Hardknott Roman fort, Eskdale

SECTION 2.b

—

History and Development

2.b HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Section 2.b describes the development and history of the English Lake District. It is organised thematically.

The English Lake District sits entirely within the county of Cumbria. Cumbria was formed in 1974 from the former counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, parts of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

2.b.1 ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY

It may be helpful to the reader to refer to the timeline in Figure 2.b.6 below which summarises the archaeological evidence of major developments in settlement and land-use, and lists the principal sites mentioned in the text. These sites are located on Figure 2.b.7. Please note that this figure shows archaeological sites and monuments only. It does not cover landscape features such as parks and gardens, occupied urban settlements, or buildings still in use, such as villas.

The landscape of the English Lake District has been primarily moulded by the interaction of humans with the natural environment, especially through farming. The farmed landscape has developed over millennia helping to produce a landscape that is uniquely distinctive. This distinctiveness has been reinforced by the relative geographical isolation of the Cumbrian mountains and, at least in more recent times, by the district's distance from centres of power, its economic marginality and the relative freedom enjoyed by its medieval and later tenant farmers.

While the present form and beauty of the landscape is mainly the result of the living agro-pastoral system which has evolved over the last millennium, the earliest evidence of a human presence in the nominated Property goes back to the end of the last

FIGURE 2.b.1 Neolithic stone circle at Castlerigg (c. 4,000 – 2,000 BC)

FIGURE 2.b.2 Prehistoric stone hut circle at Town Bank, Kinniside Common, Ennerdale

glaciation, around 11,000 BC, when Late Upper Palaeolithic populations moved into the southern English Lake District following the large game animals on which they subsisted. With the gradual improvement in climate, from around 8,000 BC larger Mesolithic groups lived in semi-permanent or permanent settlements on the coast of the English Lake District, making use of the rich resources of the sea and estuaries, and also exploiting the English Lake District's woodlands, rivers and lakes.

In the Neolithic period, c. 4,000 – 2,500 BC, domesticated crops and animals were introduced, but hunting and gathering remained important. Settlements remained small and temporary. These people built the large stone circles at Castlerigg and Swinside, and also causewayed enclosures at Green Howe and possibly Carrock Fell. A source of volcanic tuff in the central English Lake District fells was exploited to manufacture high-quality polished stone axes which were traded widely across Britain. Even then the region's contacts were wide.

By 2,500 BC, the beginning of the Bronze Age, the climate had warmed sufficiently to allow settlement and agriculture on the lower fells up to around 300 metres above sea level. The land was cleared of stone to improve it for agriculture resulting in clearance cairns and rudimentary field walls. Extensive Bronze Age settlement remains survive in the south-western fells, for example Town Bank, and in the north-east, in Glencoyne Park. By the later Bronze Age (after c. 1,000 BC) woodland clearance was more extensive and agriculture more intensive. Houses were constructed of timber and by the end of the Bronze Age some settlements were enclosed by stone walls. The construction of stone circles continued, for example on Burnmoor, and related monuments such as ring cairns were constructed in the high fells. Large fell-top burial cairns were also raised, often using stone from field clearance on lower ground.

Towards the end of the second millennium BC the climate seems to have deteriorated and some of the agricultural land of earlier centuries may have been abandoned. There is evidence of continuity of settlement into the Iron Age, from c. 800 BC. Both open and enclosed settlements are known, including a series of sites on Aughertree Fell, Tongue How (north of Gosforth), and excavated examples at Matterdale and Glencoyne Park. Houses were now more substantial, with stone foundations supporting a wooden superstructure and many Iron Age settlements continued in use into the Roman period.

FIGURE 2.b.3 Romano-British enclosed settlements on Aughertree Fell (c. 800 BC – 100 AD)

FIGURE 2.b.4 The Roman fort at Troutbeck, Ullswater, between Penrith and Keswick

The Romans arrived in the Lake District in the early 2nd century AD, establishing a network of forts and roads, with major forts at Troutbeck, Ambleside, Hardknott and Ravenglass. Large civilian settlements developed by the forts at Ambleside and Ravenglass. Roads connected the centres of Roman administration. Many sections have survived in the English Lake District, including the road from Brougham to Ambleside where it crosses High Street Fell. Romano-British settlements and field systems are relatively common in both the lower fells and valleys in the English Lake District, many continuing on the same sites as the preceding Iron Age. There is extensive survival of both enclosures and fields in the modern landscape. This good survival indicates that once these sites were abandoned, the arable exploitation of the uplands declined and for the most part was never re-established.

FIGURE 2.b.5 Early medieval hillfort at Shoulthwaite, Thirlmere

Land use in the immediate post-Roman period, the 5th and early 6th centuries, is uncertain. From the late 6th/early 7th centuries there is evidence of woodland clearance and intensified agricultural activity. The nature of settlement at this time is unclear, but there seems to have been a need for defence, for example at a small hillfort at Shoulthwaite, above Thirlmere. Although there is little evidence, there were almost certainly established settlements in the English Lake District valleys at this time. There is more evidence for activity in the uplands, with, for example, a shieling (summer settlement) at Bryant's Gill in Kentmere (Windermere) in the 7th century AD, indicating some form of transhumant agriculture. It is also known from the writing of the Venerable Bede, and from archaeological excavation, that a monastery was established at Dacre, between Keswick and Penrith, in the 7th century. There is also new evidence for 8th century iron smelting in Bryants Gill in Kentmere.

While the overall picture of settlement in the English Lake District between the end of the Roman period in the early 5th century and the onset of Norse settlement in the later 10th century is far from clear, it is evident that occupation did continue. Between the 8th and 10th centuries the English Lake District's farming system and settlement pattern seems to have undergone significant and lasting modifications. The process of primary

upland clearance and colonisation may have reached its peak at this time. These changes foreshadow many of the elements of settlement and agriculture that became key elements of the agro-pastoral system.

FIGURE 2.b.6 A timeline and summary of archaeology in the English Lake District

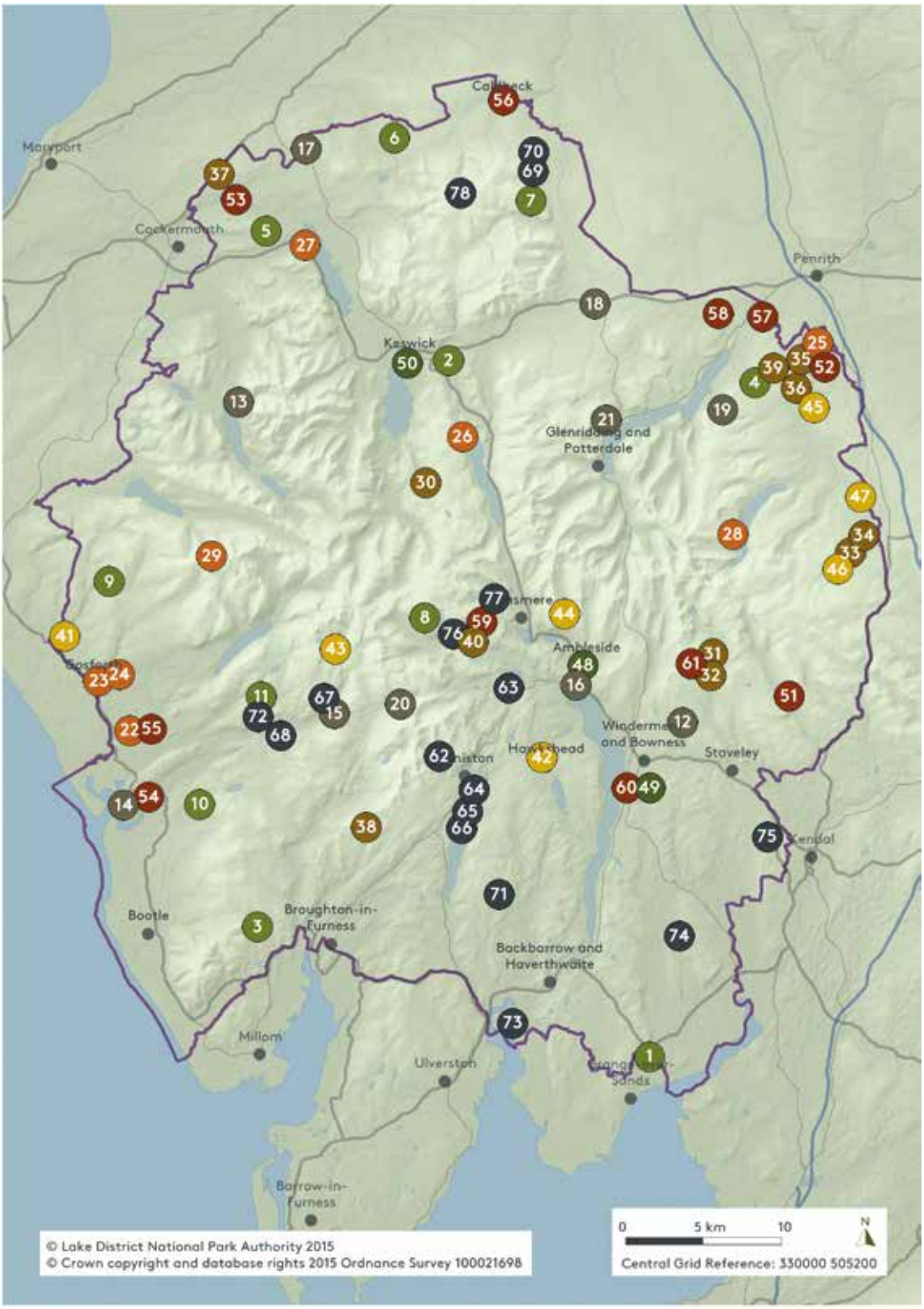
TIMELINE	CHARACTERISTICS	ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE	KEY SITES
Palaeolithic c. 12,000 BC c. 8,000 BC	Small bands of hunter/gatherers in tundra landscape. Large flint blades, bone tools such as harpoon points.	Limited to cave sites in southern English Lake District.	Kirkhead Cave, Lindale
Mesolithic c. 8,000 BC – 4,000 BC	Larger groups of hunter/gatherers concentrated on coast. Fishing also important. Most of English Lake District covered in forest by 4,000 BC. Maximum extent of forest c. 5,000 BC. Microlithic flint industry (very small flints used to make composite tools).	Flint scatters on coast – remains of temporary camps. Very few finds in English Lake District interior.	Eskmeals and Monk Moss – remains of temporary settlements; Microliths found under Ambleside Roman Fort.
Neolithic 4,000 BC – 2,000 BC	First evidence for agriculture but settlement still mobile, and hunting and gathering still important for subsistence. Small temporary clearances in woodland. Larger flint tools and polished stone axes.	Stone circles; henges; a variety of ditched and palisaded enclosures; Stone axe production sites in the central fells; Long cairns (burial). Rock art.	Castlerigg and Swinside stone circles; Bootle enclosures (cropmarks); Green Howe causewayed enclosure; Samson's Bratful (Stockdale Moor) long cairn. Rock art at Chapel Stile, Langdale.
Bronze Age 2,000 BC – 800 BC	Warmer climate allowed settlement on higher ground up to around 300 metres OD. Small, temporary clearances in forest cover in early Bronze Age and more permanent clearance by Late Bronze Age. Introduction of copper and then bronze technology. Flint still in use.	Smaller stone circles and standing stones; Cairnfields, field walls, hut circles and settlement on the lower fells; Larger round burial cairns and ring cairns on higher fells; Burnt mounds.	Burnmoor (Eskdale) – small stone circles and clearance cairns; Moor Divock – burial cairns and standing stones; Barnscar settlement and clearance cairns; Excavated settlement at Stephenson Ground (Lickle Valley).
Iron Age 800 BC – 100 AD	Landscape now more open and probably highly organised, including woodland management; agricultural settlements in valleys and lower fells. Introduction of iron technology.	Open and enclosed settlements; Possibly small hillforts; Burial practice not known;	Excavated open and enclosed settlements at Baldhowe End, Matterdale and Glencoyne, Ullswater; Threlkeld enclosed settlement; Aughertree Fell settlements.
Romano British 100 AD – 390s	Roman Forts established in English Lake District by c. 150 AD. Port at Ravenglass. Settlements (vici) around forts. Road system established. Mining of metal ores likely but no evidence so far.	Forts, roads, tile kilns, settlements. Native occupation of earlier, Iron Age settlements continued.	Forts at Ravenglass, Ambleside and Hardknott; Marching camps and road at Troutbeck, north of A66; High Street and Wrynose roads.
Early Medieval 400 – 1092	Very little evidence for this period but major woodland clearance episodes known from pollen work in late 6th/early 7th century. Settlement probably beneath later villages. Norse settlement in 10th century – legacy of place-names.	Some upland settlement remains (shielings); Ecclesiastical – crosses and grave stones; Early monastic sites; Some hillforts;	Dacre Anglian monastic site; Bryant's Gill, Kentmere – shieling c. 800 AD. Shoulthwaite Hillfort, Thirlmere (late 6th/early 7th C); Irton and Gosforth crosses; Possible Viking `Thing' mound at Fell Foot Farm, Little Langdale.

TIMELINE	CHARACTERISTICS	ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE	KEY SITES
Medieval 1092 – 1600	Normans took control of Carlisle in 1092 and the English Lake District was divided up by Norman aristocracy. Large tracts of land later given to monasteries – development of wool trade and iron industry. Open field system with strip fields in valleys, enclosed by wall known as 'Ring Garth'. Defended houses (Pele towers) on periphery of English Lake District. More nucleation of village settlement and development of market towns (eg, Kendal, Keswick, Ambleside). Development of mining for copper, lead and iron.	Field walls – remains of medieval open fields (Ring Garth); Monastic sites; Mining sites; Iron smelting (bloomeries); Deer parks; Churches; Packhorse routes and bridges; Potash kilns and mill sites; Deer parks and moats; Vaccaries (dairy farms);	Shap and Calder Abbeys; Bloomeries at Water Park, Coniston Hall; Field systems in Great Langdale and Watendlath; Deer park and moated enclosure at Setterah Park, Bampton; Kentmere Hall (Pele Tower);
Post Medieval 1600 – present	Breakdown of monastic ownership following Dissolution. Ownership of farms by individuals – gradual disappearance of open field system. Intaking onto fellsides and enclosure with more stone walls. Development of major industries – mining and quarrying; gunpowder; bobbin production; tanning; iron smelting; water industry. Evolution of modern settlement pattern and transport (road then rail).	Developed field patterns; Mines and quarries; Remains of woodland industries; Bobbin mills; Bloomery Forges; Blast furnaces; Turnpike roads; Railways;	Coniston Copper Mines; Greenside Lead Mine; Honister slate quarry; Stott Park and The Howk Bobbin Mills; Bloomery Forge at Stony Hazel; Duddon and Backbarrow Blast Furnaces; Thirlmere and Haweswater Dams; Charcoal Pitsteads and woodsmens huts in woods on east side of Coniston Water and Roudsea Wood, Haverthwaite.

KEY TO NUMBERED SITES ON FIGURE 2.b.7:

1 Lindale Low Palaeolithic cave site
2 Castlerigg Neolithic Stone Circle
3 Swinside Neolithic stone circle
4 The Cockpit Neolithic stone circle
5 Elva Plain Neolithic stone circle
6 Green Howe Neolithic causewayed enclosure
7 Carrock Fell, possible Neolithic causewayed enclosure
8 Central Lake District Fells Neolithic stone axe production sites
9 Town Banks, Bronze and Iron Age settlements and field systems
10 Barnscar late prehistoric settlement
11 Burnmoor Neolithic/Bronze Age stone circles
12 High Borrans late prehistoric enclosed settlement
13 Lanthwaite Green late prehistoric enclosed settlement
14 Ravenglass Roman fort, bath house and vicus (settlement)
15 Hardknott Roman fort, bath house, parade ground and road
16 Ambleside Roman fort and vicus (settlement)
17 Caermote Roman fort
18 Troutbeck Roman fort and marching camps
19 High Street Roman Road
20 Roman Road between Wrynose and Hardknott
21 Glencoyne Park late prehistoric and Roman period settlements
22 Irton early medieval cross
23 Gosforth early medieval cross
24 Gosforth medieval church and Norse hogback tombstones
25 Lowther Church and Norse hogback tombstones
26 Shoulthwaite early medieval hillfort
27 Castle How hillfort
28 Castle Crag hillfort
29 Great Cove early medieval shileings
30 Watendlath ring garth wall and earthen bank
31 Kentmere medieval agricultural terraces
32 Kentmere Hall 14th century pele tower
33 Wet Sleddale monastic grange
34 Wet Sleddale medieval field system
35 Askham medieval strip fields
36 Helton medieval strip fields
37 Blindcrake Roman road and medieval strip fields
38 Stephenson Scale early medieval farmstead
39 Askham Fell medieval farmstead
40 Great Langdale medieval ring garth wall
41 Calder Abbey
42 Hawkshead Courthouse
43 Great Moss medieval earthwork boundary
44 Rydal Valley medieval deer park boundary
45 Setterah Park medieval deer park and moated enclosure
46 Wet Sleddale medieval and later deer pound
47 Shap Abbey
48 Ambleside, medieval settlement and industry
49 Bowness, medieval settlement and fishery
50 Keswick, medieval settlement and industry
51 Yewbarrow Hall 14th century pele tower
52 Askham Hall 14th century pele tower
53 Isel Hall 14th century pele tower
54 Muncaster Castle 14th century pele tower
55 Irton Hall, 14th century pele tower
56 St Kentigern's, Caldbeck
57 St Michael's Church, Barton
58 St Andrews Church, Dacre
59 St Oswald's Church, Grasmere
60 St Martin's, Bowness
61 Kentmere Hall, 14th century pele tower
62 Coniston Copper Mines
63 Colwith bloomery, Little Langdale
64 Water Park bloomery, Coniston
65 Springs bloomery, Coniston
66 Harrison Coppice bloomery, Coniston
67 Scale Gill bloomery, Eskdale
68 Lower Birker bloomery, Eskdale
69 Medieval lead bale (smelter), Calebreck
70 Medieval lead bale (smelter), Linewath
71 Barkhouse Bank medieval charcoal pits and bloomery, Rusland
72 Peat Huts, Boot Bank, Eskdale
73 Roundsea Wood potash kilns, charcoal platforms
74 Whitbarrow Wood potash kilns
75 Cunswick Scar potash kilns
76 Stickle Ghyll, Langdale, medieval fulling mill
77 Sourmilk Gill, Easedale, medieval fulling mill
78 Silver Gill lead mine (Company of Mines Royal), Caldbeck Fells

FIGURE 2.b.7 Principal archaeological sites and monuments in the English Lake District



2.b.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRO-PASTORAL SYSTEM

ORIGINS AND GROWTH TO 1600

In the later 10th century immigrants of Scandinavian origin came to the English Lake District from Norse colonies in Ireland. Place-names indicate the extent of Norse settlement, both on the coast and in central valleys. The widespread occurrence of the Scandinavian suffix 'thwaite', meaning 'clearing', may indicate an extension of cultivation at this time. The Norse place-name elements '-skali' and '-saetr', denoting shieling sites, may indicate the further development of transhumant farming, an important feature of early medieval farming in the English Lake District (see Figure 2.b.9). The Norse also left an impressive legacy of ecclesiastical sculpture, including hog-back tombstones and crosses with intricately carved designs. The most impressive of these is the Gosforth cross, which combines both pagan and Christian imagery.

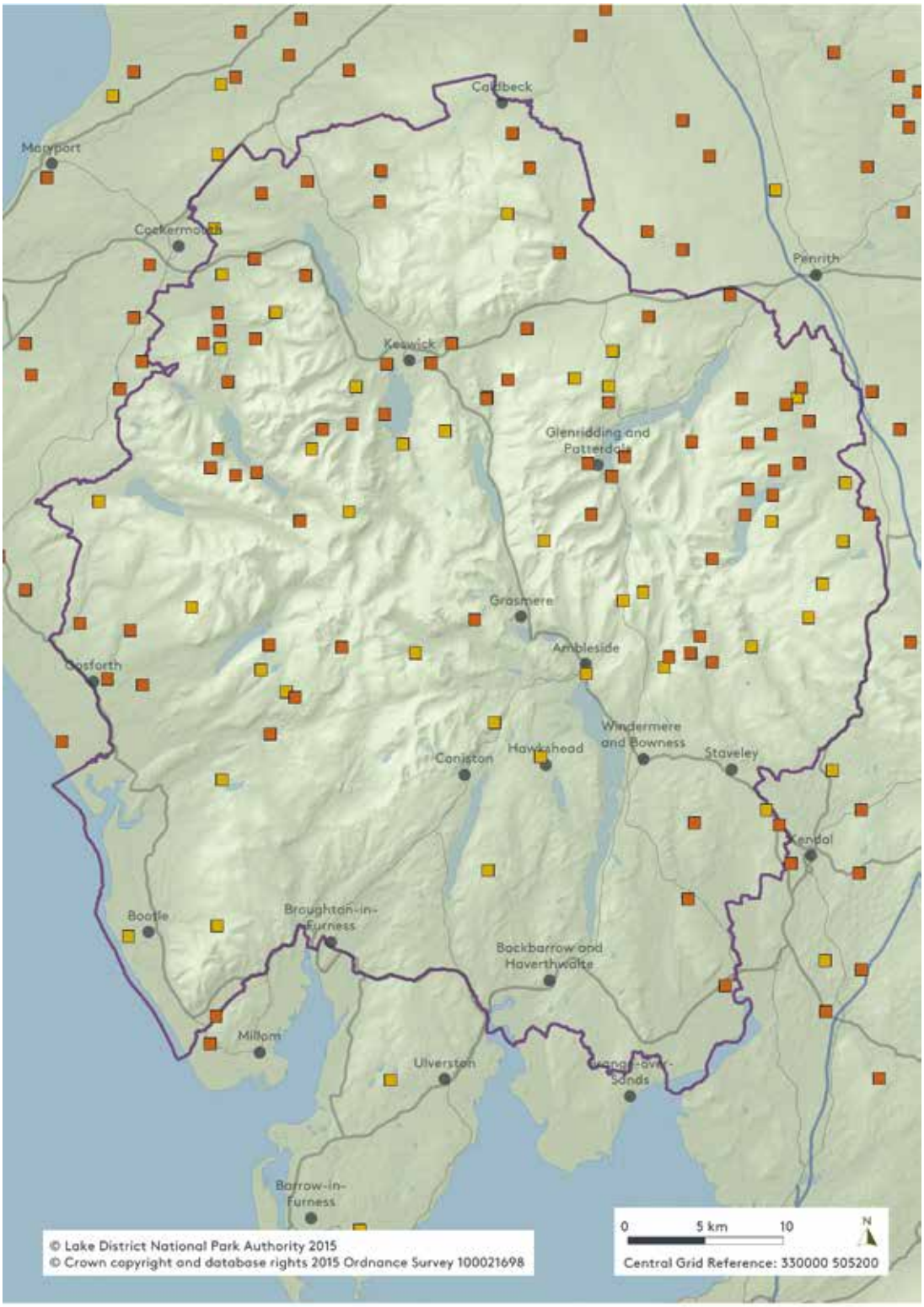
FIGURE 2.b.8 Norse Cross at St Mary's Church, Gosforth (Wasdale)

The continuing use to the present day of a farming dialect including Scandinavian elements, the similarities between some Lake District and Norwegian folk traditions, as well as the apparent origins of the Herdwick sheep breed (See section 2.a.2) also indicate the importance of Anglo-Scandinavian influence on the creation of the English Lake District's traditional farming society and landscape.

The first settlers to establish permanent farmsteads in the English Lake District did so by clearing small patches of native woodlands from the valley bottoms and lower valley sides. Place-names indicating 'tun' (settlement or hamlet) denote Anglian colonisation of the 8th and 9th centuries, with the Norse 'thwaite' (clearing) dating from the 9th and 10th centuries. Although piecemeal, it formed the basis for a much more organised system of land ownership and management which was imposed following the arrival of the Normans in 1092. The French feudal barons and influential monasteries created a structure within which an agro-pastoral system flourished, along with the development of rural industries. Farmsteads, settlements and population increased during the 12th and 13th centuries. The underlying pattern or 'blue-print' of tracks, farmsteads, fields and enclosures was indelibly traced out in the first part of the medieval period.

The medieval and later agrarian landscape of the English Lake District was characterised by inbye land in the valley bottom and common grazing on the open fell. Much of this

FIGURE 2.b.9 The distribution of Norse-influenced place-names indicating possible shieling sites



survives today within the extensive and distinctive common grazing lands that still characterise the uplands of the English Lake District. These were separated from the farmland on the valley floors by a wall known as a ring garth, with smaller improved fields known as intakes developing over time on its upslope [out] side. This was clearly well established in some areas by 1216 or earlier, as demonstrated in Great Langdale (see Case Study below). Individual farmsteads were built alongside the ring garth wall with the medieval buildings of wood and thatch being replaced in stone from the late 16th century. This system was fully developed by the late 13th century and still underpins the farming landscape and agro-pastoral system of the modern nominated Property.

Throughout its history, the operation of this agro-pastoral system has been conditioned by the pattern of ownership and the interests of the owners. At the time of its emergence, from the 11th to 13th centuries, land was controlled by feudal lords and, from the 12th century, also by monasteries which were also major landowners. Monasteries in particular were very active land managers up to the 14th century.

The baronial estates were based on seats on the fringes of the English Lake District including Greystoke, Kendal, Millom, Egremont and Cockermouth. Their lands included large sections of the English Lake District which by the 13th century were described as private 'forest'. This legal term referred to the preservation of game animals rather than woodland, and survives in modern place-names such as Skiddaw Forest. By the later 13th century the 'forests' were being used less for hunting and more as upland pastures for grazing stock. Peasant colonists were tolerated, and settlement pushed beyond previous limits in the valleys due to an increase in population in this period. Some former shielings (summer settlements) also became permanent tenanted farms. These developments laid the foundation for the characteristic Lake District settlement pattern of dispersed farms and small hamlets along the valley sides.

FIGURE 2.b.10 Shap Abbey, Haweswater

Monasteries were established at Furness (Barrow-in-Furness), Calder and Shap on the periphery of the Lake District. Together with other more distant religious houses such as Fountains in Yorkshire, they were given land in the English Lake District by the feudal lords. Furness Abbey had the largest holdings, having all of the Furness Fells (the land between Windermere and Coniston Water) along with substantial grants of upland pasture in Borrowdale and the land at Brotherilkeld at the head of Eskdale. Fountains Abbey (North Yorkshire) also had substantial property in Borrowdale. Calder Abbey owned the headwaters of the Calder Valley and Shap Abbey held land on the eastern fells including a grange in Wet Sleddale. There were other smaller holdings owned by other monastic institutions including Conishead Priory (in Langdale), Holme Cultram (on the Solway Firth) and St Bees (on the Cumbrian coast).

A particularly important creation at this time were the 'vaccaries' – a northern French medieval tradition, especially under monastic control, of having a series of large cattle stock and dairy farms. In the Lake District, these were sited on newly-cleared pastures, once waste but well drained, at the flat valley heads. They were later subdivided to form small arable holdings for tenant farmers. The monasteries also established 'grange' farms, for example at Hawkshead and in Borrowdale.

