

# LAKE DISTRICT WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT

## Draft Nomination Document (Public Version 1, text only)

### Notes for reading this draft

There have been many versions of this draft document over the last 3 years and a small group of local, national and international experts have worked hard to focus on a narrative that highlights the Lake District's international value and uniqueness. This inevitably means some elements of the Lake District's history or landscape are treated with greater or lesser degrees of significance.

This is a text only version and the final document will contain diagrams, illustrations, maps and photographs.

The final version will also be checked for typographical errors and the format will be revised to make it more widely accessible.

We welcome your comments on the content of this document but please don't worry about spelling errors (unless it's place or peoples names etc).

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# **SECTION 1 - IDENTIFICATION OF PROPERTY**

## **1.a Country**

UNITED KINGDOM

## **1.b Region**

NORTH WEST ENGLAND

## **1.c Name of Property**

THE LAKE DISTRICT

## **1.d Geographical coordinates to the nearest second**

The Lake District is located in the county of Cumbria in North West England.  
The centre of the nominated World Heritage Site, the Lake District is:

Latitude: 54° 28' N

Longitude: 3° 5' W

The bottom left of the nominated Site is:

Latitude: 54° 10' N

Longitude: 3° 29' W

The top right of the nominated Site is:

Latitude: 54° 46' N

Longitude: 2° 40' W

## **1.e Maps and plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated Property**

The nominated Site comprises the area of the Lake District National Park which was established in 1951 under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act (1949). The area of the National Park includes all the topographical and cultural features that combine together to comprise the Lake District cultural landscape.

The boundary of the nominated Property, the Lake District, is therefore coincident with the boundary of the Lake District National Park.

## **1.f Area of nominated property**

Area of nominated site: 228, 300 hectares

The site is 53 km by 64km at its widest point

## **SECTION 2. JUSTIFICATION FOR INSCRIPTION**

### **2.a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value**

#### **SUMMARY**

**The English Lake District is the birthplace of what landscape means to the modern world. Its unique landscape, dominated by a long-standing, living tradition of upland pastoral farming, became renowned in the 18<sup>th</sup> century for its Picturesque views and subsequently inspired the Romantic poets, including William Wordsworth (1770-1850), who resided in the area.**

**Wordsworth was the central poet and writer of the age of English Romanticism, which placed emotion at the centre of the aesthetic experience, especially in relation to perceptions of landscape. Wordsworth's Romantic vision, shaped by the landscape, people and farming culture of the Lake District, has had wide international influence. His work particularly inspired the American Transcendental Movement, including writers such as Emerson and Thoreau, and John Muir, founder of the American national park movement. Of even greater universal importance is the increasing recognition that Wordsworth and fellow 'Lakes Poets' such as Coleridge were primary exponents of the intrinsic value of landscape and nature that underpins much of modern ecological thought.**

**Wordsworth also wrote a *Guide to the Lakes* (1810) which included the famous assertion that the Lake District stood as "a sort of national property in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy". This sentiment, the foundation stone of the international concept of protected landscapes, would be taken up with vigour in the fight to protect the Lake District from large scale development in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century.**

**The modern conservation movement springs from this association of the Lake District with powerful ideas. In 1873, the artist, philosopher and philanthropist John Ruskin (1819 –1900) came to live in the Lake District. His ideas, together with those of Wordsworth, underpinned campaigns in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to protect the area from damaging development. The protest against the construction of a reservoir at Thirlmere in the 1870s marked the first time that people other than landowners claimed a right to influence the future of valued landscapes.**

**Ruskin's concern for protecting important landscapes influenced Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter and Canon Rawnsley, to found the National Trust in 1895. In addition to being the home of one of its founders, Rawnsley, the Lake District has been central to the development of the National Trust. Today the organisation owns and manages 25% of the area of the Lake District National Park. The National Trust has had extensive international influence as a model for similar bodies including in the USA, India and**

**Japan. It is also the 'mother' organisation for the recently formed International National Trust Organisation (2007).**

**The UK's National Parks, of which the Lake District is the prime example, are recognised internationally as exemplars of protected, lived-in, working landscapes. As a result of earlier nominations for World Heritage Site inscription, the Lake District itself provided the stimulus for the definition of the category of World Heritage cultural landscape.**

**The Lake District is therefore the landscape which more than any other has influenced the way that the modern world views, values and conserves landscape.**

#### **ATTRIBUTES**

- **Spectacular natural features including lakes, mountains and native woodland;**
- **The physical remains of a long history of human settlement from prehistory to the present;**
- **The physical remains of the farming landscape from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, including stone walls, stone-built farmhouses and other buildings;**
- **The living tradition of sheep farming based on the Herdwick and other local breeds and the associated cultural heritage of this tradition;**
- **The physical remains of industries from the medieval period to the recent past;**
- **The association of the Lake District with the Picturesque aesthetic of the 18<sup>th</sup> century;**
- **The physical attributes and created features linked with Picturesque interest including views, villas and designed landscapes;**
- **The inspiration of the Lake District for the Romantic poets and the formulation of the concept of human ecology;**
- **The physical links to the Romantic poets including residences, collections, burial places and landscape features which inspired ideas and poetry;**
- **The influence of the Lake District on the emergence and early development of the landscape conservation movement;**
- **The physical landscapes that inspired the desire to protect and that were affected by the successes and failures of the early conservation movement;**
- **The residences, collections and places associated with key figures in the early conservation movement;**
- **The key association of the Lake District with the birth of the National Trust;**
- **The properties owned and managed by the National Trust in the Lake District;**
- **The protective management arrangements of National Park designation.**

#### **CRITERIA**

**The English Lake District is nominated as Property under the World Heritage Committee's Criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi) and also as a cultural**

landscape (category ii – continuing landscape – and iii – associative cultural landscape).

*Criterion (ii)*

The design of the Lake District landscape exhibits an important interchange of human values not only because of the impact of a significant agricultural tradition but also because of important influences resulting from the picturesque aesthetic and the early conservation movement.

*Criterion (iii)*

The Lake District landscape bears a unique testimony to cultural traditions both living and disappeared. It is a cultural landscape which to this day is shaped by upland farmers whose continuing traditions stretch back for generations. It is predominately these traditions which make farming this challenging environment possible.

*Criterion (iv)*

The Lake District holds the physical remains of a unique story of how the human view of landscape has developed. The foundation is a farming tradition that developed in a beautiful natural setting, which in the 18th century led to interest from the picturesque movement and a crucial influence on the Romantic view of landscape. Concern for protection of the Lake District in the face of industrial pressures led to the early landscape conservation movement, including the internationally significant National Trust.

*Criterion (vi)*

The Lake District is associated with ideas as well as artistic and literary works. Its special significance was launched by a remarkable alliance between the aesthetic appeal of its environment and unique character of its indigenous farming culture with the output of writers and artists for example William Wordsworth who, inspired by the landscape, showed how it could appeal to the higher senses and be accessible to all. This was accompanied by the development of an internationally significant conservation movement to protect this highly-valued cultural landscape.

AUTHENTICITY

The Lake District contains extensive archaeological remains of the prehistoric, Roman and early medieval periods. Medieval origins can still be traced in the existing stonewalled field systems, village plans and ecclesiastical architecture. The farming landscape of the 18th century with its distinctive farmhouses, barns, field walls and native woodland survives in the present landscape along with the remains of important local industries.

The tradition of upland hill farming in the Lake District is based on the indigenous Herdwick sheep and other local breeds and has a rich cultural heritage that survives to the present day. This is in large part due to the

continuity of farming families in the Lake District over very long periods of time.

There are a number of important examples of villas and designed landscapes built as a result of the Picturesque interest in the Lake District. In particular, many of the key tree planting schemes of that period survive.

The farming landscape and stunning natural features which inspired the Romantic poets can be seen today alongside a number of key residences, collections, and places with important artistic and literary associations.

The successes and failures of early environmental battles to protect the Lake District can be seen in the present day landscape. The National Trust owns and manages 25% of the National Park which includes some of the Trust's earliest acquisitions and the 1951 Park boundary encompasses all the attributes which exemplify Outstanding Universal Value.

#### INTEGRITY

The boundary of the property is coterminous with the boundary of the Lake District which was established in 1951. At the time of designation the National Park boundary was intended to include all the landscape that demonstrated what were considered to be the special qualities of the Lake District. These special qualities overlap closely with the identified elements of Outstanding Universal Value and the boundary is therefore sufficiently large to guarantee the integrity of the World Heritage Site.

The continuing tradition of upland farming and the slow pace of change in the Lake District have underpinned the survival of the historic elements of the farming landscape that were in place by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The farming infrastructure of stone walls and buildings is traditionally maintained by the farming community which takes pride in maintaining the skills that make this possible. The same continuity applies to managing the hefted flocks of local sheep and traditional methods of shepherding have been passed down over many generations. This has been assisted in large measure by the purchase and protection of key farms by the National Trust and various donors and the substantial financial investment in wall and building repairs that have been made by the National Trust and through agri-environment grant schemes. This has ensured that the majority of the buildings of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century have survived in their original form and maintenance and repairs have been carried out using traditional materials and techniques.

The buildings and landscapes of the Picturesque have been maintained in part through the investment of private owners and also through ownership and management by the National Trust and other conservation bodies. The system of planning controls implemented by the Lake District National Park authority also ensures that new development is appropriate to its context in the Lake District.

**The residences, collections and associated landscape features of the Romantic poets have also been maintained through a combination of traditional management by the local community and by the National Trust and other conservation organisations. These include the Wordsworth Trust which manages Dove Cottage and its collection of over 80% of William Wordsworth's original manuscripts and the Brantwood Trust which manages and conserves Ruskin's house and grounds at Brantwood.**

**Finally, the tradition of landscape conservation which began in the Lake District is continued in the work of the National Trust, Friends of the Lake District and National Park Authority. The National Trust owns and manages around 25% of the area of the National Park.**

## 2b. Comparative analysis

The UNESCO Operational Guidelines (Paragraph 133) require a comparison of the nominated Property with other sites at both national and international levels and an explanation of the factors that make the nominated Property stand out in an international context.

The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the Lake District is fully described in the previous section. It is expressed in four principal themes: the Lake District rural landscape and farming traditions; the development of the Picturesque aesthetic; the cradle of Romanticism; and the landscape conservation movement. These four themes form a 'chain' of Outstanding Universal Value and the special significance of the Lake District lies in the interaction between social, economic, cultural and environmental influences.

The Lake District's special significance was launched by a remarkable alliance between the aesthetic appeal of its natural environment and unique character of its indigenous farming culture with the output of writers and artists who, inspired by the landscape, showed how it could appeal to the higher senses and be accessible to all. This was accompanied by the development of a conservation movement to protect this highly-valued cultural landscape.

The fusion of aesthetics and practical land management triggered a cultural and political movement based on two strands – the power of working cultural landscapes to inspire and the idea that a partnership could be created between those who work the landscape and those who take their leisure in it so that future generations can continue to benefit from this special place.

This complex, intertwined, story of physical, cultural and political evolution remains written on the landscape today for people to study and enjoy and continues to be the focus of conservation and management action by a wide range of public, voluntary and private organisations.

Comparison with Inscribed World Heritage Properties and those on Tentative Lists

The UNESO Operation Guidelines ((2008, Annex 3) define 3 categories of cultural landscape under which properties may be nominated. These comprise (i) landscapes designed and created intentionally by man; (ii) organically evolved landscape which has developed in response to its natural landscape; and (iii) associative cultural landscapes. Category (ii) landscapes are subdivided into relict and continuing landscapes. The Lake District is proposed as a combination of type (ii)b and type (iii) (see Section 2d below).

Table 1 presents the results of an analysis of selected sites in relation to the Lake District, using the categorisation of cultural landscapes proposed by UNESCO.

**Associative Cultural Landscapes (Category (iii)) relate closely to criterion (vi) for Outstanding Universal Value. The Operational Guidelines make clear that criterion (vi) “should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria” (UNESCO 2008 para 77). Cultural landscape category (iii) has therefore been mapped as a second dimension which applies differentially to categories (i), (ii)a & (ii)b.**

**The y axis of Table 1 represents the strength of the contribution which each site makes towards criterion (vi)/cultural landscape category (iii), focusing at its higher end on those aspects specific to the Lake District – the Picturesque aesthetic, the Romantic movement and the conservation movement. The x axis broadly groups sites according to categories (i), (ii)a and (ii)b.**

**Table 1 thus maps the space into which the Lake District fits. The closer sites are to the top right hand corner, the more similar they are to the Lake District.**

**Table 1: Lake District World Heritage Site nomination - comparative analysis.**

Conservation movement					(none)	
Romantic Movement	Classical Weimar	Cultural landscape of Sintra			Loire Valley	Upper Middle Rhine Valley
		Lednice-Valtice			Lake Maggiore D'Orta	Droogmakerij de Beemster
Aesthetic/Picturesque	Aranjuez Cultural Landscape	Muskauer Park			Dresden Elbe Valley	Val d'Orcia
Specific single idea or theme	Lushan National Park	Mount Taishan	St Kilda	Tongariro national park	Cornwall & W Devon	Fertő / Neusiedlersee Cultural Landscape
	Sacred sites É in the Kii Mountain Range	Hangzhou West Lake	Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park		Jurisdiction of Saint Emillion	Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park
	Ouadi Qadisha & Forest of Cedars of God	Kalwaria Zebrzydowska			Bregenz Forest	Hallstatt/Dachstein
					Blaenavon Industrial Landscape	Pingvellir National Park
Ideas not part of nomination	Frontiers of the Roman Empire	Kotor	Madriu-Perafita-Claror Valley	Pyrennes - Mont Perdu	Wachau Cultural Landscape	Southern Oland
			Laponian area		Costiera Amalfitana	PortovenereCinque Terre & Islands
					Philippine rice terraces	Juizhaigou Valley terraces
	Smaller scale group of artefacts and/or designed landscape(s) ± TYPE (i)		Larger scale relict landscape focused on traditional way of life ± TYPE (ii)a		Larger scale modern landscape focused on interaction between environment and society ± TYPE (ii)b	
	Type of cultural landscape					

World Heritage Sites combining outstanding beauty and strong associative values

- Lushan national park (China), Mount Taishan (China)
- Kii Mountain Range (Japan)
- Hangzhou West Lake (China)
- Ouadi Qadisha & Forest of Cedars of God (Lebanon)
- Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (Poland)

**These sites are all smaller in scale than the Lake District and have a stronger designed component. Their value derives very little from the day to day activity of human commerce. They are powerful reflections of the culture and religions of their countries. While there are clearly conceptual similarities in the association of a landscape with one of the world's great religions and association with cultural values such as beauty and environmental health, they are in no sense substitutes**

- Tongariro National Park (New Zealand)
- Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia)

**These sites have a strong associative values for the indigenous peoples who live near them, as well as the drama of their natural features. Although there are some conceptual similarities here with the values ascribed to the Lake District, they are significantly different, as well as coming from different geo-cultural regions (UNESCO 2008 Annex 3 para 7).**

World Heritage sites displaying a long and harmonious development of interactions between people and their environment

#### **(Global)**

- Rice Terraces of the Philippines Cordillera
- Jiuzhaigou Valley (China)

**These sites are large areas like the Lake District, both are lived-in landscapes and both are scenically breathtaking and recognised as such in their national contexts. Like the Lake District, too, they reflect a long period of human occupation. This is most marked in the case of the rice terraces whose complex systems of irrigation and rice cultivation traditions are of course completely different from land uses in the Lake District. The mountain grazing of Jiuzhaigou's Tibetan people has some slight similarity to that of the Lake District, but the dominant features of the areas are a travertine-dammed system of lakes and mountain forests.**

#### **(European)**

- Wachau (Austria)
- Southern Oland (Sweden)
- Costiera Amalfitana (Italy)
- Portovenere, Cinque Terre & Islands (Italy)
- Laponian area (Sweden)
- St Kilda (UK)

**Like the Lake District these sites display outstanding beauty and bear witness to a harmonious development of interactions between people and their environment over millennia. They have a wealth of visible, intact evidence of this history on the ground for people to study and enjoy. Their beauty has attracted painters and writers. However none of these sites has made the same contribution towards shaping ideas about landscape and its conservation as the Lake District. Laponia is important as the product of an interaction between the environment and a society which is of great historical importance but now struggling to survive. In the case of St Kilda that struggle failed with the abandonment of the island in 1930. By contrast the Lake District is a modern, functioning landscape, although displaying many traces of its complex history, and these sites have not played the same role as the Lake District in shaping public perception of landscape and the movement for landscape conservation.**

World Heritage sites In Europe that have contributed to and understanding and appreciation of landscape.

- Classical Weimar (Germany)
- Sintra (Portugal)
- Lednice-Valtice (Czech Republic)
- Aranjuez (Spain)
- Muskaur Park/ Park Muzakowski (Germany/Poland)

**These sites are much smaller scale than the Lake District, in terms of both physical size and cultural complexity and are often the product of one family or one moment in history.**

World Heritage Sites in Europe inscribed for their outstanding cultural importance derived from one dominant theme

- Cornwall and West Devon (UK)
- Blaenavon Industrial Landscape (UK)
- Fertő / Neusiedlersee (Hungary/Austria)
- Jurisdiction of Saint Emilion (France)
- Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park (Italy)
- Þingvellir National Park (Iceland)
- Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape (Austria)
- Bregenz Forest

**These share many conceptual similarities with the Lake District nomination. Their landscapes are inherently of outstanding beauty and also preserve a tangible, living record of cultural developments which are considered to be of Outstanding Universal Value. However the values and events they celebrate are very different from those in the Lake District.**

Other large scale, functioning European landscapes which share some characteristics with the Lake District

- Droogmakerij de Beemster (Netherlands)

**The Beemster Polder is a 16<sup>th</sup> Century landscape in which the ideals of antiquity and the Renaissance were applied to the design of a reclaimed landscape. Although it is a still functioning agricultural landscape in which can be read the history of its development, as a reclaimed landscape, it represents a consistent expression of conscious design which is unmatched in the Lake District. In addition it did not play so significant a role in the development of landscape perception and conservation.**

- Val d'Orcia (Italy)

**Val d'Orcia shares many similarities with the Lake District in the way in which a beautiful landscape was 'discovered' by those with the interest and means to reinvent it – both physically and in the way it was viewed by others - to conform to aesthetic ideals which were then promulgated by artists in a mutually supportive relationship. However the dominant role in this process of the state of Sienna has no equivalent in the Lake District and gives the site a coherence and relative simplicity which is not evident in the Lake District.**

- Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany)
- Upper Middle Rhine Valley (Germany)
- Loire Valley (France)

**The scale and complexity of the cultural history of these major river valleys, reflected in the diversity of semi-natural features, buildings of historical importance and archaeological remains, find parallels in the Lake District. However in addition to their obvious differences from the Lake District in all being valley landscapes, they also rely heavily on aspects of communications for their cultural value.**

**While all have made a contribution towards the development of landscape aesthetics, especially in the context of the Romantic Movement, this has tended to focus on images and associations specific to the river valley. None can claim the broader importance of the Lake District in the development of the Romantic Movement (which is perhaps why they were not nominated under criterion vi) and none has played such a central role in the landscape conservation movement.**

- Madriu-Perafita-Claror Valley (Andorra)
- Pyrénées - Mont Perdu (France/Spain)

**There are some points of comparison between these Pyrenean sites and the Lake District, notably the aesthetic unity of the landscape derived from many centuries of a distinctive form of upland pastoral farming. However there is an emphasis in their cultural value on systems of land management and a way of life which is no longer found in Europe's**

mountain areas. This is not a feature of the Lake District nomination. Also, these sites have not played the same role as the Lake District in shaping public perceptions of landscape and the movement for landscape conservation.

**(Sites on Tentative Lists)**

- Causses & Cevennes (France)

The Causses & Cevennes share some similarities with the Lake District. Their outstanding beauty derives from long interactions between the environment and its people, although in a different biogeographical zone. Part of this interaction includes a distinctive local form of pastoralism based on sheep farming. The contribution of the site to the development of ideas has been in the areas of geology and geography and the history of French Protestantism. Although it is noted that writers and artists have used the area as a source for their work, it has not played a central role in the history of landscape appreciation and conservation.

- Lake Maggiore D'Orta (Italy)

Lake Maggiore and Lake D'Orta shares several similarities with the Lake District. It played an important role in the development of landscape aesthetics, with a small group of opinion leaders leading to 'discovery' by a wider population of tourists, with enduring popularity today. However its main focus is on designed landscapes (in particular, villas and gardens) created by wealthy families from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, so its historical significance - and the results which remain visible on ground – is very different from that of the Lake District.

**There are several, overlapping, Alpine sites on national Tentative Lists:**

- Mercantour / Alpi Maritime
- Vanoise/Grand Paradis
- Parc national des Écrins, Vanoise national park
- Hohe Tauern national park
- Alps: a) Western Alps, b) Dolomites, c) Eastern Alps

**The amount of information available about these varies enormously, but a major part of the case for their eventual nomination will rest on their outstanding geological and ecological features. There is no overlap with the Lake District on these natural criteria. It is less clear to what extent they will come forward as Cultural Landscapes.**

Significance of other sites in the development of the Picturesque Aesthetic and Romanticism

**The Lake District is not the only place in the UK or Europe which was influential in the development of the Picturesque aesthetic and the Romantic Movement. What sets it apart from others is its particularity and the richness of the aesthetic and emotional responses it evokes. The range of its influence was correspondingly extensive.**

- The Alps

**Although in picturesque terms, the Lake District could not compete with the Alps in the 'horror' of untamed nature, it could, within the space of a few miles, offer awe inspiring crags, reflective lakes and contact with an increasingly idealised rural way of life. The Alps is a much larger, heterogeneous region with multiple physical and cultural differences. Only specific areas of the Alps had an influence on the Picturesque aesthetic and Romantic Movements and the indigenous pastoral culture in this region did not have a crucial significance as in the Lake District.**

- Other upland areas of Britain

**Domestic tourism in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was stimulated by travel books and guides, as well as by personal accounts and verses evoking the beauties of the British countryside (Andrews 1989). Areas of Britain that became the focus of picturesque interest included the Wye Valley, North Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland. Although sharing many characteristics that were emotionally and aesthetically pleasing, each area had a distinctiveness that marked it out from the others. However none of these areas had the same significance as the Lake District either for picturesque interest or for the development of the Romantic sensibility that would in part develop from it.**

**The Picturesque enterprise, with its almost exclusive emphasis on visual appreciation, tended to suppress any appraisal of landscape in economic, social or political terms. In contrast, the Romantic perspective saw the issues of human identity and relationship with the land as inseparable from the reading of meanings and the eliciting of pleasure from landscape. What distinguishes the Lakeland version of this idyll is how the values of the landscape and the lives it supported were not simply matters for sentimental celebration but became politically emblematic as a bulwark against uncontrolled expansion and led directly to the establishment of a landscape conservation movement.**

**The other element which sets the Lake District apart from the Alps and other areas is the significance of how appreciation of its landscape developed. In no other area did the appreciation of the landscape by artists, writers and tourists prompt private patrons and public policy makers to take such innovative and comprehensive action to protect and conserve its cultural values for future generations.**

International significance of the Lake District's role in the landscape conservation movement

**The Lake District has played a crucial role in the development of the international landscape conservation movement. The key developments have been the development of the National Trust; the establishment of English National Parks as a model of live-in, protected areas; and the influence of the Lake District on the creation of UNESCO's category of Cultural Landscape.**

All these landscape conservation strands take a broad view of landscape as much more than scenery, and both place people at the centre of conservation action. What distinguishes them is not the aim but the means – the National Trust achieves its ends through ownership, the national parks movement through public policy. So they are not competing approaches but complementary ones – and nowhere is that more evident than in the Lake District National Park, where the National Trust owns about a quarter of the land, including the central fell area, the major valley heads, and six of the main lakes and much of their shoreline. The Trust is thus a prime means by which the national park achieves its ends; and the park provides the policy context and planning framework within which the Trust’s ownership can flourish.

- The National Trust

The late nineteenth Century was not the first occasion when wealthy and influential people had got together to ‘save’ parts of their national heritage. However it was a time when rapid industrialisation made the threat seem more urgent and called for a more strategic, capable response. This came with the founding of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty in 1895 - now the National Trust, which works in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. At the core of its philosophy is the permanent protection of special places for public enjoyment through responsible ownership.

The Lake District played a crucial role in the creation and development of the National Trust. One of its three founders, Hardwicke Rawnsley, lived and worked in the area (a neighbour and wood carving student of Ruskin) and spent his life campaigning for its preservation. From then on, as noted by Jennifer Jenkins, a past Chair of the National Trust (Jenkins and James 1994):

“The Lake District has always represented the heart of the Trust, both emotionally and in the size of its holding ...”.

While many individual properties in other parts of the country played important roles in developing the Trust’s approach, the size of the estate in the Lake District – already 5,000 acres (2,000ha) in 1920 and 200,000 acres (81,000ha) by 1990 – has made it unique in the Trust’s history. It has been a test bed for the National Trust’s contribution towards the conservation of what would come to be called Cultural Landscapes. The innovative role continues today with a ‘wilding’ project in Ennerdale which aims to give more rein to natural processes in shaping the landscape. (<http://www.wildennerdale.co.uk>).

No other private, not for profit institution has had such a profound impact on the theory and practice of landscape conservation or caught the imagination of the public – national and worldwide - as the National Trust. Its work in the Lake District has remained at its heart for 110 years.

Outside Britain there were very few similar initiatives. In Norway, *Fortidsminneforeningen* - was established in 1844 in Norway, though

**focused solely on historic buildings. The Trustees of Public Reservations in Massachusetts came into being in 1891 – four years before the National Trust came into being - the first of many such bodies in North America. But whereas the Trustees now own 25,000 acres (10,100ha) and have a membership of over 40,000 households, The National Trust owns over 600,000 acres (250,000ha) and several hundred historic properties, and has a membership of over 3.5m. In addition, the National Trust model has gone global, with National Trusts established across the globe.**

- The idea of Protected Landscapes

**The Lake District was at the heart of the development of English National Parks, which were established with the passing of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949. Lake District scenery was seen as iconic: at its best, it represented the essence of the British national park ideal. The position of the 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 far the largest of their proposed new national parks.**

**Internationally, the landscape protection parts of the 1949 Act were the first of their kind. They led the way in landscape protection by being comprehensive, in that the landscape protection powers were derived from a nation-wide analysis; they focussed on lived-in landscapes; and they provided the foundation for an ensuing programme of landscape protection designations. English national parks, and thus the Lake District, have been extremely influential in the definition of IUCN's Category V Protected Areas (Protected Landscapes/ Seascapes).**

**Many European countries (and some others further afield) have developed systems of protected landscapes that IUCN recognises as Category V protected areas, but the UK (or England and Wales to be precise) was the first country to develop a national system of protected landscapes, a system which was in existence at least 10 years before that of most other countries, and 25 years before that of some.**

- The influence of the Lake District on the World Heritage Convention

**Quite separately from the above developments, the Lake District has also played a key part in bringing about the adoption of the Cultural Landscape category of World Heritage site. UNESCO considered the case for World Heritage Site inscription for the Lake District in 1987 and 1989. The difficulties that the World Heritage Committee experienced in classifying the Lake District led directly to the adoption in 1992 of 'Cultural Landscapes' as a World Heritage Site category.**

Conclusion of comparative analysis

**The comparative analysis reveals the unique role played by the Lake District in the development of ideas and beliefs about landscape.**

**At the heart of its Outstanding Universal Value is a landscape of great beauty and diversity, evolved organically from centuries of human interaction which had produced, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a distinctive indigenous farming tradition based on pastoralism. From the middle of the eighteenth Century, an influential group of artists and writers were consciously shaping the feelings of a growing tide of tourists. These associative values were broad in scope, covering both the awe and spiritual refreshment of the wild places and respect for the values of the people whose hard work had formed and now maintained the landscape. In doing so they fundamentally affected how cultural landscapes were 'read' by experts and decision makers, as well as by visitors and advertising copy writers.**

**This movement influenced more than just aesthetic appreciation. The artists and writers who shaped people's emotional and intellectual response to the landscape were also passionate about its conservation. One radical element of their argument was the belief that the spiritual charge inherent in the landscape was part of the national heritage which everyone should enjoy, not just those who owned the land.**

**The rich and influential people who bought second homes in the area or regularly stayed in favourite hotels were equally passionate. Along with their happy memories, visitors took away a sense that the area was under threat. They – and those who had only read about the Lake District in their newspaper - were motivated to write to their MP about a damaging development, contribute financially towards preserving land (usually through the National Trust) or campaign for a new type of national park.**

**In this way, the Lake District became the pattern for both a way of valuing this type of cultural landscape and the political movement for their conservation. This had a strong international dimension, from early influence on John Muir and his colleagues through to the role played by the Lake District in debates within IUCN and UNESCO about Category V protected areas and Cultural Landscapes.**

**Aspects of this story were played out in many other places. But no single place was so influential and nowhere can you better see today, study and enjoy the physical lineaments of that story than in the Lake District National Park.**

**2.c Authenticity and Integrity  
(see above)**

**2.d Criteria under which inscription is proposed (and justification for inscription under these criteria)  
(see above)**

## SECTION 3a: DESCRIPTION, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

### Archaeology and Early History

#### Illustrations:

- map of archaeological sites mentioned in text
- Distribution of archaeological sites in the Lake District/?by period
- Photo of Lindale Low cave
- photo of Castlerigg or Swinside stone circle
- photo of Pike of Stickle and polished stone axe
- AP of clearance cairnfield
- AP of prehistoric settlement enclosure
- A pollen diagram to show LBA and later clearance – poss. Full page box to describe vegetation changes and Pennington's work
- Picture of ring cairn/ ?excavation at Seathwaite
- AP of Roman fort – Charlie Hedley's photo of Hardknott Troutbeck in snow?
- Place names – maps + box to explain
- Gosforth Cross
- Photo of Shap or Calder Abbey
- Photo of cropped sheep's ears from ?Troutbeck or Gatesgarth - to demonstrate origin as medieval feudal farm – see Winchester 1989,, 80.
- Photo of medieval shovel from Silver Gill
- Distribution map of bloomeries and surviving ancient semi-natural woodland
- Map of Troutbeck Park (see Winchester 1989) p 78

The Lake District landscape 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 caused 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.

## Prehistory (10,000 BC – 100 AD)

The earliest evidence of a human presence in the Lake District comes at the end of the last glaciation, around 11,000 BC, when *late Palaeolithic* populations moved into the area of the southern Lake District. Evidence of flint tools from caves in the limestone around Lindale indicate the presence of groups of hunters who would have been searching for large game animals such as red deer, elk and auroch. From around 8,000 BC larger *Mesolithic* groups settled on the coast of the Lake District, making use of the rich resources of the sea and estuaries. A few flint finds from the central Lake District indicate that the Lake District's woodlands, rivers and lakes were also exploited.

In the early *Neolithic* period, c. 4,000 – 2500 BC, the Lake District landscape was more widely used. Although domesticated crops and animals were introduced, hunting and gathering was still a major component of subsistence and settlements remained small and temporary. The earliest built monuments in the Lake District date to this period, comprising large stone circles such as Castlerigg and Swinside. Other monuments of this period include *causewayed enclosures* at Green Howe and possibly Carrock Fell. A source of volcanic tuff in the central Lake District fells was exploited to manufacture high quality polished stone axes which were traded widely to central and southern England, Scotland and Ireland.

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 meters above sea level. The land was cleared of stone in order to improve it for agriculture resulting in *clearance cairns* and rudimentary field walls. Extensive Bronze Age settlement remains survive in the southwestern fells, for example Town Bank and in the north east, in Glencoyne Park. In the Early Bronze Age settlements remained small and temporary, but by the later Bronze Age (after c. 1000 BC) the pollen record indicates that woodland clearance was becoming more extensive and agriculture more intensive. Limited evidence from excavation indicates that houses were constructed of timber and by the end of the Bronze Age some settlements were contained within stone-walled enclosures.

The construction of stone circles appears to have continued into the Bronze Age, 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.

It appears that the climate may have deteriorated towards the end of the second millennium BC and while some of the agricultural land of earlier centuries may have been abandoned there is evidence of a continuity of settlement into the Iron Age, from c. 800 BC. Both open and enclosed settlements are known, including a series of sites on Aughtertree 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.

## **Romano-British (100 AD – 400 AD)**

By the time the Romans arrived in the Lake District the landscape was long settled and cultivated, even in areas that would today seem quite marginal. Although a fine series of forts and roads have survived, the nature of the impact of the Roman occupation on the Lake District's settlement pattern and agrarian landscape is largely unknown. Major forts were constructed at Troutbeck, Ambleside, Hardknott and Ravenglass, and a small number of other military sites, including marching camps, are also known. Large civilian settlements (*vici*) also developed at Ambleside and Ravenglass. Roads were constructed to connect the centres of Roman administration and many sections of these have survived in the Lake District, including the well known route of High Street.

Romano-British settlements and field systems are relatively common in both the lower fells and valleys in the Lake District, with extensive survival of both enclosures and fields. This good survival indicates that following the abandonment of these sites, the intensity of exploitation of the uplands declined and for the most part was never re-established.

## **Early Medieval (400 AD – 1100 AD)**

Land use in the immediate post-Roman period is uncertain, but there is clear evidence of woodland clearance and intensified agricultural activity from the late 6<sup>th</sup>/early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. This includes radiocarbon dates for field clearance at Devoke Water and for a major clearance horizon in a pollen core at Little Water, the latter associated with the introduction of hemp.

The nature of settlement at this time is unclear, but there are indications that there was a need for defence. A radiocarbon date for material from the bottom of a rock-cut ditch of a small hillfort at Shoulthwaite, above Thirlmere, also falls in the late 6<sup>th</sup> early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Although there is little evidence, there were almost certainly established settlements in the Lake District valleys at this time. There is more evidence for activity in the uplands, where for example excavations at Bryant's Gill in Kentmere have revealed evidence for a *shieling* or summer settlement dating to the seventh century AD. It is also known from the writing of the Venerable Bede, and from archaeological excavation in the 1980s, that an Anglian monastery was established at Dacre, between Keswick and Penrith.

In the later 10<sup>th</sup> century immigrants of Scandinavian origin came to the Lake District from Norse colonies in Ireland. Widespread place name evidence indicates the extent of Norse settlement, which included the coast and central valleys. The widespread occurrence of the Scandinavian place-name element '*thwaite*', meaning 'clearing' may be indicative of an extension of cultivation at this time. The Norse place-name element 'scales', denoting *shieling* sites, is also of interest as it may indicate the further development of transhumance farming, an important feature of early medieval farming in the Lake District.

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.

The continuing use to the present day of a farming dialect including Scandinavian elements, and the similarities between some Lake District and Norwegian folk traditions, also indicate the importance of Anglo-Scandinavian influence on the creation of Lakeland's traditional farming society and landscape. Between the eighth and tenth centuries AD it seems likely that the Lake District's farming system and settlement pattern underwent significant and lasting modifications and that the process of primary upland clearance and colonisation which started in prehistory, may have reached its peak at this time.

These changes set the scene for many of the elements of settlement and agriculture of the later Middle Ages that were still observable in the late eighteenth century.

### **Medieval (1100 AD – 1500)**

Cumbria was incorporated into the Norman kingdom after the conquest of Carlisle in 1092. The ensuing framework of feudal lordship in Cumbria directed the pattern of medieval settlement which evolved in the Lake District. However it is likely that medieval settlement also reflected a pre-existing pattern dating back to the Anglo-Scandinavian period or even earlier.

The baronial estates were based on seats on the Lakeland fringe including Greystoke, Kendal, Millom, Egremont and Cockermouth. Their lands included large sections of the Lake District which by the thirteenth century were described as private 'forest'. This term referred to a legal status for the preservation of game animals rather than afforested land, and is retained in modern place names such as Skiddaw Forest. By the later thirteenth century the 'forests' were being used less for hunting and more as upland pastures for stock grazing. Peasant colonists were tolerated, and settlement pushed beyond previous limits due to an increase in population in this period. Some former *shielings* 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.

The central Lake District was surrounded by a ring of market towns which originated as medieval boroughs, including Cockermouth, Penrith and Kendal. In addition there are a few nucleated villages which acted as local market centres such as Keswick, Hawkshead and Ambleside.

### **Monasteries**

Monasteries were established at Furness, Calder and Shap and together with other more distant religious houses such as Fountains in Yorkshire, all had land holdings in the Lake District. These included farms, fisheries and rights to pasture and wood. One of their main impacts on the landscape, however, was in the establishment of *vaccaries*, generally established at the heads of valleys. Furness had a *vaccary* at Brotherikeld in Eskdale, and Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire had one at Stonethwaite in Borrowdale. In the fifteenth century many of these went over to sheep farming and are referred to in contemporary records as *herdwicks*, the name from which the distinctive Lake District sheep breed takes its name.

## Medieval agriculture

The medieval and later agrarian landscape of the Lake District was characterised by *inbye* land in the valley bottom and common grazing on the open fell, much of which survives today within the extensive and distinctive common grazing lands that still characterise the uplands of the Lake District. These were separated from the other farmland by a wall known as a *ring garth*, with smaller improved fields known as *intakes* developing over time on its upslope side. This system was developed by the late thirteenth century and is still recognisable in the farming landscape of the modern Lake District. In this period the heads of many of the valleys lay within private 'forests' and were exploited in a variety of ways. Some, including Wasdale Head, Ennerdale and Gaitsgarth at the head of Buttermere, became *vaccaries* (dairy farms). These comprised hay meadows on the valley floor surrounded by fellside pastures. Other dale heads were rented out for grazing (*agistment*). Some of the dale heads were also donated to monasteries which also established *vaccaries* (see below). Traces of these early farms can still be seen in the landscape for example in Martindale, Gatesgarth and The Side in Ennerdale, where the remains of large convex stone-walled enclosures can still be traced on the fellside.

In the lower stretches of the valleys the edge of the cultivatable land was divided from the grazing land on the fell by the *ring garth*. Land within the common field enclosed by the *ring garth* was farmed in strips, communally and in rotation. Although most inbye land is now pasture, excellent examples of this early field wall pattern still survive in Langdale and Watendlath (see section 3a).

The extensive oak woodlands of the Lake District were used to support herds of pigs, a practice reflected in place names such as Swindale and Grisedale. However by the early fourteenth century the woods were in decline, partly through clearance but also because of a lack of regeneration due to pressure of grazing animals. The population increase of the previous century was halted by Scottish invasions and the Black Death during the fourteenth century during which there was also a marked deterioration in climate.

The agricultural depression lasted until about 1450, after which the Lake District's economy revived and additional land was taken into cultivation. It was during this period that sheep began to replace cattle as the principle grazing stock in the Lake District. The woollen industry centred on Kendal and in High Furness stimulated the demand for wool and the need for improved land was satisfied by the creation of intakes on the upslope side of the *ring garth* in the central valleys.

## Medieval industry

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. Recent radiocarbon dates for a wooden shovel from a lead mine at Silver Gill in the Caldbeck Fells and a nearby lead smelting site fall in the period 1000 – 1200 AD. A series of medieval iron smelting sites (*bloomeries*) and charcoal pits have also been radiocarbon dated to the period 1250 – 1450 AD. Wool production was also

a major part of the medieval economy, and was exported widely. The monastery at Shap - *Ciappi in Vestrebellanda* - is recorded in an Italian wool-buyer's list of 1315 as a source of fleeces.

## The Lake District's Agricultural Landscape

### Yeoman farmers in the Lake District

*'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'**

In the medieval period much of the core of the Lake District was classed as forest i.e. the private hunting grounds of aristocratic landowners. The area was controlled from castles on the periphery of the mountainous area at Appleby, Cockermouth, Egremont, Greystoke, Kendal and Millom. This had the result that in contrast to the manorial organisation of the lowlands, few gentry resided in the central Lake District. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century most of the former forest areas were held by customary 'tenant-right'. This was tantamount to freehold in that land could be bought or sold without interference from the lord of the manor and it provided a level of economic security and independence that allowed some customary tenants to describe themselves as 'yeomen'.

In the centuries before the Union of the crowns of Scotland and England, one of the principle obligations of tenant-right had been the requirement to provide military service in defence of the Border. In the more peaceful times following the accession of James I in 1603, both the Crown and landlords disputed this requirement and challenged the 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 Lake District by the tenant farmers which had profound implications for the development of local society. The yeomen subsequently had the confidence to make substantial financial investments in their farms which led to the great rebuilding of 1660 to 1740, when the majority of farm houses and agricultural buildings in the Lake District were rebuilt in stone.

This did not mean that all farming tenants within the Lake District had the same social and economic status. There were distinctions of wealth and status that had existed since the 16<sup>th</sup> 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 were smaller farmers, craftsmen and labourers.

The histories of a number of prominent Lake District families can be traced from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These include the Brownes of Troutbeck, the Wrens of Castlerigg and the Vicars family of Eskdale. By the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 Lakeland 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 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 Lake District valleys were served by chapels and had no resident parish priests. Each chapel was governed by a 'vestry' which generally included members of prominent local yeoman families. It was also normal for the local community to choose 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 Lake District communities were in charge of their own affairs.

When the first travellers and tourists began to visit the Lake District from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Lakeland farming society. Wordsworth was particularly captivated by the notion of a happy and independent society with its roots firmly in the soil of the Lake District, characterising it as an 'almost visionary mountain republic'. This underpinned much of his poetic writing about the Lake District and was crucial for the development of his ideas about the relationship between humans and nature.

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 17<sup>th</sup> century had a powerful effect on the particular development of the upland farming landscape of the 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 the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It has left a legacy of distinctive vernacular architecture, an agricultural landscape of small stone walled fields, woods and open fell that has evolved organically since the medieval period, together with local farming traditions that extend to the present day.

## **The character of farming at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.**

The farming system at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century still had discernable roots in its medieval past, but had developed a distinct character influenced by the particular social and economic developments that took place in the 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 field as opposed to the strips of earlier centuries.

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.

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 therefore became an important domestic fuel before the widespread introduction of coal, controlled by the right of turbary. 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.

## **Development of the post medieval landscape (1600 AD – 1900 AD)**

By the end of the Middle Ages it can be justifiably argued that the basic structure of today's Lake District rural landscape was in existence. There were evolutionary changes within farming that reflected wider national trends, but the primary pattern of rural settlement and farming practice in the uplands especially remained broadly constant. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that the fundamentals of the rural landscape, as depicted on late eighteenth century county maps, are representative of a late medieval pattern.

One clear change within the landscape, but not visible from maps, was in the nature of housing. Houses were replaced, though the property forming their context may have remained relatively unchanged. At Stephenson Scale the most recent rectangular farmhouse was occupied during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, with a semi-circular animal enclosure on one side. During the seventeenth century an increasingly independent and wealthy yeomanry invested in new buildings throughout the Lake District, often providing date stones for major phases of rebuilding. Other evidence of the expression of a more powerful and acquisitive farming class is shown in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries when individual farmers or small groups of farmers made fellside intakes throughout the Lake District. In the Lake District from the seventeenth century farms amalgamated into fewer, larger units and this is a process that is continuing through to the present day.

Four processes produced landscape characteristics which overlie locally the essentially medieval nature of the Lake District's rural landscape. These were industrialisation, enclosure, tourism and forestry. Industrial activity only began to have a significant impact on the Lake District's landscape in the post-medieval period. It was only then that its scale was sufficient to have anything other than a localised impact. This increase in scale came 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 with the application of water power at bloomery forges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Excavations at sites such as Stoney Hazel forge and more recently Cunsey forge are helping to elucidate the complex technological relationship between late water-powered bloomeries and the finery forges of the blast furnace industry. The most significant landscape impact of the intensification of iron manufacturing in the area, however, was the increased exploitation of coppiced 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.

The Lake District is a nationally important centre for post-medieval metal ore mining. The sixteenth century 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 mining and quarrying intensification include larger extraction complexes, and widespread spoilheaps, with one of the most dramatic spoil-affected landscapes being the Copper Mines Valley, near Coniston.

The greatest post-medieval change in the rural landscape came with the enclosure of large areas of upland common in the nineteenth century as a result primarily of the 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 eighteenth century county maps and the first edition Ordnance Survey coverage.

In the eighteenth century the combination of powerful natural landscape elements, picturesque scenery, an ancient rural farming pattern and the local, but often dramatic, visual impact of industries was regarded as inspiring and moving. With the unavailability of southern Europe to most travellers, the Lake District became the destination of choice for tourists and aesthetes seeking landscapes suitable for Picturesque and Romantic appreciation. The attraction of the environment encouraged its appreciators to attempt to enhance it with ornamental plantings and landscaping. The advent of the railway in the mid-nineteenth century brought increasing numbers of visitors and led to the development of new urban centres, with the development of settlements like Keswick, Ambleside and Bowness, and the creation of the resort of Windermere.

During the post medieval period woodland cover within the Lake District National Park increased as a result of its value to industry, as a provider of fuel, and its ornamental value, for enhancing Picturesque landscapes. In

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this increase continued with the development of commercial forestry. The advocates of landscape protection and appreciation, such as Wordsworth, opposed afforestation. Landscape conservation, appreciation, and woodland expansion continue to be contested aspects of landscape development and management in the Lake District National Park, with proposals for the area to become a World Heritage Site and for rewilding its more isolated parts, as at Ennerdale. Throughout its history, environmental and socioeconomic factors have influenced the development of the landscape, and will continue to do so.

### **Case study: development of the field system in Great Langdale**

The Great Langdale valley is located in the heart of the Lake District, 7 miles west of Ambleside. Much of the valley is owned by the National Trust and its history and development is well known as a result of detailed landscape surveys that have been carried out in recent years. Although the individual histories of the Lake District valleys display variation in detail, the general pattern of development since the medieval period is similar over the whole area. The example of Great Langdale will therefore serve to illustrate the general pattern of the evolution of the Lake District landscape.

#### *Fig. # Air photograph of Great Langdale (English Heritage)*

The first documentary evidence for land use in Great Langdale dates from 1216 when William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal, granted to Connishead Priory the 'land of Basebrun', which then came a separate manor from the Manor of Great Langdale.

The course of the boundary wall of first 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 19<sup>th</sup> century but some sections that are agriculturally redundant may still comprise 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 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The grant of 1260 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.

*Fig. # The extent of the Ring Garth in Great Langdale – NT survey*

Although much of the line of the Ring Garth has been obscured by later enclosure, parts of what was once a 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 preserves which was 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 cutting of 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 15<sup>th</sup> century when a rising population increased demands on land.

*Fig. # 'Medieval intakes – NT survey*

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the rising population in Great Langdale reached its peak, bringing greater demands on land for food production. This led to renewed intaking 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.

*Fig. # Tudor Age intakes – NT survey*

In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and early 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 intakes from 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 17<sup>th</sup> century.

A distinctive feature of the walled landscape are the routeways leading from the farmsteads to the pasture on the fellside, known as 'outgangs'. 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 leading to its sheep 'heaf'. If another farm used the outrake it would encroach on that heaf and reduce the pasture available to the farm. Use of outrakes 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 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This process was completed by Act of Parliament in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the last few areas of the common field were enclosed.

*Fig. # Intaking during the age of the yeomen farmers – NT survey*

One of the major changes to the agricultural landscape in England from the late 18<sup>th</sup> 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 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 and Stool end and Wall End.

