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A

LANDSCAPE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY:  
THE MAKING OF AN ENGLISH IMAGE

by

WENDY JOY DARBY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1999

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

For Yani, Penny and Andrew,

and

in memory of my sister,  
Veronica

April 29th, 1940 - September 22nd, 1997

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The seeds of this dissertation are located in my undergraduate work in which I combined a British history major with a major in English literature. I was interested in how landscape -- in fact and literature -- could function as a repository of social and economic history. That landscape-located interest was pursued in a master's degree in historic preservation through which I undertook thesis fieldwork in the Lake District's Hartsop Valley. As a practicing preservationist working in landscape conservation and restoration, I became more aware of people's daily engagement with place and the meanings with which they endowed it. But I did not have the pedagogic underpinnings with which to explore my 'felt-thoughts' about landscape, identity, and political economy. Christopher Tavener, who undertook work among the Amazonian Karaja some thirty years ago, bears the responsibility for the seedlings having been transplanted into the field of anthropology. The City University of New York's anthropology program has provided an environment in which they could flourish, for which I am most grateful.

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I was assisted in the field by many individuals. The willingness of Sonia Ankers, Paula Day and Marion Canning to share their thoughts, feelings and time, elicited in me a strong sense that they were engaged in a decidedly unequal bargain. Sonia also made it possible for me to walk with her local group, an experience from which I gained very particular in/sights. Perhaps when they read their place in the whole, they will feel somewhat repaid.

Fieldwork was such that I was not based anywhere. The peripatetic life is not for me -- it causes deep anxiety. Exacerbating that anxiety was the knowledge that I was in the process of losing my sister, the last member of my own English family-of-origin. For this reason, my gratitude towards the following people, all walkers, for having extended hospitality to a virtual stranger, carries a deeper emotional tenor. Brian Franks, Peter and Kate Jones, Jane Sweet and Janet Stone, Stella Welford, and Peter and Eileen Willetts, took me into their homes, making fieldwork a less isolating and disconcerting experience. Peter and Eileen, Stella, and Peter also made it possible for me to walk with their local groups and distribute questionnaires to them, while Brian 'rescued' me -- twice! Stephen Gorton, to whom I am not 'a virtual stranger', again extended his hospitality whenever I was in the Lake District.

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On a personal note, my children and husband have borne the daily impact of my efforts; in particular my husband has 'borne the impact' of carting a couple of hundred books back and forth from the library! Support takes various forms. Yani has, over the years, supported me in all of them. Peggy Flinsch, my fictive yet very real god-mother, has had an instrumentality in the project that rests in her having provided conditions in which my tools of observation have been shaped. As a young woman nearly seventy years ago, she 'did' Striding Edge -- a precipitous climb up Helvellyn, in the Lake District. In the thirty-two years I have journeyed with her here in New York, she has taught me, by example, to face *life* as the striding edge it really is.

January 1999

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

### *Organizations*

BBC	British Broadcasting Company
BMC	British Mountaineering Council
CHA	Co-operative Holidays Association (later name-change to Countrywide Holidays Association)
CC	Countryside Commission
CLA	Country Landowners Association
CPRE	Council for the Preservation of Rural England (later name- change to Council for the Protection of Rural England)
ELDA	English Lake District Association
FLD	Friends of the Lake District
HF	Holiday Fellowship
LDDS	Lake District Defense Society
LDNP	Lake District National Park
MFPS	Manchester Footpath Preservation Society
MTCP	Ministry of Town and Country Planning
NT	National Trust
PDNP	Peak District National Park
RA	Ramblers' Association
SCR	Sheffield Clarion Ramblers
TDA	Thirlmere Defense Association
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

### *Landscape designations*

AONB	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
NNR	National Nature Reserve
SSSI	Site of Special Scientific Interest

### *Other*

LDNPP	Lake District National Park Plan
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## INTRODUCTION

### ENVISIONING/RE-VISIONING LANDSCAPE

The construction of identity through recreational participation in valued and symbolic landscapes is a topic little explored in anthropology, even though such activities are assuming an increasingly important role in the lives of many individuals in the affluent countries of Western Europe, Asia and the United States. Landscape remains largely unproblematized (Hirsch 1995).

My ethnohistorical project takes historical class relations and traces various steps in the cultural production of class and national identity, specifically as it has operated through landscape and access to it. The landscapes through which I analyze a politics of access are those of the Lake District and the Peak District, located in the uplands of northwestern England. (See Map 1.) I take a transdisciplinary approach, bringing fairly wide historical processes into conjunction with the local. This perhaps goes some way towards effecting the magisterially paced yet ongoing rapprochement between anthropology and history (Cohn [1980, 1981] 1987, Guha 1987, Mitchell 1997), and towards dealing with space and viewing in another register than the simply geographical and pictorial (Green 1995).

Running throughout the work as a sub-text is the literally subtextual world of the footnotes. I accord them great importance, thinking of them as the gossamer undergirdings of the whole. Some undergirdings have a more 'sturdy' appearance than others. They support weightier topics. It is from that perspective that I concur with the expression that "God is in the Detail. And in the Footnotes" (Chadwick 1977: 16).

Anne Wallace has written with great richness about the 'place' of walking in 19th century English literature, and how she sees it as

an extension of Virgilian georgic accomplished by placing the walker in the ideological space vacated by the farmer. The result, which I call 'peripatetic', represents excursive walking as a cultivating labour capable of renovating both the individual and his society by recollecting and expressing past value.

(Wallace 1993 : 8, 11)

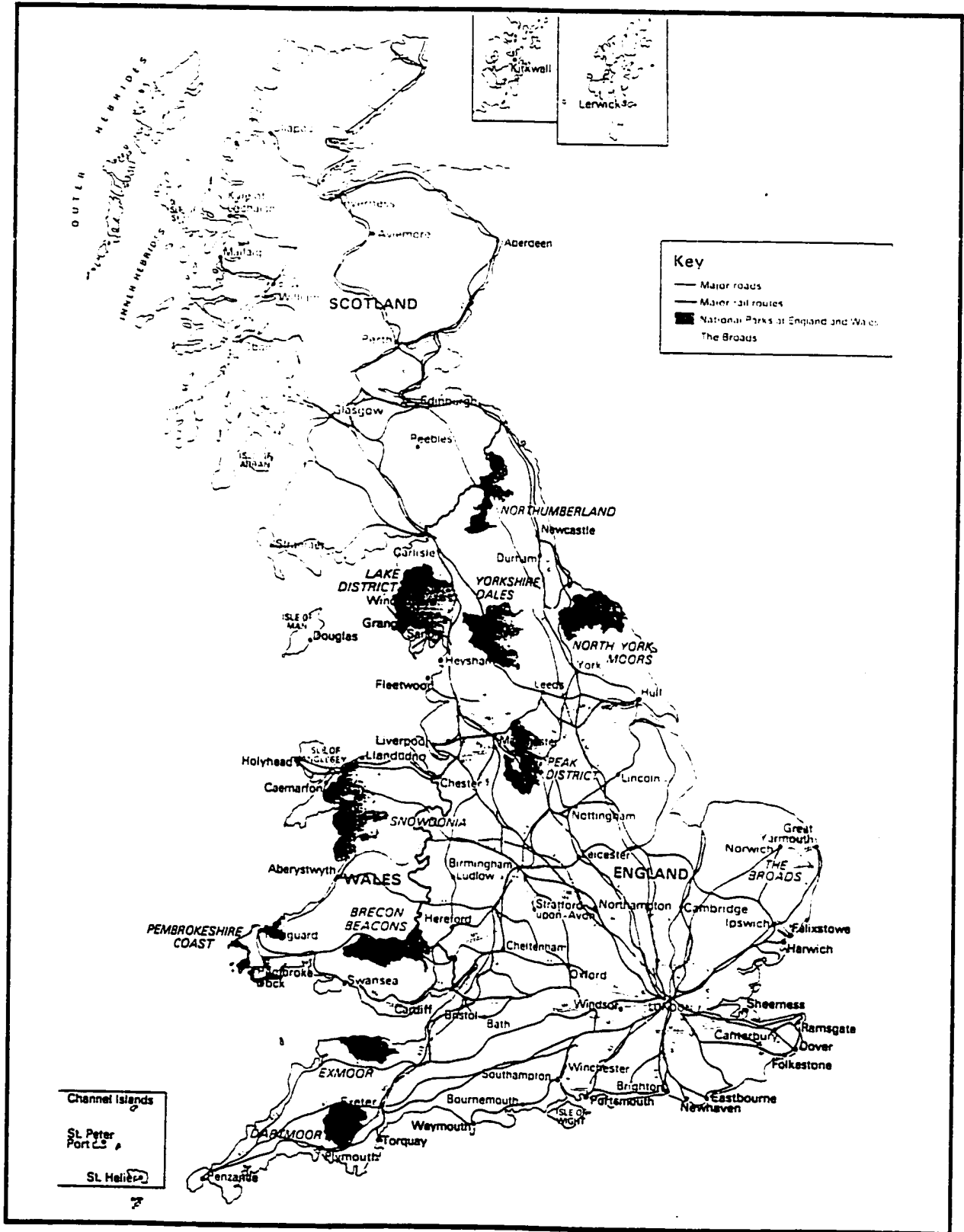
While still acknowledging the literary framework and even within an historical time frame, I move beyond the realm of an educated elite to show Wallace's 19th century peripatetic in a more pedestrian light., and to chart how an earlier elite's possession of the landscape by descriptive texts is replaced in the 19th and 20th centuries by the formerly dispossessed gaining access to spaces of excursive walking.

There are three sections to this work. The first (Chapters 1-3) delves into an aesthetically-informed discourse of nation by tracing out the literary and artistic roots of landscape as an idiom for materializing culture. It brings into focus the 18th century English cultural elite's 'imagined community' of painted, printed and material more-or-less 'unpeopled' landscapes. On the one hand it contextualizes this within articulation and practices of British nationalism, and the popularization of the Picturesque. On the other, it uses this imagined community as a point from which to lay out a series of related fields of tension within 'polite society', and between polite society and the dispossessed, immiserated by the enclosure movement.

This section culminates with the who and the what, the where and the when of the production of The Lake District -- its movement from empty space to valorized place. Of course, long before its popularity *as* The Lake District, it *was* a 'place' for the women, children and men who labored and died there. The experiential intensity of 'place', wrought through their interaction with the land, can be extrapolated from the clearance of boulder and stone-strewn valleys to make fields and construct drystone fieldwalls. It can also be read in the far-flung network of walls that snake out over the mountainsides, forming perhaps what are the most characteristic human-made landscape features of this region. A verbal counterpart to these physical markers of place exist in the extraordinary number of named crags, outcroppings, ravines, passes and paths, rivulets, falls and tarns, patches of bog, scree slopes, mountain ridges and flanks that predate the 19th-century Ordnance Survey. The spatial practices of physical engagement and naming form a double inscription of meaning set down on the landscape, defining it as place long before it *became* 'The Lake District'.

# MAP 1

## MAP OF BRITAIN SHOWING THE TEN NATIONAL PARKS



As the second section (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) continues the process of rendering landscape problematic within a political-economy paradigm, it widens the range of what is brought into view to include the Peak District -- where the class-based issue of access took on an increasingly strident pitch. The Lake District, around which 'a' version of an homogenous English national identity was being constructed by an educated elite, paradoxically became the site of cultural differentiation of class participation in this landscape. Both landscapes became sounding boards of national sentiment that exposed different claims to history -- to the primacy of either pre- or post-Norman 'Englands'.

The politics of access in the Peak District centered on poaching; in the Lake District it centered on aesthetics. The key to this difference is the vegetative cover. The Peak's moorland heather (*Callunus vulgaris*) is the preferred nesting site for red grouse (*Lagopus lagopus scoticus*), as well as being their major food source. Access in the Peak District centered around a clash between a grouse-shooting elite who wanted to protect from poachers the grouse being reared for the kill, and locals and walkers (and poachers) from the surrounding industrial towns who wanted to maintain ancient rights of way across the moors or who wanted to wander at will upon areas of open moorland.

Since heather is not an overwhelming part of the Lake District's vegetative ensemble, grouse rearing has not been an issue there. But aesthetics have. Endowed with literary significance since the early 1700s, Lake District landscapes came under threat of massive and permanent damage from rail and mining interests in the 19th century. Because opposition to such intrusions was conducted by a highly educated elite, it not only inaugurated a debate about these particular landscapes' preservation at a national level, but also about landscape preservation generally -- especially the preservation of those Commons which had survived the depredations of Parliamentary Enclosures.

From the 1830s through the 1930s, legislative, legal and extra-legal challenges were made to legal, quasi-legal and illegal practices concerning access. The central areas around which these battles were fought were the Lake and Peak Districts. The cross-currents

between actions taken in both areas fueled post-1945 enabling legislation by which ten national parks were established in the uplands of England and Wales between 1951 and 1957. Those parks are: Lake District, Peak District, Dartmoor, Snowdonia (all designated 1951); Pembrokeshire Coast, North York Moors (1952); Exmoor, Yorkshire Dales (1954); Northumberland (1956); and the Brecon Beacons (1957). These ten parks represent about 9% of the land surface of England and Wales. Late-19th and early 20th-century efforts to preserve Commons were influential in the establishment of the national parks: "for instance 30% of Breconshire, 25% of Westmorland (Lake District) and 16% of North Yorkshire were Common" (Reed 1991:33 n.11). This section also deals with the re-emergence in the 1990s of demands for open access to land both within and outside of national parks, and the environmental rhetoric used in contested spatial practices.

The third section (Chapters 7 and 8) moves into the ethnographic present, drawing upon participant-observation with walkers in the Lake District, the Peak District, locally-based walking clubs, and interviews with representatives of national walking organizations. This peripatetic ethnography looks at how social relations are spatialized, and spatial relations are socialized as it investigates the way in which walking is a socially constitutive force shaping personal identity and a 'sense' of community under the impact of social fragmentation, global economic restructuring, and European integration. The powerful attachment to place, particularly the Lake District, is explored in depth with three women whose lives have been marked by engagement with walking.

Topics addressed in this section also include race and the English landscape as a landscape of non-identity, as well as a gendered view of walking. In problematizing the culture of walkers in a highly stratified society as thickly strewn with class markers as Wordsworth's hills were strewn with daffodils, a primary question has been whether walking groups cross-cut class as they create spaces for new structures of feeling.

Amongst other things, the conclusion considers whether the northern mountainous landscape of the Lake District still functions as another version or vision of 'England'. A

London-oriented Home Counties image of the south-east is projected in the literature as the quintessence of the 'Crown Heartland' of 'Deep' England, another example of metonymic misrepresentation, of how 'the south' is especially made to stand for the whole of a country or region (Cosgrove, Roscoe and Nycroft 1996, Fernandez 1988, Wiener 1981, Wright 1985). The question the conclusion has to address is whether under the impact of Britain's social fragmentation and economic restructuring, the idea that certain places are more truly 'England' is an idea put into practice -- in this instance -- through the practice of walking.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES: THE CLASS/IFICATION OF VIEWS

**In times when subjects of education have multiplied, it may seem at first sight a hardship to lay on the already heavily-pressed student a new science. But it will be found that the real effect of Anthropology is rather to lighten than increase the strain of learning. In the mountains we see the bearers of heavy burdens contentedly shoulder a carrying-frame besides, because they find its weight more than compensated by the convenience of holding together and balancing their load. So it is with the science of Man and Civilization which connects into a more manageable whole the scattered subjects of an ordinary education.**

Tylor 1891: v

**Operating ... at the juncture of history and politics, social relations and cultural perceptions, landscape has to be ... an area of study that blows apart the conventional boundaries between the disciplines.**

Bender 1993:3

#### Introduction

What follows constitutes trespass. But I think it is worth the risk. I am after what I have come to understand as more-or-less 'unpeopled landscapes' that have occurred in various cultural arenas. I acknowledge that my trespasses are decidedly more of the hedgerow-hugging variety than deep exploration -- indeed I think they would take me precariously too far afield if they were otherwise. And I go pretty far afield as it is. But what I hope to arrive at, for England, is the culturally-valued phenomenon of unpeopled landscapes, and their dissemination in actual and representational form as a medium for the formation of identity. As that overview emerges, so too will its counter image. Between them, they will help bring into focus a politics of access.

The perspective from which I approach landscape treats it as "a vast network of cultural codes" (Mitchell 1994). This chapter is informed by the converging influences of two classical texts which legitimated West European landscape painting as a genre. I come at these two texts through four sets of paired relationships that I view as cultural productions, which helped shape reality, rather than merely mimicking it (Barnes & Duncan 1992).

Covering a range of media, these four dyadic sets are (1) landscape and early theater, (2) prints and imprints of power, (3) 17th century Italian landscape paintings and the landscapes of 18th century English country seats, and (4) 18th century theater landscape scenery and panoramas. I see these sets as moments in the dialectical processes of class relations from which various cultural productions emerged, productions that themselves served to further mystify class. None of these cultural productions are examined in exhaustive depth -- that is not the point of their presence here. Rather, I have striven for simplification without, I hope, too much distortion. Inevitably, the media that are closer in time to my central argument, receive more attention. I am aware that as far as disciplinary 'fields' are concerned there are likely to be irate gamekeepers around. To them I would say that I am not interested in poaching, only in catching sight of the view.

By moving between these four dyadic sets, and drawing upon their interrelated linkages and mutual influences, I show that in 18th-century England, the cultural elite shared in an imagined community of painted, printed and actual 'unpeopled landscapes'. In doing so, I subscribe to the view that landscape can be thought of as a verb not simply a noun, that landscape *does*, that it is "an instrument of cultural power", and is a cultural practice "by which social and subjective identities are formed" (Mitchell 1994: 1-2) and through which class is expressed. I see the grid of linkages and influences that I trace out below as being part of that "complex cultural process (whereby) geographical space and the social formation are constructed with ... hierarchies of high and low," registers that "are continually structured, legitimated and dissolved by reference to the vertical symbolic hierarchies which operate in ... other domains" (Stallybrass & White 1986:2-3). By following how the elite's cultural imagery diffused down the social scale, naturalizing itself on the way into "what Marx called a 'social hieroglyph,' an emblem of the social relations it conceals" (Mitchell 1994: 15), I set the scene for my larger argument concerning the 19th-early 20th century struggle for the democratization of 'the view' through a peopling of the landscape. The unpeopled/peopled

opposition is a class issue that continues across many time periods and many locations and frames my ethnography of mountain walkers. This then, is where trespass begins.

### Landscape and early theater

The traditional art-historical paradigm states that with rare exceptions, classical and medieval landscape representations were "landscapes of symbols", rather than "landscapes of fact" capable of conveying impressions of sensation (Clarke 1949). What to our sensibilities are 'modern' landscapes, that is ones reflecting a sense of space and the effects of light, first occurred in 15th century Flemish and Italian art. This shift was driven by empirical observation, scientific curiosity and mathematical calculation (Clark 1949, Jackson 1980, Rosand 1988). The advent of scientific perspective in Renaissance Italy made it possible to represent expansive high views and deep vistas in mathematically correct terms, an accuracy that is said not to be found outside of Europe. The complacency and innocence of that paradigm, which posits a European linear progression to a "new way of seeing" that produces 'real' landscapes for has been critiqued as ideological mystification (Barrell 1980, Bermingham 1986, McWilliam & Potts 1983, Mitchell 1994). For that 'new way of seeing' could be manipulated to obscure as much as it revealed.

While geometry and mathematics are the 'scientific' roots of the "perspectival gaze in which the observer is always outside and above the action" (Bender 1993:10), the observer actually occupies an aestheticised 'pictorial' point of view. Educated hands and eyes construct, receive and interpret one view, while the engaged ground-level laborer constructs, receives and interprets another. Filtered through social and aesthetic categories of 'high' and 'low', literal and metaphorical 'perspective' is what determines which view is available to whom. Perspective and theater intersected in scenery as the science of perspective enabled new illusions of space to be brought to the stage.<sup>1</sup> Though painted landscape scenery

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<sup>1</sup> 'Scene' and 'scenery' are words borrowed from the theater: in antiquity 'scene' meant the background of a stage (Oxford English Dictionary 1971). The Greek *skene*, Latin *scaena*, French *scene* -- all meant or mean 'stage'. Our own 'scenes

conveyed the illusion of great depths and distances, it was far from realistic. Landscape entered into Renaissance art theory through architectural discourse, as Italian Renaissance theater drew upon Vitruvius' *de Architectura*, (a first century A.D. architectural treatise) to match the mode of drama to stage setting.<sup>2</sup>

This treatise is an exhaustive ordering of architectural spaces, their styles, proportions, construction, decoration and meaning carried by combinations of those categories. In amongst practical instructions on the building of theaters, Vitruvius outlined three modes of theater: tragic, comic, satiric (Vitruvius 1960: 150). Tragedy was to be played against architectural elements associated with public buildings -- reflecting the heroic deeds of public figures; comedy was to be played against domestic architectural elements -- reflecting the activities of private citizens; while satiric plays -- involving an idealized world of shepherds and peasants' nymphs and satyrs -- were to be staged against landscape. Landscape was not an appropriate backdrop for significant human action. That belonged to the realm of city and citizen.

Landscape was also assigned the lowest point on the scale of genres of painting, indeed it did not even warrant discussion in the first Renaissance treatise on painting (Rosand 1988). Nevertheless, it was the critical element in a highly important literary text -- the *Idylls* of Theocritus (born c. 310 B.C.), an extensive pastoral which had long been a source of poetic inspiration. Virgil's *Eclogues* (written c.42-37 B.C.) expanded upon the *Idylls*, translated them from Greek to Latin, imbued them with a moral direction, and transposed them from Sicily to an imagined Arcadia (Rosand 1988, Short 1991, Taylor 1961). The publication in Italian of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in 1540 not only brought this pastoral aesthetic to a wider European audience, but acted as an impetus to its pictorial expression. The works of Leonardo da Vinci, Giorgione, Titian and their circles, enabled

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of childhood' are a borrowing from the theater made into metaphor (Jackson 1980). 'Landscape' indicated the background or 'scenery' in a portrait, figure-painting or stage set (Oxford English Dictionary 1971).

<sup>2</sup> *De Architectura* had been copied and recopied through the Middle Ages, with its first printed edition appearing in Rome about 1486 (Summerson 1983).

landscape to begin to evolve (though not in any linear fashion), as an independent subject matter with its own priorities and aesthetic (Cafritz, Gowing & Rosand 1988). As a genre of painting, landscape underwent transformation from an aesthetic based upon vastness of scale capable of inspiring a religious or quasi-religious experience in the observer, to a classicized, Arcadian aesthetic that was literally more down-to-earth..

Evidence that the metaphor of landscape-as-theater had common currency among European reading elites can be found in the frequency with which the word 'theater' appears in the titles of 16th and 17th century printed works relating to land. These include cosmographies, geographies, collected illustrations of cities, and manuals of land-use instruction. In the latter category, both Theocritus and Virgil have the status of "founding citations" (Short 1991). In the meanwhile, and in conjunction with the emergence of merchant capitalism, the landscape-as-theater metaphor entered vernacular usage and theater itself became less a matter of spatial illusion and magical spectacle, and more a matter of drama or psychological confrontation (Jackson 1980). The human passions and interests presented on stage are an example of the "detailed and candid dissection of human nature" preceding capitalism's harnessing or suppressing of them (Hirschman 1977).

The perspectival gaze served mercantile capitalism's ordering and codifying drive in various ways. One is the wide range of subject matter encompassed within the metaphor which, apart from land related topics, ran the gamut from 'theaters' of lace patterns to 'theaters' of mechanical engineering.<sup>3</sup> A second is the practical application of this new

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<sup>3</sup>A trawl of Italian, French and English printed books up to 1699 yielded numerous examples. A representative selection includes: theaters of the world: *Theatrum mundi* (1574), *Teatro del cielo e della terra* (1577, 1598, 1620, 1625, 1679, 1697), *Theatri orbis terrarum* (1606) *Theatre contenant la description ...de tout le monde* (1587, 1632); theaters of countries: *Nouveau theatre du monde: L'Afrique* (1681), *Theatre géographique ... de France* (1632), *The theatre of the empire of Great Britain, with the prospect of the most famous parts of the world* (1676), *Theatrum sabaudiae* (1682), *Teatro del Belgio* (1696), *Teatro della Turchia* (1683); theaters of cities and architecture: *Teatro delle città d'Italia* 1616), *Il Nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici di ...di Roma* (1665,1699), *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris* (1639), *Teatro storico di Velletri* (1644), *Teatro anatomico di Bologna* (1668); theaters of horticulture: *Le Theatre d'Agriculture et mesnage des champs* (1646), *Theatre des jardinages* (1663) *Teatro farmaceutico* (1675, 1681, 1686, 1696); theaters of

landscape perspective, what might be called the 'art' of capitalism. The reciprocal relationship between the new artistic rendering of space and the technical practices of cartography and land surveying resulted in topography becoming invested with artistic concerns of light, as well as linear and aerial perspective. The cartographic record of the Venetian Republic's shift from a maritime economy to the capitalization of estates is a good example of this 'art' (Cosgrove 1988).

The perspectival gaze operated in two quite different modes. One was representational, allowing three dimensions to be realistically conveyed on a single plane, so that the actual experience of space was made available to the audience. The second was political, where European expansion was achieved through the mastery of all that was figuratively and literally surveyed. Although the "irregularity of the natural landscape ... disqualified it as a preferred stage" for significant human action in ancient and Renaissance theater (Rosand 1988: 23), the natural landscape *did* submit to such action in the subsequent world of politics and economics, "triangulation by triangulation, war by war, treaty by treaty" (B. Anderson 1991: 173). As trade and commerce followed the flag, and new territories were surveyed and described in rational, scientific, and economic ways of seeing, engravings of the new territories' landscapes worked themselves back into the theater as stage sets.

