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THE CHALLENGE OF MANAGING THE FIRST PUBLICLY
FUNDED PARK: EDWARD KEMP AS THE ‘FIXED’
SUPERINTENDENT OF BIRKENHEAD PARK, 1843–91

Edward Kemp as the first superintendent of Joseph Paxton’s contract for designing Birkenhead Park, the world’s first publicly funded park, included provision for the appointment of ‘an efficient superintendent’ who would be ‘permanently on the ground’ directing ‘the whole details’. Kemp was appointed in August 1843 at a weekly salary of three guineas, or one hundred and seventy-six pounds and four shillings per annum. He remained in post, albeit for a considerable period as a ‘Consulting Superintendent’, until his death in 1891. This paper explores five issues relating to Kemp’s long period of involvement with the management of Birkenhead Park. First, to what extent did his role as superintendent help to define the way in which public parks were subsequently managed and the range of skills which such a role necessitated, particularly in the continued absence of a professional association for park managers until long after his death? Second, what were his terms of employment and how did these change over time? Why was it necessary from 1863 onwards to strengthen the managerial structure by appointing an assistant park superintendent? Third, how far did his private commissions and his role as a highly regarded writer on landscape design and horticulture affect his role as superintendent? Fourth, what was the relationship between Kemp and his employers, namely the members of the municipal committees to whom he was responsible, and to what extent did his national and international status affect the way he was treated by Birkenhead’s improvement commissioners, aldermen and councillors? Finally, in 1881, Kemp set out his views as to what the post of park superintendent required. He had always attached considerable importance to the ‘quiet performance of duty’ and had consistently tried ‘to enforce law and order’ and ‘to minister to the public weal’. How far did he succeed in realizing his own professional objectives?

EDWARD KEMP AS THE FIRST SUPERINTENDENT OF A PUBLICLY
FUNDED PARK

Edward Kemp’s appointment as the first ‘fixed’ superintendent of Birkenhead Park had a wider significance by emphasizing the difference between a public park and a private landscaped garden. In a wider context, it helped to establish a precedent as to how all public parks were managed. The following section will focus on Kemp’s initial appointment in 1843 and its significance in the overall development of management practices for local authority public parks.

In July 1843, Joseph Paxton was approached by the Birkenhead Improvement Commissioners in order to ‘ascertain his views and charges for laying out the Park and preparing Plans for the same’. He was formally engaged by the commissioners in the following month having set out his contractual terms for ‘superintendence to completion’

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Figure 1. Joseph Paxton, plan of Birkenhead New Park, 1844. Courtesy: Williamson Art Gallery and Museum, Birkenhead

at eight hundred pounds together with reimbursement for all travelling expenses, to design and develop their 'New Park' (Figure 1).¹ The new private commission was simply one of a number of his immediate responsibilities, the majority of which stemmed from the need to realize the many plans of his employer, the 6th Duke of Devonshire. In the middle of drawing up his plans for Birkenhead Park he joined the duke for a month at Bolton Hall for a shooting expedition; the preparations for the visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to Chatsworth in December 1843 meant that he 'went into overdrive'; and he was called upon 'as never before to support the Duke' in designing new projects, including the extensive rock-garden which was started in 1843 and took four years to complete. At the same time, he undertook private commissions, including the landscaping of William Jackson's 'sumptuous Manor House' not far from Birkenhead Park which was completed in 1846, while also consolidating his status as one of the most prolific writers of his time on horticultural issues.²

Paxton had been appointed in 1826 as the superintendent of the gardens at Chatsworth, a position which implied greater managerial responsibility than that of a traditional head gardener. It was therefore entirely appropriate that he assumed overall 'superintendence' of the Birkenhead Park project. But given the wide range of his other commitments it is not surprising that responsibility for carrying out the detailed landscaping work at Birkenhead was entrusted to one of his assistants, Kemp. In fact, the original agreement of August 1843 had included a provision that Paxton would furnish 'an efficient superintendent to be permanently on the ground to watch and direct the whole details' at a fee of three guineas per week. Kemp had been engaged by the late 1830s as one of the gardeners at Chatsworth, having been trained at the Horticultural Society of London's experimental and exhibition gardens at Chiswick.³ Kemp himself fully recognized that Birkenhead Park had been designed by Paxton, but publicly explained that it had been 'formed by me, under his inspection'. He was appointed as a superintendent and not as a head gardener. Unlike the traditional style of management on private estates where head

gardeners had to fulfil their employer's expectations and adapt to their ever-changing plans, Kemp was directly responsible to a local authority.⁴ Following his recruitment by Paxton, he quickly became involved in supporting his publication ventures, in particular the editing and production of *Paxton's Magazine of Botany and Register of Flowering Plants*, which had first appeared in 1834 and continued to be published until 1849. In July 1843, he was still engaged in finalizing the proofs for the August edition of the magazine, but in September, a few weeks later, he took up his new post in Birkenhead.⁵

In August 1845, when almost all the landscaping and planting had been completed, Paxton proposed that Kemp should be retained as a 'fixed superintendent and manager' at an annual salary of a hundred and fifty pounds ('he now has £165'), on condition that he would be able to occupy Lodge No. 2, The Italian Lodge, free of rent and rates, instead of remaining in his lodgings at 10 Russell Street. This was justified on the basis that it was 'the almost invariable custom to allow head gardeners a free residence in the Place, its advantages being so very manifest'.⁶ The annual rental value of the lodge was subsequently fixed at thirty-five pounds, following a request to the builder, John Walker, whose company (J. & W. Walker) had been contracted to construct all the park's lodges, to 'put a fair rental upon each'. This meant that Kemp's gross salary was a hundred and eighty-five pounds. By comparison, Paxton's employer, the 6th Duke of Devonshire, paid him two hundred and seventy-six pounds eight shillings in 1844, although he also received additional allowances and gifts. Kemp's weekly wage of three guineas was therefore a generous payment for someone who had never been involved previously in supervising a large-scale landscaping project.⁷

The precise designation of Kemp's post is important because it heralded a change from traditional practice. The role of head gardeners, according to Musgrave, had become well established by the eighteenth century, if not earlier, specifically in connection with the management of large, ornate gardens laid down for the enjoyment of members of the aristocracy and the rising upper middle class. Their responsibilities were extensive, but the primary task was to ensure that the gardens and grounds fully reflected the social status of their employers.⁸ Kemp was ultimately responsible for a similar range of tasks, but he was deliberately appointed as a 'permanent superintendent' and was directly answerable to the local authority.

Three points need to be emphasized. First, given the slow development of public parks (despite the recommendations of the 1833 Select Committee on Public Walks), the lack of a consensus as to how they were to be managed should not come as a surprise. Initially the Manchester Public Parks Committee failed to ensure that adequate provision was made for the management of the three parks which were opened in 1846. After some delay, a management structure was adopted, based on a park or lodge keeper and a second lodge keeper, who were to be paid twenty-five shillings and eighteen shillings respectively (together with rent-free accommodation). In Philips Park, Jeremiah Harrison was appointed head keeper, on the basis that he could demonstrate 'a competent knowledge of gardening', but his salary at twenty-five shillings per week was significantly lower than Kemp's three guineas.⁹

Second, the absence of an agreed management model for local authority public parks led to some confusion over both Kemp's official designation and his actual role. For example, when Frederick Law Olmsted first visited Birkenhead Park in 1850 he explicitly sought out the 'head gardener' in order to obtain as much information as possible on the landscaping of a park. The use of both terms simultaneously suggests that the management hierarchy of the first public parks was expected to mirror traditional practices on private estates, whereas in reality responsibility for managing public parks from the mid-nineteenth century onward was vested in superintendents who ultimately

were required to wear an official uniform. In this respect, Kemp's official appointment signified a new trend. Between 1867 and 1914, the increasing proliferation of public parks throughout Britain led to an unprecedented expansion in the number of registered park superintendents from over one thousand to at least four thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine. Unfortunately, this was not accompanied by a strategy for professionalization, unlike in the case of other important occupations, including accountants, lawyers and medical practitioners. By contrast, the American Association of Park Superintendents held its first convention in 1898. Progress in Britain, however, was markedly slower. It was not until 1907 that the formation of a Parks Superintendents' Association in Britain was initially advocated in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and the Association of Superintendents of Parks and Botanic Gardens was only formally established in 1926. The first manual on the layout, management and administration of municipal parks did not appear until 1937, although its author, W. W. Pettigrew, previously General Superintendent of the Manchester Parks Department, admitted that the idea of producing a textbook on municipal park management had originally occurred to him thirty years ago.¹⁰

Third, because of unforeseen changes in the contractual terms of his employment and the rapid development of his private practice as a landscape gardener, Kemp's perception of his own role changed over time. By 1851, he was listed in the township's street directory as a landscape gardener and superintendent of Birkenhead Park with the emphasis understandably on his private, professional practice. Although *Gore's Liverpool Street Directories* in the 1850s regularly listed him as the superintendent of Birkenhead Park, from the 1870s onwards priority was given to his role as a landscape gardener, while a postal directory of Wirral from 1887 simply recorded him as a gardener. As an author, he generally listed himself as the 'Landscape Gardener, Birkenhead Park', whether in the case of his published monographs or his many contributions to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and other contemporary journals.

EDWARD KEMP'S CONTRACTUAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Kemp's involvement in the maintenance and management of Birkenhead Park is often treated by landscape historians as if his employment conditions did not change between his appointment in 1843 and his death almost fifty years later in 1891. In reality, there were three distinct periods, 1843–49, 1849–60 and 1860–91, which were marked by significant changes in his remuneration, contractual duties and formal title (Table 1). But although he ceased to be a full-time superintendent in 1849, there was no real change in his association and involvement with Birkenhead Park for which he undoubtedly retained a very great affection. The following section will explore the three stages in the evolution of Kemp's changing relationship with the park and assess their wider significance.