Enclosure by Act of Parliament was used to finally enclose the last remaining areas of the common field in the valley floor during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The only remaining open areas were known as Great Langdale High and Low Common field and the Act to enclose these was passed in 1836, although the Award which carried out the actual enclosure was not drawn up until 1853.

*Fig. # Great Langdale during the Age of Improvement – NT survey*

Comparison of the present day landscape of Great Langdale with the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of 1862 indicates that there have been a 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 Lake District HLC has demonstrated that 60% of field boundaries depicted on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey map are much as they were in 1862. Those changes 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.

## **Lake District Farm Houses from The Late 16<sup>th</sup> Century**

In the Lake District, prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, only buildings of high social status, defensive tower houses and churches were significant landscape

features. The typical farmhouse comprise a basic single storey, timber cruck framed dwelling with cobble, rubble or sod walls and a bracken thatch roof. None of these primitive dwellings survive, but their successors in the mid to late 17<sup>th</sup> century today are probably one of the most recognisable, distinctive and appreciated farmhouses in Britain. They make a major contribution to the character and unique personality of the Lake District.

As in other parts of Britain during the more settled period of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, landowners in the Lake District were able to build up capital and re-build their houses in more substantial style. The new farmhouses were built of stone, generally two storeys high with a roof of local slate. The earliest examples in the 1620's are at Troutbeck, near Windermere, but the main thrust took place between the 1680's and the early 1700's. This is confirmed by the external datestones and in particular, the numerous surviving carved oak bread and spice cupboards. These robust dwellings, sturdy expressions of the farmer's wealth and status have survived and today they pepper the landscape and add scale and human interest to almost every view of valley and fell side.

The materials used in these farmhouses reflect the great variety of rock types across the Lake District including slates, sandstones, mudstones, granite and limestone, together with an abundance of river or glacial cobbles and boulders. In a rugged landscape where transport was prohibitively expensive, the majority of these rebuilt dwellings and farm buildings used the materials to hand, either surfaced gathered or from small stone extraction sites. Each valley was virtually self sufficient in its building materials, which has helped to define a localised individuality and strengthen a sense of identity. Initially, the random rubble stone work was clay bonded, but by the latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century lime mortar was in general use. Lime roughcast was often applied to the exterior of the walls, followed by layers of limewash, to provide weather proofing.

In contrast, the durable roof slates were only available where geology allows. Lake District slate varies in colour and durability depending on the geological source, but the best green slate comes from the Borrowdale Volcanic geology at Honister, Coniston, Tilberthwaite and Langdale. It had to be quarried, carefully dressed to shape and then transported to the new building. Traditionally the slates were dressed to random widths and were laid in diminishing courses.

It is not only the use of indigenous materials that anchors these buildings to the landscape, but it is the careful way that they are sited. Of prime importance was shelter, so windy exposed positions were avoided, and a group of trees were usually planted on the windward side. The dwellings tend to nestle into the valley sides, above the flood plain or frost pockets. Aspect was also vital. Ideally, the dwelling would be aligned to face the morning sun to obtain maximum solar gain for the living rooms, whereas the stairs, buttery and stores would be located at the cooler north facing rear. The unique physical nature of every valley made it difficult to always achieve this ideal alignment. A major consideration was a reliable water supply and every 17<sup>th</sup> century dwelling was built close to a spring, well or water course. In addition a dwelling needed good access to the arable

valley bottom land, the wooded valley sides and the upper sheep pastures and commons. The combination of all these elements has produced an unmistakable impression, so admired, valued and cherished by writers, poets, artists and photographers including Wordsworth and Ruskin.

Between the mid 18<sup>th</sup> and mid 19<sup>th</sup> 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. More formally designed buildings were built by the gentry and soon these Georgian styles filtered down the social scale. Lake District buildings from the late 18<sup>th</sup> 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 a general purpose living room or “firehouse” of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As well as new dwellings, some farmhouses were re-fronted, extended, or “improved” in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in an elegant “pattern book” style. However, in the majority of the older farmhouses, the overall plan layout of the 17<sup>th</sup> century core has remained unaltered.

## **Lake District Farm Buildings**

There are very few pre-17<sup>th</sup> century farm buildings in the Lake District and as with the farmhouses, the first proper phase of farm building coincided or follows shortly after the “great re-building” of the period 1650 to 1720. Undoubtedly a number of earlier farm buildings have disappeared, with the stonework and timbers re-used in later buildings. Those substantial buildings that survive from the early part of the re-building were associated with influential, wealthy landowners, such as the Le Flemings of Coniston and Rydal, and the Brownes of Troutbeck.

During the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the wool trade was a key element in the rising prosperity of Lakeland farmers, but the building legacy of this period has nothing to do with sheep. The dominant early buildings were the large threshing barns, set into sloping ground with animal housing and storage below, creating the characteristic “Bank Barns” of Lakeland.

Today, we see a green pastoral landscape, but back in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

In common with the rest of England, the vast majority of surviving traditional farm buildings in the Lake District were built between 1750 and 1880. Similar to contemporary domestic properties, the early farm buildings used locally available materials for wall construction.

In terms of farmstead arrangement, the early farm buildings were generally attached to the farmhouse, extending it into the distinctive “longhouse” shape. The exception was often with the higher status houses, which either stood alone or had a lower agricultural wing at right angles. Ground conditions and other physical considerations meant the farmstead evolved as a loose group of ancillary buildings, rather than the typical formal arrangement found in the more productive areas of lowland England. Rising prosperity required a greater range of buildings and whilst some of the more accessible parts of the Lake District show evidence of mid to late Victorian planning, the remoter valleys continued with their traditional buildings and random arrangement.

**Threshing Barns:** Earliest examples are single storey, with central double doors to a threshing floor and a divided space for a Cow House (Byre) for 8 or 10 cows at the end. They date from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards and may have full oak cruck “A” frame roof structures, thick rubble stone walls and a heavy slate roof covering. The building was primarily for processing corn (oats), with storage space for straw, grain and hay.

**Bank Barns:** A very ingenious design with a central threshing floor, space for straw, grain and hay storage on the top floor, with housing for cows, horses and carts below. Hatches and chutes enable fodder and bedding to be fed from the upper stores down to the under housing. Key feature of threshing floors was a “winnowing” door opposite the double entrance doors to encourage a through draft when threshing and winnowing. These distinctive two storey barns are ideally suited to the sloping valley sides. They date from 1659 to 1905 and the Lake District has the greatest concentration of such barns in the world.

There are basically two types of Lakeland Bank Barns:

a) **Bank Barn built down the slope:** A long barn with a large top floor and very limited under housing for animals and storage. Double doors into threshing floor at ground level, with small canopy (pentice) above and on opposite side a single narrow winnowing door. Associated with important landowners and built in the late 17<sup>th</sup> to mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, this type is found mainly in the southern Lake District.

b) **Bank barn built across the slope:** A much more common design with barn set parallel to the hillside providing the whole ground floor for under housing. Upper level entrance to central threshing floor, pentice over double doors, with high level winnowing door on opposite side. At lower level, bank barns in southern Lakeland have a continuous canopy over all doorways to give shelter when split doors are opened. In northern Lakeland very few lower level canopies, but cart sheds have arched sandstone openings below winnowing door. Vary in size from small, rugged early 18<sup>th</sup> century barns to the largest more formal farm buildings in the Lake District of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Cow Houses (Byres or Shippons):** The original small cow house (for cows and oxen) was attached to the 17<sup>th</sup> century farmhouse forming an integral part of the characteristic longhouse. Externally the building had a hay loft above, with a pitching door to toss up the hay fodder from a cart. Inside the

building was subdivided into stalls with divisions known as “boskins”, made from oak, pine, slate, sandstone, and latterly concrete. These single purpose buildings were superseded when the ubiquitous bank barns provided much better accommodation for cattle.

**Stables:** Similar to cow houses, the earliest examples formed part of the longhouse, normally nearest to the dwelling. A working horse needed wider and taller doors than for cattle, and the stable also had a loft above for hay and straw storage. Internally the horse was given more spacious accommodation and taller, longer stall divisions to prevent biting and kicking. Bank barns normally incorporated a ground floor stable, but by the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century stables became the most important designed building on the farmstead. Horses were given special respect and high status buildings. The quality of internal fittings and detailing is very often much better than the dwellings. Good examples survive of beautifully designed stalls constructed of oak, pitch pine, teak and ornate cast iron.

**Cart Sheds:** Wooden carts needed protection from the sun and rain. Earlier examples formed part of the longhouse range, later they were incorporated into the ground floor layout of the bank barn, often with an open entrance below the winnowing door. Larger farmsteads may have separate single storey open-fronted cart / implement sheds, with supporting stone pillars, to allow ventilation for timber equipment.

**Granaries:** After threshing and winnowing, the locally grown oats had to be stored in a dry, vermin free area. Most 17<sup>th</sup> century farmhouses used part of the lofts for large oak chests to store the grain, but in the farmstead group, upper floors over cow houses or stables were popular places for granaries, especially if adjacent to the dwelling’s chimney stack. The most distinctive feature of a granary is the solid external stone staircase. Unlike southern England, there is no evidence of the purpose-built freestanding granaries on elevated staddle stones. Most bank barns had space for grain storage, either within the main upper floor or in lean-to wings at one or both sides of the ramped entrance. Internally, to prevent grain loss through cracks and vermin damage, walls and sometimes floors were tightly lime plastered.

**Pig Sties:** By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, most farmers kept a few pigs, for the meat to be cured and smoked as bacon or ham in the farmhouse chimneys. Very few complete pig sties survive, most are today redundant and impossible to adapt to a new use. They are characteristically very small buildings, sometimes added at the end of barns or freestanding, always near the farmhouse where left-overs became the main food for pigs. The sties had tiny entrances, typical sloping feed chutes into troughs and sometimes combined with a hen house to form a “hennery-piggery”. In rarer cases, the building may even include a domestic privy.

## **Farming in the Lake District Today**

Although the methods and techniques of farming in the Lake District have followed general transformational developments of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ancient landscape of vernacular buildings, walled fields and open fell still characterises what is distinctive about the Lake District landscape. Even

more importantly there is still continuity and survival of farming tradition and practice, dialect and family lineage.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was common for fell farms to have up to 20% 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-19<sup>th</sup> century with the improvement of communications and the wider transport of foodstuffs. Arable agriculture experienced a revival during WWII and arable production on Lake District farms remained common into the 1960s. However it has subsequently receded again and is now limited to more productive fields on the fringes of the area. Another has been the introduction of mechanisation and easier access to the fells using vehicles such as quad bikes. Other key 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.

Although the Swaledale has increased in popularity in recent years, the Herdwick sheep is still the principal breed over much of the mountainous centre of the Lake District and there are between 120 and 150 fell going flocks.

State support has been given to hill farming since WWII and this was made permanent by the Hill Farming Act of 1946. The entry of the UK into the European Community brought a whole range of production-based support, which is now being translated into area based payments subject to land being in Good Agricultural and Environmental Condition. The present trend towards encouraging environmentally sustainable management of the farming landscape is in line with the management aims of both the National Trust and the National Park Authority, which have to balance a variety of objectives, including wider public access to the countryside and combating the effects of climate change, with supporting the economic and social well-being of the local Lake District community.

## **The Character and Significance of the Lake District Pastoral Farming System**

The 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. The persistence and continuity of the essential elements of Lake District farming culture from the early medieval period into the present contribute to its global significance. 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 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Key elements of the 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. A Lake District farmer from 500 years ago would recognise many of the practices of a present day 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 Lake District farming practice. The Lake District 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.

The Lake District Pastoral system is distinguished from other national and international farming systems by a number of key elements existing in a unified whole with extreme time-depth:

### **Lake District sheep breeds**

The Lake District is overwhelmingly a landscape created by sheep farming. The 'mountain sheep' of this landscape are a central element of the historic and present day cultural landscape and there are three main indigenous breeds:

The **Herdwick** is the principal Lake District sheep and has been bred for countless generations to graze the high fells. Its origins are obscure but it is likely to have developed from at least the early medieval period. The term 'Herdwyck' means 'sheep pasture' and is mentioned in documents from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This hardy sheep has changed in form over the centuries but plays the same role in the maintenance of the landscape as it did many centuries ago. In former times the distribution of the Herdwick in the Lake District was more widespread but it is now concentrated in the central and western Lake District.

The **Swaledale** is widely distributed across the upland areas of Northern England and in the eastern Lake District. This sheep also grazes the high fells and is now a crucial part of the Lake District pastoral system.

The **Kendal Rough** sheep is the final breed of importance to the Lake District, with a range in the South of the Lake District.

These sheep breeds, particularly the Herdwick, have quite distinct behavioural and performance attributes that have been emphasized through selective breeding to sustain the Lake District pastoral system (see below).

The sheep and shepherds of the Lake District both past and present have defined and currently sustain the unique cultural landscape of the Lake District.

### **Common land and the hefting system**

The Lake District has the largest area of unenclosed commons, or unenclosed land, of any farming landscape in Western Europe. A Lake District hill farm typically combines a number of valley bottom fields owned or rented with the farm with grazing rights for a number of sheep (or

sometimes horses or cattle) on the common land. The areas of common land that go with the farm are known as 'heafs'. The practical complexities of multiple shepherds managing so many sheep on such large mountain areas of land are extremely challenging – and the cultural response from the indigenous communities was to develop systems of management that were binding on all, and policed by communal authorities and social norms.

To avoid the possibility of individuals pursuing their own interests at the expense of the community, a system evolved whereby the numbers of sheep each grazer can put on the commons is set by tradition and linked to the grazing capacity of the in-bye, or privately farmed land. These grazing rights are tied to the farm holding not the farmer, and are inherited through generations.

To gather sheep from across extensive areas of fell and moorland a system of communal fell gathering was developed which exists to this day, with the farmers of any common coordinating their flock gathering with neighbours so that the whole common is gathered simultaneously for shearing, clipping, lambing, and tuppung (see section on the Herdwick Year below).

To prevent sheep simply straying (as most sheep naturally would) across vast open areas sheep were encouraged through shepherding and selective breeding over many centuries to develop an instinct for holding to a particular piece of land (hefting) and not straying into neighbouring land grazed by other flocks. This 'heafing' instinct is sustained by ongoing traditional management, with lambs being introduced to the fell in such a way that they too learn to be heafed.

Because Lake District sheep are effectively bound to specific areas of common land they cannot be sold by an outgoing owner or tenant because the incoming owner or tenant would have to introduce unheafed sheep to the common with huge cost and management implications. So a system evolved of 'landlord flocks' which belong to the farm, not the tenant farmer, ensuring that the genetic legacy of the sheep continues, and has continued for centuries. The sheep and the men in this landscape are therefore often the direct descendants of the sheep and the men of many centuries ago.

In order to identify the sheep of different landowners and to ensure that the ownership of sheep is respected, a system of markings was developed with each farm having a traditional set of marks to identify sheep. These include ear, or 'lug', marks, burned horn marks, and smit marks - a form of paint mark. To ensure that these marks remain constant and are known to all shepherds across difficult and mountainous terrain, a 'flock book' has been periodically published which details each farm's flock mark, or marks, and how farmers can be contacted about any stray sheep gathered by another farmer, with strict rules about how long those stray sheep should be held without claimant before they can be claimed.

Managing common land in this way required the building of a vast infrastructure across the landscape, including dry-stone-walls and gathering pens where sheep from the commons can be gathered, or sorted, and 'penfolds' or 'hospitals', where strays can be placed for collection by the

rightful owners. In order to sustain this system of communal efforts and collective endeavor, a system of shepherds 'meets' and valley shows evolved which are partly functional and partly social and which are an extremely important vehicle for the continuation of Lake District farming heritage, and these have continued into the present.

The timing and location of the shepherds' meets were set by tradition and so that they were known to all concerned in an age and a landscape which prevented easy communication. The principal function of these events is the exchange of stray sheep. At the summer shows shepherds could competitively show their sheep and effectively advertise their breeding value for potential customers. At the autumn ewe and ram sales male and female breeding stock were sold on to other farmers. Rams were also rented out or lent, being returned the next spring after being 'wintered'. The returns were made at spring fairs, including the Keswick Tup Fair, which is held for this purpose on the Thursday after the third Wednesday each May.

This communal pastoral system could not work unless everyone conformed to the rules, and it therefore evolved to include both formal censure through devices like manorial courts and social and cultural norms being enforced within the community. The identity of farmers in the Lake District was, and is, bound up with the links between families and particular farms and this has underpinned a stable framework of Lake District communities. There is a high degree of continuity of family succession and in many cases generations of the same family have held farms for up to 400 years. This has resulted in an interchangeability of farm names and family surnames, and the passing on of first names from father to sons over many generations. As a result, the farming community that has developed in the Lake District has a powerful sense of place and a linked communal tradition of maintaining the Lake District landscape. In this the individual is secondary to the whole community and the survival of this tradition into the present day is an important survival of a key element of pre-modern societies.

### **(PICs)**

- **flock distribution map**
- **illustration of a common and a farm**
- **illustration of flock book**
- **photo of a shepherds meet, show, tup fair, fell gather**
- **photo of a penfold etc, etc**

The unique farming heritage of the Lake District which has produced a cultural landscape of great depth and significance has provided the basis for the later cultural developments and associations which are also of outstanding universal value.

The easy access to the wild, open uplands of the Lake District in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> 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 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.

The crucial link between people and landscape that formed the basis for Wordsworth's early formulation of human ecology (the 'economy of nature') was recognised in the development of the early conservation movement in the Lake District, particularly from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The necessity of preserving the traditional Lake District farming way of life underpinned the movement to purchase and conserve key Lake District farms which was begun by GM Trevelyan and continued by others including Beatrix Potter. Similarly, the campaign led by the Rev. HH Symonds to prevent commercial afforestation of the central Lake District uplands was in part to maintain the open character of the landscape but was more to prevent destruction of Herdwick grazing and destruction of upland farming in the Lake District. Key figures in the formation of the National Trust, including Canon HD Rawnsley were also motivated to preserve the traditional Lake District way of life and not just the picturesque landscape. The early conservationists saw the pastoral system and its culture as primary to the Lake District's value and were motivated by a mission to protect and preserve it. In addition to his activities with the Lake District Defence Society and the National Trust, Rawnsley was also instrumental in establishing the Herdwick Sheep Association, a forerunner of the Herdwick Sheep Breeders' Association.

### **THE LAKE DISTRICT HILL FARMING YEAR**

(Drawn from an interview, in January 2009, with Stephen Lord, Farm Manager at Forest Hall Farm, near Kendal. Forest Hall Farm is owned by the Levens Hall Estate, and is 5000+ acres of mainly enclosed fell with a flock of 2000 Swaledale sheep. Forest Hall Farm is designated 'organic' under the Soil Association accreditation scheme).

***"We are just doing a variation on what those who came before us, did, and you can't do anything else because you are restricted by the weather, the farm, the amount of in-bye land you have, the altitude, the breed of sheep you have; things like that which don't change and that's been happening for hundreds of years".***

#### **October - December**

"I'm going to start you on 15<sup>th</sup> October and I'm going to talk about the ewes. At the end of October we gather to get the ewes in; we've already drafted what we don't want off (drafted means sold out, got rid of the ones that have to go to kill because they're old, and the ones that we are selling on to breed off). We give them a fluke drench (we've just been to the ram sales and purchased any rams for replacement), we clip the tails out so that this does not impede the ram while he's working. We also give them a blue tongue vaccination. All our best ewes are bred to the pure Swaledale tups and our poorer quality ewes are bred to the blue faced Leicester tup. The

tups run for about a month, the raddles change colours about once every 5-6 days (the raddle is the colour marking we put on the tup (it's orange yellow, green, blue, red) so that we can sort the ewes into what is going to lamb every 4/5 days. After about a month we remove the Swale tups, the ewes are turned back to the fell and we send half a dozen cheviot tups with them; they are what we call chasers, and they are just to catch any sheep that return in season."

### **January-March**

"The first part of January can be a slightly quieter time; we've got cattle to take care of in the sheds morning and night, and then there's the whole maintenance of the farm to look after; the walls all to be maintained; fence to maintain; we're always improving fences and walls; a quiet time to me is when we are not doing a lot of sheep stock work; where we can get farm maintenance done..."

The ewes remain at the fell until the 3<sup>rd</sup> week in January. They are up there unless the weather is very bad and then we'll gather them in. In the old days they would have stopped out nearly all the time, but now we bring them in to be scanned and we do the first thousand at the end of January to look for how many lambs they have, ones, twos, three. Ones and nothing in lamb go back to the fell for a few weeks, and we begin to supplementary feed the ones with twins on the in-bye, and the ones with three go inside. We then do the same with another 1000 (up at Borrowdale Head); the only thing different we'll do up there is that we'll draw off the sheep that are having their first lamb and keep them separate give them some individual attention; we have to make sure they are eating concentrate. The sheep are then fed to what they are carrying right up until lambing which begins on 1<sup>st</sup> April. We'll gather the sheep back off the fell that are carrying singles at the end of February. The only thing I've missed out from the end of March is all the gimmer hogs have returned from wintering (Gimmer hogs are last year's female lambs, which we sent away to winter on lowland farms). When they come back, we have to treat them against sheep scab and lice, and we brand the farm's letters into the horns – brand FH – and they also get a booster of heptavac P which is a chlostridial vaccine before they go back to the fell for the summer and join the ewes and the new lambs. They are our replacements for next year - we'll talk about those again."

### **April and May**

"We lamb a lot of the twins inside the sheep sheds, and the singles outside. The ones that lamb inside, they get their navels dipped; they also get a rubber ring on their tails and are castrated within 24 hours. Then they are put outside onto the lower ground. The singles lamb outside; they are castrated and tailed as the shepherds go around. Then the singles are back to the fell within 10 days because we need to clear inbye land and they run on the fell just alongside the pasture land, then the twins will run in the pastures where the singles lambed. It's the same system up at Borrowdale Head, except that the only difference up there is that we record the pure Swaledales and when the tups are loused, we mark each ewe as to which tup that she has been served by; when she lambs we put an ear tag into her female lamb with a number which we record alongside her mother's number and that goes in our flock records We can then trace back the

parentage of our sheep like a family tree, and we know the breeding, and so, when we sell, we know exactly how they are bred. We have the sheep split into eight different ear tag colours and they are kept in those colours, if a ewe is pink its gimmer lamb is pink; if its blue, it stays blue, so we can keep a close track on the breeding and what we're doing and that's another job at lambing time. Before everything goes back to the fell, there's a mark out to get the farm mark on and then there's a scratch for orf; 'orf' is a nasty contagious disease which humans can get. If sheep get it they are in an awful mess; there are scabs all over their faces, and so we use a vaccine for that."

*And so you have your own Forest Hall mark which is an old mark?*

"It's a very old mark which is particular to Forest Hall, you can go back through the Shepherd's Guides and see these marks; this was before the advent of the ear tag, before people could read the ear tags, and when the sheep were on the fell, say Crosby Ravensworth fell for example, all the sheep would have their own farm mark, but then they would have a strip down one leg and these old Shepherds would know it was from Crosby Ravensworth Fell.

In mid-April/May, once the lambs go back out we don't feed the sheep anymore; it's just a case of keeping an eye on everything from now on; it can be a quiet time of the year. Then really we're watching for worms; if a lamb starts scouring in May/June, there may be a worm problem and then we have to treat that. The sheep are everywhere at this time; as grass growth increases, the worm problem can increase too. Worms don't bother an adult sheep, but they can kill a lamb. Any worming undertaken has to be strictly monitored and our organic stats must not be compromised.

One particular problem we have at Forest Hall is a plant called Bog Asphodel on the fell. Lambs can get addicted to eating this plant in its first months and the toxins in it react within the lamb and can cause eventual death. There is no cure for this. If we see symptoms (loss of wool, ill-thrift) we remove the ewes and lambs off the fell otherwise major losses will occur".

### **June- September**

"So the next big thing on the horizon is clipping time. We clip the hogs first about the end of June, so we gather these in, and then clip the ewes two weeks later, clipped by ourselves or by contractors. Once they've been clipped, they all have to be re-marked again and the wool needs to be packed up. If we use the contractors we are losing money; that's a cost we can't get back, because of the low price for wool. As soon as we have done with clipping, we have our silage and hay on the in-bye land, and we watch the weather with a beady eye because we mustn't miss any dry days, and we are into August.

At the beginning of August, we gather in all the ewes with the blue faced and the mule lambs on and wean these lambs off the ewe. The gimmers are going to breed and the wethers will go to fatten and we check all ewes and anything we don't want – past it, old, or something wrong with it – they're out and have to be sold, then everything else goes back on the fells. The ewe lambs which we sell down south to our customer are sprayed with

a drug called vetrozin which to keep the blow fly off. We used to dip but we don't dip anymore. Vetrozin is a drug which stops a maggot developing; the fly can lay its eggs but they don't hatch. The lambs stay on the inside ground, and the sheep go back to the fell and the fell sheep at Borrowdale Head are a fortnight/three weeks behind. In September we are selling sheep all the time. The mule ewes are going to be used for breeding; we sold a lot of the mule wethers into Northumberland last year to fatten, and the Swale wethers went down into Lincolnshire to be fattened. So by the beginning of October we are basically left with the ewes out on the fell, plus our 500 ewe lambs – pure Swaledale- which we are keeping to maintain our flock. We also sell 150 of our best three crop ewes (the ewes which have had three lambs off our pure flock), and they go on for further breeding in other farms; they are auctioned and that's when the quality of the breeding really matters. We are then about to send off our 500 gimmer lambs to winter; they have to have 2 injections of heptovac P a month apart, to get them onto the chlostridial system, and somewhere in there they have to have a blue tongue vaccination, and they go away to winter about the middle of October, to Southport, below Kendal, up at Carlisle, anywhere I can find wintering. Then in December we go to look at them and all the ewe lambs are vaccinated against enziotic abortion and we'll watch them for flukes and worms”.

*Why has Forest Hall got Swales?*

‘It's a tradition really; Forest Hall has always had Swales. In the first flock book of Swaledale Sheep breeders of 1910, Forest Hall had Swaledales; I don't know why Forest Hall had registered Swales; there must be a reason, because all around them was Rough Fell and Herdwicks. When you get over to Tebay and Shap, you get over to Rough Fell country, because those sheep do better on what we call a white fell a grass fell. Swales do better on a heather fell, a peaty fell, which is more like Forest Hall, and then obviously further into the lakes you are into Herdwicks, but the Herdwicks are narrowing down a lot to the western and central lakes....’

*So, do sheep breeds relate to what the different land types are?*

‘Yes they do, but it also relates to which sheep were making the most money. The Swale became very popular because of the North of England mule - that's the Swale ewe by the blue-faced Leicester tup- and these were in big demand to go down south to breed fat lambs. They are a very good mother, the north of England mule ewe and they became very popular down south. Breeds change with popularity; this is usually tied in with how much money a breed is making; is it fit for purpose? You can't run a Herdwick ewe in the south of England and expect two fantastic texel lambs out of it; it just doesn't happen; you can't run North of England mule yews up on the top of Coniston Old Man, it just doesn't work; the sheep isn't designed for that; that's back to the constraints issue that we started out with; we are doing a variation what our predecessors have done, and the next man that follows me or whoever will do a variation of what we are doing; he will only alter little things. The only big thing he can do is alter his breed, but then he has to be careful because of his altitude, weather, his farm, the amount of grass it grows; it's a well-proven thing all this lot and if we're not careful it will all unravel ...’

## Development of the Picturesque Aesthetic

### Early visitors to the Lake District

Britain's protracted and frequent wars with France in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries made overseas travel extra hazardous, particularly to Europe. 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, and the Lake District in particular.

The Lake District can lay claim to one of the earliest pieces of picturesque landscape 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. 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 cannot be said to have been widespread at this date, however, nor did it attract visitors to the 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 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 *circa* 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 but published in 1770, was ostensibly a sober account of farming practices and agricultural potential, but incorporated a scenic tour of the Lake District in the form of a series of long footnotes. William Gilpin's *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, first published in 1786, though based on a tour made in 1772 and circulated in manuscript form prior to publication, popularised the notion of the picturesque, which was to have far-reaching effects in art and architecture 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 Lake District – Coleridge's 'cabinet of beauties' – concentrated so many attractions in a small compass that its appeal was unsurpassed.

## Guidebooks and viewing stations

Numerous artists travelled to the Lake District either to share an increasingly fashionable inspiration or to capitalise on the commercial opportunities presented by the sale of paintings or the publication of engraved views. The mere list of names is impressive: Thomas Gainsborough, Joseph Wright of Derby, Francis Towne, William Westall, John Warwick Smith, Julius Caesar Ibbetson, Philip de Loutherbourg, Joseph Farington, J M W Turner and John Constable (whose uncle, David Pike Watts, briefly owned Storrs Hall, a villa on Windermere) all visited the Lakes before 1810, and Ibbetson made Ambleside his home for a number of years.

The first Lake District guidebook, 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 unregarded elements of the landscape acquired new stature.

Early Lakes 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, Gaspard Poussin and Salvator Rosa, each of whom exemplified in their paintings a particular kind of landscape. Thus William Hutchinson, who toured the Lakes in 1773-4, wrote: 'The paintings of Poussin describe the nobleness of Ulswater; the works of Salvator Rosa express the romantic and rocky scenes of Keswick; and the tender and elegant touches of Claude Loraine, 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 for tourists by Peter Crosthwaite, proprietor of the popular museum in Keswick.

### [Illustration of Claude Glass]

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, 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.

## 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 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 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. Belmont, near Hawkshead, is a much more conventional Palladian villa with a view over Esthwaite Water. Built for local clergyman Revd Reginald 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 Lakes.

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, commentary on private interventions in the 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 twenty years of the 19th century they proliferated on Ullswater, Esthwaite Water and Coniston

Water. By 1914 only the western lakes, which were more remote, and whose scenery was considered austere and forbidding, remained largely untouched by villas.

The majority of villa builders were outsiders ('off-comers') drawn to the Lake District by its increasingly celebrated natural scenery. They were socially varied, though all, of course, relatively well off. A few had aristocratic origins and a handful were built by wealthy churchmen, but 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 occupants (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 *circa* 1820.

Quite apart from scale and form, the villa stands apart from its vernacular neighbours by virtue of its relationship to the landscape. All villas respond to the available views, favouring lakes and distant mountains in their outlook, and seeking a moderately elevated site to secure them. Most were approached by a carriage drive and formed the centrepiece of a small estate comprising a mixture of garden and woodland threaded by paths, and – to support a milk cow – an area of pasture, a cow byre and a hay-barn. Some had more extensive parkland and a few (such as Wray Castle) were further augmented by farmholdings. A stable and coach-house, usually placed at a discreet distance, were a necessity, as was, in most cases, a walled kitchen garden. Where the grounds included lake shore, a boat-house was obligatory. The total impact of the villa on the landscape of the central Lakes is immense, and in the most favoured areas – between Bowness and Grasmere for example – villa estates formed a nearly continuous sequence.

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* (1810ff) 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 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, advising acquaintances such as Thomas Arnold and Harriet Martineau on the building of a number of villas and the setting out of their gardens. When Elizabeth Fletcher acquired Lancrigg, in Easedale, the existing vernacular building was retained and extended under his guidance to create a small villa rooted in the vernacular past. 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 19<sup>th</sup> century, in 1847 it became possible to commute to Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford and Leeds on a weekly 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 Lake District) can be detected in the Lake District villa. The most celebrated examples are the work of C F A Voysey and M H Baillie-Scott on the shores of Windermere, but there are also notable works by Dan Gibson, a Windermere architect and briefly partner of Thomas Mawson, who designed gardens for a number of villas

After the First World War the market for Lake District villas 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 their own architectural merits or historic significance, which were then not adequately appreciated. Some 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 diocesan authorities have all, in various ways, aimed to make the Lake District accessible to the widest possible community. Through such owners and occupiers the villas have continued to play a role in defining the Lake District as a pioneer of evolving attitudes to landscape and society.

The impact of the Picturesque Movement in the 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 & Crafts style) and for the emergence of a conservation movement rooted in landscape, ecology and tradition.

## **The Lake District as the Cradle of Romanticism**

### **History of the Lakes Poets and artists**

Romanticism, a term applied posthumously to a disparate group of writers, artists and thinkers living 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. As an artistic movement, Romanticism valued strong emotion, asserted the primacy of the imagination and the rights of the individual, and saw historical and natural inevitability in the major crises of the day, principally the French Revolution. It also recognised the importance of childhood experience and our complex 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 the media's obsession with celebrity. Obviously such a movement is not confined to one country or one place. In Britain, however, the Romantic influence, ideas and legacy are very prominent and come disproportionately from the Lake District, which can justifiably be considered the cradle of Romanticism. The particular importance of the Lake District was as an inspiration for the most significant of the British Romantic poets, and 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. This intellectual development led directly to the concerns for the landscape and environment that were played out in the Lake District in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and have international significance as the foundation of the modern environmental movement.

For the Romantics, the Lake District was not simply a retreat from the encroaching industrialisation of Britain; it was an invigorating and powerful focal point for generations upon generations 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). In contrast, the Romantics explored the 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 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape seen by them is still evident in today's cultural landscape.

## Key Writers

### William Wordsworth (1770-1850)

William Wordsworth is recognised as one of the greatest poets in the English language. Born and bred in Cumbria, he inspired fanatical devotion in artists and writers as diverse as Sir George Beaumont, John Constable, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Benjamin Robert Haydon, John Keats, Sir Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley, J M W Turner 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 artists, poets and writers at a major cultural moment in our history.

### Dorothy Wordsworth (1771 – 1885)

Wordsworth’s sister Dorothy is most famous for her Grasmere Journals, written between 1800 and 1803. Remarkable in their own right, recent research has revealed them to be 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”. The Grasmere Journals demonstrate Dorothy’s many skills as a writer: her descriptive power, her poetic sensibility and her acute observation of the natural world. 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)

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.

### **Robert Southey (1774-1843)**

Before his momentous meeting with Wordsworth in the West Country, Coleridge had met and befriended Robert Southey, another major literary figure of the Romantic period. They married the sisters Sarah and Edith Fricker respectively and eventually set up home at Greta Hall in Keswick, where Southey lived for the rest of his life. Poet Laureate from 1813 to 1843, Southey was also a prolific letter writer, literary critic, essayist, historian and biographer. Today, he is perhaps best remembered for his biography of Nelson, which has rarely been out of print since it was published in 1813.

### **Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859)**

Thomas De Quincey was an English author and intellectual. Born in Manchester, he discovered Wordsworth’s poetry whilst still a schoolboy, and on two occasions travelled to the Lake District to visit the poet, but could not pluck up the courage to knock on the door of Dove Cottage. He eventually became friends with the Wordsworths, and succeeded them as the tenant of Dove Cottage. De Quincey is best known for his *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821), an account of his early years and the opium addiction that was to dominate his life. He was also a noted essayist and journalist, and for a time Editor of *The Westmorland Gazette*. In *Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets*, the frankness with which De Quincey wrote about Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge and their lives in the Lake District provoked a storm on its publication in 1834.

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.

## Key Artists

The leading painters of the day, including John Constable; Joseph Farington; Thomas Girtin; Edward Lear; Francis Towne, and J M W Turner, among countless others, engaged in the ubiquitous Lakes tours undertaken by any serious artist of the day. Many paintings were reproduced as etched copper plates to provide engraved illustrations in topographical books or as compendiums of views. The landscape artist William Westall was a skilled engraver producing his own plates which illustrated a number of volumes of Lake District views and provided illustrations for Wordsworth's poems. The unprecedented demand from the rest of Britain for Lake District scenery, combined with the English discipline of the landscape watercolour, made this a unique (though unconscious) artistic movement.

## Importance of the Lake District Landscape in the Romantic Movement

### Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes

Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* was first published anonymously in 1810, and went through a number of editions, culminating in the fifth edition of 1835, which represents Wordsworth's final text. Wordsworth's *Guide* was by no means the first, but it differed in a number of crucial respects from what had gone before. Only a small proportion of the book is devoted to "Directions and Information for the Tourist". What primarily interests Wordsworth, and what makes the *Guide* such an interesting publication, is how the landscape has evolved, through the impact of nature, and through the impact of humans - an iterative interaction which is a very modern concept of landscape evolution. Wordsworth is not just concerned with the past. He also considers present changes and their future impact, and how these might be ameliorated.

The *Guide* is imbued with Wordsworth's concern for the relationship between man and nature. What he stresses throughout is the need for balance, for harmony. 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 (Wordsworth repeatedly uses the word '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". Wordsworth even goes so far as to advocate the use of local soil in colouring the walls of houses.

As well as harmony, continuity is important. Wordsworth defends the 'statesman' farmer celebrated in his poem "Michael", because he takes only what he needs from the land, for himself, his family and his neighbours, and understands the continuity of nature, 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 Industrial Revolution, and the growing popularity of the 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 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’. He also asserts the superiority of the Lake District in terms of the variety of its landscape, compared to other parts of the British Isles:

*“I do not indeed know any tract of country in which, within so narrow a compass, may be found an equal variety in the influences of light and shadow upon the sublime or beautiful features of landscape... this concentration of interest gives to the country a decided superiority over the most attractive districts of Scotland and Wales, especially for the pedestrian traveller.”*

## **References in Writing**

Wordsworth’s writing is inextricably linked with the landscape and culture of the 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.

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 of 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.”

There is constantly in Wordsworth that sense of communion with the landscape- “Embrace me, then, ye hills and close me in” and also the sense that his mind is “The mind of Nature”. This echoes the major theme in his greatest poetry, that of the growth of the individual mind and its passage from ‘innocence’ to ‘experience’ – from the “giddy bliss” of childhood to “hearing oftentimes / The still, sad music of humanity”.

As his major source of inspiration, there are numerous specific references to the Lake District landscape in Wordsworth's poetry. Inevitably, Grasmere features heavily, from the "tumultuous brook" of Greenhead Gill, setting for one of his greatest narrative poems, "Michael", to "Home at Grasmere" a detailed description of the vale, from Wordsworth's recollection of first discovering it as a schoolboy, to the time he spent at Dove Cottage. His feelings for the place are summed up in a memorable passage:

*"Tis (but I cannot name it) 'tis the sense  
Of majesty, and beauty, and repose,  
A blended holiness of earth and sky,  
Something that makes this individual Spot,  
This small abiding-place of many men,  
A termination, and a last retreat,  
A Centre, come from wheresoe'er you will,  
A Whole without dependence or defect,  
Made for itself, and happy in itself,  
Perfect Contentment, Unity entire."*

Grasmere and the surrounding fells is also the subject of a lovely sequence of "Poems on the Naming of Places", written at Dove Cottage, where Wordsworth gives pet names to places associated with people or incidents familiar to him.

However, Wordsworth's poetic references are not limited to Grasmere. One of his early poems, *An Evening Walk* (1793), begins with a "General Sketch of the Lakes", mentioning by name a number of the lakes and providing a detailed description of the lower falls at Rydal, a popular destination for those in search of picturesque views. The opening books of *The Prelude* focus on the formative years of his childhood, beginning with his birthplace in Cockermouth by the banks of the River Derwent. There are wonderful accounts of him stealing a boat on Ullswater, skating on Esthwaite and rowing on Windermere. Later in his life, Wordsworth dedicated a sequence of sonnets to the River Duddon, culminating in a moving meditation on the transience of human life in contrast to the permanence of nature:

*"Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;  
The Form remains, the Function never dies;  
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,  
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied  
The elements, must vanish; - be it so!"*

### **[Illustrations:**

#### **Paintings and prints**

Suggested illustrations for the text (all in the collection of the Wordsworth Trust):

### **Portraits**

William Wordsworth by Henry Edridge (1806)  
Samuel Taylor Coleridge by James Northcote (1804)  
Dorothy Wordsworth silhouette (c.1806)  
Robert Southey by Thomas Phillips (c.1818)  
Thomas De Quincey by James Archer (1855)

### **Landscapes**

“Sir George Beaumont and Joseph Farington Painting a Waterfall” by Thomas Hearne (1777)  
Windermere by John ‘Warwick’ Smith (1788-92)  
Grasmere and Helm Crag by John White Abbott (1791)  
Helvellyn by John Constable (1806)  
Ullswater, Cumberland by J.M.W. Turner (1835)  
Dove Cottage and Town End by Dora Wordsworth

### **Manuscripts**

Page from Dorothy’s Journal describing the daffodils at Ullswater (1802)  
The Prelude (1805)  
Lines from ‘Michael’ (1800)]

## **The Origin of the Concept of Ecology - Wordsworth and Coleridge**

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 is 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 19<sup>th</sup> century, consolidated the emergence of an increasingly inclusive democracy rooted in a new sense of the worth of the individual. The 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.

As national and European landscapes were 'discovered' from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Lake District established a reputation as a source of beauty, sublimity and the picturesque. This discovery had a number of cultural tributaries (eg. estate management, topographical poetry, landscape gardening) of which one was the Picturesque movement. This latter movement thrived in the Lake District and the young Wordsworth was influenced and briefly mesmerised in his early 20's (the 1790's). The story of his emergence as a national and global influence is shaped by the deepening of his participation in the natural environment of the Lake District and its native agricultural communities. This story has another 'silent' author, Wordsworth's sister, Dorothy, and was also driven briefly but crucially by their close friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Within this narrative there are two key factors: Wordsworth's poetic encounter with Lake District places and landscapes and his engagement with the Lake District's agricultural community - its shepherds and hill farmers.

Wordsworth's poetic encounter with the Lake District on his return in 1799 arose from a discovery and re-affirmation of its deep spirit of place. A sense of place is typically a moderate sensibility, but for Wordsworth, his sister Dorothy and their friend Coleridge, it was at times intense, passionate, and powerful. For Wordsworth, these feelings were sourced in childhood experiences in Cockermouth and Hawkshead which re-surfaced during the 18 months or so before he returned to the Lake District. In Hawkshead, where Wordsworth was at the Grammar School, the Churchwarden's Accounts show that the payment for unfledged ravens was 4d a head (to protect the lambs). This income earning opportunity was followed up by Wordsworth and his school friends and one experience in particular reveals a dramatic and fearful openness to this mountain environment:

*'Oh! When I have hung  
Above the raven's nest, by knots of grass  
And half-inch fissures in the slippery rock  
But ill-sustain'd, and almost, as it seem'd,  
Suspended by the blast which blew amain,  
Shouldering the naked crag; Oh! At that time,  
While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,  
With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind  
Blow through my ears! The sky seem'd not a sky  
Of earth, and with what motion mov'd the clouds!'*  
(**The Prelude**(1805), l. 341-50)

Wordsworth's choice of home at Dove Cottage in Grasmere reflects a commitment to a distinctive and defined place – *'Within the bounds of this high concave; here/Should be my home, this valley be my world'*. Wrapped up in this decision is his pre-existing appreciation of these valley communities - *'They who are dwellers in this holy place/Must needs themselves be hallowed'* (**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 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 we have come to appreciate as a pioneering ecological perspective. It may well be that Wordsworth was not the first to have such experiences but Wordsworth was the first to express them 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 and Wordsworth said of Dorothy that '*she gave me eyes, she gave me ears*'. Perhaps the most famous example is her description of the daffodils in her journal on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1802 and its conversion into Wordsworth's well-known poem **Daffodils**.

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 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 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 Lake District; here was a group which was loosely called 'The Lake Poets'. 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 groundbreaking 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 of a vibrant and sustainable cultural landscape. As Wordsworth takes his readers into this cultural landscape, he seeds 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 which, until his arrival back home, had been place-specific and regionally circumscribed. Wordsworth had a special gift of empathy with individuals and aboriginal communities who and which were not included within mainstream British and European culture.

For the young Wordsworth, the shepherd was a silhouette in a landscape distanced by conventions of classical pastoral admixed with current picturesque fashion:

*...so here there is*  
A Power and a protection for the mind  
Dispensed indeed to other solitudes  
Favoured by noble privilege like this,  
Where kindred independence of estate  
Is prevalent, where he who tills the field,  
He, happy Man! Is Master of the field  
And treads the mountain which his Father trod.

#### **Home at Grasmere**

In re-discovering his native community, Wordsworth was able to ground powerful, classical pastoral precedents, in a new 'real-world' pastoral; Cumbrian, 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 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, which suggests a birth date for Michael of around 1650. Wordsworth emphasizes that he is not drawn to shepherds and hill farmers 'For their own sakes' (25), but more for the landscape which they had cultured: '*...for the fields and hills/Where was their occupation and abode*' (25-6). 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.'*  
(46-9, 56-60)

The poem is imbued with insight about the character of human hefting 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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. (PIC)

From this perspective, Wordsworth began to articulate with confidence a general view about the importance of 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**

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 Lake District as a bulwark against destructive processes veering into the region 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 14<sup>th</sup> January 1801, to the then leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Charles James Fox, making a plea for the support of this special 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.'*

This letter to Fox (an early example of conservation campaigning falling on deaf ears) formed a foundation stone for all Wordsworth's subsequent promotion and advocacy, that land and landownership was the absolute guarantee of social stability and ecological continuity. Wordsworth's recollection of the 'Staveley Revolt' of 1610 in which the tenant farmers of the Lake District successfully defended their customary tenure called up, for him, the memory of 'the confederacy of Peasants that gave birth to the Swiss Republic, or the Magna Charta-Barons assembled at Runnymede.

It is in the first drafts of his Guide that Wordsworth demonstrates most directly that the Lake District cultural landscape was founded upon a system of land-management which achieved a legal security and evolved over the succeeding 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**, Part I, p.387). In 1824 he opposed proposals by the agents of Lady le Fleming to enclose Rydal Commons in defence of shepherds and hill farmers.

The pastoral system that evolved and achieved stability and strength in the Lake District between the 1600's 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 with 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**, 1469-73, 76-81, 89-92

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 1830's 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. These developments in the United States were then re-imported, with added value, back into British conservation campaigning from the 1880's onwards, leading to the eventual formation of the Lake District as one of the United Kingdom's first National Park in 1949. More recently, from the 1960's onwards, 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 Lake District.

In 1823 Wordsworth evoked one of his favourite places in the Lake District – Loughrigg Tarn – as an expression of the '*economy of nature*', his term for the later use of 'ecology' (**Guide through the District of the Lakes**, 993, Prose Works, II, p.185) If '*the economy of nature*' was functioning well (because it is being managed effectively) then this results in a '*multiplicity of symmetrical parts uniting in a consistent whole*' (Ibid, 874-5, p.181) which is his definition of the beautiful. Wordsworth's life and work in the Lake District led him back to this time and time again and his poetry and prose has ensured that his insights and his debts were shared with a universal community.

The fact that every day, perhaps every hour, the '*economy of nature*' in the Lake District continues to generate beauty and often deepens its impact for resident and visiting communities, testifies to the depth of Wordsworth's ecological perspective and the enduring value of the Lake District which continues to be a crucible and a genuinely open university of environmentalism and deep ecology.

## **The International Influence of Wordsworth and other Lakes Poets**

The standing of Wordsworth has never been higher: today he is studied worldwide, and a part of the syllabus in every course of English literature. Major scholarly editions continue, centred on the holdings of the Wordsworth Trust in Grasmere but operating worldwide under the auspices of Cornell University in the USA.