Space is linked to concepts of power. Whether examined as forms of discourse, representation or physical reality, landscape and territory are embedded in relations of power and knowledge (B. Anderson 1991, Barnes & Duncan 1992, Bowen 1981, Darian-Smith, Gunner & Nuttall 1996, Foucault 1980, Harley 1988, Parmenter 1994). The early Renaissance' sense of space, articulated through perspective, allowed for a visual

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lacemaking, engineering, diet and customs, cookery etc. *Teatro...si rappresentano varij disegni di lavori* (1607, 1616, 1620), *Novo teatro di machine et edifici* ... (1607, 1656), *Theatre des instrumens mathematiques & mechaniques* (1578), *Il teatro delle parole...commentario & catalogo* (1553), *A theatre of wits, ancient and modern* (1660) *Le theatre de l'art de charpentier* (1664); and finally, theaters of government, war and church-state relations: *Teatro ...politico de' governi.. del regno di Napoli* (1691), *Theatre of God's judgements* (1597) *Il teatro della perfidia ... dell' Hebreismo* (1689), *Le theatre de la guerre dans les Sevennes* (1690).

appropriation of landscape. At the same time a parallel (as well as unparalleled) political appropriation of territory began (Wolf 1982). The imposition of intellectual order upon unruly, though soon to be ruled, continents, was marked by a flurry of classificatory enumeration, categorization and mapping (Cosgrove 1988, Hodgen 1964, Thomas 1983), the "investigative modalities" by which knowledge was gathered, ordered and transformed into technologies of control and collections of artifacts, antiquities and art were put together (Cohn 1996). Such processes transformed neutral geographical territory into culturally defined landscapes, generating and naturalizing the identities ascribed to them and their inhabitants (Darian-Smith, Gunner & Nuttall 1996, Smith 1985). Print capitalism was a major means for the dissemination of those cultural landscapes.

#### Prints and imprints of power

A common language permeating all levels of society is central to the concept of imagined community (B. Anderson 1991). While the vernacular printed *word* was a shared sign, a sort of new-style communion wafer absorbed not into the body but the mind, there was an important pictorial component to print-capitalism as well. Indeed the printed *image* is an even more democratic 'language', being more immediately accessible to the less literate and illiterate (Patricia Anderson 1991, Atherton 1974; Newman 1987). If the discourse of landscape can be posited as the nonarbitrary sign of the "sacred silent language" necessary for imagined community (Mitchell 1994), then topographical illustrations must be its purest expression. Medieval and early Renaissance landscape depictions are most often presented as colorful panoramas revealing or supporting a divine order. Landscape paintings of the High Renaissance operate within the more intimate scale and setting of the pastoral. Under the impact of European exploration and colonization, landscape depictions revealing or supporting a now *Protestant* divine order, moreover one that lent itself to mercantile capitalism, were incorporated into "the black and white of the printed word or the steel engraving" (Jackson 1980).

English topography of the 17th and early 18th century was particularly robust. It reflected the long-established importance assigned to empirical observation, the role of professional draughtsmen trained in the descriptive sciences who surveyed and described lands both at home and abroad, and the patronage of gentlemen antiquaries who retained professional topographical artists (Smith 1985). Illustrated accounts of voyages of discovery and exploration presented to an ever-increasing audience the all-encompassing gaze that ranged over a panoramic 'world' landscape. The *cultural* commodification of landscape can be seen in the collections of prints, illustrated books, journals, and newspapers that fueled and serviced widespread public interest in England in such accounts. Interest in 'exotic' landscapes was paralleled by a similar engagement with landscapes of home. English illustrated county histories far outnumbered their European counterparts (Harris & Jackson-Stops 1984).

The word 'imprint' has multiple meanings. It can refer to the publisher's name and address that appears on a book's frontispiece (an illustration generally facing the title-page),<sup>4</sup> the physical mark of a house on the land, the culturally indelible mark of a particular class, or an immutable 'impression' -- which is also in the vocabulary of the world of books and prints. A concatenation of all these meanings is gathered-up in one type of printed image to which I now turn. Known as bird's-eye views, these prints of the imprints of power epitomize the perspectival gaze. Although found across Europe, those under consideration here relate only to the English landscape. Indeed 'bird's-eye view' is one definition of 'landscape' in English usage (Oxford English Dictionary 1971).

The folio-sized London-published *Nouveau theatre de la Grande Bretagne* (Kip and Knyff 1708) is what might be called the ultimate illustrated (and cross-)county history. An opening essay describing the various seats is written in French, thereby further confirming the distance that separated the reading elite for whom it was intended from the more

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<sup>4</sup>'Frontispiece' is also a word in the architectural vocabulary where it refers to a building's main façade or its entryway.

'democratic language' of the printed image. Subscriptions were paid by members of the nobility and aristocracy to ensure that their country seats were drawn and engraved for the *Theatre*. Its eighty double plates (45 x 30 cm.) have litanies of titles and ranks set below them in English.<sup>5</sup> (Was the publisher savvy enough to realize that it would never do to have one's place in the *Theatre* without being accorded one's placement in the cultural hierarchy in a language that one could be *sure* was understood by those who counted?) The bird's-eye views of palaces and country seats visually dominate their surrounding countryside-- as the elite who inhabited them dominated the country socially, politically and economically:

When the Duke of Beaufort dined in state in the saloon behind the central frontispiece at Badminton, he was at the hub of a web of converging avenues stretching far into the surrounding countryside, underlying the fact that all the local avenues of power and influence converged on him -- not just as a great landowner and heir of an ancient family, but as Lord Lieutenant and Lord President of Wales.

(Girouard 1980: 145)

Turning plate after plate of the imposingly-sized first edition of *Nouveau theatre*, looking at regimented rows of trees and clipped topiary, symmetrically disposed plinths set with busts, and ranks of statues all centered on one country seat after another, it suddenly becomes apparent that they look for all the world like silent audiences waiting for the empty stages of these vast baroque gardens to be animated. For the sets are largely unpeopled. Occasionally a few men are shown playing bowls, the odd carriage with attendant outriders arrives, and in one or two instances the horses and hounds of a hunt stream across distant fields.

The agricultural setting is depicted as no less empty of people than the immediate surroundings of the country house. If agricultural laborers appear at all, which is rare, and

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<sup>5</sup>A fairly representative example of the now Gilbert-and-Sullivan-esque effect is the titling of Plate XII, which is of Badminton, "one of the seats of the Most Noble & Potent Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort, Marquesse & Earle of Worcester, Baron Herbert of Chepstow Raglan & Gower and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter". Consuming passion for the niceties of peerage status extended well beyond the peerage itself, as exemplified by *The Gentleman's Magazine* that devoted eight years (1747-1754) to illustrating the complete arms of the peers of England, Scotland and Ireland.

despite the huge amount of labor actually required to bring in the harvest, it is as a single group of four or five women and men harvesting fields so vast that they couldn't possibly work their way through them by Michaelmas!<sup>6</sup> Whether harvesting, raking hay, or loading the harvest wagons, they are literally as well as metaphorically peripheral: set at a distance, on-the-edge indicators of a well-ordered estate, the marginalia of the landed base that was itself the bulwark of 'the' state. It is for this reason that *Nouveau theatre* can be 'read' as a political and not simply an aesthetic document. That the base of human labor underpinning this display had to be obscured requires some explanation. And the explanation, as I see it, relates to the eventual 'peopling' of the landscape.

Those who had access to these bird's-eye views, either as subscribers, purchasers, or members of patronage circles receiving individual prints, knew very well that harvesting was a labor-intensive activity. The absence of agricultural laborers in plate after plate when harvest time is *the* moment presented, has to be more than some kind of artistic oversight, given the topographical specificity underlying the whole project.<sup>7</sup> While some scholars have put it down to the landowning elite's nostalgia for "preferred" landscapes (Prince 1988, Barrel 1980), others would see it as a telling marker of the fear of collective action (Vardi 1995), or as the ideological functioning of the superstructure (Bermingham 1986).

Perhaps a way of combining such understandings would be to see this theater of prints both as an internally circulating expression of an ideational landscape that carried the social imprint of a dominant class, *and* as an externally circulating means for the dissemination of that ideational landscape. As for the absence of labor and laborers, a combined understanding brings us to the symbolic dissonance between the high and the low:

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<sup>6</sup>Michaelmas, September 29th, was one of the four English Quarter Days when agricultural rents were paid, tenancies began and ended, and when magistrates were chosen.

<sup>7</sup>In this regard, the c. 1710-20 oil painting of *Dixton Manor, Haymaking*, is "unique in the genre of prospect painting in focusing on a working field" (Prince 1988). Compare its 23 mowers and some 50 other women and men (representing "more than half the able-bodied people of the village") with the groups of 4 or 5 workers in plates in the *Nouveau theatre*.

the numerous statues and plinthed busts radiating in orderly fashion from the country seats, and the paucity of bent or gesturing agricultural workers scattered in the fields. Each is the symbolic inversion of the other. In the following quotation, 'grotesque' "designates the marginal, the low and the outside from the perspective of (that which is) situated as high, inside and central by virtue of its very exclusions" (Stallybrass & White 1986). Of critical importance to the exploration of categories of high and low is Bakhtin's observation of

the compelling difference between the human body as represented in popular festivity and the body as represented in classical statuary... He noticed how the two forms of iconography 'embodied' utterly contrary registers of being. To begin with the classical statue was always mounted on a plinth which meant that it was elevated, static and monumental. In the one simple fact of the plinth or pedestal the classical body signalled a whole different somatic conception from that of the grotesque body which was usually multiple, ... teeming, always already part of a throng. By contrast, the classical statue is the radiant centre of a transcendent individualism, 'put on a pedestal', raised above the viewer and the commonality and anticipating passive admiration from below. ... The grotesque body is emphasized as mobile, split, multiple self, a subject of pleasure in processes of exchange; and it is never closed off from either its social or ecosystemic context. The classical body on the other hand keeps its distance.

(Stallybrass & White 1986:21-2)

The 'transcendent individualism' encoded in the country house depended in part upon its agricultural base, at the same time that it depended upon the repudiation of the "sweaty vulgar" (Hill 1992) who worked that agricultural base. That repudiation is given further symbolic value in prints that *themselves* delineated authority and social status while simultaneously furthering the identity they helped to establish. Significantly, the true source of wealth supporting this nexus of country, country house, and country house living was no longer entirely based on agricultural labor, but included trade, commerce and even industry. Such 'theaters' of prints as I examine here also served to obscure the social relations of these money-making activities, masking wealth in a rhetoric of land.

Two meanings of 'country' come through clearly in these prints: the territoriality of the nation, and land that was agriculturally productive. The theater of bird's-eye views straddled these linked fields of power in which wealth, territorial, and status elites coalesced. The collection formed a double imprint of power: the country seat *as* the state in its localized

form was 'state/d' over and over again, while the *Theatre* as an object of material culture was the means of an extended display of status within and between categories of membership in 'the land.' In a process of mutual reinforcement of cultural imagery, the nation, and those who politically and economically represented the nation, were re-presented through land.

While *Nouveau theatre* shrank in size (the original 45 x 30 cm. became 23 x 36 cm.), a tangle of future editions expanded in scope,<sup>8</sup> going from the original one volume of 1708 to five volumes in 1715, with new editions being brought out up through the 1720s. The phenomenal popularity of the enterprise speaks to the expanding gentry's entry into land ownership and country-house living in the late-17th to mid-18th century, thereby lending substance to the myth of an open elite in England (Girouard 1980, Stone and Stone 1986). It also speaks to the importance attached to 'gentlemen' being well-versed in architectural matters. The widening circle of those whose country seat or seats made it into *Nouveau theatre*, or *Britannica Illustrata* -- another title under which various imprints were sold -- was further enlarged by the practice of distributing individual prints within patronage circles.<sup>9</sup> Cultural capital and landscape were inseparably entwined. Though mercantile wealth did not itself confer cultural capital, it provided the means of acquiring it. With the mercantile elite's literal buying-in to the aristocracy, property replaced blood in legitimating cultural leadership of the nation, and the landscaping of the English country house reified those power relations (Olwig 1993).

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<sup>8</sup> The publication history of *Nouveau theatre* is very difficult to pin down. Even the publication date of the first edition is in question - either 1707 or 1708. I have used the date of the copy I examined in Columbia's Avery Library. Some editions include plates of a later date than the title page with which they are bound; five volumes of plates are bound in three physical volumes, four in two, or two in one; sometimes the collection is published under the title *Britannica Illustrata*; the number of plates varies tremendously; plates are not always drawn or engraved by either Knyff or Kip while some plates are both drawn and engraved by Kip; and some editions include views of towns, churches, cathedrals and maps.

<sup>9</sup> The Duke of Newcastle for instance ordered 400 prints of the engravings of his properties from Kip, while the Duchess of Beaufort ordered multiple prints of hers in order to have them bound in sets and given away (Harris & Jackson-Stops 1984).

The banker Henry Hoare II (1705-1785), helped finance the aristocracy's early-18th century re-landscaping spree (Woodbridge 1989). Axially-planned baroque gardens and forests such as had been depicted in the *Theatre*, were replaced by open and pseudo-naturalistic parkland. Interest generated on these extensive loans, plus profits from his engagement in the slave trade, helped provide the capital for Hoare's own major landscaping project undertaken at his Wiltshire estate, Stourhead. It was rebuilt in classical Roman style and landscaped into a sumptuous vision of Arcadia. Stourhead is now considered the 'jewel in the crown' of Britain's National Trust. Hoare successfully transformed property in people to status in property, thereby giving physical form to yet another link in the "mind-forged manacles" that obscured social relations -- whether those based upon slavery abroad, or poverty at home ([Blake 1794] Abrams 1986).

As the grounds of stately homes lost their rigid axial formality -- a style contemporaries associated with France's political system of monarchical absolutism -- the aesthetic principles governing the houses themselves became "the epitome of ordered rectilinear rationality" (Stone and Stone 1986). In the remodeling of both grounds and buildings we meet again with the two classical texts mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Vitruvius' *De Architectura* had been central to Andrea Palladio's (1508-80) fiercely symmetrical reinterpretation of Roman architecture. Palladianism, the style derived from Palladio's buildings and publications, had been introduced into England by Inigo Jones (1573-1652) in the very early years of the 17th century, but a fully-fledged neoPalladian or neoclassical revival came almost a hundred year's later, marked by Colen Campbell's three-volume *Vitruvius Britannicus* (published 1715, 1717, 1725). Engravings of Inigo Jones' classically-inspired buildings were gradually supplemented by illustrations of Campbell's and other neoclassical architects' commissions for members of the English aristocracy, as their great country seats and town houses were remodeled or rebuilt.

## Italian campagna to English countryside

Education in the classics shaped cultural perceptions and values that were eventually inscribed in the physical landscape. More widespread formal education of English elite males at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge exposed them to Greek and Roman literature and the aesthetics of classical architecture. Such knowledge was considered essential to the acquisition of cultured taste and manners -- attributes of a 'gentleman' that mattered more than pedigree (Girouard 1980, Stone and Stone 1986). Study of classical literature and architecture "functioned as an extra, expensive piece of intellectual equipment to take into the field" (Andrews 1989), and helped to encourage a new appreciation of landscape. It also exposed the well-educated to the oppositional relationship of city and country portrayed in classical literature, which elevated country life to a higher sphere either by transforming the harsh realities of agricultural production into an idealized vision of pastoral serenity, (as exemplified in Virgil's *Eclogues*), or by locating moral integrity in the work of the rural world (as in Virgil's *Georgics*) (Miles 1980; Williams 1973).

Education and travel combined to reinforce the 18th century Oxbridge elite's way of intellectualizing landscape in pictorial and literary terms. The semi-obligatory Grand Tour to Italy enabled young English 18th century connoisseurs -- or *dilettanti* as they were called -- to purchase not only antiquities (sometimes fakes), but also their great collections of late-17th century Italian and Dutch-Italianate landscape paintings that depicted an idealized and classicized Italian *campagna*.<sup>10</sup> A Society of Dilettanti was formed in London as a sort of

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Walpole (son of the Prime Minister) and the Earl of Shaftsbury were among those connoisseurs who invested the wild and rugged mountain scenes painted by Salvator Rosa in the previous century with a cult-like status that reminded themselves of the 'sublime terror' of their own Alpine journeys on the Grand Tour. As Schama makes clear, this totalizing association of Rosa with "desolate mountainscapes where brigands set upon unfortunate travellers" was something of an invention of the connoisseurs, since "such scenes were actually only a small part of Salvator's output, which was dominated, like any Baroque artist who sought to be taken seriously, by histories, sacred and classical, and by portraits" (Schama 1996: 454). But as Schama suggests, this segment of Rosa's spectrum of subject matter seems to have answered to a psychological need for what was to eventually blossom as neo-Gothic suspense and horror.

dining club for Grand Tour returnees in 1734 (Cust 1898). It was composed of young noblemen and men of wealth and position who formed interlocking circles of political and cultural influence, and whose wives and daughters helped cement relations through service at court, and elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The Grand Tour was not simply a question of a few months spent on the Continent; it often involved two, three, or more years during which time 'the finishing touches' were added to "young Englishmen of position". Even the likes of Dr. Johnson confessed to feelings of inferiority for never having been able to make the Tour (Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990). Especially in Italy, the *dilettanti* collected art works with something approaching abandon,<sup>12</sup> which stimulated a London art market as they and fellow connoisseurs continued to acquire antiquities and paintings.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Members of the Society in the 18th century were attached to the Royal Household, some were Dukes, Lords, Ambassadors, more than one Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was a member. Others held the office of Privy Councillor, Lord of the Treasury, or held high government posts at home and abroad. There were Members of Parliament, directors of the South Sea Company and the East India Company, envoys to foreign Courts, Bishops, Archbishops, Professors, extremely wealthy merchants, architects and aestheticians

<sup>12</sup> A practice had developed in the 1720s of English visitors to Rome having their portraits painted, often with classical architectural monuments as backgrounds attesting to their presence among them. In the 1750s this practice took on a vastly expanded dimension as portraits painted by Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) became 'the rage'. The *dilettanti* could be depicted as Ottoman Turks, Rosa's *banditti*, or simply themselves. Either way, they were extraordinary accurate likenesses and cost a great deal less than a similar portrait by Reynolds. Some 160 portraits survive of English tourists, with another 40 of Irish, Scottish and Welsh sitters. (Clark 1985). Something of the sheer quantity of the stuff being brought back from the Grand Tour is indicated by the need for buildings to house the collections. In 1725 the Earl of Burlington designed a villa at Chiswick for his collections; beginning in 1754, the 2nd Lord Egremont formed the South Corridor at Petworth for his collection of Greek and Roman sculpture; and in 1770 Robert Adam added a series of rooms to Newby Hall in Yorkshire to contain William Weddell's collection of Greek and Roman sculpture. A painting by Johan Zoffany (1733-1810), entitled *Charles Towneley's Library in Park Street*, (1781-83), shows a crowded assemblage of part of Towneley's collection of marbles -- which were considered "the best and most famous English collection of classical sculptures of its day" (Webster 1976: 72)-- presided over by their collector and members of the circle of travellers, antiquaries and public figures. It is in a sense an Anglicized version of his earlier painting commissioned for Queen Charlotte, entitled *The Tribuna of the Uffizi*, (1772-78). That painting shows the central room of the Florentine Medici gallery which was "the culminating artistic experience of a Grand Tour" (Webster 1976:60), stupifyingly jam-packed with pictures, statuary and English *dilettanti*. Everything is shown in such detail that objects long-since

The baroque setting of the English country house was then reconfigured to accord with the Arcadian aesthetic that informed, and was in turn reinforced by, the acquisition of unrivaled collections of the classicized pastoral paintings of Claude, Poussin, Dughet and their circles.<sup>14</sup> The relandscaping of the English country house thus emerged from an education in a classically-rooted pastoral literature (Theocritus' *Idylls* by way of Virgil's *Eclogues* and Sannazaro's *Arcadia* to put it in its most pared-down form), and that literature's pictorial interpretation. The result was neoclassically conceived buildings surrounded by literally 'picturesque' landscaped parks structured along pastoral lines.

As the surroundings of the English aristocracy's and upper gentry's houses began to be relandscaped to conform to the contrived naturalness of this classicised genre of painting, the distinctions between reality and representation were blurred:

The ultimate 'realism' is achieved ...when the artistic signifier is a landscape garden which is virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding countryside ...[yet! When landscape and nature become one with a physical environment, this environment does not cease to bear value-laden, normative meanings concerning the natural. On the contrary, those meanings become even more naturalized because they no longer appear to derive from an artistic scene composed by a subject, an author or artist, but from objective physical reality itself.  
(Olwig 1993: 319)

That landscape could function as a theater of power is starkly apparent in Kip and Knyff's evolving engravings. The reconfigured landscape was no less a theater of power than before; it was simply a more 'natural' one which further mystified actual relations of power.

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disbursed to other museums can be identified in the *Tribuna* (Millar 1966). Inevitably, the men shown in this painting intersect with the circle of patrons of Batoni.

<sup>13</sup> The English sales rooms were awash with Italian landscape paintings: "three hundred landscapes attributed to Dughet" were sold between 1711 and 1759 alone (Andrews 1989: 28).

<sup>14</sup>Claude le Lorraine 1600-1682; Nicholas Poussin 1594-1665; Gaspard Dughet 1615-1675. Dughet was the brother-in-law of Nicholas Poussin in whose studio he worked and whose family name he took on. When a "Poussin" was referred to in the 18th century, it was likely to be a Dughet (Andrews 1989). These artists' classicised pastoral landscapes were suffused with golden light unlike that part of Salvator Rosa's (1615-1673) output that so appealed to 'pre-Gothic' taste (see footnote 10 above). Those works generally depicted wild and craggy storm-laden mountains or seascapes, peopled, respectively, with brigands or pirates.

The views through the windows of the great country houses now reflected the paintings hanging in their interiors.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, so tightly interrelated were 17th century pastoral paintings and the 18th century landscapes that they inspired, that those estates themselves have been considered "in a manner our oldest and grandest National Gallery" (Blunden 1935: 6). But those views, or prospects, could only be maintained -- whether in reality, literature or art -- by continuing to suppress or gloss-over the human labor of the agricultural base from which the landed elite derived a proportion of their wealth. What had been artistically 'left out' in the bird's-eye views considered above, was now literally 'taken out.' For the creation of aesthetically pleasing pastoral landscapes necessitated that agricultural processes, agricultural laborers, and even whole villages be removed from sight to create an unpeopled and picturesque landscape, pristinely available to the privileged viewer. Aesthetic clearances dovetailed with the economically-driven acceleration of Parliamentary enclosures, which meant that the impact of enclosure was intense and swiftly deep, leading to a reshaping of the moral order as well as the visual.<sup>16</sup> It was the collapse -- or perhaps a better word might be implosion -- of an earlier moral universe that informed the poetry of protest from Goldsmith to John Clare, which articulated "the sadness and anger of a whole people" for whom the "leaden present and the golden past are not just historical or mythological [but] personal experiences" (Brownlow 1983: 4). The experiential double-bind was that depopulation of the land was taking place at the same time that Malthus was

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<sup>15</sup> In an inverted mirroring of this, and under the twin influences of a romantic landscape aesthetic and the popularity of panoramas, in 1793 Sir Nigel Gresley commissioned Paul Sandby to decorate the walls of a room in his Peak District mansion with a panoramic perspective of a Peak District landscape. It covered the whole room -- apart from one wall which was given over to a window from which another segment of the 'panorama' could be seen. Here then is another twist to Olwig's "ultimate reality".

<sup>16</sup> About 85% of the 18th and 19th century's 5000+ enclosures acts took place between 1750 and 1830. Within that time frame there were two great periods of concentration: the 1760s to 1770s, and 1790s to 1800's. Together they accounted for 80% of the total Acts of Enclosure (Turner 1984).

writing about the terrors of 'over population'. Here then is the raw material of some of Blake's poems in his *Songs of Experience*.

Aesthetic clearances could be undertaken precisely because agriculture was no longer the only source of wealth. A poetry of protest so radical an 'unpeopling' inevitably followed (Brownlow 1983; Keith 1980; Sales 1983; Williams 1973), epitomized by "The Deserted Village" in which :

. . . The man of wealth and pride,  
Takes up a space that many poor supplied;  
Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,  
Thus fares the land, by luxury betrayed  
...While scourged by famine from the smiling land,  
The mournful peasant leads his humble band;  
And while he sinks without one arm to save,  
The country blooms - a garden, and a grave...

(Goldsmith [1773] Abrams 1968)

As this "drama of dispossession became a theatre of possession" (Boland 1995), the cultural elite looked beyond their scenic parkland to the enlarged and hedged fields of an "improved" agricultural landscape.<sup>17</sup> For at the same time that the relandscaping of the English country house had been taking place, rights in the commons continued to be extinguished, and village open-fields enclosed. Ironically, as the great sweep of parliamentary enclosures came to dominate the 18th and 19th centuries (Beresford 1961, Butlin 1979, Gonner 1912, Mingay 1979, Roseberry 1991, Tate and Turner 1978, Turner 1980), there occurred a visible displacement of the lines of power. The layout of the country house setting became sinuous, while the new and enlarged fields of the enclosure movement took on the rigid lines of the surveyors' rule. Power being what it is, the landscape of agricultural improvement also functioned as a site of entertainment for the inhabitants of the country seats.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For a case study of the range of social and economic consequences of enclosure by one landowning family over a 200-year period, that resulted in the eventual consolidation of status in the building of a neoclassical country seat and landscaped grounds in the 1750s, see John Broad (1990) *The Verneys as enclosing landlords* .

<sup>18</sup>Practices of agricultural improvement, considered "pursuits so truly worthy of a British nobleman" (Young 1771 cited in Stone & Stone 1986), led to the elite's

Landscape scenery in 18th century English theater and panoramas, and the education of an audience

Another way in which landscape moved into the realm of entertainment was through the theater. Though the meaning of 'realistic' disappears under the shimmering interplay between loam-and-vegetation re-presentations or interpretations of paintings that themselves imaginatively 'recreated' past landscapes of poetry, more realistic landscape representations *were* called for in the late-18th century London theater. 'Realistic' in this sense meant accurate representations of great country house landscapes, as well as specific landmark features appearing in illustrated publications such as *The Copper Plate Magazine* and *The Virtuosi's Museum* -- for whom theater scene-painters doubled as engravers (Parris 1973). And it was theater scene-painters who, by the mid-19th century, had quit the theater to paint panoramas (Hyde 1988).