From 1843 to 1849

Throughout this initial period Kemp was employed by the Birkenhead Commissioners as the superintendent of Birkenhead Park, although any major decisions prior to its official opening had to be approved by Paxton. Following his appointment in 1843, his management powers were initially constrained. A request for equipment, including a spirit level and a tape measure, was referred to Paxton, but it was subsequently agreed that he should be allowed to order 'such Tools and Materials as may be required'. In fact, the extent and range of Kemp's responsibilities were substantial bearing in mind his age (twenty-five years) and his apparent lack of managerial experience. He was solely responsible for paying the weekly wages of the numerous labourers employed to construct the park according to Paxton's plan for making 'as many Contracts as necessary' for drainage and trenching; and for purchasing all the necessary equipment, including a tree-lifting machine at a cost

Table 1. Edward Kemp’s salary and terms of employment, 1843–91

Date	Salary	Status	Context
Aug. 1843	£176 4s.	Superintendent	Initial appointment
1844	£165	Superintendent	(plus free accommodation?)
1845	£185	Superintendent	Including free accommodation in the Italian Lodge, valued at £35
1847	£120/£100	Superintendent	Salary reductions from summer onwards
1849	£0	Superintendent ‘free of any salary’	Services dispensed with in February; Italian Lodge and a small plot of land ‘free of rent’
1860	£31 10s.	Consulting superintendent	Own residence, 74 Park Road West
1865	(£46 15s.)	Consulting superintendent	Kemp’s application for an increase in his consulting fee rejected
Jan. 1871	£20	Consulting superintendent	Request to relinquish his consulting fee rejected; continued to be paid £20 per annum
1874	£31 10s.	Consulting superintendent	Original consultancy fee reinstated
1877	£31 10s.	Consulting superintendent	Officially (re-)appointed on the existing terms and conditions by the Borough of Birkenhead
1878–79	(£105)	Consulting superintendent	Request denied by the committee; continued payment of consultancy fee
1886–87	£31 10s.	Consulting superintendent	Same remuneration until his death in 1891

Sources: Wirral Archive Services, committee reports; Corporation of Birkenhead, *A Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Corporation of Birkenhead for the Year ending March 25th 1887* (Birkenhead: Wilmer, 1887), pp. 58–9.



Figure 2. The Rockery (or Grotto), Birkenhead Park, which was formed from soil excavated for the Lower Park lake with rocks taken from the River Mersey during the construction of Birkenhead Docks. Courtesy: Cavendish Archive, postcard, 1904

of nine pounds. When stones were delivered from vessels, they were to be ‘carted to such parts of the Park as Mr. Kemp may direct’: he was given the power ‘to construct a Rockery at the end of the Lakes’ (Figure 2); he recommended the nurseries which would supply plants, shrubs and trees, having ‘gone carefully into the various tenders’ (which varied in price by three hundred to four hundred per cent); and implemented minor changes to the original plan, including an alteration to the inner railings. He was also responsible

for managing the completed areas of the park, for example, by giving permission for the cutting of the second crop of grass in September 1845.¹¹

In fact, Kemp was authorized by the Improvement Commissioners to spend considerable sums during the initial preparation of the site for the new park with weekly disbursements sometimes exceeding one thousand pounds and he was allowed to keep fifty pounds in his own hands 'to meet Sundry disbursements'. But his later responsibilities once the landscaping work was completed were also wide-ranging, including protecting the grass from trespass by cattle and ensuring that ropes and poles were provided to prevent skating accidents on the park lakes.¹²

Kemp's appointment as the first 'fixed' superintendent of Birkenhead Park had a wider significance because it emphasized the difference between a public park and a private landscaped garden. However, his subsequent tenure of the post was not straightforward. There were signs of an increasing conflict between his responsibilities as an employee of the Improvement Commissioners and his intention to exploit the growing demand for his services in private practice. There is also evidence to suggest that Kemp's book-keeping practices were not fully in line with what was required by the Commissioners, given the worrying deterioration in Birkenhead's financial position and the need for a more stringent monitoring of expenditure. This, in turn, meant that he was subject to a greater degree of accountability. In February 1848, he had to submit an account of all produce from the park which led to a resolution by the Finance Committee that 'no money received by an officer in charge of any department under the Commissioners shall hereafter be appropriated by any such officer': instead it had to be immediately accounted for and 'promptly paid' to the treasurer. In 1850, he was also instructed to separate the wages for the night watchmen from the weekly wages; to keep 'distinct from other monies' any income from the thinning or sale of trees; and to keep the Park Subcommittee informed of future sales.¹³

The economic crisis of the late 1840s had a direct impact on Kemp's conditions of employment. The collapse of the railway boom, exacerbated by the use of derivative-like assets, poor monetary policy and the short-term Corn Bubble, led to a national financial crisis which quickly engulfed Birkenhead in a 'great depression'. Early in 1847 the Dock Commissioners were already facing serious difficulties in meeting their liabilities, a situation that was aggravated by overlapping financial interests among Birkenhead's commercial and political élite. The onset of the crisis also necessitated a speedy resolution of the outstanding issues relating to the terms and conditions of Kemp's employment. In February 1849, the Road and Improvement Committee simply recommended that the commissioners should dispense with his services at the end of the year, given the need to economise on expenditure connected with 'the management and superintendence of the Park'. Kemp was not alone in finding his position undermined by the need for radical financial retrenchment. The services of four employees, including an assistant in the Law Clerk's Office, had been terminated as early as January 1848 saving the commissioners a total of two hundred and seventy-four pounds four shillings, while the treasurer, Nathaniel Milligan, lost his job two months later following a report instigated by the township's bondholders which highlighted many accounting deficiencies and financial irregularities.¹⁴

However, it was quickly agreed that Kemp should continue as superintendent 'free of any salary' (Table 1). In return, he would be able to retain occupancy of the Italian Lodge and a small plot of land adjacent to the Park Drive free of rent. The commissioners undertook to provide a twelve-month period of notice if his services were ultimately to be dispensed with. Kemp was now free to undertake his 'present occupation' as a landscape gardener and to devote more time to developing his private consultancy work. It is

difficult to know what Kemp really thought of his new employment conditions. Perhaps he accepted the loss of salary as an unavoidable consequence of the severe recession and the dramatic contraction in local authority expenditure. After all, he retained his public profile as the superintendent of Birkenhead Park and his success in obtaining private commissions had already given him confidence in his ability to exploit a market that was only disrupted temporarily by the economic crisis.

From 1849 to 1860

As a result of the decision to withdraw Kemp's salary and allow him more time to pursue his private practice, additional arrangements had to be put in place to manage the park. In April 1849, a park subcommittee with four commissioners as members was formally established 'for the superintendence of the Park'. Among its immediate tasks was attending to the rolling of the park drives, determining the position of a *camera obscura*, and discussing with the secretary of the Wesleyan Association the arrangements for a bazaar to be held in the park on Whit Monday. But the subcommittee only met for a short space of time and attendance by its nominated members was poor, almost certainly because of the seriousness of the economic crisis and its impact on Merseyside's trade and commerce. In any case, the park subcommittee remained dependent on Kemp, while needing to control his actions because of the need for austerity. He was instructed in writing to confer with the subcommittee prior to any sale or removal of trees, although permission was given to dispense with any unsold items 'forthwith'. In fact, as envisaged, Kemp resumed some, if not all, of his previous duties and it is important not to underestimate the extent of his ongoing responsibilities for Birkenhead Park, even when he was not on the commissioners' payroll.¹⁵

Kemp continued to reside in the Italian Lodge free of rent and taxes with his wife Sophia, whom he had married in September 1845. But life there had not been straightforward and he was forced to make a number of complaints to the committee, some of which were reported in the local press, about its 'very damp state' and smoking chimneys which meant that Kemp was 'much annoyed with smells'. On one occasion he claimed that the papering of the rooms was 'quite necessary', but his request for more space in July 1852 was simply rejected. It was not until 1860 that he was able to afford to move into his own house at 74 Park Road West (Figure 3). The house had been designed in 1859 by Walter Scott, a friend and former colleague, who was responsible for the architectural plans of a considerable number of properties around the park, as well as in other areas of Birkenhead, in particular in Clifton Park. In his letter to the Road and Improvement Committee he gave notice of his intention to give up the lodge and proposed instead the payment of a consulting fee of equivalent value as it could be 'readily let to a tenant'. The Italian Lodge was subsequently let for a sum of thirty pounds, with the commissioners paying all taxes, and Kemp was granted an annual payment of thirty guineas for the continuing supervision of Birkenhead Park (Table 1).¹⁶

Even after his acceptance of a consulting fee, at a time when head gardeners or park superintendents were normally able to command a salary of over a hundred pounds, Kemp was expected to compile his regular reports to the Road and Improvement Committee; to take and to implement instructions on a range of issues; to submit estimates for each financial year, even if they were subsequently modified or reduced substantially by the committee; and to guarantee the smooth running of the park. In the mid-1850s, he was mandated to purchase seedlings, hollies and rhododendrons; to thin the trees about the park lodges; to clean away old gorse and other worn out shrubs; and to overlay hurdles with coal tar 'for their preservation'. A decade later, apart from managing the daily work of his staff and maintaining the park to a very high



Figure 3. The gable and chimneystack of Edward and Sophia Kemp's house at 74 Park Road West, Birkenhead, with the datestone. Photo: author

standard, he was also required to stock the park nursery with small shrubs; to advise on the adoption of by-laws 'for regulating the park'; to obtain tenders for iron hurdles; to approve the setting of a pontoon bridge for the 1st Cheshire Engineer Volunteers; and to consult with the borough surveyor on possible alterations to the gate posts at two main entrances in Park Road South and Park Road West. To this extent, the Birkenhead Commissioners were able to rely on Kemp's undoubted expertise without paying him a proper salary that reflected the full range of his responsibilities and his growing reputation as an excellent landscape gardener.¹⁷

From 1860 to 1891

Perhaps as a result of Kemp's increasing success and his international recognition as an outstanding landscape gardener, the operational framework for managing the park that had been adopted in 1849 became increasingly difficult to maintain. But neither party was willing to countenance ending a relationship that had helped to maintain its reputation as the world's first publicly funded park. What cannot be doubted was Kemp's ability to secure private and public commissions, some of which were very substantial and inevitably time-consuming (see the gazetteer of Kemp sites in this issue). The response by the commissioners was to authorize the appointment of an additional member of the park staff who would assume specific managerial duties and relieve Kemp of some of his day-to-day responsibilities. Between 1863 and 1891 two men played a key role in managing the park, but their contribution to the park's maintenance and development has never been recognized by historians and landscape gardeners.