Writers, past and present, from all over the world have been directly or indirectly influenced by Wordsworth. These include: Robert Louis Stevenson (Scotland); Seamus Heaney (Ireland); Charles Baudelaire (France); Alexander Pushkin (Russia); Rabindranath Tagore (India); Ruth Dallas (New Zealand). Wordsworth was also a major influence on the writers of the Transcendentalist Movement in the USA - Ralph Waldo

Emerson and Henry David Thoreau - as well as on later American poets such as Walt Whitman, Robert Frost and Wallace Stevens.

A potent, if controversial, international legacy of the Romantics in general is nationalism. From their focus on the development of national languages and the seeking of spiritual values in tradition and folklore can be traced movements that would redraw the map of Europe and lead to calls for the 'self-determination' of nationalities. The concept still provokes debate, and Romantic nationalism as a concept is either blamed for the rise of fascism in Europe or celebrated as responsible for the creation of autonomous nations.

Leading Romantics were prominent in the movement to abolish slavery. The renowned abolitionists William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson (who lived at Eusemere on Ullswater) corresponded with Wordsworth and Coleridge, and when Clarkson's *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, was published, it was Coleridge who put his reputation on the line to promote it in the Conservative *Edinburgh Review*. In the *Morning Post* of 3 May 1803 we find a sonnet by Wordsworth dedicated to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a slave who fought against slavery and Napoleon and ended imprisoned: "Alone in some deep dungeon's earless den". Both Wordsworth and Coleridge would live to see the Great Emancipation act of 1833.

## **The Emergence of the Early Conservation Movement**

### **The influence of William Wordsworth**

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

In 1844, at the height of his fame, Wordsworth attacked the proposal for the construction of a railway line from Kendal to Windermere in the Lake District. In other parts of the country individual 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 Lake District landscape 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...'*

Further significant protests were mounted 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. These were proposed in order to transport iron ore and slate from mines and quarries and both Bills were eventually withdrawn from Parliament for financial reasons. However the improved organization 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 19<sup>th</sup> century was the closure by landowners of various footpaths and tracks that had been used by the public since time immemorial. Although opposition to these closures did not reach the heights of publicity of later environmental protests in the Lake District, they were an important element in the development of the popular movement to protect the Lake District landscape from unwelcome change and to allow visitors to access and enjoy it.

In 1886 the Contemporary Review recorded no less than 22 footpaths being closed against tourists. The most notable cases were near Keswick and the protest 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 to gain access the public broke down barriers which had been erected in order to charge them for admittance and an early footpath preservation society was formed in Kendal. 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. He subsequently informed the landowner that *'I broke down your wall, Sir John, it was obstructing an ancient right of way, and I will do it again. I am a Tory, but scratch me on the back deep enough and you will find the Whig in me yet'.*

Another controversial landscape development, again opposed by Wordsworth, was the large-scale planting of non-endemic trees in the Lake District. This began in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century with a fashion for planting larch. Wordsworth argued that trees and woodland should be appropriate for the 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 Lake District over the last 150 years.

Wordsworth also opposed the enclosure and further reduction of the Lake District's unenclosed common grazing lands. These were the remnants of the extensive areas of medieval common waste that until the later 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Lake District. The protection of these common grazings that continue to be farmed in a traditional manner with stunted sheep flocks, has long been an aim of the conservation movement (see below).

### **The battle over Thirlmere**

The early environmental protests described above were the precursors to a Lake District conservation battle of such significance that it is rightly seen as the first key environmental campaign which set precedents in both moral principles and practical campaigning techniques that have shaped the modern environmental movement.

In the mid 1870's the city of Manchester implemented a plan to improve its water supply by damming the two small lakes at Thirlmere in the central Lake District and creating a reservoir from which to abstract water. The process would require Parliamentary approval, but the Manchester Corporation began by acquiring land in advance of the parliamentary process. The campaign of opposition that ensued was unprecedented in its wide engagement of the general public, international attention that it attracted, the vigour with which it was pursued and the developments in landscape protection which it engendered.

When the news broke of Manchester Corporation's plans, a protest meeting was hastily summoned in Grasmere which led to the formation of the Thirlmere Defence Association (TDA). This was the very first national landscape protection society and comprised members who, in the main, had an interest in the beauty of the 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 Lake District. The TDA was also successful in attracting membership amongst prominent national figure and also received support from abroad.

Many of those who supported and learned from their experience with the TDA had been strongly influenced by the example and teachings of John Ruskin. Ruskin in turn was a disciple of Wordsworth. His influential thought on landscape protection developed from the writings of the Romantic poets

of the previous generation who through poetry and literature had advocated a new relationship with Nature and championed the aesthetic and inspirational values of 'natural' landscapes and their importance for human spirituality.

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 nineteenth century, when Ruskin added his own considerable moral weight to the campaign against forces his predecessor had feared.

Robert Somervell, 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.

### **The legacy of Thirlmere**

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 not only for further campaigns in the Lake District but for all modern environmental campaigns. Protests against developments affecting landscape prior to the Thirlmere case had been mounted 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. These included 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. Through the work of the TDA, almost all the elements of a modern environmental campaign were in place and the battle for Thirlmere was therefore effectively the first national amenity campaign.

Third, the campaign led directly to the development of two separate but crucially important paths towards environmental conservation. One of these began with the formation of the Lake District Defence Society (LDDS) in ####, to counter further threats to Lake District from discordant

development. 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 192##, the formation of a standing conference on National Parks, and eventually to national park designation for the Lake District (see below). Thirlmere, of all amenity battles, made possible the realisation of Wordsworth's notion of the Lake District being '*a kind 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 (see below).

### **The fight for public access and an open countryside**

One of the principal aims of the Friends of the Lake District (FLD) when they were 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 20<sup>th</sup> century were at the forefront of continued concerns over access to the countryside. A consequence of the civil parish of Lakes being made an Urban District in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was that access became a legal right to all its commons. This was because under the provisions of the Law of Property Act 1925 free and open access was given to all commons within Urban Districts. 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 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 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.

## **The Significance and Influence of John Ruskin**

### **Background**

John Ruskin first visited the Lake District as a child in 1824, recording that "The first thing which I remember, as an event in life, was being taken by my nurse to the brow of Friar's Crag on Derwent Water; the intense joy, mingled with awe". The moment was subsequently immortalised in a monument erected at Friar's Crag in the year of Ruskin's death (1900) by Canon Hardwicke (one of the founders of The National Trust) on the headland of the Crag. For Ruskin this childhood visit was the start of a life-long association with the English Lakes which was to culminate in his residency at Brantwood, Coniston for the last 28 years of his life, and a long

and enduring relationship between the work of the social visionary and the landscape of the Lake District.

Ruskin's eyes were opened to the 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 Lakeland scenes, were enriched from the start by the reading of works by the Romantic poets, and Wordsworth in particular. Ruskin briefly met Wordsworth in the Lakes in 1826 but more significantly in 1839 when Ruskin was awarded the Newdigate Prize for Poetry at Oxford he shared the platform with Wordsworth. Ruskin's early writings took the form of romantically influenced poetry, but soon graduated to prose. When Ruskin published the first volume of his monumental work on landscape painting *Modern Painters* in 1843, he dedicated it to Wordsworth, who was among the first to read it and who included it in his lending library at Rydal. Ruskin not only invoked a direct line of descent from the Romantics, but succeeded in positioning himself as a torch bearer for the continuation of the Romantic flame in an increasingly materialistic world.

### **Ruskin's intellectual development**

From the start of his writings about architecture Ruskin studied and commented on notions of ideal landscape as evoked in the relationship of vernacular dwellings to their environment. In particular, *The Poetry of Architecture* (1837) sets out to explore the 'association of architecture with natural scenery and national character'. It draws heavily on Ruskin's early Lake District journeys, and the topographical work by artists such as Samuel Prout. Ruskin established a range of aesthetic principles regarding scale, location, form, colour and decoration which have had enduring influence. From this foundation he went on to develop his particular interpretation of Gothic architecture in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and the ground-breaking *Stones of Venice* (1851-53), which explores the relationship of architecture to the life of its inhabitants and the character of the society which creates it. This social dimension was to become an increasingly powerful feature of Ruskin's response to landscape as well as architecture and both trace their roots directly to Ruskin's early exposure to the 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).

By the time Ruskin came to live at Brantwood in 1872 some thirty years had elapsed since the era of regular youthful visits. In the interim he had written *Modern Painters*, a five-volume exploration of landscape painting, especially rich in its sections on Turner and on mountain landscape, and at the same time developed a much more substantial critique of industrialisation and its impact upon the human soul, in works such as *Unto This Last*. He was widely regarded as at once the most radical and popular of critics of *laissez-faire* capitalism within Britain.

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. 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 the indigenous rural crafts; writings on natural history and ecology; leadership and support for environmental campaigns.

At the time of his move to Brantwood, Ruskin was elected Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford University. Controversially, he tasked his students with widening a road in the nearby village of Hinksey. The turning of ideas into action meant that Ruskin himself became a *cause célèbre* and attention was focused on the erstwhile writer and lecturer as a champion of social reform. He recruited four of his students from the Oxford diggings to come to work on projects at Brantwood, and together they formed an important bridgehead for the furtherance of Ruskin's influence in and beyond the Lakes. Among the four were two of particular significance: W G Collingwood, who became Ruskin's secretary and subsequently an archaeologist and ethnic historian of the Lake District (and a Lakes artist of some stature) and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, founder of the Kewstic School of Industrial Arts and co-founder, with another of Ruskin's students, Octavia Hill, of the National Trust.

### **Indigenous rural crafts**

Ruskin's influence on the growth of the international Arts and Crafts Movement dates to his early writings on architecture, influenced, as we have already noted, by a study of the Lakeland vernacular. It reached its height in *The Nature of Gothic* chapter of *The Stones of Venice* (1853), hailed by William Morris as 'one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century'. It propelled Ruskin over the remaining decades of the century to a degree of celebrity which was capable of exerting a powerful influence despite his failing health. With his move to the Lake District in 1872, Ruskin began to affect social influence on a local scale through the medium of craft work and small scale industry in the surrounding towns and villages. In the village of Coniston Ruskin encouraged the Coniston School of Woodcarving and introduced innovative ideas in to the school's curriculum. Ruskin was particularly interested in the industries of the home. The Ruskin Linen Industry was a cottage industry originally established in 1884, through the interest of Ruskin and two friends, Albert Fleming from Skelwith Bridge and his housekeeper Marian Twelves. Ruskin introduced Marian and her community of linen makers to designs of continental lace, challenging a primitive flax industry to transform itself. The resulting Ruskin Lace, as it became officially known in 1894, 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.

That Ruskin was the inspiration behind the formation of the Keswick School of Industrial Arts was inevitable, founded as it was by his former student Rawnsley. Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley and his wife Edith moved to Crosthwaite in 1883 and established classes in metalwork in the church rooms. By 1893 the school had expanded and gained a national reputation and moved into its own building in Keswick. Silver and copper work were its specialities, and some of its products were among the most respected of 'pure' arts and crafts philosophy. In addition to metalwork it embraced woodcarving, furniture, pottery, glass, drawing and life-study. Through the succeeding century it survived many eras of economic, technical and aesthetic change whilst staying true to its founding principles. It finally closed in 1984.

In all of these activities and the writings which accompanied them, Ruskin was effectively exploring social models which might be replicated elsewhere. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there were Ruskin societies in major British cities such as Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester, and Ruskin settlements in Canada and the United States, all serving to promote ideas relating to the interdependence of social welfare, labour and environmental husbandry. In its urban manifestation, this influence achieved its greatest significance in the founding of Toynbee Hall in the East End of London in 1884. Named after Arnold Toynbee, who was one of Ruskin's student road-diggers, this first of an eventually world-wide movement of University Settlements applied Ruskin's principals in an area of extreme social deprivation and established the urban equivalent of Ruskin's own rural laboratories at Brantwood and in the farms and properties of his Guild of St George. The projects which flowed from Toynbee Hall included Citizen's Advice Bureaus, the Whitechapel Art Gallery and Children's Country Holidays.

### **Writings on natural history and ecology**

Ruskin himself drew on the evidence of his own projects to inform and inspire his students and readers. At Brantwood he authored some of his most significant series of environmental writings, drawing closely on aspects of the Lake District landscape. From lectures delivered at Oxford (the first attracted an attendance of over 2,000) and the Royal Institution in London he compiled four volumes of natural history: geology (*Deucalion*), ornithology (*Love's Meinie*), botany (*Proserpina*) and meteorology (*Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century*). 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. The very wide dissemination of Ruskin's work at this time, through the

efforts of his publisher George Allen and the 'pirated' editions flooding North America, ensured that the 'local' nature of Ruskin's Brantwood years, was also one which achieved 'global' significance. The 'Sage of Brantwood' became a brand in himself, Brantwood becoming a tourist destination even before his death in 1900, and lending considerably to the perceived authority of his ideas.

### **Support for environmental campaigns**

Ruskin's celebrity inevitably meant that he was called upon to support emerging environmental campaigns. Two in particular were significant – the proposed extension of the railway from Windermere to Ambleside, and the construction of the Thirlmere reservoir to supply the growing industrial city of Manchester with water (see below). The railway represented a technological triumph of the industrial revolution over nature, and, for Ruskin, was symbolic of the degradation of the human spirit which occurred when time and sensitivity to personal experience were abandoned for the conveniences of the modern world. The fact that hitherto remote and rural landscapes were altered forever by the advent of trains underscored Ruskin's concern that environmental degradation is both a cause and effect of social degradation resulting not from the production of wealth for all, but its correlative, 'illth'. In 1874 Ruskin declined the honour of a Gold Medal from the Royal Institute of British Architects, citing the destruction of parts of Furness Abbey by a new train line. In 1876 he inveighed further against the proposed expansions of the system into the Lakes, and for the next twenty years his name, with supporting letters of his own colourful invective, was used by campaigners to stop development. Despite renewed attempts, the railway has never gone further into the Lakes than Windermere.

In the battle for Thirlmere resistance was less successful. Ruskin's objections were more profoundly based upon the relationship of loss to gain. Would the gain to the lives of those labouring in the factories of Manchester outweigh the cost to the environment in the Lakes? In the event, the threat to the aesthetic pleasures of visitors and the rural livelihoods of small Lakeland communities were no match for the commercial and social pressures of Manchester. However Thirlmere served to frame many of the major issues on the environment which are with us today. Ruskin's contribution, which runs throughout his writings, was to insist 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* he advocates saving such areas), but rather one of establishing a right-livelihood for mankind in relation to nature. That such a thought seems sensible (if still challenging) to us now is a measure of how influential on the environmental debate Ruskin and Wordsworth's ideas continue to be. For more than a hundred years the Lake District has been physically shaped by the endurance of such ideas. At the same time the Lake District has helped to shape the perspective of many millions from around the world of the value of landscape.

Ruskin's executive powers were limited by his own intention and by his failing health. He believed that 'the greatest thing a human soul ever does in this world is to see something, and tell what it saw in a plain way.' He sought to understand, to teach and inspire. In the end he initiated projects which were modest in scale in the Lake District s but exemplary, or, in other hands, grew much larger. His later years nonetheless saw by far the greatest degree of the spread of his influence. In part this was assured by the celebrity status achieved through his writings, but it was also because his ideas were taken up and applied on the grand scale by some determined and effective champions. It was their example that effectively delivered the universal value on a global scale of the ideas which Ruskin had developed out of British Romanticism and its cradle, the English Lake District.

### **Ruskin's legacy**

The immediate aftermath of Ruskin's death produced a number of directly linked acts of tribute and memorialisation. Brantwood was willed by Ruskin to the Severn family on the understanding that it would be opened to the public on at least two days a month. In the event this was not honoured until the house was purchased by John Howard Whitehouse in 1931, at which point it became a national memorial to Ruskin. Accordingly, the need for some immediate form of shrine or place of pilgrimage to Ruskin's honour was keenly felt. Ruskin's former Secretary, artist, writer and archaeologist, W G Collingwood, designed and commissioned a very distinctive monument for Ruskin's grave, known ever since as the Ruskin Cross, which still stands in St Andrew's churchyard, Coniston, where it is an attraction to many thousands of visitors each year. Another monument was erected at Friar's Crag by Canon Rawnsley and the National Trust, where it is associated with a view Ruskin himself memorialised in his writings.

Both Collingwood and Rawnsley also set out to establish lasting institutional tributes to Ruskin in the locality. In 1901 Collingwood mounted an exhibition of Lakes 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. It has recently undergone modernisation and expansion in the last ten years so that its significant collection of Ruskin material can be conserved and better displayed and the local history exhibits have been expanded. In particular, it is currently engaged in a process to accommodate the remains of Donald Campbell's Bluebird K7 which sank on Coniston Water in 1967 during an attempt at the world water speed record.

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 locally and specific to Ruskin's legacy in the Lakes 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 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)

### **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 National Trust). The National Trust was formed in 1895 as a charitable organisation registered under the Charities Act. 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 was originally founded in 1894 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. Under the National Trust Acts the Trust enjoys a unique statutory 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 organizations.

The idea for the National Trust arose from the involvement of its original founders, Hill, Rawnsley and Hunter in the Thirlmere campaign in the late 1870s (see above). The Thirlmere experience convinced them that the only effective way to protect natural beauty, the landscape, historical and cultural sites and wildlife was through ownership by a sympathetic body.

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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 Lake District. It had also been noted that several desirable and sensitive sites in the 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 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 route towards conservation was the small but significant number of owners who wished to offer property to an appropriate body that could guarantee its future preservation.

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 Derwentwater 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 Rawnsley.

This first major purchase of land in Lake District came with the acquisition of Brandlehow by Derwentwater 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 2s 6d, "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?*"

There was a marked contrast between the types of landscapes that were of interest to 19<sup>th</sup> century conservationists in Britain and other countries such as the USA and Canada. Here, 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 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 issue had come to the fore in the battle over Thirlemere, 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.

### **Canon Hardwicke Drummond 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. He became a chaplain and worked with the poor in London and Bristol and following breakdown and convalescence in the Lake District, he was appointed as the vicar of Wray, Windermere in 1878. In January 1878, he married a local woman, Edith Fletcher, and the couple had one child, a son, Noel.

In 1882, the young Beatrix Potter holidayed at Wray Castle with her parents and met Rawnsley. Potter was heavily influenced by Rawnsley's views on preserving the landscape and heritage of the Lake District and he later encouraged her to publish her first book, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*.

Rawnsley soon became involved with in local campaigns to protect the Lake District landscape. In 1883, with the support of Sir Robert Hunter, solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society, the social reformer Octavia Hill, and John Ruskin, Rawnsley led the successful campaign against the proposed Buttermere and Braithwaite Railway. This led directly to the formation of the Lake District Defence Society (later to become The Friends of the Lake District).

Also in 1883 Rawnsley was appointed Vicar of Crosthwaite, near Keswick, and in 1891 he became an honorary canon of Carlisle Cathedral. In 1884 he and his wife began organising classes in metalwork and wood carving, which resulted in the establishment of a School of Industrial Art in Keswick, which remained in operation until 1986. Rawnsley also helped to establish the Newton Rigg Farm School at Penrith, the Westmorland Nursing Association, and he supported the founding of Keswick High School which was one of the first co-educational secondary schools in the country.

In 1888 Rawnsley was elected as a member of the new Cumberland County Council and became chairman of its Highways Committee. This gave him a platform to oppose the construction of roads over mountain passes, to

secure controls on mining pollution and to promote adequate signposting of footpaths.

To further protect the countryside from damaging development, Rawnsley conceived the idea of a National Trust, building on an idea proposed by his mentor, John Ruskin Trust, 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. The National Trust held its inaugural meeting in 1895. Beatrix Potter's father was the 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, Derwentwater and to buy Brandlehow Wood, the National Trust's first purchase in the Lake District.

Rawnsley published more than forty books, mostly non-fiction and many on Lake District subjects. These included a memoir of Ruskin and also a great deal of poetry. In 1915, after 34 years at Crosthwaite Rawnsley retired to Allen Bank in Grasmere, the house in which William Wordsworth had lived between 1807 and 1813. Rawnsley died at his home in Grasmere and is buried in the churchyard of his former parish, St. Kentigern's, Crosthwaite. He bequeathed Allen Bank to the National Trust.

### **Beatrix Potter-Heelis**

The children's author Beatrix Potter had family connections with the Lake District through her grandfather who was the Member of Parliament for Carlisle. It was not surprising that Beatrix's father then brought his daughter (born in 1866) for long summer holidays in the Lake District. 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 fungi paintings. Her father rented Wray Castle each summer (a turreted, baronial style house on the shore of Windermere which is now in NT ownership). The vicar of the adjoining church when Beatrix went to Wray was Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, a founder of both the Thirlmere Defence Association and National Trust. Beatrix stayed here each summer from her childhood into her twenties and the family remained friendly with Rawnsley when he moved to Crosthwaite, near Keswick. Naturally the Potter family were well aware of Rawnsley's involvement in environmental campaigns and of his role in forming the NT. Beatrix shared many of his passions and as he was the first published author she knew personally, he was the person she consulted about her idea for a 'modest' book entitled *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*.

Beatrix Potter's successful series of children's books often were written against a backdrop of 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 fortieth year, a relatively large 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 Potters's farm purchases were made very much with conservation in mind, both of the Lake District landscape and the lifestyle and culture of its inhabitants. When she died 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 Lake District

### **G M Trevlyan**

Dr G M Trevlyan, 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 through the purchase of farms for their protection. In his *English Social History* he wrote that in the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Trevlyan 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.

Trevlyan 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 Lake District**

The 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 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 Lake District Farm Estates, a company formed by the Friends of the Lake District. Recent support has come from National Land Fund and the Countryside Commission (now Countryside Agency) 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 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. Over 30% of England's registered common land is in Cumbria.

The National Trust now owns around 250,000 hectares of land in England and Wales and owns or leases about a quarter of the area of the Lake District National Park. This includes a significant area of the higher fells, a number of the major lakes and tarns and some 90 farms. This land includes areas vital for nature conservation, including substantial areas of woodland, and some of the most significant archaeological sites in the Lake District.

The National Trust is therefore the most significant land owner and manager in the 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.

### **International Influence of the National Trust**

The National Trust has become the principal conservation body in Britain through its unique ability to hold land inalienable, in perpetuity. This has inspired the formation of National Trusts in many other parts of the world. Although these various National Trusts vary in the details of their powers and organisation, they are all based on the principle of people acting in co-operation to ensure that significant landscapes, habitats, historical features and buildings can, through concerted effort and understanding, be safeguarded for future generations. The idea which was born out of 19th conservation battles in the Lake District now has worldwide significance.

Each Trust is different, tailored to the needs of its country, but all share similar objectives and legal structures. It would appear to be an approach that is especially, but not only, suited to the needs of countries of the Commonwealth. There is no central register of all National Trusts, but the members of the International National Trust Organisations demonstrate the power and reach of the idea (with foundation date):

England and Wales	1895
Scotland	1931
Australia	1945
Ireland	1948
USA	1949
Malta	1965
Bermuda	1970
Fiji	1970
Canada	1973
Italy	1975

Malaysia	1983
India	1984
Slovakia	1996
British Columbia	1997
Korea	2000
Romania	2000
Indonesia	2004

In addition there are National Trusts elsewhere – for example, Bahamas (founded 1959), New Zealand (1954) and South Australia (1955), as well as other bodies that have similar roles such as those in France or the Netherlands. Most would still look to the National Trust as the oldest, largest and best endowed trust of them all. To the extent that the Lake District can be said to be at the heart of the National Trust’s identity in Britain, it can also be said to have influenced conservation action through other trusts around the world.

### **The Lake District and the establishment of English National Parks**

The history of the 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, 1810). Although the term “national park” had its origins in the 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 Ruskin.

The first US national park was that at Yellowstone, established by Congress in 1872 (though the term ‘national park’ was not widely used in the US for another thirty or so years). The initial purpose of US 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.

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 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” (Dudley 2008).

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 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 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” (Dudley, 2008)*

Wordsworth's inspiring vision of a national property was taken forward by government action when a committee was appointed in 1929, under the chairmanship of Christopher Addison MP, to consider “whether it was desirable and feasible to establish one or more national parks” in Britain. The report acknowledged the existence of other models of national park but recognised that Yellowstone-type national parks “were clearly inappropriate” in the UK. It did though record that parks were beginning to be set up in Europe..

The Addison report was followed by reports by Dower (1945) and Hobhouse (1947) which resulted in the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949. This later studies 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.

This model, with its emphasis on conserving beautiful landscapes that people lived in and worked, owes much to the influence of the 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 Lake District. The national park movement also was driven by a parallel concern with access, which was partly focussed on the Peak District. But the 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 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. Lake District scenery was seen as iconic: at its best, it represented the essence of the British national park ideal. The position of the 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 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 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 ten 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.

### **The International influence of the Lake District on the idea of protected landscapes**

The landscape protection parts of the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act were the first of their kind anywhere in the world in several respects. It led the way by:

- Being comprehensive, in that the landscape protection powers were derived from a nation-wide analysis;
- Focussing on lived-in landscapes;
- Providing the foundation for an ensuing programme of landscape protection designations.

At an international level, it can be seen how far the 1949 legislation was ahead of the field by a comparison of the national lists of Category V protected areas established by European countries:

**Fig# Category V protected landscapes in Europe**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Type of Category V protected area in national law<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Network of Category V Protected Landscapes</b>	<b>Dates when Category V protected areas were established (IUCN/WCMC, 1997)</b>
Austria	Protected Landscapes	Yes	1970 onwards
Belgium	Nature Parks	No	1985 and 1991
Czech	Protected Landscape Areas	Yes	1963 onwards
Denmark	Protected by Conservation Order	Yes, in recent years	A few small areas date from 1930s and 1940s; most more recently
Estonia	Protected Landscapes	Yes	1971 onwards
France	Regional Nature Parks	Yes	1969 onwards
Germany	Nature Parks	Yes	1958 onwards <sup>2</sup>
Greece	Several types of	No	1974 onwards

<sup>1</sup> Using the terminology in the UN List 1997

<sup>2</sup> In Germany, there are a few, very small Category V protected areas whose origins predate the war, and the beginning of a national system of protected landscapes in the late 1950s.

	protected areas		
Hungary	Landscape Protected Areas	Yes	one small area 1952; then 1965 onwards <sup>3</sup>
Italy	Regional/Provincial Nature Parks	Yes	1967 onwards <sup>4</sup>
Latvia	Nature Parks; and Protected Landscapes	Yes	In two sets: 1957 onwards; and 1977 onwards
Lithuania	Regional Parks	Yes	1992
Netherlands	nil	No	-
Norway	Landscape Protection Areas	Yes	1967 onwards
Poland	Landscape Parks	Yes	1976 onwards
Portugal	Nature Parks; and Protected Landscapes	Yes	1976 onwards; and 1980 onwards
Slovakia	Protected Landscape Areas	yes	1973 onwards
Slovenia	Landscape Parks	yes	one from 1966, then 1987 onwards
Spain	Nature Parks	yes	1978 onwards
Sweden	Nature Conservation Areas	yes	1978 onwards
Switzerland	Landscape Protected Areas	yes	1977 onwards
UK	National Parks; and AONBs	yes	1951 onwards; and 1958 onwards

In general, Europe created Category V protected areas before other parts of the world. So that, to the extent that it was pioneer legislation in Europe, the 1949 Act was also a leader at the world scale. For some years the UK legislation appears to have been on its own. But 10 or 15 years after 1949 action was also underway in other European countries to set up their own protected landscape systems, such as the German Nature Parks, the French Regional Nature Parks, and the Czech Landscape Parks. Indeed such legally protected, lived-in landscapes are now to be found in the great majority of European countries. While each country's initiative grew primarily from national traditions and concerns, many of those who made the case for national landscape protection legislation would have acknowledged their debt to the pioneer ideas embodied in the 1949 Act in the UK.

The Lake District has continued to influence the revision and promotion of the IUCN Category V protected landscapes. In 1987, the Lake District was the venue

<sup>3</sup> Hungary has also a number of small Nature Conservation Areas classified as Category V.

<sup>4</sup> Two national parks in Italy, Calabria and Stelvio, have been classified as Category V, and first date from the 1920s.

of an IUCN and Council of Europe symposium on protected landscapes; it adopted the Lake District Declaration, which was a statement of principles underpinning the protected landscape approach (Countryside Commission 1987). This led directly to a key IUCN resolution of 1988 which raised the profile of Category V at the international level.

Later the categories system was revised and reduced from ten to six, though protected landscapes remained as Category V (IUCN 1994). They now represent about 6% of all the world's protected areas, or 6,550 individual areas covering in all over a million square kilometres (IUCN 2003). Though Europe remains the region in which such places are most concentrated, the Category V approach is now being used as an instrument of conservation policy and practice in every region of the world. Category V protected areas may not yet have achieved such a high profile as Category II, based on the American/Yellowstone model of a national park, but they have increasingly become seen as an essential component in national and regional conservation strategies, complementing more strictly conserved types of protected area.

### **The influence of the Lake District on the World Heritage Convention**

In 1986 the Lake District was nominated for World Heritage Site inscription as a mixed site (that is one that meets both natural and cultural criteria). ICOMOS were favourable to the 'cultural' aspects but IUCN concluded that the natural aspects alone did not justify inscription and raised issues of management assurance. The nomination was deferred by the World Heritage Committee in 1987. It "wished to leave open its decision on this nomination until it had further clarified its position on cultural landscapes".

In 1989 the Lake District was re-nominated using cultural criteria only. A detailed debate took place at the World Heritage Committee in 1990 at Banff, Canada. "Although many members showed great interest in including this property, no consensus could be reached". The Committee lacked sufficiently clear criteria to rule on a nomination of this kind and asked the Secretariat to develop such criterion or criteria.

This work was completed by 1992, when the World Heritage Committee adopted 'Cultural Landscapes' as a World Heritage Site category. The category aims to reveal and sustain the great diversity of the interaction between humans and their environment, to protect living traditions and preserve traces of those which have disappeared.

Thus the nomination of the Lake District in 1987 posed the World Heritage Committee (and the Advisory Bodies of ICOMOS and IUCN) with considerable problems. The challenge that it presented – how to assess a lived-in, working landscape - led directly to the recognition of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, and the adoption of the threefold analytic framework in which they are now considered, alongside the World Heritage criteria.

The arrival of Cultural Landscapes represented a maturing of the World Heritage Convention. While the text of the 1972 convention embraces nature and culture, it had until 1992 treated them separately. Thus a site might be recognised as being a cultural, natural or mixed (i.e. both cultural and natural) site, but not having qualities of OUV that arose specifically from the way that nature and

culture related to each other. The innovative idea that Cultural Landscapes introduced was that the qualities of OUV might lie in the interaction between people and nature rather than in the cultural or natural qualities in isolation. The Lake District was felt by many to display this interaction but the convention pre-1992 was unable to consider whether the area displayed such qualities of OUV. That this had now been resolved through the debate initiated by the Lake District's nomination is, in itself, an indication of the area's importance and influence in relation to international ideas.

## SECTION 3b: DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY

The Lake District World Heritage Site nomination is for the area of the Lake District National Park (MAP). It is considered that the cultural landscape that is contained within the boundary of the National Park exemplifies the themes of Outstanding Universal Value that have been identified for the Lake District. The landscape is a combination of spectacular topographical features, the farming landscape that has developed over centuries, the designed landscapes and houses of the Picturesque and the residences and other associated features of the Romantic poets and artists who lived and worked in the area. The beauty of the Lake District landscape inspired the artistic impulses of both Picturesque and Romantic movements and engendered the concerns for its protection that led to the development of the landscape conservation movement. All this survives in the landscape today, which has evolved through the maintenance of traditional farming techniques assisted by management and protection of the National Trust estate and the statutory protection of National Park status.

It is therefore necessary to describe the Lake District's cultural landscape and the individual features that are particularly relevant to the themes of Outstanding Universal Value. Landscape character is addressed through the results of the Landscape Character Assessment that has been undertaken for the National Park and is included in Appendix (##).

### General topographical description

***“To begin, then, with the main outlines of the country.....we shall then see stretched at our feet a number of valleys, not fewer than eight, diverging from the point, on which we are supposed to stand, like spokes from the nave of a wheel”.*** (William Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes)

William Wordsworth's description of the topography of the Lake District at the start of his *Guide to the Lakes* is one of the most famous and compelling descriptions of the area. He likens the pattern of the lakes, radiating from a common centre in the high fells, to the nave and spokes of a great wheel. On the western side, with a notional hub in the area of Scafell and Great Gable, the valleys or spokes comprise Langdale and Windermere, Coniston, the Duddon, Eskdale, Wasdale, Ennerdale, Buttermere and Borrowdale. The position of the Wordsworth's nave is shifted eastward, for descriptive purposes, in order to link the eastern valleys. These comprise Thirlmere, Ullswater, Haweswater and the vale of Grasmere and Rydal.

Wordsworth's scheme is used here as the basis for a description of the Lake District cultural landscape. The character of each of the valleys will be described in turn, including their topography, cultural landscape, Picturesque and Romantic associations and significance in the development of the landscape conservation movement.

However Wordsworth's descriptive structure needs to be expanded in order to provide a more complete description of the entire area of the proposed World

Heritage site. An additional section will therefore be included to describe the fell land between the valleys and the description of the land in the southeast portion of the Lake District (including the valleys of Troutbeck, Kentmere and Longsleddale) is added to that of Langdale and Windermere.

**(PIC) - Air photographs of central Lake District/or 3D topographic map)**

**Caption:** *The distinctive Lake District landscape of fells and valleys is the result of 500 million years of geological process and dramatic climatic change, culminating in an intense episode of glacial shaping which ended around 12,000 years ago. The resulting topography of the Lake District includes England's highest mountain and deepest and longest lakes.*

## The Lake District Fells

In the Lake District one of the common local names for mountains is 'fell', which is a term derived directly from the Norse dialect of settlers who came to the area in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. The term can also refer to areas of unenclosed upland grazing. This serves as a reminder that although the fells comprise very spectacular and beautiful topographic features, they are also a crucial part of the distinctive and complex cultural landscape of the Lake District. A range of agricultural and industrial activities have been carried out over millennia on their flanks and summits and they are now the focus on the one hand of a traditional system of pastoral agriculture and on the other of a long-standing tradition of outdoor recreation.

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

Although the Lake District fells are compact and not especially high in comparison with the Alps or mountain ranges further afield, the area has the most rugged mountain scenery in England. None of the peaks exceed 1000 metres in height although many are over 900 metres. However their character is varied, ranging from jagged, rocky summits ridges and vertical cliffs to long, rolling, whale-backed humps. This is in large part due to the relative hardness of the underlying geology and how it has been sculpted by glacial action.

The highest mountains are located just to the west of the geographical centre of the Lake District – at the point of Wordsworth's wheel nave – where Scafell Pike and Scafell reach heights of 978 and 964 metres respectively. Standing on the summit of Scafell Pike on a clear day, the visitor is rewarded with views that can extend as far as parts of Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man. Closer at hand, there are views down into the surrounding valleys, to the long, narrow lake of Wastwater **(PIC)** and to the Great Moss at the head of Eskdale **(PIC)**. The mountain summit itself is virtually devoid of vegetation and the immediate prospect is one of jagged rocks and boulders **(PIC)**.

This rough fell scenery, with rocky summits, extensive views out from the Lake District and more intimate views down into the valleys and over the cliffs and clefts of the mountain flanks close at hand is typical of all the central Lake District fells. They were formed from the hard Borrowdale Volcanic rock of the central Lake District where the glaciers have left cliffs **(PIC)**, ridges **(PIC)**, corries **(PIC)** and hanging valleys **(PIC)** typical of glaciated landscapes. Some

of the corries have filled with water to form substantial mountain tarns (PIC), often with resident populations of rare fish such as char and schelly.

The central fells also include the peaks around the Great Langdale valley, comprising the dome of Pike of Stickle (PIC) and the long ridge of the Crinkle Craggs leading up to Bowfell (PIC). Further south, the vista from Coniston Old Man includes the tidal sands of Morcambe Bay (PIC), the long reach of Coniston Water and even as far as Blackpool Tower on a clear day. Helvellyn, at the eastern end of the central mass of fells overlooks the narrow, wooded cleft of Thirlmere on the west and the famous, narrow ridges of Striding and Swirrel Edges on the east (PIC). At the eastern edge of this massif, the long ridge of High Street (PIC) runs from north to south, affording a distant panorama of the Pennines and more immediate views into Haweswater and the corries of Blea Water and Small Water (PIC).

The lower slopes of the central fells are more vegetated, with mosses and lichens, some heather, rough grassland, dwarf shrub heathland and stands of hardy trees such as juniper, birch and rowan (PIC). Some areas are covered in peat and there are areas of blanket bog (PIC) and marsh, together with vegetation-rich flushes. More difficult to spot but of immense ecological importance are the alpine plants that have survived in the high Lakeland fells since the last Ice Age (PIC). At lower altitudes bracken has increasingly colonised the slopes, particularly where the soils are deeper, and while its fiery orange colour in Autumn can be spectacular (PIC), in the summer months it restricts access and can poison stock.

Proximity of the Atlantic to the west and the high terrain of the Lake District fells results in the highest levels of rainfall in England. The becks and gills which run down the slopes of the fells swell up in spate conditions and often flood the surrounding valleys (PIC). Water action has cut deep gullies into the mountain sides such as Piers Gill to the north of Scafell Pike and Dungeon Ghyll in Great Langdale (PIC) and has created spectacular waterfalls including Lodore Falls in Borrowdale and Aira Force on Ullswater (PIC).

The fells in the northern third of the Lake District, running from Ennerdale around to Blencathra, have been shaped from the older and softer Skiddaw slates and shales. The mountains here are more rounded and less jagged but are still relatively high – Skiddaw, just north of Keswick, is the fourth highest fell in the area at 931 metres (PIC). The views from these fells are as extensive as from those in the central Lake District. From Skiddaw there are wide vistas to the north and west while the lakes of Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite lie immediately below (PIC). The views from the long ridge between Haycock and Pillar on the southern edge of Ennerdale, are also extensive, both into the central Lake District and over the coastal plain and Irish Sea. The nearer prospect includes Ennerdale Water and the extensive, rolling moorland of Stockdale Moor (PIC).

The massive circular area of high ground to the north of Skiddaw (known locally as 'Back o' Skiddaw') comprise the Caldbeck Fells and forms a physically discreet block of land. The Caldbeck fells are relatively devoid of trees and are covered in coarse grass and some heather (PIC). Views from the long escarpment on the northern edge of these fells look out to the Solway Plain

and Scotland beyond (PIC). Another separate area of Skiddaw Slate is found in the southwest corner of the Lake District, forming the great dome of Black Combe, overlooking Millom and the Irish Sea (PIC).

The southern third of the Lake District, south of a geological faultline running from the Duddon Estuary in the southwest to Shap in the northeast, is an area of low hills and moorland formed from slates and shales of the Silurian period (PIC). There is less drama in this landscape than in the central and northern Lake District, but the fells around Coniston Water and Windermere still provide wide lake vistas (PIC). Further low fells of limestone, such as Whitbarrow and Scout Scar are prominent in the area just north of Morecambe Bay (PIC).

## Features of the Cultural Landscape

The Lake District fells have attracted the attention of humans from early times for a range of activities including subsistence and industrial production (see below). However it is likely that even in prehistory, the spectacular mountain scenery provided a fascination that was translated into religious and ritual activity. Many of the Lake District fells are crowned with substantial stone cairns (PIC), some of which have their origins as prehistoric burial monuments (PIC). On the lower slopes there are numerous examples of stone circles (PIC), ring cairns (PIC) and standing stones (PIC), all of which indicate that the fells were an important arena for rituals. Human responses to the spectacular landscape character of the Lake District uplands has changed and developed over the millennia and is now focused on the inspiration they provide for artistic endeavour and the possibilities for peaceful recreation (see below).

### Agriculture

Although the Lake District fells are now largely used for grazing sheep, changes in temperature and climate over the millennia that humans have settled in the area have provided varying conditions for agriculture. Evidence from the analysis of pollen from sediments in Blea Tarn, Langdale indicate that woodland then covering the fells was cleared in the Neolithic (c. 4,000 BC), mostly likely for agricultural purposes. This was at the same period as the quarrying of rock for producing stone axes (see below). During the Bronze Age a warmer climate allowed more extensive settlement on the lower fells and evidence for land improvement in the form of clearance cairnfields is extensive (PIC). This is likely to have been initially for grazing but some arable agriculture may also have been carried out. Some cairnfields date from much later periods, including medieval, when fluctuations in climate again allowed arable agriculture on higher ground.

It is likely that transhumance (the movement of grazing stock from valley to fell in the summer months) took place in the Lake District from very early times, but there is firm evidence for this from the early medieval period. Place names incorporating the Norse element 'Setr' indicate the location of a summer settlement or shieling (see Section 3a...) and the foundations of small houses throughout the fells are also evidence of this practice (PIC).

However the most extensive features of past agricultural practice are the hundreds of drystone fields (shelters), small enclosures, huts and wash dubs (washing sites) that testify to the long history of sheep and shepherding in the Lake District fells (PIC). Modern shepherding is now carried out from valley farms with the benefit of quick access to the fell pastures by landrover or quad bike. However before the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, shepherds spent more time on the fell with their flocks, requiring occasional overnight stays, and more management of the flocks, including washing and treating, were carried out on the fell before more modern techniques, including chemical dipping, were introduced (PIC).

### Industry

The unique geology and minerals of the Lake District fells have also been exploited from early periods, leaving a prominent legacy of mine and quarry spoil tips, disused buildings, water wheel pits and trackways. The earliest remains of quarrying area located in the central fells between the Langdale Pikes and Scafell Pike where Neolithic people extracted volcanic tuff for the manufacture of stone axes (See Section 3a...) (PIC). Although it is suspected that the Romans may have mined iron and lead ores in the Lake District, the next earliest evidence is for lead mining and smelting in the Caldbeck Fells at around 1000 AD. However it is from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and the establishment of the Company of Mines Royal that there are substantial surviving remains. The distinctive 'Coffin' levels dating from this period can be seen in the Caldbeck fells, the fells around the Newlands valley and below Coniston Old Man (PIC) and the foundations of buildings also survive at Roughton Gill in the Caldbeck Fells and Simon's Nick at Coniston (PIC).

Mining and quarrying reached a peak between the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and hundreds of disused mines and quarries are scattered throughout the fells, ranging in size from small, exploratory workings to extensive, multi-period sites (PIC).

The most frequently quarried stone was slate from the Borrowdale Volcanic rock, as at Honister Hause, which was used for roofing material. This distinctive green rock was originally laid down as volcanic ash in the Ordovician period, some 450 million years ago. The ash deposits were subsequently altered through tremendous pressure and high temperatures, to produce a slate that splits or cleaves very easily into thin sheets (PIC). The resulting material is ideal as a robust, weather-proof roofing material and has been used widely in the Lake District and beyond (PIC).

Quarrying at Honister may have started as early as the medieval period, but industrial scale production dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The success of the operation over the last two hundred years has varied in the face of changing economic circumstances, but Honister mine has been operating for the last thirteen years after a twenty year period of disuse (PIC). Over the years the quarrying operations have left massive spoil heaps and remains of the transport systems which were used to move slate to the processing area at the top of Honister Hause (PIC). The remains of extensive slate quarries can also be seen in Great Langdale and Tilberthwaite, near Elterwater (PIC).

Slate from the Silurian geology was also quarried, with extensive working at Ashgill, to the west of Coniston (PIC). However this material was not as durable as the green slate and was used for flag flooring and other building purposes.

Mining in the Lake District was undertaken for a variety of ores and minerals, including haematite in the area of Eskdale and Ennerdale (PIC), copper at Coniston and the Newlands valley (PIC) and lead around Ullswater and on the Caldbeck Fells. The mineralogy of the Caldbeck Fells is particularly complex and additional minerals were exploited included tungsten (at Carrock Mine – the only source of tungsten in Britain outside Cornwall (PIC)) and barite. Barite was also mined at Force Crag, in Coledale.

Many of the Lake District mines are located high in the fells and the combination of rugged mountain scenery and extensive and substantial industrial features has produced an element of the cultural landscape that is particularly compelling (PIC). At Coniston Copper mines the extensive workings date from at least as early as the period of the Mines Royal in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Features include rock-cut adits through which the ore was accessed and extracted; a system of leats and waterwheel pits which were part of the system of ore processing; and massive spoil tips onto which the waste parent rock was discarded (PIC). Mining was profitable here until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when copper prices declined.

Although some of the smaller lead mines around Ullswater, such as Hartsop and the adjacent Hogget Gill smelter date back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (PIC), the largest mine, at Greenside, is relatively recent. The lead ore here was discovered in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, but intensive mining began as late as the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Adits were driven into the fell side at heights of up to 563 metres (PIC) and the remains of dams and leats attest to the early introduction of hydroelectric power at Greenside in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Force Crag Mine is also relatively recent and was a source of lead, zinc and barite. It operated from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century and was the last working metal mine in the Lake District prior to its final abandonment in 1991. The ore processing equipment still survives on site, housed in sheet metal buildings, and the site is maintained by the National Trust (PIC). Coniston Copper Mine, Greenside Lead mine and Force Crag mine are all protected as Scheduled Ancient Monuments due to their archaeological significance.

Another widespread though small scale industrial activity in the fells was peat cutting for domestic fuel. Extensive peat cuttings can be seen on many of the fells together with peat scales (storage huts), particularly on Boot Bank above Eskdale (PIC).

### **Routeways**

Humans developed routes through and over the Lake District fells from prehistoric times. The best example is the high ridge route of High Street, which runs from Troutbeck in the south to Moor Divock in the north, a distance of over 15 km (PIC). This route was developed as a road in the Roman period but was almost certainly used in much earlier times. In the medieval period packhorse routes were developed for transporting goods

through the fells, including processed ores and slate from the mines and quarries in the fells to the valleys and coast for export (PIC). There are also hundreds of smaller tracks formed over hundreds of years by the farming community in order to access the fells with stock and for peat cutting. Many of these display a characteristic zig-zag pattern, carefully designed to provide an easy route up and down the fell, particularly for sleds carrying peat and other raw materials (PIC).

### Modern recreation

The tradition of walking in the Lake District fells for recreation and spiritual refreshment can be traced back to the walking tours of the Romantic poets and the increased knowledge of the area that ensued from their writing. The unenclosed character of the Lake District uplands has allowed unimpeded access over the centuries and the Lake District is today one of the key areas for outdoor recreation in Europe. This has been accompanied by the production of numerous guidebooks, following in the tradition started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, of which the most famous are the 20<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks written by Alfred Wainwright (1907 – 1991) (PIC).

The Lake District was also one of the three key areas, along with the Elbsandsteingebirge in Germany and the Dolomites, for the development of the sport of rock climbing. A key event was the climbing of Napes Needle on Great Gable by Walter Parry Haskett Smith in 1886 (PIC).

Hound trailing and fell running are traditional Lake District sports which also take place in the fells. (PIC).

### Forestry

The history of non-native tree planting and commercial forestry is described in Section 3a. Much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century commercial planting of conifers was on fell land that was considered to be of low value. Many plantations have now either been felled (PIC) or are in the process of being converted back to native woodland (PIC), but the character of some of the fells is still dominated by conifer forest. These include the fells on both sides of Bassenthwaite, around Thirlmere and the lower hills in the Grizedale Forest (PIC).