But before examining this further, it is necessary to backtrack a little -- to Inigo Jones. For he had not only introduced classical architecture into England; as stage-designer for masques at the court of Charles I in the late-1500s/early-1600s, he had introduced Vitruvius's scenic recommendations to the English stage. Within English theater's then-prevailing formality of Italianate baroque symmetry (epitomized a hundred years later in the laid-out gardens and grounds of Kip and Kniff's *Nouveau theatre*), Jones designed rustic pastoral "settings (that) were more natural and ... more English in tone ... with their back shutters of tranquil cornfields" (Rosenfeld 1972).<sup>19</sup> As with his introduction of classical architecture, Inigo Jones' scenographic innovations also had to await to the 18th century before being

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increased involvement with the running of estates, and therefore to longer stays in the country. This necessitated entertainment that was in part provided by fox-hunting. Given the larger fields with their hedges that horses could easily jump, it quickly replaced an earlier age's stag-hunting that had relied on the broad axial chases transecting forested land (Girouard 1980, Stone & Stone 1986). Tenant-farmers generally had no redress for the damage caused by the passage of the hunt. Walking or driving the circular routes set out in the 'picturesque' grounds was another major source of 'polite' entertainment, as were amateur theatricals.

<sup>19</sup> In British English, corn is wheat.

developed in Drury Lane and Covent Garden's Theatre Royal, the patent theaters or companies licensed by Charles II after the Restoration.

In between times, landscape scenery found a home in English pantomime which maintained the earlier, *commedia dell' arte* elements of pageant and spectacle. Through its carnivalesque elements, pantomime functioned as a site of countenanced transgression of the social order. Here, landscape scenery was the backdrop against which rustics could castigate people of rank (Rosenfeld 1972), in a sort of symbolic 'reverse conversation' between the agricultural workers and classical sculptures of Kip's bird's-eye views. By mid-18th century, a landscape tradition had been established in the English pantomime. The demand for topographical and historical accuracy (which coincided with the early years of the English Romantic Movement), led to more realistic scenographic representation, including on-stage burning of (less-than-tranquil?) cornfields, and criticism if topographical details were not quite right (Baksheider 1993, Funkel 1996, Rosenfeld 1972). Pantomime straddled two worlds: the outdoors carnivalesque world of the fair, and the indoor world of theaters. Paradoxically, theaters were enclosed sites of assembly within which landscapes took on a special importance.

While the status of Georgian theater was generally "low", "suspect" and "unstable", legitimate actors in London moved with ease between licensed patent theaters and the 'licentious' domain of carnivals and fairs (Brewer 1997, Russell 1995, Stallybrass and White 1986). Great actors such as David Garrick made the acting profession respectable, thereby giving theater a 'role' in the development not only of polite public opinion, but a polite public. The notion of cultural semantics hinges upon such displacements between sites of discourse, each having its laws and protocols which serve to code social identity. Moreover,

...the most significant kinds of displacement are *across* diverse territories of semantic material and always appear to involve steep gradients, even precipitous leaps, between socially unequal discursive domains ...(which) regulate the body and discursive laws through the formation of manners, habits and attitudes *appropriate* (and it is this 'appropriateness' which is the crucial regulative factor) to each social domain.

(Stallybrass and White 1986: 198-9)

The social domains of theater audiences and 'the mob' did not seem to differ much as far as their unruly behavior was concerned. Audiences had to be 'civilized', restrained from treating the theater as a political arena in which the "socially encoded hierarchy of box, pit, and gallery" was boisterously and sometimes riotously played out (Russell 1995). The civilizing process required that the audience be reconfigured from Bakhtin's "grotesque body" referred to earlier, which was "multiple, teeming, always already part of a throng", to the stasis of the classical statue. The audience had to both know its place and agree to stay there, silent and still -- not milling about, talking and fighting during performances, or engaging in conversation with the performers. Interestingly enough, the Bakhtinian statue also appeared upon the stage, for by the late 18th century, pantomime techniques were used in legitimate theater to convey emotion: "freezing a moment of particular significance or emotional resonance" by striking poses that were "readable configurations visually conceived" (Baksheider 1993).

Theater for people of 'taste' became a site for realism in landscape scenery. Major sources for that realism were the highly-popular illustrated descriptions of Pacific voyages of discovery (Mitchell 1994, Rosenfeld 1972, Smith 1985), as well as the burgeoning fashion for picturesque touring within Britain (Baksheider 1993). One person in whom these threads met and gained expression was the landscape artist Phillipe de Louthembourg, a highly respected member of both the French Academy and later the Royal Academy. In 1772 he was engaged by the actor-manager David Garrick (a close friend of Oliver Goldsmith quoted above), as exclusive stage and scenery designer for a pantomime at the Drury Lane Theater. The close association between the two men, playwright and stage designer, was "a process that had not been adopted since the days of Inigo Jones," and through it de Louthembourg went on to become "one of the most influential stage designers England had ever seen" (Joppien 1973). Whether producing scenery in a romantic or picturesque vein (dramatic mountains and raging torrents, topographical sites, and stormy seas and skies), or panoramic views bathed in light, de Louthembourg's scenery was praised

by critics in terms of its likeness to 17th century Italian neoclassical painters (Funkel 1996). Scenery from his numerous and highly popular productions at Drury Lane and Covent Garden's Theatre Royal were "copied in the provincial theatres" (Rosenfeld 1972), thereby further disseminating the cultural elite's landscape taste to a broader public.<sup>20</sup>

In his pursuit of realism and the picturesque, de Louthembourg traveled to the Derbyshire Peak District in 1778 to make studies for the following year's Drury Lane pantomime "The Wonders of Derbyshire." Apart from the Duke of Devonshire's seat, Chatsworth, with its grand-scale formal garden and expansive park,<sup>21</sup> the 'wonders' were almost entirely geological formations, home-grown versions of 'curiosities' such as those illustrated in Hawkesworth's *Voyages* (1773).<sup>22</sup> As Smith writes, "Here, then, in the theatre as in painting, the representation of exotic landscapes and peoples was a harbinger of naturalism". "The Wonders of Derbyshire" was the first pantomime

on the British stage which concentrated exclusively on landscape as a form of theatrical representation, and the plot was simply developed as a pretext for a number of changes in scenery ... The construction of the scenery ... is particularly interesting in that it no longer follows the tradition of separating wings from borders, but unifies these two elements in a sweeping, oval, coherent curve.

(Joppien 1973)

It is the combination of de Louthembourg's scenographic realism and his stage's "coherent curve" that is of interest, as it eventually led to a naturalism that dispensed with actors entirely.

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<sup>20</sup> De Louthembourg also published topographical works of British scenery: *The Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain* (1801), *The Picturesque and Romantic Scenery of England* (1805).

<sup>21</sup> Knyff's 1699 bird's eye drawing of Chatsworth (Lees-Milne 1968) had appeared in Kip's *Nouveau theatre* (1708), and perspective views of Chatworth appeared in the first edition of *The Copper Plate Magazine* (1778).

<sup>22</sup> De Louthembourg was later to be in charge of the scenery and costumes for Covent Garden's pantomime "Omai: or a Trip Round the World" produced in 1785, 1786 and again in 1788, in which the published engravings of Captain Cook's Pacific voyages, and illustrations of Omai's visit to London, were reproduced as stage sets and scenery. Covent Garden's 1799 production of 'the play of the voyage' of La Pérouse was also noted for its realistic scenes of geological 'wonders' (Funkel 1996, Smith 1985).

From 1782 until 1793, de Louthembourg sporadically exhibited his *Eidophusikon*, a miniature theater devoted to unpeopled landscapes in which scenic effects *were* the performance (Funkel 1996, Joppien 1973). This presaged the advent of the panorama, with its total grasp of perspective, and later the moving panorama which was incorporated back into pantomime as a moving backdrop. In 1789 Robert Barker's 360° view of Edinburgh and its surroundings, what he called "nature at a glance," opened in London. In a manner that recollects the 'new way of looking' attributed to Renaissance perspective painting, the panorama is seen as having ushered in "a new age of verisimilitude...in the tradition of illusionistic perspective painting" (Wilcox 1988). In Paris in 1799 Robert Fulton exhibited

A grandiose, circular panorama of New World scenery, accurate in every detail and without the disturbing presence of a single actor, it was an immediate success.

(Jackson 1980: 77)

From de Louthembourg's "sweeping, oval, coherent curve" to an all-encompassing inverted panopticon in which the viewer saw no-one, the perspectival gaze was now fully realized. Here were theaters without actors, devoted to the display of landscapes without people (Jackson 1980). In Paris, Louis Daguerre, scene painter at the Paris Opéra and popular theaters, and inventor of the daguerrotype -- the earliest photograph -- went on to produce dioramas (partial as opposed to 360° views, and like de Louthembourg's *eidophusikon* placing great emphasis on the effects of light). They were of such startling realism that one contemporary wrote: "one attempts to leave one's box in order to wander out into the open and climb to the summit of the mountain" (quoted in Newhall 1964: 16). Landscape had moved from backdrop to foreground, taking on its own dramatic role in the process.

Panoramas and dioramas had their effect up and down the social scale. As a mode of entertainment they were initially seen by large numbers of the gentry and middling sorts, either in freestanding rotundas or as scrolling views in the patent theater pantomimes. Their public accessibility broadened during the 19th century as theater scene painters left pantomime production to paint panoramas for the peripatetic world of fair circuits. Scene painters also serviced panoramas and dioramas shown in provincial cities in rotundas

especially built for that purpose, which were complete with different facilities for "ladies and gentlemen" and "all other classes" (Hyde 1988). As modes of representation they so permeated traditional studio painting that contemporary critics saw panoramists as threatening the academy:

Le panorama est un phénomène populaire qui menace les élites et leur confiscation de la pratique artistique, d'autant plus que très vite les panoramistes vont s'aventurer sur la chasse gardée par excellence des académies, celle des batailles, de la guerre, qu'on peut assimiler de près ou de loin à la peinture d'histoire.

(quoted in Comment 1993: 60)

The panorama is a popular phenomenon that threatens the elites and their appropriation of artistic practice, the more so since the panoramists will very soon wander into the protected hunting grounds of the academies, those of battles, of war, which one can more or less liken to history painting.

The architectural and managed vegetative elements in the landscapes depicted by Kip and Knyff look like so many silent audiences waiting for the actors to arrive. The panoramic landscape *was* the actor, silently awaiting its audiences. Bird's-eye views and the earliest panoramic landscapes were virtually or entirely unpeopled. (Later panoramas often depicted battle scenes and peopled cityscapes.) Bird's-eye views were a cultural production for and about an elite segment of society, that relied upon multiple distances of space, language, manners, etc. between itself and the rest of the populace. Panoramas were a cultural production aimed at the widest possible audience that, paradoxically, at least in their early stage, gave their audiences the impression of being alone. Indeed to maintain this effect, the number of viewers admitted at any one time was sometimes limited. Panoramas gained such enormous popularity that the *Illustrated London News* referred to the phenomenon as a "panoromania" that also held sway with the "humbler classes" (Hyde 1988).

Panoramas imbued views and the act of viewing with cultural value, and disseminated that value widely. During the 19th century several million people in Britain flocked to panoramas by which they 'toured' the Mississippi, criss-crossed Europe, made Polar expeditions, and scaled Mont Blanc (Hyde 1988, Schama 1996, Wilcox 1988). Wilcox states that "The real success story of the panorama lay not in the creation of great lasting works of

art, but in the creation of a new public for art and a new conception of what a work of art could be" (Wilcox 1988). I would take this a step further. Paralleling the manner in which the landscape-as-theater metaphor had common currency amongst an earlier European reading elite, among whom it served to promote mercantile capitalism's perspectival gaze, the widespread and common currency of these 'bird's-eye-views-in-the-round' subtly promoted the shift from pseudo-travel to actual engagement with landscapes.

This was an engagement rife with commercial possibilities as will be examined in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3. Suffice it to say here that from the late-18th century on, domestic travel became an increasingly popular middle class leisure activity. Panoramas introduced unknown points of view of foreign landscapes and cityscapes. Earlier, travel in Europe had been confined to an aristocratic Oxbridge elite who toured at a leisurely pace over a period of months by private carriage and relied in part upon political and social 'Letters of Introduction' to ease their passage. Now, arrangements made by Thomas Cook and other entrepreneurs like him opened-up European travel to the burgeoning middle class. Advances in road and train transportation, and the cessation of Anglo-French hostilities, opened-up Continental travel that could proceed at a relatively swift pace. In the case of the 'humbler classes,' travel through the unpeopled landscapes of home was undertaken via Shanks's Pony or cheap rail excursions. The commercial possibilities of the unpeopled domestic landscapes would have to await the 20th century for full exploitation -- a topic that will be dealt with in the last chapters of this work.

In the meantime, in the process of imbuing landscapes, especially unpeopled ones, with cultural value, 19th century panoramas had a function analogous to that which 17th century landscape paintings had had for the 18th century gentry. Like those paintings, panoramas became a medium through which specific values circulated at an unremarked-upon level. By introducing large numbers of people to views, and by rendering viewing a culturally valued aesthetic experience, panoramas and dioramas represented a transformation

of the pattern of exclusion of people from landscape -- both at one remove (in the act of viewing landscape representations), and directly (in promoting travel).

### Cultural mimicry

Whether dealing with 17th century paintings of classicized landscapes, early-18th century black and white bird's-eye views of rigidly organized landscapes, or later 18th century picturesque rolling parkland set with lakes, grottos, Grecian temples and so forth, landscape appears to be the actual as well as abstract repository of an interlocking web of projections rooted in a larger pre-existent ideological system. And that system appears to constantly reference back to a time of social stability located temporally as well as geographically in a variety of golden pasts (Barrel 1980, Girouard 1980, Parris 1973, Payne 1994, Stuart 1979, Williams 1973). A semiotic examination of the "hidden discourse" of power compounded of 'landscape', 'nature', 'culture' and 'nation', combined with an etymological examination of those words so freighted with multiple meanings, reveals the symbolically loaded ideology and fetishised identity between people and landscape (Olwig 1993). Moreover, the same exercise shows how a land rhetoric is capable of carrying political despair and rage (Parmenter 1994),

One aspect of that fetishised identity, unpeopledness, and the extent of its widespread currency in 18th century England, are revealed by examining modes of "cultural mimicry" for its presence. The late-17th through 18th centuries saw the rise in English society of what contemporaries called the 'middling sort' -- merchants, tradesmen and perhaps most importantly, the newly-proliferating professionals. The middling sort's gentrification through the "cultural mimicry" of their social superiors is of importance to my argument that an imagined community, constituted around 'unpeopled landscapes', extended a good way down the social scale. In the context of what has been written in this chapter, the following quotation speaks to the production in England -- through cultural mimicry -- of an aristocratic bourgeoisie, not as Engels had it, a bourgeois aristocracy:

What makes the rise of this middling sort so crucial is their attitude towards their social superiors. Instead of resenting them, they eagerly sought to imitate them, aspiring to gentility by copying the education, manners, and behaviour of the gentry. They sent their children to boarding-schools to learn social graces, they withdrew their wives from work to put them in the parlour to drink tea, they patronized the theatres, the music-rooms, the print shops, and the circulating libraries, and they read the newspapers, the magazines, and the novels. ... Their attitude thus provided the glue which bound together the top half or more of the nation by means of an homogenized culture of gentility that left elite hegemony unaffected. ... However it was achieved, the fact remains that the great strength of the English landed elite was their success in psychologically co-opting those below them into the status hierarchy of gentility.

(Stone and Stone 1986:291-3)

That the peerage continued to be widely held in a now hardly-conceivable reverence (Wells 1935:13-15) formed part of the "glue" of social relations otherwise known as 'snobbery'. I have already shown how more-or-less 'unpeopled landscapes' formed a specific aesthetic that not only circulated amongst a cultural elite, but was present in theater landscape scenery and panoramas where it could be 'absorbed' by the middling sort. Chapters 4 and 5 addresses how, as the 19th century progressed, this aesthetic came to constitute a morally loaded means of class differentiation as the 'humbler classes' responded to it.

But now I wish to see whether and how the aesthetic of 'unpeopled landscapes' was presented to a wider reading public. From the holdings available in the Columbia University libraries and the New York Public Library, I have selected for review five 18th century publications: the heavily illustrated *Copper Plate Magazine*, Sandby's collection of views published as *The Virtuosi's Museum* (for both of which, as mentioned earlier, theater scene-painters undertook the engravings), and the less-illustrated *Britannica Curiosa*,<sup>23</sup> As a sort of base-line *The London Magazine* was reviewed from 1732 until it ceased publication in 1784,

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<sup>23</sup> Their full titles and the dates for which these publications were reviewed are: "*The Copper Plate Magazine, or Monthly Cabinet of Picturesque Prints consisting of Sublime and Interesting Views in Great Britain and Ireland, Beautifully Engraved by the Most Eminent Artists from the Paintings and Drawings of the First Masters*" August 1774 through June 1778, break in publication, then February 1792 through July 1797; *The Virtuosi's Museum containing select views, in England, Scotland and Ireland,* 1778 -1781; and "*Britannica Curiosa, or a Description of the Most Remarkable Curiosities, Natural and Artificial of the Island of Great Britain .... Including the Principal seats of the Nobility and Gentry*" 1777, 6 volumes.

as well as *The Gentleman's Magazine* (also published in London) which was reviewed from when it began publication in 1731 to 1818.<sup>24</sup>

To deal with the base-line first: tipped-in and folded landscape illustrations, mostly of country seats and their distant prospects, appeared in *The London Magazine* in the 1770s and 80s. Prior to that, illustrations were noticeable only by their virtual absence. Another tipped-in series of engravings of Scottish counties appeared in 1777-78, reflecting the growing fashion for picturesque landscape tourism. Both series were accompanied by written descriptions. The same early absence of illustrations, except for the occasional woodcut, is encountered in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. It is only in the mid-1750s that a series of road maps of Britain appears along with views of fashionable gardens, "many of which were intended to be taken from the Magazines to be put into 'Optical Machines'" for further viewing (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1821, 5: vii).<sup>25</sup>

Interest in British topography blossoms in *The Gentleman's Magazine* with a series of copper plate illustrations (some of them very large tipped-in fold-outs) that commences in 1787 and runs on up to the 1820s. Indeed it is the topographical illustrations that are considered "the most valuable and interesting" of the over two thousand illustrations that appear in the 1818 cumulative index. Within Britain, scattered amongst the churches, manors, halls, and institutional structures are caves, rocks, natural rock arches, standing

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<sup>24</sup> In 1818 a certain Charles St. Barbe, Jr. compiled a descriptive list and index of all the plates and woodcuts in *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 up through and including 1818. To see the illustrated world of this magazine in one albeit lengthy glance, complete with its cross-cutting categories, is to catch sight of the early antiquary bringing the arcane and commonplace, the foreign and the homegrown under one perspectival gaze, and to recognize in that the precursive roots of pre-professionalized ethnology and anthropology (Stocking 1987, Urry 1993, Van Keuren 1982) and even sociology, for Herbert Spencer's series *Descriptive Sociology* which began in 1873, was a similar compilation of omnifarious facts (Peel 1971). Indeed later, practitioners of ethnology and anthropology published their work in non-professional periodicals such as *Nineteenth Century*, the *Westminster Review*, and the *Fortnightly Review* (Kuklick 1991) in response to a resurgence of popular interest in folklore and archaeology (Urry 1993).

<sup>25</sup> As has been shown before in relation to their importance for theater scenery, Captain Cook's voyages in the Pacific were of general interest, and charts of his voyages appear in the *Gentleman's Magazine* throughout 1773-1775.

stones and henges, views of mountains and valleys, cataracts, waterfalls, and "antient" and gnarled trees (generally oaks).<sup>26</sup> Desolate ruins complete the early Romantic picture. As for the views of foreign countries; hills, bays, cascades, caverns, volcanoes, grottoes, headlands, arched rock formations in New Zealand, and Swiss mountains stand their ground against views of the (foreign) built environment.

At the other end of the textual spectrum is *The Virtuosi's Museum* which has no text at all. It is simply a collection of engravings that are "select views" of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Its 'silence' speaks of a community of viewers who already share in a discourse of landscape. There are few examples of townscapes and they are mostly confined to England. There is just one jarring porticoed Palladian 'country seat' in the whole collection, that of the Earl of Fife. Rather, the Romantic taste for ruins, rocky eminences and lonely hills is quickly obvious, as are the stock-in-trade groups -- some so tiny as to require searching for, as they point the way in, either to the middle-ground or to the far distance. Turning page after page, one can begin to guess where they will be positioned, and which of the three cardboard cutouts (seated woman with or without child, man clasping long stick, or man upon horesback) will be raising an arm to the view.

I have been making a case for 'more-or-less' unpeopled landscapes. The reiterated posturing and posing of such stock figures resonates with their *unnaturalness*, their having been placed there to conform to painterly convention. Where there are people in the landscape, other than these figures, they appear as 'local color' in an otherwise empty Celtic fringe (the northern Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Ireland), that is as exotic in its way as the South Seas. So we see tartan-kilted men and kirtled women dancing to bagpipe accompaniment in front of a ruined Scottish castle; salmon poaching by three people (a family?) living rough by a river in a pole-framed bothie; or Irish women riding in old-style wood-axle horse carts with solid block-wheels and no superstructure, just a floor. They and

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<sup>26</sup> The illustrations of these natural features are strongly reminiscent of the illustrations of the earlier South Seas voyages.

the beggars, the knife-grinders, the women with their bundles of kindling-wood, are the internally marginalized, presented to our view as the home-grown 'primitive', more connected to nature than civilization.

By contrast, through illustrations and written descriptions, *The Copper Plate Magazine* and *Britannica Curiosa*, educated their readership in a unifying national history. Framed by the classics, elite culture was presented via the nexus of country seats and actual or representational landscapes. Changes in taste apart, the underpinnings of the world of the *Nouveau theatre* were being made available to an ever-widening public: the would-be *nouveau arrivistes* or aristocratic bourgeoisie. The landscapes depicted or written about are almost always unpeopled. When people do occur, they are generally of a class engaged in leisure pursuits, or are those servicing that class. The occasional odd rustic may be positioned to lead the eye in to the large perspectival view. Very rarely is agricultural work shown -- despite its importance in producing some of the very landscapes depicted.

*The Copper Plate's* initial format was tripartite. The first section contained portraits and brief biographies of predominantly English poets, playwrights, philosophers and politicians, followed by a section devoted to engravings of classical myths and historical 'scenes'. This section drew heavily on Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and Homer's *Odyssey*; with illustrations accompanied by extended selections in English translation. Other illustrated scenes were of foundational moments in British history involving the likes of Kings Canute and Arthur. The third section was comprised of engravings of the -- again predominantly English -- country seats of the nobility and gentry. Most illustrations are perspective views, though less 'elevated' than Kip and Knyff's aerial ones. In most cases picturesque parkland has replaced the baroque organization of the country seats' immediate surroundings. Nevertheless, just like Kip and Knyff's bird's-eye views, there is little agricultural activity shown in the larger countryside. Properties previously appearing in the *Nouveau theatre* are now jostled by the likes of "Colonel Onslow's Lodge". It would seem that unlike now, Onslow was interested in keeping up appearances.

After some years, the text of *The Copper Plate Magazine* was reduced and it was published in parts: two plates to a monthly number at the cost of one shilling (the cost of a gallery seat in a London theater (Russell 1995)), making it available to a far wider reading public. The engraved views of country seats became interspersed with the villas of various "Esquires". The industrial revolution and the agricultural underpinnings that made it possible begin to make their appearance in views of northern cities, towns, bridges, working canals and England's first silk mill, as well as agricultural land that had undergone improvement.<sup>27</sup> While there is a widening of subject matter, and an attempt to reach a broader public through the change in manner of publication, mimicry of elite culture is still to the fore, and the magazine takes on a guide-book approach to country houses, listing their collections of paintings, drawings, prints, and antiquities, etc.

Illustrations of non-agricultural and non-country house landscapes are located almost entirely in England's Celtic fringe. There the preferred or valued landscapes of Ireland, Scotland and Wales are the unpeopled ones which are held up to the tourist gaze as

bold and terrifick, and delightfully variegated with wood, rocks, and innumerable cascades ... (that) boast of every species of scenery necessary to mark the sublimest subjects in nature.

(*The Copper Plate Magazine* 1794-6 2:31 text accompanying Plate LXI, n.p.)

*Britannica Curiosa* set out to redress the lamentable fact that well-to-do young Englishmen knew more about the landscapes of Holland and Italy than of England. Published in a small octavo, almost pocket-sized format, this seems to have fit its function as a guide book to both the landscapes and stately homes of England. Descriptions of their art collections are decidedly pithy, and little leeway is given on issues of taste.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> An example is the illustration of the new plantation at Felbrig Hall made "under the direction of Mr. Kent, author of 'Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property', who has ... highly improved the value, as well as the appearance, of the neighbouring waste lands, by judicious inclosure and cultivation" (text accompanying *The Copper Plate Magazine* (1792-1794) Vol. I: 1-25 Plate XL n.p.).

<sup>28</sup> The following description of paintings at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, gives the tone: Titian. Venus; the colouring has gone off, hard and disagreeable. Rubens. Flight into Egypt. A good picture, but the figures disagreeable, especially Mary's who is a female mountain. The drawing appears to be indifferent.

## Conclusion

Despite the cultural ambiance in which refined 'taste' deplored commerce, 'high culture' received a double impetus from commerce. It produced the capital to be invested in mimicking 'country living', and it turned 'taste' into a commodity, not least exemplified in the production of the magazines and journals dealt with above. The tensions engendered by the 18th century's commodification of the bourgeoisie's aristocratic yearnings are still apparent some 200 years later. That one yardstick of 'taste', indeed of very Englishness itself, is located in landscape is so naturalized a notion that it is hard to extricate it for viewing. A recent British Rail InterCity poster unintentionally but brilliantly manages to do so while at the same time capturing how "the very idea of landscape implies separation and observation" (Williams 1973:120). The poster carries a low horizon shot of a ploughed field with one boundary hedge and one tree set against a Constablesque cloudy sky. It too is a window-framed view, but this time it is the view from a train, not a country house. No farm machinery or workers mar the serenity of the composition. The text that (literally and metaphorically) runs beneath the image reads:

English landscape art. A private view. In First Class you can ponder,  
work, eat, take coffee, or simply enjoy the fact that you have the best  
private seat for one of the best shows on earth; the English Countryside.  
(illustrated in Bender 1993:247)

The "private view" offered is of course anything but private, being equally on offer to the plebs further along the train in second class.<sup>29</sup> The timeless serenity of the composition is likewise at odds with the high-speed endless succession of momentary pictures that InterCity travel permits -- a modernist swift-moving panorama or series of dioramas. But the thrust of the message is that 'the view' conveys a particular class's taste which itself (view and class) embodies England.