JOHN COWAN AS SUPERINTENDENT OF BIRKENHEAD PARK (1863–86)

In July 1862, Kemp was instructed to make enquiries to locate 'a proper person' to fill a new position of general inspector of the park, a post which would be under his direct supervision. John Cowan was appointed superintendent in February 1863 at an annual

salary of one hundred pounds, over three times the amount of Kemp's consulting fee. By May 1864, it was reported that he was 'now in charge of the police in the park', probably as a result of the dismissal of John Gunning from his post as 'Inspector of the Park' in October of the previous year. His annual salary was raised subsequently to a hundred and twenty pounds. Cowan was sometimes listed as the assistant park superintendent, as was the case in 1868 when he reported that one of the peacocks had been found in a mutilated condition with its feathers torn out with a knife. But in the annual accounts for the township of Birkenhead he was always recorded as the park's superintendent, with Kemp assigned the title of 'Chief Superintendent' in receipt of his agreed 'Consulting Fee'. However, the accompanying list of officers invariably referred to Kemp as the superintendent and to Cowan as the assistant superintendent.¹⁸ In 1878, when a proposal was submitted by a representative of the Committee of the (Welsh) National Eisteddfod to hold the Gorsedd ceremony in Birkenhead Park, the formal agreement of the Road and Improvement Committee was subject 'to arrangements being made with Mr. Kemp, the Park Superintendent'.¹⁹

Cowan, therefore, was probably the first person to be appointed by a local authority in Britain to the position of assistant park superintendent, a post which only became more widely established in the late nineteenth century with the expansion of municipal parks estates. His annual salary was increased progressively to a hundred and thirty-five pounds and then to a hundred and fifty pounds, whereas Kemp's remuneration for his work in Birkenhead Park remained relatively static during this period (Table 1). In 1878, following the creation of the Borough of Birkenhead, Kemp finally requested an increase in his annual consultancy fee to a hundred and five pounds. However, he was forced to remind the Road and Improvement Committee of his written submission, which was then referred to the new council. This, in turn, delegated the committee with responsibility for making a decision. Despite the growing divergence between the tasks that Kemp carried out in the park and his level of remuneration, the request was rejected because of the 'present conditions of trade', 'high rates in the Borough' and the undesirability of 'any increase in the corporate expenditure'.²⁰

Cowan, like many superintendents and head gardeners in the Victorian period, came from Scotland, where he had been born in 1826. By 1881, he was listed in the census enumerator returns as a park superintendent who resided with his family in the North Lodge at the Grand Entrance (Figure 4) and two years later he was given permission to occupy a vacant lodge in the park 'rent and rates free', including the payment of water rates, in recognition of his services during the previous ten years.²¹

It is difficult in retrospect to establish a precise division of responsibility between Kemp and Cowan. The latter was responsible initially for the watching and keeping of Birkenhead Park, but he increasingly assumed managerial responsibilities for its overall maintenance. He dealt with a range of issues, including the 'offensive smell' from the public closets in the park refreshment rooms, but it was Kemp who was required in 1884 to ascertain whether the faulty action of the Italian Lodge's chimney was caused by trees in the park 'overhanging the house'. A gun licence 'for Mr. Cowan' was paid for by the committee together with cartridges provided by local suppliers, whereas it is highly unlikely that Kemp was ever involved in using firearms in the line of duty. Cowan was closely involved in managing specific tasks, including directing the repairs to the *City of Ragusa*. This was a small boat of two tons from the whaling ship *Breeze* which had been used in 1870 by Nikola Primoraz and John Buckley/Edward R. W. Hayter, accompanied by Boswain the dog, in the first recorded two-man return crossing of the Atlantic (Figure 5). After their return, it was put on display at the Royal Castle Hotel in New Chester Road, Tranmere, and subsequently presented to the committee by Mrs Simms, the owner,



Figure 4. The Grand Entrance, Birkenhead Park, with a partial view of the North Lodge through the gates on the right-hand side. Courtesy: Cavendish Archive, postcard, 16 August 1925

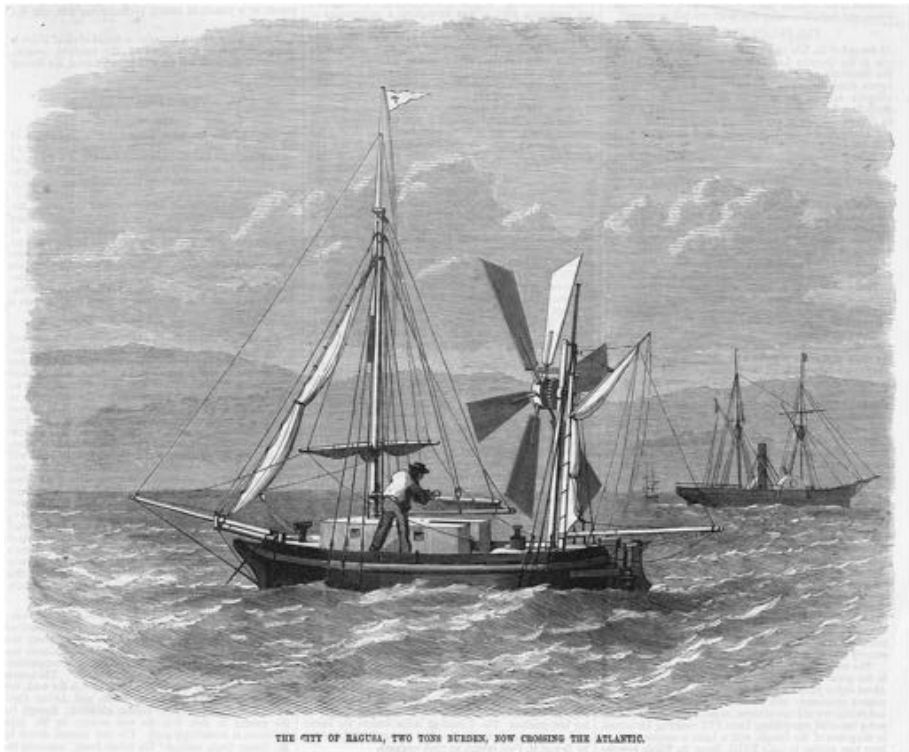


Figure 5. 'The City of Ragusa, two tons burden, now crossing the Atlantic'; from Anon., 'The smallest ship of the ocean', *The Illustrated London News* (25 June 1870), p. 665

for use on the park lakes. The necessary repairs and painting were carried out under the supervision of the 'Assistant Park Superintendent' and the boat remained a prominent feature in the Lower Park for some years.

Cowan was also directly involved in extending the provision of parks in the borough, specifically in laying out Tranmere Recreation Ground which was officially opened as Mersey Park by the Mayor, Alderman Paterson, on Saturday, 25 July 1885. Thomas C. Thornburn, the borough surveyor, had been instructed by the Road and Improvement Committee in January 1884 to prepare the laying out and planting of the park. However, Kemp had already been asked by the committee to undertake 'the planning of the plantation and the superintending of the planting of trees'. He had previously drawn up an overall plan and was consulted specifically on the proposed entrance to the recreation ground. On Cowan's death in March 1886, the committee was fulsome in its praise of his achievements during a period of 'upwards of 23 years' and noted its appreciation of 'his energy, integrity and ability which he displayed in the performance of his duties'.²²

WILLIAM PARKINSON AS ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT (1886-91)²³

In the light of Kemp's age, as well as his special status, the death of Cowan necessitated the appointment of a replacement assistant superintendent. Letters concerning the appointment of a successor were submitted to the Health, Baths and Parks Committee by Kemp, as the park superintendent, the printer and stationer John Oliver, the builder and architect William Walker, and William M. Mellor, a successful cotton-broker and justice of the peace. At the end of March 1886, two candidates were invited to attend the next meeting of the committee: James Richardson, who was listed as an 'assistant to Mr Kemp' and almost certainly retained on a private basis; and William Parkinson who had lately been Mellor's gardener (Figure 6).²⁴ After a heated discussion over the appropriate remuneration for the post, the Health, Baths and Parks Committee recommended that Parkinson should be appointed at an annual salary of a hundred and twenty-five



Figure 6. William Parkinson, (Assistant) Superintendent, Birkenhead Park (left). Courtesy: Robert Noseworthy (great-grandson of William Parkinson) of St John's Newfoundland, Canada, who can be seen in the centre of the photograph