### PICTURESQUE AND ROMANTIC ASSOCIATIONS

Early visitors to the Lake District in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were captivated by the landscape but reacted in ways that are not entirely familiar today. Dr John Brown, writing in 1753, gives his opinion that “*the full perfection of Keswick consists of three circumstances: beauty, horror and immensity united...*”. He goes on to describe the “*horror of the rugged cliffs, the steepes, the hanging woods, the foaming waterfalls...*”. (Dr John Brown to Lord Lyttleton, published 1766).

The fearfulness with which early visitors viewed the Lake District is also seen in Thomas Gray’s account of 1769 of his trip through Borrowdale in which he describes how the “*craggs named Lawdoor-banks begin now to impend terribly over your way...*”. In similar vein, Ann Radcliffe, writing in 1794 describes Borrowdale as “*Dark rocks yawn at its entrance, terrific as the wildness of a maniac*” (PIC).

A few years later, William Gilpin developed his ideas of Picturesque beauty which included the following proposition:

*“With regard to mountains, it may be first premised, that, in a picturesque view, we consider them only as distant objects; their enormous size disqualifying them for objects at hand.”*

William Gilpin *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty in the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland*

A hundred years later, by the time of the development of the Romantic interest in the Lake District, the fells were seen in a very different light. Instead of being viewed as distant, horrific objects, the Romantic poets were undertaking walking tours through the fells, deriving inspiration and deep knowledge of the landscape through direct experience of the Lake District uplands.

Wordsworth and Coleridge undertook a three week walking tour in the autumn of 1799, starting at Temple Sowerby and ending at Pooley Bridge on Ullswater **(MAP <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/mappingthelakes/Coleridge%20Introduction.html> )** (see section 3a...). In August 1802, Coleridge embarked on a second, circuitous walking tour from Keswick, walking through the central fells and the western fringes of Cumberland, which he later described as a “*circumcursion*”.

.....

## Early Conservation Issues

Concern for maintaining the landscape beauty and significance of the Lake District fells and access to them has formed the backdrop to the history of the conservation movement in the Lake District. Although access to the fells is relatively open, some of the significant early stages in the development of early conservation were battles over footpaths, including the famous case at Latrigg, by Keswick in 1887 (see Section 3a) **(PIC)**.

The opposition to non-native tree planting, from Wordsworth’s objections to larch plantations to the commercial forestry of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century have also been driven by a desire to protect the open nature of the Lake District fells and the traditional Herdwick fell flocks **(PIC)**.

Another source of major environmental protest in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the improvement of roads through the fells and over the major passes **(PIC)**.

*“We are against ‘improvement of the by-roads and mountain trackways in the Lake District. Motorists get more than they ask, and walkers lose what they need”*

Friends of the Lake District Pamphlet, *A Road Policy for the Lake District* (1938).

## The Langdale and Windermere Valleys

*“First we note, lying to the south-east, the vale of Langdale, which will conduct the eye to the long lake of Winandermere, stretched nearly to the sea; or rather to the sands of Morcamb, serving here for the rim of this imaginary wheel ”*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The long stretch of Langdale and Windermere, defined as the first spoke of Wordsworth’s imaginary wheel, is a vast section of Lake District landscape that leads all the way from the central mountain core to the sea. It includes a great range of landscape features and provides a sample of almost all the key elements that together form the character of the Lake District. To this spoke must be added the side valley of Little Langdale, the area of High Furness including Esthwaite Water and the village of Hawkshead, and the small side valleys of Troutbeck, Kentmere and Longsleddale to the east.

In the upper reaches of Great Langdale, in Mickleden, the rugged mountain core of the Lake District is seen at its best. **(PIC)** Steep convex slopes swoop down to the valley floor from the surrounding jagged mountain tops of the Crinkle Crags, Bowfell and the Langdale Pikes. **(PIC)** The scene is similar in the adjacent side valley of Little Langdale where the valley floor, with the diminutive Little Langdale Tarn, is overshadowed by Wetherlam, Pike of Blisco and Lingmoor Fell. **(PIC)** The course of Great Langdale describes a long curving ‘S’ shape from northwest to southeast, and together with its ‘U’ shaped profile displays all the typical features of a heavily glaciated valley. The valley is relatively narrow until it opens out briefly around the small lake of Elterwater and then narrows again along the rocky cleft of the River Brathay as far as the head of Windermere. The Brathay rises in Little Langdale and is joined at Elterwater by the Great Langdale Beck. These are spate rivers which rise rapidly during the frequent episodes of heavy rainfall in the central fells. At Skelwith Bridge the Brathay drops over the waterfall of Skelwith Force and there are further spectacular falls upstream on the Brathay, at Colwith, and in Dungeon Ghyll in Great Langdale. **(PICs)**

The small, narrow side valleys of Kentmere and Longsleddale also display the effects of glaciation and both contain spate rivers, the Kent and the Sprint, which rise and fall in immediate response to the level of rainfall.

The lake of Windermere is the longest in England and measure some 18 kilometres from north to south. It too has been formed through glacial action and its name is thought to derive from a combination of the Norse name ‘*Vinandi*’ and the Old English term ‘*mere*’ meaning lake. The lake contains 18 islands, most heavily wooded, and its outflow, the River Leven, passes through the narrow course of the Leven Valley, over powerful waterfalls, to reach the wide sands of the Morcambe Bay at Greenodd.

There is considerable scenic variety in this vast valley landscape which is underpinned by the significant change in the underlying geology at the head of Windermere, around Lowwood. Here the hard rocks of the Borrowdale

Volcanic Series give way to the softer Silurian slates and shales . The surrounding landscape changes from jagged peaks to lower, more rolling fells and the scenery around the mid and lower lake is much more gentle and bucolic than that of the harsher, rockier Langdale valleys. A gentler landscape aspect is also seen in the area known as High Furness, around the small tarn of Esthwaite Water and the village of Hawkshead. **(PIC)**

The relative lack of woodland in the upper reaches of Great and Little Langdale also adds to this contrast. **(PIC)** Native woodland increases considerably around Elterwater and then along the Brathay to the head of Windermere, and both the western shore and the eastern shore in the lower reaches of the lake are heavily wooded. There is also much more woodland in High Furness, although as with some parts of the shores of Windermere, some of this comprises larch and conifer plantation. In addition, large parts of the shores and surrounding slopes around Windermere have been modelled into parkland to provide designed settings for villas and large houses.

This whole valley system provides a natural route of communication from the shores of Morcambe Bay into the very heart of the central Lake District. Routes from the heads of the Langdale valleys are also important and pass from Little Langdale over Wrynose Pass to the Duddon Valley and Eskdale (via Hardknott) and from Great Langdale over Stake Pass to Borrowdale in the north and over Esk Hause to Wasdale and Ennerdale.

### **FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

The earliest evidence of human activity in Langdale and Windermere is represented by the finding of Mesolithic flints (c. 8,000 – 4,000 BC) beneath the Roman fort at Waterhead at the northern end of Windermere. Pollen analysis at Blea Tarn, between Great and Little Langdale has provided evidence for clearance of woodland in the Neolithic period from around 3000 BC. This sequence of forest disturbance is contemporary with the production of stone axes in Great Langdale as demonstrated by radiocarbon dates from recent excavations. The rock that was used for axe production was a band of fine-grained tuff which forms part of the Borrowdale Volcanic Series and is perfect for the manufacture of axes because of its very hard, yet easily workable nature. **(PIC)**

The Neolithic axe factory sites are most numerous in the Great Langdale valley, particularly in the area of Pike of Stickle and extensive remains survive. Axes produced in the central Lake District were traded or distributed widely throughout the British Isles, with examples found far as Northern Ireland, Scotland and southern England and the factory sites comprise one of the most important prehistoric sites in Britain. **(PIC)**

Other important prehistoric remains in Great Langdale include two panels of Neolithic rock art at Copt Howe, near Chapel Stile, located on a pair of large boulders standing on the natural route way into the valley **(PIC)**. The decoration consists of a series of concentric circles, along with other abstract designs including parallel lines, arcs, and lozenges. These designs are similar to contemporary rock art in Scotland and Ireland. Other prehistoric sites include a group of stone-built ring cairns at Stickle Tarn dating from the Bronze Age.

The Romans constructed a fort at Water Head at the top of the lake of Windermere which was surrounded by a large civilian settlement and the remains of a Roman road linking this with the fort at Hardknott can be traced through Little Langdale and over Wrynose and Hardknott Passes. (PIC) There are a small number of native settlements of this period including a small hillfort at Allen Knott on the fells above Troutbeck Bridge and a number of enclosed settlements with hut circles in the small valley of Kentmere to the east of Windermere.

There is no further evidence of early settlement or other activity until the 10<sup>th</sup> century with the arrival of Norse settlers from Ireland. Evidence for their presence in Great Langdale can be seen in the local placenames. For example includes the name Baysbrown, a farm at the eastern end of Great Langdale, is a compound of Norse words: *bass* (noun for cowshed) and *Bruni* (personal name) i.e. *Bruni's cowshed*. This name therefore indicates not just settlement but also pastoral agriculture in the form of cattle farming. Rossett, at the head of Great Langdale is a modern derivation of *saetr*, meaning shieling, indicating that a Norse seasonal pastoral settlement here may have become a permanent settlement in the medieval period. Possible archaeological evidence for the Norse settlers can be found at Fell Foot farm in Little Langdale where a rectilinear, terraced mound may be the remains of a Norse 'ting' mound, used for community meetings. (PIC)

### **Agriculture**

The history of development of the field system in Great Langdale has been researched in detail and is outlined in Section 3.a (History and Development). The first documentary evidence for land use in Great Langdale dates from 1216 when William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal, granted to Conishead Priory the 'land of Basebrun', which then became a separate manor from the Manor of Great Langdale. The course of the boundary wall of first new manor is described in detail in the grant document and can still be identified on the ground today. (PIC)

The grant of 1216 also includes a reference to the 'inclosed land of Great Langden', which indicate the existence of a wall built to enclose the valley floor which was known as the *ring garth*. 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 fell sides. 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. Its course can still be traced in the preset pattern of stone walls in the valley.

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 15<sup>th</sup> century when a rising population increased demands on land. (PIC)

In addition to Baysbrown and Rossett farms, which had their origins in the Norse period, the place-name and field system evidence indicates the establishment of four additional farmsteads in the valley during the medieval period. These comprise Middle Fell Place, Robinson Place, Harry Place, and Johnson Place. It is believed that farms whose names end in the word 'Place' were established as encroachments into areas of 'forest'. In the Barony of Kendal, in which Great Langdale lay, such encroachments were legalised in 1190. These farms may therefore have been established during the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Further substantial intakes of the Elizabethan period can be seen on the slopes around Mickleden and many farms which are known to have existed in this period still survive today, including buildings such as a cruck barn next to the road at Wall End which dates from the period 1613 – 1616. Other farms, including Ash Busk, Whitegill and Bowderston now survive only as archaeological features visible amongst stone walls. "Outgangs" (walled trackways) were left between some intakes to provide access on to the communally grazed fell. (PIC)

From the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the period of the 'Estatesmen', further substantial stone walled intakes were added to the outer edge of the ring garth. For example 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 17<sup>th</sup> century. (PIC)

The common field within the ring garth, which had been farmed in strips since the medieval period, was gradually enclosed from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This process was completed by Act of Parliament in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the last few areas of the common field were enclosed with the ruler straight stone walls characteristic of this period. There are a few examples of these in the valley bottom in Great Langdale.

The topography of Great Langdale has dictated the particular character of the field system in the valley, with the pattern of intakes creeping up the steep slopes. The field patterns in other parts of the area testify to a similar history though in less extreme topographic situations. For example the field systems around the villages of Hawkshead and Sawrey have fossilized the pattern of former open town fields, and the same can be seen in Troutbeck where the farms of Town Head and Town End delineate the extent of the open field. Other notable features which can be seen in the present day field pattern include the remains of a 13<sup>th</sup> century deer park around the Tongue at Troutbeck and the 'Troutbeck Hundreds', a series of straight walled fields to the northwest of the village that The Troutbeck Hundreds, north-west of the village, were enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1831.

The character of the field boundaries also varies, with rugged stone walls of volcanic rock in the valleys of Great and Little Langdale, Troutbeck, upper Kentmere and Longsleddale and a mixture of stone walls, shard fences (vertical slate walls) and hedges in High Furness.

The Langdales are one of the key areas in the Lake District for Herdwick sheep farming and many of the historic farms in both Great and Little Langdale have substantial Herdwick flocks. These include Fell Foot and Birk How in Little Langdale and Middle Fell, Stool End, Wall End, Bayesbrown, Millbeck, Robinson Place and Harry Place. **(PICs)** The majority of these farms are now owned by the National Trust which has ensured the survival of Herdwick farming in this key area. Important Herdwick flock to the east of Windermere include those at Troutbeck Park and Brockstones, Kentmere. However the incidence of Herdwick flocks generally decreases on the eastern side of the Lake District where there are now more Swaledale flocks, and are fewer in number in the smaller side valleys to the east of Windermere.

### **Industry**

Since the medieval period the natural resources of Langdale and Windermere have been harnessed for industrial production. Corn and fulling mills were constructed on many of the rivers and becks in the area and the remains of a corn mill of medieval origin can be seen at the foot of Stickle Ghyll in Great Langdale. **(PIC)**

Numerous medieval bloomeries (iron smelting sites) are scattered throughout High Furness and most of the woods in this area contain evidence of charcoal production in the form of charcoal burning platforms, or pitsteads. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century water power was introduced into the iron smelting process to create a more efficient smelt and the remains of water powered bloomeries can be seen at Cunsey on the west side of Windermere and at Stony Hazel wood in the Rusland valley. **(PIC)** Remains of this type of site are rare in England and these two are of national significance. From the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the blast furnace was introduced into the Lake District and a key site of national significance can be found at Backbarrow in the Leven Valley. **(PIC)** This site, the first blast furnace to be built in the Lake District in 1711, succeeded an earlier water-powered bloomery and operated until 1965. It was the last blast furnace in England to convert from charcoal to coal for fuel and the remains that can be seen now date from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Another blast furnace, replacing the earlier water powered bloomery, was constructed in 1711 at Cunsey on the shore of Windermere by a rival company.

Another major industry making use of water power and charcoal from the woodland was gunpowder manufacture, with major sites at Blackbeck in the Rusland Valley, Lowwood in the Leven Valley and Elterwater in Great Langdale. **(PIC)** There are extensive surviving remains at the last two of these dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries including the village of Elterwater which was developed for workers in the adjacent gunpowder works. Wood was also used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to make bobbins for the Lancashire cotton industry and a key surviving example of a Lake District bobbin mill, now operated as a working museum by English Heritage, can be visited at Stott Park near Finsthwaite. **(PIC)**

However the industries which have left the greatest mark on the landscape of Langdale and Windermere are slate quarrying and mining. Some of the largest slate quarries in the Lake District operated in Great Langdale at Elterwater and on either side of the valley at Chapel Stile and on the slopes of

Lingmoor Fell. **(PIC)** These were exploiting volcanic slate which is used for roofing. In the area of the Silurian geology there are quarries for slate flags, used for flooring and construction, at Brathay. The well-preserved remains of Greenburn copper mine can be seen at the head of Little Langdale. **(PIC)**

### **Buildings and settlement**

The settlement pattern over the large area of Langdale and Windermere is very varied and ranges from small farming hamlets in the narrow valleys to the large conjoined town (in Lake District terms) of Bowness and Windermere with its tourist facilities.

The earliest surviving domestic structures are the remains of defended pele towers of the 14<sup>th</sup> century which are generally located on the periphery of the Lake District. Examples here include Yewbarrow Hall in Longsleddale, Kentmere Hall, and possible Calgarth Hall on the east side of Windermere. **(PIC)**

The Langdales are particularly rich in examples of vernacular farmhouses which were rebuilt in the relatively affluent period of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. These include Fell Foot in Little Langdale, Blea Tarn farmhouse, set in grand isolation with a rugged mountain backdrop, and the majority of the farmhouses in Great Langdale. **(PIC)** However the finest example in the area and probably the entire Lake District is Town End at Troutbeck, one of the jewels of the National Trust's Lake District estate. **(PIC)** The house at Town End dates from 1626 and belonged to the Browne family. It is a typical house of a well-to-do Lake District yeoman family, of stone and slate construction with wood-mullioned windows and characteristic tall, round chimneys. The house contains a wealth of internal detail including carved furniture and fittings and forms part of an important group of buildings which includes a fine 17<sup>th</sup> century bank barn. Town End was passed down through 12 generations of the Browne family until 1943, when it was acquired by the National Trust. **(PIC)**

Other fine examples of 17<sup>th</sup> century vernacular buildings include Low Miller Ground, situated on the eastern shore of Windermere lake, at the old ferry crossing on the ancient packhorse route between Kendal and Hawkshead. **(PIC)** Further south along the shore is Rayrigg Hall, built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and with the addition of a superb 18<sup>th</sup> century wing. One of the most visited farmhouses of this period in the area is Hill Top at Near Sawrey, which was owned and occupied by the world-famous artist, author and conservationist, Beatrix Potter. **(PIC)**

Further structures of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries which have survived include a series of small, single-span packhorse bridges, including the well-known example of Slater's Bridge in Little Langdale and larger bridges including the 16<sup>th</sup> century example at Newby Bridge which forms a fine setting to the southern end of Windermere lake. **(PIC)**

Many of the small farming hamlets in Langdale and Windermere have their origins in the medieval period and were substantially rebuilt in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Examples include Near and Far Sawrey in High Furness and Kentmere. However the finest example is the village of Troutbeck, which

along with Town End, includes some of the best surviving examples of groups of farm buildings from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Troutbeck is first mentioned in a document of 1292 but its name has earlier Norse origins relating to the spawning of trout in the adjacent beck. However, very few buildings in the village pre-date the prosperous period of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. (PIC)

Troutbeck's small, linked settlements, sometimes referred to as 'bye-hamlets', reflect past family ownerships and are still readily identifiable as scattered groups of farmhouses and barns separated by tracts of open countryside. The histories of these groups of houses at Town End, The Crag, Longmire Yeat, High Green, and Town Head show that Troutbeck at one time contained up to 50 statesmen families rather than being dominated by two or three squires as was typical in other parts of England. The rights accrued through Customary Tenure enabled successive generations of some families, for example, the Birketts and the Brownes, to live in Troutbeck from the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century respectively, and thereby to accumulate wealth and become very influential families in the region.

A significant change to the appearance of the village occurred after local slate quarrying brought relative prosperity into the area in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. It provided, in quarry waste, building materials for many of the houses and barns. A further change in appearance to the village arose after the opening of the railway to Windermere in 1847. Additional houses and The Institute were built (or rebuilt) causing Troutbeck to acquire the combination of vernacular and Victorian buildings which we see today. Along with the alterations and extensions to the properties came the widening and levelling of some of the roads. The 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen little further development with only a handful of infill houses.

The small town of Hawkshead in High Furness has early origins and some surviving features that are unique in the Lake District. The name Hawkshead derives from the Norse compound 'Hauk's saetre' ie. Hauk's summer pastoral residence. The town is called Aukesite and Houkesete in 12<sup>th</sup>-century charters. The Abbey of Furness owned substantial areas of land around the town and Hawkshead served as the administrative centre for the northern part of the Abbey's extensive estate, with manorial administration and justice being dispensed by a bailiff from the Courthouse at Hawkshead Hall, parts of which survive to the north of the town (PIC). Abbey cartularies record that the people of Hawkshead petitioned for their own chapel in 1219, and were granted a chaplain and a burial ground, so it is likely that the forerunner of the parish church was built at this time.

Furness Abbey's wealth was built on iron smelting and wool production and Hawkshead grew to be an important centre for both. Wool processing then became Hawkshead's major industry after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. As this was no longer a monastic monopoly, the wealth was spread more evenly and Hawkshead began to grow from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The wealthiest member of the Hawkshead community at this time was the Archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, whose family owned large estates around Hawkshead and who made significant investments in the town's public

buildings. He made Hawkshead into a parish (previously it had been a chapel of ease, in the huge parish of Dalton-in-Furness) and probably contributed much of the money that was used to rebuild Hawkshead's parish church at this time. He also founded Hawkshead Grammar School in 1585 (PIC), the building that now houses a museum at the foot of the path to the church, and established the Sun Inn, alongside, as part of the school's endowment.

Further investment in the church (PIC) took place in 1633 (a date carved in the north clerestory) after the town was granted its first official market charter by King James I in 1608. Many of the buildings in the centre of Hawkshead were constructed as the market grew in importance, from the late 17th century. Many of these are timber framed buildings with jettied upper floors and are unique in the Lake District. (PIC)

William Wordsworth attended the local Grammar School in 1777 to 1783 and he describes the town in his autobiographical poem, 'The Prelude', including his lodgings at Dame Ann Tyson's. By then, Hawkshead was rapidly developing as a town of important local stature, with numerous inns and a fine town hall, built in 1790, with market arcades below and assembly room above (which Wordsworth describes as having '*usurped the ground that had once been ours*', because it occupied the place where he and his school friends once had their playground).

Partly as a result of Wordsworth's eloquent descriptions of the Lake District's landscapes, but also as a consequence of the ease of access brought about by the railway that reached Windermere in 1847, tourism grew in importance during the 19th century, though an 1849 trade directory said that the town had yet to be discovered by tourists, despite 'some comfortable inns' and the 'conveyances [that] are always in readiness for visitors and tourists'

Hawkshead's relatively isolated position, away from major roads, meant that it escaped the development pressures of nearby towns such as Windermere and Ambleside and its population has stayed relatively stable over the last two centuries. The key historical features in Hawkshead include the medieval church with many important 17th-century features and its churchyard set on a hill high above the town's rooftops; Hawkshead Grammar School and Hawkshead Town Hall; the pattern of streets and housing plots that represent the organic growth of the town over many centuries; and the rare survival of backplots and historic pavement and street surfaces.

In contrast to the agricultural basis of many of the hamlets and villages, some notable settlements in Langdale and Windermere developed as a result of both industry and tourism. For example the village of Elterwater has an early core of 17<sup>th</sup> century buildings around the bridge in the centre but was expanded greatly in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries due to the demand for labour at the adjacent gunpowder works. In similar vein, Chapel Stile in Great Langdale also expanded during these centuries to provide living accommodation for quarrymen in the local slate quarry. The village at Backbarrow, in the Leven Valley at the southern end of Windermere, has good examples of terraced housing built to accommodate workers at the local blast furnace and mills. The gunpowder works at Lowwood further downstream on the Leven is surrounded by a purpose built village.

The large village of Staveley at the foot of the Kentmere valley has also developed on the basis of industrial production. It is mentioned in Domesday Book, where it is called Stavelie. It seems to have been prosperous from an early period and was awarded a market charter in 1329. In 1341, ten years after the establishment of woollen mills at Kendal, there was a fulling mill at Staveley, and it is as an industrial village, based mainly on water power, that Staveley has grown and flourished. The most significant evidence for that industrial past consists of Barley Bridge Mill, the large four-storey former woollen mill at Barley Bridge (now the premises of the Kentmere paper and packaging company), which dates in part from 1789, and Chadwick Mill, the very large former woodturning factory at the southern end of the village, now the focal point of a growing light-industrial and retail centre. **(PIC)** This latter woodturning factory was one of the largest of its kind within the Lake District, the size of the building being an indication of the amount of suitable local timber; built in the 19th-century in response to the growing demand for cotton bobbins from Lancashire mills.

The village's medieval chapel, St Margaret, now survives only in the form of its tower and churchyard. **(PIC)** Alongside the chapel, a plaque commemorates the meeting that took place at the chapel in 1620 when the Lake District yeomen ('statemen') met to protest against the king's attempt to overturn the rights of customary tenure that had existed in the northern counties of England for centuries. **(PIC)** The men were brought before the Star Chamber and their case was so strong that for once the court decided in their favour.

In 1856, the large Kendal parish was divided into smaller parishes and Staveley became a parish in its own right. A new church of St James was dedicated in 1865 and the old chapel was demolished, but for the tower. As well as the new church, built in neo-Gothic style by J S Crowther and adorned with arts and crafts furnishings (including three fine stained glass windows designed by Burne-Jones in 1874), the school and vicarage were also built at this time.

The railway line that came to Staveley in 1847 had little impact on the historic core of the village as a new, separate suburb was built to the southwest of the medieval village. This coincided with the construction of the former Abbey Hotel, a handsome and imposing building erected in 1844 on a prominent site in the centre of the village to profit from the tourism boom that would result once the railway was built. Passengers alighting here could use Staveley as a base for exploring the Lake District on horseback or by carriage: the large stable block at the rear of the hotel were described by contemporary trade directories as 'second to none in this part of England'.

The town of Bowness-on-Windermere probably has its origins in the 11th century and is first mentioned as 'Bulebas' in 1190, becoming 'Bulness' in 1282. By this time Bowness was already well established as a settlement, primarily a fishing village (centred on catching the char found in Windermere), grouped around St Martin's Church. The town lay almost directly on the ancient packhorse route from Hawkshead to Kendal which crossed the lake at the old ferry point at Low Miller Ground. Over the centuries, the lake also came to support commercial traffic associated with slate, copper, timber, wool and tourists from the 19th century.

St Martin's Church, the parish church of Windermere, was first recorded in 1203. **(PIC)** This church burnt down in 1480 and only its font and the base of the tower remain. St Martin's was rebuilt and re-consecrated in 1483. It was restored, enlarged and the tower heightened in 1870. The large east window contains medieval glass probably from Cartmel Priory, dating 1276 (only Canterbury Cathedral has earlier glass, from 1275) and the rest of the window 14th/15th century. Although there are no longer any medieval buildings surrounding the church and what might have been a market place, subsequent rebuilding in situ in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries has crystallised this early pattern of intimate building groups and interlinking spaces. **(PIC)**

From the end of the 18th century, the district saw an influx of wealthy industrialists and then tourists and from the start of the 19th century Bowness's admirable lakeside location, on an elevation rising directly from the margin of the lake, made it a popular tourist destination. This set in motion a change in the function of the village from a small local fishing and trading settlement to a popular tourist destination for sightseeing and boat trips – first the wealthy, then, following the coming of the railway, the working classes from Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Liverpool.

The opening of the Kendal to Windermere railway line in 1847 was the catalyst for an expansion of the town and a huge increase in resident and visiting population. The Kendal and Windermere Railway Company had originally intended to construct the line between Kendal to Low Wood on the lake shore. Engineering and financial constraints and vociferous opposition to the scheme (backed by the poet William Wordsworth amongst others) caused the railway company to amend its plans and terminate the line at Birthwaite, a mile and a half from the lake. When the railway arrived, Birthwaite was little more than a dispersed settlement of cottages and farmsteads. The station terminus stood in a completely rural location close to the main Kendal to Ambleside road and not far from its junction with a by-road to Bowness-on-Windermere. The opening of the Kendal-to-Windermere railway line in April 1847 was the catalyst for the building of a new settlement and the genesis of Windermere. As the settlement grew, traders and businessmen in the 1850s who wanted to popularise the connection between the station and the lake succeeded in changing the station's (and the settlement's) name from Birthwaite to Windermere.

In 1869 steam-driven paddle steamers (which had begun services in 1845) connected Bowness with the railway which came to Lakeside at the foot of the lake. Excursion trains from the mill towns of Lancashire poured into Windermere and Lakeside – and on to Bowness. By the end of the 19th century over 100 lodging houses had been built and a further three large hotels created – The Belsfield, The Hydro and The Old England. **(PIC)** Between 1851 and 1891 the combined population of Bowness and Windermere rose from 2,085 to 4,613. The lake frontage at Bowness changed from a collection of fishing boat jetties to a more formal arrangement of landing stages, pleasure boat facilities and promenade. The Royal Windermere Yacht Club received its Royal Warrant in 1887.

Bowness and Windermere continued to expand towards each other and merged in the mid 20th century with the building of large estates and residential infill of large grounds. Today both towns have a separate and distinctive identity but continue to share a role as hosts to Lakeland visitors.

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

The ease of access to Windermere by coach from the south, combined with its undoubted grandeur as England's largest lake with a stunning mountain backdrop, led to an early interest from visitors seeking picturesque landscape. Thomas West identified five viewing stations around the lake in his Guide to the Lakes of 1778. Also from this period, a series of wealthy outsiders were moved to purchase lake shore properties and build grand properties and grounds to assist their enjoyment and appreciation of the landscape.

The first of West's Stations was located on the west shore of Windermere in Scar Wood, opposite Bowness and at about the mid point of the lake. It is just above the western terminus of the modern ferry and overlooking Belle Isle. In 1799 the land here was bought by the Rev. Braithwaite who had a building known as 'The Station' or 'Belle Vue' constructed for visitors to enjoy the prospect. **(PIC)** The original part of the Station comprised a two storey octagonal building with a castellated roofline. A dining room and wine cellar were located on the ground floor and the first floor drawing room was accessed by a spiral stone staircase. The drawing room was furnished with a six-sided bay window overlooking the lake. In 1800 The Station was bought by John Curwen and modified and enclosed within a rectangular castellated structure with a large, square bay window and a kitchen to a design by George Webster of Kendal. It is likely that this is the building that Wordsworth made reference to in 1810 in a letter to a friend.

The Station became a major attraction for tourists in the following years including Robert Southey in 1802, who described the windows with coloured glass that could be used to give an impression of the landscape in different seasons. The popularity of the Station reached its height in the 1830s and 40s when the Curwen family held regular dinner dances, but by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it had fallen from favour. The Station still remains a prominent feature on the hillside overlooking the ferry and acquired the name the 'Pepperpot' in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It passed to the National Trust in 1962.

West's other four other Stations were located at the southern and northern ends of Belle Isle, at Rawlinson's Nab near Cunsey, on the western shore and on Brant Fell, a small hillock above Bowness. **(PICs)**

Modification of the landscape around Windermere resulting from picturesque interest began with the creation of new woodland, often using imported, non-native species. The Rev. Braithwaite is reported to have planted over 40,000 different plants or trees in Scar Wood in 1797. It is likely that many of these were non-native species, although a number of oaks were also planted. At about this time John Curwen began to acquire land on the west side of the lake for his Belle Isle Estate, purchasing a number of properties between Pinstones Wood in the north and Cunsey in the south in the period 1783 to 1805. He undertook planting on Belle Isle in the early 1780s but his largest scheme was at Heald Wood where according to Curwen's annotated map of

his estate "(in) 1798 by the desire of my respected friend Dr Watson Bishop of Llandaff I planted here 30,000 Larches".

A great many other picturesque woodlands were established on the Windermere shoreline throughout the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Plantations of pine, spruce, larch and poplar were established in 1783 by the Browne family of Town End in Troutbeck on Beech Hill and in Pull Woods. Richard Watson, the absentee Bishop of Llandaff whose residence was at Calgarth Park, established larch plantations over Birk Fell, Gummer's Howe (now one of the most popular viewpoints in the Lake District) and in Bishops Wood, abutting the Curwen estate just north of Cunsey. The landscape impact of these plantations was unrivalled in the Lake District and was of national significance. As a result, the shores of Windermere have been described as the "*probably the most exciting piece of artificial picturesque planting in existence*" (JM Robinson, 1991, *A guide to the Country Houses of the North West*). (PICs)

In addition to the woodland planting schemes inspired by the picturesque aesthetic, the shores of Windermere were also the focus for a rash of mansion and villa building by wealthy incomers which continued well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and Windermere has a greater concentration of nationally important buildings than any other of the Lake District valleys.

The earliest house, built in 1774 on Belle Isle, has iconic status as both the first house in the Lake District to be built for picturesque reasons and is also the first cylindrical building of the picturesque in England. It was built for Thomas English, to a design by John Plaw with grounds laid out by Thomas White. (PIC) The house has a square basement, with 3 storeys and attics above in a cylinder. It is crowned by a dome with a lantern and has an Ionic entrance portico of 4 columns, and Venetian windows in the other sides. English was declared bankrupt in 1779 and Belle Isle was bought by the Curwen family, which completed the construction of the house and grounds.

The designs of the houses and villas which followed the construction of Belle Isle were more conventional in terms of contemporary design but also had a significant impact on the landscape around the lake. Brathay Hall, near Clappersgate, now an outward bound centre, was also built in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to a classical design and Dove Nest, built in 1780 above the eastern shore of the lake in a more romantic style. Belmont, near Hawkshead, was built in Georgian style in 1774 by the Rev. Reginald Braithwaite, Vicar of Hawkshead. It is now owned by the National Trust. (PICs)

Storrs Hall. remodelled in 1805 from an earlier simple, classical villa, building, is one of the best Regency buildings in Lake District. It was built by John Bolton on proceeds derived from the Liverpool slave trade, and the grounds include the Temple of the Heroes built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to commemorate the naval victories of a number of British admirals including Nelson. Storrs Hall was enlarged and converted to a hotel in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. (PICs)

In 1840 a retired Liverpool surgeon, Dr Dawson, built the imposing, castellated neo-gothic Wray Castle at the north west end of Windermere lake, which formed the core of an estate which eventually included a lodge, boathouse,

church, and a planned farm. The young Beatrix Potter stayed here in 1882. The Wray Estate is now owned and managed by the National Trust. **(PICs)**

Villa construction continued throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and important later examples include the Belsfield Hotel in Bowness, originally built as a villa in 1838 in Italianate style. This is perhaps the best example of a pre-railway age mansion on the east side of the lake and was later owned by the steel magnate Sir Henry Schneider. Brockhole, built in 1900 for the Gaddum family, is now the Lake District National Park Visitor Centre. **(PIC)** The house and grounds were designed as one by the partnership of Dan Gibson, a notable local architect, and the famous landscape gardener Thomas Mawson. Other notable Gibson designs include the imposing villa of White Crag, Clappersgate **(PIC)** which is a good example of the vernacular revival at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Other examples of Mawson gardens around Windermere include those at Graithwaite Hall, Langdale Chase, and Holehird. The property of Holehird perhaps epitomizes the Gothic style that became typical for the Windermere area in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. **(PIC)**

The Arts and Crafts style is also represented here at Broad Leys, designed by CFA Voysey for a colliery owner from Leeds and now the Windermere Motorboat Racing Club clubhouse. Blackwell, built in 1900 to a design by MH Baillie Scott for the Manchester brewer Sir Edward Holt, is now managed as an art gallery by the Lakeland Arts Trust. **(PICs)**

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Although Langdale and Windermere feature in many of the poems and other writing of the Lakes poets, it is not an area where many took up residence, unlike Grasmere, Rydal and Keswick. However one of the earliest and most important links with Wordsworth is the Grammar School in Hawkshead which he and his brothers attended. William was here from 1779 – 1787. Wordsworth's school experience was crucial to his later writing as he was introduced to poetry and inspired by his schoolmasters William Taylor and James Bowman. He wrote his first poems here including 'The Vale of Esthwaite' (1787), which he described as '*a long poem running upon my own adventures and the scenery of the country in which I was brought up*'. This work preceded 'The Prelude' and some of its lines were reworked for his first published poem, 'An Evening Walk'. In later life Wordsworth drew on memories of both the school and the landscape around Hawkshead for his poems including the 'Matthew' series and his 'Address to the Scholars of the Village School' (1798). Many other surviving buildings in Hawkshead featured in Wordsworth's later poems including St Michael's church. **(PICs)**

Hawkshead Grammar School is open to the public and Wordsworth's name can be seen carved into the top of one of the desks. His brother John's name is carved into a window sill on the upper floor. The School also has two books donated by Wordsworth and fellow schoolboys and the account book of Anne Tyson, his landlady during his time in Hawkshead. Anne Tyson's cottage survives in the village (now a tea shop) and Wordsworth stayed here with the Tyson family from 1779 until 1783 when the Tyson and their lodgers moved to Colthouse, just to the east of the town. It is likely that the new Tyson residence was Greenend Cottage in Colthouse and Wordsworth returned

here for an extended stay in 1788 after his first year at Cambridge University. It was at this time that he began to compose 'An Evening Walk'. (PICs)

Within the larger cultural landscape of the Lake District the area around Hawkshead and Esthwaite is important as the place where Wordsworth first experienced what he came to describe as '*spots of time*'. These were open, intense receptions of the natural world and his local community which held a power over his mind for many years. These '*spots of time*' offered proofs of his visionary vocation, and they began to surface into poetry in 1798 and 1799, just before he returned to his native region:

*'Fair seed time had my soul, and I grew up  
Fostered alike by beauty and by fear:  
Much favoured in my birthplace, and no less  
In that beloved Vale to which ere long  
I was transplanted.'* (The Prelude I. 305-309)

These epiphanies provided a structure and pulse for the first drafts of **The Prelude**. Snaring woodcocks (Keen Ground High); raiding raven's nests (Yewdale Fells); ice-skating (Esthwaite Water and what is now Tarn Hows); seeing a drowned man raised from the lake; sheltering in bleak weather and infusing the landscape with a premonition of his father's death (Borwick Lodge); all these encounters and events enforced and deep entanglement between Wordsworth's feeling and thoughts and the natural world around him. This was the foundation for his deep ecology.

And so, his guilt in hunting woodcocks came back to him through the natural world:

*'I heard among the solitary hills  
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds  
Of undistinguishable motion, steps  
Almost as silent as the turn they trod.'* (l. 329-32)

His empathy with his friend John Benson when he became crag fast in their quest for raven's eggs or fledglings (a source of pocket money) became a testament to the power of fear in enforcing vulnerability and a capacity for revelation:

*'...oh, at that time  
While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,  
With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind  
Blow through my ear! the sky seemed not a sky  
Of earth – and with what motion moved the clouds!'*  
(l. 346-50)

Each of these spots of time deserves quotation and reading out aloud; all of them disrupt conventional, custom and practice, cause and effect responses and challenge readers (and visitors to the region) to explore beyond given boundaries and touch upon their own creative potential.

Never far away from these encounters is the society and community which Wordsworth lived in and which was not immune from the national narrative.

The destitute soldier he met at Far Sawrey (**The Prelude**, IV.368-504) was as much a part of this landscape as the 'naked wall', the 'single sheep', the 'whistling hawthorn' of another experience (XI. 346-89). Hawkshead and Esthwaite Vale provided his first experiences of shepherds and hill farmers which were to be revisited and explored when he returned as a 29 year old:

*'But lovelier far than this, the paradise  
Where I was reared...  
Man free, man working for himself...  
His comforts, native occupations, cares,  
Conducted on to individual ends  
Or social, and still followed by a train  
Unwooded, unthought-of-even – simplicity,  
And beauty, and inevitable grace'.  
(VIII. 144-5, 152, 154-8)*

In later years Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy visited many of the major residences around Windermere including in William's case a visit to Bishop Watson at Calgarth Hall, even though he had previously fallen out with the Bishop over political developments in France (prompting his 'Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff in 1793). Coleridge and de Quincy were also entertained at Calgarth. Lowwood on Windermere was the place where Dorothy famously recorded her sorrowful parting from her brothers William and John when they departed on their tour of Yorkshire in 1800. In 1802 she wrote a critical account of the house and landscaped gardens on Bell Isle and visited the Curwens in 1831.

Blea Tarn, separating Great and Little Langdales is the setting for Books II and III of Wordsworth's **The Excursion** (composed 1808-1813). It represents an ultimate unity between man and nature contrasting with the wilderness of Lingmoor Fell above which the narrator of poem travels through:

*'A quiet treeless nook, with two green fields,  
A liquid pool that glittered in the sun,  
And one bare Dwelling; one Abode, no more!'  
(II.337-39)*

In 1818 Wordsworth purchased the Ivy How Estate in Little Langdale in order to break it up into freeholds for relatives and friends so that more votes could be created for Lord Lonsdale in the election of that year.

In Great Langdale, Dungeon Ghyll Force is the location for Wordsworth's pastoral piece of 1800, **The Idle-Shepherd Boys**, and it was to Great Langdale, that George and Sarah Green walked from Far Easedale in 1806, dying in the vicinity of Eagle Crag and Millbeck. Dorothy Wordsworth's **Narrative of George and Sarah Green** is a sensitive but stark revelation of the way poverty of some of the subsistence farmers in the Lake District was masked by their apparent independence as land-owners.

In his **Select Views** text (1810), Wordsworth headlines Great Langdale as a 'must visit' valley:

*'Next comes Great Langdale, a Vale which should on no account be missed by him who has a true enjoyment of grand separate Forms composing a sublime Unity, austere but reconciled and rendered attractive to the affections by the deep serenity that is spread over every thing.'* (**Prose** II. p.269)

As a schoolboy in Hawkshead, Wordsworth and his friends played and adventured on and around Windermere:

*'When summer came,  
It was the pastime of our afternoons  
To beat along the plain of Windermere  
With rival oars; and the selected bourne  
Was now an Island musical with birds  
That sang for ever...'* (**The Prelude** (1805), II. 55-60)

Like many a visitor who have since enjoyed the lake and its surroundings, Wordsworth and his school friends ended up at The White Lion in Bowness: *'nor did we want/Refreshment, strawberries and mellow cream.'* (ibid. 166-67) Among Wordsworth's friends at Hawkshead were Fletcher Raincock whose skill in blowing *'mimic hootings to the silent owls'* was renowned and John Tyson who died on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1782, aged 12 years. Both these friends were brought together in memorable poetry associated with Windermere:

*'There was a Boy: ye knew him well, ye cliffs  
And islands of Winander!- many a time  
At evening when the stars had just begun  
To move along the edges of the hills,  
Rising or setting, would he stand alone  
Beneath the trees or by the glimmering lake,  
And there, with fingers interwoven, both hands  
Pressed closely palm to palm, and to his mouth  
Uplifted, he, as through an instrument,  
Blew mimic hootings to the silent owls,  
That they might answer him; and they would shout  
Across the watery vale, and shout again  
Responsive to his call...'* (Ibid. V.389-401)

On his return home from Cambridge, he would cross the ridge at Banner Rigg, as car-borne visitors do today, see Windermere and know he was almost home:

*'A pleasant sight it was when, having clomb  
The Heights of Kendal, and that dreary moor  
Was crossed, at length, as from a rampart's edge,  
I overlooked the bed of Winderemere.  
I bounded down the hill, shouting amain  
A lusty summons to the farther shore  
For the old Ferryman...'* (Ibid. IV. 1-7)

In the 1850 version of these opening lines, Wordsworth made this first encounter more dramatic – *'A universe of Nature's fairest forms/Proudly revealed with instantaneous burst/Magnificent'* (9-11), and in a prose note this effect, shared by all visitors then and now, is caught in the phrase *'an instantaneous*

*map-like burst* (**Prose II. p.429**). In making his case for the best approach to the Lake District, Wordsworth agreed with Thomas West (**Prose II.293**) but did not take on West's enthusiastic classical guidance: '*the delicate touches of Claude, verified on Coniston lake, to the noble scenes of Poussin, exhibited on Windermere-water, and, from these, to the stupendous, romantic ideas of Salvator Rosa, realized on the lake of Derwent.*' (**Prose II. p.436**)

This approach to Windermere is also associated with Wordsworth and the early development of the conservation movement. The opening lines of his **Sonnet on the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway**(1844), '*Is then no nook of English ground secure/From rash assault?*' have been used with abandon by many a campaigner who, it should be presumed, would not be so free with the elderly poet's social exclusion policy:

*'Instead of tempting artisans and labourers, and the humbler classes of shopkeepers, to ramble to a distance, let us rather look with lively sympathy upon persons in that condition, when, upon a holiday, or on the Sunday, after having attended divine worship, they make little excursions with their wives and children among neighbouring fields, whither the whole of each family might stroll, or be conveyed at much less cost than would be required to take a single individual of the number to the shores of Windermere by the cheapest conveyance.'* (**Prose III. p.344**)

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

In Langdale and Windermere it is possible to see both the successes and some of the failures of the early conservation movement and its successors to maintain the cultural landscape of the area.

One of the most significant early protests over what was considered to be inappropriate development was the proposed railway connection to Windermere following the opening of the Lancaster to Carlisle line in 1846. In 1844 a proposal was made to construct a line to Low Wood at the head of Windermere and Wordsworth immediately began a campaign of opposition including letters to newspapers and the publication of two sonnets, the first of which, '*On the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway*', began

*"Is there no nook of English ground secure  
From rash assault?"*

His further worry was that the proposed railway line would be later extended to run through Rydal Park, behind his residence at Rydal Mount and on to Grasmere. Wordsworth was soon joined in his protest by local landowners, including the owners of the mansions at Dove Nest and Holehird, who like him were concerned over the potential effects to their peaceful abode not just of the railway but of the passengers that the railway would bring. Despite criticism of their stance by the Railway Commissioners, who could see the benefits of easier access to the Lake District by the urban working class, they succeeded in halting the advance of the railway at Birthwaite (now Windermere). Thus on the one hand the present day character of Windermere and Bowness was determined by the huge numbers of tourists that would arrive by rail, but on the other, the character of the landscape and towns in the central Lake District was saved from similar pressures.

The proposal for the extension of the Windermere line to Ambleside was resurrected in 1876 and again attracted a famous opponent in the form of John Ruskin. Like Wordsworth, Ruskin's objections appear now to be not entirely altruistic and one of his letters on the subject included the memorable assertion concerning the populace that "*I don't want to let them see Helvellyn while they are drunk*". The proposal was again defeated by the opposition of landowners and a lack of investment.

However Ruskin's opposition to the railway was coupled with an acute concern for the sustainability of the traditional way of life of the farming communities in the Lake District and this led to his support and encouragement for a revival of a linen industry in Langdale. Although the practical arrangements were implemented by others, it was Ruskin's views on non-industrial processes coupled with his presence in the Lake District that led to the revival of linen manufacture. The centre of the operation was St Martin's Cottage in Elterwater in Great Langdale and the industry operated from the early 1880s until 1925.

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a movement began amongst wealthy individuals with a concern for the maintenance of the Lake District's cultural landscape and traditions, to purchase key farms in order to conserve them and their tenants' way of life. This development was particularly effective in Langdale and Windermere and eventually formed the basis for the National Trust's substantial land ownership in this area.

The prime mover in this was Dr G M Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History and Master of Trinity College Cambridge, who spent holidays in Great Langdale in the interwar period. In 1928 Trevelyan purchased Stool End and Wall End farms and the Dungeon Ghyll Hotel in Great Langdale in order to donate them to the National Trust. (PIC) 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 largely due to his influence that the majority of both Great and Little Langdale ended up in National Trust ownership. Prof GM Trevelyan is buried at Holy Trinity Church in Chapel Stile.

Similar activity was undertaken by the Rev HH Symonds in other parts of the Lake District and in 1937, together with RST Chorley, he established the Lake District Farms Estates Ltd to further pursue the purchase and protection of farms. One of these was Stockdale Farm in Longsleddale, which was placed under National Trust restrictive covenant in 1944.

However the most famous personality involved in the purchase and protection of farms which were later donated to the National Trust was Beatrix Potter. Beatrix Potter's involvement in Lake District life and farming is outlined elsewhere (Section 3a) and the bequest of farms and other properties that was left to the National Trust by Potter (then Mrs Heelis) and her husband, William Heelis, was substantial, particularly in the Langdale and Windermere area. One of the earliest farms that Potter purchased was Troutbeck Park, which at the time was one of the largest Herdwick farms in the Lake District. (PIC) However many of the farms that she later acquired were lower ground

farms around Hawkshead, near her first purchase and home of many years at Hill Top, Near Sawrey. These included High and Low Tockhow, High Wray, Castle, Hole House and Hill Top farms. (PIC) Other properties in the Heelis Bequest included Heelis Solicitors in Hawkshead, the Belmont mansion, nine cottages in Near Sawrey and the Tower Bank Estate. (PIC) More recently the National Trust purchased the Tower Bank Arms at Near Sawrey, adjacent to Hill Top. Other farms and property in the area bought by Potter and donated to the National Trust included Busk Farm in Little Langdale, Dale Head farm between Little Langdale and Elterwater and Fletcher Wood, Elterwater.