FIGURE 2.b.11 Hawkshead Courthouse, Coniston, associated with Furness Abbey's grange

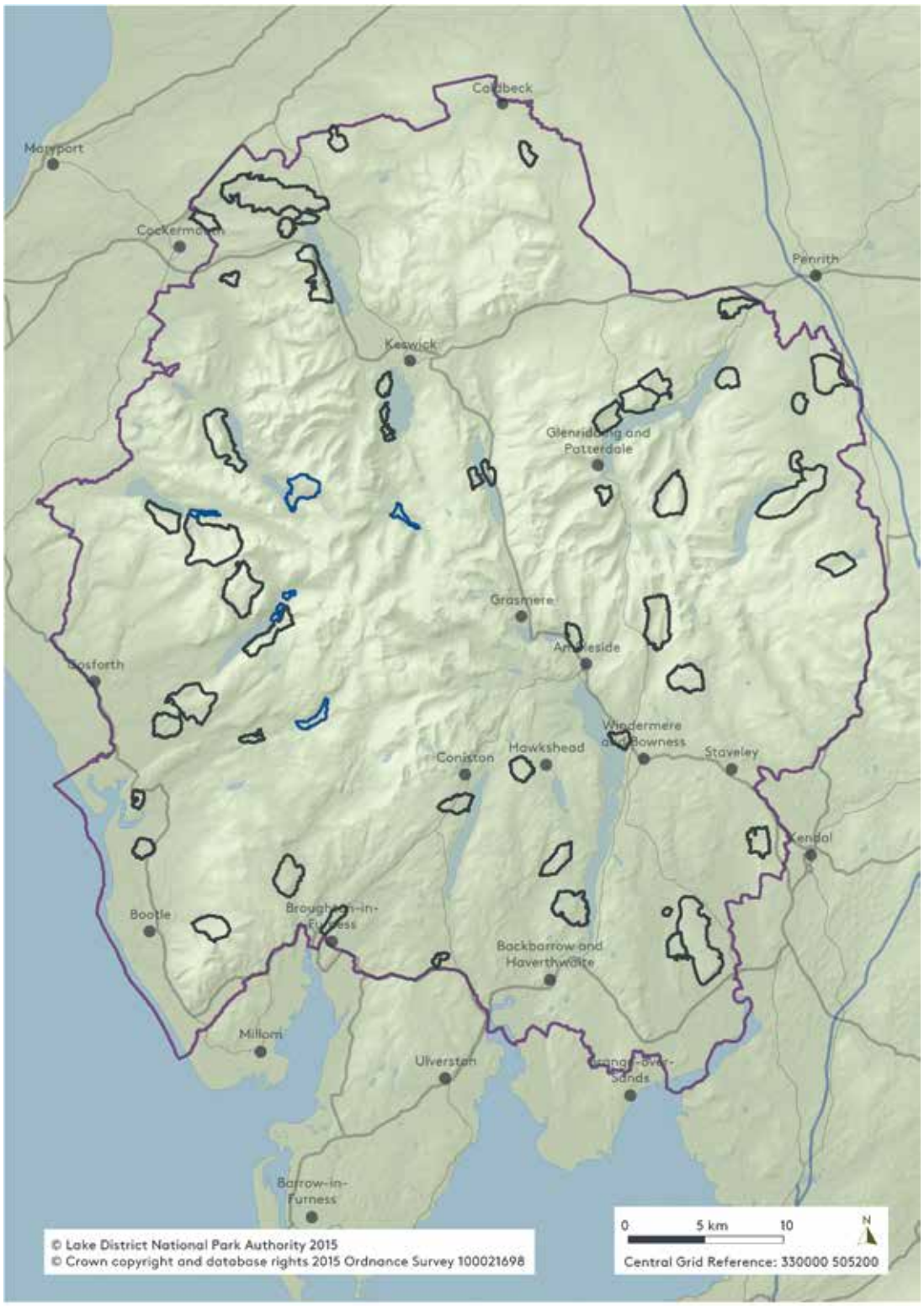
FIGURE 2.b.12 Kentmere Hall, 14th Century pele tower and later farm buildings

Land within the common field enclosed by the ring garth was farmed in strips, communally and in rotation. Although most inbye land is today pasture, excellent examples of this early field wall pattern still survive in Langdale and Watendlath.

The extensive oak woodlands of the English Lake District were used to support herds of pigs, a practice reflected in place-names such as Swindale and Grisedale. However, by the early 14th century the woods were in decline, partly through clearance but also because of a lack of regeneration due to pressure of grazing animals.

After prosperity and growth for two centuries, the 14th century was a period of decline, with invasions from Scotland and outbreaks of the plague known as the Black Death. There was also a marked deterioration in climate from about 1350. Families of wealth and status were obliged to build stone fire-proof tower houses (peles), adding a new element to the larger farmsteads generally on the edges of the English Lake District. These include examples at Kentmere Hall, Askham Hall, Isel Hall on the River Derwent, Muncaster Castle and Irton Hall. In contrast, the tenant farmers, with their basic subsistence lifestyle, lived in rudimentary, single-storey shelters, rather than permanent stone structures.

FIGURE 2.b.13 Medieval deer parks and vaccaries in the English Lake District



Prosperity gradually returned in the 15th and especially the 16th centuries as a result of increased wealth from wool and better farming practices. The need for improved land was satisfied by the creation of intakes upslope of the ring garth in the central valleys. As with the tower houses, the farming gentry displayed their wealth with fine stone houses and larger farm buildings, to store more crops and animals. Yet still the tenant farmer had a humble dwelling, probably with an oak timber cruck frame, sod, boulder or cobble walls, and a bracken thatched roof. The last phase of colonising the edges of commons and waste was still underway in the 16th century.

It was during this period, after 1450, that sheep began to replace cattle as the principal grazing stock. Many of the monastic dairy farms went over to sheep farming. By the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-41) most of Furness's upland pastures (including Brotherilkeld) are described as 'herdwicks' or 'sheepcotes'. The woollen industry, centred on Kendal and in High Furness, stimulated the demand for wool and a number of new fulling mills were established in the 15th century. This may also indicate a decline in hunting in the 'forests' and the expansion of sheep grazing in these former hunting grounds.

Even in the medieval period (12th-13th centuries), the agro-pastoral system was not just one of subsistence agriculture. Alongside farming, communications and towns developed to meet the needs for moving agricultural produce and markets. There was also some industrial development, some related directly to agro-pastoralism, and some responding to the availability of minerals and building materials in the Lake District.

By the 15th century the pattern of life in the English Lake District focused on arable and pastoral farming, fisheries in the lakes and rivers, small-scale industries including charcoal burning, metal ore mining, iron and lead smelting and the production of wool. A series of small market towns had been established to service this rural economy and these were beginning to attract industrial processes such as wool production and tanning. Transport of goods and people was along well-developed tracks, packhorse routes and by boat along the lakes.

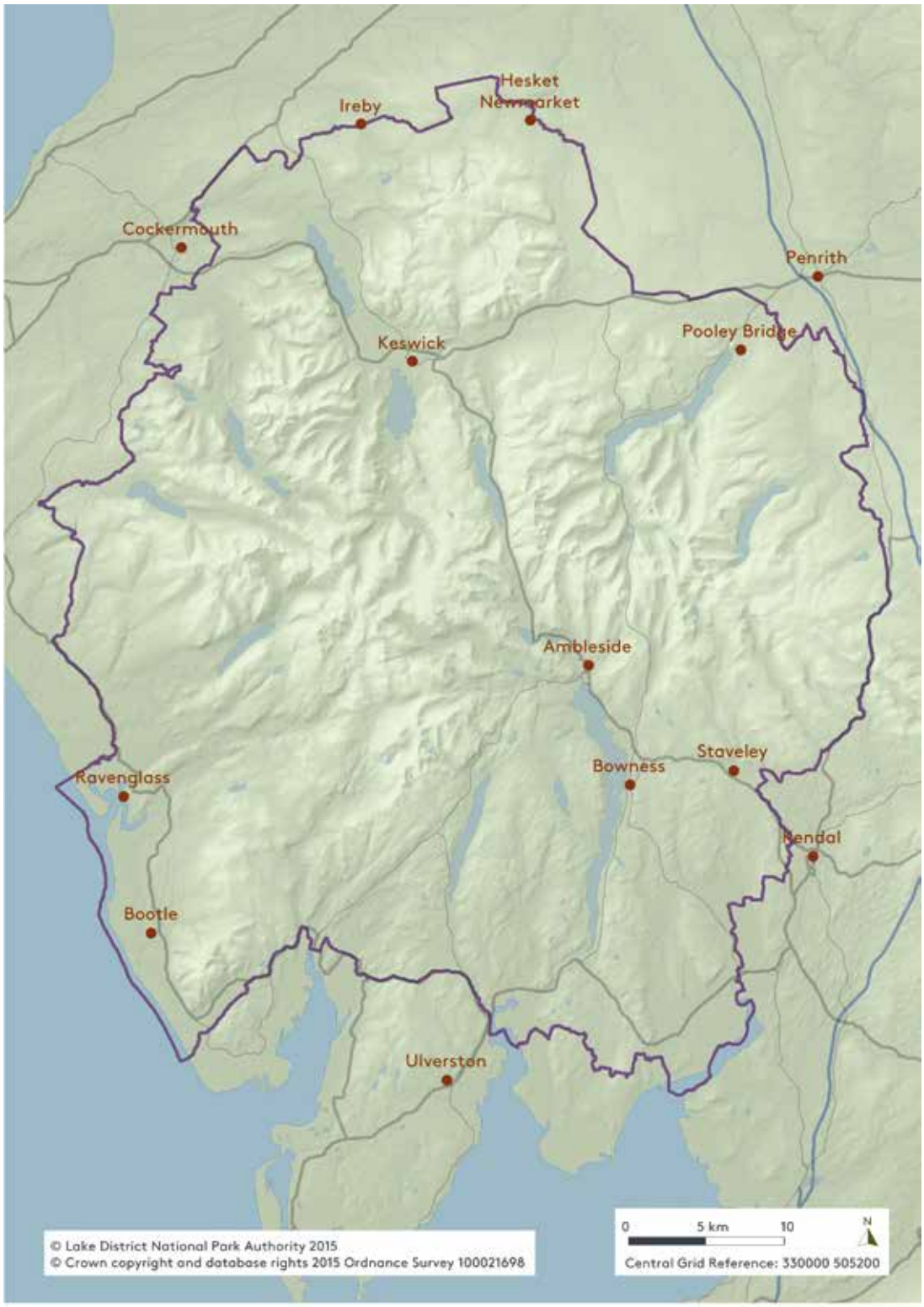
MEDIEVAL TOWNS AND OTHER NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS TO C. 1600

What is now the county of Cumbria had relatively few towns in the medieval period (c. 1100 to 1500). It was thinly-populated and, outside of Carlisle, underdeveloped economically in comparison to other areas of England. Towns which did exist were small and many lacked the urban characteristics that might be expected in lowland England. The central Lake District was surrounded by a ring of market towns which originated as medieval boroughs, mainly in the 12th century, including Cockermouth, Penrith and Kendal, (Figure 2.b.14).

In addition there were a few nucleated villages which acted as local market centres such as Keswick, Hawkshead and Ambleside. Keswick was the only really successful medieval borough in the Lake District. Its street pattern was clearly planned, with burgage plots laid out on either side of the main street and market place. Keswick was granted a market charter in 1276.

Less successful attempts were made to establish towns elsewhere. For example, a market charter was granted for Pooley Bridge in 1216, and nine burgesses were documented

FIGURE 2.b.14 Medieval market towns



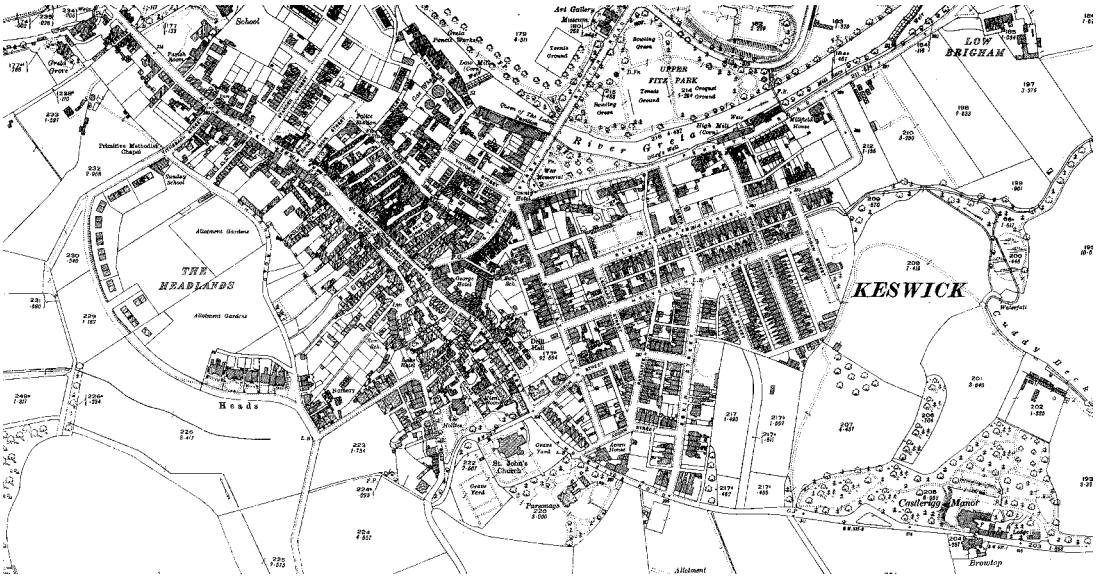


FIGURE 2.b.15 Keswick as depicted on the 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1862. The medieval pattern of burgage plots arranged at right-angles to the central market place is clearly visible and survives today.

there in the 16th century, though it seems never to have grown beyond a village. Bootle appears to have had a little more success, following the granting of a market charter in 1347, and was described as a market town in the late 18th century, though it was probably never more than a village with a local market function.

Further north, Ravenglass, was also granted a charter for a market and fair in 1208 and, although it never developed into a town, it functioned as a successful port, trading cattle and other commodities with Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man until around 1800. Other market charters were granted in the medieval period to Staveley, Hesket Newmarket and Ireby. However, although they succeeded as central places for trading in an area where travel was difficult, the population levels were too low to support true urban functions.

MEDIEVAL INDUSTRY

Medieval industry in the English Lake District, as in later periods, was based on the raw materials that were available locally. The principal industries of the period comprised mining for metal ores, iron and lead smelting, production of charcoal and processing of the wool of Lake District sheep. In the case of mining, activity from the late 16th century has tended to obscure the remains of medieval activity.

The plentiful resources of minerals, woodland and running water in the Lake District formed the basis for a series of small-scale industries from the medieval period and probably earlier. It is likely that small-scale mining for metal ores continued from the Roman period and a lead smelting bale (primitive furnace) at Calebreck in the Caldbeck Fells has been radiocarbon-dated to around 1000. Recent radiocarbon dates of 1020 and 1200 for a wooden shovel from a nearby lead mine at Silver Gill in the Caldbeck Fells complements this picture of early lead production. Waste from iron smelting was found within the excavated early medieval building at Bryants Gill in Kentmere (8th century) and similar material has been found during recent excavations of possible early medieval buildings in Wasdale.

FIGURE 2.b.16 Medieval wooden spade from Silver Gill mine, Caldbeck fells

Iron was produced in the English Lake District on a larger scale from the 13th century using a bloomery process in clay-built shaft furnaces. The ore probably came from mines in the central English Lake District fells (near Red Tarn, below the Crinkle Crags), in Eskdale and Ennerdale in the west and from Low Furness, to the south of the English Lake District. The remains of small stone-built huts at Smith Beck in Ennerdale were probably used by medieval and later miners and there is a bloomery nearby, at the mouth of Smithy Beck where it flows into Ennerdale Water.

The volume of charcoal required for smelting was much greater than the volume of the iron ore, hence the bloomeries were located in or near areas of broad-leafed woodland and ore was transported to them by pack horse. There are concentrations of bloomeries in areas of native woodland around Coniston Water, in the Rusland Valley, and in the western valleys of Eskdale, Wasdale and Ennerdale. Radiocarbon dates indicate that bloomeries were operating from the late 12th century to the early 16th century. Charcoal was produced in the woods in shallow pits in which mature timber was cut up, covered and burnt. Remains of these have been discovered at Barkhouse Bank in the Rusland Valley, dated to 1280 – 1410, the same period as some of the dated bloomery sites.

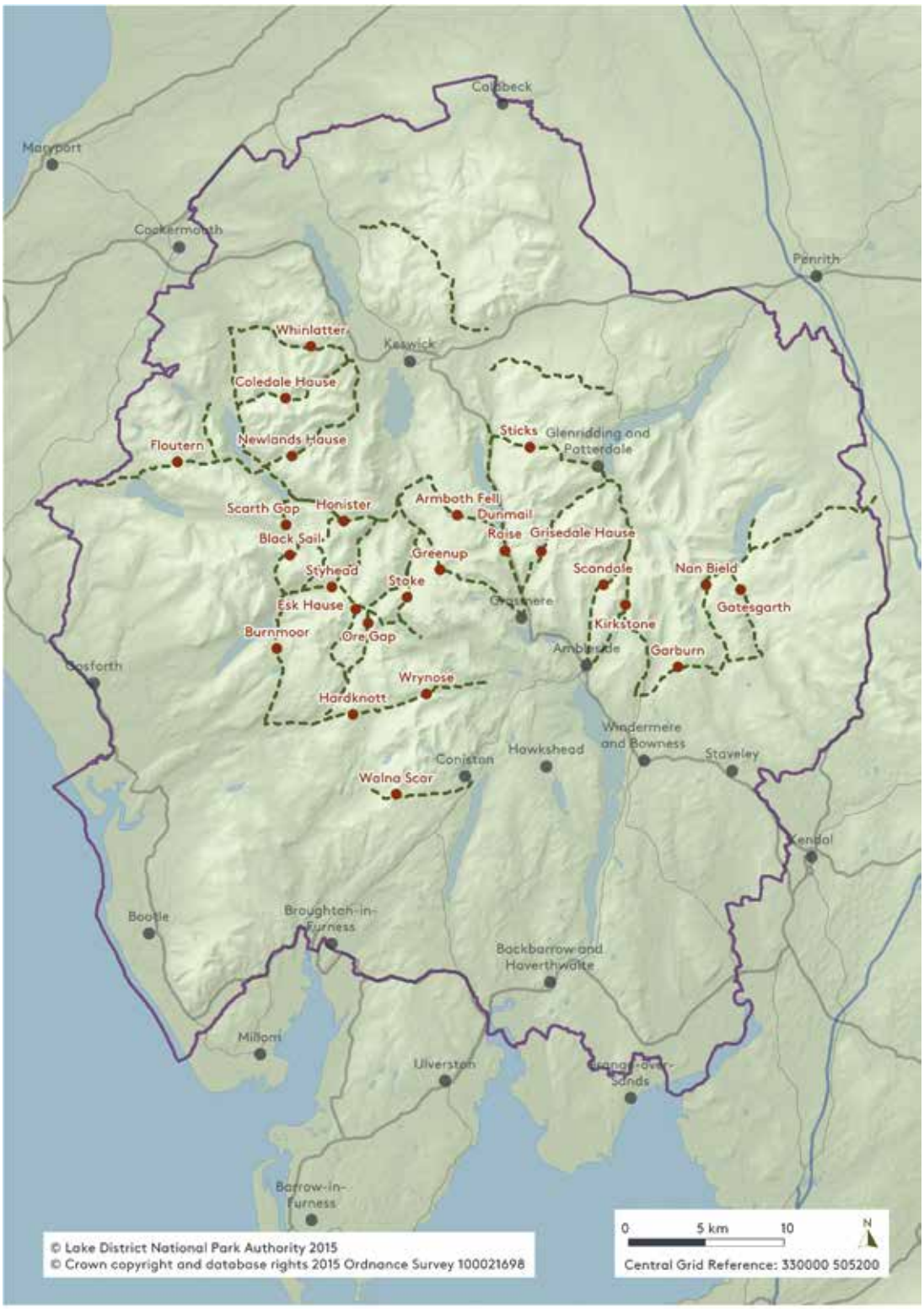
FIGURE 2.b.17 Medieval charcoal pit, Bank House Barn, Rusland, Coniston

Wool processing was also a major part of the medieval economy, particularly after the Cistercian monasteries developed farms and granges on their lands in the Lake District. Wool from the Lake District was highly valued and thus widely exported. The monastery at Shap is recorded as "Ciappi in Vestrebellanda" in an Italian wool-buyer's list of 1315 as a source of fleeces. Wool was also sold to Flemings. Fulling mills, for processing fleeces, were located in individual valleys but, where no mills were built, fleeces were transported to mills in adjacent valleys. By the mid-14th century it is estimated that at least 50 fulling mills were operating in the English Lake District, some owned by Furness Abbey and Conishead Priory. There was a boom in the woollen industry in the 15th and 16th centuries. This increased the commercial prospects of weavers and fullers in the market settlements of Keswick, Ambleside and Kendal and wool production began to concentrate in and around these places.

MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

Communications were essential to the operation of the agro-pastoral system. There would have been a network of roads linking the Roman forts, but the lines of these are not well known, except where they crossed mountain passes, for example

FIGURE 2.b.18 Routes and passes through the central English Lake District



through the Wrynose and Hardknott passes between Hardknott and Ambleside. It is also likely, given the limitations to movement imposed by the terrain, that the Romans took advantage of waterways, such as Lake Windermere, to move goods to Ambleside.

Transport from the end of the Roman occupation in the early 5th century until 1500 was by track, un-metalled road and by boat on the major lakes. There is no evidence for the construction of roads in this period but it is likely that the Lake District's network of footpaths, bridleways and minor roads had developed by around 1600. Monastic records indicate roads used to reach their estates and charters, grants and deeds also mention roads. The Gough map of c.1360 shows a road running south from Carlisle to Penrith, Shap, Kendal and Lancaster, with various routes off to the east but with no roads penetrating the English Lake District to the west.

The passes through the mountains of the English Lake District must have been used to avoid long journeys between valleys and most of these were crossed by packhorse routes, using engineered zig-zag inclines to ease the steep ascents. There are also a number of early tracks in the English Lake District, traditionally called 'corpse roads', because they were used to transport the dead to churches where they could be buried. These include the routes from Wasdale Head over Burnmoor to Eskdale and from the village of Mardale Green (now submerged beneath the Haweswater reservoir) via the Swindale valley to Shap.

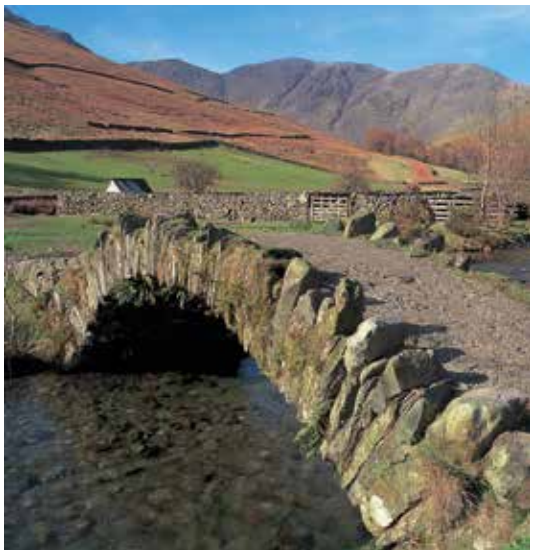


FIGURE 2.b.19 Row Bridge, Wasdale. A typical single span packhorse bridge

FIGURE 2.b.20 Ravenglass

The evidence for medieval use of boats in the English Lake District is limited to a few wooden remains which can be dated to the period (from Kentmere Tarn and from Shap). However, these were relatively small and are likely to have been used for fishing. Larger boats are known from the 19th century for transporting slate and other materials and it can only be assumed that similar transport existed in earlier periods on the larger lakes of Windermere, Ullswater and Coniston. Wider water-borne transport connections were available through the medieval port and market town of Ravenglass on the west coast. Ravenglass was the only natural west coast harbour between the Rivers Dee and Solway and in the medieval period rivalled Liverpool in importance.

BOX 2.b.1 CASE STUDY: DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD SYSTEM IN GREAT LANGDALE

The Great Langdale Valley is located in the heart of the English Lake District, seven miles west of Ambleside (Figures 2.a.11 and 2.c.1.2). Much of the valley is owned by the National Trust and its history and development are well understood as a result of detailed landscape surveys that have been carried out in recent years. Although the individual histories of the English Lake District valleys vary in detail, their general pattern of development since the medieval period is similar. The example of Great Langdale therefore serves to illustrate the general pattern of the evolution of the Lake District landscape.

The first documentary evidence for land use in Great Langdale is a grant of 1216 by William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal, to Conishead Priory of the 'land of Basebrun', which then became a separate manor from the Manor of Great Langdale.

The course of the boundary wall of the new manor is described in detail in the grant document and can still be identified on the ground today. It was partly rebuilt in the 19th century but some sections that are agriculturally redundant may still be the original medieval wall or an early post-medieval rebuild. The grant of 1216 also records a hay meadow somewhere between Wall End farm and Great Langdale Beck, hedges and the stocking of cattle on the Baysbrown farmland. The existence of a meadow would have necessitated the clearance of stone for cultivation in or before 1216. This therefore suggests that agriculture was well-organized in the valley and that cattle farming at Baysbrown had continued from the 10th century.

FIGURE 2.b.21 Great Langdale looking west-south-west

The grant of 1216 also includes a reference to the "inclosed land of Great Langden", which suggests the existence of a wall built to enclose the valley floor. Such walls have been recorded in Scotland and elsewhere in Cumbria and were an important component of medieval upland agriculture. They were known by a variety of names, including 'Head Dyke', 'Fell Dyke', 'Ring Fence' and 'Ring garth', as in Great Langdale. The ring garth separated the tenanted farmland on the valley floor, which was cultivated in strips as an open field, from the manorial waste on the fellsides. It served as both a legal boundary and a physical boundary to prevent stock trampling the crops growing in the valley bottom. There is evidence that the ring garth was still fulfilling its function in 1738 when rental was collected from "...the several persons who put cattle on the common on the outside of the ring garth..." It is likely that in some form at least, the ring garth pre-dated the manor boundary of Baysbrown.

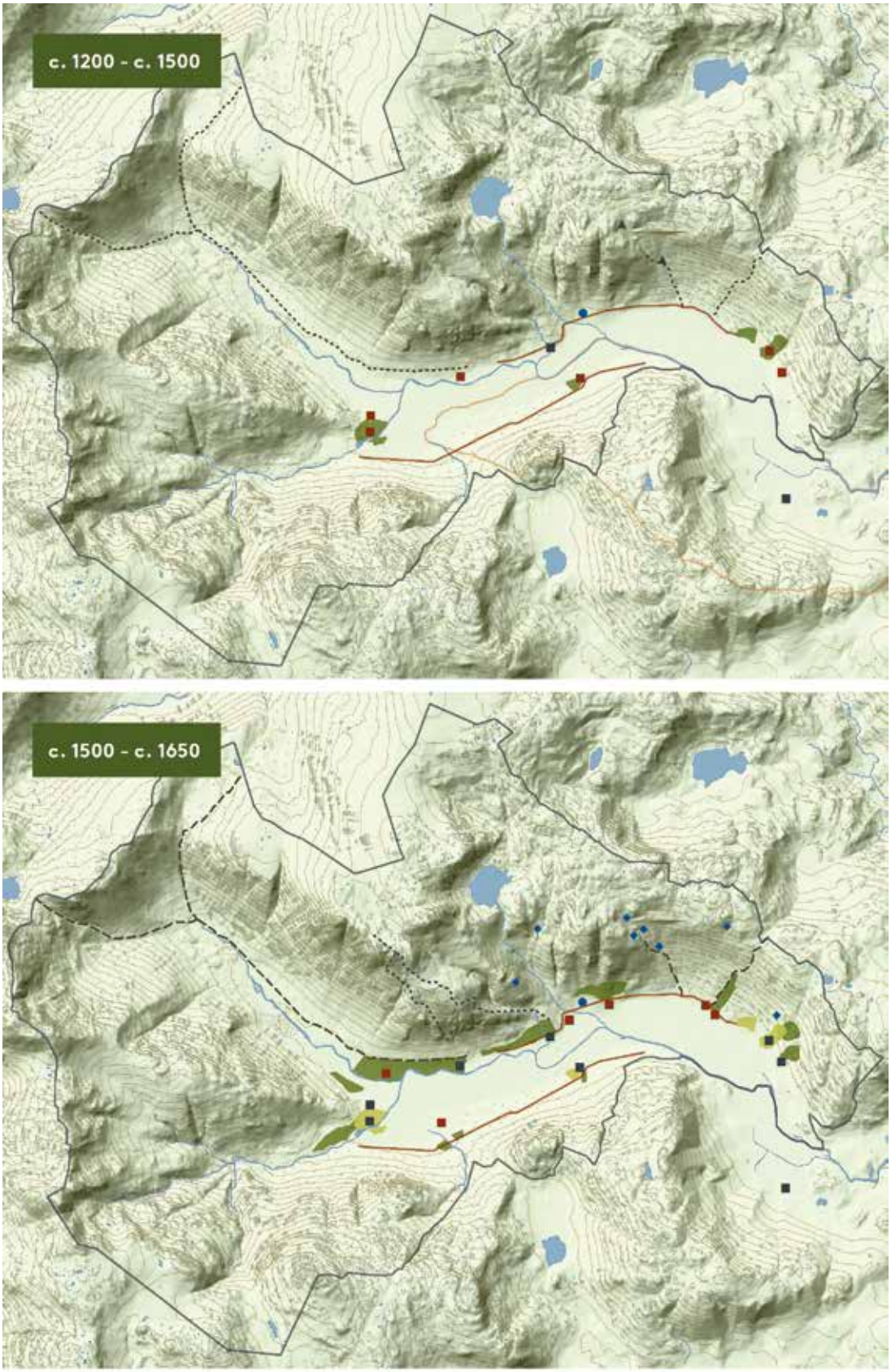
FIGURE 2.b.22 Inbye and intake fields at Robinson Place, Great Langdale

KEY TO FIGURE 2.b.23:

- National Trust survey boundary
- Ring garth
- Baysbrown Manor Boundary
- Land enclosed in this period
- Existing enclosed land
- Common field recorded in this period
- New path in this period
- Existing path
- Shieling
- Mill
- Iron ore mine
- Peat hut
- New farmstead in this period
- Existing farmstead
- Abandoned farmstead
- Hotel converted from farm

Data from The National Trust. J. Lund and C. Southwell. 2002.
An Archaeological Monitoring Report for the Great Langdale Valley.