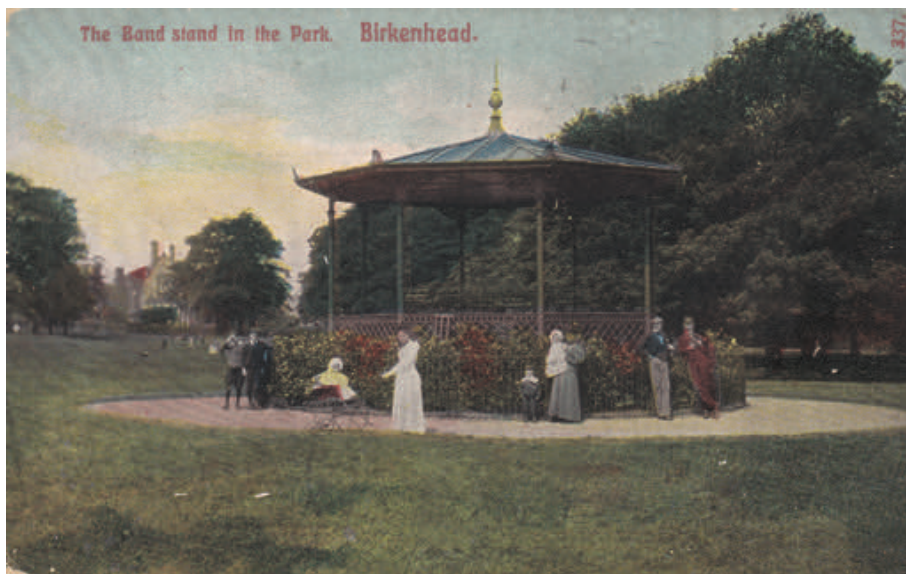


Figure 7. The Bandstand, Birkenhead Park, erected in the Lower Park in 1885.
 Courtesy: Cavendish Archive, Novelty Postcard Co., Liverpool, 30 December 1912

pounds, together with a house, rent and rates ‘free’, but he was ultimately offered only a hundred pounds together with the agreed additional emoluments. He was appointed as an assistant superintendent, but his annual salary was in line with the remuneration provided to park superintendents elsewhere. For example, the first superintendent of Ormeau Park, Belfast, had been offered one hundred pounds in 1874 and when Edward Peak was appointed parks superintendent in Hull in 1887, with responsibility for three parks, he was paid a hundred and thirty pounds.²⁵

Parkinson had been born in Lancaster in December 1840, the son of an agricultural labourer, but instead of following his father and younger brother into employment in the railway industry, he embarked on a career as a gardener. By 1871, if not earlier, he was employed by Mellor as a gardener and domestic servant with a separate cottage at Lingdale, an imposing house which was located in an area that had recently seen the building of a number of upper-middle-class residences with extensive gardens. He was enumerated there in 1881 with his wife, Harriet, and five children between one and twelve years of age, all of whom had been born in Claughton, Birkenhead.

In the absence of a detailed job description, it is difficult to assess the precise role played by Parkinson in the management of Birkenhead Park during the remaining years of Kemp’s life. He was primarily responsible for managing Mersey Park and was sometimes referred to as its superintendent. However, he was directly responsible for the recreation ground in Birkenhead Park; he acted as the ‘Officer’ for the bowling ground and quoiting ground after its closure for the winter period; and frequently submitted reports to the Health, Baths and Parks Committee. In fact, his involvement in managing Birkenhead Park was extensive. In his first year in post he was responsible for cleaning the two lakes using casual labour hired at three pence per hour, for forming a new footpath close to the pavilion of the Victoria Cricket Club, and for ensuring that more seats were available near the bandstand ‘when a band is playing there’ (Figure 7). He also reviewed complaints relating to the state of Ashville Road and examined the deficient drains installed for a chalet in the Lower Park.

Even as late as 1890 Kemp was still involved in many aspects of the park’s management. He no longer submitted written reports to the committee, but he was asked

to report on the terms of the tenancy of land in Conway Street opposite the point where it was intended to make a footpath to the park's inner drive and to provide a sketch; to see to the weeding and re-sodding of part of the upper bowling green; and to let the town clerk know his opinion on whether the Brassey Street Mission Football Club could play a match on 26 December on the ground it had been allocated. He was also asked to respond to the complaint from the Birkenhead Park Cricket Club over 'traffic' across its playing field and its request to install hurdles in order to prevent the creation of a permanent footpath; and whether he could spare 'a few evergreens for the workhouse this xmas'. In January and February 1891, immediately prior to his death, he was asked to furnish the borough treasurer with expenditure estimates for his 'Department' for the following year; to provide an 'observation' at the next meeting of the Parks Committee on an issue raised by Mr D. N. Sullivan; and to inform the town clerk of the boundaries of the piece of land in the park rented by Mr C. G. Mott, of 4 Cavendish Road, and 'whether he held any other land in it'. It is clear, therefore, that Kemp was still carrying out his duties as a 'Consulting Superintendent' only days before his death and that he remained a unique source of information and expertise on how the park should be managed.²⁶

Kemp was the first person in Britain to be appointed as a 'fixed' superintendent to a publicly funded park. Although there were similarities between managing Birkenhead Park and fulfilling the responsibilities of a head gardener on a large-scale private estate, there were also significant differences. A parks superintendent was an executive officer responsible for implementing approved policy, whose role also required him to provide professional advice to committee members. According to Pettigrew, he needed to be 'a trained and experienced horticulturalist' with an up-to-date knowledge of horticulture and botany, just like established head gardeners. But he also had to draw up regular committee reports which expressed 'his own convictions', as well as annual financial estimates. In addition, a parks superintendent was a council employee who was required to demonstrate care and circumspection in dealing with members of the public. There is no question that Kemp fulfilled all these requirements of office. But in some respects, his tenure of the office of superintendent at Birkenhead Park was atypical, primarily because of his consultancy status from 1860 onward. On the one hand, this led to the development of a hierarchical management system with the appointment of assistant superintendents well ahead of general practice (as advocated by Pettigrew in the 1930s). On the other hand, it raises an important issue as to the actual time that was available to Kemp for managing Birkenhead Park.²⁷

PRIVATE PRACTICE AND PUBLIC SERVICE: HOW FAR DID HIS PRIVATE COMMISSIONS IMPACT ON KEMP'S ROLE AS SUPERINTENDENT OF BIRKENHEAD PARK?

Even before the official opening of the park it was widely understood that Kemp was keen to develop his professional practice. During the period when Kemp carried out the initial landscaping of Birkenhead Park on the basis of Paxton's design, it was alleged that he was 'away a good deal of the time at other work'. As early as June 1846, the commissioners had resolved that 'in future Mr Kemp be not permitted to undertake any other employment than that of the Township', following repeated requests to take leave of absence 'on business of Importance to himself'. In December 1845, for example, he had sought leave of absence 'occasionally' in order to lay out gardens for William Laird, the third son of William Laird the Birkenhead shipbuilder, and Mrs Walker (almost certainly the wife of the prominent Birkenhead builder, William Walker), which he had already been contracted to complete.²⁸

It is clear that some of the leading families both in Birkenhead and from further afield were only too keen to recruit such a young and promising landscape designer for their own purposes. According to the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, he had already 'made arrangements for practicing generally as a Landscape-Gardener'. The fact that its proprietors publicly praised his 'sound principles', having assisted Paxton throughout the development of Birkenhead Park, and wished him 'abundant employment' could only have reinforced the growing demand for his services at a local and national level. In August 1847, only a few months after the public opening of Birkenhead Park, he placed an advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury* and other local newspapers offering his services 'to NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN in the vicinity of Birkenhead and Liverpool, or in any of the neighbouring districts and counties'. Although he would continue to superintend the park, he was now 'left at liberty to engage in other professional work'. He was confident that he would enjoy 'a large and liberal patronage' because of the 'flattering testimonials' from numerous visitors to Birkenhead Park and was convinced that 'any of the Birkenhead Commissioners under whom this great work has been accomplished' would provide supporting references.²⁹

Despite the downturn of the late 1840s, Kemp's belief in the continued existence of a growing market for his landscaping skills was not misplaced. It is difficult to know exactly how many commissions he undertook during the 1850s, but at least thirty-one are listed in the 1858 edition of his book, which only included illustrations from the 'author's own practice', including plans for small parks, shrubbery walks, terraced gardens, as well as flower, kitchen and rose gardens, fruit-houses and plant-houses. In addition, in line with contemporary practice, he was sometimes requested to furnish designs for residences and other buildings connected with the creation of new gardens, often in collaboration with established architects and draughtsmen. In 1853 alone, Kemp was engaged on three private contracts for Cheshire clients and his work load throughout that decade was considerable, whether in Liverpool or further afield. He claimed to have 'every-day intercourse' with gentlemen who were either laying out new grounds or seeking 'to amend errors in designs formerly committed' and he spent a considerable amount of time travelling through the suburbs of 'large towns' to consult with clients and to extend his expertise. It is clear, therefore, that by 1849 the management of Birkenhead Park had ceased to be a full-time responsibility. Kemp's acceptance of an annual consulting fee in 1860, equivalent in value to ten days' work for his individual clients, simply confirmed the prioritization of his private practice as a landscape gardener and his career as a successful author on landscape design and gardening.³⁰

Just like Paxton, his mentor, Kemp embarked on what was to become a highly successful career as a writer on landscape design and gardening. This was a direct response to the radical change in his employment conditions in 1849, but he very quickly completed three important books which were published within a short period of time in 1850 and 1851. They not only consolidated his national reputation, but also generated much-needed income. He was astute enough to focus on the growing middle-class interest in horticulture as the process of suburbanization in many towns and cities was accompanied by the construction of substantial houses for the industrial and commercial élites, which afforded abundant space for the laying out of landscaped gardens. John Claudius Loudon with the publication of *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* in 1838 had sought to exploit a similar market. But his comprehensive and weighty book (with its seven hundred and fifty-two pages) also dealt with other issues, including the choice of a proper 'situation' for a suburban or country house, as well as its architectural style and internal fittings. It was aimed at owners whose gardens or grounds extended from one perch (0.006 acres) to fifty acres 'and upwards', indicating that he wanted to

offer advice not only to house owners with large estates but also those who possessed very small gardens.³¹

How To Lay Out A Small Garden was first published in 1850 and Kemp deliberately described himself simply as the 'Landscape Gardener, Birkenhead Park' with no reference to his role as its superintendent. It was aimed at a similar market, but with a markedly different approach. It was intended as 'A Guide to Amateurs', who owned substantial, but less extensive properties, and whose gardens ranged from 'an acre to thirty acres in extent'. In contrast to Loudon's weighty volume, his book was an 'unpretending, little publication': it was priced at three shillings and sixpence and did not contain any illustrative material. It was clearly intended for a wide circulation on the assumption that there were very few 'among the middle classes' who did not possess a small garden. It recognized that 'Economy' was 'perhaps, one of the first objects to be consulted in laying out a small garden', although it had 'no necessary connection with the prime cost of a place'. It was predicated on a belief that there was a general lack of 'sound and useful information' on landscape gardening and both the book's price and 'portableness' were designed to ensure that Kemp's advice would be generally accessible. It was heralded in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* as 'an excellent little work' and 'a safe and useful guide', collected 'with care' and arranged 'with clearness', which would lead to 'an entire reformation in the decoration of middle class gardens and pleasure grounds', while *The Liverpool Mercury* regarded it as a 'useful little volume' which had been written in a 'very concise form' by a practical landscape gardener who was 'well known to the public' as he had 'several years of superintendence for the gardening in connexion with the splendid park at Birkenhead'.³²

