable, or to any officer of the Corporation.
- LXIII. Nothing in these Byelaws shall interfere with, or prevent the carrying on of the work of the Park by the employees of the Corporation.
- LXIV. The Corporation may, from time to time, issue notices as to the places where and the times at which any form of recreation or amusement may be played.
- LXV. The word 'Notice' in these Byelaws shall mean a notice issued by the Corporation in virtue of these Byelaws, and posted near the place to which the same refers.
- LXVI. Every person contravening any of the foregoing Byelaws, or of the Notices before referred to shall, for each offence, be liable to a penalty not exceeding five pounds.
- LXVII. The existing byelaws shall be repealed as from the time when these Byelaws come in to operation.

Signed and sealed, in terms of "The Glasgow Public Parks Acts, 1878 to 1895", at Glasgow, the fifth day of March, Eighteen Hundred and ninety-six years.

WM. Pettigrew, Acting Chief Magistrate
Walter Wilson, Magistrate
William Bilsland, Councillor
J.D. Marwick, Town Clerk

1897
Corporation of Glasgow—Parks Department.

NOTICE AS TO CYCLING IN KELVINGROVE PARK.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW, acting under
“The Glasgow Corporation Parks Acts, 1878 to 1895,” and
in pursuance of the powers conferred by the Bye-laws made and
enacted by them on 5th March, 1896, for the good government
and regulation of the Public Parks, Recreation Grounds, and
Open Spaces, which were confirmed by the Sheriff of Lanark-
shire on 25th April, 1896, DO HEREBY GIVE NOTICE—

That velocipedes, bicycles, and tricycles (which must be provided
with alarm bells or other means of warning pedestrians, and also, after
sunset, with efficient lamps) may be used or driven on the roads in
the park marked as carriage drives between sunrise and 2 o'clock
p.m., provided, however—

(a) That there shall be no time restriction as regards the use of
such velocipedes, bicycles, and tricycles on the carriage drive from
University Avenue *via* the circular plot in said drive known as the
Fairy Fountain, the iron bridge across the Kelvin, the south side of
the City Industrial Museum, to the gate at Kelvingrove Street, but said
carriage drive shall, after 2 o'clock p.m., be used for through traffic
only, and cyclists in passing the said circular plot must keep to the
east of it; and between 2 o'clock p.m. and sunset no person shall use
or drive a velocipede, bicycle, or tricycle on said carriage drive,
oftener than once in fifteen minutes; and

(b) That velocipedes, bicycles, and tricycles (which must be provided
as aforesaid) may be used or driven between sunrise and sunset on the
portion of the carriage drive in the Park on the south side of the River
Kelvin between the south end of the bridge opposite Radnor Street and
the top of the incline near the entrance to the Park at Partick Bridge.

The use of velocipedes, bicycles, and tricycles except as allowed as
above renders the offenders liable in the penalties provided for in the
Bye-laws.

The Notice dated 15th July, 1897, is withdrawn.

CITY CHAMBERS,
GLASGOW, 15th JUNE, 1899.

J. D. MARWICK, Town-Clerk.

EXTRACT FROM BYE-LAWS.

COPY BYE-LAW No. 27.

“No velocipede, bicycle, or tricycle shall be used or driven except
“on the carriage drives, or on such place, if any, as may be set
“aside by notice for cycling, and shall not be driven at a speed
“exceeding eight miles an hour. No person shall cycle except during
“hours to be mentioned in notice. Cycle riders must dismount when
“the drives are crowded.”

REGULATIONS

FOR THE

CATHKIN BRAES PARK

The Public will be allowed the use of this Park subject to the following conditions, which each visitor, by his entering the Park, will be held to have agreed to:—

1. Persons must only enter by the turnstiles or gates, and no climbing on, or going over, any of the walls or fences will be allowed.

2. No person shall damage any of the walls or fences, or break off branches from, cut, or otherwise injure any of the trees or bushes, or cut or deface any of the seats.

3. No fires shall be allowed on any part of the Park.

4. No football, cricket, or shinty shall be played on any part of the Park.

5. No person shall molest, or otherwise interfere with the cattle or other animals, or the birds.

6. No article shall be taken into the Park for the purpose of being, or shall be, sold there.

Parties contravening the above Regulations will be liable to be immediately ejected from the Park, and to be proceeded against as trespassers, besides being held liable for any damage they may have done.

J. D. MARWICK,

Town-Clerk, Glasgow.

APPENDIX 7: MUSEUMS IN THE PARKS

The appendix provides details of a museums and galleries that have a close association with the public parks of Glasgow. Whilst all of those museums cited below are found within the parks this is not a comprehensive list of all of Glasgow's museums and galleries. Only those museums that have an association with the city's parks are included here. The location of the parks as sites for these museums was considered in both chapters 4 and 5, as part of the fulfilment of ideological and aesthetic considerations by both park designers and municipal officials. Many of those in the public parks movement such as Charles H.J. Smith and Sir Patrick Geddes avowed the advantages of museums and cultural institutions in the public parks whilst the moralising and pedagogic tendencies of municipal officials and councillors was clearly expressed in their pronouncements concerning the benefits of museums in Glasgow's parks. There is a symbiotic relationship between the museums and the parks in which the enjoyment and attraction of one appears to add to the appreciation of the other and vice versa. The city has an internationally renowned collection of art that is displayed in various institutions and those museums cited below were and are well patronised by Glasgow citizens as well as visitors to the city and they make an important contribution to the cultural life of the city as well as to the image of the city as a place of culture.

THE PEOPLES PALACE AND WINTER GARDENS, GLASGOW GREEN

The Peoples Palace on Glasgow Green was opened by Lord Rosebery on the 22 January 1898 and was the first purpose built municipal museum in the city. The aims behind Glasgow's Peoples Palace were similar to those institutions found in other cities: "the common purpose was cultural provision for the working class people of the East End".¹ The Peoples Palace was an instant success and still ranks as one of the most visited museums in the city. It houses an eclectic collection of artefacts and examples from the city's political, economic and social history. In the Winter Gardens public lectures and musical performances were held including the world famous Glasgow Orpheus Choir. See Overhead of smoky audience. "During the opening year it was visited by some 770,800 persons, while in the next two years the number of visitors averaged 500,000"²

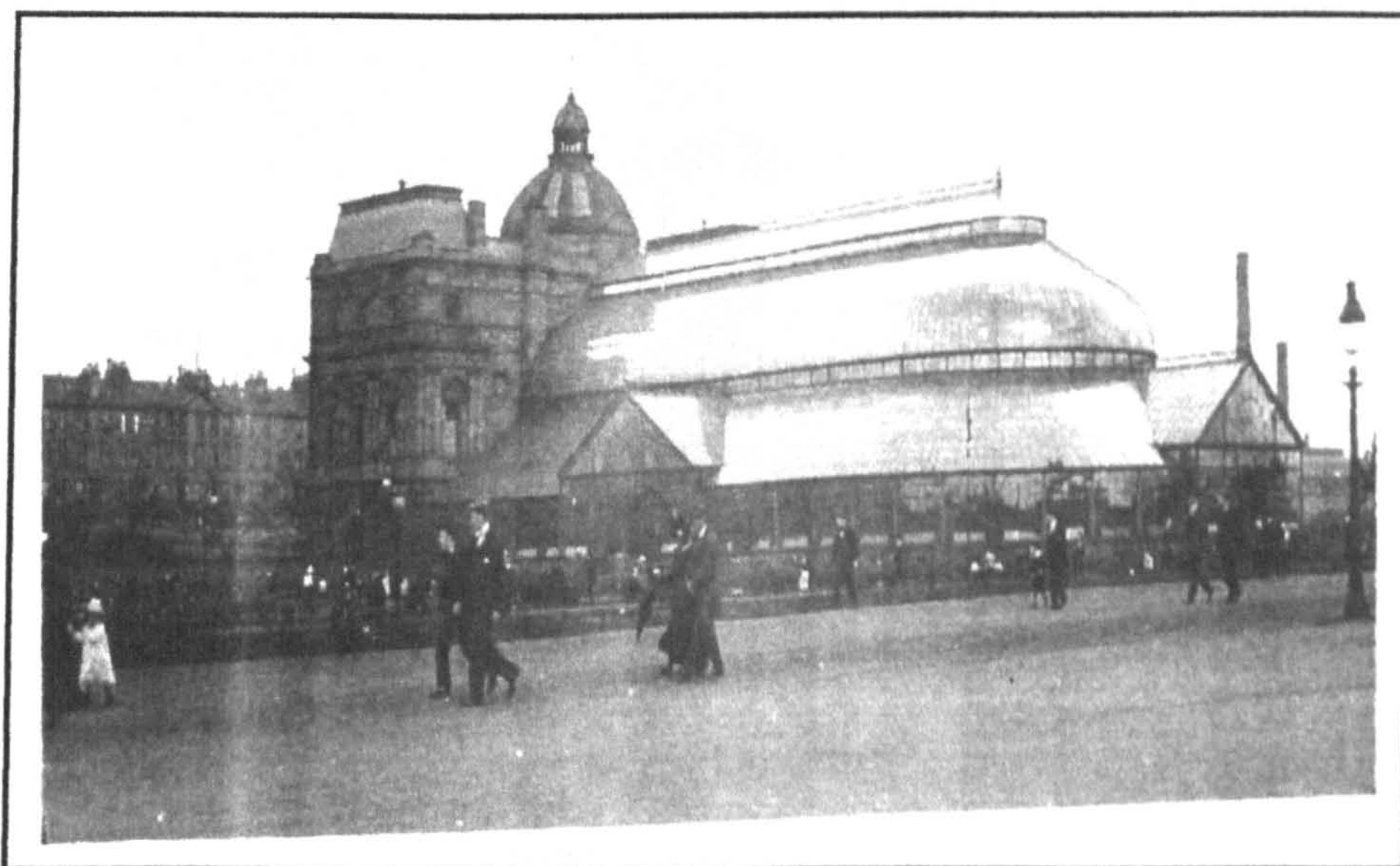
The plan to construct the Peoples Palace and Winter Gardens on the Green was initially conceived in 1866 when £2500 was realised from the sale of the old Bridgeton bleaching green. With the Corporation involved in solving numerous other social and sanitation priorities, work did not begin until April 1895 and was eventually completed at the end of 1877.

¹King, 1985, pg. 13.

²Noremac, 1908, PG 27.

The building of the Peoples Palace was inspired by the construction of similar institutions elsewhere, in particular the Peoples Palace opened in the Mile End Road in London in May 1897.³ The aims of the Glasgow Peoples Palace were the same as the London one, to provide for the “cultural provision for the working class people of the East End”.⁴ Bailie Bilsland, the chairman of the committee supervising the work and an ardent campaigner for free museums, galleries, libraries, parks and recreation grounds explained this purpose at the opening ceremony performed by Lord Roseberry on 22 January 1888.