FIGURE 2.b.23 Great Langdale in the 13th to mid-17th centuries



Central Grid Reference: 328340 506370

Although much of the line of the ring garth has been obscured by later enclosure, parts of what was a once continuous boundary can be traced in the landscape. The extent of survival varies from a line of footings to a fully standing wall.

The fellside on the outside of the ring garth was retained by the Lord of the Manor as a hunting preserve known as 'waste' or 'forest'. The tenants in the valley had customary rights to graze animals, cut peat for fuel, cut bracken for thatch and bedding for livestock, and to cut wood. Towards the end of the medieval period a small number of intakes were constructed on the outer edge of the ring garth, but intaking was minimal until the end of the 15th century when a rising population increased demands on land.

In the 16th century the rising population in Great Langdale reached its peak, bringing greater demands on land for food production. This led to renewed in-taking on the outside edge of the ring garth. Some of these Tudor intakes can still be identified, with good examples surviving at Bull Field and Hard Field at Wall End Farm. Both these are small, irregular fields which have been attached to the outside edge of the ring garth.

In the later 16th and first half of the 17th centuries, the period of the 'statesmen' or yeoman farmers, there was a major expansion of intaking of fellside outside the ring garth. In contrast to the intakes of earlier periods, which had been primarily to increase the area of productive land, the creation of these intakes was to enclose the existing common pasture on the lower slopes. Over the years it had become accepted that farmers grazed their cattle on specific areas of the fell close to their farms and the creation of field walls at this time formalised this arrangement.

Some of the existing intakes on the lower fells in Great Langdale are likely to have been constructed for this purpose. These include the Oxendale Intakes at Stool End farm and some of the intakes at Robinson Place. The Robinson Place intakes can all be dated to before 1691 from a document of that year. This lists the intake at the top of the group, Wormall Crag, which must post-date the others further down the slope. This group of intakes therefore demonstrates development of the field system in Great Langdale from the medieval period to the late 17th century.

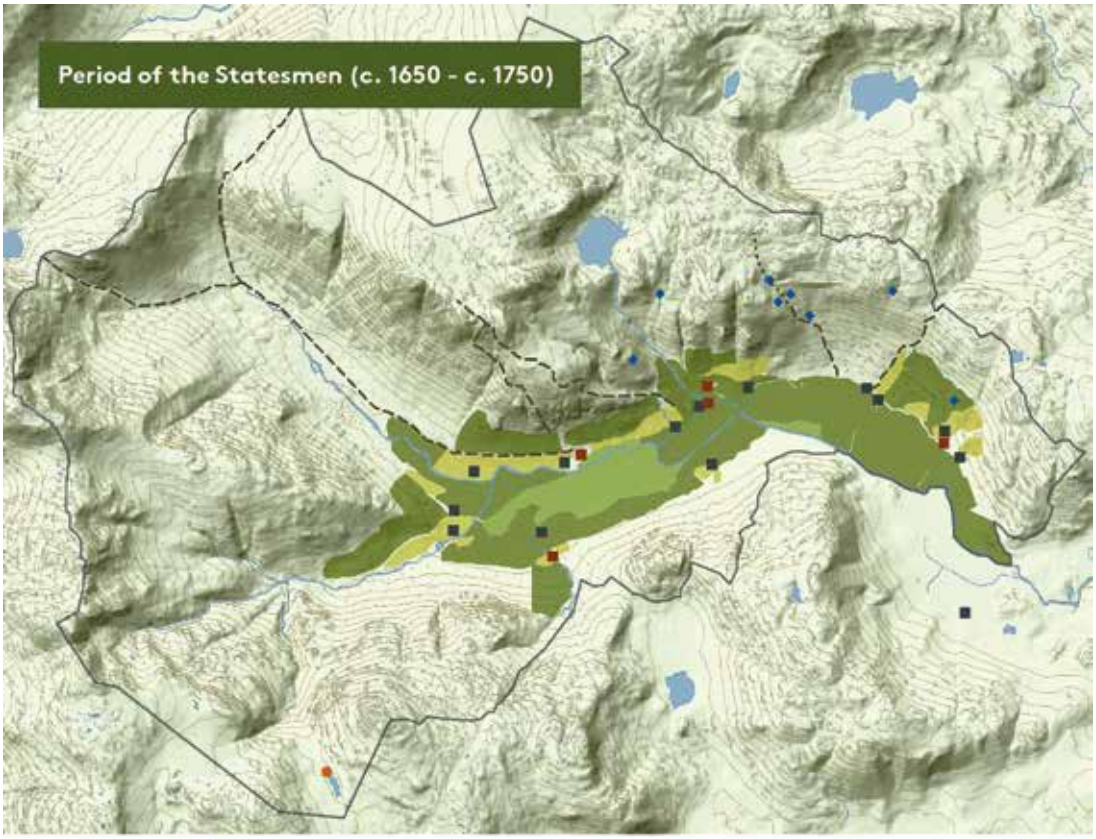
A distinctive feature of the walled landscape are the routeways leading from the farmsteads to the pasture on the fellside, known as 'outgangs' or 'outrakes' (the latter specifically refers to sheep). These exist as walled lanes through the enclosed land, most of which funnel out as they reach the open fell. This funnel helps to direct the flock down into the outgang when sheep are being gathered. The earliest reference to an outgang in Great Langdale dates from 1654. Each farm had its own outgang

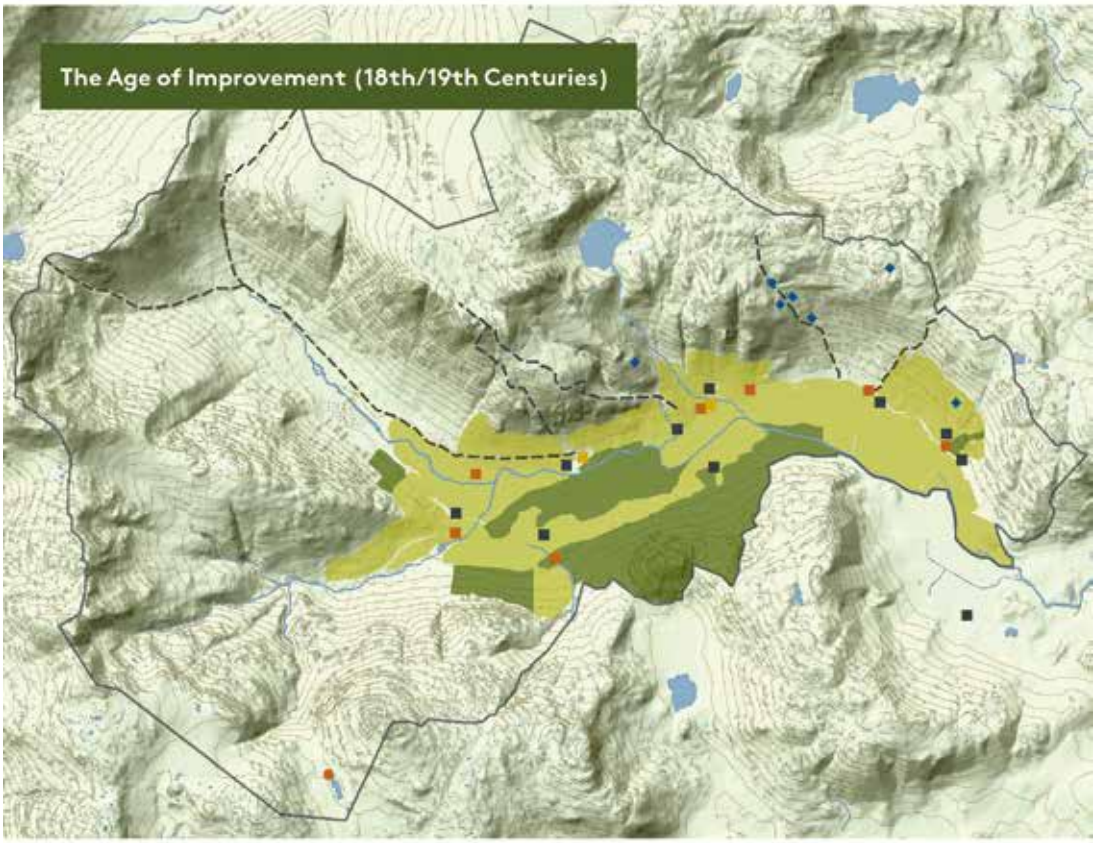
KEY TO FIGURE 2.b.24:

- National Trust survey boundary
- Ring garth
- Baysbrown Manor Boundary
- Land enclosed in this period
- Existing enclosed land
- Common field recorded in this period
- New path in this period
- Existing path
- Shieling
- Mill
- Iron ore mine
- Peat hut
- New farmstead in this period
- Existing farmstead
- Abandoned farmstead
- Hotel converted from farm

Data from The National Trust. J. Lund and C. Southwell. 2002. An Archaeological Monitoring Report for the Great Langdale Valley.

FIGURE 2.b.24 Great Langdale in the Period of the Statesmen and the Age of Improvement





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leading to its sheep 'heaf'. If another farm used the outgang it would encroach on that heaf and reduce the pasture available to the farm. Use of outgang was therefore jealously guarded.

The common field within the ring garth, which had been farmed in strips since the medieval period, was gradually enclosed from the late 16th century to the 18th century. This process was completed by Act of Parliament in the 19th century when the last few areas of the common field were enclosed.

One of the major changes to the agricultural landscape in England from the late 18th century was the movement towards enclosure of the remaining commons and common field for the sole use of specific farms. Although this trend can be detected in the English Lake District, the area was much less affected than other parts of the country. Much of the 'waste' land on the fells remained unenclosed. However, some of the characteristic ruler-straight walls with 90° junctions that are typical of planned enclosure of this period can be seen in Great Langdale. These include two groups of fellside intakes at the head of the valley in Mickleden, belonging to the farms at Stool End and Wall End.

Enclosure by Act of Parliament was used to enclose finally the last remaining areas of the common field in the valley floor during the 19th century. The only remaining open areas were known as Great Langdale High and Low Common field. The Act to enclose these was passed in 1836, although the Award which carried out the actual enclosure was not drawn up until 1853. Comparison of the present day landscape of Great Langdale with the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of 1862 indicates that there have been few changes in the last 150 years. The farm buildings still exist and many continue in agricultural use. Those that do not still retain their distinctive vernacular character. The English Lake District Historic Landscape Character Assessment (2008) has demonstrated that 60 per cent of field boundaries depicted on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map are much as they were in 1862. Those changes which have occurred have been largely the result of amalgamations within the field pattern that has evolved since the medieval period. There is also been a slight reduction in trees in the valley but the general character of Great Langdale, and much of its detail, remains much as it was at the time of Wordsworth.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST-MEDIEVAL AGRO-PASTORAL LANDSCAPE (1600 – 1900)

THE SOCIAL AND LEGAL BASIS OF ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT FARMING

By the 16th century most of the former forest areas were held by customary 'tenant-right'. This had developed as a form of land tenure linked to the obligation to provide military service on the Scottish border. In return, customary tenants were given security of tenure and freedom in buying and selling subject to manorial custom (which included Border Service). The freedom to devise (leave as a legacy) their farms allowed succession by family members in particular and prevented landlords from taking their estates in hand, leaving the landholdings in the hands of successive generations of yeoman farmers. This provided a level of economic security and independence that allowed some customary tenants to describe themselves as 'yeomen'. In the more peaceful times following the accession of James I in 1603 which united England and Scotland, both the Crown and landlords disputed this requirement and challenged the

FIGURE 2.b.25 Townend, Troutbeck, the home of the Browne family

terms of tenant-right. A long legal battle followed but eventually the rights of the yeomen farmers were secured by legal judgment in 1625.

This legal judgment established a unique form of land control and management in the English Lake District by the tenant farmers which had profound implications for the development of local society, the agro-pastoral system and the character of the landscape. Not all farming tenants within the English Lake District had the same social and economic status. Distinctions of wealth and status had existed since at least the 16th century. Some more prominent yeoman families, with larger farm holdings, came close to the status of gentlemen and acted as leaders within local communities. Below these in the social scale were smaller farmers, craftsmen and labourers.

A number of prominent English Lake District families can be traced from the 16th century. These include the Brownes of Troutbeck, the Wrens of Castlerigg and the Vicars family of Eskdale. By the 17th century many of these accumulated sufficient wealth to rise to the rank of gentlemen. Others remained as yeoman farmers with their wealth based on sheep farming. These families became increasingly powerful in Lake District society through holding offices such as jurymen of manorial courts and later as township officials with responsibilities for highways and care of the poor.

The pattern of ecclesiastical parishes in the English Lake District also reinforced the independence of local communities. The boundaries of the ancient parishes reflected the pattern of feudal ownership and the medieval parish churches were located at the edge of the mountain core. The English Lake District valleys were served by chapels with no resident parish priests. Each chapel was governed by a 'vestry' which generally included members of prominent local yeoman families. Normally the local community chose its own curate rather than one being imposed from outside by the church authorities. This religious autonomy, combined with the absence of a conventional gentry class that was normal elsewhere in England, meant that in effect the English Lake District communities were in charge of their own affairs.

FIGURE 2.b.26 Repairing a stone wall

The English Lake District agricultural landscape is an outstanding example of an upland pastoral system which incorporates both private and communal management and which has evolved over a long period of time. Its cultural elements, including farming methods

and built infrastructure, are a direct response to the harsh climatic conditions of this Northern European upland landscape. It is an important survival of a farming system that pre-dates industrial and modern practices that swept over much of the UK, Europe and the rest of the World from the early 20th century.

Key elements of the English Lake District farming system include the system of land tenure that has evolved over time, providing a basis for self-sufficiency, and the distinctive local shepherding culture, including communal stock management and breeding practices, all of which continue to flourish today. A Lake District farmer from 500 years ago would recognise many of the practices of a present day English Lake District farm. He would even understand many of the local dialect words used to describe objects and activities. The key factor is the 'persistence' of the unique cultural elements of English Lake District farming practice. The nominated Property is a hand-made landscape which has evolved through centuries of gradual construction and repair by individual farmers and is an 'ancient countryside' par excellence.

When the first travellers and tourists began to visit the Lake District from the mid-18th century, they were so struck by the character of local society and the independence of the yeomen farmers that the term 'Statesman' was coined to describe this particular aspect of Lake District farming society. Wordsworth was particularly captivated by the notion of a happy and independent society with its roots firmly in the soil of the English Lake District, characterising it as an "almost visionary mountain republic". This underpinned much of his poetic writing about the English Lake District and was crucial for the development of his ideas about the relationship between humans and nature.

"Towards the head of these Dales was found a perfect Republic of shepherds and agriculturalists, among whom the plough of each man was confined to the maintenance of his own family, or to the occasional accommodation of his neighbour. Two or three cows furnished each family with milk and cheese. The chapel was the only edifice that presided over these dwellings, the supreme head of this pure Commonwealth; the members of which existed in the midst of a powerful empire like an ideal society or an organized community, whose constitution had been imposed and regulated by the mountains which protected it. Neither high-born nobleman, knight, nor esquire was here; but many of these humble sons of the hills had a consciousness that the land, which and they walked over and tilled, had four more Than five hundred years been possessed by man of the name and blood..." William Wordsworth 'Guide to the Lakes' (1835).

Although the Lake District yeoman society was idealised by Wordsworth and early visitors to the area, the reality is that the particular character of farming society from the early 17th century had a powerful effect on the nature of the development of the upland farming landscape of the English Lake District. The control and security afforded to the yeomen farmers by the tradition of customary tenure prevented the extensive changes to the landscape which occurred in other parts of England during the agricultural improvements in the late 18th and 19th centuries. It has left a legacy of distinctive vernacular architecture, and an agricultural landscape of small, stone walled fields, woods and open fell that has evolved organically since at least the medieval period, together with local farming traditions that continue in the present day.

EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

There were nevertheless a number of significant evolutionary changes between 1600 and 1900. As has happened at all periods, agriculture had to adapt to reflect and respond to the needs of society. Today, we see a green pastoral landscape, but in the 17th and 18th centuries most of the valley bottoms and lower valley sides were ploughed by oxen for oats, barley and root crops. Changes in land use and farming practices had a direct effect on the need for a range of farm buildings, including crop storage and processing, together with a variety of animals and housing for their fodder.

Other evidence of the expression of a more powerful and acquisitive farming class is shown in the 16th to 18th centuries when individual farmers or small groups of farmers made fellside intakes throughout the English Lake District. From the 17th century, farms amalgamated into fewer, larger units and this is a process that is continuing through to the present day. The greatest post-medieval change in the rural landscape came with the enclosure of large areas of upland common in the 19th century as a result primarily of the Parliamentary general enclosure acts. Associated with the contemporary processes of wetland reclamation and enclosure, these upland enclosures were responsible for the considerable difference in the mapped landscape of the fells as shown on the late 18th century county maps and the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey coverage of the 1860s.

The farming system at the end of the 18th century had developed a distinct character influenced by the particular social and economic developments that took place in the English Lake District. It comprised a small-scale farming economy based on the grazing of stock (Herdwick sheep and cattle) on the open fell and the cultivation of oats, barley and vegetables in the valley fields. As the open field system gradually disappeared, arable cultivation was organised in separate walled or hedged fields as opposed to the strips of earlier centuries.

FIGURE 2.b.27 Inbye and intake fields in the side valley of Boredale, Ullswater

Fuel was still obtained from the woodland on the valley sides, but these were increasingly managed under a system of coppice rotation in order to produce wood for charcoal. Peat, its extraction controlled by the right of turbary (a form of common right), therefore became an important domestic fuel before the widespread introduction of coal. Peat huts such as the examples on Boot Bank in Eskdale were used to store cut peat until it was required. Individual trees around the farmsteads were pollarded in order to supply leaf fodder for stock and usable wooden poles. Bracken was cut from the fells for animal bedding and for thatch and as a source of potash.

Apart from intakes, one clear change within the landscape was in the nature of housing. From the 17th century, an increasingly independent and wealthy yeomanry invested in new buildings throughout the English Lake District, often providing date stones for major phases of rebuilding. A functional local vernacular architecture developed to accommodate the needs of this way of life – substantial stone houses to protect against the harsh winters, shelter for cows, sheep and pigs; storage for grain and hay from the fields; and storage for charcoal, peat and bracken (Section 2.a).

FIGURE 2.b.28 The house at Dalemain, Ullswater

Architectural historians generally refer to the period between about 1650 and 1720 as 'The Great Rebuilding in Stone', which spread through the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland. Troutbeck, with its group of influential statesmen, was at the very forefront of this rebuilding in the 1620s. Although this upland, remote area was not really affected by the English Civil War (1642-51), evidence shows that the rebuilding started in earnest after the 1670s. These new houses, either on or near their medieval footings, were two storeys high, of lime-washed rubble stone walls, with a slate roof, and oak used for window mullions, beams, roof trusses, flooring, panelling, stairs and cupboards. These truly 'vernacular'- ie of the people- buildings made a confident statement and now fixed permanently, the earlier medieval settlement pattern. In effect, the fabric of the new 17th century farmsteads was now woven into the medieval landscape tapestry.

The mid-18th century marked a period of improvement throughout the country, with better roads and transport, the industrial revolution, a more formal, classically based style of architecture, as well as agricultural investment and progress. In the English Lake District, a number of existing farmsteads now required larger farm buildings and perhaps a new domestic wing or worker's cottage. The fragmented arrangement of field strips were consolidated, with the first phase of the enclosure movement. Many boundaries were rebuilt, as well as enclosing blocks of former arable land, and the landscape took on a more organised appearance. Drainage schemes brought into cultivation the lower waterlogged valley land and coastal areas.

Between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries many changes were taking place in the local economy including improvements in agriculture and better transport networks (especially the railway) and this was accompanied by a quest for better standards of living.

FIGURE 2.b.29 A peat hut on Boot Bank, Eskdale

FIGURE 2.b.30 Dated lintel, High Side Farm, Bassenthwaite

More formally designed buildings were built by the gentry and soon these Georgian styles filtered down the social scale. Buildings from the late 18th century reflected a more standardised design and approach, especially the fashion for formal symmetrical frontages. Quarried stone became more available, as well as imported softwood timber from the Baltic, instead of relying on the dwindling supplies of local oak. The change in fuel from peat to coal had an effect on architecture. People now required their house to have more space, privacy and heating with specific, functional rooms, rather than the general purpose living room or 'firehouse' of the 17th century. As well as new dwellings, some farmhouses were re-fronted, extended, or 'improved' in the late 18th century in an elegant 'pattern book' style. However, in the majority of the older farmhouses, the overall plan layout of the 17th century core has remained unaltered.

During the late 17th century the wool trade was a key element in the rising prosperity of Lake District farmers, but the building legacy of this period has nothing to do with sheep, but with other aspects of farming. The dominant early buildings were the large threshing barns, set into sloping ground with animal housing and storage below, creating the characteristic 'Bank Barns' (see Figures 2.a.75 and 76).

FIGURE 2.b.31 17th Century farmhouse at Bridge End, Little Langdale

In the early 19th century parliamentary and private enclosure completed the final picture of the farmed landscape, with the straight, regular lines of stone walls imposed by the surveyor, now a great contrast to the medieval organic fields. The last phase of farmstead evolution came in the mid-19th century especially with railway development, better roads and therefore, a wider market opened up for English Lake District farmers. A wider range of crops and animals required a range of specific farm buildings. As in the

18th century, new farm buildings were no longer humble stone and oak structures. They were now designed for a larger scale of production and efficient use of space and labour. The expansion of quarries and the availability of imported longer lengths of pine timber enabled the construction of massive multi-functional buildings such as bank barns. These structures epitomise this prosperous period. However, by the 1870s imported grain from America, together with a drastic migration of people from rural areas towards the developing industrial towns, began an agricultural decline. After the end of the 19th century, hardly any new stone farm buildings were built, and many of the upper fellside enclosures on the commons were abandoned, with land reverting to bracken, rushes and scrub. Most valleys in the English Lake District have clear evidence of abandonment of complete farmsteads, even on the valley floor, as in Great Langdale, and only the boulder footings, crop marks or the 'corrugated' ridge and furrow are the reminders of many centuries of farmstead evolution and decline.

INDUSTRY

Industrial activity only began to have a significant impact on the character of the English Lake District after c. 1600 as it increased in scale. This came about through an intensification of mining and quarrying, and the application of water power to traditional mineral processing. The area experienced a late flowering of bloomery production of iron using water power at bloomery forges in the 16th and 17th centuries. Largely outside the English Lake District, iron ore mining in west and south Cumbria significantly increased charcoal demand for smelting, increasing the development and exploitation of coppice woodland. In some instances, the greater value this conferred on woodland led to new areas of woodland replacing former enclosed farmland, as at Haverthwaite Heights near Backbarrow.

Copper and graphite, in areas such as Coniston and Seathwaite, were among the earliest minerals to be exploited in the 16th century. The copper mines opened by the Mines Royal Company in the Caldbeck Fells are especially significant as the first well-documented large-scale copper mining operation in the UK and the first to employ the advanced technological expertise of German miners. The landscape impacts of the intensifications of mining and quarrying include larger extraction complexes, and widespread spoilheaps, with one of the most dramatic spoil-affected landscapes being the Copper Mines Valley, near Coniston.

FIGURE 2.b.32 Castlerigg stone circle surrounded by post-medieval ridge and furrow cultivation

Graphite was originally mined to make moulds for the manufacture of cannon balls and then, most famously, to provide pencil 'lead' in the 18th and 19th centuries. Lead, zinc and large quantities of barite have all been mined, tungsten (the only source outside south west England), antinomy, arsenic, cobalt, nickel and manganese have also been important.

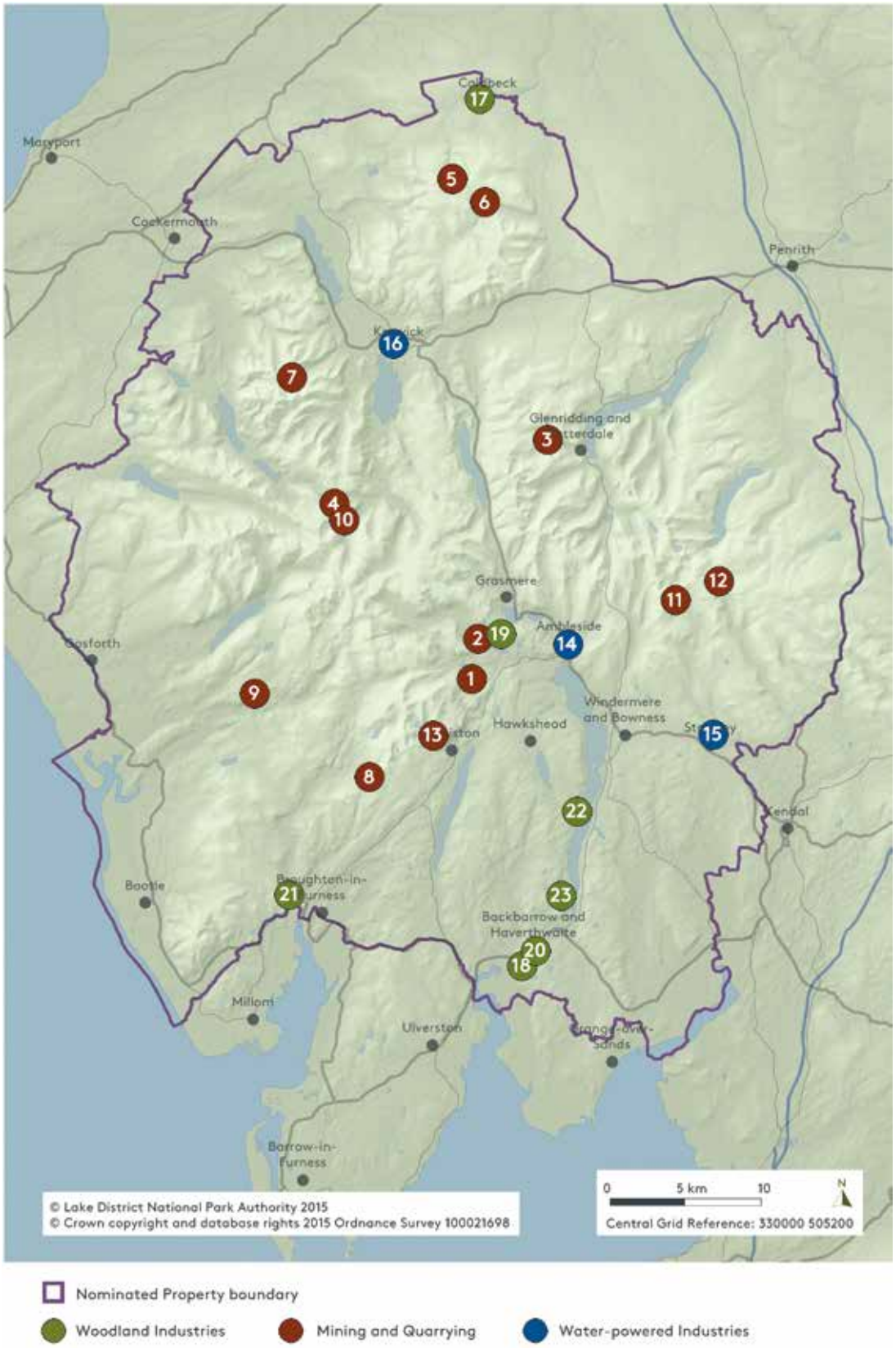
In the early 20th century the English Lake District still had some thriving industries including woodland products, mining of iron, lead, copper and tungsten ores, iron smelting and slate quarrying. The majority of these had ceased by World War II due to foreign competition and more efficient production elsewhere in the UK. Slate quarrying is the only extractive industry which now survives but is much smaller in scale than in the past. There are working slate quarries at Honister, Elterwater, Brandy Crag and Bursting Stone on Coniston Old Man and Broughton Moor, south of Coniston. Small quantities of slate are also taken from the Brathay quarry.