Unlike some other publications on landscape gardening which appeared at this time, Kemp's book was such a success that further and more elaborate editions were published in 1858 and 1864. The second edition, in response to public demand, included a wide range of illustrations 'rendered as complete as possible', while there were forty-five new woodcuts in the third edition (1864), which also offered the reader an enlarged page size. Kemp demonstrated an acute understanding of the expanding market for handbooks on landscape design and gardening. His international popularity was reflected in the appearance of the first American edition in 1858, which was followed by a second and third edition in 1860 and 1870 respectively and by seven further editions between 1872 and 1901 (all based on the second London edition). In addition, a revised volume edited by Frank A. Waugh, the Professor of Landscape Gardening at the Massachusetts Agriculture College, explicitly adapted Kemp's text to the North American market in order to reflect climate and cultivation differences. Again, it proved to be a significant success and went through four editions between 1898 and 1920.³³

The Handbook of Gardening, which was first published in 1850, also sought to exploit the 'great interest' in the art and science of gardening. Again, Kemp understood implicitly the marketing benefits of addressing the needs of 'the inquiring many', rather than the 'initiated few'. He was aware of the need for 'a little manual of general and simple direction' suitable for the management of small gardens. The laying out of a garden would depend on the 'means or wishes of the occupant', although irrespective of its size it would still need to adhere to a number of guiding principles, including the requirement that part of even the smallest garden 'should always be devoted to ornamental purposes'. A concise discussion of the art and practice of cultivation, together with a monthly calendar of garden works, provided detailed, practical advice for all readers whatever their social class. Moreover, Kemp was clearly convinced that the encouragement of 'a taste of gardening among cottagers and mechanics' would have wider benefits for Victorian society as a whole, while the allotment system 'furnished the

Table 2. Cemeteries and parks designed by Edward Kemp

Cemetery/park	Location	Area (ha)	Dates	Historic England grade
Anfield Cemetery	Liverpool	57	1856–63	II*
St Helens Cemetery	St Helens	8	1856–58	II
Flaybrick Cemetery	Birkenhead	10.5	1861–62	II*
Newsham Park	Liverpool	49	1864–68	II*
Grosvenor Park	Chester	8.1	1864–67	II*
Southport Cemetery	Southport	28	1865–66	
Hesketh Park	Southport	12	1865–68	II*
Stanley Park	Liverpool	45	1866–70	II*
Congleton Park	Congleton	10.5	1868–71	II
Saltwell Park	Gateshead	22	1875–76	II
Mersey Park	Birkenhead	8.4	1881–85	
Queen's Park	Crewe	18.2	1887–88	II*

most admirable means of ‘moral renovation’. It would promote ‘unity, happiness and comfort’ in the domestic circle and enable cottagers to attain ‘that state of moral culture which the wealthier classes cannot but admire’. The success of Kemp’s handbook, in terms of its popularity and financial return, was considerable: by 1851 its tenth edition had already appeared, the eleventh edition was published in 1855 and further editions were issued subsequently. His approach in revising his books had two objectives: first, to maintain and increase popular demand for his works; and second, to ensure that his readers were provided with the latest up-to-date information avoiding ‘all technical phrases’. Each new edition, therefore, contained numerous changes and improvements. The eleventh edition, for example, included a ‘completely re-arranged’ scientific portion, as well as other improvements to the text.³⁴

If the two volumes that were published in 1850 were a result of Kemp’s need to compensate for the loss of his salary as the superintendent of Birkenhead Park, his book on the parks and gardens of London which appeared in the following year was a result of an invitation from John Weale, a publisher of popular architectural, educational, engineering and scientific works, to contribute ‘some account of London gardening’ to one of the numerous guidebooks which were published to coincide with the 1851 Great Exhibition. Because the subject matter was ‘too large’ to be dealt with satisfactorily in what was intended to be a pocket-sized guidebook (despite its nine hundred and ten pages), Kemp agreed to produce ‘a fuller or more detailed description’ which was issued separately. He claimed, with justification, that ‘no other book of the kind here attempted’ had ever been published and his detailed survey of private and public gardens, including Buckingham Palace Gardens, as well as all of London’s public parks and commons, was specifically written for ‘the numerous admirers of gardens visiting the metropolis’.³⁵

More importantly, his popularity as an author, his success in attracting a wide range of private commissions, and his growing reputation as one of the leading landscape designers of the mid-Victorian period, reinforced his national standing. This, in turn, enabled him to compete successfully for public landscaping contracts, initially between 1856 and 1862 for new cemeteries, namely Anfield (Liverpool), St Helens and Flaybrick (Birkenhead), and subsequently for the design and laying out of new municipal parks, including Newsham (Liverpool), Grosvenor (Chester), Hesketh (Southport), Stanley (Liverpool) and Congleton (Table 2). These municipal commissions were regionally concentrated to a far greater extent than his private landscaping contracts, perhaps

because Kemp was clearly aware of the commitment that would be needed to complete them on time and on budget.

In assessing the impact of his private landscaping practice on his role at Birkenhead Park, three points need to be emphasized. First, many of the projects which he undertook, particularly in designing major public parks and cemeteries, required a great deal of attention over a considerable period of time. In the case of Flaybrick Cemetery his plans were submitted in the late summer of 1861, but he was still dealing with a claim for extra excavation work in March 1865. At key stages of its landscaping, Kemp was instructed by the Cemetery Committee once if not twice a month to carry out specific pieces of work, whether reporting on the general state of the cemetery, ordering split oak for fencing, or obtaining tenders from nurserymen for the list of plants required.³⁶

His commitments in designing and laying out Stanley Park were even greater. In July 1866, Kemp was required to submit a 'rough sketch plan', but the ninety-five-acre site was not officially opened until 1870 and even after his formal connection with the park had ceased in January 1871 when it was handed over to the Improvement Committee, there were still various works which needed completing for which he was responsible. In carrying out his duties, he was expected to attend regular meetings of the Improvement Committee and to respond to the concerns of its members; to obtain and evaluate tenders for a wide range of landscaping tasks; and to account for all items of expenditure, as might be expected from a full-time superintendent. As he indicated in a letter of 25 November 1868, dealing with the tenders to supply plants for the new park would require up to three weeks work, initially preparing 'a comparative table of the prices' and then examining the plants in their various nurseries. Indeed, the initial stages of a public commission were inevitably time-consuming. In the case of Saltwell Park, the preparatory work alone included the submission of two sets of plans in February and April 1876 and a final set of estimates for the cost of laying out the park, excluding any buildings, in the following month.³⁷

Moreover, there were occasions when large-scale public contracts for the landscaping of parks and cemeteries overlapped. If Kemp's involvement with developing Liverpool's Stanley Park took up a great deal of his time between 1866 and 1871, he had also been commissioned by Congleton Town Council to design and superintend the laying out of its park. Twelve acres of woodland had been acquired in 1856 as an open space 'in which to lay out a public park', but it was not until 1865 that a further 4.8 acres were acquired so that the project could be taken forward. Kemp's plan for Congleton Park (24.7 acres) included many features associated with his vision for other public parks, including a rockery, formal gardens, the careful and deliberate use of tree planting to enhance the visual experience and areas for both passive recreation and sporting activities. It was opened by the Mayor, Dr Robert Beales, JP, on the 29 May 1871, only a year after the official opening of Stanley Park (14 May 1870). The fact that Kemp was assisted in the laying out of Congleton Park by the borough's (road) surveyor, William Blackshaw (1843–1919), provides some explanation as to how he was able to cope with two simultaneous projects. But there can be little doubt that the pressure of work would still have been very considerable.³⁸

Second, even in the early 1850s when Kemp was beginning to develop his private landscaping practice, some of his commissions would have required a great deal of travelling. A significant number of his clients listed in the second edition of his general guide *How To Lay Out A Garden* were located in Cheshire and South Lancashire, but six of them were based in London or the South East, while others were located as far afield as Underscar, near Keswick (for the Liverpool textile and general merchant, William Oxley), Worcestershire (for the London stockbroker Harman Grisewood of Daylesford

House), Cressbrook, Derbyshire (for the cotton manufacturer and mill owner, Henry McConnel) and Todmorden, Yorkshire (for the cotton manufacturer Joshua Fielden of Stansfield Hall).