The general idea is that the permanent collections to be performed should relate to the history and industries of the city, and that some space should be set apart for special sectional exhibitions to be held from time to time, in connection with such prizes as may be awarded for works of special excellence. While primarily serving as a conservatory and a place of attraction during the shorter days, the Winter Garden portion has been designed and arranged to serve also as a hall where musical performances can be given to large audiences. One element of originality in the way of municipal enterprise that can be claimed for this institution lies in the combination, practically under one roof, of a museum, picture gallery, winter garden and music hall. So far as we are aware, no municipality in the kingdom has provided an institution combining all these features.⁵



Peoples Palace and Winter Garden⁶

A.B. Macdonald, the City Engineer designed the Peoples Palace in the French Renaissance Style with a frontage measuring 100 feet with a depth of 40, built in red sandstone and decorated with figures representing shipbuilding, mathematics, science, engineering and the textile industry. The Winter Palace was designed partly by William Baird of the Temple Iron Works and measures 180 by 120 feet with a height of 60. The design is traditionally held to represent the upturned hull of Lord Nelson’s flagship, the Victory because of the Gardens proximity to the column in the Green that was first public memorial erected in Britain. The role of the Peoples Palace and other cultural institutions

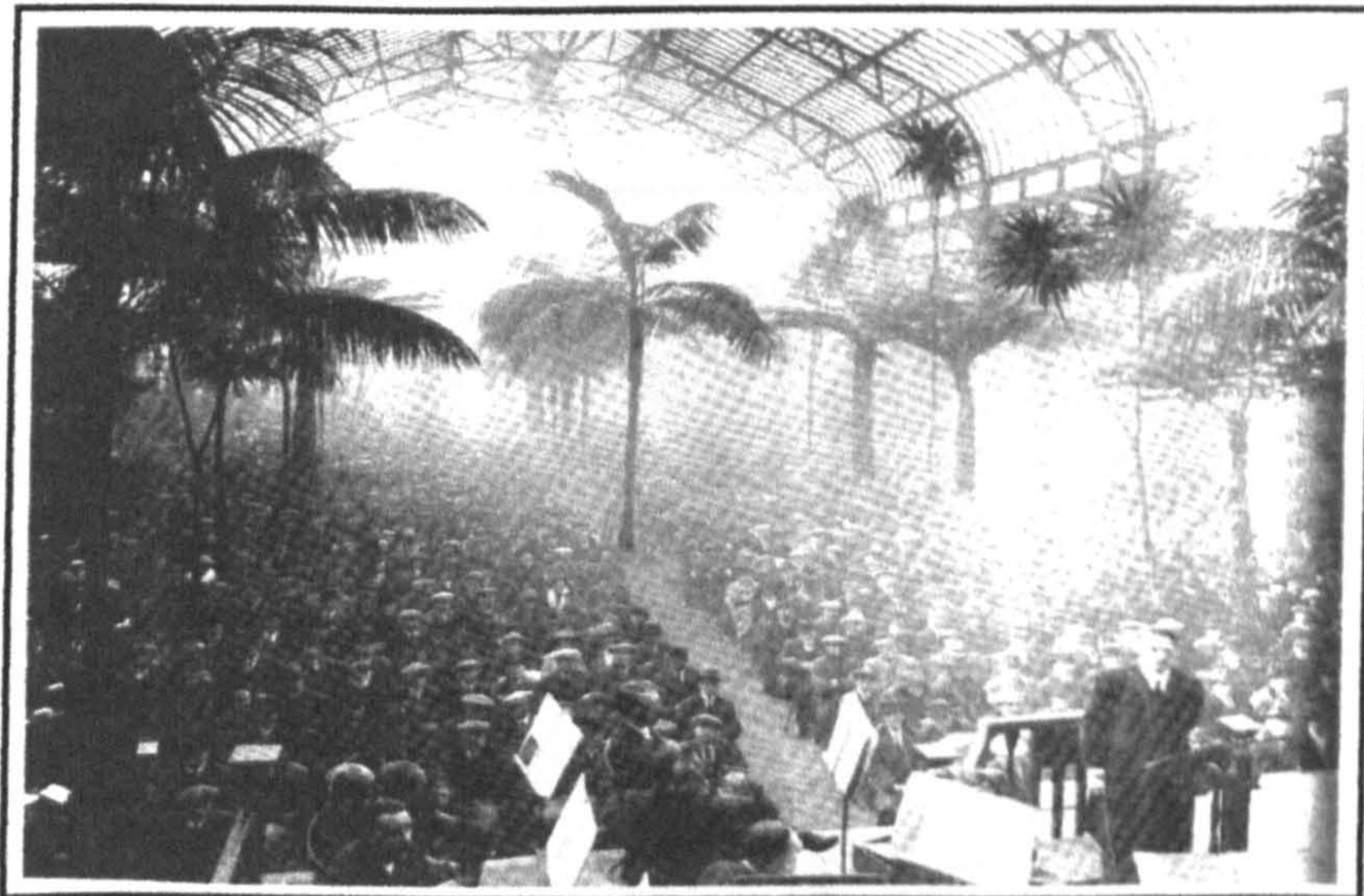
³ For an analysis of the rise and fall of the Peoples Palace in London, as well as the role of Walter Besant, see Joyce, S. Castles in the Air: The Peoples Palace, Cultural Reformism, and the East End Working Class, *Victorian Studies*, Summer 1996, 39, 1995-6, pp. 513 – 538.

⁴ King, 1985, pg. 13.

⁵ Glasgow Herald 24th January, 1898 cited in King, 1985 p. 15.

⁶ McLellan Glasgow’s Public Parks p. CHECK

located in the parks will be considered in detail later, in particular with respect to debates concerning the education and moral improvement of the working classes. Lord Rosebery opened the Peoples Palace and Winter Gardens on Glasgow Green on the 22nd of January 1898. The aims behind Glasgow's Peoples Palace were similar to those institutions found in other cities: "the common purpose was cultural provision for the working class people of the East End".⁷ The Peoples Palace was an instant success and still ranks as one of the most visited museums in the city. It houses an eclectic collection of artefacts and examples from the city's political, economic and social history. In the Winter Gardens public lectures and musical performances were held and "During the opening year it was visited by some 770,800 persons, while in the next two years the number of visitors averaged 500,000"⁸



The famous Glasgow Orpheus Choir performs in the Winter Gardens of the People's Palace, 1901.⁹



The Staff in the winter Gardens of the Peoples Palace c. 1900 ¹⁰

⁷ King, 1985, p. 13.

⁸ Noremac, 1908, p. 27.

⁹ Peoples Palace Book of Glasgow, p. 10

¹⁰ Glasgow As It Was Vol. II, 1975 Moss, M. & Hume, J., Hendon Publishing Co., Hendon Mill, Lancashire, plate 28.

BOTANIC GARDENS

Whilst the Botanical Gardens situated in the West End did not contain a museum until very recently when a small room has opened exhibiting aspects of the Gardens history specialist plant collections housed in a number of glasshouses ensured it was a popular visitor attraction. However, in 1871 the Directors of the then private Gardens arranged for the transfer and re-erection of a huge glass conservatory from the grounds of a garden in Coulport owned by a Glasgow businessman, John Kibble. The Kibble Palace as it is known is now a well-known Glasgow landmark and has been used for a variety of concerts, meetings, flower shows, exhibitions and lectures including those of the famous American evangelists Moody and Sankey who preached, to appreciative crowds both inside and outside the Kibble Palace in May 1874. The Kibble Palace and the greenhouses provided comfortable and pleasant surroundings in all weathers and were popular attractions for visitors in themselves.



Cartoon of Sundays at the Botanic Gardens¹¹

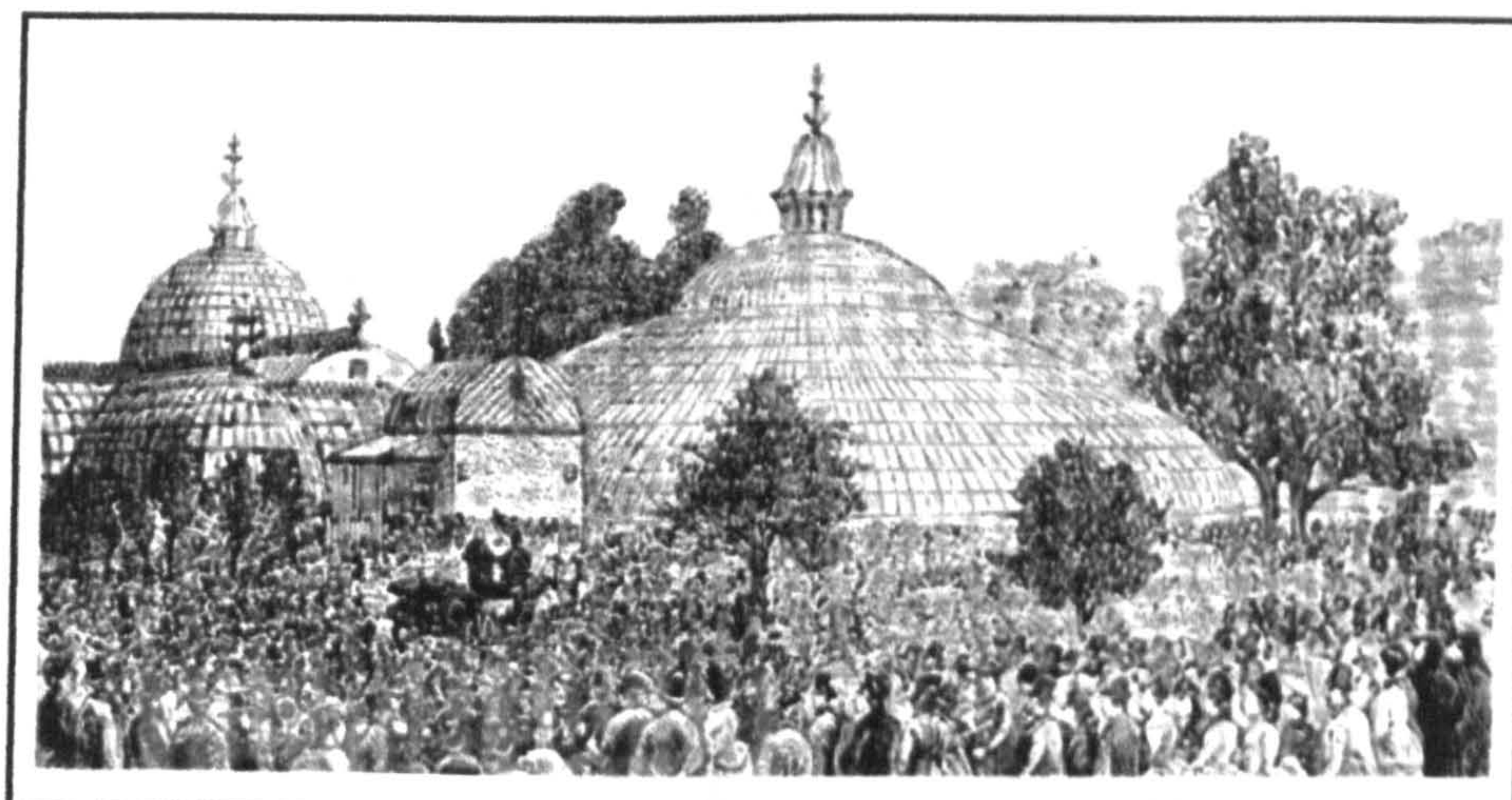
¹¹ Curtis, E.W., 1999, The Kibble Palace, Argyll Publishing, Glendaruel, Argyll, p. 59.