FIGURE 2.b.33 The Duddon blast furnace which operated from 1737 until 1867

FIGURE 2.b.34 Reconstruction drawing of the Duddon blast furnace

FIGURE 2.b.35 The slate quarries at Honister Hause, showing inclines, access tracks and waste heaps

FIGURE 2.b.36 Key industrial sites in the English Lake District



KEY TO NUMBERED SITES ON FIGURE 2.b.36:

1. Tilberthwaite and Hodge Close slate quarries
2. Elterwater slate quarry
3. Greenside lead mine
4. Honister slate quarry
5. Roughton Gill lead mine
6. Carrock tungsten mine
7. Force Crag barytes mine
8. Walna Scar slate quarries
9. Nab Gill iron ore mine
10. Seathwaite graphite mine
11. Kentmere slate quarries
12. Wrengill slate quarry
13. Coniston copper mines
14. Ambleside mills
15. Staveley mills
16. Keswick pencil mill
17. The Howk bobbin mill
18. Low Wood gunpowder works
19. Elterwater gunpowder works
20. Backbarrow ironworks
21. Duddon ironworks
22. Cunsey ironworks
23. Stott Park bobbin mill

FISHERIES

Historically, fishing was an important industry in the English Lake District. The earliest reference for the most important fishery, Windermere, is from 1223. In 1574 Queen Elizabeth I annually received £6, a considerable sum, for "the Fishery and ferrying of the water of Windermere". It is estimated that three tons of char, one ton of trout, two tons of pike, five tons of perch and two tons of eel could have been removed from the lake each year, using seine nets (dragnets). The significance of fishing to the local economy is confirmed by the introduction of early conservation measures, starting in 1670 with reference to the mesh size of nets and in 1768, when the capture of char spawning in the River Brathay was banned for seven years. Char continued to be important into the 20th century, being shipped to London in special Char pots. Its value in the 1890s was estimated at £1200 per annum. Around this time perch fishing was described as the main industry of Bowness.

TOWNS AND LARGER SETTLEMENTS 1600-1900

After 1600 settlements other than the medieval market towns began to develop urban functions, with the growth of Broughton-in-Furness, Ambleside and Hawkshead. These all became small market towns servicing the agricultural economy from the early 17th century with expansion in the wool and woollen cloth trade. Hawkshead especially, following the granting of a market charter in 1608, became the main wool market for the Furness Fells, acting as a gathering point before transferring goods onto the larger trading centre at Kendal. Ambleside also became a trading centre for wool from the early 17th century.

FIGURE 2.b.37 The market town of Hawkshead

The markets in Hawkshead and Ambleside failed along with the decline in the woollen cloth trade, and both came to rely on income from the tourist trade, with Hawkshead remaining a rural community, and Ambleside expanding into a favoured tourist destination. The success of the market in Broughton-in-Furness, however, continued into the second half of the 19th century, with wooden tools, baskets, hoops and other by-products of the area's extensive coppiced woods replacing wool as the chief commodity. The large, formal market square surrounded by terraces of town houses is now the chief reminder of Broughton's past as a busy market centre, as it was overtaken at the end of the 19th century by the rapidly expanding iron towns of Barrow and Millom to the south of the English Lake District.

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

As traffic increased in the post-medieval period, there was an imperative to improve the road conditions, particularly the major routes. The concept of paying for road building by charging tolls to road users was first put forward in the 17th century. Road repair had always been a local responsibility, found to be a burden in many cases, and the turnpike system grew through the establishment of local groups to improve individual sections of road. The early turnpikes tended to improve existing routes, though later new stretches of roads were sometimes incorporated into road improvements.

The planned enclosures of the common wastes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly by parliamentary process, often necessitated the creation of new roads to provide access to the new fields and to divert existing routes. Within the English Lake District, this did not lead to the creation of a large number of new roads, but to the improvement of existing routes across formerly open moor. The road from Lindale to Cartmel Fell, for example, was improved and straightened in places. A minimum width of 12 feet, and the type of road surface was stipulated in the legislation for the enclosure, but it largely appears to follow its traditional route along the back of Newton Fell. The Crosthwaite Enclosure Commissioners, too, provided for considerable road improvements, completing 15 public highways in 1848-62. It was in places such as the Lyth Valley where most new roads were built, in order to provide access to the newly drained mosslands which would have been inaccessible previously.

Where new roads were built, however, they were starkly different from the old roads, even where the latter were straightened and improved. This is most clearly seen on the minor road from the A66(T) west of Penruddock north to where it crosses the Gilcambon Beck south-east of Hesket Newmarket. The road passes through the extensive planned enclosure of Greystoke Forest, which had small islands of isolated enclosed farms and hamlets. The road cuts across the area, clearly set out by a surveyor, with blocks of fields laid out in relation to it.

RAILWAYS

By the mid-19th century, the English Lake District had been ringed by railways; to the east by the main line from London to Glasgow, and by lines linking Barrow-in-Furness to Lancaster and Carlisle. The English Lake District was penetrated by branch lines from these principal routes. One effect of this was to open up the agro-pastoral system to new access for their products, and also to make more and new resources available.

FIGURE 2.b.38 Lake Windermere from Orrest Head, by James Baker Pyne (1849). A steam train on the (then) new Kendal to Windermere railway can be seen at the left side of the painting.

The first railway to be built into the Lake District was the Windermere branch line from Lancaster to Carlisle railway at Oxenholme in 1846. The Furness railway line, completed in 1857, provided access to the southern English Lake District for many tourists, and its potential as a mineral line was realised two years later, with the opening of the Coniston branch line in 1859 by the Coniston Railway Company. It was built largely to transport copper from the mines above Coniston, but its tourism potential was also exploited.

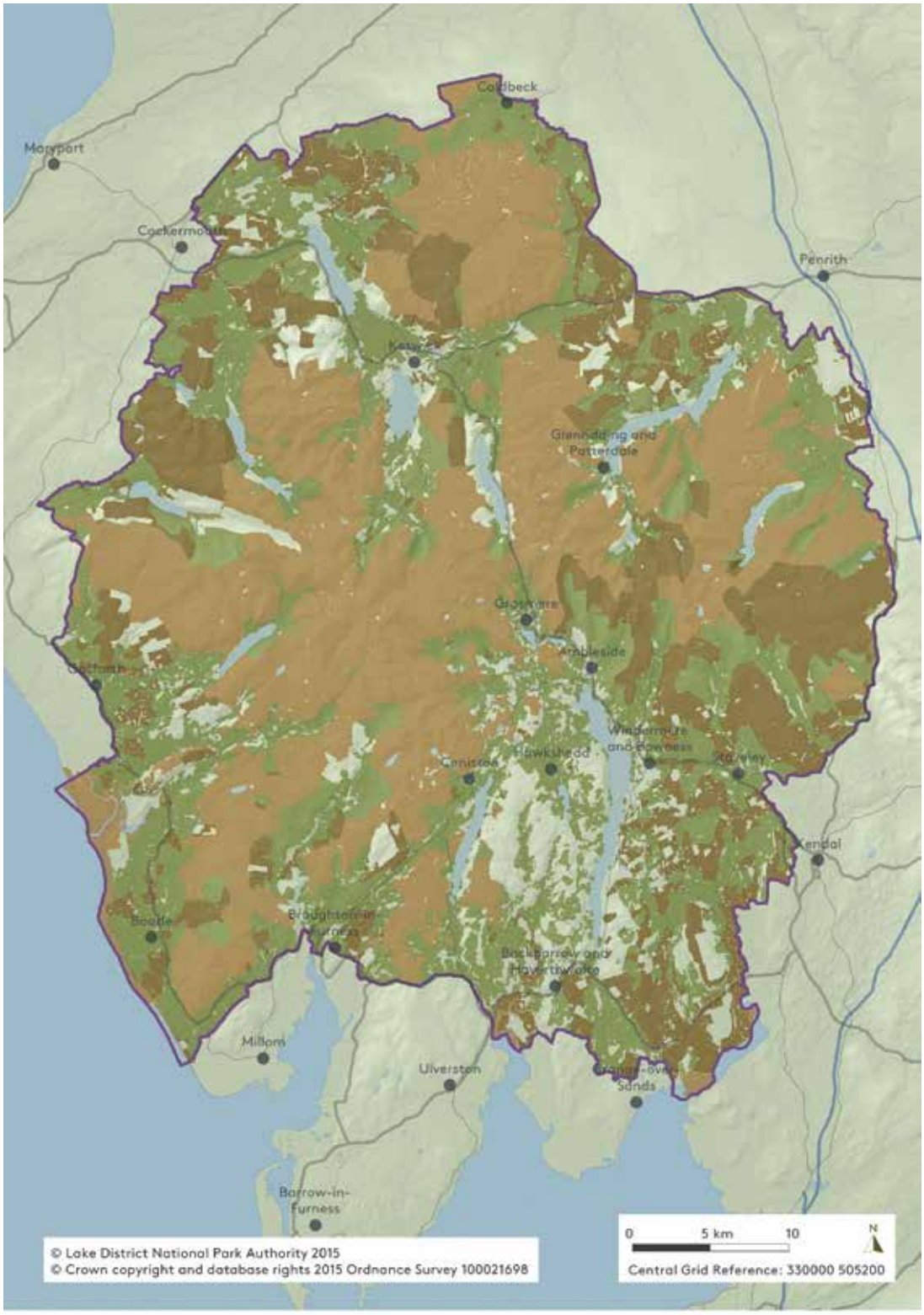
Between 1862 and 1864 the Penrith to Cockermouth line was built as a mineral line to link Workington in the west to Durham in the east, connecting at Penrith with the cross-Pennine line to the Darlington area. At its western end, it linked to the Cockermouth and Workington Railway at Cockermouth. The line carried only goods traffic at first, but in 1865 it opened to passenger traffic, bringing in growing numbers of tourists.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST-MEDIEVAL AGRO-PASTORAL LANDSCAPE AFTER 1900

Although the methods and techniques of farming in the English Lake District have continued to follow general transformations in the 20th century, the ancient landscape of vernacular buildings, walled fields and open fell still characterizes what is distinctive about the English Lake District and its farming. In the 19th century it was common for fell farms to have up to 20 per cent of their land in cultivation, to provide cereals for domestic consumption and animal feed including for horses. One of the key changes in Lake District farming has been the reduction of arable farming beginning in the mid-19th century with the improvement of communications and the wider transport of foodstuffs.

Arable agriculture experienced a revival during World War II and arable production on English Lake District farms remained common into the 1960s. However, now it has decreased again and is limited to more productive fields on the fringes of the area.

FIGURE 2.b.39 The distribution of inbye and early intake fields in the English Lake District



Another change has been the introduction of mechanization and easier access to the fells using vehicles such as quad bikes. Further changes include the use of big bale silage and the strengthening of relationships between lowland farmers and hill farmers for winter grazing which has become more prevalent since the outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease in 2001.

These changes demonstrate the capacity within the agro-pastoral system, established for many centuries, to continue to thrive by adapting its outputs to the changing market needs of today.

A full description of current farming practices is set out in Section 2.a.2.

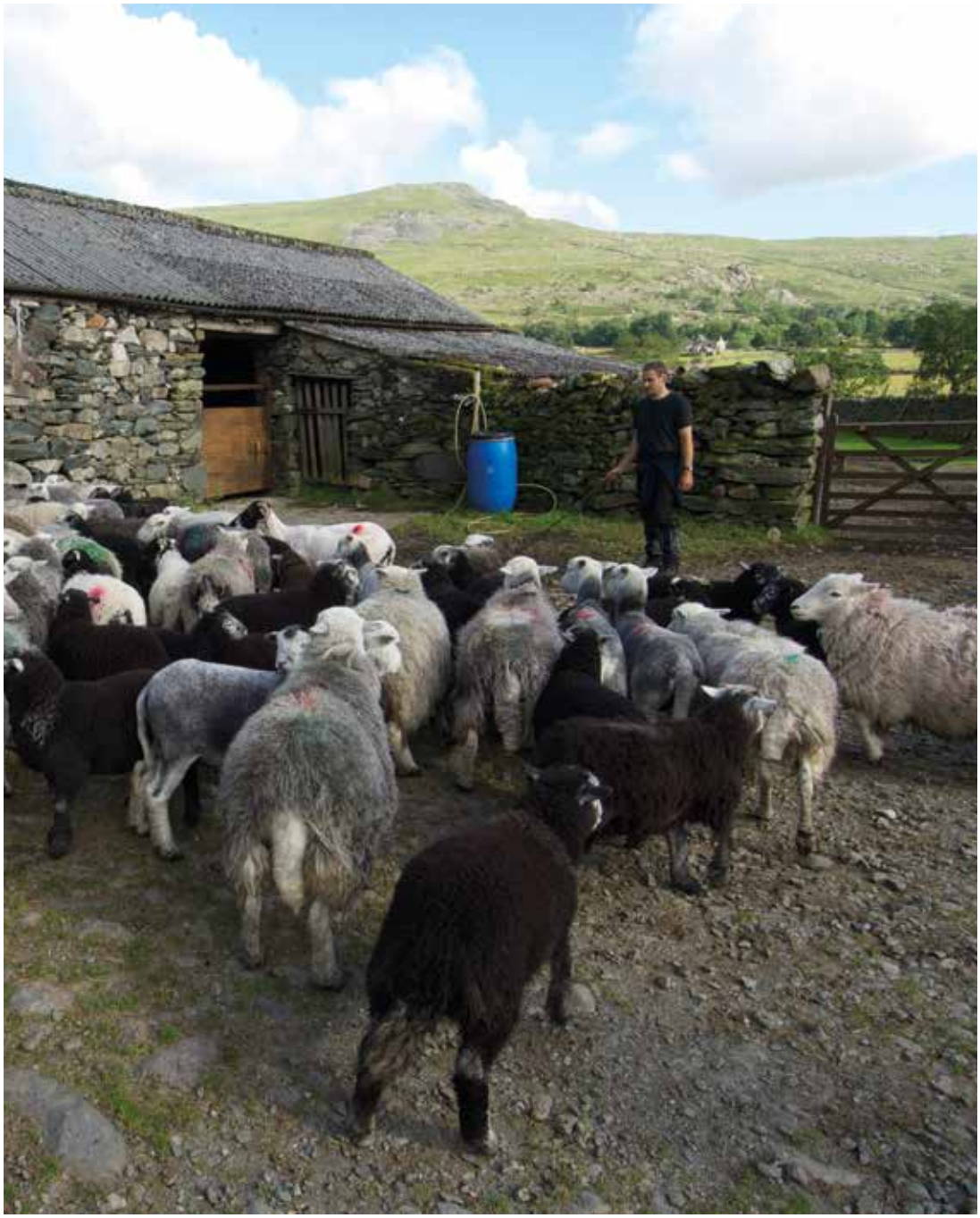


FIGURE 2.b.40 Herding sheep with dogs

2.b.3 DEVELOPMENT OF AESTHETIC APPRECIATION OF THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

From the mid-18th century, the English Lake District became a focus of aesthetic interest and, as a result, a desired destination for the leisured classes (and later an early tourist destination). There are number of reasons for this, not least because Britain's protracted and frequent wars with France in the late 18th and early 19th centuries made travel to Europe particularly hazardous. Travellers from the more affluent sections of British society had been accustomed to visiting the Alps, Pyrenees and Apennines in search of 'picturesque' mountainous landscapes. They now turned their attention to upland areas of Britain, to the Wye Valley, and the Lake District in particular.

This aesthetic and educated interest in the English Lake District was mediated through two philosophical and artistic movements, the Picturesque and the Romantic. Both movements began in mainland Europe but developed and evolved in their British manifestations, particularly and principally through the experience of writers and artists in the English Lake District, which in turn attracted more attention to the region and led to impacts on the landscape.

FIGURE 2.b.41 'Doctor Syntax sketching the lake' by Thomas Rowlandson (c. 1812). 'The Tour of the Syntax' was a satire on the Picturesque vogue for travel, written by William Combe.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS OF THE PICTURESQUE AND LINKS TO THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

The initial Picturesque interest in the Lake District landscape derived from the influence of the Italian classical landscape tradition (as exemplified by Claude Lorrain), the more 'naturalistic' Northern European style of the 17th and 18th centuries (for example Jacob van Ruisdael and Rembrandt van Rijn) and a vivid engagement with the scenery of the Swiss Alps. Knowledge of the Picturesque and appreciation of mountain scenery were

brought back to Britain from continental Europe by wealthy Englishmen undertaking the 'Grand Tour', designed to enrich their cultural education.

Writers during the 18th century identified similar aspects of beauty in the English Lake District. In particular, William Gilpin and others developed the concept of the Picturesque in a way which was ultimately more influential in the English Lake District than anywhere else. Gilpin elaborated a self-conscious idea of landscape which challenged visitors to 'appreciate it' in particular ways which were different to the aesthetics of the Grand Tour.

EARLY VISITORS TO THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

FIGURE 2.b.42 'A view of Derwent Water Towards Borrodale' by William Bellers (1758)

The Lake District can lay claim to one of the earliest Picturesque landscapes anywhere in Britain. The little viewing pavilion or belvedere at Rydal Falls, within the grounds of Rydal Hall, dates from the late 1660s and demonstrates a taste for picturesque scenery long before the term itself was coined (see Figures 2.a.97 and 98). Equally, the Phillipsons' late 17th century house on Belle Isle, the largest of Windermere's islands, seems to demonstrate an appreciation of the beauties of its situation. A taste for the Picturesque was not widespread at this date, however, nor did it attract visitors to the English Lake District in significant numbers. Daniel Defoe was more in tune with majority opinion when, writing in the 1720s, he described the 'unhospitable terror' that the mountainous scenery inspired.

From the 1750s onwards perceptions changed progressively. A steady stream of visitors to the English Lake District, many with literary or artistic leanings influenced by aesthetic theories of the beautiful and the sublime, recorded their impressions in journals, poetry and landscape views and these in turn popularised the area to a wider audience. Among the earliest expressions of this new way of regarding scenery were the engraved lake views of William Bellers (1752-3), John Brown's 'Description of the Lake at Keswick', published in the London Chronicle in 1766 but describing a visit c. 1753 and Dalton's 'A Descriptive Poem, addressed to Two Ladies, at their return from viewing the Mines at Whitehaven' (1755). The poet Thomas Gray's letters to Thomas Wharton in 1769, subsequently published as his 'Journal in the Lakes' (1775), constituted the first response by a literary figure of national stature, and exerted a decisive influence over the young William Wordsworth. Arthur Young's 'A Six Months Tour through the North of England', also based on travels in 1769 and published in 1770, was ostensibly a sober account of farming practices and agricultural potential, but incorporated a scenic tour of the English Lake District in the form of a series of long footnotes.

William Gilpin's 'Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty', was first published in 1786, though based on a tour made in 1772 and circulated in manuscript form prior to publication. This work popularised the notion of the Picturesque, which was to have

far-reaching effects in art and architecture in Britain and further afield and to a large degree eclipsed the older categories of the beautiful and the sublime.

The Lake District was not unique in attracting tourists interested primarily in picturesque scenery. The Wye Valley, the Peak District and Snowdonia were also much visited and written about, and the Scottish Highlands grew rapidly in popularity after 1800. But the English Lake District – Coleridge's "cabinet of beauties" – concentrated so many attractions in a small compass that its appeal was unsurpassed.

Also, the easy access to the wild, open uplands of the Lake District in the 18th and 19th centuries contrasted with the more restrictive conditions in other areas where land ownership (and thus control) was quite different. There was no single landlord capable of large scale clearances of communities as happened in Scotland, and no one landowner could man the land with gamekeepers to keep out poets, daydreamers or tourists. Thus Wordsworth and his contemporaries were able to roam the English Lake District and derive inspiration just as walkers, ramblers and climbers can today. In addition, the self-sufficient character of the 'Yeoman' farming families, although somewhat idealized by the Romantic poets, was a unique development that was not replicated elsewhere.

GUIDEBOOKS AND VIEWING STATIONS

The first guidebook to the English Lake District, Father Thomas West's 'Guide to the Lakes', made its appearance in 1778 and was reprinted numerous times before being eclipsed in the early decades of the 19th century by a rash of new guides. One of the most influential of these was written by the poet, William Wordsworth (1770-1850), first appearing in 1810. At a time when Wordsworth's reputation was gathering strength, his 'Guide's' strictures on landscape gardening and architecture exerted a growing influence on educated opinion. William Green's 'New Tourist's Guide' of 1819 was illustrated with his own precise and well observed sketches in which tumbledown traditional buildings featured prominently, inaugurating a new phase of Picturesque sensibility in which hitherto un-regarded elements of the landscape acquired new stature.

Early Lake District tourists viewed the landscape through the lens, so to speak, of contemporary artistic theory and practice, revelling most in those landscapes that conformed to expectations founded on the work of well-regarded artists, such as the 17th century painters Claude Lorrain, Gaspard Poussin and Salvator Rosa, each of whom exemplified in their paintings a particular kind of landscape. Thus William Hutchinson, who toured the Lake District in 1773-4, wrote: "The paintings of Poussin describe the nobleness of Ullswater; the works of Salvator Rosa express the romantic and rocky scenes of Keswick; and the tender and elegant touches of Claude Lorrain, and Smith, pencil forth the rich variety of Windermere". Famously, a popular travelling accessory of the late 18th century was the Claude Glass – a tinted mirror which allowed scenery to be composed in a frame while simultaneously the tint transformed it into an appropriate mood. The absurdity of viewing landscape by turning one's back on it and using a mirror was not lost on some contemporaries, but the practice underlines the formulaic, conventionalised appreciation of landscape which prevailed at the time. Directions to the best views, or 'stations', were an essential feature of guidebooks from West onwards, and also featured on the maps produced from c. 1780 for tourists by Peter Crosthwaite, proprietor of the popular museum in Keswick.

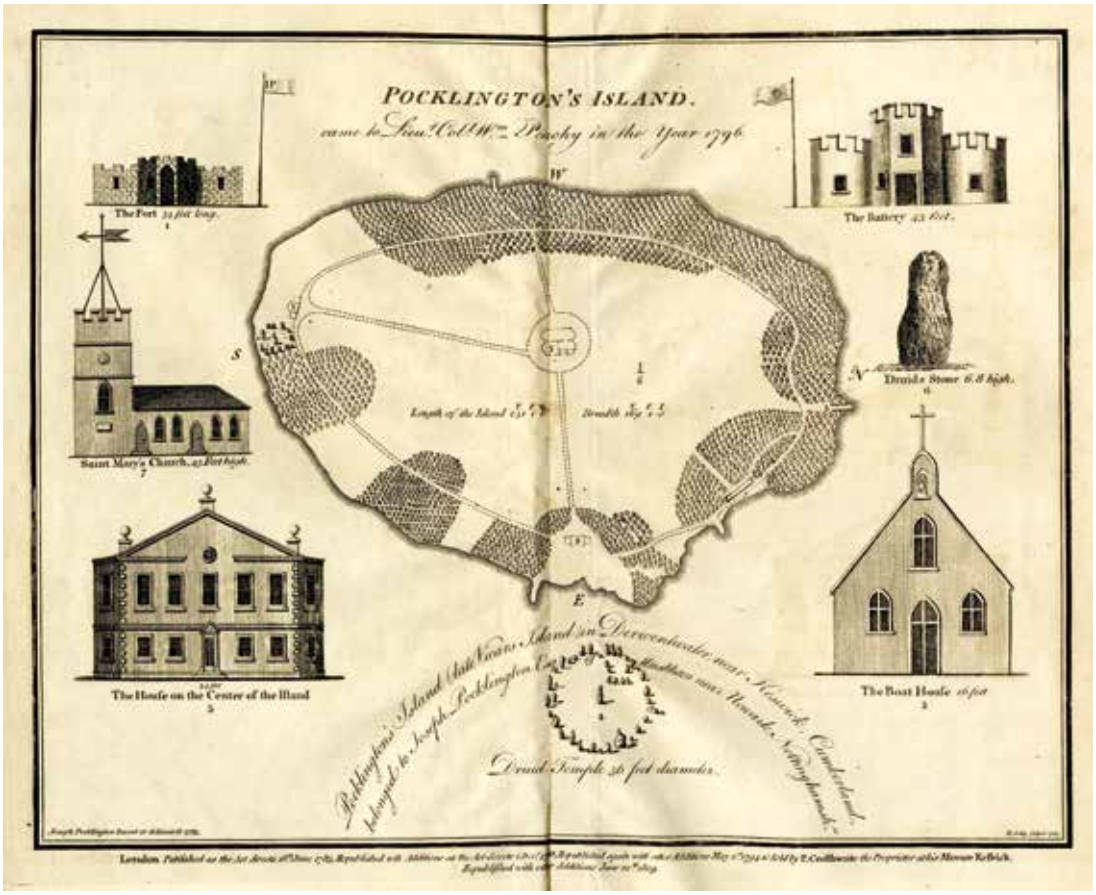


FIGURE 2.b.43 'Pocklington's Island' (Derwent Isle) by Peter Crosthwaite (1783)

Tourists were not only interested in the grand views of lakes and mountains. The spirit of the times fostered a keen appetite for prehistoric ('druidical') and Roman antiquities, and for natural curiosities such as the Bowder Stone in Borrowdale, or the collection gathered together in Crosthwaite's Museum in Keswick. Above all they sought out waterfalls at Stockghyll Force, Rydal Falls, Aira Force, Lodore, Barrow Cascade, Scale Force and elsewhere. By and large they did not come to climb mountains for the sake of exercise or moral virtue, as the Victorians would in the 19th century, but the ascent of Skiddaw was highly valued because of the views over Derwent Water which it afforded. Boat trips, by contrast, were an essential ingredient of every tour and they were not always directed to contemplative ends. Regattas became popular summer events on the larger lakes, in which boat races or mock naval battles were staged. The language, customs and way of life of the indigenous inhabitants could arouse interest, so too the more outlandish features of vernacular architecture, especially as the vogue for the Picturesque gathered strength.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS OF ROMANTICISM AND THE LINKS TO THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Romanticism, a term applied posthumously to a disparate group of writers, artists and thinkers who lived between 1760 and 1850, was part of an intellectual continuum nurtured by the Picturesque and the Age of Sensibility, and a reaction against the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on science and rational thought.

FIGURE 2.b.44 The Bowder Stone, Borrowdale

FIGURE 2.b.45 'Sir George Beaumont and Joseph Farington painting a Waterfall', Thomas Hearne (1777)

Romanticism originated in Europe in the second half of the 18th century, rooted in the works of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the German 'Sturm und Drang' movement (whose proponents included Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller). The events and ideologies of the French Revolution, described by the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley as "the master theme of the epoch in which we live", were also significant shaping forces.

As an artistic, literary and intellectual movement, Romanticism valued powerful feeling, asserted the primacy of the imagination and the rights of the individual, favoured intuition and emotion and saw historical and natural inevitability in the major crises of the day. It also recognised the importance of childhood experience and the complex human relationship with the natural world. In this regard, it can be said that Romantic ideas are the bedrock of the world today, from the expectation of basic rights to the general acceptance of individualism and (in the case of the flamboyant and notorious Lord Byron) the media's obsession with celebrity. Obviously such a movement is not confined to one country or one place.

William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge link the significant ideas of European Romanticism to the English Lake District. The two poets serve as a bridge, bringing ideas from abroad to the birthplace of English Romanticism. The French Revolution coloured the writings of both Wordsworth and Coleridge and had an abiding impact on Wordsworth's life. Wordsworth was in France in 1790 and again in 1791/2. His first-hand experience of the French Revolution radicalised (for a time) both his politics and his poetry. Coleridge was drawn more to Germany and the intellectual life to be found there. He and Wordsworth spent ten months there in 1798/9, during which Coleridge immersed himself in the culture, language, and life of the country, undergoing a deep study of Lessing and Schiller and translating German poetry.

THE LAKE POETS

In Britain, Romantic influence, ideas and legacy are very prominent and come disproportionately from the English Lake District, which can justifiably be considered the

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850)

FIGURE 2.b.46 A detail from portrait of William Wordsworth by Henry Edridge (1806)

William Wordsworth is recognised as one of the greatest poets in the English language. Born and bred in Cumbria, he inspired devotion in artists and writers as diverse as Sir George Beaumont, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Hazlitt, Benjamin Robert Haydon, John Keats, Sir Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Thomas De Quincey and many others. As early as 1800, he was described by Coleridge as "a greater poet than any since John Milton". By 1825, the great critic and essayist William Hazlitt was stating, "Mr Wordsworth's genius is a pure emanation of the Spirit of the Age". His work, from the early 'Lyrical Ballads' to his autobiographical masterpiece 'The Prelude', revolutionised English poetry.

Wordsworth was not only the greatest writer of his age, but had also experienced the "master theme" of the French Revolution at first hand. When he came to settle at Dove Cottage in Grasmere in 1799, he compared himself to the Israelites freed from the "house of bondage". This freedom enabled him to address the moral and political crisis precipitated by the failure of the French Revolution. He responded by producing some of his greatest poetry, and created a cultural focus for poets, writers and artists, at a major cultural moment in our history.