Third, both his private and public contracts as well as his role as an eminent writer on landscape gardening meant that he was sometimes required to be away from Birkenhead Park for extended periods of time. His series of contributions on the gardens of Biddulph Grange which were published in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* between 1856 and 1862 would have necessitated regular visits in order to produce what its owner, James Bateman, characterized as a 'very clever and graphic though far too favourable account of the gardens of this place'. In November 1864, when he finally submitted the initial plan for laying out part of the Newsham Park Estate, he apologized to Liverpool's Real Estate Sub-Committee for completing it 'very hurriedly' because he was 'obliged' to leave Birkenhead the next morning 'to fulfil a number of engagements in Scotland', which were expected to take at least a fortnight. Similarly, he was unable to attend a meeting of the Liverpool Improvement Committee in September 1869 because he was staying at 20 Coventry Place, London, and was 'obliged to stay in this neighbourhood till the end of the present week'. Within a context where the number of landscaping commissions which he designed and carried out was publicly acknowledged as 'legion', his ability to manage Birkenhead Park on anything like a regular or consistent basis would have been very limited, irrespective of his undoubted diligence and attention to detail.³⁹

In line with contemporary practice, Kemp normally employed a clerk of works to oversee the day-to-day implementation of his large-scale public contracts, as was the case in Flaybrick Cemetery, Grosvenor Park and Stanley Park. By employing a 'good clerk of works' for the supervision of work at Grosvenor Park, Kemp calculated that he would not need to be present more than 'once a week', while in December 1863 Robert Reed was appointed clerk of works at Flaybrick Cemetery, a post which had been explicitly approved by the Cemetery Committee, which again meant that he was not required to be on site on a daily basis. At the same time, Kemp depended for professional support in carrying out his duties on other individuals who were probably retained on an informal basis. William Wortley (1831–1908) was listed as Kemp's 'Draughtsman, Assistant and Friend' and it was largely on his recommendation in the early 1860s that Wortley was 'induced' to accept the superintendence of Anfield Cemetery, while in the mid-1880s James Richardson was recorded as Kemp's 'assistant'. But even under these circumstances little time would have remained for dealing with issues relating to Birkenhead Park, particularly as Kemp was afflicted increasingly by poor health and long illnesses which sometimes threw him into 'such sad arrears'.⁴⁰

KEMP AND HIS COMMITTEES: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE
SUPERINTENDENT OF BIRKENHEAD PARK AND THE MEMBERS OF
MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES TO WHOM HE WAS RESPONSIBLE

Pettigrew, writing in the late 1930s, was quite specific about the professional role of a park superintendent. He was to be 'courteous and tactful' in his 'intercourse' with committee members and never forget that he is a public servant. His primary task was to carry out 'approved policies' following the submission of technical advice. Indeed, the submission of regular reports should always provide the basis for decision making by the committee. Any personal confidences from individual committee members should remain 'sacred' and a superintendent should 'on no account' take sides in order to minimize the danger of 'unpleasant backbiting'.⁴¹

In the absence of personal papers it is difficult to determine the exact relationship between Kemp and the different committees that he served. Certainly, he claimed that he had 'never shown any silly disposition to usurp the function of the Committee', although he had 'long and large experience' in organizing all aspects relating to the management of parks, including arrangements for a wide range of sporting activities. In fact, he was frequently issued with clear instructions which he dutifully carried out, but these were often the result of earlier discussions prompted by his fortnightly written reports or letters submitted to the committee on specific issues, such as the state of the carriage roads in August 1884. On other occasions, whether in relation to the use of the area 'lately occupied as a nursery' or the site of a pontoon bridge for the 1st Cheshire Engineers Volunteer Corps, he requested approval from the committee for a recommended course of action.

The committee framework that regulated the management of Birkenhead Park had wider implications as far as the park superintendent was concerned. In the early decades following the opening of the park, a number of members of the Birkenhead Improvement Committee lived in villas surrounding the park, including the hemp merchant, shipowner and bank director William Hind who resided at Golden Gate in Ashville Road. Hind had been the chairman of the Improvement Committee for a number of years in the 1850s; he remained an active commissioner for some time, attending a total of seventy-six committee meetings between November 1865 and October 1866 alone, including fourteen sessions of the Road and Improvement Committee; and he continued to reside in Ashville Road after his formal retirement from business.⁴²

In the mid-1860s, four out of the seven members of the Road and Improvement Committee lived in Claughton quite close to the park, while Charles Grey Mott (Figure 7) and William Walker subsequently acquired residences in Cavendish Road and Park Road South respectively. Mott's business interests had originally been in coal, as a merchant and proprietor, but he went on to become an important railway entrepreneur and a pioneer of electric railways. He was first elected as a Birkenhead Improvement Commissioner in 1862 and became its chairman in 1867–68, but his influence was reinforced by the fact that he played a very active role in local clubs and associations, including the Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society, having been elected a member in 1857. As a director of the Great Western Railway from 1868 to his death in 1905 and of the City and South London Subway (established in 1887), he was increasingly occupied in the capital, but the family home at 4 Cavendish Road was retained until 1883. Mott submitted a letter in 1877 relating to the tenancy of the Norman Lodge East; he continued to lease a small area of land in the park which later became part of the Boothby Ground; and he remained 'much interested in the public affairs of the town'.⁴³

Some committee members who lived around Birkenhead Park used their position to influence policy making. William Walker, architect, builder and magistrate, had previously been the chairman of the Road and Improvement Committee and became subsequently the chairman of the Sanitary Sub-Committee. He had considerable local standing and enjoyed a prominent profile among Birkenhead's political and social élite. By 1874, he was living at 70 Park Road South. In May 1889, at a time when he was an alderman, he submitted a letter to the committee calling for the closing of the outer gate on the pathway between Park Road South and the inner drive of the park. After due deliberation and an official site visit, Walker's request was granted and the outer gate was subsequently closed at night.⁴⁴

At the same time, some of them, together with other successful businessmen, were Kemp's close neighbours at a time when residential location was a significant factor in social networking and strengthening friendships on a class-specific basis (Table 3).

Table 3. Class, occupation and residence, Park Road West, 1876

House number	Name	Occupation
8	James Bevis	Managing director, London, Asiatic and American Co.
50	William G. Leete	Broker
52	George G. Clover	Shipbuilder
58	James Mackee	Broker
60	Charles Preston	Stipendiary magistrate
68	Peter Sinclair	Merchant
70	John R. H. Keyworth	Agricultural implement manufacturer
72	Alfred Milne	Gentleman
74	Edward Kemp	Landscape gardener
76	Walter L. Nickels	Shipbroker
78	William Wooliscroft	Corn merchant

In 1876, for example, his immediate neighbours in Park Road West included three brokers, two merchants, a managing director, manufacturer and shipbuilder, as well as Charles Preston, the borough's stipendiary magistrate. Not surprisingly, some of the commissioners resided in properties with extensive gardens and had benefited directly from his expert advice as a landscape gardener and horticulturalist.

In some cases, committee members understood a great deal about park design and management. William Henderson, who was a commissioner between 1853 and 1856, when he served as the chairman of the Road and Improvement Committee, and again between the late 1860s and the late 1870s, was more than qualified to offer professional advice himself on the future management of the park. His extensive nursery in Oxton provided employment for twenty men; he was enumerated in the 1861 census as a landscape gardener, nurseryman and seedsman; and for many years he was the honorary secretary of both the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society and the Wirral Farmers' Club (which subsequently became the Birkenhead and Wirral Agricultural Society). Moreover, he was a leading landscape designer in his own right. He had laid out the gardens of Corporation Park, Blackburn, in 1857 and his design, together with that of another competitor, was chosen for Alexandra Park, Oldham, (1865) following the Corporation's success in borrowing a total of twenty-five thousand seven hundred pounds to finance a large-scale work-creation project as a response to the hardship imposed on factory operatives by the cotton famine during the American Civil War. He was also responsible for designing Bolton Park (subsequently renamed Queen's Park), which was opened in 1866 following the inclusion of a scheme in the town's Improvement Act of 1864. Like Kemp, his landscape expertise extended to cemeteries and his design for Tonge Cemetery, Bolton, (1856), with a perfect circle at its centre, is regarded as 'an exemplar' of the geometrical or sub-geometrical framework.⁴⁵

Of course, not everything went smoothly. Kemp was sometime absent from Birkenhead for considerable periods of time, whether carrying out private commissions for the upper middle class or fulfilling large-scale contracts for the design and laying out of new municipal parks and cemeteries. He also had clear views about the remit of his post as 'Consulting Superintendent'. In May 1882, the 'Public Bowling Green and Quoting Ground' was opened by the Mayor, William Laird, but Kemp refused to have anything to do with it (Figure 8). He had reservations concerning the 'formation of rules as to how and when the grounds should be used' and maintained that the task of collecting payments from the general public on a daily basis was not in keeping with



Figure 8. The Bowling Green, Birkenhead Park. Courtesy: Birkenhead Reference Library



Figure 9. Mersey Park, Birkenhead, designed by Edward Kemp. Courtesy: Cavendish Archive, unused postcard, pre-First World War

his established role. A new post, therefore, had to be created to manage the new facility.

In the case of Mersey Park, opened in 1885, Kemp was asked by the Road and Improvement Committee whether he would undertake 'the planning of the plantation and the superintending of the planting of trees', having previously drawn up an overall plan, and was consulted specifically on the proposed entrance to the recreation ground (Figure 9). But Kemp insisted that this work was not part of his existing contractual

obligations, but a separate undertaking for which he was entitled to be paid. He submitted an account for fees 'in connection with the Recreation Ground' which, in turn, prompted a request for clarification as to what duties were actually covered by Kemp's consulting fee. This led to a formal visit to his home in Park Road West by Mr Solly, a solicitor's clerk attached to the town clerk's office, because he was 'so unwell' and an insistence by the committee that any remarks relating to his 'fees' should be made in writing as it would be 'undesirable' to consider any verbal reports on the matter'.⁴⁶

But what stands out from the available records is the relative absence of evidence of any real conflict between Kemp and the various committees that he served. Despite the lack of any salary between 1849 and 1860, and the payment of a nominal consulting fee from 1860 to his death in 1891, Kemp continued to set aside considerable time to ensure the successful management of Birkenhead Park, in line with Paxton's original design, and to guarantee its continued maintenance.

KEMP'S COMMITMENT TO HIS PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVES

The available evidence suggests that Kemp fulfilled all his managerial tasks with a very high degree of commitment and efficiency. Indeed, it was reported that 'he loved every inch' of Birkenhead Park. His role as superintendent helped to define the way in which public parks were managed and the range of skills which such a role necessitated. As a landscape gardener and horticulturalist, he had been instrumental in laying out the park within the design framework specified by Paxton. He had assumed responsibilities for managing a large work force and for securing the protection of the park; he had fulfilled his duties to his employer by providing regular written reports to the Road and Improvement Committee and by offering his professional advice on a wide range of issues relating to the management of the park. As he pointed out in a letter to the Sanitary Sub-Committee in February 1881 over public criticism of the corporation's apparent failure to adequately sweep the lakes for skating, he had always attached considerable importance to the 'quiet performance of duty' and had endeavoured 'to enforce law and order, and to minister to the public weal'.