Beatrix Potter was also active in protests against developments that she felt would damage the special qualities of the Lake District. These included a campaign against the construction of a seaplane factory at Cockshot Point on Windermere in 1911 which she fought with the assistance of Canon Rawnsley. The public enquiry was held as a result of petitions and letters to newspapers and the factory was closed in 1912. In WW2 another seaplane factory was established on Windermere, at Calgarth Park, to construct Short Sunderland planes for the war effort. The Friends of the Lake District opposed this development from the start, and although a substantial factory and workers village was built and operated through the war years, the FLD obtained an agreement from the government that the factory would be removed after the war. This factory was subsequently removed by the end of 1949.

As a result of the Heelis and Trevelyan bequests and other donations and purchases, the National Trust holdings in the Langdale and Windermere area are very substantial and form the core of the Trust's Lake District Estate. One of the earliest purchases was the site of the Roman fort at Ambleside, in Borrans field, acquired through public subscription in 1912. In 1913 Queen Adelaide's Hill, a viewpoint overlooking the lake shore just north of Bowness, was also purchased through public subscription. This property included the 17<sup>th</sup> century house at Low Millerground. Rectory farm and Cockshot Point, on the eastern shore of Windermere opposite Belle Isle, were purchased in 1927. Ladyholme, one of the islands in Windermere was gifted to the Trust in 1938 having previously been purchased for preservation by the Groves family in 1908. (PIC)

The Wray Castle estate was given to the Trust by the Barclay family in 1929, and the later acquisition of Claife Woods in 1962 (in lieu of death duties from the Curwen Estate) made it possible for the National Trust to protect almost all the shore from the ferry north to Wray Castle and to open it to the public. The Claife property included the picturesque Station known as the 'Pepperpot' which has been conserved and made accessible to visitors. Other notable donations include Little Langdale Tarn, donated by the Friends of the Lake District in 1985 to commemorate their 50<sup>th</sup> year. (PIC)

In 2005 new bye-laws were introduced on Windermere, following a public enquiry, limiting the speed limit of boats to 10 mph. This speed limit was designed to reduce noise pollution, to limit the effect of wash on the natural vegetation on the lake shore and to make use of the lake safer for all users. The bye-laws brought Windermere into line with the other lakes in the Lake

District and underpinned the principle of quiet enjoyment in the Lake District National Park.

## The Coniston Valley

*"...we shall next fix our eyes upon the vale of Coniston, running likewise from the sea, but not (as all the other valleys do) to the nave of the wheel, and therefore it may be not inaptly represented as a broken spoke sticking in the rim".*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### Features of the Natural Landscape

Coniston Water (**PIC**), the third largest lake in the Lake District, lies in a relatively broad valley oriented northeast to southwest, between the high mountains of the Coniston range on the west and the lower fells of Bethacar and Monk Coniston Moors on the east. The major tributary becks feeding the lake at its northern end are Yewdale and Church Becks, the former emerging from the deep cleft of Tilberthwaite Gill (**PIC**) to flow through the picturesque vale of Yewdale (**PIC**), and the latter tumbling down the fells over rocky waterfalls from the glacial corrie of Levers Water (**PIC**). Additional smaller becks join lower down, on both east and west, and at its southern end, Coniston Water empties out to the sea via the River Crake.

The eastern shore of Coniston Water is heavily wooded with native broad-leaved trees (**PIC**), and there are also areas of conifer plantation further up the valley sides, spilling over from the large commercial forest of Grisedale in the small valley to the east. The western shore is also wooded, particularly at the southern end of the lake, below the rolling Blawith fells (**PIC**).

The southern approach to Coniston, following the valley of the Crake from where it joins Morcambe Bay at Greenodd, is broad and affords panoramic views of the mountains to the north (**PIC**). The valley narrows at its northern end and attains a more intimate character, accentuated by the wooded fells and higher mountains of the Coniston range. The natural routes to the north lead to Hawkshead, Elterwater and the head of Windermere. On the west side of the valley the ancient pack horse route of Walna Scar connects Coniston with the Duddon valley (**PIC**).

Pele Island (**PIC**), situated at the southern end of Coniston Water, is the only island in the lake and is well-known for its place in the children's' stories of Arthur Ransome.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Extensive remains of prehistoric activity can be seen on the low fells around Coniston Water. Burial cairns and small stone circles are scattered across the Torver Commons, below Coniston Old Man, and the Blawith Fells, together with small clearance cairnfields and burnt mounds dating from the Bronze Age (**PIC**).

Further evidence for early settlement comes from the place names in the area, many of which have origins in the Norse settlement of the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. Coniston Water itself was referred to as Turstiniwatra in a document of 1160 then Thorstainewater in 1196 and Thurston's Water in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The

personal name Thorstaine is Norse in origin. The name Coniston derives from the Anglian term for 'king's estate' and also dates from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Agriculture**

The agricultural landscape in the Coniston valley has its origins in the medieval period and is characterised by single ancient farms with their small irregular fields around the head of the lake, around the village of Coniston (PIC) and along the adjoining Woodland Valley to the southwest. Unlike the valleys that lie deeper in the heart of the Lake District fells, Coniston does not appear to have had a stone-walled 'ring garth' in the medieval period, separating a common field in the valley bottom land from the grazed fellsides. However the remains of a former common or 'Town' field can be identified on the lake shore, in the area between Coniston and Coniston Hall, which performed the same function as commonly farmed, arable fields. The 'Town field' was probably established by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, together with a deer park around Coniston Hall, the course of which can still be traced on the ground (PIC). The deer park was stocked with deer as late as 1690 and was probably still used into the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The land on the east side of Coniston was gifted to Furness Abbey in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the monks established sheep farms at Lawson Park and Low Parkamoor. The name of the estate at the head of the lake, Monk Coniston, is derived from this early landownership.

Areas of intaking can be seen on the slopes approaching Torver High Common in the west while more extensive areas of former intake, around the ancient farms of Lawson Park and Low Parkamoor, on the east side of the valley, are now obscured by conifer plantation. The higher ground on the flanks of Coniston Old Man comprises open fell grazing and this extends right down to the lake shore at Torver Back Common.

Some of the key Herdwick farms in the Lake District can be found in and around the Coniston valley, including High and Low Yewdale and Tilberthwaite (PIC), the last having one of the largest Herdwick flocks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Industry**

The Coniston area has been a hive of industrial production from at least the medieval period, including mining, quarrying and iron smelting. Numerous remains of medieval bloomeries (iron smelting sites) can be found dotted around the shores of Coniston Water (PIC), handily placed to utilise the charcoal produced in the surrounding woodland and to smelt iron ore from Low Furness which was transported up the lake on boats. An early blast furnace was established at Nibthwaite on the river Crake in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and some of the workers' housing that survives is amongst the earliest in the country (PIC). Much of the woodland around Coniston Water was used for charcoal production

...Ransome description of charcoal burning..... and (PIC)

Extensive mining for copper took place in the Coniston Fells, and very significant archaeological remains can be seen at Coniston Copper Mines and around

Wetherlam (PIC). The mine and remains of processing buildings at Penny Rigg (PIC) are particularly impressive. Mining here dates back to at least the Elizabethan period (from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century) and continued into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The slate industry was also very important and huge slate quarries, including underground 'closeheads' can be seen (PIC). The principal quarries are found at Tilberthwaite and Hodge Close (PIC) with other significant workings at Penny Rigg, in the Coniston Copper mines valley, at Broughton Moor and at Bursting Stone on the flanks of Coniston Old Man. The last two quarries are still working (PIC). There is a fine early limekiln at Yewdale, located on the band of Coniston limestone running from southwest to north east. (PIC)

### **Buildings and settlement**

The farm buildings and walls in the Coniston Valley present the familiar solid stone character as other valleys, making use of the local Silurian slate and green slate for roofing material. Coniston Hall (PIC), owned by the National Trust, dates from around 1580 and is built on the site of an earlier hall. It is one of the most noted buildings in the Lake District, with its distinctive tall, rounded chimneys and was the seat of the le Fleming family from 1250. The bank barn, dating from 1688, is one of the earliest examples in the Lake District and there is another classic bank barn of 19<sup>th</sup> century date next to the hall.

The group of farm buildings at Yew Tree is one of the most iconic and best-known in the Lake District and its 17<sup>th</sup> century barn (PIC) is furnished with a fine spinning galleries. The rear part of the farmhouse dates from the 1680s and the front part from 1743.

The principal settlement in the main valley is the village of Coniston (PIC), with a smaller hamlet at Torver. Further hamlets are found along the course of the river Crake, including High Nibthwaite, Blawith, Water Yeat, Spark Bridge and Penny Bridge. Many of these settlements include stone-built cottages, often in terraces, built to house local industrial workers (PIC). A key higher status building in the south of the area is Lowick Hall, dating from the Elizabethan period and a later wing of 1746. (PIC)

The Coniston branch of the Furness Railway was opened in 1859 and quickly led to an influx of tourists. Hotel development (PIC) in and around Coniston followed, leading to an expansion of what had originally been an industrial settlement. Related developments included the construction by the Furness Railway of the steam yacht Gondola in 1859 to provide trips on the lake for tourists. Gondola was decommissioned in 1936 but was rescued by National Trust volunteers in the 1970s, restored and re-launched in 1980. The Gondola plies the lake once again, owned and operated by the National Trust (PIC).

The Coniston branch line was closed to passengers in 1958 and to freight in 1962.

A notable event involving Coniston Water was its use by Donald Campbell for world speed record attempts in the 1950s and 1960s. Coniston, together with Ullswater and Windermere, had been used for power boat record attempts from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Campbell set seven speed records between 1955

and 1964 in his boat Bluebird K7 but was tragically killed on the lake in a further attempt in 1967. The remains of Bluebird K7 have been recovered and are being restored with a view to permanent display in the Ruskin Museum in Coniston. The tradition of power boat record attempts continues on Coniston on an annual basis with the Coniston Power Boat Records Week.

## **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Coniston became a favourite destination for tourists following the construction of the Coniston branch line railway in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However the lake had attracted the attentions of the earliest picturesque guide book authors, including Thomas West, who described the views from a series of three stations around the lake. He also described the view from a boat positioned in the lake, opposite Coniston Hall:

*“Looking towards the mountains, the lake spreads itself into a noble expanse of transparent water and bursts into a bay on each side, bordered with verdant meadows and inclosed with a variety of grounds, rising in an exceedingly bold manner. The objects are beautifully diversified amongst themselves, and contrasted by the finest exhibition of rural elegance (cultivation and pasturage, waving woods and sloping inclosures, adorned by nature and improved by art) under the bold sides of stupendous mountains, whose airy summits the elevated eye cannot now reach, and which almost deny access to human kind”*

(Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes*, 1778)

Pursuit of the picturesque aesthetic also extended to landscape design, with extensive modifications to the Monk Coniston estate from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. The estate was owned by the Knott family from 1769 to 1835, whose wealth was based on iron smelting in the Lake District and Scotland. During this period a major programme of tree planting took place along with development of the pleasure grounds around Monk Coniston hall (PIC). The estate was sold to James Garth in 1835 who purchased additional land and was responsible for creating the picturesque artificial lakes at Tarn Hows (PIC), which have become one of the most popular attractions in the Lake District. Garth also undertook further tree planting on the estate, including exotic conifers. Parts of the estate were bought by Beatrix Potter in 1930 and later passed on to the National Trust, which also bought Monk Coniston Hall in 1945. The estate is currently the subject of a major restoration project.

## **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Coniston was visited by many of the Romantic poets and artists and we have a wealth of poetic description of buildings and features that survive in the landscape today.

Coleridge visited during his walking tour of 1802 and was captivated by the lake - *“an admirable junction of awful and pleasing Simplicity”* - and Coniston Hall with its *“four Round Chimneys, two cloathed so warmly cap a pie with ivy”*. He stayed at the Black Bull Inn in Coniston (PIC), which was also frequented by

Thomas De Quincey in 1805 and 1806. It was here that De Quincey wrote his essay on '**The Constituents of Happiness**'.

Coniston and its environs feature in many of Wordsworth's poems. In 'The Waggoner' he describes the local slate quarries under Coniston Old Man:

*"I love to mark the quarry's moving trains,  
Dwarf panniered steeds, and men, and numerous wains:  
How busy all the enormous hive within,  
While Echo dallies with its various din!"*

In Book VIII of **The Prelude** Wordsworth recalls fondly the shores of the lake, with their

*". . . gentle airs,  
Birds, running streams, and hills so beautiful  
On golden evenings, while the charcoal pile  
Breathed up its smoke".*

North of the lake, in Yewdale is Raven Crag, a probable location for Wordsworth's boyhood escapade, vividly recounted in Book I of **The Prelude**, when he attempts to steal ravens' eggs and becomes 'crag-fast':

*"While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,  
With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind  
Blow through my ear! The sky seemed not a sky  
Of earth – and with what motion moved the clouds!"* **(PIC)**

The poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson and his bride stayed at Tent Lodge **(PIC)** on the north east shore of Coniston on their honeymoon in 1850 where he composed **The Princess** during his stay. Visitors included Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle and Edward Lear.

Lanehead **(PIC)**, now an outdoor pursuits centre, is built on the site of the Halfpenny Alehouse where J M W Turner is said to have stayed in 1797, sketching in preparation for his first Royal Academy exhibit, '*Morning Among the Coniston Fells*', now one of the best known paintings of the Lake District. **(PIC)**. Lanehead was also home to the Collingwood family (see below).

Later literary associations with Coniston also include the series of famous children's books by Arthur Ransome (1884 – 1967) beginning with **Swallows and Amazons** (published in 1929). Ransome had holidayed in the area from an early age and lived in the Lake District in later life **(PIC)**. Many topographic features, including Pele Island, feature in his novels together with various properties around the lake. He is buried in the churchyard at Rusland. **(PIC)**.

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

Perhaps the most famous resident of Coniston during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the poet, artist and philosopher John Ruskin (see Section 3a). Ruskin bought the Brantwood Estate on the eastern shore of Coniston in 1871 and set about improving the property in line with his views on aesthetics and husbandry of the land. The appearance of the Brantwood property, now maintained by the

Brantwood Trust, is much as it was during Ruskin's time there (PICS). Ruskin is buried in St Andrews churchyard in Coniston along with members of the Collingwood family.

### **Box – Brantwood description with pics**

The Brantwood estate, its gardens, buildings and contents represent a significant and well-preserved survival of the Lakeland home of John Ruskin. The estate is situated on the quiet eastern shore of Coniston Water, facing spectacular views of Coniston Old Man. The views, which are substantially unaltered from Ruskin's day, were one of the primary reasons for Ruskin's choice of Brantwood as a home. Numerous drawings in the collection, and on view to the public in the house, reveal how little of this scene has changed.

The Brantwood estate today comprises 250 acres, rising from the lakeshore to open fell-top. The estate is divided into roughly 90 acres of ancient semi-natural woodland; 80 acres of moorland; 50 acres of pasture; and 30 acres of gardens enclosing the built-environment. This proportion of land use and the traditional management of each of the areas are consistent with those practiced on the estate in Ruskin's own day. The estate is, in all relevant senses, a continuing survival of the environment which Ruskin knew, shaped, drew and wrote about.

Ruskin made many significant interventions in the estate which can still be seen and understood. They can be broadly divided into three categories: 1) practical landscaping or land-management projects which are nonetheless unique; 2) experimental interventions with a philosophical or demonstrative purpose; 3) garden design and layout with an allegorical meaning. More features exist than can be detailed here. The following are indicative.

- 1) Practical landscaping and land-management projects. The most significant and historically interesting of these is Ruskin's development of a system of terraces and reservoirs to control the rapid flows of water on the steep estate and restrict the loss of nutrients in the soil. The purpose was to demonstrate a method suitable to create areas suitable for growing crops, herbs, fruit and flowers in a mountain environment. Most of the principal areas of terracing and cultivation still survive, or have been restored to, active management. The largest and most important of these is the Moorland Garden. Three reservoirs, one of considerable aesthetic and design complexity, retain their functionality in the water course engineered by Ruskin, which connects the terraced areas. It also embodies a feature that allows a cascade to be run to order outside the front door of the house. The system still furnishes Brantwood with its drinking water.
- 2) Experimental interventions. Ruskin used Brantwood as a place to explore and demonstrate ways in which projects could be carried out which would better the lives of ordinary working people in mountainous rural areas. Using the skills of local quarrymen and miners, he tunnelled into the hillside to create a community ice-house. Ice was harvested from the lake in winter and made available to households in the area throughout the year. In the Professor's Garden, a plot was created which was indicative of the average small-holding of a working family. In this area a series of planting experiments were

undertaken to prove and demonstrate optimum planting regimens for the successful cultivation of health-giving balances of produce for nutrition and recreation.

- 3) Garden design. As an artist and writer, Ruskin sought to develop a physical statement of underlying belief in the shaping of his gardens. The broad concept of the Brantwood estate was that it represented a paradise garden where man and nature were in harmony. His Secretary, W G Collingwood referred to it as his 'paradise of terraces'. Although this utopian dream was never fully realised, the extensive landscaping which he did carry out can all be read as part of the same coherent scheme. One feature in particular represents a dramatic and substantial artistic work in the land – the allegorical 'ZigZaggy' garden. This feature represents the terraces of the Purgatorial Mount in Dante's Divine Comedy and was designed as the main entrance to the estate.

Because of Ruskin's way of writing, he used the direct experience of his physical works and local environment to illuminate his ideas. Almost all the things Ruskin carried out on the Brantwood estate and a great deal of its natural features made their way into his writings. In addition, Ruskin's later life was documented in detail by those around him. It is a unique facet of Brantwood that so many surviving aspects of Ruskin's life there can be encountered by visitors who have previously read or go on to read them in his own writings or the writings of others about him, and in the ideas which they generated.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the house itself. Brantwood is an eighteenth century cottage which Ruskin purchased in 1872. The house was enlarged in a series of works until 1905, since when no changes have been made. All of the additions to Brantwood made by Ruskin and his cousin, Joan Severn, retained the earlier features of the building, so that the changes and their purposes can be read. Ruskin's most iconic and significant features were the famous turret, the dining room with its seven arched window (the seven lanterns of which conform to the seven lamps which he believed guided the creative spirit), the lodge house, and the coach house.

Because Ruskin's possessions were left to his cousin, most of them remained at Brantwood until a series of dispersal sales in 1931. The largest part was purchased at that time by John Howard Whitehouse, who also purchased Brantwood. Accordingly, a great many items have had a continuous presence within the house. Since 1996 all the collection, with the exception of the manuscripts and works on paper, has been united in the building where it is displayed as openly as possible in the context of its original location and purpose. Brantwood offers visitors a detailed and authentic encounter with the environment and possessions of one of the world's great writers and thinkers.

It is the policy of the Brantwood Trust to place all the items it reasonably can on public display. Whilst Brantwood is an Accredited Museum and meets international standards for the display of historic collections, a point consistently made by its visitors is that the house feels like a genuine home and not a museum. It is possible to stand in Ruskin's study by the chair and fireplace at which he sat and look out at the view which he described whilst writing a prophetic work about climate change. The house has always been

and continues to be inhabited as a dwelling place.

In view of their scholarly significance, and for their own protection, the majority of the works on paper within the collection are housed at the Ruskin Library, a purpose built repository and scholarship centre at Lancaster University. The total archive consists of more than 1400 drawings and watercolours, 8,000 manuscripts and 800 photographs. Works are rotated for display at Brantwood.

Today, Brantwood mounts a substantial programme of exhibitions, artists' residencies, concerts, theatre, talks, courses and other cultural study events. These represent an important continuity of Ruskin's own purpose during his life at Brantwood. Brantwood is also home to the Ruskin Foundation, the parent trust governing the use of the scholarly collection and an extensive education and outreach programme that promotes the relevance of Ruskin's ideas today. The Foundation currently runs projects in local schools; the wider community; and Cumbria's prison, Haverigg. On the education front it is active in publishing Ruskin-related materials and contributes to academic programmes at a number of universities at home and abroad. It maintains special partnerships with the Universities of Cumbria and Lancaster, hosting study activities in its education facilities at Brantwood.

Ruskin's secretary at Brantwood was W G Collingwood, a Lake District author, archaeologist and artist of importance in his own right, who lived at Lanefoot, just north of Brantwood. Collingwood had been one of Ruskin's students at Oxford along with Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, founder of the Keswick School of Industrial Arts and co-founder, with another of Ruskin's students, Octavia Hill, of the National Trust.

National Trust ownership around Coniston is extensive, and includes iconic properties such as Coniston Hall and the Monk Coniston Estate (including Tarn Hows), together with a number of important farms including High and Low Yewdale and Tilberthwaite. Many of these properties had been purchased by Beatrix Potter and donated to the National Trust.

Coniston has featured in recent conservation battles over access and recreational use of lakes. In the late 1950s the bed of Coniston Water was bought by a private individual concerned for the future development of the lake and conveyed to trustees, known as the Rawdon-Smith Trust. This is now administered by Coniston Parish Council. Clause 3 of the Trust Deed stated the purpose of the Trust to be "to preserve the Trust property in perpetuity under local control for the purpose of affording to the public facilities for recreation".

In 1962 an appeal against planning consent for use of land and buildings at Ruskin Pier for the hire of motor boats was dismissed. The Planning Inspector said "*There is however a need to for some lakes to be reserved for those who value solitude, quietness, and a study of nature in unspoilt surroundings and Coniston Water can still in the main provide such conditions*".

In 1978 local by-laws were introduced by the Lake District Special Planning Board (now the National Park Authority) in order to control the use of power boats and water skiing on Coniston.

## The Duddon Valley

*“Looking forth again, with an inclination to the west, we see immediately at our feet the vale of Duddon, in which is no lake, but a copious stream winding among fields, rocks, and mountains, and terminating its course in the sands of Duddon”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The valley of the river Duddon was until 1974 the boundary between the old counties of Cumberland and Lancashire. It rises near the Three Shires Stone, the meeting point of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, underneath the peaks at the head of Wrynose Pass (PIC), and then turns its flow southwest at Cockley Beck. The upper Duddon is narrow and rocky, with picturesque falls and pools such as those at Birks Bridge (PIC) followed by the spectacular cleft of Wallowbarrow Gorge (PIC). The underlying geology of the upper valley comprises the hard rocks of the Borrowdale Volcanic Series. In the lower valley the softer rocks of the Silurian slates and shales adjoin on the east and the estuary is overlooked from the north by the rolling dome of Black Combe (PIC), sculpted from the even older Skiddaw slate.

The Duddon valley is narrow in its upper reaches, widening slightly after the constriction at Wallowbarrow, but retaining an enclosed and intimate character until it widens into an estuary when it reaches the sea. It is surrounded by fells, including the distinctive peak of Harter Fell at the head of the valley (PIC), and the resulting topography restricts easy entry to the valley to the main route from Cockley Beck in the north and from the coast at the southern end. Other routes include the Walna Scar track, which approaches the Duddon from the heights of the Coniston fells to the east. The valley does not contain a lake, but the substantial Seathwaite Tarn, now dammed as a reservoir, lies in a hanging valley above the Duddon on its eastern side.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Duddon valley has been settled from at least as early as the Neolithic period, and the remains of one of the most impressive of the Lake District's many stone circles can be found at Swinside Farm, on the northern side of the Duddon estuary (PIC). The traces of Bronze Age settlements and fields can be seen on the fells above the valley and an important group of ring cairns of this period are located around Seathwaite Tarn (PIC). The course of the Roman road which joins the forts at Ambleside and Hardknott crosses the head of the valley at Cockley Beck and there are numerous foundations of medieval longhouses on the upper slopes possibly dating from a period when the climate was warmer. Also dating from the medieval period are the remains of a medieval fortified farmhouse at Old Hall Farm (PIC), described by Wordsworth as:

*“quietly self-buried in earth's mould,  
Is that embattled House, whose massy Keep  
Flung from yon cliff a shadow large and cold.”*

## **Duddon Sonnet XXVII**

### **Agriculture**

The settlement pattern in the Duddon valley is one of ancient single farms surrounded by small, stone-walled in-bye fields. As in surrounding valleys on the western side of the Lake District, many of the field walls here are of massive construction resulting from the need to clear the plentiful stone from the fields. However there is a particularly wide variety of wall construction in this valley, which also includes shard fences (vertical slate walls) (PIC) and the use of a local source of hexagonal basalt for features such as water yeats (stock barriers over becks) (PIC). The general scene in the Duddon Valley has not changed greatly since the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Wordsworth wrote, upon viewing the valley from the Walna Scar road:

*“Time, in most cases, and nature everywhere, have given a sanctity to the humble works of man, that are scattered over this peaceful retirement”.*  
Notes to *The River Duddon, A Series of Sonnets*.

Intakes have been constructed around the in-bye land and are extensive on the slopes above the side valley of the Tarn Beck and on Walna Scar. On the west side of the Duddon a series of distinctive fields resulting from planned enclosure can be seen running up the slopes in long, narrow walled strips. Extensive ancient woodland is distributed along the length of the Duddon, with an almost unbroken ribbon along much of the western valley floor and side. Rainsbarrow Wood (PIC) is particularly notable as a haven for dormice and red squirrel and contains much evidence for charcoal production. There are also extensive areas of modern conifer plantation, including the head of the valley (which is currently being converted to native broadleaf woodland) and in Ulpha Park in the lower reaches.

### **Industry**

The geological and woodland resources of the Duddon valley provided a basis for industrial activity in the valley over several centuries, including slate quarrying, copper mining and iron smelting. The latter dates from at least the medieval period as the valley contain the remains of a number of bloomeries (early smelting sites) of this period. However the small scale production of the medieval period was eclipsed by the construction of a blast furnace near Duddon Bridge in 1737. (PIC) The Duddon furnace is one of the best preserved in England and remains include not just the furnace itself but also the massive storage buildings for iron ore and charcoal. The iron ore was brought from Low Furness to wharves below Duddon Bridge and charcoal was produced in the local woods, which contain many examples of charcoal burning platforms. The slate industry was important in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (PIC – AP of Walna Scar quarries) and the valley also had at least two bobbin mills which produced wooden bobbins for the Lancashire cotton industry.

### **Buildings and settlement**

Unlike many of the other valleys in the Lake District, the settlement pattern in the Duddon valley does not extend to villages. Two small hamlets of a few

houses each are located at Seathwaite and Ulpha, while the nearest large settlement is the planned village of Broughton-in-Furness, just to the east of the Duddon estuary. (PIC)

The farm buildings in the Duddon valley, many of which date from the period of re-building in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, have a rugged character deriving from the use of the local volcanic rock and slate for walls and roofs. Many are finished in a weather-proof coating of limewash. Early examples include a building at Stephenson Ground farm which may date from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Stephenson family was granted wasteland for cultivation by Furness Abbey. Under Crag farmhouse, the birthplace of the Rev Robert Walker (a local philanthropist made famous by Wordsworth as 'Wonderful Walker' in this *Duddon Sonnets*), has a wooden spice cupboard door dated to 1714. Other notable features include stone, single span bridges of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries such as the Duddon bridge, Ulpha, Cockley Beck and Birks Bridge. (PIC) The church of St John in Ulpha also dates from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and contains the remains of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century wall painting uncovered in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (PIC)

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

As the Duddon Valley was is located on the (then remote) west of the Lake District and also does not possess a lake, it was not high on the list of preferred destination for visitors seeking picturesque views. The only major house of the period is Duddon Hall, built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in neo-classical style and with an ornate temple in the grounds. (PIC)

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Over the course of his lifetime this was Wordsworth's favourite valley in the Lake District. He first visited it as a boy while living at Hawkshead and then again in 1788, 1789, the summer of 1794, September 1804, September 1808 and the final recorded visit before he published his *Duddon Sonnets* was in September 1811. In his later years he travelled through the valley as part of his civil service job as 'Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland and part of Cumberland'.

Wordsworth's **The Duddon Sonnets** received more praise in his lifetime than any other of his publications. The poem sequence was first published along with an early version of his **Guide** in 1820 and was intended to complement the prose work as a detailed poetic guide to this valley.

In the Churchyard at Seathwaite, a hamlet in the centre of the valley, there is a gravestone for 'Wonderful' Walker (1709-1802) who was Curate at Seathwaite for 67 years. Wordsworth adds an extended note on 'Wonderful' Walker to his *Duddon Sonnets*, extolling his rural multi-tasking as priest; as a teacher when he *'employed himself at the spinning wheel while the children were repeating their lessons by his side'*; and as a hard-working shepherd who employed his children in *'teazing and spinning wool , at which trade he is a great proficient; and moreover when it is made ready for sale, will lay it, by sixteen or thirty two pounds weight upon his back, and on foot, seven or eight miles, will carry it to the market, even in the depth of winter'*. (Terry McCormick - source this)

On his walking tour of 1802 Coleridge dropped down into the Duddon from Devoke Water:

*'Passed over a common, wick & dreary, and descending a hill came down upon Ulpha Kirk with a sweet view up the river...I pass along a furlong or so upon the road, the river winding thro' the narrow vale, & then turn off to my left athwart a Cove on Donnerdale Fell ...O lovely lovely Vale!' (1225 2.20)*

He also noted at Ulpha "*an old man with his Daughter, a sweet Girl, burning bracken – went up to him and talked with him and the lovely Girl in the [midst] of the huge Volumes of Smoke, and found that I had gone two miles wrong...*". The activity described here being the burning of bracken to make potash, one of the ingredients for making soap for cleaning fleeces for the woollen industry.

We don't know if JMW Turner had read the **Duddon Sonnets** and its final poem which charges the poet's journey from source to sea with a universal resonance:

*'For, backwards Duddon! as I cast my eyes,  
I see what was, and is, and will abide;  
Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;  
The form remains, the function never dies...'* (3-6)

But, both Wordsworth's poem and Turner's 'Duddon Sands' (watercolour and white chalk c.1830) revolve around the transitions from one cycle of nature to another. **SEE PIC (Turner in the British Museum, 1980, plate 167)**

Some individual features which are described in the Duddon Sonnets have now disappeared, such as the yarn-spinning mill below the church at Seathwaite, which Wordsworth described as "*a mean and disagreeable object, though not unimportant to the spectator, as calling to mind the momentous changes wrought by such inventions in the frame of society – changes which have proved especially unfavourable to these mountain solitudes*". But the majority of the landscape which Wordsworth described still survives and even individual features such as the stepping stones just downstream from Seathwaite footbridge and St John's church at Ulpha, which Wordsworth revisited in old age in 1844, walking in the early morning in the churchyard where "*the recollection of former days and people crowded in upon him*".

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

Despite the range of industrial activity, which remained relatively small-scale, the Duddon valley in the 19<sup>th</sup> century remained free of the types of development pressure that elsewhere in the Lake District led to mass protest and campaigning. However in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, commercial tree planting by the Forestry Commission in the upper Duddon valley (**PIC**) did lead to significant protests about the landscape impact of conifer plantations. In 1933 the Forestry Commission purchased extensive tracts of fell land at the heads of the Duddon and Eskdale valleys with a view to planting commercial conifer forest. This led to much controversy and campaigning, principally by the newly formed Friends of the Lake District, and in 1936 a landmark agreement was reached under which the Forestry Commission undertook not

to pursue commercial forestry with the core of the Lake District (see Section 3a **Commercial Forestry in the Lake District**)

Although commercial forestry was established at the head of the Duddon valley, continuing pressure from conservationists led to significant compromises, including an agreement in 1958 to exclude Black Hall farm from planting. The land in the upper Duddon valley (Dunnerdale Forest) that was planted with conifers from the 1930s has, in the last ten years, begun to be replanted with native broadleaf trees with financial support from the Friends of the Lake District.

The threat to the beauty and significance of the Duddon valley from commercial afforestation led, from the 1920s, to the purchase of farms by people concerned for the protection and maintenance of the traditional way of life and the farming landscape. In 1929 the farms of Cockley Beck and Dale Head were purchased and gifted to the National Trust. In the 1930s, the Rev. H. H. Symonds, prime mover behind the formation of the Friends of the Lake District, purchased five farms in the Duddon which he donated to the National Trust in 1950. These comprised Thrang, Browside, Hazel Head, Brighthouse, Pike Side and Beckstones. Additional farms were acquired by the National Trust including Black Hall (from the Forestry Commission in 1961), and Wallowbarrow in 1974.

## The Eskdale Valley

*“The fourth vale, next to be observed, viz. that of the Esk, is of the same general character as the last, yet beautifully discriminated from it by peculiar features. Its stream passes under the woody steep upon which stands Muncaster Castle, the ancient seat of the Penningtons, and after forming a short and narrow estuary enters the sea below the small town of Ravenglass”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The valley of Eskdale runs in a south westerly course from the source of the River Esk in the mosses at the foot of Esk Pike to the wide estuary by the medieval port of Ravenglass. The upper Esk comprises a series of picturesque waterfalls and deep pools or ‘dubs’, cutting through volcanic rocks at first (PIC) and then through the distinctive Eskdale granite which underpins the landscape of most of the lower valley. Although the path cut by the river gradually becomes wider, the valley bottom is generally narrow and enclosed by the fells on either side. This gives a compact and intimate feel to Eskdale which contrasts with the wider vistas of the mountain peaks surrounding the upper valley and the extensive sea views at its lower end. (PIC)

The principal routes into Eskdale are the hair-raising switchback route over Hardknott Pass at the top end (PIC) and the rather gentler approach from the coast at the bottom. The river Esk is joined by smaller watercourses falling steeply from the surrounding crags and forming spectacular waterfalls such as Stanley Force (PIC). Although Eskdale does not contain a lake, there are two large tarns within its catchment – Burnmoor Tarn to the north and Devoke water to the south. (PIC)

There is a short estuary where the river Esk meets the sea and it is joined amongst extensive sand dune systems by the Rivers Irt and Mite. (PIC)

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The long sequence of human settlement in Eskdale can be traced back to the remains of temporary settlements of Mesolithic hunters around the estuary of the Esk, dating to c. 8,000 BC. Later prehistoric sites include an important group of Neolithic or Bronze Age stone circles and settlement remains on Boot Bank (PIC) and around Devoke Water. In the Roman period forts were constructed on the coast at Ravenglass and overlooking the head of the valley at Hardknott, the latter being one of the most spectacularly sited Roman forts in Britain (PIC). Adjacent to Ravenglass fort are the remains of a Roman bath house, the best preserved Roman building in northwest England. (The fort and bath house at Ravenglass form part of the Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage Site). The main road through Eskdale probably follows the course of a Roman road connecting these two forts and continuing on through the central Lake District to the fort at Ambleside.

### Agriculture

The agricultural landscape of Eskdale is characterised by a pattern of ancient single farms on the valley floor, surrounded by a network of small, irregular fields. Like those in Wasdale, many of the field walls in Eskdale are unusually wide due to the huge amounts of stone that had to be cleared from the fields to permit arable

cultivation **(PIC)**. The in-bye fields are surrounded by extensive intakes which reach up the valley slopes towards the grazing land on the surrounding open fell. Intakes have been constructed both in the main valley and the small tributary valleys which join on both north and south. Patches of ancient broadleaf woodland are distributed throughout Eskdale and become more extensive as the valley broadens out, particularly on the southern side, around Stanley Force and further downstream.

The walls and the farm buildings in Eskdale are generally constructed from the distinctive local pink granite and contribute to the rugged feel of this west facing valley **(PIC)**. One of the most important farms is Brotharilkeld or 'Butterilket' at the top of the valley, which was established by 1292 AD as a 'vaccary' or dairy farm by the monks of Furness Abbey and later, became an important 'Herdwick' or sheep farm. In 1819 the farm at Brotharilkeld is recorded as having had a flock of 3,000 animals. Eskdale is one of the key valleys in the Lake District for the native Herdwick sheep, and hosts the premier annual Herdwick show on the last Saturday in September. **(PIC)**

### **Industry**

Although the principal land use in Eskdale is pastoral agriculture, the valley has also been the location for a range of industrial activity from at least as early as the medieval period. The underlying granite geology includes rich sources of iron ore which was mined and smelted for hundreds of years. Eskdale has numerous remains of medieval 'bloomeries' (iron smelting sites) which produced wrought iron using charcoal produced from the oak woodland and the local iron ore. One of these sites, at Trough House Bridge, has been radiocarbon dated to around 1275 AD. The most visible remains of iron ore mining date from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and include the extensive workings at Nab Gill, near Boot. **(PIC)** A small gauge railway (known locally as the 'La'l Ratty') was built to take the iron ore away to the coast and survives in use today as a visitor attraction **(PIC)**. Other notable surviving industrial structures include a series of peat storage huts on Boot Bank (used for storing cut peat sods used as domestic fuel) **(PIC)** and the double-wheeled corn mill at Boot, which dates from 1547. **(PIC)** This mill, approached from the village by a fine packhorse bridge, is mentioned in a survey of 1578 but may have earlier origins. In addition to the two working overshot wheels, the mill contains a wealth of interior features including hoists, a perforated metal drying floor heated by a peat kiln below and a bakehouse. It is now owned and operated by a local community Trust. **(PIC)**

### **Buildings and settlement**

The settlement pattern in Eskdale is one of dispersed, single ancient farmsteads which have their origins in the medieval period. The largest settlement is the coastal village of Ravenglass (awarded a market charter in 1208) and smaller settlements include Eskdale Green and Boot. **(PICS)** The present buildings in Ravenglass are mostly of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries but laid out on medieval pattern around the market square and site of a medieval cross. The local architecture in the upper valley is typical Lake District vernacular, with numerous examples of stone walled, slate-roofed farm houses and barns dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later **(PIC)**. The farm buildings at Brotharilkeld form an important group, the present structures dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The farmhouse is of typical vernacular style, of rubble construction with white, lime-washed walls and slate roof. **(PIC)**

Higher status buildings include Dalegarth Hall, on a site occupied by the Stanley family since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The present building dates from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century with alterations from around 1750. (PIC).

The parish church of St Catherine dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century but was substantially rebuilt in 1881. (PIC) Other notable features include Doctor Bridge, a fine single span stone packhorse bridge of the 17<sup>th</sup> century which was widened in 1774 for a Doctor Tyson to accommodate his horse-drawn trap. (PIC)

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Eskdale did not have the degree of attention given by 18<sup>th</sup> century visitors to other parts of the Lake District. The most significant house in the valley is Muncaster Castle, seat of the Pennington Family, at the coastal end of Eskdale. (PIC) The present building incorporates parts of a medieval pele tower and was substantially altered and extended by the architect Anthony Salvin in 1862-6. Muncaster Castle is also surrounded by spectacular landscaped gardens which include an internationally important collection of rhododendron.

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Eskdale was visited by Coleridge on his walking tour of the Lake District in August 1802. His notebook reveals an intense blend of a local and particular engagement with the environment – *'I am sitting by Eskdale side/-O for wealth to wood these Tarns – weeping Birches with Mountain Ash & Laburnum/with Hollies for underwood'* (1214 2.10), with an equally intense emotional narrative:

*'A gentle Madman that would wander still over the mountains by the lonely Tairns (Lakes) – the like never seen since the crazy Shepherd, who having lost almost all his sheep in a long hard snow was repulsed or thought himself treated coldly by his Sweet-heart - & so went a wanderer (sic) seeking his Sheep for ever/in storm and snow especially'* (ibid).

Just before entering the head of Eskdale, Coleridge unintentionally descended Broad Stand, dropping onto a ledge and then found that the distance above him was too high for returning, and so was obliged to take on the risks of further descents onto ledges. This is now recognised as one of the first recorded 'rock-descents' in the history of mountaineering. Duke of Edinburgh Gold Award candidates would only be allowed to descend Broad Stand today with helmets, ropes and skilled supervision.

Further down the valley, just beyond Brock Crag, Coleridge *'came to the four-foot Stone/on which there are the clear marks of four feet, the first a beast's foot, so wide, the next a Boy's shoe...the third a [large] dog's Foot, the fourth a child's shoe...'* (1220 2.15). This stone can be located at grid reference ????.

Wordsworth turned from the mid-point of his poetic journey following the River Duddon to 'return' to Hardknott and reflect on three periods of colonisation of the Lake District; the 'druidic', the Roman, and the Scandinavian, all of which are shown to be elements of a more enduring terrain and natural environment:

*'...And into silence hush the timorous flocks,*

*That slept so calmly while the nightly dew  
Moisten'd each fleece, beneath the twinkling stars:  
These couch'd mid that lone Camp on Hardknot's height.'*  
(**Duddon Sonnet**, XVII, 7-10)

Wordsworth noted Muncaster Castle in his **Guide through the District of the Lakes**:

*'The fourth vale, next to be observed, viz. that of the Esk...is beautifully discriminated...by peculiar features. Its stream passes under the woody steep upon which stands Muncaster Castle, the ancient seat of the Penningtons...'*  
(**Prose**, II, p.172)

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

Eskdale is one of the more remote Lake District valleys and was not subject to some of the pressures for development seen elsewhere in the Lake District in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. However the upper valley, around Hardknott, (**PIC**) was included along with the upper Duddon valley in the controversial scheme for commercial forestry which was largely prevented through the 1936 Agreement (see Section 3a Commercial Forestry in the Lake District). Notwithstanding the agreement, the two ancient sheep farms of Brotherilkeld and Black Hall were still included within the area to be planted. Further negotiations resulted in the establishment of a 'Hardknott Forest Park' (between 1943 and 1959) and as a result of further pressure from conservation bodies, including the Friends of the Lake District, in 1943 the Forestry Commission entered into a covenant with the National Trust and agreed not to plant on the land of Brotherilkeld farm. Brotherilkeld was eventually sold to the National Trust in 1961.

The National Trust now owns and manages a number of key farms in upper Eskdale and much of the surrounding fell land.

## The Wasdale Valley

*“Next, almost due west, look down into, and along the deep valley of Wastdale, with its little chapel and half a dozen neat dwellings scattered upon a plain of meadow and corn-ground intersected with stone walls apparently innumerable, like a large piece of lawless patchwork, or an array of mathematical figures, such as in the ancient schools of geometry might have been sportively and fantastically traced out upon sand. Beyond this little fertile plain lies, within a bed of steep mountains, the long, narrow, stern, and desolate lake of Wastdale; and, beyond this, a dusky tract of level ground conducts the eye to the Irish Sea.”*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

*“it is a marvellous sight / a sheet of water between three & four miles in length, the whole (or very nearly the whole) of it's right Bank formed by the Screes,...consisting of fine red Streaks running in broad Stripes thro' a stone colour – slanting off from the Perpendicular, as steep as the meal newly ground from the Millar's Spout....”*  
(Coleridge, 1802)

The view of Wasdale from the lower reaches of Wastwater, which comprises the panorama of the Screes, Scafell, Great Gable and Kirkfell is one of the most famous in the British Isles (PIC). In one sweep it incorporates both the highest mountain and deepest lake in England and has been adopted as the symbol for the Lake District National Park (PIC).

The character of the valley has been determined by the powerful action of glaciers, gouging out the deep basin of the lake and sculpting the steep slopes of the Screes (PIC). Wasdale is oriented southwest to northeast and topographically falls naturally into two parts. The upper section, Wasdale Head, is rugged in character, narrow and enclosed by steep slopes. It has very little woodland and the enclosed farmland is tightly constrained in the small patches of available valley bottom (PIC). The various routes into Wasdale Head cross high mountain passes – to the northeast over Sty Head to Borrowdale, westwards over Burnmoor to Eskdale and northwest, over Black Sail Pass to Ennerdale. The landscape at the head of the valley is extreme, with high peaks and steep slopes cut through by becks that become raging torrents in the frequent periods of high rainfall, transporting tons of stone down from the fells which then has to be cleared from the fields in the valley bottom (PIC).

The lower section below the lake, Nether Wasdale, is very different in character. It contains the route of the River Irt, which winds its way from its outflow from Wast Water to its estuary at Ravenglass. The valley widens out towards the coastal plain and is enclosed by much lower fells. In contrast with the head of the valley there is extensive woodland in the form of both native broadleaves and stands of conifer plantation (PIC).

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The earliest surviving traces of human activity in the area are found on the fells around the valley and comprise the extensive clearance cairnfields, rudimentary field boundaries and settlements of later prehistory (PIC). Bronze

Age activity in the valley bottom is attested by a number of burnt mounds (possible cooking places). The lower reaches of the valley, abutting the coastal plain, contain the best agricultural land and are likely to have seen continuous use from early times. Early medieval and Norse remains include ecclesiastical sculpture at Irton and Gosforth churches **(PICs)** and medieval sites include the remains of iron-smelting bloomeries in Nether Wasdale and the remains of a 14<sup>th</sup> century Pele tower at Irton Hall (incorporated into the 19<sup>th</sup> century design).

### **Agriculture**

The tightly constrained pattern of stone walled fields at Wasdale Head is one of the most spectacular in the Lake District, especially when seen from a vantage point on the surrounding fells. It is likely to have very early, possibly Norse, origins **(PIC)**. The walls here are extremely wide, reflecting the necessity of clearing the huge amounts of water-bourne stone that have been deposited on the fields over hundreds of years. The in-bye fields have the irregular pattern of medieval or earlier enclosure and are surrounded by later intakes on the valley sides. The stone walled remains of a medieval deer park can still be traced at the northeastern end of the Screes **(PIC)**.

In Nether Wasdale the pattern of the field system is typical of dispersed ancient single farms, particularly in the area to the north of the hamlet of Nether Wasdale **(PIC)**. There are a few small, early intakes attached to the upslope sides of this system, but the higher land in the lower valley is generally enclosed with the large, straight-walled field of parliamentary or other planned enclosure. This is particularly clear on the south-facing slopes of Bolton Wood **(PIC)**.

Wasdale is one of the key Lake District valleys for Herdwick sheep, with several noted farms, including Bowderdale and Middle Row, **(PIC)** which was famous for its ram-breeding flock of long-standing. The importance of this has been recognised by the conservation movement and many key farms are now owned and managed by the National Trust (see below).

### **Industry**

The remains of industry in the Wasdale valley are limited to a number of medieval bloomeries in Nether Wasdale and at the southern end of the lake, located to take advantage of charcoal produced in the local woods. There are also the remains of mining activity on Irton Fell.