GLASGOW CHORAL UNION.
KIBBLE PALACE BOTANIC GARDENS.
SATURDAY PROMENADE CONCERTS.
SATURDAY, 2D DECEMBER, 1876.
GRAND ENGLISH NIGHT.
FULL ORCHESTRA
(From City Hall Orchestral Concerts).
AND
MILITARY BAND.

THE PERFORMANCE WILL INCLUDE
Grand Selection from "Satanella".....*Baile*
Grand Procession March.....*Sullivan*
Grand March from "Tannhäuser".....*Wagner*
Quickstep, "I Derzaglich".....*Arditi*
(All for Combined Bands.)
Flute Solo (English Air).....*Pratten*
Euphonium Solo. "O Rudder than the Cherry".....*Handel*
Also,
Part-Songs by MEMBERS of the CHORAL UNION.

CONDUCTOR.....MR ARTHUR SULLIVAN.
ADMISSION—ONE SHILLING.
Gates Open at 6.30. Concert at 7.
Tickets from Messrs Swan & FENTLAND, 48 Buchanan
Street and 331 Sandhill Street.

Poster Advertising Music Recital in Kibble Palace, 1876 ¹²



Moodey and Sankey Preaching in the Botanic Gardens, May 1874 ¹³

CAMPBILL HOUSE MUSEUM, QUEENS PARK

The acquisition of the grounds of Camphill estate to extend Queens Park also included the mansion house that was subsequently turned into a district museum. Camphill House Museum was opened in Queens Park on the 3rd of June 1896 with a successful inaugural photographic exhibition and later was to display objects lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum as well as modern paintings and a small collection of natural history.

KELVINGROVE PARK, THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Kelvingrove House, (built in 1783 for the Glasgow merchant Patrick Colquhoun,) the original mansion of one of the estates purchased with the land that was to form the park

¹² Curtis, E.W., 1999, The Kibble Palace, Argyll Publishing, Glendaruel, Argyll, p. 45.

¹³ Curtis, E.W., 1999, The Kibble Palace, Argyll Publishing, Glendaruel, Argyll, p. 39.

was opened as the City Industrial Museum in 1870 and remained an attraction until it was replaced by the Kelvingrove Art Galleries and Museum were opened in 1901. In 1856 the Council acquired the large art collection of Baillie Archibald McLellan. As it outgrew the unsuitable setting of the Kelvingrove Mansion, (built in 1783 for the Glasgow merchant Patrick Colquoun), it was proposed to stage an International Exhibition in 1888 whose final aim was as a means for raising the funds for the new Art Gallery and Museum. The building of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum and the People's Palace was the direct result of an explicit commitment to "... bringing to the doors of our teeming industrial population, in some measure at least, the means of refined recreation, and of stimulating their own intellectual and artistic sense".¹⁴ The Kelvingrove Art Galleries and Museums were opened in 1901, and were built, in part, from the proceeds from the 1888 Exhibition. The Exhibition of 1901 was organized to inaugurate the opening of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. The Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art and Industry held in 1911 can be said to have achieved the "... mutually reinforcing aims of all major exhibitions: to promote industry and commerce, attract tourism, to entertain; and in general to project the city's identity and enhance its prestige."¹⁵ In the first year of it's opening, that is 1903-4, Kelvingrove Gallery and Museum attracted 1,113,688 visitors and in 1907, the total number was 720,985.¹⁶ In the first year of it's opening, that is 1903-4, the Gallery and Museum attracted 1,113,688 visitors and in 1907 the total number was 720,985.¹⁷ In considering the various representations and uses of the parks this aspect will be considered in detail in later chapters.



A 1910 Postcard of Kelvingrove Art Galleries and Museum

¹⁴ Richmond D. 1899, Corporation of the City of Glasgow, Notes on Municipal works from November 1876 to November 1899, Robert Anderson Glasgow, p. 65.

¹⁵ Kinchin & Kinchin, pg 13.

¹⁶ From Noremac, 1908, PG 35.

¹⁷ From Noremac, 1908, PG 35.

The Architects J. W. Simpson and E. J. Milner Allen built the museum in a Spanish Baroque style and following the Glasgow tradition used red sandstone throughout. Its main entrance faces on to the River Kelvin and the University buildings whilst the most accessible and used entrance faces onto Sauchiehall Street and gave rise to the mistaken belief that the Galleries were built the wrong way round.



A contemporary photograph of the Galleries

VICTORIA PARK AND FOSSIL GROVE

Victoria Park was begun by the Burgh of Partick when they feued land from J. Gordon Oswald of Scotstoun in 1886. It was named to celebrate the Queens Jubilee and opened to the public on the 2 July 1887. As the result of a periodic downturn in the main industry of shipbuilding, many workers had been laid off in 1886 and were used in much of the work of laying out the park. In the Quarry Knowe area of the park, a Mr T. Morrison discovered the fossilised remains of trees and the area was covered over to protect the unearthed specimens. The resultant Fossil Grove became and has remained an attraction for visitors. In the Quarry Knowe area of Victoria Park a Mr T. Morrison supervising the construction of a pathway in the new park discovered the fossilised remains of tree stumps dating from 350 million years ago. The area was covered over to protect the unearthed specimens until a suitable glass-roofed building with an observation platform was constructed. The resultant Fossil Grove Museum was opened soon after and became and has remained an attraction for visitors and includes educational material relating to the geological and natural history of the Carboniferous period.¹⁸

¹⁸ An excellent pamphlet detailing the specimens found in the park is *The Story of Fossil Grove* published originally in 1948 by Murray



The Visitors Gallery in Fossil Grove, Victoria Park. ¹⁹

TOLLCROSS HOUSE MUSEUM, TOLLCROSS PARK

The museum was opened in Tollcross Park on 23rd June 1905 utilising the mansion house in the park and was intended to be a children's museum whose intention was "not so much to communicate knowledge as to excite interest, awaken curiosity, and attract the attention of the young by the exhibition of interesting and beautiful object."²⁰ Other museums opened in Glasgow parks at the turn of the nineteenth century included Tollcross House Children's Museum in Tollcross Park, opened 22 Jan 1905 and

MOSESFIELD HOUSE MUSEUM AND READING ROOM, SPRINGBURN PARK

This facility was opened in Springburn Park on 13 October 1905 being the gift of Mr. Hugh Reid, of Hydepark locomotive works with the expressed aim of providing a place of rest and relaxation for the people of Springburn and surrounding areas. The space in the museum was described as limited with the walls displaying pictures and engravings, and tables and chairs for the reading of magazines, journals and newspapers. Mosesfield House Museum/Reading Room in Springburn park, opened on 13 Oct 1905.

AIKENFIELD HOUSE, KINGS PARK

This was a local museum located in the Kings Park and is described as opening some time in 1925. It was closed in 1942 for 'war work/reconstruction' and did not re-open. There was also Aikenhead House opened in the 1920's in King's Park. It closed in 1943 for war work and never reopened to the public.

MacGregor and John Walton and reprinted and revised in various editions by Glasgow District Council's Department of Parks and Recreation.

¹⁹ Gilmour, 1996, p. 94

²⁰ Municipal Glasgow: It's Evolution and Enterprise, 1914, p. 45.

POLLOCK PARK AND THE BURRELL COLLECTION

Whilst the Burrell Collection in Pollock Park is a late addition and falls slightly outwith the timescale of this study it does continue the tradition of locating important art collections in galleries located in the city's public parks. Sir William Burrell, ship owner and eclectic art collector, gifted the Burrell Collection to the City of Glasgow in 1944. The collection was finally opened to the public in 1983 after much public wrangling over its location and display, in a purpose built gallery within Pollock Country Park. William Adam designed Pollock House in 1752, for the Stirling-Maxwell family and it was gifted along with Pollock Estate to the city of Glasgow as a park in 1967 by the Maxwell-McDonalds. Pollock House was opened to the public on 22nd December 1967. The Burrell Collection was gifted to the City of Glasgow by Sir William Burrell, ship owner and art collector, in 1944 and located, after much wrangling, in a purpose built gallery also within Pollock Country Park. The collection was finally opened to the public in 1983 and is a very popular tourist attraction.

Visitor Figures for Kelvingrove House Museum and Kelvingrove Art Galleries and Museum.²¹

| Year | Visitor No.'s | Year | Visitor No.'s | Year | Visitor No.'s |
|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|
| 1875 | 187,583 | 1903 | 1,113,138 | 1947 | 510,590 |
| 1876 | 218,787 | 1904 | 1,113,116 | 1948 | 469,244 |
| 1877 | 308,470 | 1905 | 980,891 | 1949 | 366,148 |
| 1878 | 269,702 | 1906 | 802,800 | 1950 | 396,725 |
| 1879 | 255,325 | 1907 | 720,985 | 1951 | 429,597 |
| 1880 | 221,710 | 1908 | 696,843 | 1952 | 411,304 |
| 1881 | 212,124 | 1909 | 642,812 | 1952 | 388,524 |
| 1882 | 233,338 | 1910 | 642,755 | 1953 | 354,226 |
| 1883 | 223,129 | 1911 | 543,571 | 1954 | 482,548 |
| 1884 | 204,140 | 1912 | 540,051 | 1956 | 498,466 |
| 1885 | 219,857 | 1913 | 550,222 | 1957 | 495,421 |
| 1886 | 203,785 | 1914 | 559,027 | 1958 | 540,151 |
| 1887 | 238,074 | 1915 | 433,117 | 1959 | 514,897 |
| 1888 | 52,563 | 1916 | 407,504 | 1960 | 556,253 |
| 1889 | 169,911 | 1917 | 386,816 | 1961 | 531,501 |
| 1890 | 224,030 | | | 1962 | 54,406 |
| 1891 | 194,521 | 1924 | 543,883 | 1963 | 630,993 |
| 1892 | 208,134 | 1925 | 557,049 | 1964 | 618,023 |
| 1893 | 231,428 | | | 1965 | 660,701 |
| 1894 | 247,613 | 1938 | 318,762 | 1966 | 697,164 |
| 1895 | 241,222 | 1939 | 228,417 | 1967 | 724,772 |
| 1896 | 238,944 | 1940 | 308,256 | 1968 | 746,139 |
| 1897 | 264,226 | 1941 | 306,959 | 1970 | 779,165 |
| 1898 | 250,124 | 1942 | 925,967 | 1971 | 934,775 |
| 1899 | 232,097 | 1943 | 729,102 | | |
| 1900 | 161,056 | 1944 | 737,343 | | |
| 1901 | CLOSED | 1945 | 656,467 | | |
| 1902 | CLOSED | 1946 | 400,322 | | |