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(*Britannica Curiosa* 1777 4: 248)

<sup>29</sup> The "private view", the "private seat", the "best show on earth" all resonate to theater, and serve to remind us of the landscape-as-theater metaphor and the "socially encoded hierarchy of box, pit, and gallery" (Russell 1995) quoted earlier.

Unpeopled landscapes were the product of a strict hierarchical ordering that mystified relations of power. Its mirror image resided in the city-world of carnival and fair -- a world with an overwhelming potential for the inversion of hierarchical ordering, a pick-pocketing pockmarked close-up world of the exuberantly vulgar, a gawker's paradise. And gawking is so very different from perspectively gazing. The rest of this study maps out the attempts of the often urban-located 'lower'-classes to invade the symbolically charged aestheticised world of *actual* views and vistas of the 'upper'-classes, as the "sweaty vulgar" challenged the denial of their access to the heights . Along their way to the unpeopled heights are the tensions urban-dwellers encountered, and continue to encounter, in crossing the agricultural middle-ground.

CHAPTER TWO  
LANDSCAPE OF CULTURE

*The Seasons: Summer, Dawn.*

...Young day pours in apace,  
And opens all the lawny prospect wide.  
The dripping rock, the mountain's misty top  
Swell on the sight and brighten with the dawn.

James Thomson 1727

*The Village, Book I*

...I paint the cot,  
As Truth will paint it, and as bards will not  
...  
Where Plenty smiles -- alas! she smiles for few --  
And those who taste not, yet behold her store,  
Are as the slaves that dig the golden ore;  
The wealth around them makes them doubly poor.  
Or will you deem them amply paid in health,  
Labor's fair child, that languishes with wealth?  
Go, then! and see them rising with the sun,  
Through a long course of daily toil to run;  
See them beneath the dog star's raging heat,  
When the knees tremble and the temples beat;  
Behold them, leaning on their scythes, look o'er  
The labor past, and toils to come explore:  
See them alternate suns and showers engage,  
And hoard up aches and anguish for their age  
...Then own that labor may as fatal be  
To these thy slaves, as thine excess to thee.

George Crabbe 1783

## Introduction

Place is indubitably bound up with relations, so much so that landscape is seen as "the work of the mind ... built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (Schama 1996: 7). By contrast, space is that which is unnamed, unhistoried, unnarrativized -- at least in the mind and eye of the dominant culture which colonizes such space by exercising power in the form of naming, mapping, mensurating, and dwelling. But such encounters need not simply occur between greatly distanced groups. Over the course of the 18th century, an Oxbridge-educated cultural elite were involved in an aesthetic debate, outlined below, which transformed the putative 'space' of England's mountainous north into the 'place' of The Lake District. They thereby brought England's literal and metaphorical periphery -- what can be viewed, geologically-speaking, as part of the Celtic fringe -- securely into the English national fold, a position from which it posed "a serious challenge to the aesthetic supremacy of the European Grand Tour" (Andrews 1989: 153). Linguistically, this region *had* been part of the Celtic fringe, which ran from Cornwall up through Wales to include it. But that facet of its Celticness had long-since disappeared under the impact of the 'killer' language, English (Phythian-Adams 1991).

Before turning to the historical specificities of the change from space to place, I do want to avoid presenting this geographic region as being "either static or monolithic," for The Lake District has paradoxically held a "simultaneous location in both the mid west of Britain and the northwest of England" (Phythian-Adams 1991: 13 - 18).<sup>1</sup> In a brilliant evocation of movement, Phythian-Adams charts the spatial oscillation of this region over time, as it shifted between northern and western foci that themselves expanded and contracted. As part of the territory of the Brigantes, it first "looked southeastwards across the Pennines towards the heartland of the Brigantian territory in Yorkshire". This placed it in the mid west of ancient Britain. As a militarized Roman area, "the local society was organized to face north,"

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<sup>1</sup> Since all quotations in this and the next paragraph are from the same article, I give at this one point the page range from which the quotations are drawn.

supplying garrisons along Hadrian's Wall, which served to definitively locate it in what centuries later would be England's northwest. After the Roman departure, and up through the 11th century, the region "was not absorbed into the nascent realm of England," but "reverted to its earlier status as a part of the mid west of Britain".

Invasion and settlement by Norse Viking, as well as from peoples from Ireland and the Scottish lowlands, kept the area in a series of client relationships. In the 11th century it was more formally absorbed into the Scottish royal dynasty, and "may still have been under Scottish control when the Normans arrived". Throughout this time-period it remained firmly situated in mid-western (ancient) Britain, and can be seen more as "a British and Scandinavian province of the world of the Irish Sea, rather than as an integrated expression of the 'English' mainland." It was only toward the end of the 12th century that "the region cease(d) to represent in practice...the southern tip of Scotland...(and became) unambiguously...established as the northwest corner of England." However, the area continued to exist for centuries as a veritable "battle zone", being both the jumping-off point for English attempts at the conquest of Scotland, and the receiving end of devastating Scottish raids. By the 17th and 18th centuries, under the impact of coal mining, and the development of coastal ports supplying Wales, lowland Scotland, and shipping to America, the area "faced west again, to resume increasingly its long lost role as the mid west of Britain, although now within the context of an Atlantic economy". One might add: and in a differently constructed concept of Britain -- about which, more later.

#### Knowledge, aesthetics and taste

Part of the previous chapter outlined how members of the early-18th century English land-owning and political aristocracy translated their experience of travel to Italy into physical landscapes at home. Resonating with their education in Greek and Roman classics -- their 'cultural capital' -- they remodeled the surroundings of their (mostly lowland) country seats to conform to 17th century Italian classicized landscape paintings that were associated

with Claude and Poussin. In this sense, those physical landscapes were literally 'picturesque'. Indeed the word was understood at the time as being applicable to any subject that was suitable for painting. However, apart from such idealized pastoral landscapes of the Roman *campagna*, there was another type of landscape that had also begun to make a deep impression upon *some* young Englishmen making the Grand Tour. That was the landscape of the Alps and Apennines.

Mountains, previously viewed as "crook-shoulder'd" "excrescences", and "vast ruins of a broken world," began to elicit a new emotional-imaginative response during the second quarter of the 18th century. This shift in taste did not just happen in a vacuum, but "(a)s intellectual forces ... strove to burst old theological and scientific barriers, so aesthetic emotions, long felt but never clearly defined, were struggling for utterance" (Nicolson 1959:271). Nature was the battleground as the old verities of religion and religiously-underpinned science were challenged by the new verities of empirical observation. Luther's belief that mountains were the indirect result of man's sinful nature, having been thrown up by the annihilating Biblical Flood, or the 17th century English cleric Thomas Burnet's thesis that the Earth had been created as smooth as an egg, acquiring its mountains and valleys due to cataclysmic events (*Telluris Theoria Sacra* 1681, republished in English as *A Sacred Theory of the Earth* 1684), are the sort of assumptions that empirical science eventually overthrew (Charleton 1984; Nicolson 1959; Schama 1996). Fundamental rethinking in the fields of theology, philosophy, geology and astronomy that had been taking place for the previous half-century were necessary precursors to this new aesthetic response to wild, rugged, nature-in-the-raw.

Burnet's work however was shot through with ambiguity. While he held to a post-diluvian theory of mountains, they exercised a tremendous emotional attraction to him. "He was "'rapt' and 'ravished' by alpine scenery", his imagination leaped when "in the presence of 'wild, vast, indigested Nature. In other words, he was carried away by what the following century would term the 'Sublime' in nature" (Hawes 1982: 2). It was this thread in *Sacred*

*Theory* that was picked up upon and developed by aestheticians such as Shaftesbury, Addison and Burke.

From repulsion to valorization is a big leap. Four brief quotations from Englishmen on the Grand Tour give both a taste of the chasm that was to be bridged, and also that it was not accomplished 'in one go' as it were, but over time. On the one hand were opinions such as "Nature has swept up the rubbish of the earth in the Alps", and "I should like the Alps very much, if it was not for the hills" (Evelyn 1646, Spence 1730, both cited in Charleton 1984: 42), On the other hand, some Grand Tourers had the impression that they had "walkd upon the very brink in a literal sense, of Destruction ... The sense of all this produced in me ... a delightful Horrour, a terrible Joy and at the same time that I was infinitely pleasd, I trembled", and that the Alps were endowed with "magnificent rudeness", full of "glorious desolate prospects" (Dennis 1688, Gray 1739, both cited in Schama 1996: 449). Thomas Gray, who would go on to become one of England's greatest 18th-century poets, was on the Grand Tour with his friend Horace Walpole, son of the then Whig prime minister, Robert Walpole.<sup>2</sup> Friends since their days at Eton, Walpole and Gray set off in 1739, and though they have been and continue to be cast in a sort of pioneer role regarding the valorization of mountains, that view has been dispelled by contextualizing these two young men's rhapsodizing within earlier "excursion" poems and aesthetic writings with which they were familiar (Nicolson 1959).

'Taste' itself changed as appreciation for the irregular in art as well as nature challenged classical values of regularity and proportion.<sup>3</sup> Not only mountains gained

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<sup>2</sup> As Schama has delightful fun in the telling (Schama 1996: 447-8), Horace had the "rudeness" of the mountains rather thrust in his face when his lapdog, aptly named Tory, got snatched-up by a wolf as it was trotting alongside Horace's portered chaise going up Mont Cenis!

<sup>3</sup> The reaction against classicism has been seen as emerging in the 17th century, with the introduction into England of Indian fabrics and Chinese lacquer work, porcelain and wallpaper, whose decorative elements depended on irregularity and asymmetry. From this perspective it has been suggested that their enormous popularity fostered interest in "remote times and places" including interest in Celtic and Norse literature, and that in this way "Orientalism prepared the way for romanticism" (Allen 1937: 256).

approval; all aspects of the native landscape became valorized in the course of the century's debate over picturesque taste. It involved moral philosophers (such as Addison 1712, Hutcheson 1725, Shaftesbury 1723, Burke 1757, Hume 1751), and connoisseurs interested in landscape.<sup>4</sup> They all grappled with three problems: the nature of the effects of objects of perception and consciousness on the mind (i.e. the feelings generated by those objects), the causes of those effects (i.e. their traits), and the connection between cause and effect (i.e. the linking mechanisms) (Hipple 1957). The meaning ascribed to the word 'picturesque' also changed as it became theorized and systematized. It acquired the definite article, becoming 'the Picturesque' -- by which time 'the Beautiful', and 'the Sublime' had joined it as specific aesthetic concepts to be wrangled over (Hogarth 1753, Gilpin 1791, Price 1794, Knight 1805), and later explicated (Manwaring 1925, Hussey 1927, Hipple 1957, Nicolson 1959, Hunt 1976 and 1992, Bermingham 1986, Andrews 1989, Hemingway 1992). Fortunately, all that concerns us here is that

As the battle subsided, the mountains we see today began to appear to men who looked at them with new eyes, seeing them no longer as 'warts, and pock-holes in the face of th' earth,' but as the grandest, most majestic objects on the terrestrial globe.

(Nicolson 1957: 29)

Shucking off the cool rationality of the Enlightenment, the Picturesque aesthetic (which I am here using as an 'umbrella' term under which are gathered also the Beautiful and the Sublime), enabled "the imagination to form the habit of feeling through the eyes" (Hussey 1927 cited in Andrews 1989: viii). Within the realm of aesthetics as it affected landscape, those that were cultivated, smooth, gradualistic in their variety, were 'Beautiful'; those that were wild, rugged, and vast, were 'Sublime' or partook of 'the Picturesque'. Within the realm of aesthetics, the three categories were interrelated, the distinctions between them differing

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<sup>4</sup> The dividing line between moral philosophy and landscape aesthetics is blurred. Those involved in the debate used landscape aesthetics a "paradigm for the harmonious ordering of society." This sort of reasoning allowed "picturesque landscape paintings to assume a seriously moral political content" (Rosenthal 1993). Landscape was so politically-loaded a realm, that picturesque landscape aesthetics "was a mode of political discourse" (Bermingham 1994).

according to the particular theorist one might have at hand. As categories, such landscapes became culturally valued commodities purveyed in art, poetry, literature, and (in relation to mountains as the foreign was naturalized), 'home' tourism.

Although the same geological condition could be suitable for more than one garden landscaping style, in large part geological substructures were literally an underlying and determining factor in whether any particular place *could* be 'Beautiful' or 'Sublime.' So 'Picturesque' or 'Sublime' scenery of the upland Celtic fringe was so *because* of its siting on igneous or metamorphic rocks of Paleozoic or Pre-Cambrian age. Conversely, the 'Beautiful' rolling scenery of the lowlands was that way *because* of its substrata of Mesozoic or Cainozoic rocks (Appleton 1986, Small 1990, Trueman 1971). The different ages of these two (necessarily simplified) geological categories, and the effects of weathering upon them, inevitably led to two different geomorphologies -- which in turn supported different types of settlement patterns and ecologies.

The focus now narrows to 18th century Cumberland and Westmorland, and the transformation of these English mountainous counties from desolate and 'culturally-empty' space to desirable 'culturally-loaded' place, known then as Lakeland, now as The Lake District. 'Culturally-empty' and 'culturally-loaded' here carry the inflection of that

culture which... plume(s) itself on a smattering of Greek and Latin ...which is begotten by nothing so intellectual as curiosity; it is valued either out of sheer vanity and ignorance, or else as an engine of social and class distinction, separating its holder, like a badge or title, from other people who have not got it.

(Arnold [1869] 1994: 29-30).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Arnold marks this definition of culture as antithetical to his own: "there is of culture another view, in which not solely the scientific passion, the sheer desire to see things as they are ...appears as the ground of it. There is a view in which all the love of our neighbour, the impulses towards action, help, and beneficence, the desire for stopping human error, clearing human confusion, and diminishing the sum of human misery, the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it ...come in as part of the grounds of culture ...Culture is then properly described ...as having its origin in the love of perfection; it is *a study of perfection*. It moves by the force ...of the moral and social passion for doing good." This is the "very framework and exterior order of the State ... and culture is the most resolute enemy of anarchy, because of the great hopes and designs for the State which culture teaches us to nourish (Arnold [1869] 1994:

A hundred year's later, this meaning of 'culture' was reiterated -- also in an English context - as "teashop culture" (Williams (1968) 1989).<sup>6</sup>

### From space to place

The transformation of these northern counties was accomplished by the evolving articulation and practice of two phenomena in the 18th century : the rise of British nationalism, and the popularization of the Picturesque aesthetic which valorized the vernacular, the native, and the Celtic. It was the dynamic interaction of these two social spheres that created "The Lake District" -- a new site of discourse and metaphorical (though not only metaphorical) assembly in which the "emotional, oracular, pastoral, primitive, and subjective elements" constituting 'Romanticism' (Newman 1987: 120) put down their roots prior to flourishing in the 19th century.

I want to treat these two social spheres not just as clusters of "class ideas and ideals sundered from the matrix of places, times and habits which informed them" (Stallybrass and White 1986: 82), but *as* social spheres. So what follows (as it moves from the general to the particular), is the who and the what, the where and the when of how the Lake District was written, mapped, sketched, and painted into existence. Linking threads thrown out to and received back from the socio-political realm of nation-making will be discussed in the next chapter, along with an examination of tensions in the period of industrialization which resonated with contesting visions of what the nation 'was', 'had been' or 'should be'. That material will serve to introduce the manufacturing towns' re-peopling of the countryside.

Standing somewhere between the rise of British nationalism and the popularization of the Picturesque -- and aiding both -- was antiquarianism.<sup>7</sup> Since historically geomorphology

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30:31; 136). Here, perhaps, is an indication of the different meanings assigned to "culture" by 18th and 19th century England.

<sup>6</sup> Though Williams' "teashop culture" might have something in common with early anthropology's 'national character' studies, it is of course quite different from the "malleable and mobile" nature that the discipline now sees in the production of contested 'national culture' (Fox 1990).

<sup>7</sup> The Society of Antiquaries of London was founded 1717, that of Scotland in 1780.

determined settlement patterns, this has meant that British or Romano-British artifacts found in the landscape are largely concentrated in the northern and western uplands of England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>8</sup> A flurry of publications dealing with such antiquities appeared between 1710-1730, spurred by the publication in 1695 of Edmund Gibson's enlarged and annotated edition of William Camden's *Britannia* (1586), which Gibson had also translated from Latin to English (Piggott 1950). The Camden/Gibson *Britannia* underwent further revision by Richard Gough (1789), at which point over two hundred illustrations of Roman inscriptions and sculpture from the northwestern counties of England alone were added - speaking to the intensity of antiquarian interest and engagement with England's upland landscape. In this particular articulation of 'British' history, 'England' -- let alone this upland facet of England -- loomed even larger than it had done before.

Antiquarian-minded country gentry, clergymen and doctors were turning to the same desolate and generally uninhabited landscapes that they had always done, only now -- through widely-disseminated journal articles, guide books, and prints such as were dealt with in the previous chapter -- those landscapes were being reframed for them as "Picturesque." By these means, the focus of the class-narrow but broadly-distributed antiquarian community was being subtly, or not-so-subtly, shifted from myopic consideration of objects in the landscape, to the landscape itself. The microcosm of *Britannia*'s contributors maps out a triangulation between antiquarianism, the Picturesque, and politics. A glimpse of the connection between antiquarianism and the Picturesque movement can be had from the fact that Thomas Pennant, author of popular guide books for Picturesque Tours in Scotland and Wales, worked on both those countries' sections of the 1789 *Britannia*..

For a connection between antiquarianism and the political, in this case the Jacobin threat from Scotland, we have General Robert Melville, who contributed to the Scottish section of the 1789 *Britannica* . It was Melville who "first revealed the existence of Roman

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<sup>8</sup> This is not to forget or minimize the presence of Stonehenge, Avebury, and Silbury Hill, all located in Wiltshire, a southwestern county of England, all of which were surveyed in the early 1720s by William Stukeley (Piggott 1976).

military works" in Scotland (Piggott 1976) during British military campaigns there. And if we want a connection between the Picturesque and the political, then we have it again through Melville. It was he who after the Battle of Culloden, encouraged and assisted General William Roy in his 1747-55 Highland Survey<sup>9</sup> in which the young Paul Sandby cut his teeth as a draughtsman (Schama 1996) . We met Paul Sandby in the previous chapter through his work in *The Copper Plate Magazine*, and *The Virtuosi's Museum* (1778-81), a published collection of his Picturesque views of England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>10</sup> And if indeed one can bear any more of this, it was General Roy who produced the period's "most notable study of Roman military antiquities in North Britain," published in 1793 (Piggott 1976: 121).

Given the on-again/off-again nature of directly Anglo-French or French-supported wars, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, it wasn't always easy or possible for the English to travel abroad for pleasure. It wasn't always easy or possible for the English to travel at home either. But if they could get to them, then England's mountainous northern counties along with North Wales, were the closest English travelers could get to the *frisson* of the Alps. In 1756 the Society for the Encouragement of Arts (founded 1754) "set up special prizes as a means of encouraging the making of new and accurate maps of the English and Welsh counties" (Colley 1992:93) But it wasn't just maps that needed remaking, it was roads too. Turnpike acts for improving the English road system nearly quintupled between 1750 and 1790,<sup>11</sup> and "the appreciation of scenery...the perception of the sublime in nature

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<sup>9</sup> Done at 2 inches to the mile, the Highland Survey was intended to facilitate extension of the road system put in under General Wade after the 1715 uprisings (Piggott 1976).

<sup>10</sup> After the final pacification of Scotland, and reminiscent of Rosa's *banditti*, it becomes 'safe' for kilted Highland raiders to give a picturesque edge to engravings of the Lake District, such as T. Allom's *Honister Crag*.

<sup>11</sup> As was shown in the previous chapter, it from around the mid-1750s that *The Gentleman's Magazine* starts carrying tipped-in and folded large size road maps of English and Scottish counties. There is a neat fit too between when it suddenly starts carrying numerous engraved views of landscapes, antiquities and ruins, (1787) and the date given for the completion of the first wave of expansion of the turnpike road system.

increased in direct ratio to (their) number" (Hussey 1927 cited in Piggott 1976:122). Regardless of whether or not roads and antiquities were marked upon them, to convert these new maps into practice required a decent transportation system. The early decades of the 18th century saw the importation of breeding stallions to compliment the earlier importation of 'Arab' mares, which led to stronger and faster breeds of horses.<sup>12</sup> Combined with new technology in the form of steel springs for carriages, regularly scheduled commercially operated journeys became more frequent, comfortable and of shorter duration.

While travel abroad was hampered at a time when foreign landscapes were invested with new meaning, the mountains of home, combined with Romano-British antiquities and Mediaeval ruins did very nicely for rousing 'sentiment.' As antiquarianism had been subtly refocussed to 'see' the Picturesque landscape, the Picturesque aesthetic refocussed the tourist's 'look' at the landscape to include an antiquarianism gaze -- albeit of a romanticized rather than empirical nature. New maps and new perceptions resulted in a re-visioning of Britain (Daniels 1993). What resulted was

a new literature closely connected with improved roads and transport, and summed up in *The Tour*, so often in search of the Picturesque, in which by now ruins and ancient monuments were essential ingredients. Scotland was soon to be included; Gray had experienced ecstatic emotions among the... Highlands as early as 1765, and the Road to the Isles, already signposted by Martin Martin in his *Description of the Western Islands*, was opened to a public eager for such novel experiences by Thomas Pennant, who made and published Tours not only of his native Wales, but of Scotland in 1769 and again, with a *Voyage to the Hebrides*, in 1774. This was an immediate success not only at home, but abroad, where for instance German romanticism led to Ebeling's translation published only five years later.

(Piggott 1976:147-8)

### Scenes and seeing

Our journey to the 'who' and the 'what', the 'where' and the 'when' of the making of the Lake District has taken a while, but not as long as it might have done in the 18th century!

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<sup>12</sup> These breeds were the Darley Arabian, Byerley Turk and Godolphin Barb which produced the gentry's hunters and the Cleveland Bay and Yorkshire Coach Horse (Piggott 1976). This brings a new understanding to the plethora of Stubbs' paintings and prints.

None-the-less, we have finally arrived and can now get down to specificities. The antiquarian William Stukeley, writing in 1725, likened the Lakes' mountains ranged one behind the other to scenic side screens used in theater, and wrote that a painter did not need "go to Italy for variety and grandeur of prospects" (Piggott 1976: 122). It is the Italian element that we need to note, for how the early 'connoisseur' saw and appreciated the Lake District was deeply influenced by conventions of 17th century Italian landscape painting. That influence was to last throughout the century. In a letter to Lord Lyttelton written around 1753 extolling the virtues of the Lake District, John Brown (a Cambridge cleric from Cumberland), finding himself unequal to the task of conveying "the full perfection" of Derwentwater, retreated to the excuse that to do so "would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and Poussin" (Bicknell and Woof 1982: 15). Nearly 15 years later, his letter was still considered sufficiently a statement of what the Lake District *was*, to warrant its publication as a separate pamphlet. Even by the end of the century, viewing the Lake District through an Italian turn of mind was still operative. As one visitor to the Lakes wrote in 1792: "That you may see and have a faint idea of the Alps, and think you have performed as much as Hanibal (*sic*), be sure to start as soon after nine a.m. as possible' to cross Derwent Fells" (Andrews 1989: 154). (As noted in the introduction, fells are the open wild mountainsides.)

Education in the classics, like familiarity with paintings, endowed landscape with literary associations: "The first sight of a Cumberland shepherd climbing the fells with his flock became more thrilling the more it approximated to a literary prototype: Virgil's *Eclogues* suddenly loomed into the space between the tourist and shepherd" (Andrews 1989:3). (The lowland example of people being more literally transformed into art would be the hiring of elderly men to live as 'hermits' in gardens such as Stowe's hermitage named *The Shepherd's Rest* .) As earlier European Grand Tourers had looked to construct 'native' versions of Italian landscape paintings on their estates upon their return to England, so artists such as Thomas Smith of Derby (d. 1767) looked for views in the Lake District that recalled

those paintings of Claude, Poussin and Salvator Rosa. If they did not find them, then a little judicious rearrangement of various elements did not go amiss. Since the Italian artists' paintings were known to a wide audience through prints and written commentary, a market for their 'conventions' operated far beyond the range of those with immediate viewing knowledge of them.

There was already a healthy market for engravings of the mountains and moorlands of England and Wales by the late 1740s. But it seems that the Lake District had to wait for William Bellers' series of 1752-3 and 1758, and Thomas Smith's three views published in 1761 to enter that market (Thomason and Woof 1986). Taking the issue of supply and demand into another register, it is interesting to compare one of Thomas Smith's earlier paintings with a later engraving. Both are views of Derwentwater. The painting, done from a low viewpoint, includes a prominent center-foreground group of men chopping and sawing newly-felled timber under the watchful eyes of two gentlemen who face out to us, the *viewer*. In the later print, riding on the popularity of the Picturesque movement and market, the workers have disappeared, the woodlot has been replaced by one suitably picturesque 'antient' and blasted tree, and the two gentlemen-overseers, now much diminished in size due to the quite elevated viewpoint, have their backs to us as they stand quietly contemplating the *view*.

Early elite tourists to the Lake District were "typically a gentleman or gentlewoman engaged in an experiment in controlled aesthetic response to a range of new and often intimidating visual experiences" (Andrews 1989: 67). If the lower orders occupied a carnivalesque world of topsy-turvy, then those engaged in the practice of the Picturesque occupied a world occasionally turned back to front. For to see the desired view required turning one's back to it. By holding an oval or round, amber or silver tinted "Claude glass" - a convex mirror - a little above shoulder height, a 'framed' and miniaturized reversed version of the view was captured, from which most details were lost, other than those in the

foreground. By slowly moving the glass, the 'perfect' Picturesque view could be found and then sketched or painted.