To a large extent, both the national and international reputation of Birkenhead Park depended to a significant extent on Kemp's continued commitment in his role as superintendent, even if he was not retained on a full-time salaried basis. Kemp himself fully recognized that Birkenhead Park had been designed by Paxton, but publicly explained that it had been 'formed by me, under his inspection', as he had been given authority by the Improvement Committee to carry out a wide range of tasks, including procuring 'what plants are necessary for the Park'. According to Frederick Law Olmsted, the general public often credited Kemp with the park's design and in 1891 the influential *Gardeners' Chronicle* directly attributed the creation of 'this fine example of a public park' to 'Mr. E. Kemp'. J. C. Niven, who was the curator of the botanic gardens in Hull and responsible for the design of the town's Pearson Park in 1860, was unequivocal in praising Kemp's initiative in instigating 'a new era as regards public park design' and for creating a landscape which would stand 'as a lasting memorial to his good taste'.⁴⁷

Certainly, Birkenhead Park continued to attract widespread attention because of Kemp's growing reputation as one of the leading landscape designers of his generation. In 1857, when the Board of Commissioners for Central Park, New York, was considering how to evaluate the thirty-three official entries in its design competition, consideration was given to the possibility of inviting two European specialists to inform the decision-making process: Jean Charles Adolphe Alphand, the designer of the recently restored Bois de Boulogne in Paris, and the superintendent of ('Liverpool's') Birkenhead Park. It was subsequently reported in the *New York Times* that formal invitations had been

extended to Kemp and 'some person' connected with the Bois de Boulogne, but the original resolution was ultimately amended. Only plans of the two parks were purchased and Kemp almost certainly never travelled to New York. Other local authorities in Britain visited Birkenhead Park to determine best practice in park design and management. For example, in September 1878 there was a visit by a deputation from Wolverhampton's Park and Bath Committee at a time when it was developing plans for a design competition for its own park.⁴⁸

CONCLUSIONS

When Kemp was appointed in 1843 to superintend the laying out of Birkenhead Park there were no recognized guidelines for carrying out this role. Indeed, it was only in 1937 that the first definitive publication on the professional management of public parks was finally published. Nor for that matter did Kemp have any relevant experience in supervising such a large project or managing a substantial workforce. Kemp's role as superintendent helped to define the way in which public parks were managed and the range of skills which such a role necessitated. As a landscape gardener and horticulturalist, he had been instrumental in laying out the park within the design framework specified by Paxton. He had assumed responsibilities for managing a large work force and for securing the protection of the park; he had fulfilled his duties to his employer by providing regular written reports to the Road and Improvement Committee and by offering his professional advice on a wide range of issues relating to the management of the park. Despite his growing external commitments, both private and public, he continued to carry out many of the duties of a park superintendent, even after the appointment of assistant superintendents (Cowan, 1863–86; and Parkinson, 1886–1891). He remained a good and trusted servant of the different committees to which he was answerable. Even in his later years he was regarded as a unique source of information on earlier managerial policy relating to the park, although his views were probably increasingly out of step with those of local politicians who wanted to provide new facilities, particularly for the working class, and to create new sites for public parks and playgrounds. In the final analysis, Kemp remained true to his professional objectives: the 'quiet performance of duty', the effective enforcement of 'law and order', and the need 'to minister to the public weal'.

Kemp enjoyed a contemporary reputation as an astute arbiter of 'good taste' who was 'continually met' in British gardens with a 'multitude of departures' from what contemporary design practices required. His many contributions to the design of urban parks were cited by leading French landscape designers, including Jean Charles Adolphe Alphand (1817–91) and Edouard André (1840–1911), among others, with a specific focus on his design and construction of park drives. Indeed, he was particularly influential in Continental Europe and North America, as well as in parts of the British Empire such as Australia.⁴⁹

But despite his national and international profile, his commitment to Birkenhead Park was never in doubt. The lack of a proper salary from 1849 onward might have been seen as a serious problem, but it represented an opportunity for Kemp to take forward his career as a landscape designer, to establish himself as a highly regarded author on landscape gardening and to achieve an international profile in his profession. Indeed, his private earnings were considerable. His professional fees were not modest. They were based on a daily fee of three guineas 'for time occupied', whether in preparing plans, making visits, 'or in any other work', in addition to the reimbursement of all travel expenses, but by the mid-1870s it had risen to four guineas, excluding travelling

expenses. His patrons, however, were almost certainly prepared to meet his demands. Joseph Stubs, a manufacturer of engineers' tools, the Mayor of Warrington and a County Magistrate, was 'enthusiastically attached to his garden'; Harman Grisewood from Daylesford, Gloucestershire, but with a London residence in Upper Brook Street, Westminster, was constantly remodelling and rebuilding his garden; while John Noble, of Berry Hill near Maidenhead, 'spared no expense in planting his shrubbery walk'. As far as his public commissions were concerned, the remuneration often reflected the amount of work required and in certain cases it was considerable. For drawing up a plan for the planting of ornamental trees and shrubs at St Helens Cemetery and for superintending the work in October and November 1857 he was paid £57 1s. 3d. But for designing and landscaping Stanley Park he was paid a five per cent commission on all the work done, a sum which amounted to approximately fourteen hundred and fifty pounds over a period of over four years.⁵⁰

In addition, he had a continuing income stream from his work as a highly successful author. Kemp's *How To Lay Out A Small Garden* went through three (ever-expanding) editions between 1850 and 1864; the first American edition (1858) was followed by two further editions (1860 and 1870 respectively); while the revised volume edited by Frank A. Waugh, adapted explicitly to the North American market, went through four editions between 1898 and 1920 (although whether the Kemp estate received its share of the proceeds is impossible to establish). *The Handbook of Gardening* was an even greater commercial success: by 1851 its tenth edition had already appeared and further editions were issued subsequently.

It is difficult to calculate Kemp's earnings from his books, given the absence of comprehensive data on the pricing policy of his publishers, both in Britain and America, and his share of the royalties. But the major developments in the printing industry in the nineteenth century were accompanied by the emergence of larger publishing firms and the standardization of payments to authors, who were paid a percentage, usually ten per cent, based on the price of the book and the number of copies sold. Initially print runs were quite small, but by the middle of the century one thousand copies had become the norm. What we do know, however, is that the first edition of *How To Lay Out A Small Garden* (1850) was sold by Bradbury & Evans for three shillings and sixpence (or almost eighteen pounds in 2017 prices). If it is assumed that Kemp had been offered the usual royalties and that almost all copies of the book had been sold, then he would have received approximately seventeen hundred and fifty pounds. Given his successful profile as an author, the numerous additions of both his major works, and the extent to which they captured the large American market, it seems fair to conclude that his royalty payments would have represented a very important income stream.⁵¹

Kemp died on 1 March 1891 at his residence in Park Road West, Cloughton, in his seventy-fourth year after a long and painful illness. His will, which was proved on 24 March 1891, registered a personal estate of £10,548 17s. (£1,057,000 in 2017 prices), the bulk of which almost certainly came from his private practice as a professional landscape gardener and his royalties as a highly successful author. On 8 May, the house which he had shared with his wife Sofia for so many years was sold for two thousand pounds. Clearly, Kemp was a man of considerable means, but very little of his wealth came from his consulting fee for managing Birkenhead Park.

According to his obituary in the *Birkenhead News*, Kemp was a 'transcendent genius in his arts' while the quality of his professional writing had enabled him to enjoy a high order of 'eminence'. The Burial Board of Liverpool Parish which has commissioned Kemp to design Anfield Cemetery also paid tribute to his professional standing and his genius as a 'Landscape Gardener and Garden Architect', emphasizing his 'strict integrity and

dignified conduct'. His gravestone in Flaybrick Cemetery carried the simple inscription 'Ed. Kemp, Curator, Birkenhead Park from its formation in 1847, and the designer of this Cemetery'.⁵¹

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¹ Seventy-two thousand and eighty pounds in 2017 prices using the retail price index deflator; see (www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php).

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³ The Horticultural Society of London had been founded in 1804. In 1861 it was renamed the Royal Horticultural Society. For more detailed information, see Brent Elliott, *The Royal Horticultural Society: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2004). For Kemp's training, see the contribution of Elizabeth Davey in this issue.

⁴ Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence"; 'Liverpool Parks' (letter from E. Kemp, Birkenhead Park, 28 October 1850), *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette for 1850*, 44 (1850), p. 693. Kemp's salary would have amounted to £132,000 in 2017 prices based on the labour earnings of income.

⁵ Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence", pp. 74–5; The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, Devonshire MSS, 155.1, letter from Edward Kemp to Mr J. Paxton (25 July 1843).

⁶ WAS, B/017/2, BIC, Road and Improvement Committee (R&IC) Minutes 1845–1847 (27 August 1845).

⁷ WAS, B/005/2, BIC, Minutes of the Finance Committee 1844–1846 (25 September 1845). Kemp's gross salary of £185, including free accommodation, would have been equivalent in 2017 prices to £17,260 (real wage value) or £142,000 (in labour earnings).

⁸ Musgrave, *Head Gardeners*, p. 53.

⁹ Allan R. Ruff, *Manchester's Philips Park. A Park for the People Since 1845* (Stroud: Amberley, 2016), p. 32.

¹⁰ Musgrave, *Head Gardeners*, p. 53; A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The*

Professions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933); Nicholas A. H. Stacey, *English Accountancy 1800–1954* (London: Gee, 1954); Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960); Frederick Law Olmsted, 'Park department organization', *Landscape Architecture. A Quarterly Magazine*, 4 (1913–14), pp. 150–66; W. W. Pettigrew, 'At long last! A word of welcome and a note of warning', *The Journal of Park Administration Horticulture and Recreation*, 1/1 (1936), pp. 10–11; *idem*, *Municipal Parks Layout, Management and Administration Together with a Short Treatise on the Organisation of a Public Parks Department* (London: The Journal of Park Administration, 1937), p. ix. Musgrave's data on the number of park superintendents were taken from editions of the *Cottage Gardener* and *Journal of Horticulture*, but probably underestimate the actual increase in the number of park superintends during this period.