Sources: Annual Reports of Sub Committee of Parks and Galleries Trust (until 1891).
 Annual Reports of Sub Committee on Galleries and Museums (from 1892)
 Published Annual Reports of Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries
 Published Glasgow and Museum and Art Galleries Annual Reports 1949-1971

Visitor Figures for Museum's in Glasgow Parks 1896-1925

| Year | Camphill House Museum, Queens Park | Peoples Palace, Glasgow Green | Tollcross House Museum, Tollcross Park | Mosesfield House Museum, Springburn Park |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1896 | 69,066 | | | |
| 1897 | 53,951 | | | |
| 1898 | 50,514 | 770,807 | | |
| 1899 | 49,320 | 481,737 | | |
| 1900 | 72,225 | 565,238 | | |
| 1901 | 85,862 | 474,865 | | |
| 1902 | 72,321 | 423,262 | | |
| 1903 | 71,502 | 384,125 | | |
| 1904 | 72,803 | 400,726 | | |
| 1905 | 65,787 | 318,586 | 87,646 | 8,294 |
| 1906 | 63,661 | 326,861 | 113,525 | 30,308 |
| 1907 | 69,177 | 306,862 | 131,096 | 36,469 |
| 1908 | 78,223 | 314,431 | 120,264 | 39,179 |
| 1910 | 74,015 | 317,561 | 102,083 | 38,439 |
| 1911 | 74,189 | 291,149 | 96,541 | 37,509 |
| 1911 | 70,617 | 342,777 | 105,795 | 43,894 |
| 1912 | 73,301 | 319,574 | 93,097 | 40,296 |
| 1913 | 71,626 | 287,398 | 97,436 | 34,929 |
| 1914 | 73,794 | 313,976 | 90,830 | 38,483 |
| 1915 | 78,015 | 230,129 | 97,130 | 35,796 |
| 1916 | 75,178 | 161,132 | 84,904 | 33,439 |
| 1917 | 72,065 | 191,250 | 80,117 | 28,955 |
| 1918 | | | | |
| 1919 | | | | |
| 1920 | | | | |
| 1921 | | | | |
| 1922 | | | | |
| 1923 | | | | |
| 1924 | 102,520 | 300,691 | 123,630 | 40,481 |
| 1925 | 101,673 | 296,358 | 73,697 | 34,956 |

²¹ The Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum opened on 26th October 1902 and replaced Kelvingrove House Museum.

APPENDIX 8: GLASGOW'S EXHIBITIONS – FACTS AND FIGURES

1888 - THE GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>OPENED</u> | 8 May 1888 by the Prince and Princess of Wales |
| <u>CLOSED</u> | 10 November 1888 |
| <u>SITE</u> | Kelvingrove Park, approx. 60 acres. |
| <u>ARCHITECT</u> | James Sellars |
| <u>ADMISSION</u> | 1 shilling, children 6d; schools 2d; 21 tickets £1; season ticket 1 guinea |
| <u>ATTENDANCE</u> | 5, 748, 379 (including attendants) |
| <u>PROFIT</u> | £41, 700 |

1901 - THE GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>OPENED</u> | 2 May 1901 by the Duke and Duchess of Fife |
| <u>CLOSED</u> | 9 November 1901 |
| <u>SITE</u> | Kelvingrove Park, 73 acres |
| <u>ARCHITECT</u> | James Miller |
| <u>ADMISSION</u> | 1 shilling; under 14, 6d; 21 tickets £1, season ticket, 1 guinea |
| <u>ATTENDANCE</u> | 11,497, 220 (including attendants) |
| <u>PROFIT</u> | £39, 000 |

1911 – THE SCOTTISH EXHIBITION OF NATIONAL HISTORY, ART AND INDUSTRY

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <u>OPENED</u> | 3 May 1901 by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught |
| <u>CLOSED</u> | 4 November 1901 |
| <u>SITE</u> | Kelvingrove Park, 62 acres |
| <u>ARCHITECT</u> | R.J. Walker |
| <u>ADMISSION</u> | 1 shilling; under 16 6d; season ticket 15 shillings |
| <u>ATTENDANCE</u> | 9, 369, 375 |
| <u>PROFIT</u> | approx. £20, 000 |

1938 – EMPIRE EXHIBITION (SCOTLAND)

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <u>OPENED</u> | 3 May 1938 by King George IV and Queen Elizabeth |
| <u>CLOSED</u> | 29 October 1938 |
| <u>SITE</u> | Bellahouston Park, 175 acres |
| <u>ARCHITECT</u> | Thomas S. Tait |
| <u>ADMISSION</u> | 1 shilling; children 6d; season £1 3s 0d |
| <u>ATTENDANCE</u> | 12, 593, 232 |
| <u>LOSS</u> | £128, 000 |



²² Mitchell Library Archives – D-Pk 2



EXCERPT FROM
BAND ENGAGEMENTS.

KELVINGROVE PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|------------------------------|
| Thu. July 2 | 7 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Mon. | 6 | 1st L.B.R.F.A. |
| Thu. | 9 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Sat. | 11 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Mon. | 13 | 6th H.L.I. & 7th S.R. Pipers |
| Thu. | 16 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Sat. | 25 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Mon. | 27 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Thu. | 30 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Mon. Aug. 3 | 7 | Clydebank Prize. |
| Thu. | 6 | 2nd Seaforth Highlanders. |
| Sat. | 8 | Lanarkshire R.E. |
| Mon. | 10 | 93rd R.B. and R.A.M.C. |
| | | Glasgow Postal. (Pipers.) |

GLASGOW GREEN.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Thu. July 2 | 7 | Glas. Highlanders & Pipers. |
| Sat. | 4 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Mon. | 6 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Thu. | 9 | Clydebank Prize. |
| Mon. | 13 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Thu. | 23 | Mossbank and Pipers. |
| Sat. | 25 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Mon. | 27 | Coltness Works. |
| Mon. Aug. 1 | 7 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Sat. | 3 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Mon. | 3 | Lanarkshire R.E. |
| Thu. | 6 | 2nd Seaforth Highlanders. |

QUEEN'S PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|-------------------------------|
| Thu. July 2 | 3 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Tu. | 7 | United Co-op. Bakers. |
| Thu. | 9 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Tu. | 14 | 7th B.B. & 86th B.B. Pipers. |
| Thu. | 16 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Sat. | 25 | Glasgow Police. |
| Tu. | 28 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Thu. | 30 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Tu. Aug. 4 | 7 | Glasgow Loco. Works. |
| Thu. | 6 | 2nd Seaforth Highlanders. |
| Sat. | 8 | 8th S.R. and 7th S.R. Pipers. |
| Tu. | 11 | R.N.V.R. |
| | | Lanarkshire R.E. |

ALEXANDRA PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|------------------------------|
| Wed. July 1 | 7 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Sat. | 4 | Clydebank Prize. |
| Wed. | 8 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Fri. | 10 | 7th Scottish Rifles. |
| Wed. | 15 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Wed. | 29 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Sat. Aug. 1 | 6 | United Co-op. Bakers. |
| Wed. | 5 | Hutchesontown & 86th B.B. |
| Tu. | 11 | 5th S.R. & Pipers. (Pipers.) |
| | | 7th H.L.I. and Pipers. |

MAXWELL PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|------------------------|
| Wed. July 1 | 7 | Clydebank Prize. |
| Wed. | 8 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Wed. | 29 | Glasgow Police. |
| Wed. Aug. 5 | 7 | Glasgow Highlanders. |

BOTANIC GARDENS.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|---------------------------------|
| Fri. July 3 | 3 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Tu. | 7 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Fri. | 10 | 1st B.B. and 5th H.L.I. Pipers. |
| Tu. | 14 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Fri. | 24 | Glasgow Police. |
| Tu. | 28 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Fri. | 31 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Tu. Aug. 4 | 7 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| | | Glasgow Highlanders. |

SPRINGBURN PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|-------------------------------|
| Thu. July 2 | 7 | 1st L.B.R.F.A. |
| Sat. | 4 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Mon. | 6 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Thu. | 9 | 6th Scottish Rifles. |
| Mon. | 13 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Mon. | 27 | Glasgow Police. |
| Thu. | 30 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Mon. Aug. 3 | 7 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Thu. | 6 | 7th Scottish Rifles & Pipers. |
| | | Glasgow Postal. |

RUCHILL PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|--------------------------------|
| Wed. July 1 | 7 | 1st L.B.R.F.A. |
| Fri. | 3 | 7th Scottish Rifles & Pipers. |
| Wed. | 8 | Glasgow Postal. |
| Fri. | 10 | 5th Scottish Rifles. (Pipers.) |
| Fri. | 17 | Blind Asylum & Govan Police |
| Wed. | 27 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Wed. | 30 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Fri. | 31 | Springburn Public and 78th |
| Wed. Aug. 5 | 7 | 2nd S.H. (B.B. Pipers.) |
| Wed. | 12 | Lanarkshire R.E. |

BELLAHOUSTON PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Fri. July 3 | 7 | H.M. and 5th Fusiliers. |
| Fri. | 10 | Berlin Blas-Orchestra. |
| Fri. | 17 | Glasgow Police. |
| Fri. | 31 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Fri. Aug. 7 | 7 | 2nd Seaforth Highlanders. |

ROUKEN GLEN PARK.