Differently tinted transparent glasses allowed the view to be manipulated in another visual register altogether. Viewed through a gray or blue tinted glass, a bright afternoon scene became a moonlit one; a yellow tinted glass used in bright sunlight apparently suffused the view with a dawn light (which was certainly much less tiring than getting up to your viewing station before sunrise!); while a hoarfrost tinted glass produced approximations of snow scenes (Andrews 1989).<sup>13</sup>

What is interesting here is the way in which this instantaneous manipulation of seasonal or diurnal effects is reminiscent of Philippe de Loutherbourg's *eidophusikon* in which effects of light, weather and season were not simply theatrical effects, but the *point* of the unpeopled landscapes being viewed. De Loutherbourg was one of the three most notable late 18th century painters of Welsh and English mountain scenery, the other two being his friend Thomas Gainsborough, and Joseph Wright of Derby. In 1783 de Loutherbourg, who had visited Derby a few years earlier to do topographical sketches for the "Wonders of Derbyshire" pantomime at Drury Lane, combined a return visit to Derbyshire with a visit to the Lake District. During the next four years, he exhibited seventeen mostly mountain scenery views at the Royal Academy from material gathered on his Lake District-Derbyshire tour (Hawes 1982, Joppien 1973). These works explored different kinds of perspective, some of which were quite startling.

The quintessence of the perspectival gaze is the panorama. One of the earliest extant large-scale panoramas of a Lake District scene was made in the 1770s and may have been

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<sup>13</sup> Whether seen over one's shoulder in a tinted convex mirror, or face-on through colored glass, the 'framed' result emulated Italian 17th century landscape paintings, casting "a Claudean idiom on British landscape" (Andrews 1989). The lakes also acted as mirrors on a vastly larger scale. On a calm day, their perfect inversions are still stunning, producing a rather odd and dizzying effect. Take a photograph of this and later you will experience a few second's pause when trying to figure out which way round to hold *your* framed trophy.

intended as the working document for the decoration of a circular room,<sup>14</sup> while others done at either a smaller scale or as partial panoramas of 180° arcs, appeared through the 1830s (Hawes 1982, Thomason and Woof 1986). To gain appropriate vantage points, artists inexperienced in fell walking started climbing the mountains, sometimes with disastrous results.<sup>15</sup>

An analogy has been drawn between big game hunting and the way in which "untamed landscapes (could be) thus controlled" as tourists boasted of their "encounters with savage landscapes, 'capturing' wild scenes, and 'fixing' them as pictorial trophies in order to sell them or hang them up in frames on their drawing room walls" (Andrews 1989: 67). Even at the time, a specific relationship was drawn between the two activities:

Shall we suppose it is a greater pleasure to the sportsman to pursue a trivial animal, than it is to the man of taste to pursue the beauties of nature: to follow her through all her recesses? to obtain a sudden glance, as she flits past him in some airy shape? to trace her through the mazes of the cover ...

(William Gilpin 1792, cited in Andrews 1989: 68)<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The surviving 6-sheet panorama of Derwentwater, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, is attributed to the amateur Christopher Machell (1747-1827). Accordingly to Southey, one of the Lakeists, he saw a panorama of some twenty or more feet in length of Derwentwater, drawn in 1777 by Thomas Hearne. It was intended as the cartoon for the decoration of a circular banqueting room for Sir George Beaumont. The room was never built, and the sketch is lost (Thomason and Woof 1986). This would have been a considerably earlier example of the sort of commission Paul Sandby received from Sir Nigel Gresley (see chapter one, footnote 15).

<sup>15</sup> The most notable artist of this *oeuvre* was Charles Gough who in April 1805 fell to his death from Helvellyn's Swirrel Edge. When his skeleton was found that July, not only had his dog somehow survived, but she and her newborn litter of pups were at his side. Quite possibly Charles Gough achieved more fame in death than he would have in life, for his sad end and his dog's fidelity provided Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott with suitably melancholy material for poems. A photograph taken in 1891 by Herbert Bell of Ambleside, shows a cairn being set up close to Helvellyn's summit in his memory (Hogg 1974: 27). Here is emplacement: the making of a 'place' out of 'space'

<sup>16</sup> What Andrews does not pursue is the latent sexual imagery of pursuit, capture, uncovering, and penetration. It is this imagery that is to later explode in Whymper's recounting, nearly a century later, of a decade of his and other Englishmen's Alpine mountaineering experiences (Whymper 1871). Faced with peaks "which yet remained virgin, these men "assault" and finally "conquer" them, " having been "stimulated to make fresh exertions by one repulse after another." Mountain's "reveal" their "shoulders" only to "coyly" draw a veil of mist over them again, egging the mountaineer on to further "attacks" when they

Articulating the antiquarian/Picturesque linkage that was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the antiquarian, William Hutchinson (1732-1814) published a description of the Lakes -- *An Excursion to the Lakes ... in the Years 1773 and 1774* (1776) that was "primarily archaeological." (Bicknell and Woof 1982). But when it came to describing the scenery, it moved into the picturesque mode, calling upon Poussin, Salvator Rosa and Claude -- the latter whom he brackets with Thomas Smith. So here we have an example of not only foreign mountains being 'naturalized', but also artists. The first actual guide to the Lake District as a place of picturesque mountain scenery, was *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778) by Thomas West (c.1720-1779). It remained in print for nearly 50 years, undergoing various revisions and enlargements, being superseded only by William Wordsworth's *A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes* (1822) (Andrews 1989, Bicknell and Woof 1982). William Gilpin (1724-1804) was also instrumental in popularizing the Picturesque aesthetic through his extensive series of Tours through various parts of England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>17</sup> Written

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were "cock-sure" of success. With all due apologies to T.S. Elliot, one can hardly resist thinking that it was this tumescence (rather than the world) that went off not with a bang, but a Whymper. It was a less self-conscious world in which the following could appear as innocent of any sexual connotations: "...the true lover of nature is one who never 'arrives'. With growing intimacy his wonder is transformed into delight, and delight into affection. He...feels more and more at home yet his pursuit is checked by many a baffling unintelligibility ... Behind the soft breath that plays upon his cheek, hidden far below the rugged shoulder over which he climbs, lie problems as unfathomable as any he may find. ... Yet man...continues to penetrate 'the labyrinthine walks of truth,' convinced that [to do so] will be to know himself" (*Comradeship*, March 1914, XVII 4:52 ). This was a passage about walking. The gendered aspect of engagement with the landscape is picked-up in sections of Chapters 6 and 7. and particularly in interviews with Paula Day in Chapter 8.

<sup>17</sup> Gilpin's Tours, which were translated into French and German, contained numerous drawings, sketched maps and panoramas, with rather wide latitude taken with topographical accuracy. His illustrations became almost stock renditions of Claude and Poussin (Bicknell and Woof 1982). His titles showed little originality either: *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales ...relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1782); *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty ... particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786 2 volumes); *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty ...on several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland* (1789 2 volumes); *Observations on Forest Scenery, and other Woodland Views (relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty), ...of New-forest in Hampshire,* (1791 2 volumes), *Three Essays ... on Picturesque Travel; and, on*

for an audience beyond the Oxbridge elite, he provided translations of the many Latin terms he used in the guides (Standring 1993). In Gilpin's guide to the Lakes (1786) he wrote of "the great simplicity of this country, and that rigid temperance, and economy, which necessity enjoins to all it's inhabitants" (Gilpin 1786 (2): 65 cited in Watson 1970: 47) which Gilpin linked to Montesquieu's ascription of character formation to the influence of mountains.

Under the impact of all this writing 'in praise of the Picturesque,' pseudo-druid and classical temples began to spring up in the Lake District on enthusiasts' estates, particularly it seems when those estates were little islands set in the great lakes themselves. Dorothy Wordsworth for one was "pained to see the pleasantest of earthly spots [so] deformed by man" (Wordsworth 1802 cited in Bicknell and Woof 1982: 27). By the 1780-90s, through published tour guides to the Lakes, collections of engraved views and colored aquatints, maps and surveys (some of the latter having sets of engraved views bound in with them), tourism by 'professional connoisseurs of the picturesque' had been popularized. By then a round of specific 'viewing Stations' or vantage points around the mountains and lakes had developed. Their views were considered particularly able to stir the imagination, appeal to sentiment, and lend themselves to 'picturing' and posturing.<sup>18</sup>

Thus began the amateurs' embourgeoisement of the region. Better roads and more comfortable travel meant that in the summers "coaches of all shapes and sizes rattled along the shores of the Lakes, struggled up steep passes, and now and again, waited at the roadside

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*Sketching Landscape ...* (1792); *Two Essays ...on ...executing rough Sketches* (1804); *Observations ...on Several Parts of North Wales, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1809); . There were in fact so very many guide books that they began to be anthologized.

<sup>18</sup> The emotional-imaginative response institutionalized in these circuits of viewing Stations operated as a secular subconscious parallel to the painted and printed Stations of the Cross. There is the same arousal of emoting through a perambulatory means; each Station required the participant to engage in particular thoughts that -- whether Picturesque or religious -- involved issues of human contingency, mutability in face of an immutable 'other,' be that 'other' Deity or Nature. One 'link' in the (subconscious) chain would be the fact that Thomas West was a Jesuit chaplain (Standring 1993). A 'second link', would of course be exemplified by William Wordsworth's mystical relationship to his beloved Lake District landscape, that "blended holiness of earth and sky".

while passengers jumped out to take a quick sketch of a bewildered shepherd" (Andrews 1989: 153). The Lakes got crowded too as boats took tourists up and down, and -- for a price -- fired off cannons so one could hear distant waterfalls in the extraordinary silence that followed after the shattering echoes had finished bouncing off the mountains. Carriage rentals, boat rentals, lodging and food, and hiring guides by the day or the week all began to have an impact on the local economy. Prices went up! and tourism was blamed for corrupting the locals:

giving them a taste for pleasures, and gratifications, of which they had no ideas - inspiring them with discontent at home -- and tainting their rough, industrious manners with idleness, and a thirst after dishonest means.  
(Plumptre 1799 cited in Andrews 1989: 171)

To visit is a transitive verb, which is where the problem sets in. Those doing the visiting in search of the picturesque bumped up against those being visited, who were simply going about their daily lives rather than hanging around as picturesque objects in the landscape:

In early prints of the Lakes it is common to find the people treated as merely part of the scenery. Raiders in Highland dress light bonfires beside Derwentwater, bandits or robbers assemble on Kirkstone; vague, draped figures, melancholy as the mist, pause and ponder on the sands of Morecombe Bay. The landscape becomes a landscape with figures, but...not...the solid, shrewd, independent people who could be met at every farm and in every inn. Such people did not really suit the scene as the tourists saw it.

(Nicholson 1955: 93)

The earliest known published record of a walking tour (of around 250 miles) in the Lake District is *A Fortnight's Ramble in the Lakes* (1792), written by Joseph Budworth (1756-1815) who, under the pseudonym 'A Rambler' wrote pieces for the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Bicknell and Woof 1982). Another, and far more notable walking trip was made by James Plumptre, a Cambridge cleric, who in 1799 put in 1,774-1/4 miles walking from Cambridge to the Scottish Highlands and back again via the Lake District. (A further 461-3/4 miles were done by other means of transportation.) He knew this because of the pedometer he carried. He actually carried rather a lot: besides the pedometer, tinted glasses as described above, drawing pads, watercolor paints and brushes, a telescope, a barometer,

maps, and tour books -- the "travelling 'knick-knacks' as Andrews refers to them (Andrews 1989: 67). He had previously walked to Yorkshire, the Lake District and home via North Wales!

The young William Wilberforce also took a walking tour in the Lake District in 1779 during his long summer break from studies at Cambridge. One diary entry indicated that "the Lake District made the rest of the English countryside seem insipid, 'peaceful' and 'rural' in contrast to the 'majestic,' 'beautiful' and 'sublime' lakes" (Wilberforce [1799] 1983: 18) Others show that he used a Claude glass and that he found rocky scenes that he felt outdid Salvator Rosa. Later, in a letter of October 1, 1818, Wilberforce referred to the Lake District as "this Earthly Paradise" (Wilberforce [1799] 1983: 20). Here is the chasm leaped.

The early 18th century's "class view of landscape embodied (in) a set of socially, and finally, economically determined values to which the painted image gave cultural expression" (Bermingham 1986: 3), had broadened into a new-found engagement with indigenous unpeopled mountains. By the closing decades of the century, landscape as an expression of culture -- be it through representation or touring -- had become a commonplace among people of rank and those who aimed to emulate them. The Picturesque movement has been described as "democratic" because of its valuation of the accessible vernacular (Bermingham 1986). But in tandem and also at odds with this more broadly-based engagement with landscape, was the politicization of landscape through Parliamentary enclosure, and the concomitant immiseration of the dispossessed.

The practice of cultural mimicry by the middle class was dependent upon the lucrative commercialization of leisure. And this is a site of an inherent tension. For it was the newly dispossessed who were the means whereby leisure was produced -- conceived of either in terms of producing the profits to fund others' leisure *time*, or producing the accouterments of leisure *activities*. Books (be they guide books or fiction in which landscape loomed large), prints (collections of, individual ones, or lending libraries of), paper, paints, painting schools, poetry of landscape, transportation, inns to accommodate the influx of

tourists -- all these things structured a 'cultural' grid of efforts and expectations that connected the least-talented individual Picturesque Tourist sketching away in the rain, to the exhibiting Academician's large-scale paintings. Even those unable to directly participate in this cultural grid of aesthetically-conceived efforts and expectations can be conceived of as caught up in it through the 'efforts and expectations' involved in reading picturesque tours and pouring over collections of prints.

Thus was a 'landscape of culture' constructed in the Arnoldian sense referred to earlier as "an engine of social and class distinction, separating its holder, like a badge or title, from other people who have not got it" (Arnold [1869] 1994: 29-30). Through cultural mimicry, Picturesque Touring became so popular both in writing and practice, that it finally became the object of satire. One can only suppose that it was upon such hard-won knowledge of Picturesque tourism and tourists that Plumptre's comic opera *The Lakers* was drawn (1798). The apogee of its satirization came with William Combe's *Dr. Syntax In Search of The Picturesque* (1812), wickedly illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson. In Dr. Syntax's own words:

I'll read and *write*, and *sketch* and *print*  
And thus create a real *mint*;  
I'll *prose* it here, I'll *verse* it there  
And *picturesque* it everywhere ...  
With ev'ry other leaf a print  
Of some fine view in *aqua-tint* ...  
I will allow it is but trash,  
But then it furnishes the cash.

### Conclusion

Empirical observations revolutionized geology and astronomy and led to new evaluations of time and nature. Shorn of its earlier theological underpinnings, aesthetic debates also led to new evaluations of nature. The resultant changes in taste in turn transformed previously feared and avoided mountain landscapes into ones that were aesthetically valued: in such instances, 'space' was transformed into 'place'. In England, one such place was the Lake District that became an early site for landscape tourism thanks to

representation in multiple media and the rise of a cultural nationalism that invested mountains of 'home' with new meaning. As the next chapter will show, as the aspiring bourgeoisie engaged with the Lake District through touring, sketching, and painting, the self-defined Lakeists -- poets associated with the Lake District -- expressed a structure of feeling that celebrated nature in what, only later, was termed English Romanticism.

CHAPTER THREE  
LANDSCAPE OF NATION

*London*

I wander thro' each charter'd street,  
Near where the charter'd Thames does flow  
And mark in every face I meet  
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

In every cry of every Man,  
In every Infants cry of fear,  
In every voice, in every ban,  
The mind-forg'd manacles I hear:

How the Chimney-sweeper's cry  
Every blackning Church appalls,  
And the hapless Soldier's sigh  
Runs in blood down Palace walls.

But most thro' midnight streets I hear  
How the youthful Harlot's curse  
Blasts the new-born Infants tear,  
And blights with plagues the Marriage hearse.

William Blake 1794

*The Prelude: Book Seventh, Residence in London - Bartholomew Fair*

For once the Muse's help will we implore,  
And she shall lodge us, wafted on her wings,  
Above the press and danger of the Crowd,  
Upon some shewman's platform. What a shock  
For eyes and ears! what anarchy and din  
Barbarian and infernal - an phantasma  
Monstrous in colour, motion, shape, sight, sound!  
... the crowd  
Inviting ...  
Grimacing, writhing, screaming...  
All out-o'th-way, far-fetched, perverted things  
All freaks of Nature, all Promethean thoughts  
Of man; his dullness, madness, and their feats  
All jumbled up together, to compose  
A Parliament of Monsters. Tents and Booths  
Meanwhile, as if the whole were one vast mill,  
Are vomiting, receiving, on all sides,  
Men, Women, three-years' Children, Babes in arms.  
Oh blank confusion! true epitome  
Of what the mighty City is herself.

William Wordsworth 1805

## Introduction

As this chapter moves into the 19th century, so the industrial revolution and the English Romantic Movement make their appearance. What this chapter attempts to negotiate -- always however in relation to the valorization of more-or-less 'unpeopled landscapes' -- is a series of related fields of tensions. *In so far as they lent weight to the valorization of Britain's wild mountainous areas*, it takes on *some* of the tensions, disjunctions and ambiguities generated within 'polite' society, and between image and counterimage of London, agricultural/industrial revolution and English Romantic Movement, and England and Britain. It does so by placing the discursive site of the Lake District (explored in the previous chapter), back in the context of the London society that 'fashioned' it. This is then framed within the, then ongoing, reconstruction of *cultural* nationalisms.

Earlier I described my approach as being fashioned from "the linking threads thrown out to and received back from the socio-political realm of nation-making" -- by which I meant the political fiction of 'Great Britain'. Now I would add: it was one *against* which a very particular image of 'England' was being woven, one that even today is oppositional to a rational, political-economy construct.

The production and consumption of cultural ideas is dynamic. Supply and demand are open-ended *and* open to manipulation. And resistance creates its own demand in a different register, which then opens-up new avenues of supply.

Literature, like all art, like language, is a collective activity, powerfully conditioned by social forces, what needs to be and what may be said in a particular community at a given time - the field of the anthropologist, perhaps, rather than the psychologist.

(Butler 1982:9)

The valorization and consumption of landscape was a dynamic and collective activity. Furthermore, it was one where "co-ordinates of geography and class intersect(ed) as a network of exclusions" (Stallybrass and White 1986:108). Foregrounding landscape allows for another entryway into and between the interactive fields of tension -- the "social forces" -- that surrounded the rise of cultural nationalisms, and the production of a centralizing nation-

state. The Picturesque aesthetic was only one strand in the cultural 'bundle'. The previous chapter extricated it for fairly close-up examination. Now the effort is to reweave it, and in so doing to make clear how the Picturesque aesthetic carried a time-specific ideology of inequality which was situated in, and played out through, landscape. Furthermore, that this aesthetic operated as a means of class formation:

in ways that both arise from, and potentially reshape, the experiences of people and the understandings people form from their experiences. This is the historical dynamic of ideology, which we must try to recover. To do this require us to situate ideology in the context of culture, and in particular, in the context of contradictions of culture.

(Sider 1986: 154)

Implicit in the title shift from 'landscape of culture' to 'landscape of nation', is a consideration of who was deemed worthy of inclusion in the nation through participatory enjoyment in unpeopled landscapes.

#### London-based 'culture' and its dissemination

As Charles II's (1660-1685) exuberantly whoring Court, that sparkled even as it offended, had been replaced by the boring Courts of domestically-minded William and Mary (1688-1702), Anne (1702-1714), and the early Georges (1714-27; 1727-1760), the practice of high culture and appreciation of the fine arts was cut loose from court circles. A recent compendious study delineates the mechanics and practices by which high culture ceased to be "the handmaiden of royal politics" and "became the partner of commerce" (Brewer 1997: 3).<sup>1</sup> Economic expansion brought a new dynamic to the production of art works, and to the

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<sup>1</sup> As the fine arts gained independence from exclusively Court patronage, London became a magnet for Italian, French, Polish, Swedish, German and Dutch composers, musicians, and artists. The production of luxury goods in and around London flourished in large part due to the influx of Huguenots who had fled France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Prior to this, Huguenot family networks had dominated the production of the decorative arts for the Court of Louis XIV. The market for the fine arts and luxury goods extended well beyond the aristocracy. People of 'taste', as well as the upper reaches of 'the middling sort', had the disposable income to indulge that taste.

development of a new and acquisitive audience (Solkin 1992). Social refinement went hand-in-glove with cultivation of the fine arts.<sup>2</sup>

Framed by theories of political economy, an image of England was in the making. English exceptionalism vis-à-vis the Continent was expressed in terms of political freedoms grounded in flourishing commerce, yeoman-farmer freeholders and legislatively-favored agriculture (Smith [1776] 1985). Intensified cultivation of the useful arts (commerce, manufactures), aided by scientific-technological improvements and inventions, was producing that "universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people" (Smith [1776] 1985: 33).<sup>3</sup> But intensification depended upon stability as well as a division

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<sup>2</sup> The phrase "hand-in-glove" prompted a train of thought which when followed-up upon, showed that despite all the Societies and Associations for the promotion of home manufactories, English cultivated taste and social refinement did not necessarily support English goods. Originally craft objects subject to sumptuary laws, gloves became one marker of 18th century 'polite' society. There was a regular smuggling trade in gloves. The Society for the Arts mentioned in the previous footnote, offered a Gold Medal for the production of 'superior' gloves that might stem French imports. Gloves were eventually ubiquitous in early-19th century bourgeois society. Yeovil, a center of glove production in the West of England, for instance, produced around 300,000 *dozen* pair a year prior to the 1830s (nearly all from foreign skins however), despite the over 1-1/2 million pair legally imported annually from France. As newly-invented French machinery replaced craft production in the late 1820s, the English, Scottish and Irish glove industry collapsed, with a corresponding increase in parish poor rates in those countries' glove manufacturing centers. Such political-economy "progress" was carefully enumerated and roundly condemned (Hull 1834). Not surprisingly, Henry Vincent, a leading Chartist organizer, found the glove-making center of Ledbury, Herefordshire to be a scene of "poverty and misery in nearly every house" (*Western Vindicator* 1839 cited in Southall 1996: 182) and ripe for organizing.

<sup>3</sup> Arts, sciences, and commerce were brought into alliance through institutions such as The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures in Great Britain (founded 1754). Gold medals were awarded in a wide range of endeavors: from drawing and sculpture (to chip away at French dominance of the decorative arts), to experiments in producing dyestuffs (so that British-manufactured cloth would not have to be shipped abroad for dying). Numerous other societies like it sprang up around Britain in the mid-to-late 18th century. Though founded within the trading and commercial community, they generally included members of the patrician class since there were advantages to be gained from "mingling socially with people of rank and influence, with all the prospects this opened up for making useful contacts and good impressions" (Colley 1992: 93). Here was the poet Coleridge's self-serving "Courts, Committees, Institutions,/Associations, Societies, ... One Benefit-Club for mutual flattery" (from *Fears in Solitude*, quoted in Baum 1994). Such Manufacturers' Societies and

of labor, and the 'flag' under whose protection political freedoms and commercial interests grew flew over the few, not the many:

...if one side of (this) flag is emblazoned with 'Commerce', the other says 'Civilization'. The fabric of the flag is Liberty which if we peer closely at the stitching turns out to be Law. The 'market' is *made*, some men must be free to constrain other men and almost all women, thereby to construct progress.  
(Corrigan and Sayer 1985:105)

Wordsworth's "Parliament of Monsters", the crowd, the passion-ruled mob, threatened stability as, even temporarily, it inverted civil/ized society. Within the Enlightenment's evolutionary model, harnessing the passions defined the rational individual. Passion was an attribute of the unindividuated many, of Bakhtin's "grotesque body". It was "cultivated taste (that) extinguishes the passions...(and) improves our sensibility" (Hume [1741-2] 1985:6). Cultivated taste also supported a symbiotic relationship in which the acquisition and performance of social refinement required and generated the commodities provided by the 'useful arts'.<sup>4</sup> Social refinement and commerce were two sides of the same coin -- minted by the marketplace's requirements for cooperation and rational interaction.

Freed from the court, and operating with and through the commercial life of the City, London-based 'culture' epitomized the image of England as center of urban modernity and producer of "universal opulence" (Robbins 1988). But the dark side of 18th-century London formed a troubling counterimage. The underbelly of the beast, home to Blake's unforgettable and unforgettably marked faces, showed itself in the suppurating slums and brothels teeming with the impoverished, the diseased, the dispossessed, soldiers and sailors (many of them amputees) discharged from the ongoing series of expensive wars,<sup>5</sup> the orphaned, and the thousands of 'invisible' blacks who lived in London. In short, the preyed-upon and the

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Associations also served to spread some of the risks capitalism posed, such as price fluctuations and shifts in governmental fiscal policy (Morris 1990).

<sup>4</sup> The useful arts also supplied the cold hard cash necessary to express social refinement on a grand scale, as exemplified by Henry Hoare II -- see Chapter One.

<sup>5</sup> Over 200,000 men, "most of them poor, some of them mutilated, all of them trained to violence" (Colley 1992:101) were demobilized after the Seven Years War (1756-63) alone.

underclass's own preyers. The proximity in which London's high and low life existed, precluded either living in ignorance of the other.

This period saw the rise of the literate cosmopolitan man and woman, a person of 'imagination' and 'feeling' whose refinement of social manners could be gauged by informed conversation as much as by dress and other outward signs. Through the pages of the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, and the *Guardian*, Joseph Addison and Richard Steel led the way in providing the instructive aesthetic that this rapidly expanding segment of 'polite' society needed.<sup>6</sup> The journals and magazines examined for their landscape illustrations in Chapter 1, and the tour guides and collections of prints relating specifically to the Lake District examined in Chapter 2, were part of print capitalism's ever-expanding servicing of a continually recreated ever-expanding need. The Picturesque aesthetic acted not only as a nexus between 'imagination', 'feeling', and 'taste', but also a locus for their practice.

By the late-18th century the blueprint was drawn for profligate consumption, and commoditization of 'culture' and leisure. Such self-fashioning of social identity was inevitably a process of exclusion. London-based 'culture' while

indeed progressive in its best political aspirations, had encoded in its manners, morals and imaginative writings, in its body, bearing and taste, a[n] ...elitism which was constitutive of its historical being, [and] had engraved in its subjective identity all the marks by which it felt itself to be a different, distinctive and superior class.

(Stallybrass and White 1986: 202)

It was a class that inhabited a city unlike any other. One tenth of the population of England lived in London. One in six 18th-century Britons would work there at some point in their lives. London dwarfed all other English cities and British capitals, while its nearly 750,000 inhabitants at mid-century made it the largest city in western Europe (Brewer 1997).