### **Buildings and settlement**

The settlement pattern in Wasdale is one of dispersed farms and small hamlets, with the largest settlements at Nether Wasdale and Wasdale Head. The buildings and walls in Wasdale Head are characterised by use of the local slate for construction while in Nether Wasdale there is more use of imported materials such as sandstone. The church of St Olaf at Wasdale head is first mentioned c. 1550 but the building is considerably altered. **(PIC)** Other notable features in the valley include the packhorse bridge at Wasdale head, one of the best examples in the Lake District with its backdrop of high mountains around the valley head. **(PIC)**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Wasdale also became a significant early location for the development of the sport of rock climbing, in parallel with similar developments in the Dolomites and Saxony. Important figures included Walter Parry Haskett Smith, who visited Wasdale Head from the 1880s and the Abraham brothers of Keswick (PIC). Haskett Smith's ascent of Napes Needle on Great Gable in 1886 was a key event in the development of climbing and these early pioneers stayed at the Wasdale Head Inn, which is still a thriving centre for walkers and climbers (PIC). The Fell and Rock Climbing Club, the premiere climbing club in the Lake District, was established in 1906-7 and the first formal meet was at the Wasdale Head Inn on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1907. In 1923 members of the Fell and Rock Climbing Club gifted land including the peaks of Great Gable, Kirk Fell and Glaramara to the National Trust in memory of the members of the Club who had perished in World War 1. The small church at Wasdale Head, dedicated to St Olaf, is furnished with a stained glass window also dedicated by the Fell and Rock Climbing Club in memory of WW1 victims, with the inscription 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength' (PIC).

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Although in contemporary taste Wasdale is considered to be one of the finest landscapes in Britain, it did not feature strongly in Picturesque interest in the Lake District. This may have been in part due to its remote location on the west side of the region. Wasdale is not included in Thomas West's Guide to the Lakes but the comments of a later commentator, Thomas Wilkinson in 1824, give an indication of the likely reaction to the valley from an 18<sup>th</sup> century Picturesque perspective: "When people go forth to see the world they are sometimes in search of beauty. If beauty is the leading object of their search, they need not go to Wast Water. The prominent features round Wast Water are sternness and sterility..."

Formal landscaping which might be attributed to a Picturesque sensibility are the grounds around Wasdale Hall, a mansion at the foot of the lake built by Stansfield Rawson, a wealthy Yorkshire banker (PIC). The property was purchased in 1811 and Rawson immediately began an extensive programme of tree planting. These included many exotic as well as native species and this landscaping was intended to form a landscape backdrop to the house, which was completed in 1829. This was followed by further work including the creation of gardens and further planting. William Wordsworth knew the Rawsons through Stansfield's mother and visited Wasdale Hall in 1832.

The coastal plain at the end of Nether Wasdale was favoured in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by wealthy shipping families from Whitehaven for building large country residences. These include Greenlands, an 18<sup>th</sup> century farmhouse extended in 1820 for Thomas Brocklebank and Steelfield Hall at Gosforth, built in 1840 for Sir Humphrey Senhouse. Gosforth Hall is earlier, dating from 1658 and altered in 1673. (PIC)

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

The Romantic view of Wastwater, as expressed by Wordsworth, Coleridge and others was very different to the Picturesque perspective. Wordsworth described the lake as "*long, narrow, stern and desolate*", but also points out

that it is “*well worth the notice of the traveller who is not afraid of fatigue; no part of the country is more distinguished by sublimity*”. Coleridge’s eloquent description has been noted above, deriving from his walking tour of 1802.

In the summer of 1809 Wordsworth visited the lake on a fishing and camping expedition along with de Quincy and John Wilson, editor of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh* magazine and a minor poet. Wilson’s poem *The Angler’s Tent* describes this trip and includes some lines by Wordsworth describing

“*The placid lake that rested far below  
Softly embosoming another sky*”.

When Wordsworth began his first version of the **Guide** in 1810 to accompany Joseph Wilkinson’s set of prints of the region (and published as **Select Views in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire** London, 1810), he drew attention to the screes of Wasdale and their distinctive colour tones:

*‘This is a very striking feature: for these steeps, or screes (as places of this kind are named), are not more distinguished by their height and extent, than by the beautiful colours with which the pulverized rock, for ever crumbling down their sides, overspreads them. The surface has the apparent softness of the dove’s neck, and ... resembles a dove’s neck strongly in its hues, and the manner in which they are intermingled.’*

(Prose II. p278-79) (PIC)

On Thursday morning, August 5 1802 Coleridge ‘left T. Tyson’s at Wastdale Head where I had been most hospitably entertained’ (1214 2.10). He and Wordsworth had stayed with Thomas Tyson on their tour of 1799 and now, before he set off for the next dramatic section of his walking tour, he was given valuable information about the Scafells and recommended to stay at an ancient Lake District farm in Eskdale - Taw House – which was farmed by a relative of Tyson.

Throughout his journey, Coleridge had benefited from the intimate knowledge of shepherds and farmers for this route planning. His notebook interpretations were indebted to these men. The Tysons, in particular, were a widespread and important farming family in the Lake District with many descendents living in the region today. They were well established in Irton, Birker, Egremont and in Eskdale by Elizabeth I’s reign, and in 1578 a John Tyson became a tenant as Wasdalehead where they became strongly represented over the next 250 years as they were in Ennerdale, Eskdale, the Duddon and the Langdales.

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

The beauty and intrinsic value of the cultural landscape of Wasdale attracted concern for its preservation from an early period. Early moves to protect the valley and its farms comprised purchase of properties by concerned individuals, including the acquisition just after WW1 of land at Wasdale Head (including Burnthwaite) by Herbert Walker, a local businessman who was concerned about the potential threat of afforestation.

The National Trust has also purchased farms in Wasdale in order to protect the landscape including Row Head, bought at auction in 1962 with funds from a

legacy, and Bowderdale more recently. The Trust was also gifted farms in the valley from the Lake District Farm Estates when the company was wound up in 1977, including Harrowhead, Nether Wasdale and Gill, Broadgap and Buckbarrow in Wasdale. Middle Row and Wasdale Head Hall farms were gifted to the Trust by the state under the National Land Fund procedures (from the Leconfield Estate in lieu of death duties) for “permanent preservation”. The Nether Wasdale Estate, comprising 6 square kilometres, also came to the Trust under the National Land Fund in 1964 and the Leconfield Commons, comprising 123 square kilometres of fell land on the north side of Wasdale was given by the State to the National Trust in 1979.

A more recent issue was the attempt by British Nuclear Fuels to raise the level of Wastwater and to increase the abstraction water for the nuclear plant at Sellafield. Wastwater had been used a water supply for industrial purposes since WW2 and this continued at the same level with the construction of the nuclear reactor at Calder Hall. In 1979, parallel with the proposals to raise the level of Ennerdale Water, British Nuclear Fuels Ltd put forward a proposal to increase abstraction from Wastwater threefold. This would have involved construction of a weir or dam and other engineering works. A strong and vociferous group of objectors including local farming families in the valley, National Trust, Friends of the Lake District, the Youth Hostels Association and a large number of amenity groups, mounted a successful campaign against the proposals which were rejected by the Secretary of State for the Environment following a public enquiry.

## The Ennerdale Valley

*“Next comes in view Ennerdale, with its lake of bold and somewhat savage shores”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

Ennerdale, the valley of the River Ehen, runs in a north-westerly direction from the back of Great Gable towards the Cumbrian coastal plain. The geology underlying the valley and surrounding fells comprises volcanic rocks of the Borrowdale Series at the head of the valley, granite in the central portion, and Skiddaw slates in the lower valley. Ennerdale Water (**PIC**), the lake occupying the central and lower parts of Ennerdale, was formed through glacial action and other remnants of this process include a fine series of rounded moraines at the head of the valley, at Black Sail. Ennerdale water is one of the smaller lakes in the region, with a maximum width of 1.5 km and a length of 3.9 km. It is also relatively shallow, but nonetheless has a resident population of arctic char.

The river running into Ennerdale from the fells to the east is named the River Liza, and below the lake this becomes the River Ehen. The valley is narrow in its upper reaches, overlooked by the high peaks of Great Gable, Kirk Fell, Pillar (**PIC**) and High Stile. Access to Ennerdale is easiest from the western end, but the head of the valley is crossed by one of the major Lakeland mountain routes, approaching from Wasdale over Black Sail Pass and continuing on to Buttermere over Scarth Gap.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The pattern of settlement and land use in Ennerdale stands in stark contrast to the majority of large valleys in the Lake District, as it has relatively little settlement and early enclosure. The blanket of commercial conifer forest which was established by the Forestry Commission from the 1920s has also served to obscure the remains of earlier land use.

There is some evidence for early settlement Ennerdale, with the remains of at least one enclosed settlement of the Romano-British period in the valley (**PIC**). Some of the place names, including the name of the valley itself and the rivers which flow through it have Norse origins and it is likely that Norse immigrants settled here in the later 10<sup>th</sup> century. There are stone footings of rudimentary structures high up on the southern slopes of Ennerdale, at Deep Gill, which may represent the remains of summer shielings of this period, used as part of a system of transhumance. However the earliest documented settlement dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with a record of a *vaccary* (dairy farm) at Gillerthwaite in 1322, just beyond the head of the lake. A number of archaeological remains in the vicinity of the modern farm may represent this early phase of settlement and agriculture.

The upper reaches of Ennerdale, beyond Ennerdale Water, appear to have remained relatively unenclosed throughout the medieval period. An exception to this is Side Wood, on the southern slopes of the valley, a large stone

walled enclosure which functioned as a deer park (PIC). In contrast, the pattern of small, irregular fields on the northern side of the head of the lake are typical of the pattern of single, ancient farms more typical of the Lakeland valleys. It was not until the 1870s that Ennerdale was enclosed, with the pattern of large, ruler-straight enclosures, bounded with iron posts and wire, which are typical of that late period. This was one of the last major acts of enclosure to take place in England. A Herdwick flock was established at the valley head by Lord Lonsdale, with a bothy for his shepherds at Black Sail – this structure later becoming one of the most remote Youth Hostels in England (PIC). However following economic depression over the next 50 years, the land in Ennerdale was bought by the Forestry Commission for commercial conifer plantation.

### **Agriculture**

Until the sale of the valley to the Forestry Commission Ennerdale had an important place in the tradition of Herdwick livestock in the Lake District. The farm at Gillerthwaite was one of the three or four most important sources of Herdwick tups for the whole of the Herdwick range and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an annual sheep fair was held at Ennerdale Bridge on the second Tuesday in September. In addition, Gillerthwaite farm held its own annual sale of “draft sheep from the coves” which it held by the side of Ennerdale Water, at Bowness Knott. An annual Ennerdale Show is still held in the last week of August (PIC).

### **Industry**

Apart from limited slate quarrying, the principal industrial activity in Ennerdale has been the mining and smelting of iron ore. Mineralisation associated with the Ennerdale granosphere has produced sources of haematite in the valley which were exploited from an early period. A number of medieval bloomeries have been identified and investigated around the lake and radiocarbon dating has indicated that smelting took place from at least as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A series of small stone huts are located at Smithy Beck, dating from the late medieval period, which may have housed miners or iron workers (PIC).

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

There are no buildings or landscapes associated with the Picturesque movement in Ennerdale.

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Ennerdale is the location which informs the narrative of Wordsworth’s poem **The Brothers** (1800) and through which he demonstrates the time-depth of the pastoral system in Lake District valleys. The Ewebank family of Ennerdale were of particular interest to Wordsworth because of his awareness of and interest in the challenges facing Lake District’s hill farmers.

In **The Brothers** he famously begins by pointing to the gulf between picturesque-obsessed tourists and the valley farmers:

*‘Perched on the forehead of a jutting crag,  
Pencil in hand and book upon the knee,*

*Will look and scribble, scribble on and look,  
Until a man might travel twelve stout miles,  
Or reap an acre of his neighbour's corn.'*

**The Brothers (1800), 6-10**

The poem, through the story of a returning local man who, for a while, remains a 'stranger' and through a conversation with the Priest of Ennerdale, opens a window into the culture of this family which has been making and maintaining this place for at least five generations, since approximately 1650. This is a community in which the struggles of sustaining life in the valleys and hills had their tragic outcomes:

*'-and old Walter,  
They left to him the family heart, and land  
With other burthens than the crop it bore.  
Year after year the old man still kept up  
A cheerful mind,- and buffeted with bond,  
Interest, and mortgages; at last he sank  
And went into his grave before his time'. (210-16)*

After Walter died, *'the estate and house were sold'* (301)

*'...and all their sheep  
'A pretty flock, and which, for aught I know,  
Had clothed the Ewbanks for a thousand years:-  
Well – all was gone, and they were destitute...'*

(301-04)

(Terry McCormick - *The Ewebank family worked ????? Farm and they are buried in Ennerdale Churchyard (I am checking this out with Will Rawling, late June/early July).*

There is also, in this poem, a distinctive reference to The Pillar where, as part of the narrative a young shepherd, died while sleepwalking.

When Coleridge and Wordsworth toured the Lake District in 1799, Coleridge remarked upon Ennerdale and its island and then, later, Wordsworth echoes his friend's note in his **Guide** including another echo of Milton's **Paradise Lost** XI.835:

*'In the bosom of the lakes Ennerdale and Devockwater is a single rock, which,  
owing to its neighbourhood to the sea, is-  
"The haunt of cormorants and sea-mews' clang"*

*a music well suited to the stern and wild character of the several scenes!*

(Prose, II. p184)

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

The acquisition of Ennerdale by the Forestry Commission in 1925 and the extensive planting of conifers that followed sparked off a wave of protests that culminated in the 1936 Agreement with the Forestry Commission that excluded such planting from the central Lakeland Fells (**See Section 3a Commercial Forestry in the Lake District**). The agreement included the exclusion of forestry from a small area at the head of Ennerdale, at Black Sail and the Forestry Commission also transferred around 1,400 hectares of non-plantable high land around Ennerdale, including Pillar, to the National Trust **(PIC)**.

However the early conservation lobby had been mobilised much earlier, in 1883, when proposals were put forward to construct a railway line through the valley. This was opposed strongly by Canon Rawnsley and the Lake District Defence Society and an ironic poem was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

*Wake, England, wake! 'tis now the hour  
To sweep away this black disgrace –  
The want of locomotive power  
In so enjoyable a place.*

The history of protest against the raising of Ennerdale Water also has a long history following the building of a shallow weir in 1864 to raise the level and supply the town of Whitehaven. In the 1940s Whitehaven Corporation, then a Water Authority) obtained a Water Order to raise the level still further. The farm at Mireside was bought by Lake District Farm Estates in 1941 to try to prevent this but due to economic factors it was not implemented. Mireside was later gifted to the National Trust. A further scheme was proposed in the 1960s, but a major threat arose in 1978 when the North West Water Authority proposed a £2.2 million scheme to raise the water level. The scope of the public enquiry that followed was extended to include a proposal by British Nuclear Fuels to abstract water from Wastwater. Following widespread protests, the scheme was refused planning consent and has not been implemented.

In 2000 the three major landowners in Ennerdale – the Forestry Commission, The National Trust and United Utilities PLC – together formed the Wild Ennerdale project as a new initiative for managing the valley. This initiative has built on the change in Forestry Commission policy towards its estates following the fall in the value of timber and development of the Commission's objectives regarding conservation and access. It seeks to manage the Ennerdale valley as a unique place allowing natural forces to become more dominant in the shaping of the landscape and the ecology and therefore providing an inspirational visitor experience and special conservation habitats.

## The Buttermere, Crummock, and Loweswater Valleys

*“The vale of Buttermere, with the lake and village of that name, and Crummock-water, beyond, next present themselves. We will follow the main stream, the Coker, through the fertile and beautiful vale of Lorton, until it is lost in the Derwent, below the noble ruins of Cockermouth Castle”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The head of the long valley containing the three lakes of Buttermere, Crummock Water and Loweswater lies beneath the imposing bulk of Fleetwith Pike in the west (PIC). Its shape and character has been dictated by glacial action which created a deep U-shaped trough at Honister Hause that gradually broadens out as the valley passes to the northwest. Buttermere and Crummock Water lie constricted between high crags, including High Stile and Melbreak on the south side and Robinson and Grasmoor on the north (PIC). In the lower valley, around Loweswater, the terrain is less severe with lower fells and a wider valley floor (PIC). The underlying geology is almost entirely Skiddaw slates, with the Ennerdale granosphere touching on the west side of Crummock Water. Glacial erosion has therefore produced more rounded peaks than those formed from the harder volcanic rocks of the central Lakeland fells.

The main route into Buttermere from the west runs over Honister Hause, at a height of over 300 metres above sea level while at the northwest end there is easier access from the Cumbrian coastal plain and Lorton Vale. At Buttermere another high pass route adjoins from the north, over Newlands Hause.

Woodland is relatively scarce in the valley and there are only two substantial areas of ancient woodland, Burtness Wood on the south side of Buttermere and Lanthwaite Wood at the head of Crummock Water (PIC).

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early human activity in Buttermere is evidenced by the presence of panels of rock art of Neolithic or Bronze Age date (PIC) and enclosed settlements of the later prehistoric period at Lanthwaite Green and Lambing Knott, Gatesgarth. The remains of early medieval settlement are found at Rannerdale and Scale Beck, on opposite sides of Crummock Water (PIC). The remains of a medieval Pele tower at Lorton Hall are incorporated into later 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century additions.

### Agriculture

The pattern of the agricultural landscape from Buttermere to Loweswater is varied and reflects hundreds of years of development. There is documentary evidence for a *vaccary* (dairy farm) at Gatesgarth, at the head of the valley, in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century and recent archaeological excavation discovered the remains of a longhouse of this period adjacent to the modern farm. Large stone walled intakes on either side of the head of the valley are also likely to date from this period.

On the flat delta between the lakes of Buttermere and Crummock Water, the existing field system represents the remains of a medieval open field which was subdivided with stone walls in later periods (PIC). Small irregular fields and individual groups of farm buildings at Buttermere and Rannerdale comprise a typical Lake District pattern of single, ancient farms and there are much more extensive areas of this in the wider part of the valley around Loweswater and into Lorton Vale. Extensive areas of fell land on the west side of Crummock Water were subject to parliamentary enclosure, but the stone walled parcels are so large that the feel of open fell is retained (PIC). The fell on the east side of the valley is largely unenclosed.

Despite modern developments, the pastoral character of the Buttermere valley remains intact, with sheep farming still the principal occupation. Gatesgarth farm is one of the most important Herdwick farms in the Lake District, and remains the largest still in private hands (PIC).

### **Industry**

The presence of haematite on the west side of the valley resulted in limited mining and iron production from the medieval period, and there is evidence for charcoal production in the local woods (which were more extensive in former times). However the principal industry, dominating the head of the valley at Honister Hause, was the mining and processing of slate (see Fells section above).

### **Buildings and settlement**

Although the settlement pattern in the valley is based predominantly on single farms, a small village has developed from medieval origins at Buttermere. (PIC) Here the route to Newlands adjoins from the north and the arable potential of the flat delta between Buttermere and Crummock Water is greater than in other parts of the valley. (PIC) There are many examples of 17<sup>th</sup> century farmhouse groups in this area including a fine example at Low Hollins with an inscribed date stone over the entrance of 1687. (PIC)

Later buildings of note include the church of St James in Buttermere, a local landmark dating from 1840 and Lorton Park, a classic early 19<sup>th</sup> century villa with a parkland setting, summer house and rare smokehouse for fish and hams. (PIC)

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Buttermere attracted the attention of early guidebook authors including West, who was most taken with Buttermere and especially the view above Gatesgarth:

*“Here the rocky scenes and mountain landscapes are diversified and contrasted with all that aggrandizes the object in most sublime style, and constitutes a picture the most enchanting of any in these parts.”*  
Thomas West **A Guide to the Lakes** (1778)

West also described three specific views around Loweswater to which Crosthwaite later added a series of six viewing stations for all three lakes (Map...Crosthwaite map of Buttermere etc)

## ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Wordsworth and Coleridge visited Buttermere and Lorton on their 1799 walking tour. In his Notebook Coleridge describes:

*“a yew prodigious in size & complexity of numberless branches [that] flings itself on one side entirely over the river, the Branches all verging waterward over the field it spreads 17 strides – On its branches names numberless carved”.*

This is the same yew tree that is celebrated in Wordsworth’s poem ‘**Yew Trees**’:

*“There is a Yew-tree, pride of Lorton Vale,  
Which to this day stands single in the midst  
Of its own darkness, as it stood of yore”*

On the same journey, Coleridge gives a vivid description of Grasmoor, “*a most sublime Crag, of a violet colour, patched here & there with islands of Heath plant - & wrinkled & guttered most picturesquely*”.

But this is nothing compared with his dramatic account of Scale Force, south of Crummock Water:

*“the chasm thro’ which it flows, is stupendous – so wildly wooded that the mosses & wet weeds & perilous Tree increase the Horror of the rocks which ledge only enough to interrupt not stop your fall - & the Tree – O God! to think of a poor Wretch hanging with one arm from it”.*

Buttermere became briefly famous in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of an unfortunate episode concerning a renowned local beauty, Mary Robinson. Mary, the ‘Maid of Buttermere’, was the daughter of the innkeeper at the Fish Inn in Buttermere and was seduced in 1802 by a confidence trickster and bigamist named John Hatfield. Hatfield was subsequently tried and hanged at Carlisle but the case attracted the attentions of the Romantic poets de Quincy, Coleridge and Wordsworth. Wordsworth and his sister visited Hatfield in gaol in Carlisle on their way to Scotland, and Wordsworth recalls the case in *The Prelude*. The Fish Inn is still operating as a hostelry in Buttermere **(PIC)**.

## EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES

The first major conservation issue affecting Buttermere was the proposal in 1881-3 for a railway from Keswick to Buttermere, to serve the slate quarries at Honister. A great campaign of opposition was mounted, led in part by Canon Rawnsley, one of the founders of the National Trust. The objectors based their opposition on the likely detrimental effect of a railway on the landscape beauty of the area, which was a difficult position to adopt in an age of railway mania. A parliamentary Bill was submitted in 1883, but the protests were successful and a key victory in the protection of the Lake District landscape was achieved.

The spectacular beauty of this valley also led to early acquisitions of property by the principal conservation bodies in order to maintain its character. In 1934 one of the major private estates in Buttermere came up for sale, and a

scheme was agreed between the National Trust, Lake District Farm Estates, Balliol College (Cambridge) and a number of private individuals to purchase the land for conservation purposes. Most of the estate was bought by the National Trust, with the remainder purchased by the others who then entered into restrictive covenants with the National Trust in order to control future land use. Between 1935 and 1937 over 1,600 hectares of land, including the key valley head farm of Gaitsgarth, were subject to restrictive covenant agreement.

Also in the 1930s there was protest over the improvement of the road from Borrowdale to Buttermere over Honister House, which would replace a private toll road maintained by the Buttermere Slate Company. The scheme was proposed by the County Council in the face of strong opposition from the local Borrowdale and Cockermouth councils, the National Trust and a range of other conservation bodies. The road was eventually built, but further widening further down the valley was prevented by the purchase of Rannerdale farm in 1938 by Lake District Farm Estates. Rannerdale was later donated to the National Trust (PIC).

## The Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite Valley

*“Lastly, Borrowdale, of which the vale of Keswick is only a continuation, stretching due north, brings us to a point nearly opposite to the vale of Winandermere with which we began”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The River Derwent runs south to northwest through the long conjoined valley system of Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite, forming the lakes of Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake where glacial action and subsequent erosion and deposition have left barriers to impede its flow. Its tributaries rise in the high central fells of the Lake District, in the area of the highest recorded rainfall in England. Numerous becks including Styhead Gill, Grains Gill and Langstrath Beck fall down the slopes at the head of Borrowdale to be joined by Watendlath Beck and the River Greta, both flowing from the east.

The small valleys at the head of Borrowdale, comprising Seathwaite and Langstrath, are narrow and constrained by high fells on either side. The early stages of the River Derwent are also constricted around the volcanic mass of Castle Crag, an area known as the ‘Jaws of Borrowdale’ (PIC) but the valley suddenly opens out around the broad expanse of Derwentwater. Although the surrounding fells here are relatively low, the long rolling ridge of Cat Bells and Maiden Moor on the west and rocks of Walla Crag on the east continue the feel of mountain grandeur. (PIC)

The flat marshy delta between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake has formed since the glacial period, dividing what was once one large body of water. (PIC) The valley at this point widens out where it is joined on the east by the valley of the River Greta and from the southwest by the small side valley of Newlands. This entire scene is overlooked by the rolling bulk of Skiddaw on the northern edge, which is formed from much older and softer slate than the jagged Borrowdale Volcanic crags surrounding upper Borrowdale. The valley enclosing Bassenthwaite Lake is steep on the west but much more open on the east where the high mass of Skiddaw Forest gives way to the flatter land around the margins of the lower lake.

Upper Borrowdale is approached from Buttermere in west over the heights of Honister Hause and from the south over the passes of Sty Head and Esk Hause. The route from Thirlmere in the east passes over Armboth Fell to arrive in the small hanging valley of Watendlath. The valley of the River Greta forms a significant corridor route into Borrowdale from the east and the routes from the northern end of the valley lead to the Cumbrian coastal plain.

The upper reaches of Borrowdale and the shore of Derwentwater are covered in extensive stands of native oak woodland which increase the enclosed feel of the ‘Jaws of Borrowdale’. (PIC) The valley has many old pollarded trees and three of the ‘fraternal’ Borrowdale yews, dating back to c. 500 AD and referred to by William Wordsworth in 1826, still survive. (PIC) Although there is some native woodland around the margins of Bassenthwaite Lake, the character of

this part of the valley is dominated by the large stands of conifer plantation on the slopes above the western shore and on the Dodd on the eastern side of the lake.

Borrowdale is also rich in other notable landscape features including spectacular waterfalls at Sour Milk Gill and Lodore, the Bowder Stone (a massive glacial boulder beloved of tourists) and the numerous heavily wooded islands in Derwentwater. **(PICs)** Some of the most famous views in the whole of the Lake District can also be found here, including the views of Borrowdale from Ashness Bridge **(PIC)** and Crow Park (in Keswick) **(PIC)** and Friars Crag on Derwentwater, bought as a memorial to John Ruskin and now owned by the National Trust.

### **FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite have been settled from at least as early as the Neolithic period (from 4000 BC) and one of the best known British megalithic monuments dating from this period, the stone circle at Castlerigg, is located just to the east of Keswick. **(PIC)** This was one of the first archaeological sites to be legally protected under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1888 and was another early acquisition by the National Trust. Many stone axes of this period have also been found in the area, including a hoard of unfinished implements from Portinscale. Other early monuments include the small hillforts at Castle Crag in Borrowdale and Castle How by Bassenthwaite Lake, which may date to either the later prehistoric or early medieval periods. The remains of a Roman marching camp have recently been found at Castlerigg, near the site of the stone circle.

The place names in Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite indicate an early British presence (the name 'Derwent' has a British meaning 'abounding in oaks') but those of Scandinavian origin appear to dominate, which suggests that Scandinavian settlement in the valley was extensive. Particularly common are the names that include the element *thwaite*, meaning clearing, which has been strongly associated with low-status settlements in poorer areas of lowland.

Following the Norman invasion of Cumbria in 1092, the Manor of Borrowdale was established which remained intact until in 1195 when Watendlath, Langstrath and part of Stonethwaite were granted to Fountains Abbey by Alice de Rumeli, the granddaughter of the first Norman overlord. Furness Abbey bought the remainder of the Manor in 1209. Taxes formerly paid to the Norman overlord were now paid to the abbey and from the last years of the twelfth century onwards the monks drained and cultivated the land, possibly building the first field walls. They also cleared great areas of waste for pastoral farming, converting large tracts of fell into pasture. Although the emphasis was on wool, rye, barley and oats were also produced and stored in 'grangia', a term which gave the name to the nearby village of Grange (on Furness Abbey land). **(PIC)** A thirteenth century grange is also known to have existed in Watendlath which was owned by Fountains Abbey. Pastoral farming in the form of a vaccary, a type of demesne cattle ranch, was in evidence at Stonethwaite in Fountains Abbey land by 1309.

Fine ecclesiastical and defensive architecture of the medieval period are found at Isel, on the Derwent downstream from Bassenthwaite Lake. St Michael's church, Isel dates from the 1130's and Isel Hall is a defended pele tower of the 14<sup>th</sup> century with later Elizabethan and 17<sup>th</sup> century additions.

### **Agriculture**

As in other valleys in the central Lake District, it is likely that in the medieval period, the land in the valley bottom was cultivated in an open, common field. However there is no surviving evidence for a 'ring garth' in the main Borrowdale valley or around Bassenthwaite. In contrast, the remains of two separate 'ring garths' can be traced in the present field system in the side valley of Watendlath. In upper Borrowdale this situation may be in part due to the high incidence of flooding of agricultural land and the subsequent need to frequently rebuild the field walls. In addition, many of the field boundaries here are hedges rather than walls. However it is clear from documentary sources that 'townfields' existed around the small hamlets in upper Borrowdale by the time of the Dissolution. The pattern of enclosed land visible in the valley bottom in Borrowdale today had been established by 1700, modified during the period of prosperity and rebuilding in the late 17<sup>th</sup>/early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (the period of the Estatesmen).

With the exception of the small Watendlath valley, the pattern of small, early intakes on the fellside is not apparent in Borrowdale. Here the intakes are larger and many date from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The substantial boundary wall separating Seatoller Common from the rest of the fellside was definitely established by the 1750s, so it is possible that the intaking of the fellsides at Seathwaite had begun by at least the early part of the eighteenth century, contemporary with that occurring between Rosthwaite and Stonethwaite. It is therefore likely that much of the final intaking in the valley had happened piecemeal by this date.

The final phase of wall-building, comprising the large, straight walled fields on the higher fellsides resulting from planned enclosure was completed by the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus by 1850 the field pattern that we see today in Borrowdale had been established and little has changed in the intervening years. **(PIC)**

Although some of the early field patterns around Bassenthwaite have now been obscured by forestry plantation, the present field system surrounding the village of Bassenthwaite displays the characteristics of an enclosed former townfield. There are also traces of single ancient farms and extensive areas of parkland around Mirehouse at the southern end of Bassenthwaite Lake and Armathwaite Hall at the northern end.

Borrowdale is a great stronghold of the Herdwick sheep breed and there are many important farms in the valley. These include the great dalehead farm in Seathwaite, with 500 ewes recorded in the first flock book of the Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association in 1920. **(PIC)** The same family has farmed here for several generations and Seathwaite was one of the farms acquired by Herbert W. Walker of Whitehaven in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to prevent afforestation. Other significant historic Herdwick farms include Stonethwaite, which in 1320 was a vaccary controlled by Fountains Abbey and Watendlath. **(PIC)**

## Industry

Industry has been an important source of income in the valley from early times and extensive and important remains of mining, quarrying, charcoal production and iron smelting form part of the present landscape. In the medieval period it is likely that iron ore was being mined at Ore Gap on the high slopes of Bowfell and taken down to bloomeries in Langstrath for smelting, using charcoal produced in the local woods. Borrowdale was a key area for the Company of Mines Royal, set up by the English Crown in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and the remains of early copper and lead mines can be seen at Goldscope in the Newlands valley. **(PIC)** The remains of a unique mining operation can be found on the slopes above Seathwaite where 'wad' (pure graphite) was mined from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. **(PIC)** This extremely valuable material was used locally as a black dye for marking sheep but had other uses and Keswick soon became the world centre of pencil manufacturing (from 1792). Graphite was also for casting canon balls and for glazing pottery. The last working mine in the Lake District was located at Force Crag above the village of Braithwaite where barites was mined until 1990. This site is protected as a scheduled ancient monument and is owned and managed by the National Trust. **(PIC)**

The woollen industry was also important from the medieval period with several mills in Keswick and other parts of the valley. An important group of post medieval mill buildings can be seen at Millbeck on the slopes of Skiddaw, between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake. **(PIC)** Millbeck Towers, a former carding mill converted to a fine house in Art Nouveau style, has been gifted to the National Trust along with a number of other small buildings connected with the mill.

## Buildings and settlement

The walls and farm buildings in Borrowdale are constructed from local slate and the valley has numerous fine examples of Lake District vernacular style. Important groups of 17<sup>th</sup> century vernacular buildings can be seen at Grange, Watendlath and Rosthwaite. **(PIC)** Typical packhorse bridges of the period survive at Ashness and Stockley Beck south of Seathwaite, and there is a double arched bridge at Grange, rebuilt in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. **(PIC)**

The settlement pattern in Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite comprises a range of small villages and hamlets and the market town of Keswick at the northern end of Derwentwater. The name Keswick comes from the two Anglian words 'cese' and 'wic' meaning 'cheese farm' and is first documented in a mid-13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript from Fountains Abbey. A church has stood on the site of present-day St Kentigern's Church at Crosthwaite since the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the settlement of Keswick was already well established by the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. **(PIC)**

Keswick is a historic market town with a market charter dating back to 1276. Furness Abbey, founded in 1127, influenced the 13th century economy of Keswick and Borrowdale through its purchase of lands into which the Cistercian monks introduced large flocks of sheep, establishing a trade in wool. **(PIC)** Keswick increasingly became the economic centre for the locality, based on wool, leather and farm products. In the mid-16th century,

the Company of Mines Royal constructed a large smelter at Brigham, on the eastern side of Keswick, fuelled by timber from local woodland. The Moot Hall of 1813, in the centre of the marketplace, was built on the site of the counting house of the Company of Mines Royal of the 1570s. (PIC)

As is typical of this form of settlement it was (until relatively recently) a compact town made up of burgage plots around the market place, a pattern which can still be seen today through the thin and varied buildings fronting the market square with longer yards to the rear.

From the 16th to the 18th Century the town's population increased due to trade, commerce, water powered industries and mining in surrounding areas, although the town itself remained compact. By the 18th Century, Keswick was the principal trading centre of the textile industry in the northern Lake District. The town developed gradually often through the infilling of the long rear yards of the burgage plots with small houses and workshops built to the rear of the buildings fronting the market. This development trend is still apparent in the numerous yards and courts off the market place.

In the late 18th century Keswick began to develop as a tourist centre for the moneyed, leisured and educated visitors who were interested in the contemplation of lake and mountain scenery attracted by guide books and poems written about the vale of Keswick in the later 18th century such as that by John Brown and Thomas Gray. The presence of key figures in Keswick including Joseph Pocklington and Peter Crosthwaite generated interest in Keswick for the early visitors and by the end of the 18th century, Keswick had become the first Lakeland tourist resort. In addition to the buildings of accommodation, John Marshall, son of a Leeds linen manufacturer founded the Church of St John, constructed on green fields to the south-east of the town centre. The church, designed by the architect Anthony Salvin, was consecrated in 1838. (PIC)

The single most dramatic development of Keswick came in the 1860s with the introduction of the railway. This enabled the town to develop rapidly and this process saw new housing, styles of architecture and larger cottage industries such as pencil mills, woollens, timber, corn milling and the process of tanning along the River Greta. To meet the growing demands for accommodation for both visitors and local people, public facilities were expanded and improved, and a large residential suburb was created east of the town. Between 1871 and 1901 the population of the town rose from 2,782 to 4,451. By the 1890s the town had taken on a distinctive Victorian character with substantial stone-built hotels, banks, library, post office, police station, courts and a museum. Guest houses and residences were built to cater for the influx of rail-borne visitors and affluent incomers. Fitz Park, designated as 'a pleasure ground and place of recreation', was formally opened in 1887. The Keswick Hotel, built in 1869 next to the railway station, is probably the best surviving reflection of Keswick's confidence and status as a tourist attraction in the later 19th century. (PIC) To the south of Keswick by the bridge is the Keswick School of Industrial Arts founded by Rawnsley in 1893, designed in the Arts and Crafts style. It is now a restaurant but the inscription on the frontage is still visible, reading "The Loving Eye and Patient Hand, Shall Join Together & Bless This Land."

## PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS

The scenic beauty of Borrowdale was one of the key attractions in the Lake District to the visitors of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who came in search of picturesque beauty. It was considered that all the elements of the picturesque were brought together around Keswick with a number of different landscape types and this was noted by Dr John Brown in 1753, who listed them as “beauty, horror and immensity”:

*“...the full perfection of Keswick, consists of three circumstances, beauty, horror, and immensity united...to give you a complete idea of these three perfections, as they are joined in Keswick, would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and Poussin. The first should throw his delicate sunshine over the cultivated vales, the scattered cots, the groves, the lake, and wooded islands. The second should dash out the horror of the rugged cliffs, the steepes, the hanging woods, and foaming waterfalls; while the grand pencil of Poussin should crown the whole, with the majesty of impending mountains”.*  
**(Dr John Brown, 1753, Description of the Vale and Lake of Keswick)**

The landscape of Borrowdale reflects the three divisions noted by Dr Brown which translates from “*beauty, horror and immensity*” to ancient enclosed cultivated landscapes around Keswick, the islands and woods and parkland (beauty), plus Castle Crag and the rocky summits of Borrowdale (horror) and finally the fells of Swinside, Skiddaw and Castle Rigg (immensity).

Thomas West’s guidebook of 1778 identified a series of viewing stations around Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite from which the picturesque beauty of the landscape could be fully appreciated. West’s tour around Derwentwater started at Keswick and worked in a clockwise direction to include 8 viewing stations. A viewing station at each end of the lake (stations II and IV) provided all encompassing views from one end to the other, taking in the islands and the fellsides which formed the amphitheatre around the lake. Station II, in Crow Park on the edge of Keswick viewed down the lake into the “rocky jaws of Borrowdale” and Station IV provided views from Borrowdale northwards to the more gentle landscape around Keswick. To the north of Keswick, Station VII was on the heights of Latrigg and provided views of the entire lake, Keswick and Borrowdale and so covered from one point all the landscape features seen from the other 7 stations. **(PICs)**

West also identified a series of 4 viewing stations around Bassenthwaite Lake, at Armathwaite at the lower end, Scar Ness and Broadness promontories on the eastern shore and at Beck Wythop on the western side. **(PICs)**

The picturesque beauty of Borrowdale soon began to attract some visitors to become permanent residents. One of these was Joseph Pocklington, the son of a Nottinghamshire banker, who bought Derwent Isle in 1778. Here he built a mansion and various follies including a stone circle. The mansion is now owned by the National Trust. **(PIC)** Pocklington also built a house at Portinscale (now a guesthouse) and Barrow House which is now a youth hostel. **(PIC)** The grounds of the latter were furnished with a picturesque waterfall, created by diverting the course of a beck. This was conceived as a rival to the falls at Lodore, which had become a popular tourist attraction.

(PIC) Pocklington established a series of spectacular regattas on Derwentwater which races and mock naval battles.

Other notable houses of this period include Greta Hall in Keswick, a well-proportioned Georgian mansion of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, later occupied by the poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1800 – 1803) and Robert Southey (1803 – 43). (PIC) Mirehouse, on the eastern shore of Bassenthwaite Lake, dates from the 1666, with 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century additions, was the home of John Spedding, who attended Hawkshead school with Wordsworth. Still occupied by the Spedding family, Mirehouse was visited by various literary friends of John's son James (1808 – 1881) including Thomas Carlyle and Tennyson. (PIC)

The construction of mansions and large house by rich industrialists and others continued into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and included Armathwaite Hall at the lower end of Bassenthwaite Lake, a mid 19<sup>th</sup> century mansion built for the Fletcher-Vane family, and Underscar Manor, an Italianate style mansion on the lower slopes of Skiddaw, built in 1860.

### ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Keswick and Borrowdale have many connections with the Lakes poets and other major literary and artistic figures of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries with a number of surviving residences and a great number of landscape features which provided inspiration for their work.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge lived at Greta Hall in Keswick from 1800 to 1803 and the Wordsworths visited on numerous occasions. Greta Hall is now a private residence. Robert Southey took up residence at Greta Hall following Coleridge's departure from the Lake District in 1803 and lived there with both his family and Coleridge's until his death in 1845. Southey is buried in Crosthwaite churchyard where his memorial is inscribed with verses by Wordsworth. In 1803 Wordsworth was given land at Applethwaite, just north of Keswick, by Sir George Beaumont, who wanted to enable him to live near his friend Coleridge. Although Wordsworth never built here, he wrote the sonnet "**At Applethwaite, near Keswick**" to commemorate the gift and his descendents later built the slate cottage which now occupies the site.

In addition to Coleridge and Southey, the Wordsworths had other friends in Keswick including William's benefactor, Raisley Calvert. Calvert lived at Windy Brow (now the Calvert Trust Riding Centre for the Disabled) and William and Dorothy Wordsworth stayed here in April 1794 and in early 1795 when Calvert was terminally ill. Calvert left money to William, which allowed him to live independently at Grasmere and in response to this generosity he wrote the sonnet "**To the Memory of Raisley Calvert**". The Wordsworths continued to visit the woods at Windy Brow, often with Coleridge, and constructed a seat there for which both poets wrote sonnets.

The poet Shelley and his wife lived (briefly) at Shelley Cottage, Keswick, over the winter of 1811/12 and Shelley, like Coleridge, undertook solitary rambles and drew inspiration from the Lake District landscape. He wrote the poems "**Mother and Son**" and "**The Devil's Walk**" while resident in Borrowdale.

Local settings feature briefly in Mary Shelley's **Frankenstein** and **The Last Man**.

In his **Guide Through the District of the Lakes** (1835), Wordsworth commented that Derwentwater was:

*"distinguished from all other Lakes by being surrounded with sublimity: the fantastic mountains of Borrowdale to the south, the solitary majesty of Skiddaw to the north, the bold steepes of Wallow-crag and Lodore to the east, and to the west the clustering mountains of New-lands."*

Having settled in Keswick, Coleridge's **Notebooks** are, unsurprisingly, full of references to the surrounding fells, notably Skiddaw and the sometimes dramatic cloud formations that grace its summit:

*"As we turned round on our return, we see a moving pillar of clouds, flame & smoke, rising, bending, arching, and in swift motion – from what God's chimney doth it issue?"*

Skiddaw also features in a number of Wordsworth's poems, notably the sonnet '**Pelion and Ossa Flourish Side by Side**', in which he compares it favourably with Parnassus and the mountains of Ancient Greece.

The Falls of Lodore were celebrated in poems by Wordsworth ('**An Evening Walk**') and Southey ('**The Cataract of Lodore**'). In his '**Don Espriella**', Southey references Lodore and the nearby Bowder Stone.

In 1833, Wordsworth wrote a number of poems to commemorate a tour of Cumbria, the Isle of Man and Scotland. These included a homage to the River Greta – "*Greta, what fearful listening! When huge stones / Rumble along thy bed, block after block*".

With regard to Borrowdale, Wordsworth's poem '**Yew Trees**' celebrates the yew that is "*Pride of Lorton Vale*", but goes on to observe that:

*"worthier still of note  
Are those fraternal Four of Borrowdale,  
Joined in one solemn and capacious grove;"*

The yews described by Wordsworth were damaged in a storm in 1833 and replaced by those that stand there today.

A later famous literary figure who lived in Borrowdale and set his novels against local scenery was the novelist Hugh Walpole (1884 – 1941). Walpole lived at Brackenburn on the slopes of Catbells and is buried in St John's churchyard in Keswick.

On his 1799 walking tour, Coleridge stayed at Ouse Bridge at the head of Bassenthwaite. His **Notebook** records:

*"from the Inn Window, the whole length of Basenthwait, a simple majesty of water & mountains - / & in the distance the Bank rising like a wedge - & in the*

*second distance the Crag of Derwentwater / What an effect of the Shadows on the water!"*

## **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

Borrowdale has a particularly important place in the story of the early conservation movement in the Lake District which continues to the present day. An early environmental battle that was fought and won in Borrowdale was the proposal in 1883 for the Buttermere and Braithwaite Railway from Buttermere to Keswick, primarily to carry slate from the Honister quarries. Canon Rawnsley, who was appointed vicar of Crosthwaite in the same year, was instrumental in organizing letters to the national press, petitions and protest meetings and he soon defeated the Parliamentary Bill that had been tabled. The Lake District Defence Society was also established in 1883 and other successful campaigns in the valley included the prevention of a proposed road over Sty Head Pass to link Keswick with Wasdale and the west coast.

In 1885 two local landowners closed paths at Fawe Park at the northwest corner of Derwentwater and Spooney Lane leading to Latrigg, north of Keswick. **(PIC)**Rawnsley revived the Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association and following a campaign which included a mass trespass in 1887 on the disputed route from Keswick to Latrigg, public access to the routes was restored in 1888.

Rawnsley was one of the key people behind the formation of the National Trust in 1894 and the Trust's earliest land acquisitions in the Lake District were in the valley. Borrowdale is today one of the key components of the National Trust's Lake District estate and its actions over the last century have helped to maintain the distinctive rural character of the valley together with preservation of archaeological and industrial monuments and securing public access.

The first act of the National Trust in the Lake District was to collect subscriptions for the erection of a memorial to John Ruskin on Friars Crag, Derwentwater in 1900 (the remainder of Friars Crag was purchased by the Trust in 1921 as a memorial to Rawnsley). **(PIC)**This was followed in 1900-1 by the purchase of part of the Derwentwater lake shore at Brandlehow, again following a public appeal. **(PIC)**This was purchased for public access as the remainder of the shore was at that time in private hands. Most of the remaining lake shore was purchased over the next 20 years. The Trust later acquired the western lake bed of Derwentwater and the remaining privately owned islands in the lake in 1958.

Further early purchases included Manesty Park, south of Brandlehow and in 1909, from the Leconfield Estate, the right to public navigation on Derwentwater. In 1910 the Bowder Stone and Grange Fell were acquired and the Neolithic stone circle at Castlerigg in 1913.

Following the First World War, a number of significant gifts of land in and around Borrowdale were gifted to the National Trust as memorials to the fallen. These included Castle Crag in the 'Jaws of Borrowdale', and much of the high fell land at the southern end of the valley, including Scafell Pike, Great Gable and

Great End. Further significant purchases following a public appeal in 1939 increased the Trust's holdings in central Borrowdale.

During this early period the National Trust, under the strong influence of Rawnsley, also successfully opposed a number of developments that would have damaged the landscape character of the area, including the re-building of the bridges at Portinscale and Grange.

After 1946 the National Trust concentrated on building up a farming estate in Borrowdale. Nook Farm was gifted as a war memorial in 1946 and this was followed in 1949 by Ashness Farm and three further farms at Watendlath in 1960 (Fold Head, Caffle House and Stepps End) which secured the whole of the hanging valley of Watendlath. Seatoller Farm came to the National Trust through National Land Fund procedures in 1958 and as this included the land at Honister Hause, the Trust was in a position to control road improvement over the pass.

In 1977 the farms of Longthwaite and Yew Tree came to the Nation Trust from the winding up of Lake District Farms Estates Ltd and in 1982 the entire holding of Seathwaite Farm was acquired by the National Trust following the gift of the Kingston Lacy Estate in Dorset. This estate included land in Seathwaite and the remains of the valuable Wad Mines.

Following the extensive addition of fell land that came with the gift of the Leconfield Commons in 1980, the National Trust's holdings in Borrowdale are now sufficiently substantial to be termed the 'Borrowdale Estate'.

The majority of the land surrounding Bassenthwaite Lake is either in private hands or owned by the Forestry Commission. Some of the extensive conifer plantations on the western shore, and particularly on the eastern side, on the Dodd, are being felled and converted to native woodland. Recent conservation here has achieved many benefits including improved water quality, increased public access and the return, after many years absence, of nesting ospreys.

## The Thirlmere Valley

“...take a flight of not more than four or five miles eastward to the ridge of Helvellyn and you will look down upon Wytheburn and St. John's Vale...”

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

Visitors to Thirlmere will be impressed chiefly by the narrowness of the valley, the thick cloak of coniferous plantation that covers the ground immediately around the reservoir, and the steep slopes of the Helvellyn massif rising sharply on the eastern side of the valley (PIC). This is the general view from the main road running alongside the reservoir on the east, but a more panoramic view can be gained from Armboth Fell on the west side of the valley, from which one can view the full length of the reservoir with the great mass of Helvellyn behind (PIC).