DOROTHY WORDSWORTH (1771 – 1855)

FIGURE 2.b.47 Silhouette portrait of Dorothy Wordsworth by an unknown artist (c. 1806)

Wordsworth's sister Dorothy is most famous for her Grasmere journals, written between 1800 and 1803. Remarkable in their own right, they were a frequent source of inspiration for Wordsworth's poetry, most famously "I wandered lonely as a cloud", which echoes Dorothy's vivid description of seeing daffodils on the shores of Ullswater. As Wordsworth wrote of his sister, "She gave me eyes, she gave me ears". Her journals mix the poetic with the mundane, capturing fleeting thoughts, impressions and emotions. They also provide an important record of the social history of Grasmere in the early 1800s.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772-1834)

FIGURE 2.b.48 A detail from portrait of Samuel Taylor Coleridge by James Northcote (1804)

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was a poet, philosopher, theologian and critic. His immense intellectual gifts ranged freely across a vast range of subjects. As a poet, his creative partnership with Wordsworth, principally on 'Lyrical Ballads', constitutes one of the most important and fruitful collaborations in the history of English literature. More than any other Romantic writer, he brought about the revolution in literary thought that consists of regarding the imagination as the supreme creative power. He explored the working of the unconscious mind through poetry and, through his insightful literary criticism, cemented the reputation of Shakespeare as the greatest English writer. His poems, including 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', 'Kubla Khan' and 'Frost at Midnight', are some of the best loved in the English language.

cradle of Romanticism. The particular importance of the English Lake District was as an inspiration for the most significant of the British Romantic poets, many of whom settled there at least for a time, in particular William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Modern historians of the environmental movement have traced the origins of the idea of human ecology to the writings of these two authors and William's sister, Dorothy (see Bate, 1991; Guha, 2000; and McKusick, 2000). This intellectual development led directly to the concerns for the landscape and environment that were played out in the English Lake District in the 18th and 19th centuries and have international significance as the foundation of the modern environmental movement. (see Section 2.b.5 below).

For the Romantics, the English Lake District was not simply a retreat from the encroaching industrialisation of Britain; it was a powerful focal point for generation upon generation of people. Collectively, their work fostered a widespread appreciation of wild country, nature and primitivism in the Lake District. The magnitude of this contribution needs to be seen in relation to the previous attitudes which focused on the Lake District being "...country eminent only for being the wildest most barren and frightful of any that I have passed over in England" (Daniel Defoe, 1727). In contrast, the Romantics explored the English Lake District landscape and valued it for the intensity of spiritual feelings that it evoked. They were inspired by the awesome natural scenery and what they perceived to be a harmonious relationship between the farmers and nature. Much of the 18th century landscape seen by the Romantics is still evident in today's landscape.

The principal figures in adapting the ideas of the European Romantic Movement to Britain, and particularly to the English Lake District were Wordsworth, supported by his

sister Dorothy, and Coleridge. Other important Lake poets included Robert Southey (1774 – 1843) and Thomas de Quincey (1775 – 1859).

Many other writers and artists gravitated north in the wake of these figures. Another leading Romantic poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley, lived for a time at Chestnut Cottage, near Keswick; John Keats made a point of calling on Wordsworth at Rydal Mount on his 1818 tour. Thomas Arnold (whose son Matthew was later to form the canonical Victorian judgements on the Romantics that, arguably, persist) lived at Fox How in Rydal; William Hazlitt visited regularly as a young man, and indeed throughout his life. Alfred, Lord Tennyson began visiting from the early 1830s; John Stuart Mill and Edward Fitzgerald stayed in Ambleside; Felicia Hemans (who work was outsold only by Byron) stayed in Windermere from 1829-31; and Harriet Martineau played host to Charlotte Bronte and Ralph Waldo Emerson at the Knoll in Ambleside. Wordsworth himself played host to many more: James Hogg; Charles Lloyd; John Wilson; William Wilberforce; Walter Scott; J. G. Lockhart; William Godwin; and even the 12 year old Algernon Charles Swinburne who, in 1849, left in tears after meeting the elderly poet.

ARTISTS AND THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Alongside literary works, from the start of the period of Picturesque interest in the mid-18th century, the English Lake District attracted artists of high calibre and the area was depicted in paintings and print which were created, as were the early guidebooks, to satisfy the curiosity and appetite of the cultural elite for English Lake District scenery. Due to the lack of a strong native tradition of landscape art in Britain at the time, the language and imagery of Arcadian classical tradition as interpreted by landscape painters of the Italian tradition such as Salvator Rosa (1615-73) and Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), were employed to convey the qualities of the English Lake District landscape. The landscape style of Claude Lorrain (1604/5-82), which was concerned with gentler, cultivated and inhabited scenery, was of also huge influence in the development of English landscape painting at this time. The more 'naturalistic' Northern European style of the 17th and 18th centuries, for example Jacob van Ruisdael (1629-82) and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-69), was also an inspiration for a number of artists, assisted by a vivid engagement of the British cultural elite with the scenery of the Swiss Alps through the fashionable 'Grand Tour' of Europe.

Artists such as William Bellers (flourished 1750-73) and Thomas Smith of Derby (died 1767) visited the English Lake District and produced prints which were widely circulated. Bellers visited in the early 1750s and published six prints of the English Lake District of which the first was of Derwent Water, complete with Arcadian wooded slopes and oak trees (Figure 2.b.42). Thomas Smith also produced a well-known view of Derwent Water which depicted the felling of the oak trees in Crow Park by Greenwich Hospital. Many paintings were reproduced as etched copper plates to provide engraved illustrations in topographical books or as compendiums of views. In a slightly later period the landscape artist William Westall (1781-1850), a skilled engraver, produced his own plates which illustrated a number of volumes of English Lake District views and collaborated with William Wordsworth in providing illustrations for Wordsworth's poems. The unprecedented demand from the rest of Britain for English Lake District scenery helped to stimulate the English discipline of the landscape watercolour and eventually made this a unique (though unconscious) artistic movement.

In the later 18th century an early artistic movement of sorts emerged from a group of painters influenced by Thomas Gray's descriptions of the English Lake District. The most prominent of these was Joseph Farington (1747-1821) and others included Sir George Beaumont (1753-1827) and Thomas Hearne (1744-1817). Farington was born in Lancashire and returned to the English Lake District in 1775, probably inspired by Gray's Journals which were published in 1769. He responded to the parts of the landscape that Gray had described as paradisal – Derwent Water and Grasmere – and in 1790 produced a set of views of the sites visited by Gray. Thomas Hearne joined Farington in the English Lake District in 1777, probably at the invitation of their patron Sir George Beaumont – recorded by Hearne in a drawing of the three artists sketching at Lodore Falls in Derwent Water (Figure 2.b.45). The strong influence of the Italian landscape tradition can still be detected in the paintings and sketches of this period. Sir George Beaumont's connections with London artistic society was important in bringing to wider attention the paintings of the artists influenced by Gray's descriptions of the English Lake District as a Northern Arcadia. He also collaborated with Uvedale Price on the development of the Picturesque aesthetic towards a more naturalistic style along the lines of Dutch and Flemish landscape traditions and was for 30 years a friend, patron and correspondent of William Wordsworth.

FIGURE 2.b.49 'A View of Derwent Water from Crow Park', by Thomas Smith of Derby (1767)

The publicity generated for the English Lake District through the works of Farington and Beaumont, and the general public enthusiasm for scenes of English Lake District lakes and mountains, attracted a growing number of British painters to visit the area in the 1780s and 90s. These included some of the best known artists of the age, including Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88), J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), and John Constable (1776-1837), all of whom made tours of in this period. Others, including Farington and Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-97), made repeated visits and all this activity helped to

FIGURE 2.b.50 'Helvellyn', John Constable (1806)

FIGURE 2.b.51 'Lodore Waterfall, Westmorland', Joseph Farington (1785)

cement the idea of the English Lake District as a landscape of immense beauty and interest both for artistic endeavour and for the visitor in search of stimulating experience.

Gainsborough was much influenced by the Northern European landscape tradition and this is evident in his depictions of the English Lake District. He was one of the most eminent portrait painters in Britain in the 18th century but also developed a distinctive landscape style and visited the English Lake District in 1783. J. M. W. Turner, one of the most important figures in British art, first visited the English Lake District in the 1797 and was inspired to produce an impressive series of both watercolours and oil paintings which continued into the 1880s. Examples of his oeuvre include the famous oil paintings of 'Morning amongst the Coniston Fells, Cumberland' (1798) and 'Buttermere Lake, with part of Cromackwater, Cumberland, and a shower' (1798) – see Figures 2.a.8 and 2.c.8.18. His watercolours include the view of 'Ullswater, Cumberland' (c. 1835), in the possession of the Wordsworth Trust – see Figure 3.4. John Constable struggled for recognition early in his career but is now regarded as one of the greatest landscape artists in British painting. He made one trip to the English Lake District, in 1806, and produced almost one hundred drawings and watercolours on location and around a dozen paintings at his studio in London. This visit had been suggested by Constable's wealthy uncle, David Pike Watt, who owned Storrs Hall on the eastern shore of Windermere. Another local resident was the talented amateur artist John Harden (1772-1847) who lived at Brathay Hall and was host to visiting artists and writers over three decades. Harden was a friend of Wordsworth and through his watercolours and

FIGURE 2.b.52 'Langdale Pikes', Thomas Gainsborough (c. 1783)

FIGURE 2.b.53 'Lepiota friesii', Beatrix Potter (1895). Watercolour of a specimen collected near Wray Castle, Windermere

drawings has left an important record of the cultivated society centred on the English Lake District in the later 19th century.

Other important artists of this period who visited the English Lake District included P. J. de Loutherbourg (1740-1812), who visited in 1783, Francis Towne (1740?-1816), in 1786, J. C. Ibbetson (1759-1817), William Green (1761-1823), John Glover (1767-1849), Peter de Wint (1784-1849) and Edward Lear (1812-88) in 1836. William Green settled in Ambleside in 1800 and became the first resident artist in the English Lake District to make a business from selling local views to tourists.

In addition to his other accomplishments in academia, writing, political philosophy, and art criticism, John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a highly accomplished artist in his own right and painted a number of English Lake District scenes and other subjects after he moved to Brantwood on the shores of Coniston in 1871. Another famous resident of the English Lake District, Beatrix Potter (Mrs Heelis) (1866-1943), also produced paintings of local subjects, not just as scenes for her famous children's books, but also accomplished studies of geological and botanical subjects.

CONTINUING ARTISTIC LINKS

The development of modern styles of art in the 20th century reduced the focus on the English Lake District and its importance as a subject for landscape painting. However, a strong local tradition continued and artists such as Alfred Heaton Cooper (1863-1929) and later his son William Heaton Cooper (1903-95), produced highly accomplished landscape watercolours of English Lake District scenes which have been reproduced widely as prints and illustrations for guidebooks. More widely significant artists continued to visit the Lake District for inspiration including key British figures of the period such as Paul Nash (1889-1946) and Ben Nicholson (1894-1982). The German refugee, Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948) settled in the English Lake District in 1945 and created his third 'Merzbau' in a small barn in the Langdale. This important work in a post-Dada idiom, comprising the pasted up detritus of civilization, was removed in 1965 and preserved in the Hatton Gallery of the University of Newcastle. The site of its creation and original installation, the 'Merzbarn' near Elterwater, has been conserved by the Littoral Arts Trust and is the centre of a wider artistic and educational project.

In recent years the English Lake District has been the setting for important projects of landscape art and public displays and continues to provide inspiration for a vibrant arts scene. For example the artist Andrew Goldsworthy has created a number of important works in the English Lake District including landscape sculptures for the Forestry Commission's Grizedale sculpture trail and his sheepfolds project which addressed directly the cultural value of the physical features of agro-pastoral agriculture. In 2009 the 'Fleur de Sel' installation was exhibited in Venice and Ullswater, created by rural artists Steve Messam and Hannah Stewart.

FIGURE 2.b.54 'Fleur de Sel', Steve Messam and Hannah Stewart (2009). Installed on Ullswater.

IMPORTANCE OF THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT IN THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

Wordsworth's 'Guide through the District of the Lakes' was first published anonymously in 1810, and went through a number of editions, culminating in the fifth edition of 1835. Only a small proportion of the text is devoted to 'Directions and Information for the Tourist'. The Guide is significant because it articulates a very modern concept of landscape evolution through the impact of nature and the impact of humans. But it also considers present changes and their future impact, and how these might be ameliorated. Its 25-year history of publication and five editions influenced the Romantic Movement and visitors, and also affected the local community.

Wordsworth's poetry similarly reflects his philosophy and concern for harmony. What is of interest and importance to Wordsworth is not the landscape in isolation, but how Man relates to and interacts with the landscape. This has a political as well as a psychological perspective. Wordsworth claimed that his Cumbrian upbringing instilled in him that sense of empathy and equality that he was to express so memorably in a letter to Charles James Fox in 1801, in which he defended "small independent proprietors of land here called statesmen". The land is their livelihood, but more than this, "serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings... It is a fountain fitted to the nature of social man from which supplies of affection, as pure as his heart was intended for, are daily drawn."

As well as harmony, continuity is important. Wordsworth defends the 'statesman' farmer celebrated in his poem 'Michael' (1800), because he takes only what he needs from the land, for himself, his family and his neighbours, and understands the continuity of nature,

THE EVOLUTION OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH'S 'GUIDE TO THE LAKES'

'Select Views in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire'. By the Rev. Joseph Wilkinson, Rector of East and West Wretham, in the county of Norfolk, and Chaplain to the Marquis of Huntly. London: Published, for the Rev. Joseph Wilkinson, by R. Ackermann, at his Repository of Arts, 101, Strand, 1810.

'The River Duddon, A Series of Sonnets: Vaudracour & Julia: and Other Poems'. To which is annexed, 'A Topographical Description of the Country of the Lakes, In the north of England'. By William Wordsworth. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1820.

'A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes in the North of England'. Third Edition, (now first published separately) with Additions, and Illustrative Remarks upon the Scenery of the Alps. By William Wordsworth. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1822.

'A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes in the North of England'. Third Edition, (now first published separately) with Additions, and Illustrative Remarks upon the Scenery of the Alps. By William Wordsworth. London: Printed for A. and R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square (4th Edition).

'A Guide Through the District of the Lakes in the North of England, with A Description of the Scenery etc. for the Use of Tourists and Residents'. Fifth Edition, with considerable additions. By William Wordsworth. Kendal: Published by Hudson and Nicholson, and in London by Longman & co., Moxon, and Whitttaker & Co. 1835.

and man's relationship to it over succeeding generations. Wordsworth is not opposed to change, but prefers change wrought by natural forces: "Wind and waves work with a careless and graceful hand".

The 'Guide' is imbued with Wordsworth's concern for the relationship between man and nature. Throughout the need for balance, for harmony is stressed. Buildings in the landscape are not to be condemned as long as they are in harmony with their surroundings, such that they appear "to have arisen, by an instinct of their own, out of the native rock". Their scale should be appropriate and humble and their colouring "clothed in part with a vegetable garb so that they 'appear to be received into the bosom of the living principle of things".

William Wordsworth's influential views on the aesthetics of landscape management were set out in the third section of his 'Guide through the District of the Lakes' of 1835. His views on the design of gardens and the laying out of grounds were also expounded in a letter to his patron, Sir George Beaumont, in 1805.

For Wordsworth, landscape gardening was an art on the same level as painting and poetry, which should excite the senses, and he is recorded as thinking that he was gifted in all three – as poet, landscape gardener and art critic. He had been interested

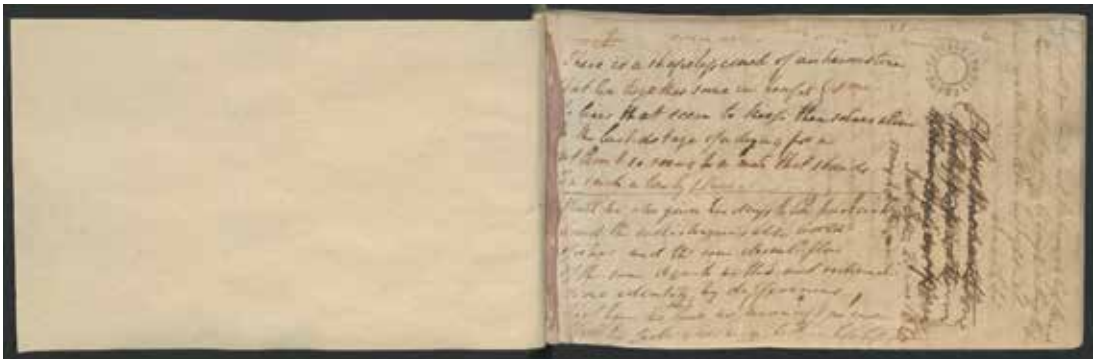


FIGURE 2.b.55 Lines from 'Michael'. William Wordsworth (1800)

in landscape gardening from an early age and his library included works by influential writers on Picturesque aesthetics. Wordsworth's intention in including his opinions on landscape management and design of buildings and gardens in 'The Guide' was to promote amongst the public an appreciation of the beauty and importance of nature in the landscape. As in poetry, he believed that good tasted needed to be both taught and learned. He was particularly concerned to instil a better taste for landscape amongst the new landowners and villa-builders in the English Lake District.

The key principle in Wordsworth's approach to landscape was the importance of 'nature', which included native plants and trees as opposed to imported varieties such as larch; lake shores that were sculpted by wind and waves rather than human hands; and houses that blended with their 'natural' background in terms of colour and texture of materials. 'Natural' for Wordsworth also included the presence of people in the landscape – he was opposed to the removal of vernacular cottages and villages in the pursuit of Picturesque views around villas and stately homes. Thus Wordsworth wrote in 'The Guide' that "The rule is simple; with respect to grounds – work, where you can, in the spirit of Nature, with an invisible hand of art... and the like may be said of buildings, that Antiquity, who may be styled the co-partner and sister of Nature, be not denied the respect to which she is entitled".

The practical implementation of Wordsworth's strictures on landscape and garden design included keeping parks, pleasure grounds and visually discordant houses out of sight as much as possible and letting nature take dominance in the landscape. In relation to gardens, if exotic plants were to be used in gardens close to houses, "a transition should be contrived, without abruptness, from these foreigners to the rest of the shrubs, which ought to be of the kinds scattered by Nature through the woods... Trees should be natives of the country... plantings that by Nature take their own shape without constraint".

Wordsworth carried his principles into action at his homes at both Dove Cottage and Rydal Mount and advised his landlord at Allan Bank on the laying out of its grounds. He was also active in providing ideas and practical assistance to friends and acquaintances who were establishing houses and grounds in the English Lake District. These included Dr Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby School, at Fox How, Dr James Dawson, the owner and builder of Wray Castle, Mrs Eliza Fletcher, at Lancrigg, under Helm Crag, and Harriet Martineau on the laying out of the grounds of her house, The Knoll, after her move to Ambleside in 1845.

FIGURE 2.b.56 The garden at Rydal Mount, Wordsworth's home from 1815 to 1850

FIGURE 2.b.57 Dora's Field, Rydal. The daffodils were planted by William Wordsworth in memory of his daughter Dora, who died in 1847.

The Industrial Revolution, and the growing popularity of the English Lake District as a tourist destination, saw an influx of wealthy new residents, who, in building grand houses for themselves, sought to make a statement regarding their wealth, power and taste. Wordsworth was appalled by this, contrasting such residences with the "snugness and privacy of the ancient houses". His principle was to work wherever possible 'in the spirit of Nature, with an invisible hand of art.' This is not just about modesty and discretion; it is also a practical necessity in a mountainous landscape, where exposure to the elements is best avoided.

To Wordsworth, the Lake District stands comparison with other spectacular natural landscapes, notably the Alps which he first visited in 1790. Whilst recognising that the English Lake District's lakes and mountains cannot compete in terms of sheer scale, he finds them much superior in terms of their proportion and propensity to the 'sublime'.

Wordsworth's writing is inextricably linked with the landscape and culture of the English Lake District. He is acutely aware that this is not an 'ideal' landscape in any simplistic sense; it is beautiful but not always gentle: "Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up / Fostered alike by beauty and by fear". The 'harmony' of man and nature, which Wordsworth praises, is a balance between tough, resilient people, and the challenging environment from which they make a living.

FIGURE 2.b.58 Allan Bank, a villa built in 1805 for a Mr Crump of Liverpool. The Wordsworth family moved here in 1808.

PHYSICAL CONSEQUENCES OF AESTHETIC INTEREST IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Apart from the literary and artistic works resulting from the high interest in the picturesque, there were also physical changes to the English Lake District. The viewing stations have been mentioned above. Also built were an increasing number of villas to accommodate first visitors and then residents of the English Lake District. These were often accompanied by modifications of the landscape to improve its picturesque qualities. Later, there were further developments in towns to accommodate the increasing numbers of visitors to the English Lake District, particularly after the arrival of the railways.

Altogether, there are around 40 recognised viewing stations in the English Lake District. Claife Station is one of West's five designated viewing stations around Windermere and is the only station to incorporate a purpose-built structure.

VILLAS

The villa came to prominence as an English building type in the early 18th century as an aristocratic retreat from the social whirl of London. It drew its architectural inspiration from the villas of the 16th century Italian architect, Andrea Palladio, while at the same time evoking the Roman farm estates celebrated by Virgil and others as repositories of virtue and the simple life in contrast to the vice and intrigue of Rome. The villas built in the English Lake District in the late 18th century were among the first genuinely rural villas in Britain.

Wordsworth pronounced Belle Isle, begun 1773-4 on the largest of Windermere's islands, to be "The first house that was built in the English Lake District for the sake of the beauty of the country", and this judgement has been generally accepted. Belle Isle was built for a London merchant, Thomas English, to the designs of a metropolitan architect, John Plaw; its unusual circular plan, with views radiating in all directions, attracted considerable notice. Belmount, near Hawkshead, is a much more conventional Palladian villa with a view over Esthwaite Water. Built for local clergyman the Reverend Reginald

CLAIFE VIEWING STATION

FIGURE 2.b.59 Visualisation of Claife Viewing Station in the 19th century

The Claife Viewing Station was built for the Reverend William Braithwaite on the recently enclosed land of Claife Heights in c. 1794 – 99, to a Gothic design by the architect John Carr (1723-1807). Following Braithwaite's death in 1800, the station and associated land was sold to John Christian Curwen as an extension of his estate. The sales particulars described the building as a 'temple near the lakes', which included 'pleasure grounds. Curwen and his wife Isabella owned Belle Isle and acquired the land on the west shore of Windermere in order to provide a Picturesque backdrop. Curwen enlarged the Station in 1801, changing the architecture to a Gothic revival style. The building is made of stone rubble and was originally whitewashed. It was designed to resemble a castle or fort with crenelated walls and included a dining room and wine cellar on the ground floor. The biggest attraction was the drawing room on the first floor. Reached by the spiral staircase at the back of the building, it provided stunning views across Windermere. The drawing room had a three-sided bay window, decorated with different coloured glass. These helped visitors to imagine different seasons or weather events to 'improve' the natural scene.

Dinner dances were held at Claife Viewing Station in the 19th century. In 1888 Mary Maria Higginson described the ball she attended nearly 50 years earlier... "It's one large room was well suited for a dance, being large and a good sprung floor, and when decorated and lighted up nothing could look prettier. The novelty attending this ball was that we had to cross the lake..."

Although privately owned, Claife Station soon became an established tourist destination and was visited by William Wordsworth and other Lake Poets who were critical of the building. The Curwens had also built a lodge and gateway, with a lodge keeper who also served as a general guide.

By the end of the 19th century Claife Viewing Station had fallen out of fashion. When John Curwen's ancestor E. A. Curwen died, the Station and surrounding land passed to the National Trust in 1962. The building remains a rare example of a purpose-built viewing station and is one of the earliest monuments to English Lake District tourism. The National Trust has recently conserved and opened up the remains of the Station so that visitors can once again use it to appreciate the landscape before them.

Braithwaite in 1774, it went almost unnoticed by contemporaries. In 1778 Joseph Pocklington, wealthy son of a Newark banker, built a house (now Derwent Isle) on Derwent Water's principal island – the first of three houses which he built within a mile or two of Keswick. Pocklington professed to be his own architect, and he embellished his island estate with gimcrack ornamental buildings and a stone circle, creating a whimsical backdrop to the regattas and mock sea-battles which he helped to promote, and which became a staple of villa society in the Lake District.

FIGURE 2.b.60 The house on Belle Isle, Windermere

FIGURE 2.b.61 Joseph Pocklington's villa on Derwent Isle, Derwent Water

The novel creations of Thomas English and Joseph Pocklington aroused considerable interest among visitors to the Lakes in the 1770s and 1780s, inaugurating a pattern of public, often outspoken, comment on private interventions in the English Lake District landscape. Most of the reactions were hostile. The striking domed, circular plan of Belle Isle was let down by the harsh, rectangular lines of English's garden, and Pocklington's follies were ridiculed. Both houses were resented as intrusions in a landscape which was already beginning to be seen as a 'common property'.

A handful of villas followed in the 1780s, but during the 1790s, as British tourists found themselves barred from the Continent, the pace of building quickened. In time this distribution broadened. Before 1800 the first villas had appeared in the Vale of Grasmere, and in the first 20 years of the 19th century they proliferated on Ullswater, Esthwaite Water and Coniston Water. As the Lake District became better known, more visited and more accessible, the tradition developed of building stand-alone houses in their own grounds in order to meet the need for accommodation for the well-off.

In contrast, the western valleys of the English Lake District were very thinly populated with villas in the period between the early tourism in the mid-18th century and the eve of the First World War. The reasons for this include the relative remoteness of the western valleys for the great majority of visitors, who came from points east and south of the English Lake District. A further obstacle to villa colonisation was aesthetic.

FIGURE 2.b.62 Esthwaite Lodge, Esthwaite. This house is now used as a youth hostel.

Eskdale and Dunnerdale are also without major lakes. The Victorian celebration of Nature as a purifying force might have prompted a reassessment, but the physical and practical impediments to villa development remained overwhelming and there was no new surge of villas in that area.

Most villa builders were outsiders ('off-comers') drawn to the Lake District by its increasingly celebrated natural scenery. The builders were socially varied, though all, of course, relatively well off. A few had aristocratic origins and a handful of villas were built by wealthy churchmen. However, many builders were prosperous merchants and professional men, especially from Liverpool and other sea-ports of Lancashire and Cumbria. As the 19th century progressed their numbers were swollen by industrialists, especially from Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some of the less well-off villa builders or tenants (many villas were let, either seasonally or for long periods) were writers, artists and dilettantes; by the mid-19th century they formed a substantial community, centred notably on Ambleside. Not all villa builders were off-comers. Some were home-grown industrialists such as Michael Knott, whose wealth derived from the Furness iron industry, and who remodelled Monk Coniston Hall as a Gothic villa c. 1820.

The villas built between 1770 and about 1810 were almost without exception classical in inspiration. In accordance with contemporary aesthetic theory they aimed to ornament a landscape conceived in the Arcadian terms of classical pastoral. In his 'Guide to the Lakes', Wordsworth made the villa a touchstone of contemporary attitudes to the environment, criticising the insensitivity of early villa builders in presuming to improve Nature, and contrasting their legacy with that of earlier vernacular builders. He argued that the traditional buildings of the Lake District were more truly ornamental because they struck the eye as natural outgrowths of the rocky soil, and because both in scale and in situation they subordinated themselves to the forms of Nature. In one of his earliest mature works, 'The Poetry of Architecture' (serialised 1837-8), Ruskin developed Wordsworth's argument, contrasting these home-grown villas unfavourably with both their vernacular neighbours and the villas of the Italian English Lake District.

In the 1840s there was a marked shift away from the rendered villas of earlier years in favour of a celebration of the rugged local slate. Wray Castle, built 1840-47 in the Gothic style, is one of the first indicators of the change. By the end of the decade even the suave Italianate style was being combined with exposed rubble. Wordsworth actively promoted his ideas. The traditional circular chimney of the Lake District, praised by Wordsworth and Ruskin, became a popular motif on new villas. Their critique of the early villas, prolonged over a generation, had revolutionised taste and made vernacular forms and materials attractive, so much so that in the ensuing decades some of the older rendered villas (including Belle Isle) were stripped of their offending covering.

With the opening of railways into the Lake District from the mid-19th century, in 1847 it became possible to commute to Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford and Leeds on a weekly

FIGURE 2.b.63 Wray Castle, now owned by the National Trust

or even daily basis. Year-round occupation of villas became a possibility for more than just the retired or those of independent means, and Lakes holidays lasting a week or a fortnight became a realistic proposition for less wealthy echelons of the middle class, encouraging a proliferation of hotels and boarding houses as well as villas.