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<sup>6</sup> Steele's *Tatler* appeared three times a week from 1709-1711. It was superseded by Addison and Steele's daily *Spectator* which, priced at one penny, ran from 1711 to 1714. Addison claimed that 3000 copies were distributed daily, with each copy having as many as twenty readers. It was widely distributed around Britain, in private homes as well as debating societies and clubs, and as far afield as New England and the East India Company's offices in Sumatra. Essays from the *Spectator* were widely reprinted in school texts, manuals of instruction and prose collections (Brewer 1997).

A London-based, broadly accessible cultural life was firmly in place. Art, music, theater, and publishing flourished in the capital's museums, concert halls, enlarged theaters, libraries, coffee houses, print and book shops, literary societies, and drawing rooms. Interlocking circles of people of 'taste' engaged in 'polite' conversation, literary criticism, dancing, painting and musical performance, formed a wide-ranging community deeply involved in the production and consumption of cultural capital. Newspapers, journals and magazines provided the quotidian connective tissue despite political and religious differences.

By the late-18th century, this urban elite's overtly unified and unifying cultural narrative had been replicated in the provinces through the power of the market to fuel differentiation and consolidate identity. Poised between state and civil society, and operating at a national level, a social ensemble of 'polite' society had been in the making. Despite local particularisms, shared practices of 'culture' helped organize social relationships and discipline in provincial cities and towns, and amongst the country gentry. This was accomplished through a network of pre-existing informal intellectual and religious associational groups, as well as through new sites of assembly which also functioned to displace local particularisms (Stallybrass and White 1986). Though urban in origin, clubs, lodges, assembly rooms, reading and debating societies, etc. came to exist in the countryside (Morris 1990), and even small towns "could support an elaborate round of balls, assemblies, concerts, lectures, (and) card parties" (Cunningham 1980:17).

Attributes of 'culture' (books, journals, prints, travel, instruction in dance, painting, music, attendance at the theater, participation in balls and amateur theatricals) and consumption of fashion appropriate to season, place and occasion,, furthered the project of replicating this particular cultural narrative while simultaneously creating it. Through its emphasis upon the individual's own imagination and aesthetic experience, the practice of the

Picturesque aesthetic cross-cut a number of categories contained within that cultural bundle.<sup>7</sup> In the process, it helped foster a shared identity and sentiment among acquaintances and a larger literate public.

Landscape became a locus of identity formation by virtue of how it was read about, toured through, experienced, viewed physically or in print, spoken about, and painted. These expressions of 'taste' and leisure practices helped place people in their social order (Bourdieu 1984, Mitchell 1994). Goods are carriers of cultural meaning, and who has the goods becomes part of their meaning. Eventually, the Picturesque tour became a ritual process by which the cultural valuation of unpeopled landscapes became transferred to the tourist. Touring, whether on foot or by carriage, was a reiterated performative enactment that connected subject and object, while simultaneously transforming Picturesque landscapes into 'goods'.<sup>8</sup>

Used differently by different groups, the Picturesque aesthetic easily rode on the back of the network that it also helped strengthen. It replaced conventions of idealized classicism

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<sup>7</sup> Commoditization of the Picturesque aesthetic promoted an intensely private and personal experience at the same time that it drew large numbers of people into an aesthetic community. The explosion of instruction manuals of sketching and watercolor *landscape* painting, and the commercialization of art supplies (Standing 1993), was accompanied by new lithographic techniques that allowed illustrations to more closely duplicate watercolor effects (Finlay and Waddell 1996). Art-supply stores appeared that, besides having circulating libraries of prints and drawings, provided touring paraphernalia (Smith 1995, Standing 1993) such as the redoubtable James Plumtre carried around with him.

<sup>8</sup> Picturesque landscapes were literally transformed into goods and commoditized as such in Josiah Wedgwood's 952-piece creamware dinner and dessert service made in 1773-4 for Catherine the Great (1729-96), Empress and Tzarina of Russia. Every piece was painted with views of British landscapes, parks, gardens, and antiquities. The 'Frog Service' as it is known (because of the frog crest on each piece) "appears to have been the first use of named topographical views on ceramics" (Young 1995: 16). Existing prints were used along with newly-commissioned drawings. Decoration of the service had not been completed when it was exhibited at Wedgwood's London warehouse before being shipped to Russia which allowed "for influential customers whose estates had not yet appeared on the Service to offer drawings to be copied" (Raeburn 1995: 147). As a consequence of the exhibition's popularity, *The Copper Plate Magazine* was founded in 1744 and *The Virtuosi's Museum* in 1778, which "specifically referred to the Empress's initiative in order to spur the British themselves not to neglect their own country" (Andrews 1989: 35). These publications' illustrations were examined in Chapter one

by stimulating a wider typology of aesthetic considerations of real or representational landscapes. For some it took the sting out of *being* provincial, relating them to the center by validating the landscapes they lived amongst. It also helped mythologize the countryside, rendering the gypsy as "an interesting piece of local colour rather than a peripatetic threat to the *status quo*". Its practice functioned as "a holding operation" for "the squirearchy which had lost ground and continued to lose ground in the dynamic of country life" (Andrews 1989: 252 n.3; Morgan 1983). It helped shape new identity in face of the loss of old ones that were being left behind in the urbanization of England.

Whether in London or the provinces, there was a doubled articulation of tension in the round of opera-, play- and concert-going, of pleasure garden visits, and attendance at clubs, balls and assemblies. Internally generated tension was induced by the self-discipline required for membership in polite society. As dealt with in Chapter 1, audiences had to be 'educated' to their role as silent and still spectators, while on stage, momentary frozen poses were taken to convey emotion. Off stage, instruction books demanded the ability "to hear disagreeable things without any visible tokens of offence or displeasure ... to hear pleasurable things without bursts of joy and frantic distortions of the face". Entrants into polite society attempted to be neither "too forward, nor too reserved nor too goodhumoured; but cautious and prudent, cheerful and easy" (Brewer 1997: 111). In order to achieve success in polite society then, drawing, dancing, and music masters taught the new sociable man or woman to harness the passions. To reverse the process of emulation for a moment, Bahktin's classical statue might have stepped down from its country house pedestal to mingle with the middle classes, but it certainly was not going to be allowed to kick up its heels.

Externally generated tension arose from criticism of the practice of worldliness. Avarice, greed, lust, and vanity were bad for the soul, though they were very good for business. The relationship between the slave trade and luxury was loudly proclaimed -- in

part by the Romantic poets Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth.<sup>9</sup> The self-promoting creed of mercantilism had both led to the oppression of the poor in England, and the unmitigated cruelty of the African slave trade (Baum 1994, Everett 1994, Gerzina 1995).<sup>10</sup> The 'soul' of England, in the form of its old manners and customs, was being sacrificed to self-interest and profit. The specific nature of 'polite' society, associated with the urban and the urbane cultural narrative, was faulted for being an aesthetic refinement based upon artifice. The absence of a moral dimension became the focus of opposition. Another narrative developed, based upon spontaneous sentiment and sentimentalism. But heightened sensibility could either tend towards encouraging benevolence, or to anguished avoidance of human suffering (Everett 1995). Either way, the emphasis on sensibility and sentiment lay behind the "cult of rude, wild and authentic nature which ... put the margins of the nation -- the Scottish Highlands and the Welsh hills -- at the centre of its taste" (Brewer 1997: 118). This cult was the pursuit of the Picturesque.

#### Problems of 'Britain' and 'England'

The period was a vortex of identity construction. The homogenizing process of the production of 'polite' society was taking place along with the not unproblematic development of 'Britons'. But simultaneously, two past versions of England (the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman), were being vociferously argued over by their socio-political heirs. Added to which was nascent cultural nationalism among the constituent parts of Great Britain (Robbins 1988). All of which was played-out against the background of the on-going Anglo-French rivalry for colonies and colonial wars.

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<sup>9</sup> Though Coleridge ended up a staunch Anglican, he was a radical dissenter when he first met Southey and Wordsworth. It was only an annuity from Thomas and Josiah Wedgwood, sons of the Quaker pottery master Josiah Wedgwood, that persuaded him to not take up a post as a Unitarian minister (Abrams et al, 1962).

<sup>10</sup> As Chapter 5 will show, the metaphors and energy of the anti-slavery movement would be brought into service for the cause of the laboring poor.

Given that French taste was viewed as underpinning London-based 'culture', one strand in the argument over what constituted the 'real' England was directed against polite society. As that cultural narrative was replicated at a national level, it had the unintended effect of producing a "sense of internal social division along cultural lines" (Newman 1987: 99). Historical reference to the imposition of 'the Norman yoke' by which traditional English liberties had been lost, informed a radical patriotism that agitated against the centralizing state, and for political reform (Butler 1988, Evans 1995). (Such oppositional patriotism was to give way at the end of the century under the impact of the French Revolution's Reign of Terror.) In the meantime, a broad-based anti-French sentiment, and a sense of 'Britain' and 'Britons' was generated in face of the common enemy -- France. The iconographic personification of nation arose in the form of Britannia. But even this identity was not unproblematic. In relation to the political message she might carry, Britannia was shown as representing anti-Norman England, *or* Francophobe Britain (Atherton 1974).<sup>11</sup>

Historical and contemporary issues around 'Frenchness' lined-up along class lines that reflected two sociomoral worlds. The ruling class was morally polluted through Gallicism (travel abroad, refined 'taste', and the trappings of London 'culture'). The recovery of a pre-Norman English identity and assertion of its true principles depended upon the reinvigoration of rustic virtues, valorization of wild nature, and the shucking-off of all that was foreign (Newman 1987). The recovery of this England-that-once-was, stood in stark contrast to the England of political-economy's making, in which local or native community counted for less than profitable foreign trading partnerships and colonial expansion. In the face of curbs upon foreign travel occasioned by the ongoing series of wars with France, London society had turned to and valorized the mountainous areas of the Celtic fringe, and had fashioned the discursive site of the Lake District. Over the course of the 18th century,

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<sup>11</sup> Political prints carrying the message of anti-Norman England, would show the English aristocracy and government ministers (except Pitt), surrounded by symbols of French culture (tutors, dancing masters, luxury goods, etc.), and as aiding and abetting their French counterparts in the rape, dismemberment, and ruin of Britannia (Atherton 1974, Newman 1987).

what polite society had fashioned became -- for some -- the repository of virtues that polite society was perceived as not having. That is what will be explored below.

The 18th century saw the formation of an over-arching political identity of Great Britain as nation-state. The political union of Scotland with England and Wales had begun when James VI of Scotland had ascended the throne of England as James I in 1603. The Act of Union in 1707 formalized a union rife with ambiguities and anger over loss of older identities, as 'Scottish' and 'Scotland', and 'English' and "England" gave way to 'British' and 'Great Britain'.<sup>12</sup> 'Britishness' was an identity superimposed upon older loyalties, though it did not supplant them (Cannadine 1995, Colley 1992, Robbins 1988). Like all identities it

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<sup>12</sup>The northern English counties of Cumberland and Westmorland are an interesting lens through which to see the ambiguities of older identities playing out. Border raids by the Scots had been a semi-permanent feature of existence in these counties for centuries, with counter-raids and attempted conquests of Scotland also being mounted from them. Consequently, a system of border duty existed for these counties' farming tenantry. As a result of the dynastic yoking of Scotland to England and Wales in 1603, border warfare was presumed to have come to a halt. Based upon that assumption, and arguing that border duty was the underpinning of a system of land tenure that was unusually advantageous to tenantry in this region, James I tried to use the presumed 'peace' as an opportunity to regrant northern crown lands to the great landholding aristocracy on new terms which doubled rent and certain fines (Campbell 1942). In turn, the great landholders were all too ready to set aside their tenants' low customary rents, and by substituting leases at much higher rents, break their customary manner of inheritance. This issue was addressed in a play performed in 1621 in Kendal (Westmorland), which was considered by the authorities to be seditious. It probably was. It generated a petition to King and Parliament in defense of customary tenant rights, which it argued did not depend upon border duty. This in turn precipitated retributive Star Chamber proceedings against the petitioners. In the play, one fool says to another as he comments upon a hell constructed a little below the stage, supposedly containing ravens feeding upon sheep:

Ravens quotha, no thou art farr by the square, its false landlords makes all that croaking there, and those sheepe wee poor men, whose right these by their skill, would take awaie, and make us tenants at will, and when our ancient liberties are gone, theile puke and poole, and peelee us to the bare bone.

(Garnett 1621 cited in Campbell 1942)

Though it took some twenty years, the tenantry won their case, and were confirmed in their customary rights of inheritance. Such is the stuff of which not only lingering antagonisms were made, but also myths of this region being the repository of 'old English virtues'.

was contingent, constructed in relation to a social or territorial 'other' (Sahlins 1989), in this case Catholic France.

The ongoing nature of the deep mutual antipathy bordering on chronic hatred which existed between England and France, was only fanned by the Stuart dynasty. Without rehearsing the whole Jacobin/Roman Catholic threat to Protestant England, it should suffice to say that James I's notion that his accession to the throne had led to peace between Scotland and England, was off by nearly a hundred and fifty years. The various late-17th through mid-18th century Anglo-French wars always carried an undertone of "French-sponsored Jacobite invasion," while "(t)he fact that in 1715 and 1745, hostile Jacobite armies marched into England from Scotland ensured that older memories of cross-border hostilities remained alive" (Colley 1992: 4; 13). As for Ireland, Irish Jacobites had long been fighting the English from within the French armies. The Irish voice that had begun to be raised against the Parliament in London in the 1780s, eventually erupted in the Rebellion of 1798 which, aided as it was by the French fleet, certainly did nothing to dispel Anglo-French hostility.<sup>13</sup> At moments when Protestant antagonism towards Catholics coalesced, cross-cutting internal divisions of 'Welshness', 'Scotchness', and 'Englishness', it helped cement notions and experience of 'Britishness' (Colley 1992).

This view of the construction of British identity does however focus on the ties that bound internal divisions together "rather than the beliefs that rent them asunder" (Brewer 1992:5). As I discuss in the next section of this chapter, internal dissension was expressed in terms of cultural nationalisms, but Protestantism contained its own schismatic fault lines. A

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<sup>13</sup> Philippe de Louthembourg's sketch of *The British Lion and the French Cock*, (reproduced in Colley 1992: 2), dates to circa 1797 when he was already a successful and popular figure through his work in the theater. It dramatically captures the spirit of Anglo-French animosity. A hugely muscular lion, teeth bared in a snarl, claws fully extended, pins-down with one forepaw a rather scrawny, bulgy-eyed cockerel that appears to have tripped-up over a set of bagpipes. The Lion's other forepaw, raised high, looks set to send the cock to perdition. In the background is the flying debris of a wrecked boat's rigging, while -- ranged above the lion's mane -- the foaming waves have metamorphosed into Poseidon and his attendants.

monolithic Protestant Britain opposed to Catholic France and its reflected presence in Ireland has to be problematized. Acknowledgment must be given to the internal divisions of the dissenting or nonconforming denominations: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians, and Methodists. Nonconformists and the radical project of Chartism. This is a theme that will be picked up in Chapter 5 when the focus is upon the Midlands.

### Two versions of 'England'

That there were two versions of 'England' has already been mentioned. Whether there has ever been a unitary English identity is a question. Initially a construct of the Tudor period, when the "systematic disinterment of evidence for the Anglo-Saxons -- their church, their language and their law-codes" was initiated (Phythian-Adams 1991: 2), "the English were more likely to identify with their own regions and localities than with the whole country of England *per se*" (Evans 1995: 232). The importance of racial and institutional history was critical as identity rooted in the Anglo-Saxon 'race' and its 'democratic' institutions -- what has been called "the Hengist-and-Horsa racial mystique" (Lowenthal 1991: 208) -- underpinned both British, and one version of English, identity.<sup>14</sup> Each was oppositional to the same Other, though that Other was constructed somewhat differently. From the Anglo-Saxon 'English' perspective, the Other was the Norman overlords and their contemporary British heirs. From the 'British' perspective, the Other was the territorially-ambitious, overweening, and morally decadent, contemporary French. Anglo-Saxon primitive democracy (with Celts, Druids and their bards as home-grown varieties of the Noble Savage

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<sup>14</sup> A glimpse of the interweaving of deep historical continuity can be seen in the founding of the first Anglo-Saxon Professorship at Oxford in 1750. It was funded through a bequest set up by Dr. Richard Rawlingson, an antiquarian. The bequest's income derived from Rawlingson family holdings in the Lake District received from Henry V for services rendered against the French, on the field at the Battle of Agincourt. (Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990). John Ruskin, in his diatribe against the incursion of the railways into the Lake District, likens the strength and virtue of the men working his fields there to those "who might have fought with Henry the Fifth at Agincourt, without being discerned from among his knights" (Ruskin 1876: 7).

then being newly-discovered in the South Pacific), was pitted against the contemporary heirs of Norman overlordship. An internal social division existed in the 18th century that called upon this class division/ing re-visioning of the past:

On the one hand, a myth of genealogical descent was being elaborated; a myth which traced the 'truly' English community...back to the humble Saxons...Year by year the vision of a 'truly' English or British racial community with a common past and a common moral, social, cultural and political makeup was pieced together from a maze of scholarly and pseudo-scholarly research, and then fitted with tremendous emotional appeal by associating it with the idealized moral qualities of the Saxon ancestors...The political implication ... was that the innate moral superiority, historic precedence in the British Isles, and Germanic institutional inheritance of 'the people' entitled them to a much larger share of legitimacy and power than they were currently suffered to enjoy by their ('Gallick,' Norman, French) oppressors.

(Newman 1987:117)

At the same time, a quite different version of England was in the making, framed by a discourse of progress and theories of political economy. It was the progressive, 'improving', urbanizing, manufacturing, and industrializing England which was, and remains interchangeable with Britain. *That* pair of conjoined twins have never yet been sundered (Cannadine 1995, Grant and Stringer 1995, Lowenthal 1991). Enlightenment progressivism served to bring its opposite into sharp intellectual focus: the unimproved, the backward, the quaint -- all the things of interest to antiquarians, folklorists (Stocking 1987) and pursuers of the Picturesque. Its evolutionary model of 'improvement' was a determining pattern of thought. But a pattern comprises solids and voids, either of which can become the pattern to the other's ground. In terms of landscape and agricultural practice, what the Enlightenment project delineated as needful of improving and modernizing, was for others the bastion of community, and repository of lived culture. The center's turn to its own mountainous north, England's Lake District, marks the production of another layer of opposition to that progressive England, as aesthetics and sentiment combined to locate continuity and tradition in the landscape. The "spiritual and moral values" of paternalistic and benevolent landownership were set against progressive and improving landowners and farmers, who with their practices of enclosure and eviction, broke the reciprocal bonds that bound highest

to lowest in an expression of time-honored agrarian community (Everett 1994). Of course, the reciprocal bonds had been broken many times before, perhaps most notably at a national level in the 16th century when royal enclosure commissions, despite their piecemeal coverage and "doubtful accuracy" (Cantor 1987: 33) resulted in legislation directed against enclosure by, for example, limiting the number of sheep one man could keep.

A fascinating reading of the Enlightenment project of modernization in relation to landscape/landuse in the Celtic Fringe uses Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland ..1776, 1777, and 1778* (1780), and Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Island of Scotland* (1775), to reveal political economy's lack of temporality, and its threat to indigenous culture:

For Young, Ireland is a place where a new future can become visible. For the nationalists, it is a place where the outlines of the past can still be glimpsed, where a hidden landscape of historical tradition and emotional attachment can be sensed just beneath the surfaces visible to the modern eye. Such surfaces serve as an accretive national annal, bearing the visible marks of many centuries of continuous human presence. ...Where both oral and written traditions have been forcibly suppressed, the national landscape becomes crucial as an alternative, less easily destroyed historical record. Agricultural reforms that would erase the surface of the country, to create an economic and political tabula rasa, thus threaten the vestiges of cultural memory.

(Trumpener 1997: 52-3)

The production of a rurally situated traditionalist worldview resulted from the relationship existing between the Picturesque movement and antiquarianism.<sup>15</sup> The base of interest in those matters shifted from a cultural elite to a broader-based segment of society. Old or decrepit elements in the landscape (be they people or buildings), ruined field monuments, curiosities such as ancient trees or 'fairy stones', and traditions of speech, dress

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<sup>15</sup> A shift in the aesthetic response to nature had not occurred in a vacuum. Nor did antiquarianism's glorification of the Celts. It proceeded from a broader intellectual enquiry epitomized by Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1750) and Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality Amongst Men* (1753), which were "enquiries into the origin of man in a context no longer always dominated by the literal text of Genesis; the nature of primitive society, the beginnings of language and literature, the existence of natural law and the earliest development of institutions" (Piggott 1976: 73). In other words, the roots of anthropological enquiry.

and manners went into the making of this worldview.<sup>16</sup> The importance of the local, of provincial life, began to stand out against the gathering importance of urban concentrations. The ruins in the landscape "stood as the surviving fragments of a native culture whose recovery was a matter of national and regional pride" (Brewer 1997: 582). The English countryside became the locus of timeless stability precisely as it was poised to undergo, or was indeed already undergoing, rapid change with the concomitant transformation of social relations (Birmingham 1986, Newby 1988).

This newly-made traditionalist worldview provided raw material for cultural nationalism. It brought new impetus to the collection and valuation of English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish history (mythical or genuine), folk beliefs (such as those concerning the "little people"), and practices (such as harvest rituals). These histories, beliefs, and practices were rooted in attachment to place, to the "prior inhabitants" of the landscape, to the very 'magic' that had previously been demonized in the Reformation, and denied in Enlightenment thinking (Schneider 1991).<sup>17</sup> Cultural nationalism was oppositional to the rhetoric of

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<sup>16</sup> The material contained in the first few decades of *Man* (Old Series) is strongly reminiscent of this aspect of the 18th century. These issues are full of reviews of books such as 'Superstitions of the Highlands and Island of Scotland (1900, 1:901), or compendia reviews of Celtic Folklore -- including the Ossian literature (1901,63-64: 79); or illustrated articles such as "Some Scottish String Figures by the Rev. John Gray with nomenclature devised by Drs. Rivers and Haddon" (1903, 3:117); or articles on oddly-shaped stones in Ireland (1901, 1:12-13), and perforated stone amulets in England (1093, 8:17-20). This is professional-journal evidence of the pre-professional antiquarian roots of ethnology and anthropology (Kuklick 1991, Stocking 1987, Urry 1993, Van Keuren 1982).

<sup>17</sup> It is no longer possible to ignore the fact that, quite unlooked for, a series of dogs are intruding their way into the footnote narrative. First Horace Walpole's lap dog, Tory, snatched-up by wolves as Walpole and Thomas Gray traversed the Alps (Chapter 1); then the unfortunately painter Charles Gouch's virtuous bitch, who stayed by her master's body for months when he fell off Helvellyn (Chapter 2); and now -- as retold in Schneider -- the micro-history of a medieval French greyhound-saint, Saint Guinefort, the tale/tail of which more-or-less corresponds to the unsainted, and therefore unworshipped, 18th-century Welsh hunting-dog Gelert. Gelert's wolf-killing myth was invented, and burial cairn built, expressly for the benefit of Picturesque tourists. It resulted in a poem, famous in its time, which "Joseph Haydn set to the tune of Eryi Wen, and within a few years the story returned in Welsh versions to the monoglot Welsh inhabitants of Snowdonia...It is a good instance of the kind of complex myth-making which...help[ed] very gradually to make the Welsh appreciate the harsh landscape from which they had to scratch a living" (Morgan 1983: 87).

progress and improvement, but Picturesque touring allowed the marketplace to incorporate *landscapes* of regional resistance.<sup>18</sup> An excursion into those landscapes will bring into focus a non-English context for the statement that to "persons of pure taste" the Lake District was "a sort of national property" (Wordsworth [1835] 1984: 133).

### Cultural nationalism

While the polity of 'Great Britain' was in the making, so too were internal cultural nationalisms, leading to what has recently been termed "'four nations' literary history" (Pittock 1994:2). Given the "coercive versions of 'Englishness' that were being so assiduously developed at the time" (Lucas 1990: 40), emerging Irish, Welsh and Scottish identities were proactive forms of resistance (Evans 1995) to the British state. However, they were also subverted by the center's production of a needed peripheral Other (Brydon 1995). The interconnections between these cultural nationalisms can be sought for and understood in part through the lens of the Picturesque movement.

Britain's *unimproved* mountainous Celtic fringe supplied appropriately miniaturized Alpine landscapes for the practice of the Picturesque.<sup>19</sup> The Picturesque aesthetic emphasized the individual by foregrounding sentiment. Images of decay and poverty were central to it, but as peripheral decorative motifs.<sup>20</sup> The development of sentiment was what it was all about, yet engagement with what was seen -- in terms of human misery -- was not:

It is, after all, an important feature of the picturesque that the viewer or reader isn't morally, socially or politically implicated in what he/she sees or reads. To go in search of the picturesque is to go in search of merely

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<sup>18</sup> The late-20th century's intense commodification of these now 'recreational' landscapes is a theme that will be taken up in a later chapter.

<sup>19</sup> For the range of Picturesque paintings, drawings, prints and books see the exhibition catalogue *Fairest Isle: The Appreciation of British Scenery 1750-1850* (1989) Yale Center for British Art.

<sup>20</sup> In examining prints of isolated, and under- or depopulated British picturesque landscapes in the previous chapter, I referred to what I came to see as a "stock repertoire" of figures (beggars, women with children at their skirts, and so on), who functioned to direct our gaze to the central but distant prospects. These are the Picturesque's 'peripheral decorative motifs', cousins to their earlier counterparts in Kip's birds-eye views of the great English country estates.

aesthetic experiences. ...William Gilpin positively opposed the introduction of what he called 'peasants engaged in their several professions' into picturesque paintings. If beggars and aged men were to appear it should be in a manner that allowed them to be aesthetically absorbed into the scene so that the spectator could indulge thoughts of pleasing melancholy.