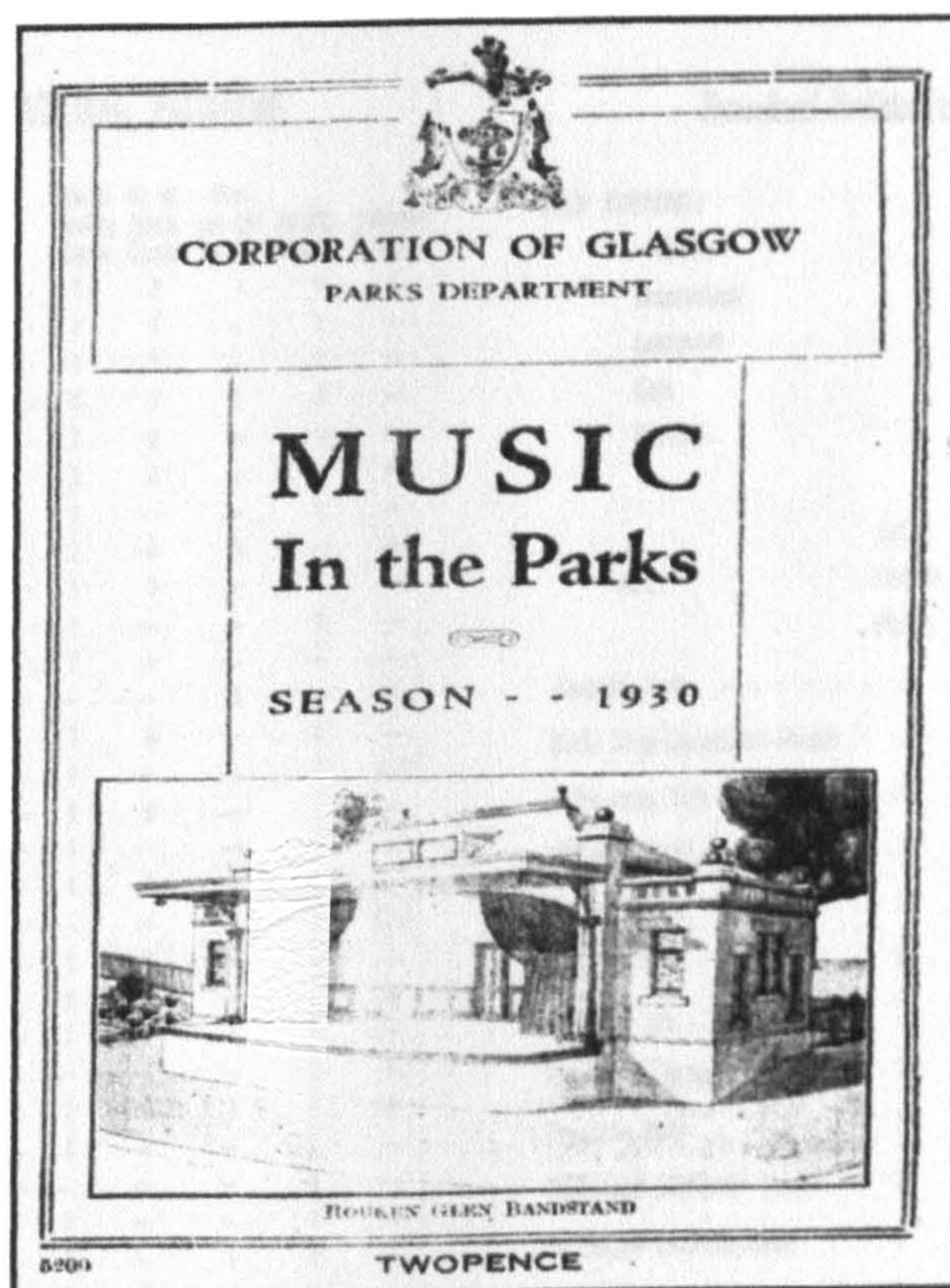
| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|--------------------------------|
| Sat. July 4 | 4 | 7th H.L.I. |
| Sat. | 11 | Glasgow Police. |
| Sat. | 18 | Scottish Prof. Military. |
| Sat. Aug. 1 | 4 | United Co-op. Bakers. |
| Sat. | 8 | Lanarkshire Royal Engineers. |
| Sat. | 29 | 2 to 5 Glasgow Postal and Park |
| | | Thistle Male Voice Choir. |

TOLLCROSS PARK.

| DATE | HOUR | BAND |
|-------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Fri. July 3 | 7 | Mossbank and Pipers. |
| Tu. | 7 | 7th H.L.I. and Pipers. |
| Fri. | 10 | L.B.R.F.A. |
| Tu. | 14 | Sons of Temperance. |
| Fri. | 17 | Percy Byatt's Orchestra. |
| Sat. | 25 | Coltness Works. |
| Sat. Aug. 1 | 3 | Irwell Springs Prize Brass. |
| Tu. | 4 | Glasgow Postal. |
| Sat. | 8 | 2nd Seaforth Highlanders. |

GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY:

²³ Noremac, (ed.), 1908, The public Parks of Glasgow, Cameron, Glasgow.



DO YOU KNOW

- THAT** All Concerts will commence promptly at the hours stated, and that patrons will oblige by being seated a few minutes before the beginning of the programme.
- THAT** The duration of the Band performances will be 1½ hours, and that of the Concert Party performances 1½ hours in the afternoon, and 1½ hours in the evening.
- THAT** It will add much to the enjoyment of the Concerts if those who wish to leave before the end of the programme will do so between items.
- THAT** The audience are requested to endeavour to restrain children and others from disturbing the Concerts.
- THAT** The Concerts are for the open air entertainment of the citizens.
- THAT** If you are pleased, it is your duty to tell others, and if you are not, you may tell the Director* of Parks.

²⁴ Mitchell Library Archive D-Pk 2

APPENDIX 11: List of Recreational Facilities available in the parks as well as charges in 1970²⁵

| RECREATIONAL FACILITIES | | | | | | Recreational Facilities (continued) | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Park | No. of Bowling Greens | No. of Tennis Courts | Pitch and Putt Courses | Putting Greens | Additional Facilities* | | | | |
| Alexandra Park | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | A | | | | |
| Archibute Park | 2 | 6 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Barlanark Park | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | | | | |
| Bellahouston Park | 4 | 6 | 1 | 2 | — | | | | |
| Blantyre Park | 2 | 3 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Castlemilk Park | 2 | 3 | — | — | — | | | | |
| Cowle Park | 3 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Cornhill Park | 2 | 4 | 1 | — | — | | | | |
| Croftcrofts Park | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Dalmarnock Rec. Ground | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Danes Drive | 2 | — | — | — | — | | | | |
| Dewsham Park | — | — | 1 | — | — | | | | |
| Drumchapel Park | 3 | 4 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Elder Park | 2 | — | — | 2 | A, F | | | | |
| Glasgow Green | 5 | 6 | — | 2 | — | | | | |
| Glenconner Park | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Greenfield Park | 1 | 3 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Hogganfield Grounds | — | — | 1 | — | B, C | | | | |
| Holmes Recreation Ground | 1 | 6 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Kelvingrove Park | 6 | 8 | — | 1 | D | | | | |
| King George's Field | 2 | 4 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| King's Park | — | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Knightswood Park | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | D | | | | |
| Langlands Rec. Ground | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Line Park | — | — | — | 2 | — | | | | |
| Lister Street Rec. Ground | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Lochar Crescent | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | — | | | | |
| Maryhill Park | 2 | 5 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Maxwell Park | — | 4 | — | 1 | A | | | | |
| Milton Park | 2 | 3 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Newfield Sq. Rec. Ground | 1 | 3 | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Newlands Park | — | 4 | — | — | — | | | | |
| Penilee Recreation Ground | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Plantation Park | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Queen's Park | 5 | 12 | 1 | 2 | A | | | | |
| Richmond Park | 2 | — | — | 2 | A | | | | |
| Rouken Glen Park | — | — | 1 | — | B, C | | | | |
| Ruchill Park | 2 | — | — | — | — | | | | |
| Smeaton St. Rec. Ground | 2 | — | — | — | — | | | | |
| Springburn Park | 3 | 6 | — | 1 | A | | | | |
| Springfield Road Recreation Ground | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |
| Temple Recreation Ground | 2 | — | — | — | — | | | | |
| Tollcross Park | 2 | 8 | 1 | 1 | — | | | | |
| Victoria Park | 3 | — | — | 1 | A, B, D, E, F | | | | |
| Weston Rec. Ground | — | — | — | 1 | — | | | | |

* Letter Code :-

A—Children's Paddle Boats

B—Bowling Boats

C—Motor Boats

D—Croquet

E—Mini Golf

F—Multi Purpose Courts, Basketball, Netball, Tennis (Elder Park—6 Courts; Victoria Park—4 Courts).

Notes :-

Pitch and Putt

Putting

Mini Golf

Clubs and balls supplied.

Bowling: Bowls supplied, overshoes on hire.

Tennis: Rackets and Balls can be hired, but not shoes.

Croquet: Equipment supplied.

| GOLF COURSES: | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------------|--|--|--|
| | 18-hole | 9 hole | | | |
| Deaconsbank | | Alexandra | | | |
| Lethamhill | | King's | | | |
| Line | | Knightswood | | | |
| Littlehill | | Ruchill | | | |

| Park | No. of Football Pitches | No. of Cricket Pitches | No. of Hockey Pitches |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Alexandra Park | 3 | — | — |
| Barla Drive Recreational Ground | 2 | — | — |
| Bellahouston Park | 11 | — | — |
| Broomfield Road | 6 | — | — |
| Cardonald Park | 16 | — | — |
| Cowlands Park | 9 | — | — |
| Croftfoot Drive | 2 | — | — |
| Dalmarnock Recreational Ground | 2 | — | — |
| Dewsham Park | 5 | — | — |
| Drumchapel (Hallgreen Avenue) | 2 | — | — |
| Easterhouse (Stapford Road) | 2 | — | — |
| Glasgow Green | 20 | — | — |
| Glenconner Park | 4 | — | — |
| Greenfield Park | 10 | — | — |
| King George's Field | 6 | — | — |
| Knightswood Park | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Lethamhill | 8 | — | — |
| Maryhill Park | — | — | 1 |
| Pondies Road | 2 | — | — |
| Plantation Park | 3 | — | — |
| Queen's Park | 7 | — | — |
| Richmond Park | — | 1 | — |
| Rouken Glen Park | — | 1 | — |
| Ruchill Park | 2 | — | — |
| South Fife Recreation Ground | 10 | — | — |
| Springburn Park | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Temple Recreation Ground | 4 | — | — |
| Tollcross Park | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Vaile Street | 6 | — | — |
| Victoria Park | 3 | 1 | 1 |

Victoria Park has also a pitch for Rugby and Shinty.