From about 1890, a new set of architectural influences, rooted in vernacular forms (though not always those of the English Lake District) can be detected in the Lake District villa. The English Lake District has many Arts and Crafts-style houses, including Voysey's greatest house, Broadleys, and Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott's best house, Blackwell. These, along with Voysey's Moor Crag, are internationally iconic designs.

After the First World War the market for villas in the English Lake District declined declined sharply, but very few were demolished. Some, such as Wray Castle, Allan Bank (briefly Wordsworth's, and later Canon Rawnsley's home) and the isolated Wasdale Hall, were acquired by the National Trust, albeit usually to safeguard the landscape value of their estates rather than for their architectural merits or historic significance, which were then not adequately appreciated. Some villas were converted into hotels but many were acquired or leased by institutions associated with the burgeoning outdoor movement. The Youth Hostel Association, the Outward Bound Association, the Holiday Fellowship Trust and a variety of educational and

FIGURE 2.b.64 House in Arts and Crafts style at Moor Crag, Windermere

diocesan authorities have all, in various ways, aimed to make the English Lake District accessible to the widest possible community. Through such owners and occupiers the villas have continued to play a role in defining the English Lake District as a pioneer of evolving attitudes to landscape and society's relationship to it.

The impact of the Picturesque Movement in the English Lake District and more widely can be felt in a number of ways. In the Lake District the 'stations' and other popular attractions determined the routes that travellers followed, the localities they favoured and, in the long run, the places where villas were built and tourist infrastructure (hotels, communications, etc) developed. In art and architecture they gave new prominence to vernacular architecture and the details or ethnology of ordinary lives, trends which were to have far-reaching consequences for the evolution of 'polite' architecture (such as the Arts and Crafts style) and for the emergence of a conservation movement rooted in landscape, ecology and tradition.

FIGURE 2.b.65 Gate House, Eskdale. Now owned by the Outward Bound Trust.

2.b.4 WORDSWORTH, COLERIDGE AND THE ORIGIN OF ENVIRONMENTAL THOUGHT

The Romantic writers can be considered as the pioneers of what is now called environmentalism. Though Romantic writing is not in itself the beginnings of this or ecology, inheriting as it does notions of the sublime and the picturesque, it does bring to the forefront the central concept of the relationship of man with nature and vice versa. There is a growing body of literature that details the influence of Romantic writing in general on modern environmentalism. The Romantic poets recognised that Nature is fundamental to our physical and psychological well-being, and sought to teach human beings how to live in harmony with, rather than in opposition to, the natural world.

Wordsworth's poetry and prose are driven by an enlivening and intense engagement with place and landscape, predominantly in his native region, the English Lake District.

Here, he re-formatted neo-classical and pre-classical preoccupations with 'spirit of place' into an ecological relationship between people and environment and positioned this revolutionary development at the heart of Romanticism. This engendered a distinctive sense of self and individuality which seeded and then, throughout the 19th century, consolidated the emergence of an increasingly inclusive democracy rooted in a new sense of the worth of the individual. The English Lake District was one cradle for this birth but was uniquely the cradle for its twin: deep ecology and its subsequent growth into a national and then global conservation movement.

Wordsworth's poetic encounter with the English Lake District on his return from Germany in 1799 arose from a discovery and re-affirmation of its deep spirit of place while his choice of home at Dove Cottage in Grasmere reflects a commitment to a distinctive and defined place, expressed in his poem 'Home at Grasmere'.

In 1800 Wordsworth began to write the poem 'Michael', and a specific local environment – Greenhead Gill (and its ruined sheepfold) – helped him pattern his narrative and was the place where he composed much of the poem and then recited it to Coleridge. This place has a time-depth and a resonance which acts as a magnet for the poet:

> "For me,
> When it has chanced that having wandered long
> Among the mountains, I have waked at last
> From dream of motion, in some spot like this,
> Shut out from man, some region – one of those
> That hold an inalienable right
> An Independent life, and seem the whole
> Of nature and of unrecorded time."

These are the original seed experiences of what is now appreciated as a pioneering ecological perspective. Wordsworth was the first to express such experiences in a way which encouraged a shift from the local and specific to the cosmopolitan and the global.

William Wordsworth's sister Dorothy was also crucial to this development. The fluidity of her responses to the natural world was matched in her Grasmere Journals by spontaneity uninhibited by any intention to publish. Exploring the places and landscapes of the region was shared and celebrated together.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was the other key figure in this forging of ecological sensibility. Coleridge's deepening and extending of his already profound engagement with the natural world was worked out most vividly in the English Lake District through his pioneering solo walking tour of the region in July 1802. Like Dorothy Wordsworth, Coleridge records his experience in richly-layered jottings in a pocket notebook without a thought for publication. The result is a stream-of-consciousness 'new world' mapping of the English Lake District uplands which is the polar opposite to Wordsworth's disciplined and sometimes heavily crafted productions.

Around these early formations of a deepening ecology, the word spread that something was happening in the English Lake District; here was a group which was loosely called 'The Lake Poets' (above). This journalistic short-hand gave the revolution in

consciousness taking place in this region a safe and domesticated 'brand' which helped it travel throughout mainstream British culture and then, in later decades, into the United States.

The poems Wordsworth wrote in the first five years of his return to his native region are driven by an intensity of encounter with places and landscapes. However, Wordsworth also knew that these places and landscapes were hand-made and managed by a community of hill farmers and shepherds. At first there is an enthusiastic idealization, but this is rapidly followed by deeper exploration and celebration in some remarkable poems. This ground-breaking phase of poetry mutated, from about 1808 onwards, into the prose analysis of his 'Guide through the District of the Lakes' which is threaded together through a 'protect and serve' advocacy of a pastoral culture as a guarantor

FIGURE 2.b.66 Manuscript of Dorothy Wordsworth's Grasmere Journal, 15 April 1802

One of Dorothy Wordsworth's most famous journal entries is the one she made for Thursday 15 April, 1802, which inspired her brother William's most famous poem:

'The wind was furious... the Lake was rough... When we were in the woods beyond Gowbarrow park we saw a few daffodils close to the water side, we fancied that the lake had floated the seeds ashore and that the little colony had so sprung up. But as we went along there were more and yet more and at last under the boughs of the trees, we saw that there was a long belt of them along the shore, about the breadth of a country turnpike road. I never saw daffodils so beautiful they grew among the mossy stones about and about them, some rested their heads upon these stones as on a pillow for weariness and the rest tossed and reeled and danced and seemed as if they verily laughed with the wind that blew upon them over the Lake, they looked so gay ever glancing ever changing. This wind blew directly over the lake to them. There was here and there a little knot and a few stragglers a few yards higher up but they were so few as not to disturb the simplicity and unity and life of that one busy highway... – Rain came on, we were wet.'

In 2013 Dorothy Wordsworth's Grasmere Journal was added to the United Kingdom's Memory of the World Register, a UNESCO initiative to list documentary heritage of cultural significance.

FIGURE 2.b.67 "...and the remains of the unfinished Sheepfold may be seen. Beside the boisterous brook of Greenhead Ghyll". This sheepfold in Greenhead Gill may be the one described in William Wordsworth's poem 'Michael'.

of a vibrant and sustainable cultural landscape. As Wordsworth takes his readers into this cultural landscape, he develops a human ecology out of a broadly non-literary hill farming way of life, and sets a course for the wider communication of this culture.

In re-discovering his native community, Wordsworth was able to ground powerful, classical pastoral precedents, in a new 'real-world' pastoral; Cumbrian, English Lake District, specific, valley by valley, farming family by farming family; shepherd by shepherd. He engaged, especially closely with two farming families – the Ewbanks of Ennerdale ('The Brothers', 1800) and Michael, Isabel and Luke of Grasmere ('Michael', 1800) and as he does so, he takes on the challenges and crises of the English Lake District's hill farming culture. For Wordsworth, this pastoral life offered a model and a source of place-making knowledge which was more valuable because of the threats to its existence. It is worked through in 'Michael', a story of one shepherd and his family. The events in the poem date from the 1720's or 1730's. Wordsworth emphasizes that he is not drawn to shepherds and hill farmers "For their own sakes", but more for the landscape which they had sustained: "...for the fields and hills/Where was their occupation and abode". This culture was rooted in everyday work and intimate knowledge of terrain and climate:

> "And in his shepherd's calling he was prompt
> And watchful more than ordinary men.
> Hence he had learned the meaning of all winds,
> Of blasts of every tone...
> And truly, at all times, the storm that drives
> The traveller to a shelter, summoned him
> Up to the mountains: he had been alone
> Amid the heart of a thousand mists,
> That came to him, and left him, on the heights."
>
> 'Michael' (1800)

The poem is imbued with insight about the character of human hefting (attachment to the landscape) which is the foundation for this distinctive culture. This insight is inflamed with the knowledge that such foundations had begun to fracture at the beginning of the 18th century, and that the impossibility of succession projected an absolute end to this culture. Wordsworth picks up the story after the tragedy has happened for this family. Poignantly, the location and remnant which holds the poem together and is the story's evidence is an incomplete heart-shaped sheepfold which Michael began to build and which would have been completed if the worst had not happened. This sheepfold still survives in Greenhead Gill (Figure 2.b.67).

From this perspective, Wordsworth began to articulate with confidence a general view about the importance of English Lake District hill farming culture to the wider national and international community. As his appreciation of this unique upland culture developed, he built a philosophy and a set of values which forms the nucleus of a deep human ecology:

> "How exquisitely the individual Mind
> (And the progressive powers perhaps no less
> Of the whole species) to the external world
> Is fitted; and how exquisitely too-
> Theme this but little heard of among men-
> The external world is fitted to the mind..."
>
> 'Home at Grasmere' (1888)

This is directly dependent upon an intricate and multi-layered knowledge of place held by generations of shepherds. To look closely at this culture is to access a profound cross-generational intimacy (in contemporary terms 'effective succession') with the terrain and its livestock which is most telling in the practice of hefting both for shepherds and their sheep. Wordsworth's vision, like the shepherd's way of life, is resilient and hard edged. There is a political and policy dimension to his advocacy of the English Lake District as a bulwark against destructive processes which influences the formation of national parks in the United States and the United Kingdom through the assertion that ecology and culture are twinned.

It is this conviction which drove Wordsworth to write his famous letter of 14th January 1801 (an early example of conservation campaigning falling on deaf ears), to the then leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Charles James Fox, making a plea for the support of this special English Lake District community against the forces of social disintegration:

> "They are small independent proprietors of land here called statesmen, men of respectable education who daily labour on their own little properties. The domestic affections will always be strong amongst men who live in a country not crowded with population, if these men are placed above poverty. But if they are proprietors of small estates, which have descended to them from their ancestors, the power which these affections will acquire amongst such men is inconceivable by those who have only had an opportunity of observing hired labourers, farmers, and the manufacturing Poor. Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings, as a tablet upon which they are written which makes them objects of memory in a thousand instances when they would otherwise be forgotten... This class of men is rapidly disappearing".

It is in the first drafts of his 'Guide' that Wordsworth demonstrates most directly that the cultural landscape of the English Lake District was founded upon a system of

land-management which achieved a legal security and evolved over the 150 years from 1610, before once again coming under threat during his lifetime. For Wordsworth, the commitment to land and land-ownership was more fundamental than circumstantial and electoral allegiances. In 1817 he had also argued that Thomas Spence's radical scheme for land nationalization deserved support as a solution to the conflict between the landed and the landless ('Letters, The Middle Years'). In 1824 he opposed proposals by the agents of Lady le Fleming to enclose Rydal Commons in defiance of shepherds and hill farmers.

The pastoral system that evolved and achieved stability and strength in the English Lake District between the 1600s and 1750 is described and celebrated by Wordsworth as a cultural ecology par excellence:

> "Corn was grown in these vales... sufficient upon each estate to furnish bread for each family, and no more: notwithstanding the union of several tenements, the possessions of each inhabitant still being small... The storms and moisture of the climate induced them to sprinkle their upland property with outhouses of native stone, as places of shelter for their sheep, where, in tempestuous weather, food was distributed to them. Every family spun from its own flock the wool withy which it was clothed... every thing else, person and possession, exhibited a perfect equality, a community of shepherds and agriculturists, proprietors, for the most part, of the lands which they occupied and cultivated".
>
> 'A Guide through the District of the Lakes' (1835)

Wordsworth's role and impact within British culture was consolidated and mainstreamed after his death most notably by Matthew Arnold. Its influence in subsequent decades has strengthened and expanded through its perennial presence in school and university curricula and, more recently, within the growth of cultural tourism and heritage. The mix of 'nature worship' and spiritual insight in his work has been especially attractive in India and Japan. Wordsworth's international status was driven most dramatically within the United States from the 1830s onwards. Here writers and thinkers were discovering the 'wilder' nature of the continent and were challenged to reflecting on the spiritual and cultural implications of this discovery. Wordsworth's work became a guide to some of this exploration.

Ralph Waldo Emerson met Wordsworth and Coleridge in Europe in 1832 and the American literary revolution of that time was fuelled in part by several Wordsworthian works. Henry David Thoreau was a strong presence in the circle around Emerson, and began to put Wordsworthian insights into daily practice, as recorded in 'Walden', or 'Life in the Woods'. John Muir annotated his own copy of 'The Prelude', and spliced Wordsworth's deep ecological perspective into his conservation campaigning as founder and president of The Sierra Club. This led to establishment of the world's first national park at Yellowstone in 1872. These developments in the United States were

then re-imported, with added value, back into British conservation campaigning from the 1880s onwards, leading to the eventual formation of the Lake District as one of the United Kingdom's first National Park in 1951. More recently, from the 1960s, there has been another renaissance in cultural-ecological thinking and creativity enforced by global environmental challenges, and this, in turn, has been informed by Wordsworth's commitment to place and indigenous cultures worked out so profoundly in the English Lake District.

The "economy of nature" in the English Lake District continues to affect deeply resident and visiting communities, testifies to the depth of Wordsworth's ecological perspective and the enduring value of the English Lake District which continues to be a crucible and a genuinely open university of environmentalism and deep ecology.

2.b.5 THE EMERGENCE OF AN EARLY CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

EARLY CONCERNS ABOUT THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

The Picturesque interest in the English Lake District from the mid-18th century was accompanied by a recognition by a small number of new landowners and guidebook writers that the innate natural beauty of the English Lake District could be damaged by inappropriate development and that this could be prevented by direct action in terms of ownership and management. A key example of this is the case of the oak woods at the northern end of Derwent Water acquired by Greenwich Hospital in 1735.

FIGURE 2.b.68 The heavily wooded western shore of Derwent Water, purchased by Lord William Gordon in 1781 in order to develop a Picturesque park

In 1751, Greenwich Hospital arranged for the sale and felling of the mature oak trees in Crow Park. This occurred at the time that Derwent Water was becoming increasingly valued for its sublime and Picturesque scenery. As a result, the felling of the Crow Park oaks, recorded for a wide audience in a well-known print of Derwent Water by Thomas Smith of Derby in 1761 (Figure 2.b.49), attracted much local criticism. The Hospital's

actions were also criticised by Thomas West in his 'Guide to the Lakes' of 1778, who in describing the location of his Viewing Station II at Crow Park, bemoaned the earlier felling of the oaks by Greenwich Hospital.

In 1781, partly in response to the tree felling by Greenwich Hospital, Lord William Gordon purchased a number of estates on the western shore of Derwent Water in order to manage the land as a Picturesque park along lines suggested by William Gilpin for Derwent Water in his 'Observations' of 1776 (published 1789). Although Gordon's primary motivation was promotion of his reputation within society and at court, this is perhaps the earliest example in the English Lake District of private intervention in order to protect valued landscape from changes that were deemed inappropriate.

Events such as this were the beginnings of the conservation movement that developed in the English Lake District through the 19th century. Two thinkers were particularly influential in this process – William Wordsworth and John Ruskin. Later in the century the movement became more structured and institutional with the formation of bodies such as the Wordsworth Society, the English Lake District Defence Society and the National Trust.

THE INFLUENCE OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH ON APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION

William Wordsworth's fame as a poet and author of the widely read 'Guide to the Lakes' placed him in a strong position to object to certain developments which he believed would adversely affect his beloved English Lake District. His stance on proposed railway construction and footpath closures influenced the thinking of John Ruskin and others who continued the fight to protect the English Lake District landscape in the later 19th century.

In 1844, at the height of his fame, Wordsworth attacked the proposal to construct a railway line from Kendal to Windermere in the English Lake District. Elsewhere landowners had successfully fought railway development on their land, but Wordsworth was the first powerful, independent voice to object to the damaging effects of the railways. His tactics included sending sonnets to the newspapers, notably the Morning Post, followed by letters of objection. Wordsworth described the proposed extension of this line towards Ambleside as "offensive". His opposition to development that he believed would damage the character of the English Lake District formed the basis for the notion that anyone with a concern for widely valued landscape, and not just landowners, had a right to voice objections to its possible degradation. He commented that "The staple of the district is… its beauty and its character of seclusion and retirement…' and that "The matter, though seemingly local, is really one in which all persons of taste must be interested…"

Wordsworth's reaction to the Windermere railway underpinned later protests against other railway schemes in the Lake District, including proposals in 1883 for railways in Ennerdale and from Keswick to the top of Honister Pass. While these both were withdrawn primarily for financial reasons, the improved organisation of the protestors also had significant effect and was crucial in persuading the proponents of the railways that opposition to the Parliamentary Bills would significantly reduce the chance of them succeeding.

The other unpopular development in the Lake District in the early 19th century was the closure by landowners of various footpaths and tracks that had been used by the public since time immemorial. These closures were an important stimulus to the development of the popular movement to protect the English Lake District landscape from unwelcome change and to allow visitors to access and enjoy it. Wordsworth himself was involved in a case by Ullswater where, on his way to dine with the landowner, he found a wall across his path which he kicked down.

Also controversial, again opposed by Wordsworth, was the large-scale planting of non-native trees in the English Lake District. This began in the late 18th century with a fashion for planting larch. Wordsworth argued that trees and woodland should be appropriate for the English Lake District landscape and while acknowledging that a few exotic trees within parks or gardens might be acceptable, he condemned the introduction of conifers and larch, describing the larch plantations as "vegetable manufactories". Wordsworth argued strongly for the protection of ancient woodlands and this concern has been at the forefront of arguments over land management in the English Lake District over the last 150 years.

Wordsworth also opposed the enclosure and further reduction of the English Lake District's unenclosed common grazing lands. These were the remnants of the extensive areas of medieval common waste that until the later 18th century extended across much of Cumbria. Even today Cumbria still has a third of all of England's common land and much of it is within the English Lake District. The protection of this common grazing that continue to be farmed in a traditional manner with stinted sheep flocks, has long been an aim of the conservation movement.

WORDSWORTH AND JOHN MARSHALL

Wordsworth's friendship with John Marshall resulted from a close relationship between his sister Dorothy and Marshall's wife Jane. Marshall's wealth derived from the flax spinning industry, and from 1810 he purchased various extensive estates in the English Lake District, in many cases at Wordsworth's suggestion, at Patterdale, Derwent Water, Coniston and Loweswater-Buttermere-Crummock.

He eventually owned key areas of land around the heads of six of the lakes and much of this, including the former Greenwich Hospital Estate on Derwent Water, eventually ended up in the ownership of the National Trust. The main purpose behind these purchases was primarily to protect the scenic landscape value of the area rather than economic considerations. Marshall shared with Wordsworth an interest in trees and woodland management and both had a preference for mixed planting of native species as opposed to imported larches; for naturalistic planting rather than regular plantations; and for successive cropping rather than clear felling. Many of these ideas were expressed in Wordsworth's 'Guide'.

FIGURE 2.b.69 Hallsteads, on the western shore of Ullswater. Built by John Marshall in 1815.

Such purchases of land in order to protect its aesthetic and scenic landscape value were private interventions that would be superseded in the late 19th century by the model of public intervention represented by the National Trust. This was assisted enormously by the Romantic tradition in the English Lake District and its development of aesthetic value to focus on the traditional, farmed landscape and the society which produced it. The legacy of Wordsworth's views on the intrinsic value and importance of the local English Lake District agro-pastoral farming culture and its landscape thus underpinned the purchase of farms to preserve the system of agro-pastoralism which maintained the much-valued form of the English Lake District landscape (see below).

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND INFLUENCE OF JOHN RUSKIN

FIGURE 2.b.70 John Ruskin (seated on the left)

Although Wordsworth was viewed at the time as the chief prophet of the conservation movement, his arguments against developments such as railways did not gain widespread acceptance until the last quarter of the 19th century, when John Ruskin added his own considerable moral weight to the campaign against forces his predecessor had feared.

Ruskin (1819 – 1900) was one of the great figures of the conservation movement in the 19th century. His publications established an approach to conservation which still has influence today. An increasingly powerful feature of his response to landscape and architecture was a social dimension. The roots of this can be traced directly to Ruskin's early exposure to the English Lake District's cultural identity, both on the ground, and through his reading of Wordsworth's poetry and his 'Guide through the District of the Lakes' (1835).

Ruskin first visited the Lake District as a child in 1824, at the start of a life-long association with the area (he lived at Brantwood, Coniston for the last 28 years of his life), and a long and enduring relationship between his work and the landscape of the Lake District. His eyes were opened to the English Lake District landscape through a succession of family visits during which he systematically studied the picturesque stations (especially those of Thomas West) and drew extensively from nature. As an early student of art, Ruskin studied the work of the English landscape painters and particularly the work of J. M. W. Turner. These visual experiences, many of them of Lake District scenes, were enriched from the start by the reading of works by the Romantic poets, and Wordsworth in particular, who he first met briefly in 1826 but more significantly in 1839. Ruskin's influential thought on landscape protection developed from the writings of the Romantic poets of the previous generation.

In returning to the Lake District Ruskin was able to capitalize upon the development of his thinking on the political economy in its relation to our husbandry of the land.

FIGURE 2.b.71 Brantwood, Coniston. The home of John Ruskin from 1872 until his death in 1900.

He used the wealth he had inherited from his parents to inaugurate a programme of activities to put his ideas into practice, and to promote the ethical and moral basis of his thinking through works which both derived directly from, and found expression in, the landscape at his feet. These took many forms but may be conveniently divided into four strands: direct works of experimental landscaping; support and reform of indigenous rural crafts; writings on natural history and ecology; leadership and support for environmental campaigns.

Ruskin recruited four of his students from Oxford to come to work on projects at Brantwood; together they formed an important bridgehead for the furtherance of Ruskin's influence in and beyond the English Lake District. Two were of particular significance: W. G. Collingwood, who became Ruskin's secretary and subsequently an archaeologist and historian of the English Lake District (and a Lakes artist of some stature) and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley.

In the Lake District in 1872, Ruskin began to exert social influence on a local scale through the medium of craft work and small-scale industry in the surrounding towns and villages. He encouraged the Coniston School of Woodcarving and introduced innovative ideas in to the school's curriculum. The Langdale Linen Industry was a cottage industry originally established in 1883, through the interest of Ruskin and two friends, Albert Fleming from Skelwith Bridge and his housekeeper Marian Twelves. Ruskin Lace was used to decorate the linen and is a unique form of drawn thread and needle lace which is made in the Lakes and Furness area to this day. In its heyday it provided a number of entrepreneurial women with the livelihood to run shops in Ambleside and Keswick, selling the wares of makers from isolated farms and hamlets in and around the Langdales in the central Lakes. In Keswick it became aligned with the newly-established Keswick School of Industrial Arts.

At Brantwood he wrote some of his most significant series of environmental writings, drawing closely on aspects of the Lake District landscape. From lectures delivered at Oxford and the Royal Institution in London he compiled four volumes on natural history: geology ('Deucalion', 1879); ornithology ('Love's Meinie', 1893); botany ('Prosperina', 1882);

and meteorology ('Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century', 1884). In this last, he examined the impact of industrial atmospheric pollution upon the Cumbrian skies, as witnessed by daily readings of the weather at Brantwood. From 1871 to 1884 Ruskin penned a series of open letters to the working men of England, 'Fors Clavigera', which weave together the elements of Ruskin's experience during the Brantwood years with a critique of contemporary events in the world at large and his own meditation upon the principles he had laid forward for a fair and just society. All these letters drew upon local landscape, people and their lives in ways which rendered them as parables.

Ruskin's celebrity inevitably meant that he was called upon to support emerging environmental campaigns. Ruskin insisted that the aesthetic enjoyment of our environment has a moral value that is reflected also in its husbandry. Put simply, we not only get the landscape we deserve, but the landscape we get will shape our future. The critical environmental debate is, therefore, not about saving pristine wilderness for aesthetic purposes (though in 'Modern Painters', (1843-60), he advocates saving such areas), but rather one of establishing a right-livelihood for mankind in relation to nature. For more than a hundred years the English Lake District has been physically shaped by the endurance of such ideas. At the same time the English Lake District has influenced perceptions around the world of the value of landscape.

Both Collingwood and Rawnsley set out to establish lasting institutional tributes to Ruskin in the locality. In 1901 Collingwood mounted an exhibition of Lake District artists in honour of Ruskin and from this grew the idea to create a museum which followed Ruskin's educational ideas, with an emphasis on Ruskin's own life and interests and on local history. It also led to the formation in 1904 of the Lake Artists Society, a society which has championed many fine landscape painters and which continues to thrive and hold regular exhibitions. The Ruskin Museum in Coniston has been continually open since its foundation.

Rawnsley's championship of Ruskin's ideas took many forms, the most important of which was in his pioneering role in the National Trust. More local and specific to Ruskin's legacy in the English Lake District was his founding of the Keswick School of Industrial Arts, which moved into purpose built accommodation on High Hill in 1893. The building still stands.

Rawnsley was closely involved in the parallel development of the Keswick Museum, a museum which, in 1898 moved into purpose built buildings in Fitz Park, and which it still occupies. The museum was laid out according to Ruskin's model teaching displays with a mixture of local geology, natural history and art. Rawnsley was responsible in particular for the opening in 1905 of the picture galleries, which were a venue for exhibitions of the Lake Artists Society.

THE BATTLE OVER THIRLMERE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Early conservation concerns in the English Lake District focused on opposition to proposed railways, the closure of footpaths and inappropriate forestry planting. These causes continued throughout the 19th century. In 1886 the Contemporary Review recorded no less than 22 footpaths being closed against tourists. The most notable cases

were near Keswick and protests against closures at Fawe Park and Latrigg were fought by the Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association, formed in 1865 and one of the earliest such organisations in the country. A letter to the Manchester Guardian published on 7 October 1887 noted that the landowners had erected

> "Huge barriers of iron and wood... and saturated it with coal tar to stop an organised protest walk over the path in dispute... On Wednesday, September 28 between four and five hundred people went to Fawe Park and on Saturday October 1st about two thousand people walked to the top of Latrigg".

The protestors included doctors, ministers, solicitors and a member of parliament and the letter writer noted that

> "The people of Keswick... fighting the battle of all lovers of this beautiful district, this garden and playground of England... the Latrigg case will affect the right of ascent to almost every mountain in Great Britain".

Other footpath battles occurred in Ambleside in respect of access to a waterfall where the public broke down barriers which had been erected in order to charge them for admittance. These early environmental protests were the precursors to an English Lake District conservation battle of such significance that it is rightly seen as the first key environmental campaign, setting precedents in both moral principles and practical campaigning techniques that have shaped the modern environmental movement.

This battle was over the implementation in the mid 1870s by the city of Manchester of a plan to dam the two small lakes at Thirlmere in the central English Lake District to create a reservoir to improve the city's water supply. The Manchester Corporation began by acquiring land in advance of parliamentary approval of the scheme. The campaign of opposition that ensued was unprecedented in its wide engagement of the general public, the international attention that it attracted, the vigour with which it was pursued, and the developments in landscape protection which it engendered.

FIGURE 2.b.72 The former Keswick School of Industrial Arts (now a restaurant)

When the news broke of Manchester Corporation's plans, a protest meeting hastily summoned in Grasmere led to the formation of the Thirlmere Defence Association (TDA). This was the very first national landscape protection society, made up of members who, in the main, had an interest in the beauty of the English Lake District landscape. These included tourism operators and local landowners affected by the proposals, including those along the route of the aqueduct that would be constructed through the English Lake District.

FIGURE 2.b.73 View of Leathes Water (c. 1879) before the creation of the Thirlmere reservoir

FIGURE 2.b.74 Thirlmere dam under construction

The TDA was successful, too, in attracting membership amongst prominent national figures and also received support from abroad as described below.

Robert Somervell, a local business man from Kendal, who was apparently the youngest present at the first meeting of the TDA, offered to write a campaign pamphlet setting out the objections to Manchester's proposal. The arguments against the damming of Thirlmere which were advanced by the TDA, largely through Somervell's pamphlet, but also by its members who spoke publicly, captured the imagination of the public and the wider national press.