(Lucas 1990: 92)

The rise of a political British identity necessitated that advocates of the cultural identity categories (Welsh, Irish, Scottish), not articulate claims to political sovereignty. That was now subsumed in the nation-state.<sup>21</sup> Protestantism, the exigencies of trade, and national defense successfully carried the project forward at all social levels, despite contestation between and within these levels (Colley 1992, Robbins 1988).<sup>22</sup> However, at the same time as the rationale for a more encompassing polity was bringing together "an expanded social and governing elite which included substantial numbers of Welsh, Scottish and Protestant Anglo-Irish landowners and businessmen" (Evans 1995: 223), ethnic particularities of the 'older kingdoms' were also being explored and documented (Newman 1987, Robbins 1988).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the rise of an *imperial* British identity necessitated that national identity categories such as Egyptian or Indian not articulate claims to political independence (Said 1979). In either case, the same pattern was imposed: domination followed by hegemony.

<sup>22</sup> The political and cultural are forever interwoven. The issue of national defense against French invasion spanned generations; it was not limited to one discrete, relatively brief period of time. It was experienced in political terms in the drawing together of 'Britons' (Colley 1992), as throughout the 18th century "a considerable section of the population experienced military service, if not directly as participants, then indirectly as the relatives and dependents of soldiers and sailors" (Russell 1995). War was 'felt' not only in economic terms (rising food prices and crime resulting from impoverishment), but also in cultural terms as the on-going series of Anglo-French wars was played-out in poetry, novels, plays, prints and broadsides. Much the same situation was to apply in the Great War (Robbins 1988).

<sup>23</sup> This is similar to the pattern of the past few years in which construction of a supranational European Union has given rise to a resurgence of regional and local identity movements (Drummond, Paterson & Willis 1993, Goddard, Llobera & Shore 1994, Macdonald 1993). As Britain's identity has begun to give way to a broader European identity, devolution movements have become more vocal, and certainly in England, the landscape has become the locus for sentiments of an older national identity that cannot be expressed elsewhere or in more abrasive terms -- as will be explored in my ethnographic material.

Under the onslaught of centuries of anglicization, Wales had experienced a process of cultural decay and loss of self-confidence. A distinctive Welsh way of life had gradually disappeared, its legal system had been suppressed, the Welsh language had been banned at the administrative level, and the bardic system, almost annihilated in the 13th century, had remained in a state of atrophy (Hechter 1975, Robbins 1988). The reinvention of Wales began in the 18th century and came to full fruition in the 19th. It depended in part upon forgeries and inventions from within that were skillfully intertwined with genuine native Celtic roots (Morgan 1983). But it was the Picturesque aesthetic combined with antiquarianism that helped form the milieu in which such forgeries could be successfully palmed off. Pursuit of the Picturesque, antiquarianism, and the periphery's cultural reinvention of itself were all mutually reinforcing practices.

Fertile confusion reigned. What was Celtic and what was Saxon was unclear. Excavations of the standing stone complexes at Stonehenge, Avebury and Silbury Hill in the 1720s fueled both the Welsh and the tourists' romantic idealization of Druid and Celt. By the mid-1750s, Thomas Gray -- one of the period's eminent poets -- was crafting a new response to wild nature and remote history.<sup>24</sup> His translations of Norse and Welsh poetry, considered the "pre-civilised north" (Lucas 1990:50), were used to promote decentrist cultural nationalism. Gray's turn to the literature of the 'older north' served to break old links, tracing out for British poetry "a continuous literary tradition back not (as was and still is customary) through the Normans to Provençal and Latin literature, but to the Welsh and Norse" (Butler 1988:43). Borrowings from his newly-translated Old Norse Edda supplemented 18th century 'Celtic' dramas that contained 'Druid' scenes of the Welsh bards (Piggott 1976). Gray's immensely popular poem, *The Bard*, took as its subject the last Welsh bard being hunted down by the English under Edward I. Its importance lay in the fact that historically, political

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<sup>24</sup>Gray was first met with in Chapter Two, crossing the Alps with Horace Walpole on their Grand Tour in 1739.

sovereignty as well as culture had resided in the Welsh bards. The poem inspired many paintings, and was eventually reimported into Welsh myth-making.<sup>25</sup>

By the late 18th century, Picturesque touring to the sparsely inhabited, agriculturally depressed mountains of Wales became increasingly popular. The mountains were suitably formidable without being impossibly so. Outdated agricultural practices and 'primitive' vernacular dwellings supplied suitably aesthetic images of decay, and evidence of the passage of time. Survivals in dress due to poverty were glossed and transformed into 'national' costume. Remnants of bardic poetry were 'Druidical' relicts, the Welsh language was somehow related to Hebrew, and landscape legends were embellished or invented not only for the tourists, but also "to make the Welsh understand that their landscape must be cherished" (Morgan 1983: 86).<sup>26</sup> That the project was successfully carried forward can be

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<sup>25</sup> Gray's poem *The Bard* (1757) took as its subject the last surviving Welsh bard, harp in hand, leaping to his death rather than face capture by the English. The "confrontation of the poet with the power of the state ... was soon set as a subject for poems and essays in eisteddfodau" (revived bardic gatherings), and was picked up and used in promoting Magyar nationalist literature [Morgan 1983]. Both Philippe de Louthembourg and Paul Sandby (whose *Picturesque Views of England, Scotland and Ireland* were examined in Chapter One), 'painted' Gray's poem. Set to music, Gray's poem was the subject of a maudlin song I had to learn at school in the 1950s! It is only now that I understand just why "David the Bard" threw himself off the "White Rock". It had been a complete mystery to me as a child.

<sup>26</sup> Different occupational groups have different cognitive maps of the same landscape (Frykman and Löfgren 1987). Similarly, different language groups who occupy the same landscape construct their own cognitive maps. Writing of Welsh speakers in Gwynedd:

The economic and political history of this corner of Wales have served to perpetuate the divisions between the English, non-Welsh speakers and the local Welsh-speaking Welsh. When Edward I defeated the last of the semi-independent Princes of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century he established a network of castles and English settlements in order to keep the Welsh down. The Edwardian castle towns of Beaumaris, Conwy, Harlech and Criccieth, so popular with tourists, remain to this day centres of anglicisation and are studiously ignored by many Welsh speakers. ... It is the castles of the Welsh princes in Deganwy and Dolwyddelan, the graves of legendary heroes and the places associated with eminent Welsh men and women -- places seldom on the tourist itineraries -- rather than the symbols of English domination, which fill the landscape for the Welsh.

(Bowie 1993: 181)

judged by the second verse of the 19th century Welsh national anthem. It runs (in translation):

Old mountainous Wales, paradise of bards,  
Each cliff and each valley to my sight is fair,  
With patriotic sentiment, magic is the sound  
Of her rivers and brooks to me ...

(Morgan 1983:87)

Bardic "eulogistic poetry (which was) so rooted in the landscape" (Trumpener 1997: 3-4), was an impelling force linking landscape to autonomous cultural nationalism. Even Australian aborigines were pressed into service, being likened to Gaelic bards in their role as keepers of culture (Smith 1985). The gathering, explication, promulgation, or forging of the bardic tradition was of primary importance to nationalist constructions of Wales, Scotland and Ireland (Piggott 1976, Pittock 1994, Schama 1995, Trumpener 1997). The lynch-pin to the formation of 'Celtic' Scotland for instance, was James Macpherson's forged indigenous literature, 'written' by the harp-playing bard Ossian.<sup>27</sup> Yet Scottish identity, initially a Western Highland one, was a "cultural revolt against Ireland", not England, for it was Irish bardic culture that had historically shaped and dominated the Hebrides. As for Ireland, "even

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Given the invention or embellishment of landscape-specific legends for English tourists in the 18th century, one can only wonder how much verisimilitude there is to elements within the Welsh speakers' hidden landscape.

<sup>27</sup>The forged Ossianic literature was based upon Irish ballads which were then dismissed as debased reflections of the 'real'. It became the 'source' for revelations about the antiquity of the Highland tartan small kilt (actually designed around 1720 by an English Quaker industrialist, who adapted a larger and looser traditional garment to allow his Scottish foundry workers safe ease of swift working). Without going into the class issues bound up with kilts and trews, suffice it to say that the kilt was banned as it became a symbol of anti-English sentiment because 'invested' with hoary tradition -- courtesy of Ossian. An exception was made for the post-1745 anglicized Highland Regiments for whom the kilt was dress uniform (Trevor-Roper 1983). From an anthropological perspective it is interesting to note that through the posting of Highland regiments to South Africa in the 19th century, the Highland short kilt entered the Kalela Dance -- again where it functioned both as a means of internal differentiation between tribal Selves, and between tribal Self and colonial Other (Mitchell 1956). By the time Mitchell was doing his work on the Kalela Dance, the kilt was no longer being worn in the dance contests. It merely appears as a passing childhood recollection of one of his informants. Given the period's lack of historical research into the invention of traditions *at home*, there was nothing for Mitchell to particularly pick-up upon. Now it is a nicely redoubled image in the construction of identities of resistance.

under the oppressive rule of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Celtic Ireland clung to an image of itself as, culturally, an historic nation" ((Trevor-Roper 1983). This had been achieved, in part, through the active practice of harpistry and a bardic poetry that, in both senses of the word, carried the 'burden' of nation.<sup>28</sup>

If bardic poetry carried 'nation', what did 'nation' carry? A standard dictionary (Webster's New Collegiate) shows the following:

NATION: Middle English *nacioun*, from Middle French *nation*, from Latin *nation-natio* meaning birth, race, nation, from *natus*, the past participle of *nasci* meaning to be born.

*Native* and *nature* and are also connected to *nation* by their root in Latin *natus-nasci*:

NATIVE: Middle English *natif*, from Middle French from Latin *nativus* from *natus* past participle of *nasci* meaning to be born.

NATURE: Middle English from Middle French from Latin *natura*, from *natus*, the past participle of *nasci* meaning to be born.

When linked with 'nation', 'native', and 'nature', the word 'landscape' has a "metaphoric, and ideological, potency" that comes from "the development of a more permanent bond between the nature, or character, of the culture of a particular people and the nature, or character, of the particular areas where they dwell" (Olwig 1993: 310-312). One way in which this more permanent bond is expressed is in the 'native' language, or 'mother tongue' -- which connotatively resonates to *natus-nasci*. In relation to the 18th-century Celtic fringe, this landscape/language link is central to bardic nationalism. By the end of the century, landscape was a "version of nature *in* which man most fully experience(d) himself, both in place and in time ... (and became) ...a key concept in the shift towards subjective time-consciousness" (Salveson 1965: 14).

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<sup>28</sup> In musical terms, the "burden" is the chorus or reiterated refrain. Cultural and political nationalisms met once more in the Belfast harpists' festival of 1792 -- at the height of the first period of Irish Celtic revivalism. There, cultural revival became linked with demands for Catholic emancipation, while commemorative victory dinners celebrated the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille (Trumpener 1997: 10).

The landscape/language link was kept alive through toponymic memory, and isolation. Throughout the 18th century, the 'old' languages, or in the case of England, dialects, were still being spoken in remote areas (Robbins 1988). Landscape and language were occasionally conflated into iconic expression.<sup>29</sup> But overwhelmingly, languages of nation (Gaelic, Welsh) fell into decay through disuse, outright banning, and inroads made by the "killer language", English.<sup>30</sup> Toponymic memory could be displaced through wholesale clearances, as in the Scottish Highlands. The naming involved in formal mapping could function as a way of silencing the past, as when Gaelic place-names were replaced in the 1824-36 General Ordnance survey of Ireland. Conversely, compilers of the Ordnance Survey took great pains over Welsh orthography (Harley and Walters 1982 cited in Robbins 1988). Local names, including those in the periphery of England, were often ignored or garbled (Wilberforce 1779).<sup>31</sup> On rare occasions, a reverse erasure took place, as when milestones were removed from segments of the British military roads that had penetrated the Scottish Highlands during the Jacobite uprisings (Trumpener 1997). This reverse erasure on military roads also occurred extensively in Ireland. The social action and power of maps was usually more long-lasting (Harley 1992, Pickles 1992).

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<sup>29</sup>For example, the Welsh language was depicted on the title page of James Howell's 1659 dictionary "as a scared wild woodland warrior maiden" (Morgan 1983:48).

<sup>30</sup> In response, Dissenters and, later in the century, radicals, produced dictionaries "of English slang and provincialisms" (Butler 1988:47).

<sup>31</sup> One Lake District resident with whom I have worked since 1987 (Darby 1988), has lived for many years in the house high in the central fells, which was his parent's summer home. Now 70 years old, he is adamant about maintaining the local voice of place. At the kitchen table pouring over 1840s-50s Ordnance Survey Maps with me, or out walking, he would often point out mistakes: where the mapped name of a mountain shoulder or scree slope actually belongs to the ridge, or vice versa, or how a local name has been mangled even if left 'in place', or where it's been given no place on the map at all. It is important to him to maintain local knowledge against the official world of maps and mapmakers. It is equally important to him that local dialect and distinctively local words be maintained in use. I have noticed that when he is around local-born people, there is a distinct shift in his pronunciation, and he will use 'local' words that he does not use around me or other people who, like himself, are off-comers in the hamlet.

Elements in the landscape that indicated the passage of time were of fundamental importance to the Picturesque. Ruins and moss- or ivy-covered structures were melancholy reminders of *tempus fugit*. Mountains spoke of a (newly discovered) geologically deep time scale that by comparison rendered a human lifetime inconsequential. Dawns and sunsets (even if seen through a glass, brightly), held the personally-measured passage of time. But any ruin, any moss-covered bridge, any old decrepit person, any mountain would do to stimulate imagination and sensation. What emerged was an engagement with memory-over-time that required the particularized, the highly localized ruin, bridge, person, mountain, etc. This shift in focus to close observation of the landscape in the visual arts (Murdock 1986) forms a parallel to the poetry of particularized place. Such poetry acted as a personal toponymic memory, a recognition of a personal interior isolation or alienation that sought refuge through location in the landscape. *That* quality of location rendered contingent being poignant. The poignancy of *that* located memory was memory's triumph over time.

#### The English Romantic Movement and The Lakeists

English Romanticism was a term applied retroactively in the mid-19th century to English poets of the late-18th early-19th century. The formation of a canonical unitary English Romanticism was a product of the 1940s. It has at different times comprised the self-defined Lakeists - Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, along with Blake, Byron, Keats and Shelley. All were proponents of an English nationalist aesthetic, developed by earlier poets such as Thomson, Shenstone and Cowper. In the last 10-15 years, English Romanticism, and particularly its normative figure Wordsworth, have undergone critical reexamination (Aers et al 1981, Butler 1982, 1988, Lui 1989, McGann 1983) which has revealed an ideology of poetic displacement and idealization which severs subject matter from its social and economic contexts.

The term English Romanticism has also been used to refer to a broader swath of poetry running from the 1740s-1790s (when provincialism was exalted); the 1790s-1815

(when provincial landscapes remained the mainstay, but post-Revolutionary religious orthodoxy crept in); and 1815-1825 (when the tone was less provincial and democratic). Within this more extended time-frame, English Romanticism "tended to oppose the central British state and its institutions" and was preoccupied with "class, social change, natural religion, regional and national pride, and world revolution" (Butler 1988: 37-41). It was not "a single intellectual movement but a complex of responses to ... social pressures" (Butler 1982:184), arising out of the early stages of the industrial revolution (Aers et al 1981). What resulted was that

a Romantic structure of feeling -- the assertion of nature against industry and of poetry against trade; the isolation of humanity and community into the idea of culture, against the real social pressure of the time -- is projected. We can catch its echoes, exactly, in Blake, in Wordsworth, and in Shelley.

(Williams 1973: 79)

As the 18th century progressed, increased levels of literacy, a more extensive publishing industry, and better distribution of printed matter achieved through an extended system of turnpike roads, combined to ensure that the provincial middling sort, as well as country gentry, had access to the poetics and politics of English Romanticism. By the end of the century, the profound changes wrought in the literate public's appreciation of nature through the prior half-century's native country or pastoral poetry, allowed for easy absorption of the Lake District as a powerful cultural symbol of stability.

The overt importance attaching to the oppositional voice of poetry, and especially bardic poetry, expressed the deepening sense that poets should speak to and for their community. Yet as a London-based cultural narrative was being replicated in the provinces, the community of *native/nation/nature* was perceived as being shattered under the twin impacts of enclosure and urbanization. By mid-century, England's poets and writers were experiencing a profound crisis about the culture they were giving voice to. Depression, madness and suicides marked the artistic-intellectual community (Butler 1988, Lucas 1990, Newman 1987), while poetry continued to carry the twin motifs of xenophobia and valorization of the English landscape for the rest of the century.

In the face of fragmentation of people and place, landscape answered the felt need for continuity. In extreme instances, this might be expressed as a corpus of allegedly 'medieval' poetry and prose in praise of an English province, but more generally, poets

beginning with James Thomson (1700-1748), and going on through Thomas Gray (1716-71) to William Blake (1757-1827) and William Wordsworth (1775-1850), replace the "'court' or London or aristocratic discourse of Dryden, Pope, Swift and Gay with a symbolic language exalting provincialism. ...they express, and further shape, attitudes which are representative of the attitudes of some of the gentry and much of the 'middling orders', especially of the commercial and entrepreneurial classes in eighteenth-century London and the provinces.

(Butler 1988:41)

Thomson's country poetry exemplifies the first period of English Romanticism in its larger timescale outlined above. His was a generalized countryside, touched by generalized seasons, and evincing generalized emotions. Early tourists to the Lake District had drawn on classical writers to enhance what they saw. From the 1740s on, with the phenomenal popularity of Thomson's *The Seasons*, native literature gained importance in supplying emotive associations.

Unlike bardic poetry, such pastoral poetry falsified the actual relationships of rural communities just as much and for the same reason that it falsified urban communities (Lucas 1990, Sales 1983, Williams 1973). By the end of the 18th century the thrust of the Picturesque was to seek landscapes

where there are not only no traces of contemporary industrialization, land enclosure and estate improvement, but where the georgic idyll in all its forms is lost and where the terrifying 'levelling' influences from across the channel can never come.... the Picturesque tourist is now willing to trek hundreds of miles to find a world 'That seems in labours hurry left forgot'.

(Andrews 1989: 66).

Country or pastoral poetry, along with engraved versions of paintings, affirmed the Picturesque, which in turn informed the early works of the Lakeists. In what has been referred to as his poetry of "domestic anthropology" (Bewell 1989), Wordsworth made the Lake District landscape carry the marginalized within -- the crippled soldier, blind beggar, recluse, mad-woman, gypsy, vagrant -- in other words, the abandoned flotsam and jetsam of

the early agricultural and industrial revolutions.<sup>32</sup> Not surprisingly perhaps, these 'marginals' formed part of the continuum of human categories then being developed by the centralizing state as the basis for its 1834 Poor Law. Wordsworth

began by wanting to give utterance to those who had been denied their own voices. Such people were no longer to be treated as objects of contemplation, usually from afar, as in the distancing techniques of Thomson's abstractions. Instead, they became subjects: speaking, experiencing. But then Wordsworth began to retreat, figuratively and literally.

(Lucas 1990:6)

In that retreat, one arrives at Wordsworth's highly particularized "limited localities" that are lovingly returned to over and over again, as deep familiarity of place and placement is probed and explored (Kroeber 1975). This is why

Blake's visions of England are liberating and tragically truthful (while) Wordsworth's are increasingly false. From his 'free' place, or 'dwelling', among the Lakes, remote from the city, (Wordsworth) poses as a man speaking *for* men, and particularly for Englishmen and England. This is the ultimate, deeply conservative ambition of pastoral.

(Lucas 1990:117)

As the previous chapter was at pains to point out, the valorization of the Lake District as a specifically English version of a particular landscape type, preceded by some half-century the Lakeists' exultation of it. However, what had already begun through the Picturesque was to be freighted by the Lakeists with even more national sentiment. The landscape's inhabitants were presented as *living* examples of what for the rest of the country were merely memories of bygone 'English' virtues: 'simplicity', 'temperance', 'economy' and 'independence' (Everett 1994). This was especially so in the case of the 'statesmen' farmers and their families who inhabited an a mountain republic (Wordsworth 1835). Through the poetry of the Lakeists and their circle, and particularly through Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes*, the landscape of the Lake District was made known to a wide reading public.<sup>33</sup> It

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<sup>32</sup> Joan Baum explores the unstated presence of slavery behind these marginal people who preoccupied both Coleridge and Wordsworth (Baum 1994).

<sup>33</sup> Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* often uses the language of the Picturesque, but more often it operates in the realm of prose poetry -- in some instances where Dorothy Wordsworth's unattributed writing is used! The *Guide* first appeared as an anonymous introduction for Joseph Wilkinson's *Select Views in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (1810). It was later reprinted as *A Topographical*

was also made known *again* to a viewing public, as professional watercolorists began visiting the Lake District in earnest in the first two decades of the 19th century and (generally) put their prolific output on the market (Beard 1980, Bicknell 1987, Bicknell and Woof 1982, 1983, Rhyne 1986, Tate Gallery 1996).

Set against this image of a coherent past were the agencies of destruction: the radical alteration to people and place engendered by cataclysmic changes in agriculture, commerce, and industry (Polanyi 1944). What was being bolstered was 'a' version of English national identity that was not only founded in the past, but rejected the present's perceived destruction of community. The Lake District was a landscape of association, but one formed in contradistinction to the borrowed and idealized Italianate 'classical' landscapes of the south's great country houses, or the exotic 'Oriental' landscapes of a Kew or Charles Hamilton's Painshill at Cobham, Surrey, complete with their chinese pagodas and bridges, and turkish tents.<sup>34</sup> And the Lake District as landscape of association certainly stood in the starkest possible contrast to the destroyed landscapes of the manufacturing centers of the Midlands.

England's mountainous periphery was represented as holding the nation's core values which the trading/financial center of London had happily prostituted in the Midlands. The English Romantic's gaze at, and incorporation of the Celtic periphery of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, accomplished through painterly, poetic, and novelistic renderings, operated closer to home as it inscribed a particular vision of 'England' upon the Lake District, rendering it a

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*description of the Country of the Lakes in the North of England* which appeared as an appendix to Wordsworth's sonnet collection *The River Duddon* (1820). It was then published as a freestanding piece in 1822 as *A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes in the North of England*. The *Description* then went through numerous and enlarged editions up through the 1850s., and had continued to be reissued up through the mid-1980s (Bicknell 1984).

<sup>34</sup> The Honorable Charles Hamilton, held the lease at Painshill from 1738 to 1773 during which time he managed to bankrupt himself through loans (some from Hoare's Bank) to fund his 200 acre landscaping project (Thacker 1989). It included a tufa-constructed grottoed island, a purpose-built 'ruined' abbey and a 'ruined' Roman triumphal arch that housed genuine classical antiquities. Staffing the Hermitage proved difficult, for although people might be turned into art temporarily, holding the pose proved problematic: the old man on a £700 seven-year contract to play the hermit, lasted only three weeks "before escaping to a local inn" (Symes 1991: 36).

repository of an imagined, or not-so-imagined, past. The Lake District was made into an icon, a window through which a greater reality or truth could be perceived, be it of God or England - though the two were not necessarily different from one another.

That mountain landscapes were independence-forming places of moral and political refuge, was not a new notion. Eighteenth-century writers revived an earlier self-valorizing literature that had presented Alpine montagnards as figures of "frugal robustness and artless virtue". In the Enlightenment scheme of things, they were re-promoted as "natures primitive democrats" (Schama 1995: 479-80, Lowenthal 1994). That 'Liberty' dwelt in the mountains had theoretical foundations in Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. Published in France in 1748, and translated into English in 1750, it posited (among other things) a relationship between type of landscape, climate, and form of government. Closer to home and within the context of the sweeping Parliamentary enclosure movement in England or the clearances in Highland Scotland, mountains did not lend themselves to enclosure.<sup>35</sup> They were also the site of romanticized tales of drovers and gypsies. The Lake District still supported numerous small farms, and due to wage competition from the relatively nearby manufacturing towns, the conditions of its agricultural laborers were not as abysmal as in the southeast (Royal Commission on the Poor Laws 1834; Marshall and Walton 1981).

Physical landscapes, in the same way as naturalistic landscape painting, formed a type of "discourse through which class identity was partly formed" (Hemingway 1992:9). They were also part of that discourse's series of signs through which fine gradations of snobbery could be articulated. In the early years of the 19th century, the increasing popularity of the Lake District and its relative proximity to the Midlands manufacturing centers, brought the newly wealthy to the region not just as tourists, but as year-round or summer inhabitants. Imposing houses were built in local centers and isolated locations, in both cases with the

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<sup>35</sup> While the mountains of the Lake District indeed did not lend themselves to enclosure, their productive valley floors did, though such enclosure could come remarkably late in the 19th century (Darby 1988).

primary intention of obtaining commanding views of the lakes and mountains.<sup>36</sup> In his *Guide to the Lakes*, Wordsworth railed against industrialists 'brash' mansions, painted the wrong color, conspicuously sited for the fine views rather than unobtrusively nestled into their landscapes as older vernacular buildings were. He also protested against the proposed intrusion of the railways into the Lake District because they would bring in the day-trippers, the industrial working class.<sup>37</sup>

The coupling of national landscapes with elite judgement ...was memorably voiced by Wordsworth. He termed the Lake District 'a sort of national property, in which everyman has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive' -- but such an eye was formed only gradually, at the court of cultivated taste. Having earlier sought to preserve the Lakes *for* visitors (then a few gentry) Wordsworth ended by protecting them *against* visitors (whose wanton incursions he likened to 'the child's cutting up his drum to learn where the sound comes from').

(Lowenthal 1991:219)

Under the impact of the agricultural and industrial revolutions' spatial reconstruction of England, the Lake District remained an unutilized or 'negative' space which I treat in the following chapters as expressing a previously unexamined manifestation of the capitalist dynamic. A new and unprecedented accumulation of value accrued to this space as it was valorized by an intellectual and artistic elite precisely because it was 'other' than the new urban concentrations of capital. Although 'a' version of an homogenous English national identity centered around the Lake District as a "sort of national property", it paradoxically led to cultural differentiation of class through contested participation in this landscape. This is what the next chapter takes up.

## Conclusion

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<sup>36</sup> Technical innovations in 18th-century production of plate glass facilitated larger window panes. An early example was the huge plate glass windows of the 1704 orangerie at London's Kensington Palace. But it was the removal of excise duty on glass in 1845 that made 'picture windows' possible for the non-aristocratic wealthy.

<sup>36</sup> A railway line to Windermere opened in 1847, and within a short time the town of Windermere began to take shape and grow.