CHARGES FOR RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

| GOLF: | | | | | | Weekdays | Sundays |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|-------------------|
| 9-Hole Courses | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per round | - | - | - | - | 1/6d (7p) | 2/- (10p) |
| †Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 2/- (10p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 2/- (10p) |
| 18-Hole Courses | | | | | | | |
| Adults | " | - | - | - | - | 3/- (15p) | 4/- (20p) |
| †Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 1/- (5p) | 4/- (20p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 1/- (5p) | 4/- (20p) |
| TENNIS: | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per game of 30 minutes | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 1/- (5p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 3d (1p) | 9d (4p) |
| Hire of Rackets | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 6d (3p) |
| Hire of Balls | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 6d (3p) |
| BOWLING: | | | | | | | |
| Players | per hour | - | - | - | - | 9d (4p) | 1/- (5p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 3d (1p) | 9d (4p) |
| Hire of Overshoes | " | - | - | - | - | 3d (1p) | 3d (1p) |
| PITCHING and PUTTING: | | | | | | | |
| 9-Hole Courses | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per round | - | - | - | - | 9d (4p) | 1/- (5p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 4d (2p) | 6d (3p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 4d (2p) | — |
| 18-Hole Courses | | | | | | | |
| Adults | " | - | - | - | - | 1/- (5p) | 1/6d (7p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 9d (4p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | — |
| MINI GOLF: | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per round | - | - | - | - | 9d (4p) | 1/- (5p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 4d (2p) | 6d (3p) |
| Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 4d (2p) | — |
| PUTTING and CROQUET: | | | | | | | |
| 18-Hole Greens | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per round | - | - | - | - | 6d (3p) | 9d (4p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 3d (1p) | 6d (3p) |
| *Old Age Pensioners | " | - | - | - | - | 2d (1p) | — |
| At Golf Courses—per round of 9 or 18 Holes | | | | | | 3d (1p) | 3d (1p) |
| BOATING: | | | | | | | |
| Rowing Boats per person per ½ hour | | | | | | 1/- (5p) | 1/- (5p) |
| Motor Boats | | | | | | | |
| Adults | per trip | - | - | - | - | 9d (4p) | 9d (4p) |
| Juveniles | " | - | - | - | - | 3d (1p) | 3d (1p) |
| Children's Paddle Boats per child per 20 mins. | | | | | | 4d (2p) | 4d (2p) |
| RUNNING and CYCLE TRACKS: | | | | | | | |
| Per Session | | | | | | 6d (3p) | — |
| Season Ticket | | | | | | 5/- (25p) | — |
| CHILDRENS' PONY RIDES | | | | | | 4d (2p) | — |
| FOOTBALL: | | | | | | With Hot Water | Without Hot Water |
| Adult Pitch | per match | - | - | - | - | 17/6d (87p) | 7/6d (37p) |
| Juvenile Pitch | " | - | - | - | - | 10/- (50p) | 3/6d (17p) |
| School Teams playing on any forenoon (holidays excepted) | | | | | | 10/- (50p) | 3/- (15p) |
| RUGBY and SHINTY: | | | | | | per match | |
| Saturday mornings (Schools) | | | | | | 7/6d (37p) | |
| | | | | | | 4/- (20p) | |
| HOCKEY PITCH: | | | | | | per match | |
| School Teams | | | | | | 7/6d (37p) | |
| | | | | | | 3/- (15p) | |
| CRICKET PITCH: | | | | | | per match | |
| | | | | | | 7/6d (37p) | |
| CYCLE POLO: | | | | | | per match | |
| | | | | | | 10/- (50p) | |

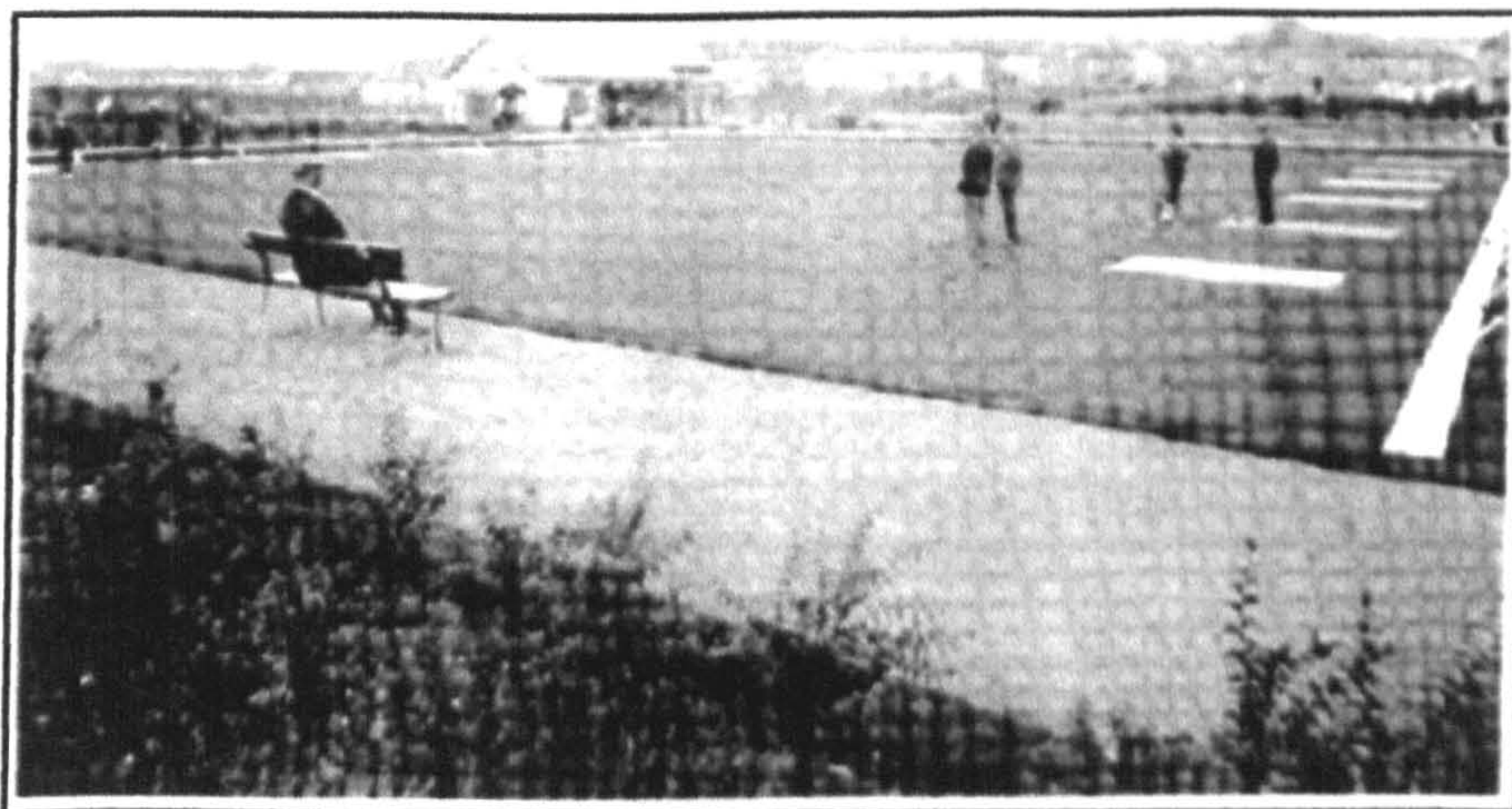
* Only during certain hours.

† Under 16 years; between the hours of 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. on Mondays to Fridays (except public holidays).

APPENDIX 12: SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN GLASGOW PARKS



Bowling Green and Tennis Courts in Knightswood Park c.1930s²⁶



Bowling green in Tollcross Park²⁷

²⁶ Gilmour, p. 63

²⁷ Gilmour, p. 70



The Glasgow Golf Club's Annual Competition at Alexandria Park on 13 March 1880 ²⁸



A Curling match at Springburn Park at the turn of the century²⁹

²⁸ Glasgow As It Was Vol. II, 1975 Moss, M. & Hume, J., Hendon Publishing Co., Hendon Mill, Lancashire, plate 52
²⁹ Ibid. plate 2.

**APPENDIX 13: MESSAGE FROM THE PROVOST TO THE CITIZENS ON THE LAST DAY
OF THE 1901 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.**

**MESSAGE FROM THE
LORD PROVOST . . .
TO THE CITIZENS. . .**



LAST DAY

OF THE

Glasgow International Exhibition,

1901.

LET me most heartily congratulate the Citizens of Glasgow on the unexampled success which has attended the Great Exhibition from the day of its opening till this day on which it is to be closed.

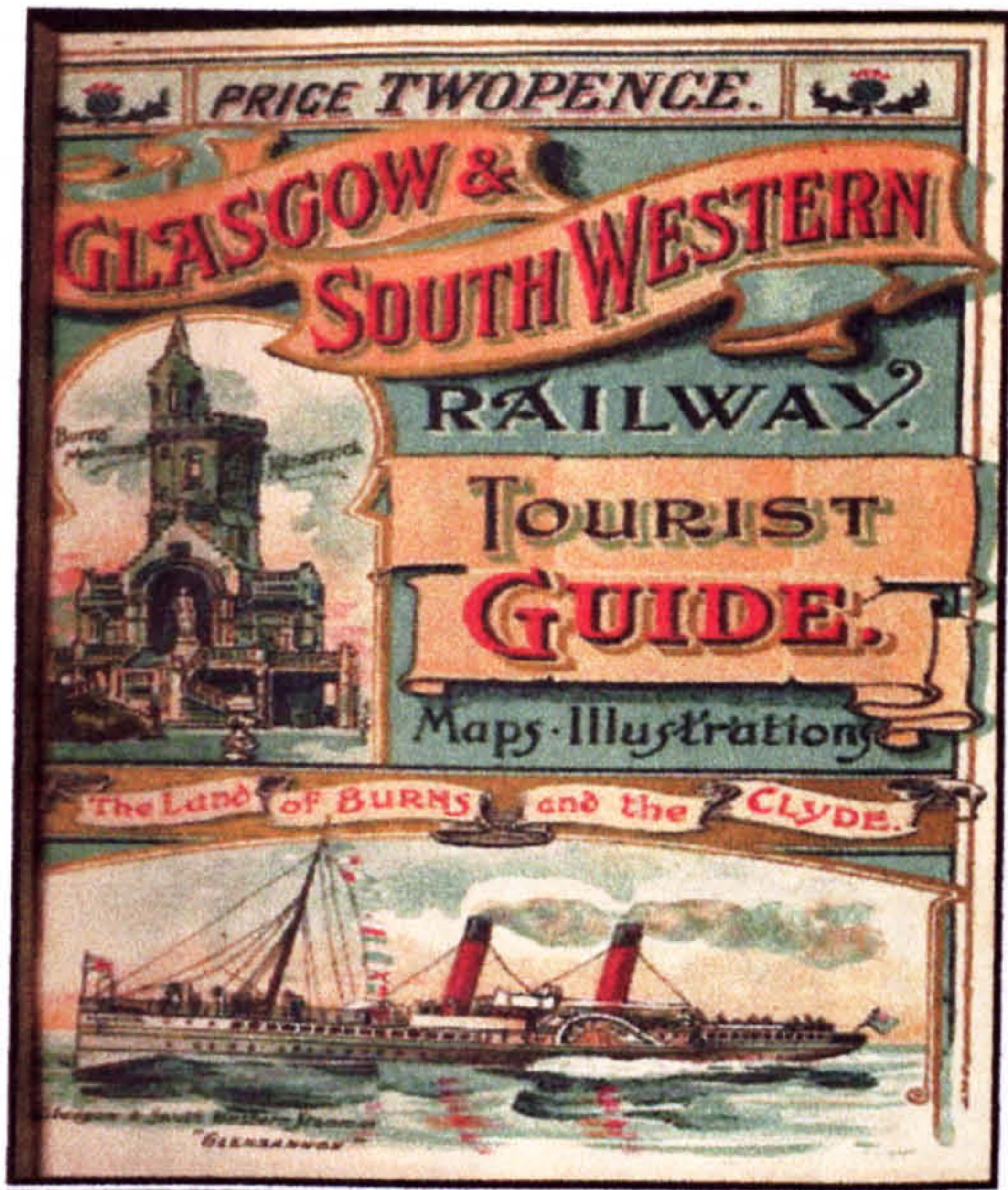
I express my warmest appreciation of the **SPLENDID ORDER, DECORUM, and MUTUAL COURTESY** which have prevailed on the part of the vast crowds of eager visitors; and on the last day, when enthusiasm and excitement will doubtless run high, I make a very earnest appeal to every visitor to maintain to the end that reputation for **ORDERLY and COURTEOUS DEMEANOUR** which has been so deservedly won. Where the aim of each is to make others feel comfortable and happy, the enjoyment of all is at its highest.