Although the battle for Thirlmere was lost, the campaign mounted by the TDA was itself of lasting importance as it gave rise to a number of legacies of both national and international significance. First, and perhaps most importantly, the Thirlmere case established the moral principle that legitimate interest in the transformation of landscapes extended not only to those who had legally documented claims but also to those whose claims were based on other interests including aesthetic values and beliefs and recreational desires. Second, the innovative style and methods for campaigning that were developed by the TDA, using the national press, pamphlets, public meetings and lobbying of Parliament, set a precedent for all

FIGURE 2.b.75 Plaque erected on the straining well at Thirlmere by the Manchester Corporation

modern environmental campaigns. Protests against developments affecting landscape prior to the Thirlmere case had been mounted principally by individual landowners and had attracted relatively little attention outside the immediately area that was affected. The TDA, although constituted to fight a specific Lake District battle, had a national membership, including Robert Hunter, a London barrister, the social reformer Octavia Hill, academics from the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, William Morris and the author Thomas Carlyle. These national figures were crucial in bringing the Thirlmere case to national and international notice and transforming it from a local campaign to one of much wider significance.

Third, the campaign led directly to the development of two separate but crucially important paths towards environmental conservation, based, respectively, on campaigning and advocacy leading to national designation, and on permanent acquisition of land to ensure its preservation. The first began with the formation of the Lake District Defence Society (LDDS) in 1883, to counter further threats to the Lake District from discordant development (see below). The LDDS evolved into the Friends of the Lake District in 1934. The formation of the LDDS took place against a wider call for a more established national approach to landscape protection. This in turn led to the formation of the Council for the Protection of Rural England in 1926, the formation of a standing conference on National Parks, and eventually to national park designation for the English Lake District. Thirlmere, of all amenity battles, made possible the realisation of Wordsworth's notion of the English Lake District being "a sort of national property".

The other path towards environmental conservation that stemmed directly from the Thirlmere campaign was the foundation of the National Trust for England.

THE FOUNDING OF THE WORDSWORTH SOCIETY

An important event in the overall development of the early conservation movement in the English Lake District was the founding in 1880 of the Wordsworth Society. The Society's purpose was to act as "a bond of union amongst those who are in sympathy with the general teaching and spirit of Wordsworth". The Wordsworth Society quickly attracted a number of prominent and influential members, including John Ruskin and members of the Wordsworth family.

Ruskin had written to the Wordsworth Society to declare that is purpose should be "to preserve as far as possible in England the conditions of rural life which made Wordsworth himself possible and which if destroyed would leave his verse vainer than the Hymns of Oprheus". Wordsworth's views on the value of the Lake District and the need to preserve it were repeated by Ruskin, Rawnsley and other conservationists of the later 19th century in the battles against railways, reservoirs and other damaging developments. It was to the Wordsworth Society that Rawnsley brought his proposal

FIGURE 2.b.76 The Thirlmere dam today

for the English Lake District Defence Society in 1883 and the whole membership of the Wordsworth Society was entered as members of the English Lake District Defence Society under the name of Professor Knight, its founder.

Rawnsley's address to the Wordsworth Society in 1883 demonstrates some of the important strands of thought which were shaping the development of the conservation movement in the Lake District and which would become important for the formation of the National Trust and in the later campaign for UK National Parks and their statutory purposes. One of these was the idea that areas like the Lake District were "not only pleasure grounds but thinking grounds and capable of enriching the nation with high thoughts and so are part of the nation's wealth". Another was that defenders of the Lake District should join with other associations such as the Commons Preservation Society and the Guild of St George as part of a national effort to protect it. A third idea expressed in his address hints at the idea of National Parks: "Some time hence, who knows, a wise Government may enable the Lake District to have a special Act to protect it from railroad outrage for the people, as has been done in the Yosemite Valley of America...".

OTHER CONSERVATION BATTLES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Wordsworth's objections to the railway to Windermere and beyond had not found universal support and some commentators, including Harriet Martineau, were in favour of improved transport links. In 1876 the English Lake District Association (ELDA) was established by local hoteliers with the support of some local gentry to promote better communications and recreational facilities, albeit without damaging the beauty of the area. In 1861, the only voices to be heard opposing the railway from Penrith to Cockermouth, via Keswick were those of vested landowning interests. However, opposition to industrial development in the Lake District grew from the 1870s and Wordsworth's views were taken up by John Ruskin and Canon Rawnsley as described above.

An identifiable conservation movement had emerged by 1876 and its first major battle was against a new proposal to extend the railway from Windermere to Ambleside and on to Keswick. The campaign was led by the local businessman, Robert Somervell, with help from John Ruskin and other supporters, and a pamphlet was published entitled 'A protest against the extension of railways in the Lake District', which included a preface by Ruskin. Arguments against the railway extension (and other later developments) were made on both moral and economic grounds. The moral arguments, following Wordsworth and developed by Ruskin, were based on the intrinsic beauty and universal value of the English Lake District landscape.

FIGURE 2.b.77 Map of proposed Ennerdale mineral railway (published by the English Lake District Defence Society, 1883)

In 1881 a proposal was developed by the owners of the Honister slate quarry to build a branch railway line from Braithwaite, near Keswick, to the slate quarries at Honister pass, above Buttermere. The route of the proposed Braithwaite and Buttermere railway would run up the western side of Derwent Water and thus through one of the most celebrated and cherished parts of the English Lake District. Opponents of the railway first tried to mount a campaign through the ELDA, but the ELDA soon came out in favour of the line as it could improve access for tourists. The objectors, led by Canon Rawnsley, included W. H. Hills of Ambleside and the local shoe manufacturer, Gordon Somervell and a number of industrialists and academics with homes in the English Lake District. A national petition was organised and the national press also came out in opposition. The Braithwaite to Buttermere Railway bill was subsequently withdrawn, in part due to economic considerations, but also in the face of what had become an organised opposition.

Another railway proposal came forward in 1883, this time for a line to the head of Ennerdale Water. In July 1883 Parliament agreed that a select committee should investigate the impact of the proposed railway on the scenic landscape of Ennerdale. This set an important precedent following the Thirlmere case, that the general environmental implications of such developments should be taken into account. The railway bill was then withdrawn as the promoters realised it would not pass this test.

The railway proposals of the 1880s, together with the battle over Thirlmere, persuaded Canon Rawnsley and others that a permanent defence society was required for

protecting the English Lake District. Thus in 1883 Rawnsley took a proposal to the Wordsworth Society which resulted in the formation of the English Lake District Defence Society (LDDS).

The LDDS went on to fight a series of conservation battles in the English Lake District and suffered no major defeats between the mid-1880s and the First World War. Key examples included the defeat of a proposal by the Haematite Steel Company of Barrow and the Barrow Corporation to abstract water from the River Duddon, which would leave it dry on occasion. The bill for this was defeated in Parliament. In 1885 Cumberland County Council proposed the construction of a new road over Sty Head Pass, between Seathwaite in Borrowdale and Wasdale Head, in the English Lake District mountain core. This was again defeated by a concerted campaign by the LDDS.

In the period between the two world wars the LDDS and its allies worked successfully at both a national level, with representations to government, and at a local level to counter the deleterious encroachments of electricity and telephone lines and roadside adverts. The LDDS and its successor bodies, the English Lake District Safeguarding society (LDSS) and Friends of the English Lake District (FLD), were also concerned to protect public access in the area and to preserve beauty spots and ancient monuments for the benefit of the public. Many of the conservationists who were involved in LDDS, chiefly Canon Rawnsley, were also involved in the establishment of the National Trust in 1895. It was also at this time that the idea of the designation of the English Lake District as a National Park began to circulate widely.

FIGURE 2.b.78 Land at the head of Ennerdale which was protected from railway development in 1883

THE PROTECTION OF ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT AGRO-PASTORALISM

Most importantly, the conservation movement has been crucial to the survival of the traditional system of agro-pastoral farming in the English Lake District. The qualities of farming society (that "perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturalists") and the landscape that it produced were championed by Wordsworth in the early 19th century in the face of what he interpreted as inevitable decline. Farming in the English Lake District was as vulnerable as in other regions to threats such as disease, poor weather and economic depression and some farm land was sold for the development of villas and gardens from the later-18th century into the early 20th century.

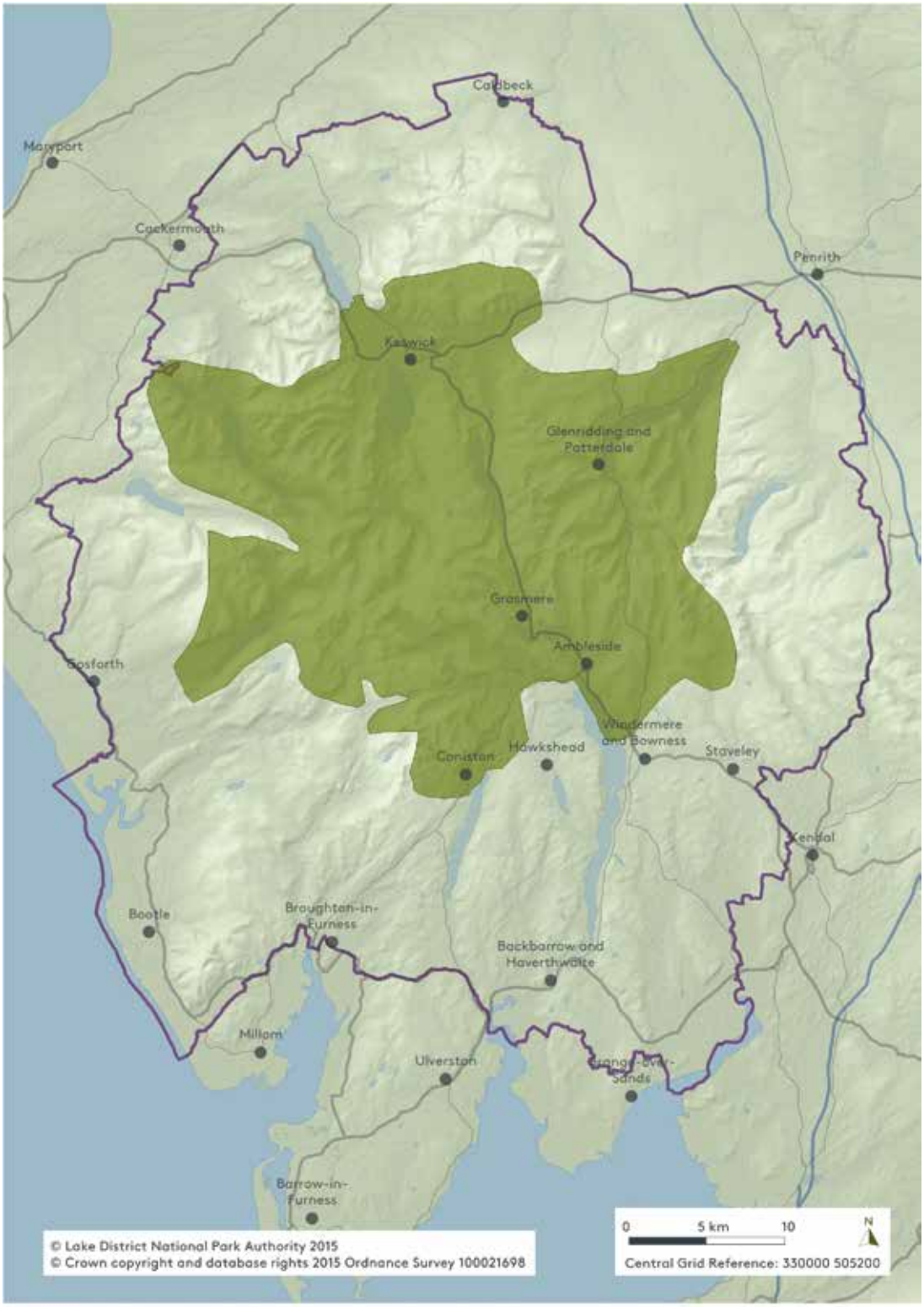
The threat which stimulated moves to protect traditional Lake District agro-pastoral farming in the English Lake District was that of afforestation in the early 20th century. This was a key reason for the opposition which developed to the purchase of land by the British Government's Forestry Commission in the 1920s. It was intended to plant conifers on land on the high fells which was considered to be of low value in order to fulfil national requirements for timber. However, this land comprised the crucial fell grazing for several important farms in the central English Lake District and the proposed change of use would have meant that that the traditional way of life would no longer be viable.

FIGURE 2.b.79 Founders at the public rally to launch Friends of the English Lake District, Fitz Park, Keswick, 17 June 1934. Front, left to right: H. H. Symonds, T. A. Leonard, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mrs A.W.Wakefield, K. G. Spence, R. Taylor. Behaind: Professor Abercrombie, Rev. Charles Lewin, W. S. Newall, J. W. Cropper.

In 1925-6 the Forestry Commission purchased the majority of land in the Ennerdale valley and this was quickly planted with conifer trees. The planting resulted in the loss of the fell grazing land of the renowned Herdwick farm at Gillerthwaite. In response, after its foundation in 1934, the Friends of the English Lake District, led by H. H. Symonds, organised a campaign to fight the further threat of conifer planting in the high mountain land in the English Lake District. The immediate threat from the Forestry Commission was to the heads of the Eskdale and Duddon valleys, which included the fell grazing for the ancient farms of Brotherilkeld and Black Hall. The Friends' campaign, supported by other organisations and a strong public response, resulted in a historic agreement with the Forestry Commission in 1936 to exclude conifer planting from the majority of the high land in the English Lake District.

Further threats of Forestry Commission purchases and the interest of developers in purchasing farm land for house building prompted wealthy individuals including Beatrix Potter (Mrs Heelis), Professor G. M. Trevelyan and Herbert W. Walker to purchase English Lake District farms specifically in order to protect the traditional practice of farming. Beatrix Potter's 14 farms and 4,000 acres of land were gifted to the National Trust on her death in 1943 on the understanding that they would continue to be managed in order to preserve traditional English Lake District agro-pastoral farming and to ensure the survival of the local Herdwick sheep breed. Other farms came to the National Trust through

FIGURE 2.b.80 1936 Afforestation Agreement



Nominated Property boundary

Area reserved from afforestation under the 1936 agreement between the Forestry Commission and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England

similar processes and for the same purpose. The National Trust now owns and manages over 90 hill farms in the English Lake District, many in key landscape locations and with important Herdwick flocks.

However, it was some time after its establishment before the National Trust had the organisational capacity and the funding to become an active player in buying land for conservation purposes. By 1945, for example, it owned no more than three per cent of the English Lake District. In the meantime, growing concern about the sale of farm estates for second and holiday homes and about the Forestry Commission's active farm purchase policy led key members of the Friends of the Lake District to set up Lake District Farm Estates Limited in 1937. The object of the company was to purchase land and buildings in the English Lake District in order to manage and maintain them in their current use. Once purchased, the land was immediately placed under a restrictive National Trust covenant and then, in some cases, re-sold with the National Trust having first option. During the 40 years of its existence, Lake District Farm Estates acquired 17 farms in the Lake District in order to secure their continuance. By the 1970s, the afforestation threat had receded, the Lake District National Park existed to safeguard the landscape and the National Trust had become more active in land acquisition and was by then the largest single landowner in the National Park. The need for a body like English Lake District Farm Estates had diminished and the company was wound up in 1977, with its remaining 10 farms being gifted to the National Trust.

FIGURE 2.b.81 Penny Hill Farm, Eskdale. Bought by Beatrix Potter (Healis) and bequeathed to the National Trust in 1944.

One of the principal aims of the Friends of the English Lake District (FLD) when it was formed in the 1930s was the protection of open countryside. The FLD undertook a survey of common land in the 1940s which formed the basis a decade later of their important submission to the Royal Commission on Common Land. Their findings led to the Commons Registration Act 1965, which gave statutory status and consequent protection from encroachment to all registered commons and village greens. The FLD continued to play an influential role in the successor legislation, the Commons Act 2006.

The Lake District's commons in the 20th century were at the forefront of continued concerns over access to the countryside. A consequence of the civil parish of Lakes, in the southern Lake District around Ambleside and Grasmere, being made an Urban District in the early 20th century was that access to all its commons became a legal right under the provisions of the Law of Property Act 1925. As a result open access to the Langdale Pikes was statutorily guaranteed because they were legally regarded as an urban common. Access to all of the English Lake District's other commons did not become a statutory right until the passing of the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2001. Now the English Lake District's medieval legacy of common waste allows people from across the world unhindered access to its mountains and moors. This legacy provides a landscape link between medieval land use, traditional farming practices, the evolution of the conservation movement and the issues facing hill farming and upland land management today.

2.b.6 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL TRUST

> "The need of quiet, the need of air, the need of exercise, and... the sight of sky and of things growing seem human needs, common to all men".
>
> Octavia Hill (1888)

FOUNDERS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Octavia Hill, Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley and Robert Hunter are acknowledged as the founders of The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (abbreviated to the National Trust), which was formed in 1895 as a charitable association. Its formal purpose is:

> "The preservation for the benefit of the Nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest and, as regards lands, for the preservation of their natural aspect, features and animal and plant life. Also the preservation of furniture, pictures and chattels of any description having national and historic or artistic interest..."
>
> The National Trust Acts, 1907 – 1978

The National Trust was originally founded in 1895 and was later re-incorporated by a private Act of Parliament (the National Trust Act, 1907). Further Acts of Parliament between 1919 and 1978 extended the Trust's powers. The Trust has the power to declare land inalienable, thus preventing its property from being sold or mortgaged against its wishes without special parliamentary procedure. The National Trust also has the power to make bylaws to regulate activities on its land. The National Trust is governed by a Board of Trustees which is appointed and overseen by a Council of elected members and representatives from other conservation organisations.

The key meeting for the formation of the National Trust was hosted by the Commons Preservation Society (CPS) on 16th November, 1893. The CPS had originally held that the preservation of important land and buildings through purchase should be the responsibility of local authorities. However, this attitude changed as various conservation battles were lost in the face of 19th century development. The CPS meeting was occasioned by the experience of the Thirlmere reservoir battle, campaigns against railway proposals and other damaging landscape proposals, especially in the English Lake District. It had also been noted that several desirable and sensitive sites in the English Lake District had been offered for sale in the 1890s, including the island in Grasmere and the Falls of Lodore and there was pressure for the building of villas on Windermere's shoreline.

The belief therefore emerged amongst prominent environmental campaigners, such as Hill, Rawnsley and Hunter, that fine landscapes, common land and historic buildings could only be guaranteed full protection if they were owned by a conservation-orientated Land Company. A further incentive for this approach to conservation was the small but significant number of owners who wished to offer property to an appropriate body that could guarantee its future preservation.

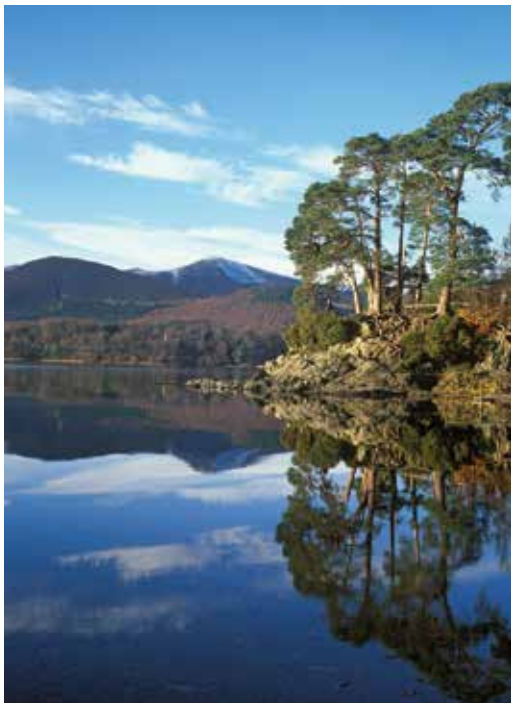


FIGURE 2.b.82 Friar's Crag, Derwent Water, purchased for the National Trust as a memorial to John Ruskin

The influence of John Ruskin on the founders of the National Trust cannot be underestimated. Many had been his students and shared his philosophical and environmental views. Their involvement in the Thirlmere Defence Association fostered the commonality of outlook that was vital in the establishment of the National Trust. Rawnsley, Hill and Hunter were effective in bringing properties to the National Trust through their individual contacts and through the adoption of an American idea that land might be donated as a memorial to friends and relatives.

John Ruskin died in January 1900 and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley was instrumental in using this event to appeal for money in order to purchase

properties in the Lake District for the National Trust. His first act was to raise funds for a memorial to John Ruskin which was erected on Friar's Crag on Derwent Water on the viewpoint that had influenced Ruskin in his early years. This was technically the National Trust's first property in the Lake District and Friars Crag was later purchased for the National Trust as a memorial to Rawnsely.

The first major purchase of land in the English Lake District came with the acquisition of Brandlehow by Derwent Water in 1902 (the 40 hectares costing £6,500 raised by public subscription). This appeal received nation-wide support and contributions came from Princess Louise (the daughter of Queen Victoria) and factory workers in the industrial Midlands. One donor wrote from Sheffield that "All my life I have longed to see the Lakes"; and added, with his contribution of two shillings and six pence, "I shall never see them now, but I should like to help keep them for others."

In 1909 the National Trust purchased Gowbarrow Park and Aira Force, including the site of the daffodils that gave the inspiration to Wordsworth's famous poem, and this fine landscape on the shores of Ullswater was protected from a rash of villa building. Of particular interest here was the inclusion in the appeal leaflet of the suggestion: Why not nationalise the English Lake District?'

FIGURE 2.b.83 The summit of Gowbarrow Fell, Gowbarrow Park. Purchased by the National Trust in 1909 following a public appeal for funds.

There was a marked contrast between the types of landscapes that were of interest to 19th century conservationists in Britain and in other countries such as the USA and Canada. In North America, the early national parks comprised large areas of land which were largely depopulated and considered to be wilderness. The mechanism for preservation

in these cases was state ownership. In England, landscapes such as the English Lake District that were the focus of conservation efforts were inhabited and worked, both for agriculture and industry. Ownership lay in the hands of gentry and small farmers and the concept that the public might have a say in what happened to privately owned land was both innovative and controversial. Although this concept had come to the fore in the battle over Thirlmere, it had not yet found general acceptance. The English view of property therefore led to an alternative solution to preserving significant landscapes through their purchase by a body established specifically for conservation purposes.

The leading figures of the early years of the National Trust involved with the English Lake District included:

CANON HARDWICKE DRUMMOND RAWNSLEY (1851 – 1920)

FIGURE 2.b.84 Canon Rawnsley

Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley was born in Shiplake, Oxfordshire, to a clergyman and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was influenced by the teachings of John Ruskin. He gained his degree in 1874 and was ordained in the Church of England in the same year. Following a breakdown and convalescence in the Lake District, he was appointed as the vicar of Wray, Windermere in 1878, and remained in the English Lake District for the rest of his life, becoming Vicar of Crosthwaite near Keswick in 1883, and retiring to Allan Bank (formerly Wordworth's house).

Rawnsley soon became involved in local campaigns to protect the English Lake District landscape. In 1883, he led the successful campaign against the proposed Buttermere and Braithwaite Railway. This led directly to the formation of the English Lake District Defence Society (later to become The Friends of the English Lake District). He established a School of Industrial Art in Keswick, and helped to establish the Newton Rigg Farm School at Penrith, the Westmorland Nursing Association, and supported the founding of Keswick High School, one of the first co-educational secondary schools in the country. As a member of the new Cumberland County Council and chairman of its Highways Committee, he was able to oppose the construction of roads over mountain passes, to secure controls on mining pollution and to promoted adequate signposting of footpaths.

To protect the countryside further from damaging development, Rawnsley conceived the idea of a National Trust, building on an idea proposed by his mentor, John Ruskin, that could acquire and preserve places of natural beauty and historic interest for the nation. Rawnsley's co-founders in this ground-breaking conservation movement were Octavia Hill and Sir Robert Hunter.

Beatrix Potter's father, Rupert, was the National Trust's first life member and Rawnsley acted as Honorary Secretary for the next 26 years. He was responsible for the campaign to raise money for the Ruskin memorial at Friars Crag, Derwent Water and to buy Brandlehow Wood, the National Trust's first purchase in the English Lake District.

BEATRIX POTTER-HEELIS (1866 – 1943)

FIGURE 2.b.85 Beatrix Potter when she was President of the Keswick Show, 1935

The children's author, Beatrix Potter, had family connections with the Lake District and was brought for long summer holidays at Wray Castle. The girl was fascinated by natural history and it was here she developed her early powers of observation and her water colour skills – not least in her famous paintings of fungi. She attended Rawnsley's church and her family were friendly with him. Naturally the Potter family were well aware of Rawnsley's involvement in environmental campaigns and his role in forming the National Trust.

Beatrix Potter's successful series of children's books were often written against a backdrop of English Lake District scenes and from observations of local wildlife. The success of the series was such that she amassed a personal income which allowed her to buy her own Lake District farm, Hill Top at Near Sawrey, in 1905. This was a traditional farmstead and she employed skilled local farm-hands to run it. It marked, in her 40th year, a break with her relatively sheltered upbringing. It was during her first eight years visiting her farm that she produced some of her best loved books and at least six are intimately connected with the farm and surrounding area.

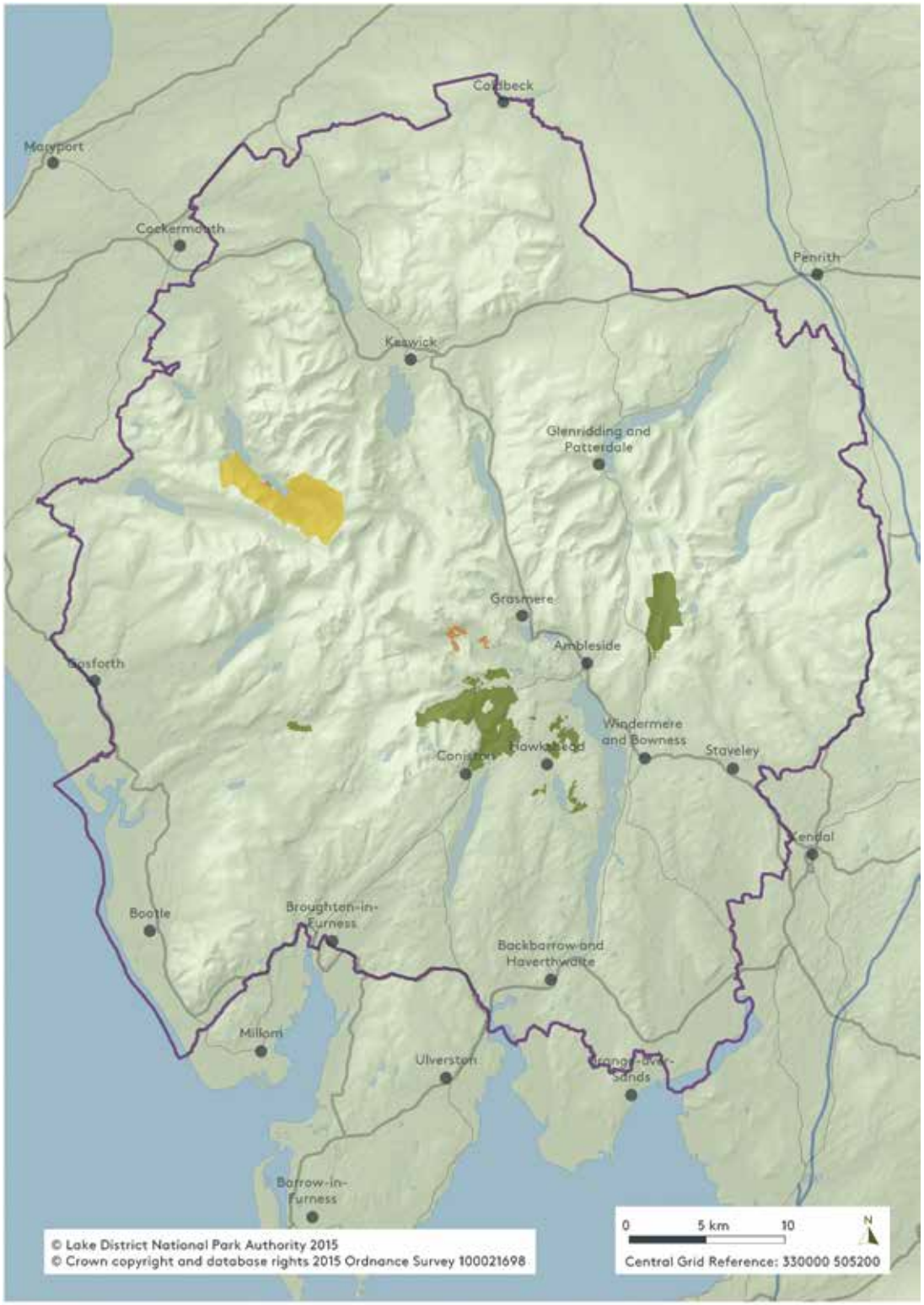
Potter also became interested in, and an expert on, the indigenous Lake District sheep, the Herdwick. Herdwicks are still the principal sheep breed in the central Lake District, especially among the National Trust farms in the area. Over time Potter purchased more farms and married a local Hawkeshead solicitor, William Heelis. As Mrs Heelis, she chaired the Herdwick Association and was considered to be one of the shrewdest of Lake District hill farmers.