¹¹ WAS, B/008/1, BIC, Minutes 1843–1845 (29 December 1843; 7 March, 3 October, 29 November 1844); WAS, B/017/2, BIC, R&IC Minutes 1845–1847 (1 October 1846, 24 September 1845).

¹² WAS, B/017/2, BIC, R&IC Minutes 1845–1847 (20 August, 31 December 1846).

¹³ *Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 37 (11 September 1847), p. 603; WAS, B/017/2, BIC, R&IC January 1845–February 1847 (28 July 1847); B/005/3, FC March 1846–June 1848 (4 February 1848); B/017/4, BIC, R&IC March 1850–June 1853 (17 October, 24 October 1850); Advertisements and Notices, *Liverpool Mercury* (6 August 1847).

¹⁴ Charles Grey Mott, *Reminiscences of Birkenhead* (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, 1900), p. 24; WAS, B/005/3, BIC, FC March 1846–June 1848 (7 December 1847; 7 January, 28 March 1848); B/017/3, BIC, R&IC February 1847–February 1850 (27 February, 23 March, 19 June 1849); B/017/4, BIC, R&IC March 1850–June 1853 (10 October 1850).

¹⁵ WAS, B/014/1, BIC, Park Subcommittee, April 1849–May 1849 (11 and 17 April, 15 May 1849).

¹⁶ Sophia was the daughter of Henry Bailey and his deceased wife, Sophia; Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence"; WAS, B/017/2, BIC, R&IC January 1845–February 1847 (26 November 1846); B/017/3, BIC, R&IC February 1847–February 1850 (9 May 1850); B/017/4, BIC, R&IC March 1850–June 1853 (1 July 1852); B/017/5, BIC, R&IC July 1853–September 1858 (29 December 1853); B/017/6, BIC, R&IC September 1858–June 1863 (26 April,

28 June, 5 July 1860); Anon., 'Birkenhead Town Commissioners', *Liverpool Mercury* (6 January 1854). Walter Scott had been engaged as the commissioners' building surveyor in October 1843 and was paid a monthly salary of £10 8s. 4d. by the Finance Committee until the end of July 1845.

¹⁷ WAS, B/017/5, BIC, R&IC July 1853–September 1858 (4 October, 6 November 1855; 28 February, 8 May 1856); B/017/6, BIC, R&IC September 1858–June 1863 (16 August 1860). Kemp's original estimate for the year ending April 1861 was reduced by £1200.

¹⁸ WAS, B/017/6, BIC, R&IC September 1858–June 1863 (10 July 1862); B/017/7, BIC, R&IC June 1863–April 1869 (12 May 1864); B/017/8, BIC, R&IC May 1867–February 1873 (6 February 1868); B/017/9, BIC, R&IC March 1873–November 1877 (23 April 1874); Birkenhead Improvement Commissioners, *A Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Township of Birkenhead from April 25th, 1862, to April 24th (1863)*, p. 2 (and for subsequent accounting years).

¹⁹ WAS, B/054/1, CB, R&IC (5 September 1878).

²⁰ *Ibid.* (16 May 1878, 20 March 1879).

²¹ Musgrave, *Head Gardeners*, pp. 43–4, 72–4; WAS, B/040/5, Corporation of Birkenhead (BC), Health, Baths and Parks Committee (HB&PC) July 1883–February 1886 (4 December 1883, 8 December 1885).

²² WAS, B/040/4, HB&PC November 1881–July 1883 (6 June, 14 November 1882); B/109/5A, BC, Town Clerk's Letter Book (TCLB), 1881 (16 and 25 March 1881); B/109/9A, BC, Town Clerk's General Letter Book (TCGLB), July–November 1882, Part 1 (1 November, 8 December 1882; 19 and 26 January 1883); Part 2 (2, 6 and 8 December 1882); B/040/5, BC, HB&PC July 1883–February 1886 (7 August 1883, 14 July 1885).

²³ After Kemp's death, Parkinson continued to serve Birkenhead Council until 1927, initially as the Parks Superintendent and subsequently as a Consulting Superintendent.

²⁴ For a more detailed study of the role of Parkinson in the management of Birkenhead Park, see Robert Lee, *Managing the First Public Park: The Superintendents and Team Leaders of Birkenhead Park*. Birkenhead Park History and Heritage, Vol. 3 (Bootle: Oriol Studios Digital, 2019).

²⁵ WAS, B/040/6, BC, HB&PC February 1886–January 1889 (30 March, 6 April, 8 June, 28 September 1886); B/109/17, TCGLB (7 May 1886); Robert Scott, *A Breath of Fresh Air. The Story of Belfast's Park* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 2000), p. 16; Mary Fowler, *The Story of East Park, Hull* (Beverley: Highgate, 2002), p. 16.

²⁶ WAS, B/109/27, BC, TCLB April–August 1890 (14, 25 September; 9, 30 October; 3, 5 December 1890); B/109/29, BC, TCLB, December 1890–April 1891 (8 January, 12 February, 20 February 1891).

²⁷ Pettigrew, *Municipal Parks*, pp. 189–96.

²⁸ William Laird's (1780–1841) shipyard helped to transform Birkenhead. According to Elizabeth Davey, he was a 'very wayward son' who ran off with his wife's niece, changed his name by deed poll, and ended his days in south-west France; Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence".

²⁹ *Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 37 (11 September 1847), p. 603; WAS, B/017/2, BIC, R&IC January 1845–February 1847 (28 July 1847); B/005/3, FC March 1846–June 1848 (4 February 1848); B/017/4, BIC, R&IC March 1850–June 1853 (17 and 24 October 1850); Advertisements and Notices, *Liverpool Mercury* (6 August 1847).

³⁰ *The Birkenhead News*, 'The late Mr E. Kemp' (7 March 1891), p. 4; Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence", appx 2, p. 99; Edward Kemp, *How To Lay Out A Garden* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1858), pp. vii–viii, xiv, 245–7, 257–60, 351; Anon., 'St Helen's Town Council: Sir Henry Doulton and the progress of St Helens', *Liverpool Mercury* (2 July 1896). It is quite possible that some of Kemp's clients were unwilling to allow the publication of the plans for their gardens and estates.

³¹ John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion comprising The Choice of a Suburban or Villa Residence, or of a Situation on which to form one; The Arrangement and Furnishing of the House; and the Laying Out, Planting, and General management of The Garden and Grounds The Whole Adapted For Gardens from One Perch to Fifty Acres and upwards in extent* (London, 1838).

³² *Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 43 (1850), p. 675; 'Reviews', *Liverpool Mercury* (5 November 1850). See also Davey, "A Complete and Constant Superintendence", pp. 80–1; Janet Waymark, 'Kemp, Edward (1817–1891)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/96724/>).

³³ Edward Kemp, *How To Lay Out A Small Garden* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1850), p. 108; *idem*, *How To Lay Out A Garden* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1858), pp. xii, xiv; *How To Lay Out A Garden* (New York: John Wiley, 1858; New York: John Wiley, 1860; London: Bradbury & Evans, 1864; New York: John Wiley & Son, 1870; New York: John Wiley, 1872; New York: John Wiley, 1875; New York: John Wiley & Son, 1880; New York: John Wiley, 1886; New York: John Wiley and Son, 1901); Frank A. Waugh, *Landscape Gardening: How To Lay Out a Garden by Edward Kemp Landscape Gardener edited, revised and adapted to North America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1911). Waugh was a leading landscape architect in America, for whom trees were 'the most indispensable of materials for landscape making'; Linda Flint McClelland, 'Introduction to the

Reprint Edition', in Frank A. Waugh, *Book of Landscape Gardening* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), p. xv. Other Victorian landscape gardeners and nurserymen sought to exploit the growing middle-class, suburban market in a similar fashion: for example, see the Edinburgh landscape gardener and garden architect Charles H. J. Smith with the publication of his *Landscape gardening: Or parks and pleasure grounds with practical notes on country residences, villas, public parks, and gardens* (London: Reeve & Co., 1852). Smith's volume, however, lacked illustrations and covered issues relating to the design of public parks. It was republished in 1860 and went through three American editions (1853, 1856 and 1858), but never enjoyed the same popularity as Kemp's publications, particularly in the United States. For an overview of the publication profile of a number of Victorian head gardeners, see Musgrave, *Head Gardeners*, pp. 123–4.

³⁴ Edward Kemp, *The Hand-book of Gardening for the use of all persons who possess a garden of limited extent*, 10th edn (London, 1851); *idem*, *The Hand-Book of Gardening for the Use of all persons who possess a garden of limited extent*, 11th edn (London, 1855), pp. v, ix.

³⁵ Edward Kemp, 'Practical observations made on a visit to the botanic gardens, conservatories, gardens and parks in London and its vicinity', in John Weale (ed.), *London Exhibited in 1851 Elucidating its Natural and Physical Characteristics its Antiquities and Architecture; its Arts, Manufactures, Trade, and Organizations; its Social, Literary, and Scientific Institutions; and its Numerous Galleries of Fine Art* (London: John Weale, 1851); *The Parks, Gardens etc. of London*, advertisement; David Gilbert and Fiona Henderson, 'London and the tourist imagination', in Pamela K. Gilbert (ed.), *Imagined London* (New York: SUNY Press, 2002), p. 125.

³⁶ WAS, B/003/1, BIC, Cemetery Committee (CC) October 1860–December 1864 (4 February 1861; 30 January 1862; 12, 24 December 1863; 25 February, 3 March, 17 March 1864); B/003/2, BIC, CC January 1865–December 1875 (21 March 1865).

³⁷ Liverpool Record Office (LRO), 352 MIN/PAR 1/5, Improvement Committee, March 1866–March 1868 (25 July 1866); 352 MIN/PAR 1/7, Improvement Committee 1869–1871 (16 and 24 January, 15 February, 29 March 1871); Anthea Lang, *Saltwell Park. The Story of the People's Park* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Summerhill, 2013), p. 6.

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⁴⁹ See the contribution of David Bawden in this issue.

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