SAMUEL CHISHOLM,
Lord Provost.

CITY CHAMBERS,
GLASGOW, 30th November, 1901.

John Harn, Printer, Glasgow.

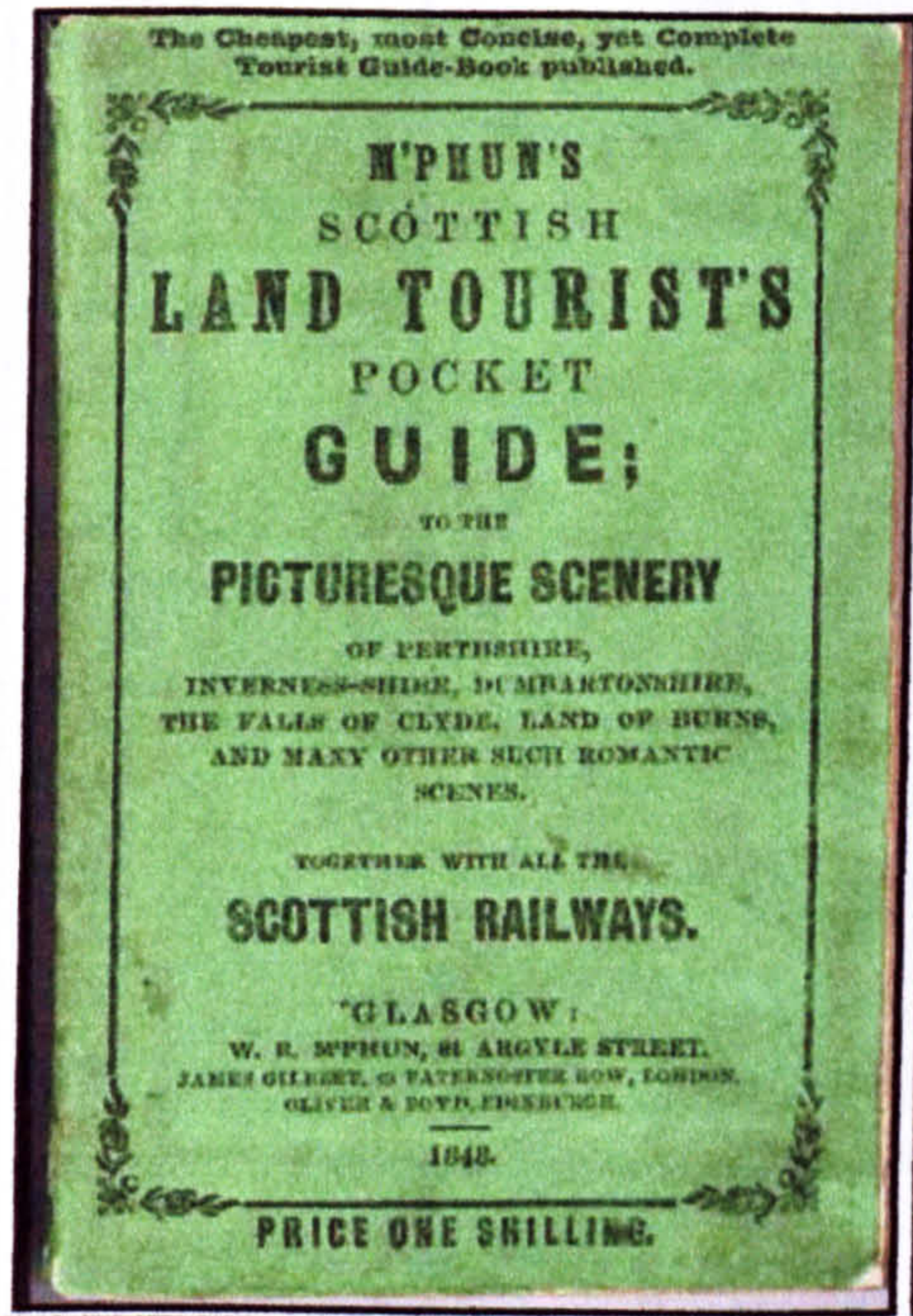
APPENDIX 14: Examples of Tourist and Train Guides



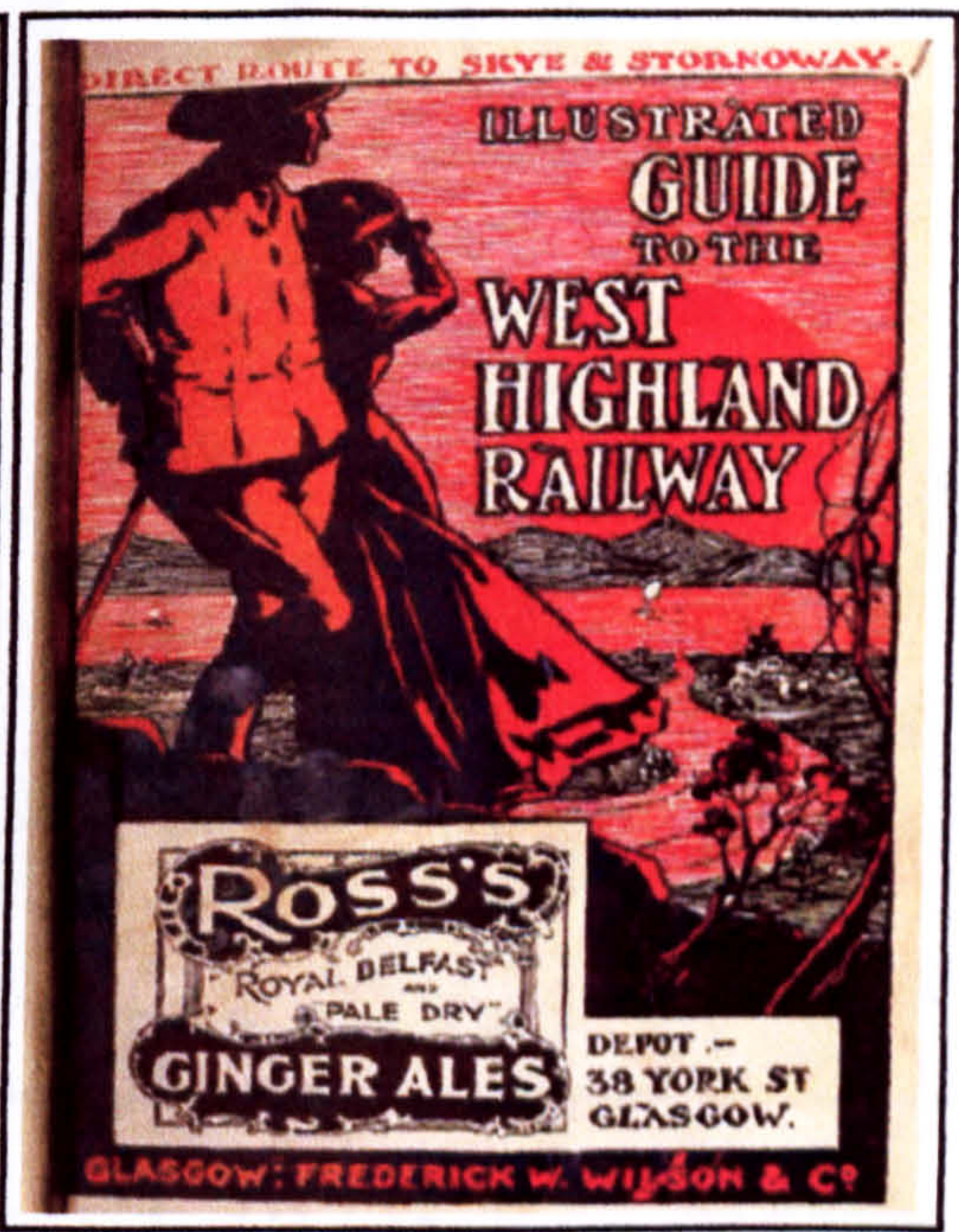
GUL Special Collection Mu a-172



GUL Special Collection Mu 9-g5

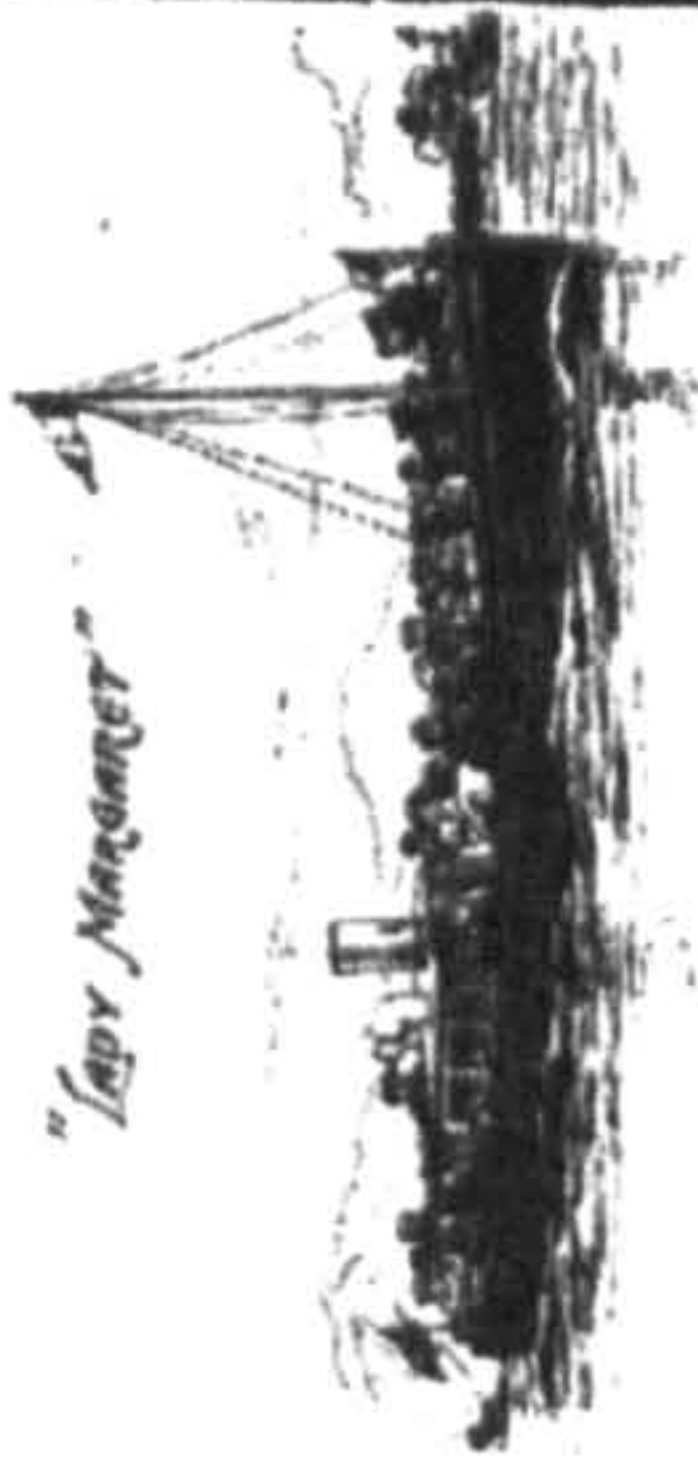


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GUL Special Collection Mu 9g4

LOCH LOMOND (Queen of Scottish Lakes)



"Lady Margaret"

Passenger Motor Boats

FISHING AND ROWING BOATS

First-class Herring Boats of every description for hire, per hour, day, week, month, or longer period. Cruises during season a speciality by the famous Passenger Motor Boats - "Lady Margaret" and "Queen of the Loch".