Beatrix Potter's farm purchases were made very much with conservation in mind, both of the English Lake District landscape and the lifestyle and culture of its inhabitants. Potter left her farms to the National Trust so that they would be preserved in perpetuity. The area of land she bequeathed amounted to some 4,000 acres (1,600 hectares) and constituted the largest gift ever made to the National Trust in the English Lake District.

G. M. TREVELYAN (1876 – 1962)

Dr G. M. Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History and Master of Trinity College Cambridge, spent holidays in Great Langdale in the interwar period and became convinced that he should help to preserve the unique farming character of the valley

FIGURE 2.b.86 National Trust key donations and covenanted land in the English Lake District



through the purchase of farms for their protection. In his 'English Social History (1942)' he wrote that in the 18th century "the beauty of Wordsworth's homeland attained the moment of rightful balance between nature and man". In 1928 he purchased Stool End, Wall End farms, and the Dungeon Ghyll Hotel in order to donate them to the National Trust. In 1944 he added Harry Place and Mill Beck farms. Between 1928 and 1949 Trevelyan was chairman of the National Trust Estates Committee and he encouraged others to follow his example. It was due to his influence that the majority of both Great and Little Langdale ended up in National Trust ownership.

Trevelyan was also passionate about the value of public access to the countryside as compensation for life in the city and was both a strong supporter of the concept of National Parks and President of the Youth Hostel Association between 1930 and 1950.

THE PRESENT DAY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NATIONAL TRUST IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

The English Lake District has always been at the heart of the National Trust. Canon Rawnsley was its first Honorary Secretary, a role he held for 26 years until his death in 1920, and Robert Hunter became the first paid secretary. The substantial English Lake District properties held by the National Trust comprise the early purchases, the farms bequeathed by Beatrix Potter and significant donations of land from the English Lake District Farm Estates, a company formed by the Friends of the English Lake District. Recent support has come from the National Land Fund (now the National Heritage Memorial Fund which is administered alongside the Heritage Lottery Fund) and the Countryside Commission (now Natural England) and land has also been given in lieu of death duties. The National Trust has also been given restrictive covenants over privately owned land in the Lake District thereby expanding their sphere of interest in the protection of the area.

Much of the English Lake District fell land owned by the National Trust is Common Land and thus the role of the Commons Preservation Society (now the Open Spaces Society) in the formation of the National Trust is still relevant.

The National Trust now owns around 250,000 hectares of land in England and Wales and owns or leases just under a quarter of the area of the Lake District National Park (see Figure 2.a.108). This includes a significant area of the higher fells, a number of the major lakes and tarns and 90 farms. This land includes areas vital for nature conservation, including substantial areas of woodland, and some of the most significant archaeological sites and historic buildings in the Lake District, as well as key areas of the working agro-pastoral landscape.

The National Trust is therefore the most significant land owner and manager in the English Lake District and its stewardship is been vital for ensuring that the character of the landscape and its rich cultural associations is protected. For over 40 years the National Trust has offered educational schemes and opportunities for voluntary work which have ensured that young people and others can gain practical knowledge and experience of conservation work.

THE GLOBAL INFLUENCE OF THE NATIONAL TRUST MOVEMENT

In 1909 the National Trust had expressed its readiness to take on the 12th century keep of the Templars at Kolossi in Cyprus in response to an enquiry from the Colonial Office, and there had been talk of raids across the border into Scotland on several occasions before the Scots founded their own National Trust in 1931. Today the National Trust owns property only in England, Wales and Northern Ireland but its influence on the global conservation community is reflected in the growth of over 50 National Trusts in other countries around the world, all inspired by the original 1895 National Trust model.

The earliest National Trusts were established in the British Isles with the National Trust for Scotland for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty being the first in 1931, closely followed by the National Trust for Jersey in 1936. Completely separate from the National Trust, these societies were nonetheless enthused by the vision of Octavia Hill, Canon Hardwick Rawnsley and Sir Robert Hunter and saw the National Trust approach as a way to safeguard and protect permanently places of historic interest and natural beauty from an ever increasing tide of undesirable and insensitive development, as had been achieved in the English Lake District.

National Trusts share a blessedly simple mission, to help people to value and protect their heritage. And without them our heritage would disappear. The Trusts also have an important role to play in community revitalisation and sustainable development. The National Trust model is helping nations meet many contemporary challenges, economic and social as well as environmental.

FIGURE 2.b.87 Wast Water and Wasdale Head, part of the National Trust's extensive land holding in the Lake District

As World War II drew to a close, many individuals and organisations concerned about the environment realised that peace would be followed by very large development of both cities and the countryside. The need in the south of Ireland for a body such as the National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland which would monitor such

developments was acute. The interested parties came together to found a holding body, the Association for the Preservation of Places of Interest or Beauty in Ireland in 1946, a foundation which later grew into An Taisce, The National Trust for Ireland.

Similar processes took place in the United States, (the National Trust for Historic Preservation was established in 1949), and in Australia where the Australian National Trust movement was established in New South Wales in 1945. Its founder Annie Wyatt and a group of other citizens, raised community consciousness of widespread destruction of the built and natural heritage in Sydney. The National Trust movement quickly spread across Australia with the other States establishing National Trust offices throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The Isle of Man set up the Manx National Trust in 1951 and the Bahamas National Trust was established in 1959.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the movement swell with new Trusts, initially in the British Crown Dependencies, Overseas Territories and Commonwealth countries, but soon including countries outside these groups: New Trusts included: The National Trust of Guernsey and the Zimbabwe National Trust (1960); Din l-Art Helwa the National Trust of Malta (1965); the Japan National Trust (1968); the Montserrat National Trust (1969); the Bermuda and Fiji National Trusts (1970); the Swaziland National Trust Commission (1972); Heritage Canada the National Trust (1973); FAI, the Italian National Trust; the Saint Lucia National Trust (1975) and The Queen Elizabeth II National Trust, New Zealand (1977).

Since 1978, these Trusts started coming together under the aegis of the International Conference of National Trusts to exchange experience and expertise, to develop new partnerships and to build solidarity, beyond just sharing a name. It was this grouping which went on to become the International National Trusts Organisation (INTO), founded in 2007, which now seeks to make the global National Trust movement greater than the sum of its parts by providing a focal point through which Trusts, from every corner of the earth, come together and work together.

More recently, National Trusts have been established in India (1984); the Cayman Islands (1987); St Kitts (1989); the Falklands (1991); Turks and Caicos (1992); Anguilla (1993); Slovakia and Taiwan (1996); Trinidad and Tobago (1999); Korea and omania (2000); St Helena (2001). The newest members of the INTO movement are in Indonesia (2004); Sri Lanka (2005); China (2006); Portugal (2010); Galicia and Yangon (2012); Czech Republic (2013).

Several countries and British Overseas Territories have taken on the 'National Trust' concept directly from English law. Some have adopted other legal structures in accordance with their national laws. The National Trust, conceived in the English Lake District by its three Victorian founders, has some very special characteristics, and these principles have been integrated by many of its sister organisations around the world – the enrolment of members; the ability to accept gifts (including legacies) of property; tax exemption; the ability to declare land inalienable and to accept restrictive covenants. Many National Trusts are linked to Protected Areas, in the way that the National Trust is to the Lake District National Park:

Driven by a desire to provide 'open-air sitting rooms' for the urban poor, to protect common lands from the threat of building and to save the English Lake District from development, these three Victorian philanthropists sowed a little acorn which has now grown into a worldwide conservation movement, covering all four continents.

2.b.7 THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH NATIONAL PARKS

The start of the history of the English Lake District as a national park can be dated to Wordsworth's writing and his oft-quoted reference to the area as a "sort of national property" for the enjoyment of persons of pure taste ('Guide to the Lakes', 1835). Although the term 'national park' had its origins in the United States (US), there was much transatlantic sharing of ideas in this period. This is evidenced in John Muir's annotated copies of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Wordsworth's great American disciple Ralph Waldo Emerson, and John Ruskin.

The first national park in the United States was that at Yellowstone, established by Congress in 1872 (though the term 'national park' was not widely used there for another 30 years). The initial purpose of United States parks like Yellowstone, as well as similar parks in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere, "was to conserve the scenery of natural and historical objects, whilst enjoying them, whilst leaving them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (Blunden and Curry, 1989). Generally the inspiration for setting up such parks was national prestige and 'monumentalism' rather than nature conservation as we know it now – and certainly not the protection of a lived-in landscape of the kind that Wordsworth admired. In most countries these early parks were established in relatively empty areas, or at least in areas whose indigenous inhabitants enjoyed little political recognition, and whose rights were often ignored.

Over the ensuing century, the concept of national parks of this kind has become increasingly sophisticated and influenced by scientific knowledge. They are now recognised by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) as 'Category II Protected Areas (National Parks)', and defined thus:

> **"Protected areas (that) are large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area, which also provide a foundation for environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities".**

While this powerful idea has taken root in many countries, it is not suitable for universal application. It is not always possible to find large enough natural or near natural areas to create Category II protected areas (and everywhere it is becoming ever less easy to do so).

Moreover, there are values other than pristine nature, such as those associated with the interaction between people and nature, that are also worthy of protection. For these and other reasons, IUCN advocates a range of protected area types or categories, of which it recognises six in all. One of these – 'Category V Protected Areas (Protected Landscapes/Seascapes)'- owes its origins in part to the UK national park system and to the English Lake District in particular. Category V protected areas are defined by IUCN thus:

> "A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value; and where safeguarding the integrity of that interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values"
>
> (IUCN, 2013b)

The relatively early date at which the UK system was developed means that these national parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty became well known in conservation circles before most other such protected landscapes and has influenced the development of Category V Protected Areas elsewhere. The Lake District played a central role in the development of the United Kingdom national parks movement, which seeks to safeguard valued lived-in, working landscapes. The UK was the first country to develop a national system of Protected Landscapes to conserve places of this kind and this idea is now embodied at the international level in the IUCN Category V model of Protected Landscapes/Seascapes. The UK, and the English Lake District, have continued to influence the way that this model is being promoted and shared internationally.

It is symbolic of the significance of the English Lake District in this process that IUCN and its partners chose to hold their 1987 International Symposium on Protected Landscapes. The purposes of the Symposium were primarily to establish more clearly the concept of protected areas, to raise their status as a means of improving links between conservation and sustainable development, and to improve international cooperation. The symposium set a framework for the future enhancement and conservation of protected areas through the English Lake District Declaration and a draft resolution for the following year's IUCN General Assembly.

THE INTER-WAR CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT AND ITS ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF UNITED KINGDOM NATIONAL PARKS

In the interwar period the cause of protecting the English Lake District attracted numbers of influential people whose cumulative influence would be crucial in protecting the area and promoting it as the harbinger of United Kingdom National Parks. One of the most important of these was Kenneth Spence, who moved to Sawrey House, next door to Beatrix Potter at Hill Top) in 1925. Spence had close links with the outdoor and conservation movements and his friends included G. M. Trevelyan, Patrick Abercrombie and John Dower, all of whom would play an important part in the United Kingdom National Park movement.

By 1919 the Lake District Defence Society had become defunct and in that year Canon Rawnsley founded a successor organisation, the English Lake District Safeguarding Society (LDSS). The LDSS was cast as a local campaigning group and membership was by invitation only. In 1926 the LDSS mounted a campaign for a board to control local development in the English Lake District and by 1929 Kenneth Spence had become its secretary and James Cropper, the Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland, its chairman.

Also in 1926 the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) was founded by Patrick Abercrombie as a national amenity organisation with affiliated local branches. CPRE's first full-time secretary was H. G. Griffin who was also a friend of Spence and owned property in Grasmere. CPRE shared a vision of the English Lake District as a National Park with the LDSS (and later the FLD).

From its launch in 1926 CPRE lobbied the Government on the case for establishing National Parks and in 1929 the Government agreed to set up an official committee to examine the issue, chaired by Christopher Addison MP. CPRE in turn convened a National Conference for the Preservation of the Countryside in 1929. This was attended by the National Trust, the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society and local Ramblers groups. Almost immediately a English Lake District Session of the National Conference was arranged by Spence at Ambleside and a resolution was passed to establish a English Lake District National Reserve Committee (LDNRC). Spence was secretary of the Committee and Cropper the chairman, while its membership included the National Trust, English Lake District Safeguarding Society, English Lake District Association, the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, CPRE, the Federation of Rambling Clubs, the Fell and Rock Climbing Club and the two original North and South Lakeland Town Planning Committees. The LDNRC presented evidence to the Addison Committee on the case for a Lake District National Park.

The Addison Committee on National Parks recommended in 1931 the setting up of National Parks Commissions for England and Wales and the establishment of executive joint regional planning in the English Lake District. Due to the economic depression at that time, these recommendations were not enacted, but the case for UK National Parks had been established.

During the 1930s the LDNRC and CPRE attempted to get the three county councils which jointly covered the area of the English Lake District – Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire – to form a English Lake District Joint Planning Committee as recommended by Addison. However, agreement could not be reached and by 1934 the LDNRC began to move towards wider membership and an emphasis on the need to establish a new, centralised national park authority. In that year, at the annual Ramblers' Federation rally in Fitz Park in Keswick, the Ramblers' were joined by the LDNRC, Youth Hostel Association and others to form the Lake District National Reserve Association which would be known as the 'Friends of the Lake District' (FLD). The object of the new body was that of "organising concerted action for protecting the landscape and natural beauty of the Lake District". Its first major campaign was against the large scale, commercial conifer forests which were being planted by the Forestry Commission in the Lake District, led by one of FLD's most active founders, H. H. Symonds.

In the period 1934 to 1939 the Friends of the English Lake District continued to press the government, along with CPRE, on the National Park issue through CPRE's Standing Committee on National Parks (SCNP). The Friends also acted independently with a campaign for the English Lake District specifically to become a National Park. Work also progressed on the potential boundary of a Lake District National Park, with contributions from Patrick Abercrombie, H. H. Symonds, John Dower and Kenneth Spence which would be further refined by Symonds and Dower in the 1940s.

THE LAKE DISTRICT AND THE POST-WAR ESTABLISHMENT OF UK NATIONAL PARKS

During the 1940s the CPRE's Standing Committee on National Parks continued to lobby government under the leadership of Dower and Symonds, the latter acting as drafting secretary of the Standing Committee and secretary of the Friends of the English Lake District. Some success came with a further government report on national parks, the 'Report on National Parks in England and Wales', written by John Dower and published in 1945. The final move to create UK National Parks came at the end of World War II with the election of a Labour government in 1945. The new government set up a National Parks Committee under Sir Arthur Hobhouse (a CPRE committee member) and three of the ten members of this were also members of the Friends. Hobhouse reported in 1947 and followed much of the earlier Dower recommendations. Legislation for the establishment of National Parks came in 1949 with the 'National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act'. Under this legislation, the Lake District National Park was created in 1951 under the management of the English Lake District Planning Board (administered by a joint committee of the three constituent counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire).

The report of the Addison Committee in 1931 acknowledged the existence of other models of national park but recognised that American, Yellowstone-type national parks "were clearly inappropriate" in the UK. It did however record that national parks were beginning to be set up in Europe. The reports by Dower (1945) and Hobhouse (1947) made little reference to other national parks and the kind of national park that was enshrined in the 1949 Act in the UK was the first of its kind, and for which there was no model elsewhere.

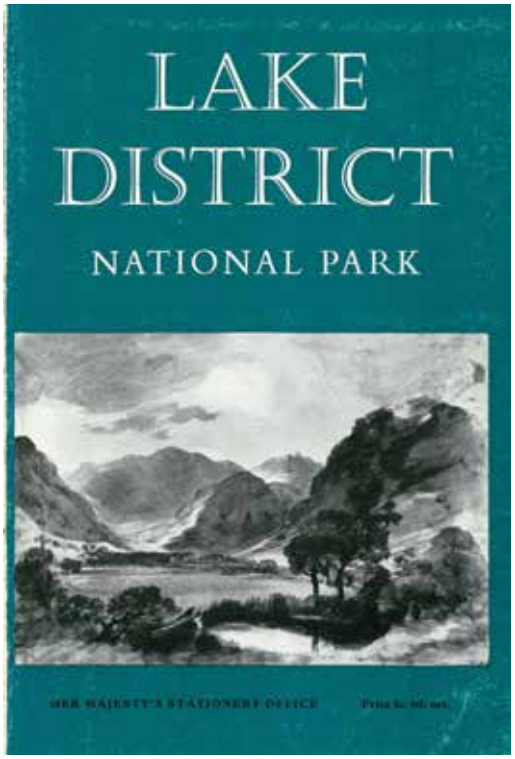


FIGURE 2.b.88 Official Guide to the Lake District National Park (1969)

This model, with its emphasis on conserving beautiful landscapes that people lived in and worked, owes much to the influence of the English Lake District. It was not, of course, the only special landscape that led to the establishment of the UK national parks movement. Other areas of the UK such as Snowdonia inspired some of the same responses as did the English Lake District. The national park movement also was driven by a parallel concern with access, which was partly focussed on the Peak District.

However, the English Lake District was always at the forefront of the debate on national parks and their protection, for example over the establishment of reservoirs in place of lakes, or aggressive commercial forestry in mountain landscapes. It was images of the English

Lake District that were most widely used in the period between the wars and during and after the Second World War to generate support for the protection of Britain's most beautiful landscapes. English Lake District scenery was seen as iconic; at its best, it represented the essence of the British national park ideal. The position of the English Lake District as primus inter pares among the national park candidate areas is evident in the report of John Dower (1945) and the Hobhouse Committee (1947), in both of which it figures as the first and by far the largest of their proposed new national parks. It can be said with confidence that, while it was not the only place about which passions could be raised and political energies harnessed, the English Lake District had more influence in shaping the British national parks movement than any other area.

This movement achieved success with the passing of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949, whose aims were realised with the designation of 10 national parks in England and Wales in the period 1951-1957, and subsequently consolidated with the establishment of more than 40 Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

In 1974, as a result of the reorganisation of local government in England, the English Lake District Planning Board was reconstituted as the English Lake District Special Planning Board. The term 'Special' denoted that the National Park was no longer managed by a joint board but by a board contained wholly within the area of the newly created Cumbria County Council. In 1997 the English Lake District Special Planning Board ceased to exist and, by virtue of the National Park Authorities (England) Order 1996, responsibility for the management of the National Park passed to the newly created Lake District National Park Authority.

In 2006 the National Park Authority established the Lake District National Park Partnership in order to achieve better and more coordinated management of the English Lake District. The Partnership includes representatives from the public, private, community and voluntary sectors from 26 organisations, both local and national, and it sets the policy framework for the Lake District National Park.

2.b.8 CONSERVATION BATTLES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The vital conservation battles of the 19th century were followed in the 20th century by further battles of great significance for the future of the English Lake District. However these were fought by an increasingly organised conservation lobby which had been established as a result of the struggles of the previous century. The strong presence of the National Trust in the Lake District, which increased in importance over the 20th century as it acquired property, was bolstered by the founding of the Friends of the Lake District in 1934 and then the establishment of the Lake District National Park in 1951 (Section 2.b.7).

THE WATER INDUSTRY

The needs of Manchester for the water, a demand partly met by construction of the Thirlmere reservoir, increased in the early 20th century and the Manchester Corporation obtained parliamentary consent in 1919 for the creation of a new reservoir

in the Mardale valley – now known as Haweswater. This was constructed between 1929 and 1939. Surprisingly, given its great effect on the landscape of Mardale, there was little of the widespread protest that had met the proposals for the Thirlmere reservoir. A limited number of letters of protest were published in the national press but there was no organised campaign against the development. But the next major proposals of water abstraction in the English Lake District, in the 1960s, did meet with concerted opposition.

In 1961- 62 the Manchester Corporation came forward with proposals to develop further large sources of water supply in the Lake District by turning Ullswater and Bannisdale into reservoirs. These proposals were unexpected by the fledgling Lake District Planning Board and the campaign to save Ullswater and Bannisdale which developed was notable for the vehemence and the magnitude of the support it commanded. The Board lodged a petition in opposition to the proposals which were eventually defeated by the eloquence of Lord Birkett in a debate in the House of Lords in February 1962 two days before he died.

FIGURE 2.b.89 The Haweswater reservoir from the south

After the rejection of those proposals, the Manchester Corporation returned with new proposals to abstract water from Ullswater, pumping it into Haweswater, and abstracting additional water form Windermere and pumping it to the Thirlmere aqueduct and constructing a huge new reservoir in the Winster valley. The Winster reservoir would have been about twice the size of Haweswater and would have inundated the village of Bowland Bridge. The Board objected strongly to the proposed reservoir in the Winster valley and to the proposal for Ullswater. As a result, the Manchester Corporation did not proceed with the Winster reservoir but published a draft Water Order in 1965 providing for abstraction from both Windermere and Ullswater. This included a proposal to drive a second tunnel from Haweswater to emerge at the head of the Longsleddale valley. The Board lodged objections to the Order because of the adverse effects of drawdown of the lakes and the damage which the new aqueduct would cause to an unspoiled

valley. A public inquiry was held in June of 1965. The Minister's decision in May 1966 approved the proposals for abstraction from both Windermere and Ullswater, subject to tight controls over the infrastructure and a limit on draw down was imposed for the latter. The proposed aqueduct to Longsleddale was refused but in 1971 the Corporation came back with a proposal for a second aqueduct, routed via Shap, which was opposed by the Board but approved after public enquiry in 1974.

Over the same period, the Board was also dealing with proposals by the West Cumberland Water Board to increase the level of abstraction from Crummock Water, by the South Cumberland Water Board to raise the level of Ennerdale, by the Cumberland River Authority to raise the level of Bassenthwaite and by the Furness Water Board to increase their rate of abstraction from the River Duddon.

In 1977 the North West Water Authority, the successor organisation to the Manchester Corporation for water supply, proposed to raise the level of Ennerdale by four feet to augment water supplies to British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (BNFL), operator of the Windscale, later named Sellafield, nuclear reactor located on the west coast outside the National Park) and to domestic users in West Cumbria. At the same time BNFL put forward its own scheme to augment its supplies by increasing the rate of abstraction from Wast Water. While accepting the need to maintain good supplies for both BNFL and for consumers generally in West Cumbria, the Board decided to oppose both schemes on environmental grounds and to promote the regulation of the River Derwent as the best long term solution. A public inquiry into both proposals was held in 1980 and further alternatives were considered. The Board's own position changed to recommend that Ennerdale (unaltered) should supply BNFL and that the River Derwent should meet domestic requirements. In December 1981 the Secretary of State, in a decision which rested heavily on environmental considerations, rejected the proposals of the Water Authority and BFNL.

FIGURE 2.b.90 Wast Water from the south

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY

Another major issue of concern for the English Lake District landscape in the 20th century was the supply of electricity to the valleys. The landscape impact of this had been identified in the report of the Hobhouse Committee (1947) which stated that: "large poles and pylons carrying overhead electricity wires are out of keeping with the delicate quality of the Lake District landscape". The solution was to lay lines underground but this was more expensive for the Electricity Board. In the 1950s disputes occurred between the two Boards over how much, or if any, line should be laid underground in Martindale, Longsleddale, Troutbeck, Langdale, Deepdale, Hartsop, Buttermere and Borrowdale.

The Electricity Board eventually accepted that it would have to meet the additional expense of undergrounding in order to protect the scenic qualities of the English Lake District landscape but the supply to extremely remote areas, including Wasdale Head, was deferred until a later date. The issue of electricity supply to Wasdale Head was raised by residents of the valley in 1972 and the National Park Board's position was that the whole line should be laid underground as the valley is one of the most unspoiled and isolated in the National Park and is almost completely without tree cover. After lengthy negotiations with the Electricity Board, an acceptable solution was reached which involved an overhead line where screening existed, an underground line in exposed areas and an underwater line for the length of Wast Water.

ROAD IMPROVEMENTS

The demand for road improvements increased during the 20th century and foremost among these was the proposal by the Department of the Environment (DoE) in 1971 to upgrade the A66 from Penrith, through Keswick to Cockermouth to provide good road communication to West Cumberland. The English Lake District Planning Board supported the need for good road communication but unanimously opposed the establishment of a route for industrial traffic through the National Park. Strong opposition was also mounted by the Friends of the English Lake District and others. The Planning Board proposed an alternative, slightly longer route to the north of Skiddaw but the DoE's scheme was approved by the government in 1972 following a public enquiry.

A subsequent motion in the House of Lords calling attention to the Minister's decision and the urgent need for the formulation of a road policy for the Lake District National Park was agreed to after much criticism of the decision. Following the A66 decision, fears were expressed about the implications for the A591, the main route through the centre of the English Lake District, between Kendal and Keswick. Following negotiations with the County Councils and DoE, a ban on heavy goods vehicles on the A591 was agreed.

Other proposed road schemes included a relief road for Ambleside to the west of the town which was supported by the Planning Board for its benefits for preserving the character of Ambleside, but was rejected by the government following a public inquiry. It also supported the line for a by-pass round Staveley but objected to the proposed dual carriageway. The objection was vindicated following a public inquiry. Elsewhere, the Board supported a proposal by Lancashire County Council for a relief road to the west of Hawkshead and relief roads at Lindale and Backbarrow.

In 2008 a bypass was completed on the A590 around the villages of High and Low Newton. The bypass was reluctantly accepted by the National Park Authority and it was constructed to a very high environmental standard, at additional cost, in order to mitigate its effects on the landscape.

FORESTRY

FIGURE 2.b.91 The Ennerdale valley

The key environmental battle with the Forestry Commission over commercial afforestation in the English Lake District and its importance for the protection of traditional agro-pastoral farming in the area is described in Section 2.b.5. The resulting agreement in 1936 to exclude a large part of the English Lake District from commercial planting was an important step towards conserving the areas that would later become the Lake District National Park.

In recent years there has been increasing conservation pressure, led by the Friends of the English Lake District, for removal of conifer blocks and conversion of conifers plantations to native woodland. This has been achieved to good effect the upper Duddon and on the limestone escarpment of Whitbarrow in the southern Lake District.

The Forestry Commission still owns and manages extensive woodland in the English Lake District, including the forests at Grizedale and Whinlatter, and is still producing commercial timber. The use of forest land in the English Lake District is being diversified into other activities including mountain biking and other recreational activities. However, the most significant development in recent years has been the development of the 'Wild Ennerdale' project through which the early Forestry Commission plantations in Ennerdale are being managed in a radically different way. Timber is still produced but management now places an emphasis on natural processes while preserving the cultural heritage of the valley including its rich archaeology. Grazing by small-breed cattle has been re-introduced and over time the valley may regain some of the character it had before conifers were planted in the 1920s.

At Thirlmere, the shore of the reservoir was planted with non-native trees in the early 20th century – including larch, spruce and fir – in contravention of the terms of the parliamentary legislation under which the reservoir was created. North West Water Limited, the successor to the Manchester Corporation, was taken to court in 1985 by Susan Johnson (daughter of the Reverend H. H. Symonds, one of the founders of the Friends of the Lake District) over this issue. The court upheld the complaint under the Manchester Water Works Act of 1879 but did not make an order as North West Water had

FIGURE 2.b.92 Thirlmere from the south

given an undertaking to the Lake District Special Planning Board to replace the conifers with native trees. This is now being addressed by the current owner, United Utilities Limited, through felling of conifers and replanting with native tree species. The views around the lake have been opened up and the visual amenity partly to some extent restored. At Haweswater a major conservation project also includes encouragement of native tree species on the land around the reservoir.

CURRENT CONSERVATION ISSUES

The English Lake District is a living, working landscape and it is inevitable, given current pressures, both economic and environmental, that proposals are put forward that could potentially have an adverse impact on the scenic beauty of the landscape. The National Park Authority has an influence on many of these as the local planning authority, through the medium of the Lake District National Park Partnership and through the statutory duty of other bodies to respect national park purposes. Current issues include balancing the creation of new native woodland (and the fencing which this involves) with farming and recreational requirements; proposals for new electricity infrastructure on the west side of the National Park; new infrastructure for water management; and renewable energy project including wind turbines and hydro schemes.

FIGURE 2.b.93 View of Derwent Water from Friar's Crag