Thirlmere stretches from the heights of Dunmail Raise at its southern end, through the slight S shape of the main part of the valley and finally through the narrow confines of the Vale of St John (PIC) to meet the valley of the River Greta near Threlkeld. The U-shaped, glacially-sculpted profile of the valley can best be seen on the approach from Dunmail Raise and the steep slopes on both valley sides are striated by substantial becks and waterfalls (PIC). Notable natural features include the Castle Rock of St John, just north of Leburthwaite, sometimes called the Castle Rock of Triermain after Walter Scott's mention of it in his *'Bridal of Triermain'* (QUOTE) (PIC).

The landscape character of Thirlmere was substantially altered in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the construction of the Thirlmere Dam and the conversion of the original, hour-glass shaped lake into a reservoir for the city of Manchester (see Section 3a...) (PIC – print of Thirlmere pre- reservoir/or Thirlmere Bridge by Thomas Allom, 1832). The lake had several names, including Leathes Water, Wythburn Water and Thirlmere Water. Thirlmere's current landscape character is heavily influenced by this 19<sup>th</sup> century re-modelling, which included the planting of conifers in order to reduce soil wash into the reservoir and the construction of roads along each shore. However the remnants of the earlier cultural landscape are still visible and there are substantial stands of ancient broad-leaved woodland in the valley (PIC).

The route into the valley from the south is over the high pass of Dunmail Raise, often closed in winter due to icy conditions, while the two routes out of the valley at the north end lead to Keswick on the west, over Castlerigg Fell and Threlkeld via the Vale of St John.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Evidence for early settlement in Thirlmere is less than in other valleys, in part due to the inundation of the better land in the valley bottom. The famous cairn on the top of Dunmail Raise is reputed to be the burial place of King Dunmail, the last monarch of the early medieval kingdom of Cumbria (PIC). While this is possible, as Dunmail Raise has formed a political boundary for a very long

time (it was at one point the border between England and Scotland and more recently the boundary between the former counties of Cumberland and Westmorland) the cairn may be prehistoric in origin. There is a Bronze Age ring cairn on Armboth Fell, looking out to Helvellyn on the other side of the valley **(PIC)**. The only other significant archaeological site in the valley is the small but heavily defended hillfort at Shoulthwaite **(PIC)**. Radiocarbon dating has demonstrated that this site was occupied during the dark ages in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

### **Agriculture**

The early agricultural landscape of Thirlmere has been largely covered by the reservoir, but remnants of the pattern can be seen around the water's edge and in other parts of the valley. Extensive areas of valley bottom land at the northern end of Thirlmere, in St John's in the Vale and around Naddle to the northwest, are divided into the small irregular stone-walled field characteristic of small, ancient farms. This pattern extends southwards along the valley at Legburthwaite and there is a small area at Wythburn, at the southern end. Larger walled intakes can be seen surrounding the in-bye land at Legburthwaite, running along the lower slopes below Helvellyn **(PIC)**, and also at Wythburn. Other areas of former intake have been covered by conifer plantation.

Although the extent of agricultural land has been reduced in the Thirlmere, it is still the location for possibly the largest Herdwick farm in the Lake District. West Head farm is owned by United Utilities, successor to the Manchester Corporation, and is one of the major producers of quality Herdwick tups in the country **(PIC)**.

### **Industry**

In addition to water abstraction, industrial activity in Thirlmere has also included mining and quarrying. Numerous trials and small workings are scattered throughout the valley, including a copper mine of the Elizabethan period at Thirlspot and the small but spectacularly located lead mine at Wythburn, dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century **(PIC)**. There are numerous small quarries dating from the period of dam construction together with larger examples including the slate quarry at Bell Crag on Armboth fell and the extensive microgranite quarries at Bramcrag, Hilltop and Threlkeld on the east side of St John's in the Vale **(PIC)**.

### **Buildings and settlement**

Settlement in Thirlmere is now dispersed, single farmsteads, with a small hamlet at Legburthwaite. In the past there were more substantial hamlets at The City and around Wythburn, both at the southern end of the valley, but these are now covered by the reservoir. This was also the fate of two of the most substantial houses in the valley, at Armboth and Dalehead Hall.

Key vernacular buildings that have survived include the farmhouse at Bram Crag, of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century with later alterations. A fine packhorse bridge of the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be seen at Sossgill, also in St John's in the Vale. **(PIC)** Wythburn church, at the southern end of Thirlmere, was built in 1640 on the site of an earlier chapel. **(PIC)**

## PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS

No buildings or landscapes of picturesque influence survive in Thirlmere but the valley attracted attention from the guide book authors of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some early descriptions tend to emphasise the wildness of the place, including William Gilpin in 1772:

*“No tufted verdure graces its banks, nor hanging woods throw rich reflections its surface: but every form, which it suggests, is savage, and desolate”.*

Thomas West was not inspired to create a series of viewing stations in Thirlmere, but saw beyond the desolation described by Gilpin, recording that the *“most picturesque point is from an eminence behind Dale Head House”* and that the lake was *“...increased by a variety of pastoral torrents that pour their silver streams down the mountains’ side and then, warbling, join the lake”*. (Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes*, 1778).

## ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Thirlmere was well-known to the Romantic poets as the Wordsworths and Coleridge often met in the valley while travelling between their respective homes in Grasmere and Keswick. The point at which they met was commemorated by a rock known as the ‘Rock Of Names’, upon which were carved the initials of Coleridge, William Wordsworth, his brother John and sister Dorothy, and Mary and Sarah Hutchinson. The original rock was blasted during construction of the reservoir, but pieces of it were rescued by Canon Rawnsley. They are now located outside the Wordsworth Museum in Grasmere. A bronze plaque by the reservoir in Thirlmere commemorates this stone (PIC), which was mentioned by Dorothy Wordsworth in her *Grasmere Journal*.

Perhaps the finest description of Thirlmere was provided by Coleridge in his notebook entry for 23 October 1803:

*“O Thirlmere! – let me some how or other celebrate the world in thy mirror. – Conceive all possible varieties of Form, Fields, & Trees, and naked or ferny Crags – ravines, behaired with Birches – Cottages, smoking chimneys, dazzling wet places of small rock-precipices – dazzling castle windows in the reflection – all these, within a divine outline in a mirror of 3 miles distinct vision!”*

A number of surviving buildings and features have direct associations with the poets and their writing. Wythburn Church was described by Wordsworth in the ‘**The Waggoner**’ as

*“Wytheburn’s modest House of prayer,  
As lowly as the lowliest dwelling” (PIC – WW Trust image of early Wythburn)*

The church, built in 1640 and restored in 1872, contains some bronze work by the Keswick School of Industrial Arts (PIC) and outside is a stone erected by Canon Rawnsley commemorating two walks inspired by the poet Matthew Arnold (PIC). The church formed the spiritual heart of the hamlet of Wythburn which was destroyed by the creation of the reservoir. On the opposite side of the road are the ruins of the Nag’s Head Inn, where Keats slept in June 1818 and which Wordsworth also describes in ‘**The Waggoner**’.

South east of Thirlmere, at Grisedale Tarn, there is the Brothers’ Parting Stone, which marks the place where, in September 1800, Wordsworth (accompanied by

his sister) bid farewell to his brother John. In her **Grasmere Journal**, Dorothy wrote poignantly: “*poor fellow my heart was right sad – I could not help thinking we should see him again because he was only going to Penrith*”. Sadly, it was indeed the last time that they saw each other, as John drowned of the Dorset coast in 1805. Following his death, Wordsworth wrote ‘**Elegiac Verses in Memory of my Brother, John Wordsworth**’, which recalled that 1800 leave-taking.

### **Helvellyn (PIC)**

Wordsworth was a poet much associated with Helvellyn. One of the great portraits of the poet, by Benjamin Robert Haydon, poses him against a backdrop of the mountain, and was painted to commemorate a sonnet that Wordsworth had written to Haydon while climbing Helvellyn in 1840, at the age of seventy.

Forty-one years earlier, on their walking tour of 1799, Wordsworth and Coleridge ascended Helvellyn. In his **Notebook**, Coleridge records the vista of lakes from the summit, including “*Grasmere like a sullen tarn*”, “*luminous Cunneston lake*” and “*the glooming Shadow, Wynandermere with its Island*”.

In **The Prelude**, Wordsworth opens Book VIII, subtitled “*Love of Nature leading to Love of Mankind*”, with this account of Grasmere Fair as seen from the summit:

*“What sounds are those, Helvellyn, that are heard  
Up to thy summit, through the depth of air  
Ascending, as if distance had the power  
To make the sounds more audible? What crowd  
Covers, or sprinkles o'er, yon village green?  
Crowd seems it, solitary hill! to thee,  
Though but a little family of men,  
Shepherds and tillers of the ground--betimes  
Assembled with their children and their wives,  
And here and there a stranger interspersed.  
They hold a rustic fair”*

In August 1805, Wordsworth climbed Helvellyn in the company of Sir Walter Scott and Humphry Davy, and told them the story of a local artist, Charles Gough, who fell to his death from Swirral Edge in the spring of that year. His faithful dog, Foxy, remained watching over its master's body for three months until it was discovered by a shepherd near Red Tarn. Both Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott later wrote poems about the incident, extracts from which appear on a memorial erected near the summit by Canon Rawnsley in 1890.

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

The battle over the construction of the dam and reservoir at Thirlmere was a key event in the history of the environmental movement (see Section 3a....). The landscape that has developed in the valley since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been influenced to a great extent by management of the water resource, including the planting of conifers and the construction of roads around the reservoir. The dam infrastructure itself is now considered to be of historic value, as it was the first English masonry gravity dam and one of only two arch dams in England (ie. similar construction to the Hoover dam) **(PIC)**. Landownership resides in large measure with United Utilities PLC, successor to the City of Manchester Corporation. Management of the valley now includes wider conservation objectives, including the replacement of some

conifers with native broad-leaved species. Greater access is also now afforded to visitors, including use of the reservoir for boats.

## The Ullswater Valley

District "...take a flight of not more than four or five miles eastward to the ridge of Helvellyn and you will look down upon ...Ullswater, stretching to the east..."

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The Ullswater valley contains most of the landscape ingredients which typify the essential character of the Lake District. In its lower sections, Ullswater has relatively wide vistas but these quickly reduce towards the valley head where high crags surround the lake and the smaller side valleys. Ullswater is the second largest of the lakes after Windermere and has a distinctive dog-leg shape, with three distinct reaches over its 14.5 km length. **(PIC)** This pattern is a result of glacial scouring of the valley bottom which now forms the bed of the lake, leaving three discrete basins. The uppermost stretch of Ullswater, around Patterdale, is oriented north-south. The middle section, from Silver Point to Kailpot Crag is oriented east-north-east to west-south-west and the lower section of the lake, to its outflow into the River Eamont, is aligned north-east to south-west.

The topography of the valley is varied due to distinct differences in the underlying geology. The land surrounding the lower lake, from Howtown to Pooley Bridge and along the northern shore from Glencoyne to Watermillock comprises gentle slopes down to the lake, covered in good soils which form the basis of the rich lakeside pastures. **(PIC)** This is based on the more easily eroded geology of the Skiddaw Slates and contrasts with the harder, jagged mountain scenery surrounding the upper lake. Here, a series of small glacially formed valleys splay out like fingers to the west (Glencoyne, Glenridding, Grisedale, Deepdale) to the south (Dovedale) and on the east (Boredale, Bannerdale and Martindale). The small and picturesque lake of Brotherswater covers part of lower Dovedale. **(PIC)**

The northern end of the valley opens out into more rolling open country which also includes a number of small but prominent and shapely fells such as Dunmallard Hill, Great Mell Fell and Little Mell Fell. The latter two are formed from a localized conglomerate geology.

Ullswater provides a major route of access into the central Lake District from Pooley Bridge at its northern end. The principal road follows the northern shore to Patterdale at the head of the lake, and then rises over the heights of Kirkstone Pass to Ambleside and Troutbeck. The route northwards out of the valley joins the natural east-west route of communication between Penrith and Keswick and there are minor routes both east and west from Ullswater over high ground to adjacent valleys.

In the upper valley a number of large becks flow down the fell sides via the side valleys to feed Ullswater. The River Eamont exits from the northern end of Ullswater to join the River Eden east of Penrith. Other notable natural features include the waterfall at Aira Force on the north side of the lake and the various small tarns in the surrounding fells, including Angle Tarn above

Hartsop, (PIC) Grisedale Tarn, Red Tarn below Helvellyn (PIC) and Hayswater (dammed to form a small reservoir).

The Ullswater valley also has extensive areas of native woodland, much of it in former medieval parkland on the northern shore. These include the north facing slopes of Glenamara Park at the head of Ullswater, which provides a spectacular view of the lake, and the ancient parkland around Glencoyne. (PIC) There is also significant native woodland on the southern shore, below Birk Fell, Hallinagh Wood and in Barton Park. There are also areas of conifer plantation around Pooley Bridge, at Swinburn's Park and around Patterdale Hall.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The remains of prehistoric settlement in Ullswater are extensive and span the period from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. The earliest evidence for human activity in the area comprises a significant example of rock art at the head of the valley near Patterdale, which date to the Neolithic or early Bronze Age.

(PIC) Sites of similar date are also found on the high ground of Askham Fell, southeast of Pooley Bridge, including stone circles, a stone alignment, burial cairns and burnt mounds. (PIC)

The evidence for later prehistoric activity is even more extensive and includes an important series of enclosed hut circle settlements and two hillforts at Maiden Castle and Dunmallard Hill. (PIC) The relatively high number of later prehistoric settlements around Ullswater suggests a higher density of occupation than in other valleys in the Lake District, possibly due to the importance of Ullswater as a route of communication and the good agricultural soils around the lower lake.

The Romans constructed marching camps and a fort at Troutbeck, (PIC) just to the northwest of Ullswater, together with roads to connect these with forts at Penrith and Ambleside. The Roman road from Ambleside, known as High Street, was probably constructed along the route of an earlier prehistoric trackway and runs along the tops of the fells on the south-eastern side of Ullswater.

In the early medieval period (6/7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) a monastery was built at Dacre which is mentioned in the writings of the early English historian the Venerable Bede. The site is now occupied by a church dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and there are fragments of carved stone crosses of 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century date and an unusual group of carved stone animals. (PIC) There is another potentially early church site at Barton where the nave and central tower of the present church date from the 12<sup>th</sup> century but the circular form of the churchyard may indicate an ecclesiastical centre of much greater antiquity. (PIC)

Other significant medieval sites include Dacre Castle (14<sup>th</sup> century) and Pele towers at Askham Hall and Hutton John. (PIC) The castle at Dacre is perhaps the finest example of a fortified medieval site in the Lake District and has additions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in medieval style. Askham Hall has a Pele tower of the 14<sup>th</sup> century with additions in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The stately house at Dalemain, with its Elizabethan and Georgian additions, also originated as a medieval tower. (PIC)

## Agriculture

The pattern of agriculture in the Ullswater varies according to the potential afforded by the topography and this variation is reflected in the character of the field systems and enclosures throughout the valley. On a broad scale, the better soils on the gentle slopes on the north shore between Gowbarrow Park and Pooley Bridge supported the development of extensive arable fields which are now under pasture. **(PIC)** This contrasts markedly with the opposite lakeshore where the proximity of steep crags for much of its length reduced the opportunities for anything other than rough grazing. Exceptions to this are the small areas of flatter land at Sandwick and Howtown where fields have been created.

Evidence for the enclosure of former medieval common fields can be seen in the existing pattern of walls around the villages of Hartsop, Patterdale, Pooley Bridge and around Sandwick on the eastern shore. However the pattern of medieval intakes on the fell side of the open fields, so common in other Lake District valleys, is restricted here to the smaller side valleys such as Grisedale and Boredale. In Ullswater the visible pattern of later enclosure is a mixture of the irregular patterns that have developed around single ancient farms (seen on both sides of the lake), former medieval parkland (for example Glenamara, Glencoyne and at the head of Martindale), and the large, regular fields resulting from parliamentary enclosure around the lower lake. This is interspersed with stands of native woodland and ornamental parkland on the lake shore, particularly on the north side at Aira Point and Oldchurch.

Herdwick farming features strongly in Ullswater and the valley contains some of the most significant Herdwick farms, including Hartsop Hall and Glencoyne. **(PIC)** Traditionally some of these have had the largest flocks in the area. William Green included a list of the largest Lake District Herdwick flocks in his *The Tourist's New Guide* of 1819 and noted that Patterdale Hall had a flock of 1700, Glencoyne had 900, and Hartsop Hall had 800. The farm at Glencoyne is one of the largest current Herdwick farms in the Lake District due in part to its large area of enclosed land as well as open fell.

## Industry

The principal industries in the Ullswater valley were lead mining and slate quarrying, and some of the archaeological remains of these are of national significance. Lead mining in the valley probably dates from the medieval period, but the earliest dated feature is a lead smelting site at Hoggett Gill of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. **(PIC)** Large scale lead mining began in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and reached peaks of production in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Important remains survive at Hartsop Hall mine and Myers Head, the latter being a well-preserved example of a late 19<sup>th</sup> century mine (it was rapidly abandoned due to flooding). **(PIC)** However the largest lead mine was at Greenside, west of Glenridding, which operated from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1961. **(PIC)** The impressive remains of adits, wheelpits, processing floors and spoil tips at Greenside provide testimony to a long period of sustained and innovative lead extraction. Greenside was the first metal mine in the UK to adopt electricity for tramming and winding and it adopted the best technology of the time for smelting and silver refining. In the 111 years between 1825 and

1935 the Greenside Company produced over 106,000 tons of lead and the Basinghall Mining Syndicate produced 50,000 tons from 1936 to 1961.

### **Buildings and settlement**

The principal settlements in the Ullswater valley are the villages of Patterdale, at the head of the lake, Glenridding, and Pooley Bridge at the northern end. None of these are particularly large although Pooley Bridge was awarded a market charter in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In addition there are a number of small hamlets located at key positions around the lake, including Sandwick and Howtown on the eastern shore, Dockray and Watermillock on the northern side and Hartsop at the southern end of the valley. (PIC)

To the east of Ullswater the principal villages are Askham and Helton, both laid out on classic medieval plans and surrounded by strip fields fossilized from that period. (PIC)

The principal medieval church for the area was at Barton, to the northeast of Pooley Bridge, and small chapels at Patterdale and Martindale (dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century) served the further reaches of the large parish. Both the chapels have been rebuilt in later periods, the church at Patterdale being constructed in 1853 to a design by the architect Anthony Salvin.

The valley is rich in examples of early vernacular architecture, with several key examples in the hamlet of Harstop, described by William Wordsworth in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century as "*remarkable for its cottage architecture*". Here a fine collection of farmsteads constructed from local slate are positioned along the ancient bridleway from the Kirkstone-Patterdale road to High Street. (PIC) Most of the buildings date from the 'Statesmen' period of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and are classic examples of Lake District vernacular. The buildings are typically constructed from massive stone and slate rubble walls, often white-washed, and roofed in slate with squat chimneys. At least four originally had spinning galleries, of which two survive today. (PIC)

Stone built farmhouses of similar date are scattered throughout Ullswater and its side valleys, including Winter Crag, Hen How and Dalehead in Martindale, the group of farms at the mouth of Deepdale and one of the best farmhouse groups in the valley at Glencoyne. Glencoyne dates from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and features typical white-washed walls, slate roof and massive circular chimneys. It has fine internal wooden fittings and a plaster panel dated 1629. (PIC)

Higher status buildings include Hartsop Hall, dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and twice extended before 1800 and Watermillock House dating from 1686, a good example of high quality architecture of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. (PIC)

Industrial production in the Ullswater valley in the past included both small scale activities and major extractive industries. Many of the native woods in the valley were used for charcoal production and examples of charcoal pitsteads can be seen in Dovedale and Glenamara Park. As was typical for the Lake District valleys, the becks were used to power a variety of mills and the remains of a corn mill survive adjacent to Hartsop. A rather better preserved example of a corn-drying kiln also survives in the hamlet. (PIC)

## PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS

Ullswater was one of the most highly regarded Lake District valleys by lovers of picturesque scenery as its winding course gives rise to a theatrical succession of views. In addition it was easily accessible to the vast majority of visitors due to its close proximity to Penrith, yet its upper reach penetrated deep into some of the most formidable mountain scenery that the Lake District affords. From an early date, therefore, it formed an essential ingredient of a Lake District tour.

Before the vogue for Lake District tourism arose in the second half of the 18th century, Ullswater was little frequented by outsiders. Gentry houses of long standing stood within a few miles of the lower lake at Dalemain, Dacre and Hutton John, but only Watermillock House, the seat of the Robinson family, enjoyed lake views and even here (according to Dorothy Wordsworth) only from the first-floor rooms. (PIC)

Ullswater was not the subject of any formal stations in West's *Guide to the Lakes* although he did recommend visiting it via a couple of different routes in order to see *'The bold winding hills, the intersecting mountains, the pyramidal cliffs, the bulging, broken, rugged rocks, the hanging woods, and the tumbling, roaring cataracts, are parts of the sublimer scenes presented in this surprising vale'*. These dramatic views contrasted with the more cultivated areas *'intersected by hedges, decorated with trees'*. Finding the correct viewpoints was difficult for West. Too high and the lake's lost its 'dignity'; too low and the winding path of the lake could not be appreciated. Gray had already visited in 1769 but West felt that he had missed some of the lakes most picturesque places by not travelling to the south end of the lake which had more curved bays and rocky islands. At the north end, West recommended Dunmallard, an ancient monument, as a good viewing point. (PIC) He then recommended the middle reach of the western shore and Gowbarrow Park which he considered to be the finest part of the lake. Patterdale Hotel formed his next recommendation, then Watermillock for the echo of firing canon. Early tourists were also directed to the ancient deer park at Gowbarrow, which extended along nearly half of the north-western lake shore and included the celebrated waterfall of Aira Force. (PIC) Among the houses that attracted attention were the magnificently isolated farmhouse at Glencoyne, and Patterdale Hall, home of the Mounsey family, so-called 'Kings of Patterdale'.

Ullswater was enjoyed by visitors seeking picturesque scenery for some decades before the first villas were built along its shores. Peter Crosthwaite's map of the lake, first published in 1783, shows Lyulph's Tower, the Gothic hunting lodge of the Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk) in Gowbarrow Park, as well as boat houses belonging to the Robinsons of Watermillock, the Hasells of Dalemain, the Earls of Surrey and the Dukes of Portland. (PIC) Although Lyulph's Tower perpetuated an age-old aristocratic use of the Lake District for hunting grounds (as did some of the boathouses, which were there to assist in conveying hunting parties), its form reflected the new taste for the picturesque: the elevated site and faceted front elevation were calculated to make the most of views up, down and across Ullswater, and the delights of Aira Force were only a stone's throw away.

More conventional villas followed Lyulph's Tower in the 1790s. Among the earliest is Eusemere Hall, (PIC) built by the anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) on an estate acquired in 1795. Situated close to the lake foot, its elongated main front looks directly up the lake towards the distant mountains. At the opposite end of the lake Glenridding, which stands almost directly on the lake shore with a long vista down the lake, was built by the Revd Askew, Rector of Greystoke, some time between 1798 and 1817, and is associated with an attractive lakeside walk. Some of the earliest villas overlooking the upper lake were much more modest 'cottages' such as Goldrill Cottage and Gillside Cottage, both in Patterdale and both occupied, in the first decade of the 19th century, by friends of the Wordsworths. Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals* and the letters of the Wordsworth circle describe numerous visits to them. In 1806 Wordsworth himself purchased a nearby plot of land at the southern end of the lake with the intention of building a house, but the project was abandoned and it was a subsequent owner who erected the present Broad How in the 1830s, shortly after Wordsworth relinquished the land.

In the summer of 1810 John Marshall, flax-spinner of Leeds, and his wife Jane rented Watermillock House, formerly the seat of the Robinsons, for the first of a number of summer visits. Charmed by the area, and the proximity to their friends the Wordsworths, in 1815 they built Hallsteads as a summer residence, capitalising on a point of land (Skelly Nab) benefiting from views along two of Ullswater's three reaches. The Wordsworths were frequent visitors and a nearby house known as Old Church was also acquired to accommodate the overflow when guests were numerous.

As the century advanced the Marshall clan acquired a huge presence in the Lake District landscape, with all of John Marshall's surviving sons being settled in properties of their own. The eldest, William, purchased Patterdale Hall from the Mounseys in 1824, and in 1836 financed the building of the local school. On John Marshall's death in 1845 his youngest son Arthur inherited Hallsteads while William embarked on a lavish rebuilding of Patterdale Hall to Italianate designs by Anthony Salvin. The retention of the Mounsey house within the new building may owe something to Salvin's typically respectful treatment of earlier fabric, but it may also be connected with Wordsworth's urgings: a number of other houses with which Wordsworth was associated about this date retain a vernacular core. Salvin nevertheless transformed Patterdale Hall into a palazzo befitting one of the great industrialists of the age, set in extensive gardens designed by William Andrews Nesfield and commanding the head of the lake. Although Patterdale Hall remained unsurpassed by other villa builders on Ullswater its star faded within a generation: by the 1870s the Leeds flax-spinning business was in difficulties and the family's ambitions were increasingly circumscribed. (PIC)

Another fine house of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, now the Outward Bound School at Watermillock, was built as a gentleman's residence around 1815. Mention should also be made of Lowther Castle, a country house of 1806 -14 built on the site of a medieval hall. (PIC) Now a picturesque ruin, it is set within extensive, mature parkland and has a fine group of estate houses of 1766-73 by Robert Adam. (PIC)

Early commentators regretted the poor accommodation encountered by travellers to Ullswater. Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787) notes that the Sun Inn had boats for hire, but lacked a dining room fit for gentlefolk, while the little inn at Patterdale was simpler still. The accessibility of Ullswater to outsiders improved with the opening of a station at Penrith on the Lancaster to Carlisle railway in 1846, and the opening of the Kendal & Windermere Railway in 1847. Ullswater, in contrast to the other major lakes (Windermere, Derwent Water, Bassenthwaite Lake, Coniston Water), never acquired a direct rail link but coaches, often operated by hotel proprietors, offered regular services to and from the stations, and from the mid-19th century they were augmented by lake steamers, two of which, now restored, still operate on the lake between Pooley Bridge and Glenridding. Substantial hotels were built at Patterdale and Glenridding, both of which acquired an increasingly resort-like character despite continuing mining activity above Glenridding.

### ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Ullswater is rich in Wordsworthian associations. Most famously, Glencoyne Wood at the southern end of the lake was the place where, in April 1802, William and Dorothy Wordsworth saw daffodils by the lakeshore. The encounter is described in detail in a celebrated entry in Dorothy's **Grasmere Journal**, and later inspired Wordsworth's most famous poem. '**I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud**'. William and Dorothy made regular excursions to Ullswater to visit their friends the Clarksons at Eusemere Hall and the Luffs at Side in Patterdale.

Ullswater is also the setting for one of the most celebrated passages in Wordsworth's **Prelude**. In Book I, he describes how, as a schoolboy, he stole a boat - "*an act of stealth / And troubled pleasure*" and rowed it out onto the lake. Although the location of the boat - a willow tree "*Within a rocky cave*" - no longer exists, it is suggested that Glenridding Dodd is the "*huge cliff*", which, "*As if with voluntary power instinct / Upreared its head*", to seemingly admonish the young poet and trouble his dreams.

Coleridge first encountered Ullswater on a walking tour with Wordsworth in November 1799. In his **Notebook** he recorded his impressions:

*"I have come suddenly upon Ullswater, running straight on the opposite Bank, till the Placefell, that noble Promontory runs into it, & gives it the winding of a majestic River, a little below Placefell a large Slice of calm silver."*

Later, in **A Guide Through the District of the Lakes**, Wordsworth recalled, from that same visit, witnessing a natural phenomenon, "*deep within the bosom of the lake, a magnificent Castle, with towers and battlements*". This turns out to be a reflection of Lyulph's Tower, which, at that moment was "*altogether hidden from my view by a body of vapour stretching over it.*"

Lyulph's Tower, and Aira Force, on the western side of the lake, are celebrated in Wordsworth's poem '**The Somnambulist**'. Aira Force (or more specifically the valley in which it lies) is also the subject of a delightful, late-published poem by Wordsworth, rejoicing in the tranquillity of the valley, where an ash tree makes "*A soft eye-music of slow-waving boughs*". Coleridge, however,

has mixed views of this celebrated waterfall, describing the chasm in his **Notebook** as “*very fine*”, but the waterfall as looking like “*a long-waisted Lady-Giantess slipping down on her Back*”

In his *Guide*, Wordsworth describes in detail a walk through nearby Martindale in 1805 with Dorothy and his friend Charles Luff. This secluded valley remains little changed from Wordsworth’s day, and buildings, including the church and Dale End farm, still exist.

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

Unlike some of the other major valleys in the Lake District, early tourist interest in Ullswater did not lead to the threat (as then perceived) of a railway link into the valley. However the vast potential of Ullswater to supply water for the needs of the growing cities of northwest England in the 19<sup>th</sup> century did attract attention. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the City of Manchester began to assess the potential of the various lakes for supplying the needs of its growing population and expanding industries and Ullswater was initially considered as the principal supply. Ullswater was eventually discounted in favour of Thirlmere and the threat receded.

However the increasing need for water abstraction throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century led to renewed pressure on Ullswater. In the 1960s Manchester revived its ambition to abstract water from the lake but now the environmental movement in the Lake District was organised and able to act. The Friends of the Lake District was prominent in a vocal campaign against the proposals, including petitions and important interventions in the national press. Opposition to Manchester’s Private Bill in the House of Lords was headed by Lord Birkett of Ulverston who pleaded that Ullswater should not suffer the same fate as Thirlmere and Haweswater. As a result the House of Lords rejected various key clauses in the Bill in 1962.

In 1965 Manchester returned to the issue and sought a Statutory Order to permit water abstraction at Gale Bay. The proposals were put to a Public Enquiry in Kendal at which a large number of amenity bodies with a concern for the protection of the Lake District landscape gave evidence, including the National Trust and the Council for the Protection of Rural England. This time consent for water abstraction was given, although the strong opposition managed to modify substantially the proposal in order to prevent construction of a tunnel through Longsleddale and to ensure that the lake would not be drawn down below its natural level. Although water is now abstracted from Ullswater, it is effected in a manner that does not damage the visual amenity of the lake and its surrounding cultural landscape. **(PIC)**

Other environmental successes achieved during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, led principally by the Friends of the Lake District, were the undergrounding of the electricity line along the southern and eastern shoreline of Ullswater between Sandwick Bay and Glenridding. This was carried out by the Westmorland and District Electricity Company following negotiations. The Friends also took a lead from 1938 in the attempt to resolve the problem of the pollution of Ullswater by the effluent from Greenside lead mine. In 1942 The Friends instigated legal action and pollution had been substantially reduced by 1944.

The significance of the Ullswater valley was recognised by the National Trust very soon after its establishment with one of its early and key Lake District acquisitions in 1906 being the purchase of Gowbarrow Park. This property included the scene of daffodils recorded by Dorothy Wordsworth and later by William in his famous poem and also included the picturesque waterfall of Aira Force. The appeal leaflet made the suggestion "*Why not nationalise the English Lake District?*" **(PIC ? of leaflet)**

The National Trust also acquired a number of farms around Ullswater, including Hartsop Hall, which was the first to be acquired by the Trust from the state under National Land Fund procedures. The major property of Glencoyne was given to the National Trust by the Scott family in 1948 and Howe Green farm, Hartsop, came to the Trust when Lake Farm Estates Ltd was wound up in 1977.

## The Haweswater Valley

*“...and not far beyond to the south-east...lie the vale and lake of Haweswater...”*  
**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The eastern approach into Haweswater is from the broad valley of the River Lowther through the narrow passage between the heights of Burn Banks and Naddle Forest, at the point at which the natural lake has been dammed to form a reservoir **(PIC)**. The glacially-formed valley curves round to point almost due south over a length of around 7.5 kilometres and at the southern end the valley floor rises abruptly to the two adjacent corries of Small Water and Blea Water. The tarns here present a dark and brooding spectacle and Blea Water is distinguished as the deepest mountain tarn in the Lake District **(PIC)**. The natural lake of Haweswater was also the highest of the major lakes in the Lake District.

The Haweswater valley has a rugged, dramatic character and is relatively steep sided, with numerous becks falling sharply down the fellside to the reservoir. The largest of these is the Measand Beck on the west side, which tumbles down two picturesque water falls from the heights of Bampton Common **(PIC)**. Naddle Forest, on the east side of the valley, forms an extensive tract of ancient native woodland **(PIC)** and there are several plantations of conifers on the west and at the south. Otherwise the surrounding fells are covered in coarse grass and extensive areas of bracken, and the landscape here is cloaked in rich gold and red colours in the low light of autumn and winter **(PIC)**.

A number of historic routes lead out of the southern end of Haweswater, crossing the high mountain ridge of High Street at Gaitsgarth Pass into Longsleddale and at Nan Bield Pass into Kentmere. A further route – the old corpse road – leads eastwards to Swindale.

The small side valley of Riggindale, at the southern end of Haweswater, is currently the only location in England where Golden Eagles nest, attesting to its wild and remote character **(PIC)**.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The landscape of Haweswater has been changed massively by human intervention, with the flooding of the former Mardale valley by the construction of a dam in 1935. The remains of early human activity are evident in and around the valley, including Bronze Age standing stones **(PIC)**, hill-top prehistoric burial cairns, a small hillfort with a massive stone bank at Castle Crag **(PIC)** and the route of the Roman Road on High Street to the west. The foundations of medieval shielings have been recorded at Whelter Beck together with the remains of a more extensive medieval settlement at Burn Banks. In the area to the east of Haweswater, in the Lowther valley, are found the ruins of Shap Abbey, a monastery of the Premonstratensian order founded in 1190, with its substantial tower and other remains. The monks

bred sheep on the surrounding fells and the high quality of wool from Shap is recorded in an Italian wool buyer's list of 1315.

Prior to the construction of the Haweswater dam, the settlement and walled fields in the Mardale valley formed a small but extremely picturesque example of a typical Lake District valley landscape (PIC). The natural lake of Hawes Water was 4 km in length and almost divided into two parts by a delta which had been formed by outwash from the Measand Beck. The two reaches of the lake were known as High Water and Low Water (PIC). However in 1919 the City of Manchester purchased the watersheds of Mardale, Swindale and Wet Sleddale for the purpose of water abstraction (see Section 3). Construction of the dam at Haweswater began in 1929 and was completed by 1935. The dam itself was the first hollow buttress dam in the world and is therefore of historic interest in its own right (PIC). Many farms and walled in-bye land were lost beneath the surface of the reservoir but the biggest loss was the small hamlet of Mardale with its church and famous Dun Bull Inn. The Inn was famous for its autumnal shepherds' meet at which stray sheep were brought from the surrounding fells to be given back to their owners. The original meet had been held in former times on High Street, where in addition to the claiming of stray sheep there was a horse race and other local sports such as wrestling. The Mardale Shepherds meet is now held just outside the valley, at Bampton, in November.

### **Agriculture**

Although much of the former in-bye land in the valley is now beneath the reservoir, some small areas of walled intakes survive, together with a large walled cow pasture which encloses part of the southern valley side in Riggindale. The ancient field system in the adjacent small valley of Swindale is intact and includes a core of in-bye fields and walled intakes reaching up the fellside. The valley also has extensive stands of broadleaved woodland on the valley sides. There are no straight boundaries resulting from planned or parliamentary enclosure and Swindale has some of the best examples of hay meadows surviving in the Lake District. In Wet Sleddale, the reservoir has also obscured a portion of the valley bottom land. However the upper valley contains the well preserved remains of small medieval fields with ridge and furrow cultivation together with a substantial stone walled deer pound which has medieval origins. In addition, the northern valley side is divided into walled enclosures of recent date which overlie a medieval pattern of agricultural terraces associated with the site of the monastic grange (farm) of Sleddale.

### **Industry**

There are a few remains of industry in the valley that pre-date the creation of the reservoir. These include a small copper mine on the west side of Haweswater, between Burnbanks, and the Measand Beck, and the remains of charcoal burning platforms in Guerness Wood on the east side of the valley.

### **Buildings and settlement**

The villages of Bampton and Bampton Grange lie to the north east of the Haweswater valley, alongside the River Lowther. Bampton, 'the place by the beam', probably refers to a footbridge over a river, which could be the River Lowther, Howes Beck, or Haweswater Beck, all of which pass within or

adjacent to the settlement. Certainly, Bampton Bridge has been in existence since the 14<sup>th</sup> century; in 1362 John de Askeby, the vicar of Bampton bequeathed a legacy for the fabric of the bridge. The current bridge dates from 1866 and was widened in 1885. Howes Beck passes through the settlement and has been utilised as a power source for mills; the First Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1863 marks a corn mill, which by the subsequent edition of 1899 had become a saw mill.

Bampton lies within the parish of Bampton and the parish church of St Patrick's is located in the nearby village of Bampton Grange. A church on the site of St Patrick's is first mentioned in 1170 when it was attached to Shap Abbey. The Abbey was founded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the canons were granted the right to conduct services in Bampton Grange and to add the tithes to the coffers of the Abbey. The historic footpath between the Abbey and Bampton Grange still runs along the east bank of the River Lowther.

The presence of Shap Abbey in the Lowther Valley generated wealth within the area through successful sheep farming and wool production. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were approximately 80 farms in the parish, predominantly focused on sheep farming. Bampton has been well-connected historically, lying on the packhorse route from Penrith to Kendal over Nan Bield and the Gatesgarth Pass. In 1846 the Carlisle to Preston railway line arrived in the area, passing through Shap, and this opened up new markets for import and export.

Bampton lies at the junction of two historic routes between Askham and Shap and to Haweswater, at the crossing of the Howes Beck. It is comprised of domestic and agricultural buildings, together with surviving structures such as the smithy, corn mill/saw mill, post office and a limekiln. These date predominantly from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, although the dovecote at Bampton Hall dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Bampton Grange developed as a farming settlement, but also as a centre for the parish and the wider area, containing an important river crossing, a large church and, from 1623, a Grammar School. Church Bridge dates from the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century and replaced an older structure; the bridge was declared a public crossing belonging to the County in 1685. The school was founded using money collected in London by the Reverend Thomas Sutton from his parish of St Saviour's in Southwark and attracted boarders from a wide area, while being free to children of the parish. It was renowned for providing students for the Church of England ministry. The school house occupied the building immediately to the east of the church during the 19<sup>th</sup> century

### **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Haweswater was not a valley that featured strongly in the Picturesque experience of the Lake District, although it was considered to have admirable qualities. West described it as a "sweet but unfrequented lake". The approach to the valley from the east was considered to be picturesque, and the lower part "most pleasantly elegant". In contrast, West's comment on the upper reaches of Haweswater was that "above the chapel, all is hopeless waste and desolate", with the "precipitated ruins of mouldering mountains and the

destruction of perpetual waterfalls” – features which would soon be considered in a very different and contrastingly favourable light. No buildings or designed landscapes of this period are to be found in the valley.

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Wordsworth and Coleridge stayed at Bampton, the village at the foot of Haweswater, in early November 1799 at the beginning of their walking tour. Haweswater was then known as Mardale, and both men walked along the shore of the old lake and over the passes into Longsleddale and then Kentmere. Mardale is below Kidsty Pike, the mountain which figures in **The Brothers**:

*‘On that tall pike*

*(It is the loneliest place of all these hills)  
There were two springs which bubbled side by side  
As if they had been made that they might be  
Companions for each other: the huge crag  
Was rent with lightning – one hath disappeared;  
The other, left behind, is flowing still.’ (139-45)*

Not far from Haweswater is Barton Fell Moor which Wordsworth reported was the setting for the beginning of his poem **Resolution and Independence** (1802):

*‘I was a Traveller then upon the moor;*

*I saw the hare that raced about with joy;  
I heard the woods and distant waters roar;  
Or heard them not, as happy as a boy:  
The pleasant season did my heart employ:  
My old remembrances went from me wholly;  
And all the ways of men, so vain and melancholy’.  
(15-21)*

As Wordsworth said: *‘I was in the state of feeling described in the beginning of the poem, while crossing over Barton Fell.*

### **EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES**

The Act of Parliament under which the City of Manchester purchased and dammed Mardale allowed for similar work in the adjacent small valleys of Swindale and Wet Sleddale. In the event only Wet Sleddale was dammed, in 1966, and Swindale has remained as it was. In the original Bill it was proposed to extinguish the traditional rights of access over the purchased land, but the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, established in 1865, managed to have a clause inserted in the Act through which the public were given full right of access on all the common and unenclosed land purchased by Manchester.

In 1972, following a national study of water resources, a further expansion of the Haweswater reservoir was proposed by raising the height of the dam by a further 35 metres. Additional damage to the valley would also have been caused through the reservoir becoming a ‘regulating reservoir’, with a consequent seasonal variation in level. These proposals have not been implemented and following the opposition to other proposals for water

abstraction from the Lake District at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they are unlikely to be.

## The Grasmere and Rydal Valley

*“...and lastly, the vale of Grasmere, Rydal, and Ambleside, brings you back to Winandermere, thus completing, though on the eastern side in a somewhat irregular manner, the representative figure of the wheel”.*

**W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.**

### FEATURES OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The two small lakes of Grasmere and Rydal, together with their surrounding vales, lie at both the physical and Romantic heart of the Lake District. This small area includes a wealth of classic picturesque landscape views, which together with the surviving residences of the Romantic poets and features associated with their poetry, exemplifies the outstanding universal significance of the Lake District.

The Grasmere and Rydal valleys describes a curving S shape, roughly north to south, along the course of the River Rothay, which rises on the south-facing slopes of Dunmail Raise and is joined by the Easdale Beck at Grasmere and Stockghyll at Ambleside. Both these becks pass over the spectacular and much-visited waterfalls of Sourmilk Gill in Easdale and Stockghyll force in Ambleside. **(PIC)**North of the village of Grasmere the valley floor is relatively wide and the beauty of its broad bowl shape, framed by the surrounding fells, is seen to best advantage from the famous viewpoint of Loughrigg Terrace at the southern end of Grasmere. **(PIC)**Grasmere has formed as a widening of the Rothay where it is constricted by the short and narrow rocky gorge below Loughrigg Terrace. It widens again to form Rydal Water as a result of a further rocky constriction at Rydal, but again flows into the wider vale of Rydal on its course towards Ambleside and its outflow into the head of Windermere. There are small islands in both of the lakes. **(PIC)**

The route from the north into Grasmere passes over Dunmail Raise from Thirlmere, one of the higher road passes in the Lake District at 250 metres above sea level. At the southern end the natural lines of communication are from Langdale in the west, along the river Brathay, and from the south along the shores of Windermere. The route through the vales of Rydal and Grasmere forms part of the main link through the central Lake District between Kendal and Keswick.

Although there are patches of native woodland in the area, particularly around Rydal, the majority of the vale of Grasmere is unwooded and the principal lineaments of the landscape comprise the stone-walled enclosures of the valley bottom and sides. In autumn these stand out against a background of fiery orange bracken on the upper slopes. **(PIC)**Another major component of this landscape is open parkland with a scatter of mature oaks and occasionally Scots Pine, particularly around Rydal Hall. Further small plantations of conifer can be seen in Rydal and Grasmere, often positioned with the intention of enhancing the views around villas.

### FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Evidence for prehistoric activity in Grasmere and Rydal is limited but includes a fine panel of Neolithic rock art on top of a rock outcrop in Grasmere (PIC) and the find of a large hoard of late Bronze tools and weapons at Ambleside in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The famous cairn on the summit Dunmail Raise is reputed to be the burial place of Dunmail, the last king of the early medieval kingdom of Cumbria, but it may equally date from the prehistoric period. (PIC)

### **Agriculture**

The agricultural landscape in Grasmere is typical for the central valleys in the Lake District and the traces of a former common field around the village can be traced in the present pattern of stone walls. This central core is surrounded to the north and west by a pattern of single ancient farms and the slopes around the vale are enclosed by stone walled intakes which date from at least as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The impression here is of an ancient farming landscape and there are very few examples of the ruler straight walls of later parliamentary or planned enclosure. (PIC)

The agricultural land around Rydal Water is restricted due to the topography but the valley opens out around Rydal Hall, with its open parkland. This has an ornamental character with widely spaced mature trees, but is used as grazing land. (PIC)

The walls and traditional farm buildings in Grasmere and Rydal are constructed from the local volcanic slate and have a rugged character which contrasts with some of the later, polite villas and mansions in the area. Good examples of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century farmhouse groups here include Town Head Farm below Dunmail, at the northern limit of the township field, built with thick stone walls covered in roughcast, slate roof and the typical round chimneys of Lake District vernacular style. (PIC) Brimmer Head farm in Easedale is reputedly the oldest house in Grasmere, dating from 1574. (PIC) Town Head and Brimmer Head are also the two major Herdwick farms in Grasmere with fell going flocks, both owned by the National Trust. Brimmer Head is particularly significant as its sheep heafs cover the fell ground linking Langdale, Borrowdale, Grasmere and Thirlmere.

### **Industry**

In addition to wool production, industries in Rydal and Grasmere included lead mining (in the Elizabethan period and later) and slate quarrying. The aqueduct carrying water south from Thirlmere was constructed through Grasmere and Rydal but there is little sign of it in the present landscape save for the neat access gates and other minor infrastructure built by the Manchester Corporation at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Buildings and settlement**

The settlement pattern here centres on the village of Grasmere and the town of Ambleside, with a number of small hamlets including Townend at Grasmere and Rydal.

It is thought that the name 'Grasmere' is derived from Old English where 'mere' means lake and 'gras' derives from the same root as grass and grazing; hence Grasmere could mean 'lake with grassland', which accurately describes the appearance of the landscape around the town. The 'Town'

element of Grasmere Townend is a late corruption of 'ton', 'tun' or 'thun', meaning an outlying or dependent farm, settlement or village, which again accurately describes Grasmere Town End's close historical links to the larger nearby settlement of Grasmere.

Grasmere's Old English name, and its church dedicated to St Oswald (c 604–642), King of Northumbria (634–642) has led historians to suggest that the town has Saxon origins, though the earliest surviving parts of the present church date from the 14th century and the oldest documented record of an incumbent cleric dates from 1254. **(PIC)** The large parish of Grasmere, which historically consisted of the three townships (now parishes in their own right) of Grasmere, Langdale and Loughrigg.

In the Lake District during the medieval period, parish churches were separated by considerable distances and each served a large area. A network of 'corpse roads' extended across the wider parish, so called because they were the routes by which the deceased were carried to Grasmere in their coffins for burial in the churchyard. One such road crosses the hillside to the east of Grasmere Town End and continues through the village along the lane that is itself part of the packhorse route linking Grasmere to Ambleside. **(PIC)** At the point where the corpse road and the packhorse track meet (just outside the conservation area) there is a large 'coffin stone' or 'resting stone' on which the coffin was set while the bearers rested. A further 'corpse road' connected St Oswald's to Chapel Stile and Great Langdale, over Hunting Stile and Red Bank until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The economy of Grasmere at this time was based on sheep rearing and wool processing. Wool products travelled to and from Grasmere along the packhorse track that preceded the turnpike road, and that still survives in many places as a much-used footpath and bridleway. This links Grasmere to the main centres of medieval trade and commerce at Ambleside and Keswick. There were water-powered mills all along the banks of the River Rothay and its tributaries, and Grasmere is recorded as having ten fulling mills in 1494, engaged in washing and finishing woven cloth.