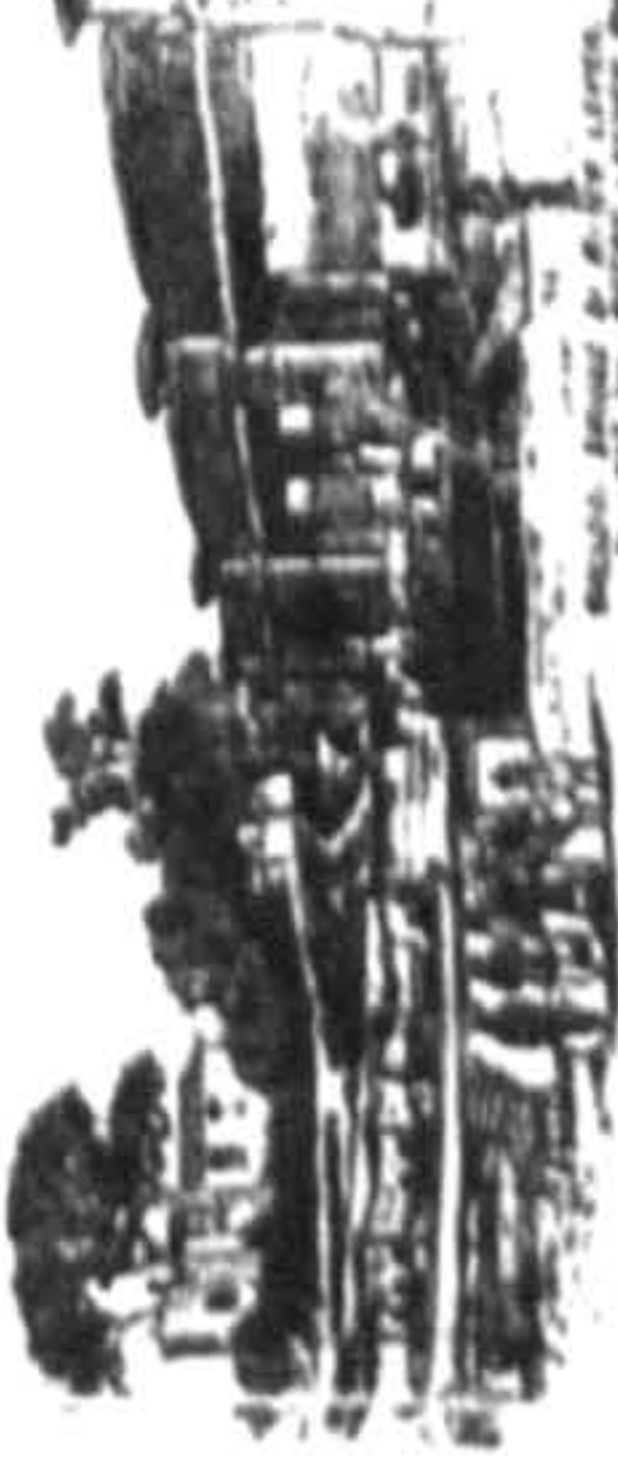
Good Salmon, Sea Trout, Brown Trout, and Ouse Fishing. Angling Club Competitions arranged for. Experienced boatmen always available.

Premises adjacent to Culterston and North British Railway Stations, also Tenney's Terrace.

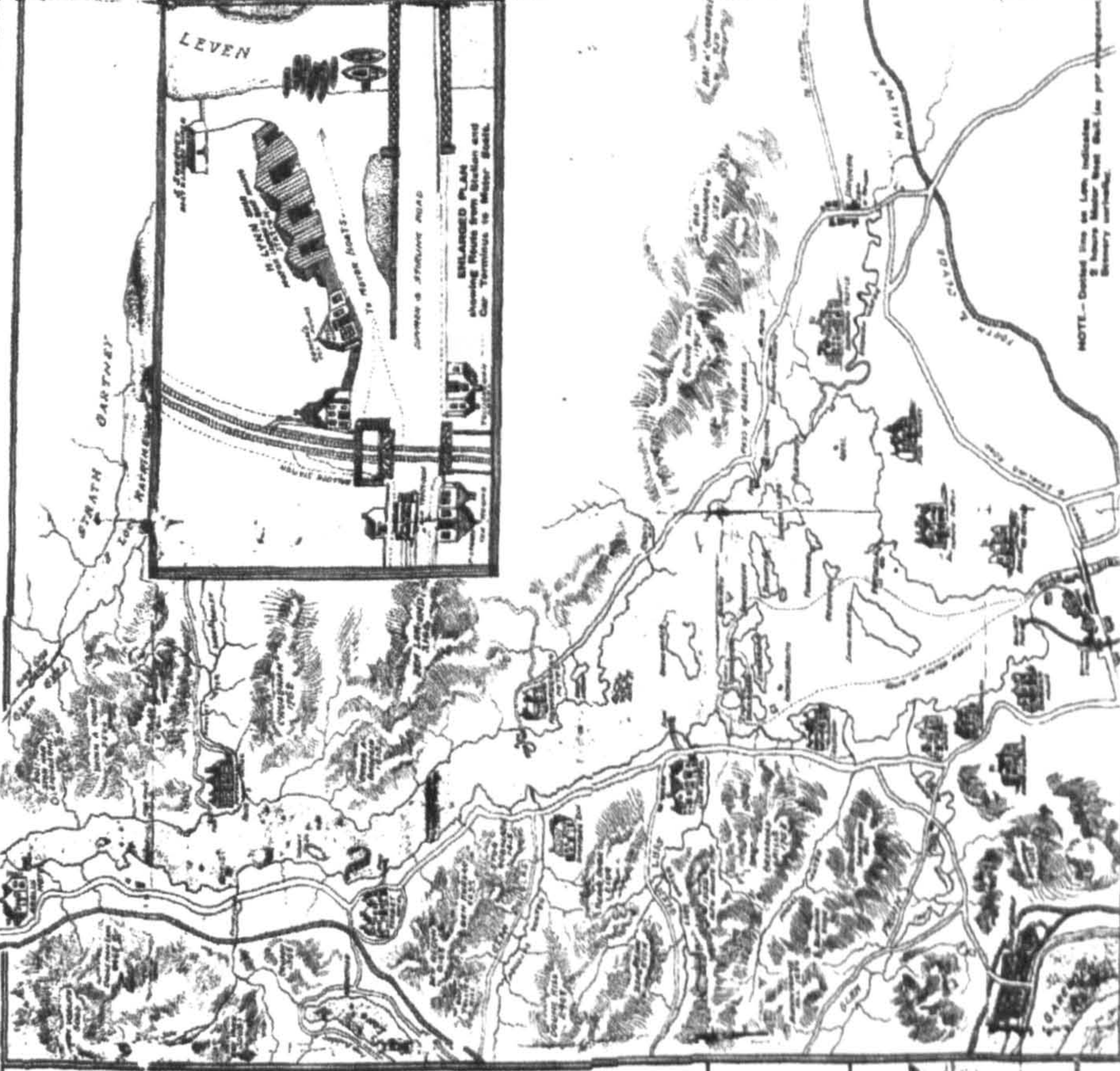
Lectures and Excursions promptly attended to by the train and road firm - HENRY LYNN, Boat, Boatmen and Passenger Motor-Boat Owner, BALLOCH.

RAILWAY SERVANTS' UNIVERSAL INTER-CHANGE PRIVILEGE TICKET MOVEMENT


For Terms see Member's Guide issued by the above movement, or HENRY LYNN, Boatmen, Boatmen, BALLOCH. Officially recognised by the R.S.U.P.T.U.



"The Queen of the Loch"



NOTE - Dotted line in Loch indicates a narrow channel. See map for details. Railway services.



"Queen of the Loch"

TULLICHEWAN HOTEL BALLOCH

Anglers will find every comfort and convenience at this Hotel when fishing the lower reaches of Loch Lomond. Telephone 88 Alexandria.

LOCH LOMOND TEA ROOMS BALLOCH


Tea, High-class Confectionery, Assorted Wafers, and Cakes. Pleasant Prizes in season a speciality. Picturesque Post Cards (Local Views in great variety) - Mrs. A. COWAN.

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For Hire, also comfortable and comfortable Steam and Motor Launches. Letters and Shipments attended to. JOHN SWEENEY, Boatmen, BALLOCH.

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Picnic Parties catered for, Children and Confectionery, Assorted Wafers, and Cakes in season a speciality. Picturesque Post Cards (Local Views in great variety) - F. LENNON, Tea Room, Car Terminus, BALLOCH.



"The Queen of the Loch"

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³⁰ The information in brackets at the end of some citations refers to sourced material from the Glasgow University Library Special Collection.

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| | Proposed International Exhibition in 1915/1916 in Queens Park – 5 Feb. 1913 (p.593). |
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| MP3 | Kelvingrove Park Byelaws 1860 (pp. 320-323) |
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| MP26 | <u>Glasgow Public Parks Trust – specification of tender of plants required by the Glasgow Public parks Trustees, (pp. 340-345)</u> |
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| MP27. | Byelaws for the Botanic Gardens Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Dept.) - 1896 (pp.423-429) |
| MP27 | <u>Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure of Trustees under the Glasgow Public Parks Act – year to 31 May 1897. (p. 439-447)</u> |
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| MP28 | <u>Inspection of Parks by Town Council on Wed. 5 August 1896. Timetable issued by Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Department). (pp. 422-425).</u> |
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| Plan of Caretakers Shelter | Jan. 1934 |
| Plan of Proposed Bowling Pavilion, Bellahouston Park | March 1937 |
| Plan of Shelter, Pollock Park | Aug. 1927 |
| Plan of Proposed Shelter, Parks Dept. | Dec. 1925 |
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| Blueprint of New Bandstand, Victoria Park | Feb. 1930 |
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| Plan of Bowling and Tennis Pavilion, Auldhouse Park | Nov. 1923 |
| Plan of Tennis Pavilion, Maxwell Park | May 1925 |
| Plan of Hut, Alexandra Park | April 1928 |
| Site Plan of Paddling Pool, Richmond Park | May 1925 |
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| | Plan of new Bandstand, Rouken Glen | March 1929 |
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