Grasmere Town End developed as a farming hamlet along the packhorse route and is one of a number of such hamlets making up the scattered settlement of Grasmere. Further outlying hamlets can be found at Lancrigg, Above Beck and Town Head. Town End and Town Head mark the southern and northern extent of the medieval township. A characteristic of all of these farmstead clusters is their location on higher dry ground above the seasonally wet valley floor. Town End, for example, lies on a terrace set some 10m above the valley bottom on rising ground, with numerous springs, troughs and ponds located along the back lane to White Moss Common.

In 1770 a turnpike road opened that linked Grasmere to Keswick to the north and Ambleside to the south. The regular coach services that now passed along this route stimulated the growth of Grasmere as a place of coaching inns where travellers could spend the night, and horses could be changed, refreshed and shod. The Red Lion Hotel is the principal survivor from this period as a coaching inn, **(PIC)** and some of the outbuildings that cluster up against this building were probably used as stables and blacksmith's forges.

Some sixty years later, in 1829, a commercial directory records that Grasmere was by now a township with 'several gentleman's seats, many of which are richly decked with sylvan ornaments and command splendid views of the amphitheatre of mountains which surround the lake'.

William Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy took up residence in Grasmere in 1799 and it was his poetic descriptions of the area around Grasmere that did much to stimulate the growth of the town as a centre of tourism in the 19th century. That tourist industry was given a further major boost when the railway reached Windermere in 1847, placing Grasmere within reach of the cities of northern England, some of whose industrialists built large houses on the fringes of the town. Grasmere's picturesque qualities and the Wordsworth legacy also led to the construction of several large purpose-built hotels.

The 20th century has seen further development with a very high proportion of the buildings in the town now converted to use as shops, catering outlets or as hotels, guest houses or self-catering accommodation. In just under 250 years it has gone from being a remote and rural farming parish in a little-known part of upland England to being one of the best-known towns in the Lake District, in which tourism and commerce now dominate.

Key historic buildings in Grasmere comprise St Oswald's church and the Wordsworth family burial plot; the lych gate and attached cottage (now the Gingerbread Shop), which served as the village school from c 1685 to 1854; the nearby Rectory and attached tithe barn, now owned by the National Trust and home to the Northern Centre for Storytelling; the cottages, yards and former barns clustered at the rear of the Red Lion Hotel; the various 19<sup>th</sup> century purpose-built hotels and large detached gentleman's residences built at the same period, including The Bridge House Hotel, Rylands, Crag House and Beck Allans Hotel. **(PICs)**

At Grasmere Townend the key historical features include the pack horse route (now a metalled lane) running down from White Moss Common and through the hamlet to Grasmere, along which most of the properties in the hamlet are located; three listed properties of Dove Cottage, famous as Wordsworth's home, the Old Sykeside; and the Boathouse; farmhouses, cottages, former smithy, byres, barns and sties typical of a traditional agricultural settlement; a large purpose built hotel and associated boathouse from the Victorian era of mass railway-borne tourism. **(PICs)**

Rydal (meaning 'the valley where the rye was grown') is first mentioned by name in documents dating from 1240. The ancient manor boundary was described in 1274 and a deer park was created in 1277.

The formation of the deer park restricted the growth of the hamlet to the east of the track climbing north to Rydal Fell, so it developed along the western side of this track and to the south of the packhorse track (now a footpath and bridleway) linking Grasmere, Ambleside and Keswick that is shown on Robert Morden's map of Westmorland of 1695. That route was superseded by today's busy A591, first built as a turnpike road in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century along the valley floor. That road stimulated construction of the hotels and houses

that are now located at intervals along the main road, filling in plots of land and small fields that lay between the scattered inns, farmhouses and cottages of the 16th and 17th century hamlet.

The manor of Rydal came into the ownership of the le Fleming family in 1409 when Sir Thomas le Fleming married Isobel de Lancaster, who inherited the feudal lordship of the manor. Originally the family lived at Coniston Hall. In 1575 they moved to Rydal Old Hall (already described as 'old' at that date) built on a knoll in fields bordering the River Rothay just under 1km south of the conservation area, and described as 'now in ruins' in 1681.

William le Fleming moved the family from the Old Hall to the site of the present Rydal Hall in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Sir Daniel le Fleming (1633–1701) transformed the estate, developing the landscape as an early Picturesque garden incorporating Rydal Beck and its natural waterfalls. The 'Grott-House' that Sir Daniel le Fleming built in 1668–9 as a summerhouse from which to view the waterfall, lined with old panelling from the hall, became a major attraction for a succession of visiting artists and writers in the 18th and 19th century; it is described in Wordsworth's poem, 'An Evening Walk', and features in paintings by Joseph Wright of Derby and John Constable. In 1910 the landscape gardener Thomas Mawson supplemented this Picturesque garden with a series of formal gardens to the south of the mansion. **(PIC)**

Rydal Hall remained in the ownership of the le Fleming family until 1970, when the Diocese of Carlisle purchased the buildings to create a retreat, conference and youth centre. The gardens were restored in the 1990s and are open to the public.

Rydal is known internationally for its association with the poet William Wordsworth, who lived at Rydal Mount from 1813 until his death in 1850. Rydal's inhabitants worshipped at the parish church in Grasmere until 1824, when a chapel-of-ease, built at a cost of £1,500 by Lady le Fleming, opened for use; in 1826, Rydal gained its own parish status, and the chapel became the parish church.

Rydal has seen remarkably little change in the last 100 years or so, and the only buildings to have been constructed within the conservation area since the first edition of the OS map in 1859 are Hart Head Cottages and the Vicarage (now Rydal Holme), both dating from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The village and its landscape setting are thus largely a legacy of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Significant historic features in Rydal include the packhorse track (now a bridleway) from Ambleside to Town End, which passes through the grounds of Rydal Hall and to the south of Rydal Mount; a scattering of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century cottages, inns, farmhouses and barns surviving from the older village; larger 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century villas and hotels built after the construction of the turnpike road; Rydal Hall, its relict deer park, pioneering Picturesque landscape and Edwardian formal gardens, and its historic bridges, barns, stables, 'Grott-House', game larder and ice house; Rydal Mount, home of William Wordsworth, with a garden that reflects his design and planting; Dora's Field, planted with wild daffodils by William Wordsworth as a memorial

to his daughter in 1847; St Mary's church, built in 1823–4 in neo-Gothic style; Pelter Bridge. (PICs)

The Roman fort and vicus (civilian settlement) at Galava, is the first archaeological evidence of settlement in the immediate vicinity of today's Ambleside. (PIC) The origin of Ambleside's name is unclear. It may come from the Old Norse *a-mel-saetr* meaning "the pasture by the river sand banks" or the Old Norse *Hamala saetr* meaning "Hamal's clearing". Since the oldest part of Ambleside lies well above the river, the latter definition is more likely to be correct. It is therefore suggested that Ambleside originated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century when a Norse settler, Hamal, made a clearing for his stock on a rise in the land between Stock Ghyll and Scandale Beck.

As Ambleside grew in size it began to derive wealth from the wool industry, dependent on local Herdwick sheep and the wool trade was greatly stimulated by the foundation in 1123 of Furness Abbey. Following the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1532 and the ensuing breaking up of the monastic wool monopoly, many Lake District towns like Ambleside begin to grow. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century wool processing became Ambleside's major industry.

There is evidence that a chapel existed on the site of St Anne's Church (now St Anne's Court) from about 1550. At that time the manorial and parish boundary, running along Stock Ghyll, divided inhabitants of the settlement between those 'above Stock' (in the Parish of Grasmere) and those 'below Stock'. A marker stone dividing the two can be seen on Stock Low Bridge.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards the region's fast-flowing streams were being harnessed to drive the hammers of fulling mills, used to beat and thicken cloth, replacing manual techniques such as treading the cloth or beating with wooden clubs. The first recorded mill in Ambleside was in 1324. This corn-grinding mill and an early fulling mill (1453) were built high up the Stock, close to Stock Ghyll Falls. The fulling mill worked until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. By the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, five mills were supported by the Stock and by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, nine mills had been powered by it.

Ambleside was well known for the production of a cloth called 'linsey-woolsey', made up from both linen and wool. In 1650 a Royal Charter established a wool market in the town, recognising the value of its wool trade. This led to further development on the more level ground south of Stock Ghyll, including the combined wool and flax mill that is now the Glass house restaurant, with its reconstructed waterwheel. (PIC) By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the town is reported as having five ale-houses and a weekly market, an indication of a busy economy.

Waterpowered mills continued to provide industry for the town well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the wool industry began to decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the local wool- and cloth-based economy was supplemented by mills crushing bark to produce tannin, the turning of wood and the making of bobbins.

In 1825 Ambleside's wool market closed and the remaining fulling mills began to be put to other uses. The boom in textile industries in the north of England created a huge demand for wooden bobbins. Bobbin making began in

Ambleside when a mill known as 'Stock Force' was built in 1810 and bobbin making became a mainstay of the economy for the next 70 years.

Tourism not industry was to drive the town's economy and subsequent expansion through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Encouraged by contemporary literature, particularly Wordsworth's eloquent descriptions of the Lake District's landscapes, the newly rich middle classes of the industrial north, aided by improved transport systems, came to the town as a holiday resort. A turnpike road reached Ambleside in 1761. The Salutation, The White Lion and The Royal Oak were popular coaching houses of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that took advantage of tourism and increased mobility. The opening of the Kendal to Windermere railway line in 1847 allowed easy access to tourists, making the area accessible and affordable to working people as well as the wealthy and educated. **(PICs)**

In 1723 an educational trust was set up by John Kelsick to start a school for boys. In 1892 the town acquired a College of Education for young ladies, founded by Charlotte Mason, now recognised as a notable educationalist. Harriet Martineau, a feminist journalist moved to the area in the 1850s, living at The Mount at the northern end of Ambleside.

Ambleside's rapid expansion in the mid/late 19<sup>th</sup> century doubled the size of the town. Many buildings in Market Square were rebuilt in c.1860. The Millans area was constructed between 1880-1910. St Mary's Church was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott and consecrated in 1854. **(PIC)** It was built to replace St Anne's Church near How Head which, within 40 years of its construction in 1812, had become too small to accommodate the increased number of worshippers. A Wesleyan Chapel was opened in The Millans in 1899 and a Roman Catholic Church was opened on Wansfell Road in the 1930s. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century as tourists have continued to visit Ambleside, the town has become one of the main tourist centres of the Lake District National Park.

Significant buildings in Ambleside include How Head, in the medieval core of the town, dating from the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century and one of the finest vernacular buildings in Ambleside. It incorporates dressed stone recovered from the Roman fort at Galava. **(PIC)** Further down the hill is a cruck barn dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> centuries which is now used as an electrician's workshop. **(PIC)** The barn was part of the farm linked to Ambleside Hall which lay on the east side of the Stock Beck. The Bridge House on Rydal Road is one of the most iconic and famous buildings in the Lake District and a popular tourist curiosity. **(PIC)** It was built in 1854 as a garden house originally to span Stock Beck and to connect the gardens of Ambleside Hall to the orchard that lay on the other side of the beck. Of the later buildings in the town, the villa at Scale Howe, now Charlotte Mason College and part of the University of Cumbria, is of importance. It was built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the Harrisons who owned ironworks in the Lake District. St Mary's Church in Ambleside is the best example in the Lake District of the High gothic style. Designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, it was built as a result of the post-railway expansion of the town and encapsulates the era of Victorian prosperity. **(PIC)**

## **PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Before mass tourism arrived in the Lake District, Grasmere was, in the words of the poet Thomas Gray, who visited in 1769, a place of 'rusticity and happy poverty', of scattered whitewashed farmhouses and slate roofed or thatched slate-stone cottages, with no intrusive brick buildings. Gray saw red brick as the symbol of the nouveau riche, and celebrated the fact that Grasmere has 'not a single red tile, no gentleman's flaring house, or garden walls'.

Although neither Rydal water nor Grasmere warranted the identification of viewing stations in Thomas West's guide of 1778, he does include a description of Grasmere and approved the earlier description by Gray. Clearly Grasmere and Rydal were considered in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to have picturesque qualities, but this aesthetic had been the concern of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall almost 100 years earlier.

On the east side of the house he created the Grotto around a small waterfall on Rydal Beck. There are good views of the Grotto from the contemporary bridge over the beck, whilst below it is a small summer house, which was constructed with a window designed to provide the best frame for a beautiful view of the falls. Sir Daniel's accounts provide a detailed account of the construction of the grotto in 1668, which he refers to variously as "*the Sumer house at the Cawweel*", "*the grothouse*" and "*the grot in the Mill-Orchard*". He documented the time and labour spent on providing slate for walls and roof, window glass and wainscoting. Also listed is work on "*walling and making of walkes, and the water-Race, &c in the Mill-orchard*".

This summer house is thought to be the earliest known example of a viewing station in England, pre-dating the Picturesque movement by nearly a century. The window would have framed the view in such a way as to imitate the romanticized poetic landscapes of artists such as Claude Lorraine, the renowned landscape painter of the period. The setting echoes the compositions used by Claude, with trees to left and right, the waterfall as a central feature, and the fells providing a mountainous backdrop, all within the strong contrast of light and shade provided by the small ravine. The park and pleasure grounds created in the late seventeenth century were still much admired in the nineteenth century. (PIC)

### **ROMANTIC SITES, BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

Grasmere and Rydal are known internationally as the home of the Romantic poet William Wordsworth and his family, his sister Dorothy and a number of other important Romantic poets and personalities of the period who were drawn to live in the area because of Wordsworth. All the houses that Wordsworth lived in still survive along with a vast number of landscape features which feature in his poetry and the poetry of others. Of equal importance is the survival of the landscape, including the stone walls and vernacular farmhouses and buildings belonging to the local community which underpinned Wordsworth's deep appreciation of the relationship between humans and the natural world and his development of the concept of the '*economy of nature*'.

Wordsworth's first residence was the cottage that has come to be known as Dove Cottage, but which had recently ceased functioning as an inn when he took up residence with Dorothy in 1799. (PIC) He then moved to Allan Bank in 1808. (PIC) Allan Bank was built in 1805 as a gentleman's country seat in

parkland to the west of Grasmere. Though William Wordsworth (1770–1850) decried Allan Bank as an ugly building and a blot on the landscape that he loved, and though he was to quarrel with the landlord over the fact that the house was damp and impossible to heat because the chimneys did not work, he nevertheless rented the house for his growing household.

Allan Bank was subsequently bought by Canon Rawnsley, who retired there from his living at Crosthwaite, Keswick. Rawnsley left it to the National Trust in his will.

From Allan Bank, Wordsworth moved in 1811 to the Rectory, in Grasmere, opposite St Oswald's Church. **(PIC)** The Rectory was built in 1690 and enlarged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was a damp house and the Wordsworths suffered the tragic loss of two of their young children here.

Wordsworth's final move was to Rydal Mount in 1813 and he lived here until his death in 1850. **(PIC)** The house continued to be rented by the family until 1859 when Wordsworth's widow, Mary, died. Wordsworth extended and altered the house, and landscaped the gardens which survive in the form that he left them. Wordsworth's other legacies to the village include St Mary's Church, in whose siting and design he played a part, and the woodland known as Dora's Field (to the west of the church and to the south of Rydal Mount). This was purchased by Wordsworth as the site for a house that was never built and was planted by the poet himself with wild daffodils in 1847 as a memorial to his daughter Dora. It is now owned by the National Trust. Major works written at Rydal Mount included the *Duddon Sonnets* and *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, the *1820 Miscellaneous Poems* and the revision of *The Prelude*, published in 1850 after Wordsworth's death. Wordsworth entertained many eminent visitors here including the American visitors Ralph Waldo Emerson and the feminist Margaret Fuller. The house is still lived in and is displayed much as it was in Wordsworth's time. It includes embroidered work by Mary and Dorothy Wordsworth and Sarah Hutchinson and portraits of the family, including the only known portrait of Dorothy. Rydal Mount continues to attract many visitors to the village, and is open to the public

William Wordsworth is buried with his wife Mary in St Oswald's churchyard in Grasmere. Adjacent plots include those of his sister Dorothy and his children and grandchildren. **(PIC)**

Other properties of notable figures linked to Wordsworth include a group of large houses at Under Loughrigg, alongside the River Rothay and overlooking the famous stepping stones. **(PIC)** These include Fox How, the holiday home of Dr Thomas Arnold (1795 – 1842), headmaster of Rugby school who was encouraged by Wordsworth to buy the land and build the house in 1833. Thomas Arnold was the father of Matthew Arnold, the poet and critic, who inherited the house and spent many holidays there. Fox Ghyll, further along the Under Loughrigg road, was the home of Thomas de Quincey from 1820 to 1825, during which time he wrote *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*. The next house, Loughrigg Holme, was the residence of Wordsworth's daughter Dora following her marriage to Edward Quillinan in 1841 and visitors here included Harriet Martineau and Charlotte Bronte in 1850. The house at

Stepping Stones belonged to Wordsworth's son William and then his grandson Gordon, who arranged and edited Wordsworth's manuscripts there.

### **Dove Cottage and the Wordsworth Trust**

The Wordsworth Trust was founded in 1891 to look after Dove Cottage, home of Wordsworth from 1799 to 1808, his 'golden decade' when he wrote most of what is now regarded as his greatest poetry. Today, Dove Cottage, located in the hamlet Town End on the edge of Grasmere village, is an internationally-important heritage site, receiving tens of thousands of visitors every year.

The Wordsworth Trust is also the custodian of an archive containing the most important collection of Wordsworth manuscripts anywhere in the world. Nowhere else can so much of a great writer's work be seen in the very place in which it was created. Today, this archive – some of which is displayed in the Wordsworth Museum behind Dove Cottage - is the cornerstone of a collection of manuscripts, printed books and works of art that tells the story of British Romantic movement. The collection has been 'Designated' by the government in recognition of its national and international importance.

In addition to manuscripts relating to Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy – including all of the known manuscripts of Wordsworth's masterpiece, **The Prelude** - the Trust's collection contains works of other leading Romantic writers, including Coleridge, Byron, Keats and Shelley. It is rich in material relating to the writer Thomas De Quincey (who lived at Dove Cottage after the Wordsworths), including the only surviving manuscript of his **Confessions of an English Opium Eater**, published in 1821. Highlights of the fine art collection include *Ullswater, Cumberland*, by J.M.W. Turner, a watercolour described by Ruskin as "*the great central work of Turner's life*". There are also major oil paintings, watercolours and drawings by other leading British artists of the 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> century, including John Constable, Thomas Gainsborough and Joseph Wright of Derby.

### **Dove Cottage, the Garden and Town End**

Inevitably, much of the work of William and Dorothy Wordsworth focuses on their life in Grasmere. Dorothy's **Grasmere Journal** is a wonderfully vivid account of their daily life at Dove Cottage, mingling the prosaically domestic – "*Mr Olliff sent the dung and Wm went to work in the garden*", with the intensely poetic:

*"Our favourite Birch tree . . . the sun shone upon it and it glanced in the wind like a flying sunshiny shower – it was a tree in shape with stem and branches but it was like a Spirit of water"*

As the **Journal** reveals, the garden at Dove Cottage was as important to the Wordsworths as the house itself. Wordsworth often composed out of doors on the terrace, pacing up and down in his "*Sweet Garden-orchard, eminently fair, / The loveliest spot that man hath ever found*" ('**A Farewell**').

Aside from Dove Cottage and the garden, a number of buildings in the hamlet of Town End have survived from Wordsworth's time, and are now in the ownership of the Wordsworth Trust. They include Ashburner's Cottage, the home of Thomas and Peggy Ashburner. Wordsworth's poem '**Repentance**'

draws upon the experience of his neighbours, who were forced to sell land that they owned in order to pay off debts, much to their later regret.

Sykeside is another building that formed part of the Town End that Wordsworth would have known. It was the home of the Fisher family, John and Agnes Fisher, and John's sister Molly, who was the Wordsworths' domestic help.

Rose Cottage was for a time the home of the poet Hartley Coleridge (1796-1849), eldest son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, although he was not resident in Town End when the Wordsworths lived there.

### **Grasmere Vale**

Much of Wordsworth's poetry celebrates the landscape and the people of the Vale of Grasmere, most notably '**Home at Grasmere**'. The poem begins with Wordsworth recalling his first visit as a schoolboy:

*"And with a sudden influx overcome  
At sight of this seclusion, I forgot  
My haste - for hasty had my footsteps been,  
As boyish my pursuits - (and sighing said),  
"What happy fortune were it here to live!"*"

Later in the poem, having reflecting of the achievement of his dream, Wordsworth strives to encapsulate the unique qualities of the place:

*"'Tis (but I cannot name it), 'tis the sense  
Of majesty and beauty and repose,  
A blended holiness of earth and sky,  
Something that makes this individual Spot,  
This small abiding-place of many men,  
A termination and a last retreat,  
A Centre, come from wheresoe'er you will,  
A Whole without dependence or defect,  
Made for itself and happy in itself,  
Perfect Contentment, Unity entire."*

While at Dove Cottage, Wordsworth wrote a number of 'poems on the naming of places', about locations in Grasmere that held special significance for him and his family. They include John's Grove, off Wishing Gate Lane, which overlooks Grasmere Lake. The grove, named after Wordsworth's brother, a sailor, is the subject of Wordsworth's 1802 poem '**When, to the attractions of the busy world**'.

Greenhead Gill, east of Grasmere Village, is central to one of Wordsworth's greatest poems, '**Michael**', about a Grasmere shepherd and his relationship with his family, and with his land. In a letter to the Charles James Fox of January 1801, Wordsworth cites Michael as an example of the 'statesmen' farmer, for whom "*Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings*". He laments that this class of men is rapidly disappearing.

The poem was composed towards the end of 1800, and it is interesting to read Dorothy's **Grasmere Journal** entry for 11 October 1800, recording a walk with William up Greenhead Gill in search of a sheepfold, which she describes as "*built nearly in the form of a heart unequally divided.*" At the beginning of

'Michael', Wordsworth describes "a straggling heap of unhewn stones", which can be seen in the same place today (although it is not clear whether they are actually the remains of a sheepfold).

The Swan Inn, located on the main road at the north end of Grasmere village, is mentioned by Wordsworth in 'The Waggoner' ("Who does not know the famous Swan?") as one of the inns that leads the protagonist, Benjamin, astray as he makes his way from Grasmere to Keswick. Also mentioned is "the Dove and Olive-Bough" from which Dove Cottage derives its name (although it was never named thus in Wordsworth's day, being known simply as "the cottage").

### Rydal Water

Coleridge was a frequent guest of the Wordsworths at Dove Cottage (and later at Allan Bank). His **Notebook** records many walks around Rydal, and also contains an amusing account of passing by Rydal Hall with Wordsworth in November 1799, and being accosted by "Sir Fleming's servant" who reproaches them for having passed before the front of the House. As Coleridge acidly observes: "by our Trespass of Feet with the Trespass on the Eye by his damned White washing!"

The Lower Falls at Rydal, much favoured by artists in search of the picturesque, feature in Wordsworth's 1793 poem 'An Evening Walk':

*"Sole light admitted here, a small cascade,  
Illumes with sparkling foam the twilight shade.  
Beyond, along the vista of the brook,  
Where antique roots its bustling path o'erlook,  
The eye reposes on a secret bridge  
Half grey, half shagg'd with ivy to its ridge"*

### EARLY CONSERVATION ISSUES

The earliest and perhaps the most severe threat to the peaceful tranquillity of Grasmere and Rydal were the proposals in 1846 and again in 1876 to extend the Kendal to Windermere railway as far as Grasmere. Wordsworth immediately began a campaign of opposition including letters to newspapers and the publication of sonnets to oppose what he considered to be a "rash assault" on his beloved Lake District landscape. The projected line would have passed through Rydal Park and behind his residence at Rydal Mount and would have changed the character of this landscape considerably. Both this and the later proposal were successfully fought off, the latter with the support of John Ruskin, and this early organised opposition to detrimental development in the Lake District formed a crucial part of the wider movement that would be galvanised to oppose the Thirlmere reservoir and to form both the Lake District Preservation Society and the National Trust.

Although the Thirlmere reservoir was built in 1890 and the aqueduct taking water to the City of Manchester was constructed through the vales of Grasmere and Rydal, the landscape effect of the latter has been minimal.

The National Trust took an early interest in Grasmere and Rydal, due in part to the association with Wordsworth, and one of its first acquisitions was the iconic Bridge House in Ambleside, bought by local subscribers and given to

the Trust in 1926. In 1935 Gordon Wordsworth, the poet's grandson, gave Dora's field, Rydal, **(PIC)** to the National Trust and Allan Bank, one of Wordsworth's earlier residences, was bequeathed to the Trust after the death of Canon Rawnsley's second wife, in 1951.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the National Trust acquired a series of small properties in Grasmere, including the small open space of Moss Parrock in the middle of the village, the low hill of Butterlip How, just outside Grasmere, and part of White Moss Common on the edge of Rydal Water. The largest of its properties, bought in 1943, was the land behind Dove Cottage, stretching from Grey Crag to Alcock Tarn.

From the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century the National Trust started to acquire, by lease and purchase, more extensive areas of Grasmere, including an extension to the Alcock Tarn property via a gift in 1975. One of the key developments was the purchase of a series of key farms in the vale, comprising Dale End Farm in 1971; Underhelm (with a Herdwick flock of 220) acquired under National Land Fund procedures in 1974; Brimmer Head farm in 1973; and Townhead at the head of Grasmere vale, purchased in 1981 with bequests and a donation. The National Trust's main office for its northwest region is now in Grasmere, in a large 19<sup>th</sup> century mansion not far from Dove Cottage, overlooking the vale.

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## **SECTION 5: FACTORS AFFECTING THE ROPERTY**

### **5.a Development Pressures**

#### **Housing**

Housing in the Lake District is subject to a wide range of demands such as:

- Inward migration (from people of working age and the retired)
- Second home ownership
- Indigenous purchasers
- Holiday letting

Earnings in the Lake District are lower than in neighbouring urban areas, making it difficult for people reliant on local wages to compete for housing in an open market. As a consequence, there is an inflated ratio between lower quartile earnings and house prices, which is as much as 10:1 in some parts of the Lake District.

Many areas of the Lake District are characterised by a relatively limited supply of available housing. Too few affordable houses in rural locations have contributed towards a relatively large affordable housing need. Stock of social housing in rural areas has been eroded by the Right to Buy scheme, and those houses have not been replaced by new provision.

#### **Local Economy**

There has been little change to the current house price ratio in the Lake District, due in part to the demands on the existing housing stock. Affordability may have worsened as increased requirements and unwillingness to extend finance on properties with 'perpetuity requirements' from mortgage providers outweigh any beneficial fall in prices.

#### **Impact on local communities**

The provision of a sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing within a balanced housing market is a core component of a sustainable community. A range of housing provision not only meets the basic need for everyone to live in good quality affordable homes, but allows for the maintenance of social support networks, and is vital if rural businesses are to be able to source local labour and thrive.

Because of the wide range of demands on the existing housing stock, there is an imbalance in many communities where a substantial percentage of houses are used as second homes or for holiday letting. There has been an outward migration of young people and young families because they cannot access the local housing market. In some areas of the Lake District this is having a detrimental effect on the vibrancy of our local communities.

#### **Impact on culture**

The change in local community dynamics can result in the loss of community integrity. There is the danger that local traditions are not carried forward, local dialects may be lost or weakened and there may be a gradual erosion of those elements which make areas distinctive.

### **Impacts on landscape and the built environment**

Housing Associations are the main providers of affordable housing. They receive public subsidy from the Homes and Communities Agency which they use to contribute towards the overall cost of new house building. In order to qualify for this public funding, housing schemes need to meet several design standards - such as meeting level 3 of the Code for Sustainable Homes. When coupled with the high land values in the Lake District, this challenges the economic feasibility of many housing schemes which come forward, which sometimes results in fairly bland designs which do little to enhance the built environment.

The level of identified affordable housing need may result in fairly big schemes being proposed in areas where there has been limited development in the past.

### **Minerals extraction**

The complex geology which forms the bedrock of the Lake District is of great significance. We need to protect our geology from over-exploitation and from the loss of an accessible educational resource.

Traditionally, development within the Lake District has been able use building materials from local sources. This is in line with principles of sustainable development. There are currently nine active building stone and slate quarries and three active crushed rock quarries in the Lake District.

The character and appearance of the Lake District's built environment is a central part of its cultural heritage. Many areas within the Lake District have their own distinctive character complemented by the local building styles and settlement form. The availability of materials and locally quarried building stone and slate has played an important part in the creation of this local vernacular. These distinctive characteristics need to be protected and enhanced and to do this there needs to be a ready source of appropriate material.

The management of an adequate supply of aggregates to support the construction industry is an important part of national minerals planning policy. Cumbria is required to provide 66 million tonnes of crushed rock by 2016 as its contribution to the regional requirement. The aggregate extracted from the three quarries in the Lake District at present contribute towards this requirement.

It is difficult to determine what materials, and how much of them, will be needed by the construction industry in the future. However, it can be assumed that the construction industry will rely on a regular supply of aggregates over the coming decades to meet the demands for future development.

### **Future viability of farming**

Sustainable farming has a key role to play now and in the future in maintaining the Lake District landscape. The development of the present landscape of the Lake District owes a great deal to agriculture involving mainly small farms. Farming and land management have created many of the Lake District's special qualities: distinctive high quality produce; the character of the cultural landscape and its biodiversity; farm woodlands, and the open nature of the fells. Forestry also plays a part in maintaining features that add variety, colour and texture to the landscape.

In 2008, there were over 1200 active farms in the Lake District. In Cumbria as a whole agriculture (including forestry and fishing) directly employs around 13,000 people. Its indirect contribution to other sectors is higher such as agricultural engineering, construction, transport, and food processing. However economic factors related to national and international circumstances and the changing aspirations of the young rural population are putting the system under increasing strain. Between 1995 and 2004 the GVA for Cumbria generated by agriculture, hunting and forestry fell by £24 million. 24.1% of VAT registered businesses in Cumbria are in agriculture and fishing with 4,275 businesses. Agriculture has lost 430 businesses since 1994.

Self employed incomes in agriculture are also very low. Using data for the Inland Revenue, the median self employed income in Cumbria for 2004-2005 was £7,820 compared to £10,300 in the UK. Agriculture's vulnerability to changing market pressures and changing subsidy regimes means farm incomes are likely to remain depressed for the foreseeable future. The low wages are reflected by an aging workforce and a lack of young people entering the industry.

Further decline of the agricultural sector could have significant impacts on the special qualities of the Lake District. These special qualities are a key tourism asset that underpins the tourism economy. It is therefore essential that sustainable farming activity in the Lake District is supported in the long term.

### **Farming and its effect on the Lake District**

Sustainable farming (that is, farming in line with current Natural England and Environment Agency guidance and policy) has a key role to play now and in the future in shaping the Lake District's cultural landscape. It will deliver environmental goods and services that are needed by all; spectacular landscapes, wildlife and cultural heritage, protection of air, water and soils, adaptation to and mitigation of climate change and reliable, high quality water resources and flood protection.

With increasing pressure on agricultural incomes, farm diversification and environmental management schemes can help provide the resources that are needed to sustain farm enterprises. For this reason farmers are diversifying their businesses to supplement their income and diversification is now an important element in making farming profitable. An increase in employment development on farms could have an impact on the Nominated Site.

### **Location of new nuclear power stations**

The UK Government has confirmed that new nuclear power stations should be part of future energy provision and three potential sites have been nominated in West Cumbria at Sellafield, Kirksanton and Braystones. A Nuclear National Planning Statement will be published for public consultation in Autumn 2009 listing the preferred sites of the Government and planning applications for the successful sites are expected to be made in 2010.

Approval of the planning application will not be the responsibility of local planning authorities but of the Infrastructure Planning Commission. The Lake District National Park Authority will be involved as a consultee.

Although none of the nominated sites are within the Lake District, the site proposed at Kirksanton is located adjacent to its boundary. In addition, all of the sites, if successful, would require upgrades to the electricity distribution network and possibly the transport network. Therefore although the facilities themselves would be located outside the Lake District they could still have significant environmental effects on the setting of the Lake District and also directly on the Park itself, if the infrastructure improvements associated with them, for example pylon grid connections or improved road access, pass through the Park.

### **Location of sites for the disposal of radioactive waste**

The process for determining a site to host a geological repository for High Level Waste is being taken forward by the UK Government. The document "Managing Radioactive Waste Safely" published in June 2007 sets out a framework for implementing geological disposal including a site selection process using a voluntarism/partnership approach. Communities have been invited to participate in discussions about volunteering to host the disposal site.

West Cumbria already stores over 60% of the UK's nuclear waste, concentrated in the Sellafield area and Copeland Borough Council has indicated that they would be willing to talk to Government about the possibility of Copeland hosting facilities for long term geological disposal.

Whether Copeland is the preferred location and if so where in Copeland (inside or outside the Lake District), the site would be, has yet to be decided. However, any location chosen will be providing a "national" facility and waste will be transported there from other sites elsewhere in the country. If the site is to be in Copeland, even if outside the Lake District, this will have implications for the transport network which passes through the Lake District. Storing the nation's radioactive waste may have other implications for example, for the tourism industry. On the positive side, the host community will potentially receive a community benefits package which could have economic and social advantages for the area, as would the jobs involved with the development, construction and operation of the facility.

### **Waste Management**

Waste management should make an important contribution to delivering sustainable communities. It should be reduced wherever possible and used as a resource where it can.

Considering waste as a resource may result in employment opportunities in appropriate locations throughout the Lake District. This could be in the form of allocated sites or through farm diversification schemes.

### **Highway design**

Highway design is an issue in the Lake District. The county-based 2005 report 'Rural roads at risk – saving the character of country roads' highlights how in recent decades the character of many rural roads has incrementally changed. Emerging master plans, for Keswick, Ambleside and Windermere / Bowness, help to address, in a holistic and sympathetic manner, localised traffic management issues and public realm improvement.

### **Landscape**

The Lake District landscape continues to evolve. Climate change, agriculture, forestry and other land management practices, as well as development, all have an impact on landscape quality and character. It is important that landscape change does not compromise the special qualities that are used to define the WHS.

### **Changing landscape and planning applications**

In the Lake District landscape changes have been varied in scale and impact from reservoirs and road schemes to relatively small-scale development. Even small changes in sensitive locations, such as single telecommunications masts, can easily spoil the landscape character. Poor design can introduce a suburban element that is inappropriate in a rural setting. Cumulative impacts can be equally damaging: excessive lighting, for example, can deny views of the night sky.

The National Park Authority has carried out a Landscape Characterisation Assessment that maps and describes the different landscape character types, and areas of distinctive character within the Lake District. The landscape characterisation assessment helps guide development design, provides a solid evidence base for the Local Development Framework, informs land management decisions and plans, and targets delivery of agri-environment schemes, amongst other uses.

### **Protecting tranquillity**

Tranquillity is an important element of landscape character. It is an emotional and spiritual quality that is difficult to assess and monitor by standard methods. Surveys consistently show that many people appreciate the relative solitude and peaceful character found throughout the Lake District. Tranquillity is reflected in the Lake District's special qualities, especially opportunities for quiet enjoyment and the open nature of the fells.

The scale, distribution and intensity of development differ across the Lake District. For many years, the National Park Authority has adopted a spatially-zoned approach which has included 'quieter areas'. These are

served mainly by narrow minor roads, and include relatively remote areas where existing development is generally unobtrusive. The aim has been to maintain the character of such areas and ensure that the recreational experience is not eroded, for example by significantly increased levels of traffic and recreational use, visual intrusion, noise and other forms of disturbance.

Research shows that since the 1960s there has been a reduction, nationwide, in areas identified as tranquil. Often this has been a consequence of development such as new airport runways, increased road traffic, light pollution, and new infrastructure including telecommunication masts. Often, it is the gradual and cumulative impact of development that has eroded tranquillity. The challenge is to ensure that, tranquillity is retained in the Lake District.

### **Protecting biodiversity**

The Lake District is richly endowed with fine landscapes, wildlife, buildings and features of archaeological and historic importance. These resources are valuable assets that underpin the tourism industry, attract businesses and investment into the area, and contribute to the quality of life of local communities.

New development provides the opportunity to incorporate features to enhance biodiversity, and help offset some of the effects of climate change. Measures can range from minor additions to the fabric of buildings to the provision of major new areas of habitat. Biodiversity can be incorporated into even the smallest development through wildlife-friendly landscaping, installation of sustainable drainage schemes, and features such as green roofs and ponds, as well as nesting and roosting spaces for bats and birds.

As important as the developments themselves is the space between them, in that the size and spatial relationships between habitat patches also influences biodiversity. So-called 'green infrastructure' can play an important role in creating habitat networks. This includes protected sites, nature reserves and undesignated green spaces and habitats, and can encompass for example river valleys, flood plains, railway lines and other landscape features which are important as wildlife corridors.

The government's good practice guidance states that development decisions that improve biodiversity can be of broad benefit to communities by creating employment through new projects, creating cost-effective naturally-functioning utilities - such as for flood relief and drainage - enhancing the local economy through tourism and improving local surroundings which enhances quality of life.

### **Protecting the historic environment**

The historic environment is a fragile resource. In particular, archaeological remains are finite and easily damaged or destroyed. Many features are visible, but others are hidden under peat or pasture, and sites both above and below ground are susceptible to loss and damage. Only a relatively small number of sites have statutory protection. Lack of maintenance and neglect of historic structures, especially those that have no economic use,

means that buildings can become susceptible to the elements and decay can be rapid.

Inappropriate conversion, resulting in loss of character, poses a threat that needs to be balanced with the benefits of losing historic buildings altogether through neglect. The survival of local skills, such as dry-stone-walling, is often dependent on factors beyond our direct control such as out-migration of young people. Such skills are important to the conservation of the historic environment.

Because many historic environment assets do not have designated status, they are particularly vulnerable to land use change. The challenge is to make sure that any extension to, or enhancement of, sites and features will add value to the ecological or historic fabric, help to foster community well-being and sometimes bring local economic prosperity.

## **5.b Environmental Pressures**

### **Flood risk**

Climate change is the greatest environmental challenge facing the world today. Rising global temperatures will bring changes in weather patterns, rising sea levels and increased frequency and intensity of extreme weather events. Flooding is becoming worse both in frequency and scale, while experts predict that climate change could mean an increase in the prevalence of flooding as we experience milder, wetter winters and hotter drier summers.

Water is the most identifiable element of the Lake District with 9,158 km of watercourses, 80 km of Coastline and a further 58.28 sq km of still water in the form of the 18 main lakes. Roughly 8% of the area is directly affected by a functional floodplain or an area of high flood risk, which affects approximately 554,000 buildings.

Flooding threatens life and causes substantial damage to property, and while we cannot always prevent it, we can reduce its impacts through good planning and management. We want to avoid inappropriate development in areas at risk of flooding, and to direct development away from high flood risk areas. Where new development is necessary in such areas, the aim is to make it safe without increasing flood risk elsewhere. It is therefore important to construct new buildings in flood risk areas in a way that minimises flood damage.

A Strategic Flood Risk Assessment (SFRA) was compiled in 2007, which determines the variations in flood risk across and from the Lake District. It will be used to assess the degree of risk from flooding on land allocation and planning proposals.

The natural process of flooding from rivers and coastal waters presents a natural drainage system which is able to convey or absorb rainfall. As development intensifies, more surface water run off is generated which is

unable to filter through the soil and instead flows rapidly into local drainage systems and rivers. Development in general reduces the permeability of the site by sealing the ground which can lead to problems of localised flooding and water pollution. These effects need to be mitigated and sustainable drainage systems can provide a solution. These systems endeavour to mimic the natural movement of water from a development, reduce flood risk and help to protect water quality.

The coast of the Lake District is particularly rich in areas of high nature conservation value, and supports distinctive landscape and cultural features. Parts of the coast are protected against wave erosion by walls, gabions and embankments while long sections consist of dunes which also play a role. In other areas erosion is a significant problem with the potential loss of good agricultural land, coastal paths and buildings. Defending the coast against the impact of flooding and erosion will have implications and engineered defence solutions are expensive, can be visually intrusive and may not be suitable in the long term.

## **5.c Natural Disasters and Risk Preparedness**

(To be completed)

## **5.d Visitor/Tourism Issues**

### **Visitor numbers**

The Lake District offers a range of high quality and unique experiences for visitors. The majority of people come to the Lake District because of its spectacular landscape and the tranquility that they can find here. With around 8.2 million visitors each year, a variety of accommodation, activities, retail and recreation opportunities are all available within the Lake District.

### **Contribution to the economy**

Tourism is the mainstay of the Lake District's economy and it attracts over half the county's tourism spend (£603 million). The industry is a major employer in the Lake District, providing over 13,000 full time equivalent jobs. With the exception of 2001 - the year of foot and mouth – tourism revenue, tourism-related jobs, visitor numbers and visitor days continue to grow. World Heritage Site status with active promotion could attract further visitors to the Lake District.

### **The visitor season**

The area has traditionally had higher visitor numbers and increased tourism revenue from April to October, with winter being a quieter season but this is changing with the tourism season extending as people are increasingly taking short breaks at any time. The benefits of an extended season must be balanced with the needs of local communities and the environment.

### **A range of visitor activities and facilities**

Visitors are increasingly looking for different types of holiday and different experiences and a variety of different leisure pursuits and trends need to be accommodated so that everyone has the opportunity to enjoy the Lake District. One of the key changes in visitor expectations is that visitors now expect better quality in every aspect of their visit, including accommodation, attractions and public places.

### **Tourism impact on local communities**

Such large numbers of visitors can have adverse implications for landscape and local communities which need to be actively managed. Congestion and high demands on local services and infrastructure affects local communities in the Lake District. The strength of the visitor market can offer support for some services including transport, leisure facilities, shops and pubs that may not be viable otherwise. However, there are also tensions in the type of goods and services available as in some settlements these are aimed at a visitor audience at the expense of everyday items for local people to purchase.

### **Tourism impact on development opportunities**

Land that is suitable and available for development within the Lake District is a scarce and finite resource. There is pressure upon such land from a variety of potential uses and developments including for services for the visitor market. Competition for such land could disadvantage local communities, preventing local needs, for instance for housing and employment, being met. Unrestrained development to meet visitor demands could undermine the characteristics of landscape and tranquility that are special to the Lake District and that visitors come to enjoy. These development pressures must be carefully managed through appropriate planning policy framework and the active development management decisions that are made.

### **Tourism impact on landscape**

Visitor pressure is also apparent in erosion of some sensitive landscapes including upland paths and lakeshores. There are a series of well developed partnerships within the Lake District which seek to manage these impacts, such as 'Fix the Fells' relating to upland path repair.

### **Traffic and Transport**

Traffic and transport continues to increase in volume and this is a major issue for communities in the Lake District. The problems are partly due to the relative isolation of some communities and to current reliance on private transport where public services are limited. The large numbers of tourists travelling to and around the Lake District by car, and the popularity of car-based sightseeing, add to the problem. There is a significant amount of road-based freight transport both within and on the boundaries of the Lake District. Such adverse impacts on the natural and historic environment could compromise the Lake District's special qualities.

### **Reducing the growth in traffic**

The growth in tourist, business and domestic traffic on main roads across the Lake District, for example, is estimated at one per cent per year (Cumbria County Council Traffic Data Monitoring Report 2005). Current

reliance on private transport presents a real challenge. It is recognised that roads will continue to be the main transportation network, but there is a need to protect the environment and reduce carbon emissions.

Cumbria has a dispersed population and settlement pattern, and for many of its residents in more rural areas there is a limited travel choice. Private car is often a necessity to enable access to jobs, goods and services but about fifteen per cent of households do not have access to a car, and rely on other forms of transport. Providing public transport can be difficult as frequent bus services are often not commercially viable and local rail services are able to provide only for a limited proportion of demand.

There are other issues for areas immediately outside the Lake District. Furness and West Cumbria, for example, suffer from industrial decline and relatively high levels of unemployment, and are priority areas for regeneration. They are linked to other sub-regions by the A590 and A66/A595 trunk roads but separated from the M6 and west coast main rail line by the Lake District. This presents not only topographical challenges, but also consideration of the Lake District's special status. This said, the importance of effective strategic transport networks to help foster economic prosperity is not in doubt.

Tourism adds significantly to local traffic movement and congestion. Surveys show that the majority of tourist trips to, and within, the Lake District are made by car. Sight seeing by car is one of the most popular activities. Congestion on key routes into the Lake District, for example the A591 and popular destinations in the central Lake District, are common at peak holiday periods. This in turn can adversely affect visitors' enjoyment, residents' quality of life, and public safety. Carbon emissions, not only from tourist-related trips, is contributing significantly to climate change.

Despite the importance of the strategic road network and the difficulties for remoter areas, there are viable alternatives to car-based travel. Scheduled bus services which serve the larger settlements, for example, are complemented by demand-responsive transport services such as Rural Wheels. The west coast main line is a key rail artery connecting Scotland and England and has a branch line directly into the Lake District at Windermere. The Cumbria coastal line from Carlisle is the principle rail access to west Cumbria and provides regular passenger services. This route has the potential to become an attraction in its own right, especially for walkers and cyclists wanting to access the western lakes. To the north, the track of the Keswick to Penrith railway is now a recreational walking and cycling route. Other successful and functioning recreational rail routes include those at Haverthwaite and Ravenglass.

Lake-based transport provides a crucial link in the sustainable transport network for tourists and also as a means of travel to work and for transport of goods. It is a unique national resource, one of the special qualities of the Lake District. The Windermere car ferry and boat services on the major lakes can all play a key role in the shift to more sustainable means of travel.

The continuing development of strategic cycle routes in recent years, such as Keswick to Kendal, and Walney to Wear, provide alternative opportunities to access, and travel through, the Lake District. Bowness/Windermere, Keswick, Ambleside and Staveley have been identified as cycle hubs.

### **Car parking**

Parking provision in the Lake District is a mix of pay and display, honesty box and free parking space, owned and operated by public and private bodies. There are over 100 car parks across the Lake District, some with provision for larger vehicles such as camper vans and coaches and facilities including toilets. There is also on-street parking, and road-side parking, formal or otherwise, both in and out of settlements.

This mix means there is a fragmented approach to parking across the Lake District, for example in parking charges and enforcement. There are significant differences in the quality of parking provision and ancillary facilities. The influx of tourists, especially in school holidays, means that demand for parking sometimes outstrips supply. The geography of the Lake District also means that, at peak periods, some areas experience levels of road-side parking that can disrupt the day-to-day lives of residents and local businesses.

The availability of parking influences people's choices about destinations and is, therefore, an essential tool in traffic management. Parking provision also provides a sense of arrival at a destination. First impressions are vital in determining whether people will make return visits or stay longer which can have a significant impact on local economies.

## **5.e Number of Residents Within the Site**

The resident population of the Lake District is 41,650 (figure from 2001 Census carried out by Office for National Statistics). This figure comprises 6000 children, 26,400 people of working age and 9,000 people aged 65+.