That the Lake District had become an icon of England can be glimpsed in the way it was 'found' abroad in the early years of the 19th century. The following quotation relates to Tasmania, but the Lake District also 'appeared' in the landscapes of Australia and New Zealand (Smith 1985):

The scenery around Newtown is the most beautiful I have seen on this side of the world -- very much resembling that of the Cumberland Lakes: the broad and winding estuary of the Derwent flows between lofty and picturesque hills and mountains ....but the most English, and therefore the most beautiful things I saw here, were the hawthorn hedges....It seemed like being on the right side of the earth again.

(Smith 1985: 291)

Further evidence of the way in which the Lake District functioned as a cultural paradigm can be seen from its inscription by the British in the early-19th century upon the landscape of Kandy, a valley city in the central mountainous region of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Taken by military force in 1795, Ceylon was annexed by British treaties in 1802 and 1815. Ceylon figured centrally in the public uproar over the East India Company's "widespread corruption and repressive rule" that had been exposed by 1820 (Baum 1994). But despite such uproar,

the elevation and topography of Kandy (made) it possible to create a facsimile of the landscape of home... Kandy was designed to resemble a romanticized image of a pre-industrial England. The landscape model of the English lake district was superimposed upon the mountains and the Kandy lake to recreate a place where English ladies and gentlemen could somehow escape the tropics and the native culture and symbolically return home.

(Duncan 1989:192)

In emulation of Picturesque viewing stations around the lakes of England's Lake District, promenades, carriage drives, and riding paths were constructed, and viewsheds cleared through the jungle to provide sudden views of the town, the lake, and its surrounding mountains. It was a successful project:

In Kandy, whether one will or not, the mind will go back to the Lake region in England. You will find a calm and quiet beauty, freedom from strain and stress ...and a universal friendliness between all Nature and its lord, which brings up Grasmere, Windermere, Derwentwater, and their spirits -- Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and all the rest of the Cumberland immortals .

(Hurst 1890 quoted in Duncan 1989:194)

The lines from Milton's *Paradise Lost* that J.M.W. Turner had accompany his exhibition piece of 1798 -- "Morning Among the Coniston Fells", is an apt concatenation of poetry, painting, *nation*, *nature* and the Lake District landscape. Painted in an upright format traditionally associated with altarpieces, the following lines appeared with the painting:

...ye mists and exhalations that now rise  
From hills or streaming lake, dusky or grey,  
Till the sun paints your fleecy skirts with gold  
In honour of the world's great Author, rise.  
(Tate Gallery 1996)

The two poems that head this chapter form an analogue to the tensions and anxieties that were in some way formative of, or were fed by, the valorization of the mountainous areas of Britain in general, and England's Lake District in particular. The 'grotesque body' encountered in the tropics and 'native' culture of Ceylon, was equally present for encounter in London or the manufacturing cities of the Midlands. In both cases, polite society sought refuge by retreating to the heights. From the low but nonetheless distancing height of a "shewman's platform," a fearful Wordsworth views the 'native culture' of London's St. Bartholomew's Fair. The next Book of the *Preludes* opens on the summit of Helvellyn, from whose lofty height he gazes down at a village fair in a valley far below, and ponders with great affection the little community of people gathered together in a country celebration. Later in the 19th century, contemplating "the stupid herds of modern tourists" that the railways would bring in to the Lake District, John Ruskin completes the circle. Though realizing that "engineers and contractors must live," his rejoinder is "Let them live; but in a more useful and honourable way than by keeping Old Bartholomew Fair under Helvellyn" (Ruskin 1876: 4-6).

Meanwhile, the project of polite society had created a new crowd. This one made its "pervasive appearance, in the arts and in other records...not (as) a crowd made up of strangers, as in a London street, still less a threatening mob, but (as) a room full of acquaintances or potential acquaintances at a ball or party" (Butler 1982:25). This is the crowd well-nigh overwhelmed with its heightened senses and sensibilities, its pride and

prejudices, that Jane Austen guides us through. Blake's "mind-forg'd manacles" were not, are not, the private domain of any one class. None can be automatically exempted from the enslavement of having "minds already moulded by law, custom and prejudice" (Butler 1988:57). The site of the Lake District was fashioned by early English Romanticism and the Picturesque aesthetic. For a while it formed one class's retreat from the other. Aesthetic, cognitive and moral standards masked class antagonisms, as landscape representations masked issues of political representation (Helsing 1994). If the Lake District was indeed "a sort of national property" as Wordsworth pronounced it to be, then who were the right 'sort' to enjoy it, and who was worthy of inclusion in the 'nation'?

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE POLITICS OF ACCESS

**The motto of the English nation is 'exclusion'. In this consists our happiness and our pride**

William Hazlett

*The Village Minstrel*

**There once were lanes in nature's freedom dropt,  
there once were paths that every valley wound --  
Inclosure came, and every path was stopt;  
Each tyrant fix'd his sign where paths were found,  
To hint a trespass now who cross'd the ground...**

John Clare

*The Earthly Paradise*

**Forget six counties overhung with smoke,  
Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,  
Forget the spreading of the hideous town...**

William Morris

*National Trust, Annual Report 1903-4*

**To illustrate the way in which people in the great towns value the beauties of nature, it is sufficient to quote the case of a working woman in Sheffield. In sending a postal order for a small sum, she said that after 30 years' work in a Sheffield factory, it was her greatest joy to spend her holidays on the moors, for she found refreshment there. She hopes some day to go as far as Ullswater and Derwentwater [in the Lake District].**

quoted in Marsh 1982: 58-9

**...the great Romantic criticism of Utilitarianism was running its parallel but altogether separate course. After William Blake, no mind was at home in both cultures, nor had the genius to interpret the two traditions to each other. It was a muddled Mr. Owens who offered to disclose the 'new moral world', while Wordsworth and Coleridge had withdrawn behind their own ramparts of disenchantment. Hence these years appear at times to display, not a revolutionary challenge, but a resistance movement, in which both the Romantics and the Radical craftsmen opposed the annunciation of Acquisitive Man. In the failure of the two traditions to come to a point of junction, something was lost. How much we cannot be sure, for we are among the losers.**

Thompson 1966: 832

## Introduction

Material structures, and I take landscapes to be such, are created and destroyed within an ideological context. Understanding landscape must therefore rest upon the historical recovery of ideologies specific to particular places. This chapter deals with the political, social and economic embeddedness of access to open landscape in England from the late 18th century up to the outbreak of World War II and picks up those threads specifically in relation to the Peak District. Chapter 5 does the same thing for the Lake District. Although differences and similarities in the social uses of nature existed between the Peak and Lake Districts, what happened in one region had direct and indirect effects on what happened in the other, and events in each region produced a climate of opinion about access that was invested with strong political overtones. These chapters' burden is to elucidate a politics of access to open land through examination of local particularities contextualized within the historical interplay of class and national identity. Together they lead into Chapter 6 which opens with post-war enabling legislation for a national park system in England and Wales.

The politics of access is compounded of multi-level interactions between stasis and movement. Conceived of both literally and metaphorically, they are two poles in a pattern of oscillation that operates in social and geographical terms, as well as within discrete and overarching time frames. Depending upon any given set of particularities, the law can tacitly and state-edly approve and disapprove of both stasis and movement. The actions people do or do not take in their daily lives, depending upon the exigencies of social, geographical, and historical time and place, and the law's interventions or lack thereof, create the shifting field of claims and counter-claims that is the struggle for access. Located at the intersections of social place and geographical space are geographies of exclusion.

Access to and movement across the English landscape is but one way of following that struggle. It is a point of view from which can be seen larger issues of domination, incorporation, and contestation. Regardless of when enclosure hedges are torn up, challenges to governmental authority are voiced from the peri-urban commons, working-class tourists

seek the non-temperance delights of a lakeside bottle of beer, or Derbyshire grouse moors are tramped over by the unemployed -- these are actions of the variously dispossessed. All function as markers of class differentiation, indicating who possesses 'culture' and who does not, and who are 'cultivated' and who are not. It is the relationship between events and ideas that interests me, and the way in which they can be mined to make landscapes stand clear *as* material structures.

The following tables, which are partial rather than exhaustive listings, form a reference point from which to chart a way through the various threads making up this and the next two chapters. They show (1) Footpath Preservation Societies and Rambling Clubs; (2) Bills and Acts relating to enclosure of commons, wastes and open landscape and their protection from enclosure from 1815 to 1925; (3) Bills, Acts and Parliamentary Committee Reports relating to access to commons, wastes and open landscape; (4) organizations concerned with landscape preservation and access; and (5) Bills, Acts and Parliamentary Committee Reports relating to National Parks, access to and management of the countryside.

TABLE 1 - FOOTPATH AND RAMBLING CLUBS

1824	York Association for the Protection of Ancient Footpaths
1826	Manchester Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths
1856	Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association (Lake District)
1856	Burnley Footpath Committee
1866	Preston Footpath Association
1866	Carr Hill Road Defense Committee (Nelson, Lancashire)
1866	Bank Top Footpath Association (Blackburn)
1876	Hayfield and Kinder Scout Ancient Footpaths Association (Peak District)
1880	Manchester Young Men's Christian Association Rambling Club
1884	Forest Ramblers Club, London
1890s	Liverpool Hobnailers
1894	Blackburn and District Ancient Footpaths Association
1894	The Peak District and Northern Counties Footpaths Preservation Society
1894	Midland Institute of Ramblers
1897	Co-operative Holidays Association
1900	Sheffield Clarion Ramblers

TABLE 2 - ENCLOSURE/PRESERVATION OF COMMONS ACTS  
1815-1925

1815 Stopping-Up of Unnecessary Roads Act

1835 General Highways Act (Effectively repealed the 1815 Act.)

1845 General Inclosure Act (Shifted oversight of enclosure schemes from Parliamentary Committees to local enquiries chaired by independent Commissioners who were empowered but not required to set aside land for recreational use where Commons or waste were enclosed.)

1865, 1871, 1876, and each year between 1880 and 1890, Bills or Amendments to Bills to repeal the Statute of Merton (All defeated.)

1887 Thirlmere Act (Set the precedent of giving Select Committee status for evidential hearings on landscape preservation issues; this meant all interested parties could give evidence, not just affected landowners.)

1887 Copyhold Act (Introduced in the House of Lords, this Act replaced the Parish Vestry with a Land Commission to consent to new copyholds of waste or Commons. The Land Commission later became the Board of Agriculture.)

1893 Law of Commons Amendment Act (Required Board of Agriculture consent to any enclosure being undertaken under the Statute of Merton, and directed the Board to determine that such enclosure would be of benefit to the public).

1894 Copyhold Act (Further strengthened tenants' rights of Commons on copyhold land)

1925 Law of Property Act (Brought Commons located in Urban Districts into the public domain.)

### TABLE 3- ACCESS BILLS & ACTS

1833 Select Committee on Public Walks (Lack of recreational space.)
1834 Select Committee on Drunkenness (Evidence given similar to above.)
1837 Inclosure Bills – Provision for Public Recreation, Joseph Hume, MP for Middlesex
1882 Open Spaces Act, John Lubbock, MP for Maidstone
1884, 1888, 1892 Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill (defeated each time) James Bryce, MP for South Aberdeen
1900, 1906, 1908 Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill (defeated each time) Annan Bryce, MP for Inverness Burghs
1908 Access to Mountains (England, Wales and Ireland) Bill (defeated) Charles Trevelyan, MP for Elland, West Riding
1920-1930 five Access to Mountains Bills (all defeated) various MPs.
1931 Access to Mountains Bill (defeated) Ellen Wilkinson, MP for Middlesbrough East (later MP for Jarrow -- led Jarrow Crusade march)
1933 Rights of Way Act (Simplified 'proving' a footpath by removing criterion of 'indefinite use' and substituting twenty year's continuous use.)
1937 Access to Mountains Bill (defeated) Geoffrey Mander, MP for Wolverhampton East
1938 Access to Mountains Bill (defeated) Creech Jones, MP for Shipley
1939 Access to Mountains Act, repealed by:
1949 The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act
1983 Greater Access to the Countryside Bill (defeated) Tony Baldry, MP for Banbury (One of the failed Access Bills introduced each year from 1979 - 1985.)
1990 Rights of Way Act, Edward Leigh, MP for Gainsborough & Horncastle (deals with farmers' obligations re footpaths and byways)
1994 The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, §70, 71
1996 Access to the Countryside Bill (defeated) Paddy Tipping, MP for Sherwood

TABLE 4 - PRESERVATION/ACCESS SOCIETIES

- 1865 Commons, Open Spaces & Footpath Preservation Society
- 1883 The Lake District Defense Society
- 1884 The National Footpaths Preservation Society (Merged in 1899 with the Commons, Open Spaces & Footpath Preservation Society.)
- 1895 National Trust for Places of Historical Interest or Natural Beauty (made a Statutory Body in 1907.)
- 1905 Federation of Rambling Clubs, London
- 1922 Manchester and District Federation of Rambling Clubs
- 1926 Sheffield and District Federation of Rambling Clubs
- 1926 Council for the Preservation of Rural England (Name changed to Council for the Protection of Rural England 1969.)
- 1930 Youth Hostels Association
- 1931 National Council of Ramblers' Federation
- 1934 Friends of the Lake District
- 1935 The Ramblers' Association

## TABLE 5 - NATIONAL PARKS

1929 National Park Committee set up by Government
1931 Addison Committee Report <i>Report of the National Park Committee</i>
1935 CPRE sets up Standing Committee on National Parks
1942 Scott Committee Report <i>Land Utilization in Rural Areas</i>
1945 Dower Committee Report <i>National Parks in England and Wales</i>
1945 Labour Government sets up Committee on National Parks in England and Wales under chairmanship of Sir. Arthur Hobhouse
1947 Hobhouse Committee Report <i>Report of the National Parks Committee (England and Wales)</i>
1947 Hobhouse Committee, Access Sub-Committee Report <i>Footpaths and Access to the Countryside</i>
1947 Hobhouse Committee, Wildlife Special Conservation Committee Report <i>The Conservation of Nature in England and Wales</i>
1947 Town and Country Planning Act
1949 The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act
1951 Designation of Lake District, Peak District, Dartmoor, Snowdonia National Parks
1952 Designation of Pembrokeshire Coast, North York Moors National Parks
1954 Designation of Exmoor, Yorkshire Dales National Parks
1956 Designation of Northumberland National Park
1957 Designation of Brecon Beacons National Park
1968 Countryside Act
1974 The Sandford Committee Report <i>National Park Policies Review</i>
1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act
1991 Countryside Stewardship Scheme

### Im/moral economies

The right to enclose manorial waste land was enshrined in the Statutes of Merton (1235) and Westminster II (1285), the proviso being that enough common and access to it had to left by the enclosing lord of the manor to enable their freehold tenants to exercise their customary rights. Where several manors abutted onto the waste, then the access of those manors' freehold tenants also had to be protected. Use of commons or waste by villeins or copyhold tenants as they later became, and non-copyhold tenants, was not protected. Enclosure of commons and wastes extinguished rights to collect wood (rights of estover), to cut turfs (rights of turbary), to graze animals (rights of herbage), or to fish (rights of piscary).<sup>1</sup> This translated into loss of the slim margin of security those rights had provided in protecting agricultural laborers and their families from the vagaries of seasonal employment.

Proceeding from a broad interpretation of these enactments, enclosure of waste not only accelerated but great open fields were converted from arable production to more profitable pasture land -- profitable because of the rising price of wool. The rate of enclosure peaked in the 1450s-1480s and only fell off in the mid-1500s as cereal prices rose and wool prices dropped. An increase in population in the late 16th century and rising prices for wool re-accelerated the rate of enclosure (Wordie 1983). Under the impacts of political pressure exerted through riots and armed rebellion, Royal Commissions of Enquiry to determine extent of conversion of land from arable to pasture were set up in 1517, 1548, 1566, 1607, 1630 and 1632 and 1635. Royal proclamations were issued against enclosure, Parliament legislated against conversion of arable to pasture and even restricted the number of sheep any

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<sup>1</sup>Enclosure could be accomplished through a variety of means: (1) by extinction of common rights -- through possession falling into one man's hands, the commoner releasing their rights or rights falling into disuse; (2) by withdrawal from common by sufferance or approvement -- because the land was less definitively held to be common, and through 'improvement' of waste; (3) by agreement -- coerced or otherwise; (4) by piecemeal enclosure -- which as its name implies dealt with enclosure of an area on a piece-by-piece basis; or by enclosure by commission -- in which arbitrators, forerunners of the 18th century enclosure commissioners, brokered agreements among freeholders and customary tenants that covered whole areas of common fields or wastes (Butlin 1979: 66-68).

one man might own (Cantor 1987, Tate and Turner 1978, Wordie 1983), but the enclosure movement remained an inexorable force of dispossession and immiseration for the many, and a source of enrichment for the few.

Control of movement across the English landscape has its roots deep in a structure of values that regulates geographical as well as social mobility.<sup>2</sup> Identification with place and landscape lies at the heart of this structure of values, central to which is Locke's labor theory of the origin of private property (Hill 1992). The landowning class's moral economy was tied to the rise of a highly developed agrarian capitalism that, through its need to force the landless to work for wages, wrought deep changes in relations of community and household. (Roseberry 1991, Williams 1973). Running counter to this im/moral economy was a primitive communism expressed first in the aspirations of the 14th century peasant Great Society (Hill 1992), and later in the political radicalism of 17th century Diggers and Levellers (Hill 1996, Williams 1973).<sup>3</sup>

In creating a system of wage labor, early agrarian capitalism established the categories of vagrant and dispossessed. Paradoxically, control of movement enforced mobility, for the most vulnerable had movement thrust upon them as they were expelled from one parish to another to avoid their becoming a charge upon the poor rates. In other ways too, fixity and proscription of movement was not total. The spring and summer months witnessed a vast but slow ripple of movement the length of England as the towns of the

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<sup>2</sup> By the 14th century, official 'letters of passage' were required before journeying cross-country, and students -- placed in the same category as beggars -- were liable to be clapped in irons if found wandering in the countryside. Travellers in general and pedestrians in particular, were objects of suspicion, potential criminals, while women walking the countryside by themselves bore the additional suspicion of sexual 'wandering'. Even pilgrims needed their letters of authority, while servants or laborers leaving their parish needed certificates to show they were 'at liberty' to seek work elsewhere (Wallace 1993, Williams 1973).

<sup>3</sup> The name "Diggers" was given to the religious sect who wanted to cultivate waste land on a communal basis and thereby "make restitution of the earth taken and held from the common people" (Hill 1992: 144). The term "Levellers" comes from the practice of anti-enclosure rioters taking-out or 'levelling' enclosing hedges (Thompson 1966).

Midlands and the South were provisioned by cattle reared upon the uplands of Scotland, northern England and Wales. For hundreds of years, drovers took their bellowing herds along a network of greenways until, in the 19th century, refrigerated railway boxcars transported chilled carcasses to market (Godwin and Toulson 1977). Years later, because of their practical knowledge of public rights of way, drovers' evidence was sometimes used in disputes over rights of way (Taylor 1997).

On a smaller scale, tinkers, gypsies and fairground people made their own annual peregrinations round the country.<sup>4</sup> The early 19th century saw gangs of fruit pickers walking from North Wales to the southwest and southeast of England to bring in the crops, as well as unorganized bands roaming "in search of work or a place to hide" (Williams 1973:146). but the walking involved there was anything but recreational.

Under the impact of 'scientific' agriculture, a new round of agrarian dispossession began slowly in the early 18th century which during and after the Napoleonic Wars became a rout, as cereal prices rose and a massive restructuring and reevaluation of land took place. Parliamentary Acts of enclosure affected almost 21% of the surface area of England (Turner 1980).<sup>5</sup> The new enclosure Acts annulled all leases and agricultural land rents doubled after

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<sup>4</sup> The bigger travelling fairs included panoramas in their 'attractions' (Hyde 1988).

<sup>5</sup> Three-quarters of the Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure occurred in two periods: the 1760s-70s, and the 1790s-1800s (Turner 1980). Using the Statute of Merton (1235), 19th century lords of manors, particularly those holding land around urban areas, were able to encroach upon hereditary rights of access to manorial commons and wastes. They brought commons into new copyholds which were either sold for large sums of money to building developers, or -- though rigged manorial copyhold courts -- they came directly into the Lord's own hands for agricultural or other development. (There were no commons of this type in Ireland or Scotland since neither the Saxon nor Norman manorial systems had extended into those territories.) Since the argument could be made that no-one any longer needed to graze their cow or gather their firewood and so on, it was 'presumed' that no hardship was incurred. The Copyhold Act of 1887 -- introduced in the House of Lords, not Commons -- prevented the creation of new copyholds without the consent of the Land Commission (the forerunner of the Board of Agriculture). A further Bill, again introduced in the House of Lords, became the Commons Amendment Act (1893) which rendered the Statute of Merton redundant by directing the Board of Agriculture that "it had to be proved to their satisfaction that the inclosure would be of benefit to the public" (Eversley 1910: 211). Public interest was put on a stronger footing than profits from privatization.

enclosure, representing both a presumption of increased productivity and the shifting of income from the tenant-farmer to the landlord. If a tenant did get 'their' farm back at a higher rent, it would be "perhaps on a tenancy-at-will basis" (Wordie 1983:504). Those who were not entirely dispossessed could be subject to experiential dis/placement as village clearances and field enclosures expunged part of the dense network of traditional pathways that were local signs of place. In addition to the erosion of the margin of security afforded by access to the commons and waste, their enclosure meant the loss of open spaces where people could go to see fairs, listen to preachers, take part in political rallies, or play sports.<sup>6</sup>

### Geographies of exclusion

Just as space was expropriated in the countryside, so too, was time appropriated in the new, overcrowded, grim and unsanitary manufacturing towns. The day's-walk radius of the world shrank to the enclosed and enclosing radius of the factory whistle. Given 70-plus hour workweeks and the absence of open recreational spaces within the towns (Bailey 1978, Blacksell 1982, Hearn 1978, Reed and Wells 1990, Walvin 1978), whatever commons and ancient rights of way still remained or threaded their way through the nearby countryside became important actual and symbolic resources. Reformers linked the necessity for access to recreational landscapes with social reform.<sup>7</sup> In 1833, a Parliamentary Select Committee on

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<sup>6</sup> These activities were not always entirely separate. Local football matches could be the occasion for getting together enough people to tear down fences around new Parliamentary enclosures (Backscheider 1993), and associations such as the Society for the Preservation of Liberty and Property Against Republicans and Levellers, a title redolent with 17th century anxieties, was one kind of response to this early manifestation of 'football hooliganism'.

<sup>7</sup> Despite the far-sightedness of towns such as Preston which in 1834 enclosed Preston Moor but maintained public access to it (Cunningham 1980), the parks movement that sought to provide public open spaces for working class families' 'rational' entertainment could not keep up with the disappearance of open urban space. Octavia Hill, a key figure in landscape preservation, was also a leading figure in urban housing reform in which she included the need for recreational space. The linking of recreational space and social reform "was just as distinctive at the colonial periphery" (Grove 1996:482). By the 1870s the absence of open space for London's working poor was so extreme, that some of the city's graveyards were cleared of their tombstones and the ground laid out with flower beds, grassy areas and walks. Octavia Hill, in describing the area around Drury

Public Walks came to the conclusion that it was the lack of open spaces which was leading the "humbler classes" to turn to "low and debasing pleasures" (Cunningham 1980: 92).

The lack of access to open space in the countryside was due to footpath closures, enclosure of commons and wastes, and the consolidation and enclosure of open fields. In the towns, previously open public spaces were being taken over for the exclusive use of the upper classes. In 1834, Edwin Chadwick, speaking before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Drunkenness said:

In the rural districts, as well as in the vicinities of some of the towns, I have heard very strong representations of the mischiefs of the stoppage of footpaths and ancient walks, as contributing, with the extensive and indiscriminate inclosure of commons which were play-grounds, to drive the labouring classes to the public-house.  
(Chadwick 1834, quoted in Cunningham 1980: 81)

In 1837, Joseph Hume, the radical reformer, proposed that

In all Inclosure Bills provision be made for leaving an open space sufficient for the purposes of exercise and recreation of the neighbouring population; provided, that in any case where the Committee on the (enclosure) Bill do not make such provision, they be required specially to report to the House their reasons for not complying with the orders of the House.

(Hansard 1837: c.162)

Sir Robert Peel extended the scope of Hume's Bill from "the neighbourhood of manufacturing towns" to include all towns and rural populations "whom it was pleasing to see engaged in athletic and manly exercises [for although they had] no legal claim...[to recreational space] they had a moral right" to it (Hansard 1837: c.162). Peel proposed that central government and local authorities provide equal amounts of funding to secure open spaces within areas undergoing enclosure (Hansard 1837: c.163-4).

Radical approaches to land reform emerged. Feargus O'Connor's Chartist Land Company, founded in 1845, was intended to

return people to enough land to make them eligible to vote, it soon had 70,000 subscribers in 60 branches and a £90,000 share issue. By 1847 there were 600 farmers chosen by ballot, in settlements with names like 'Charterville' and 'O'Connorville' ...the company was wound up and the estates sold in 1851 after a Parliamentary Enquiry into its activities.

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Lane in an attempt to further this movement, presents us with a prose version of Wordsworth's Parliament of Monsters and Blake's anguished faces (Hill 1877: 109).

Land Chartism, heir to the Diggers and Levellers, pressed for all working men to have access to small allotments of land upon which to grow foodstuffs (Marsh 1982, Williams 1973), a sort of reconfigured commons.<sup>8</sup> As such, it was considered one of the 'backward-looking' aspects of the movement (D. Thompson 1984).

Access to the commons was full of politically-charged meaning. The wretched conditions of industrial workers and the equally wretched but differently structured conditions of agricultural laborers formed a potent mix. What emerged were radical petitioning campaigns and intimidatory marches for popular constitutionalism and a Charter of Rights. These were but the most recent manifestations of expressions of discontent with the state that extended back in English history to the 13th century Peasants' Revolt.<sup>9</sup> Contestation over access to public space, often peri-urban commons, reached its height after

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<sup>8</sup> This of course missed the point that by becoming more self-sufficient, the working poor were subsidizing a low wage system. What the 1842 Select Committee on the Labouring Poor (Allotments of Land) was concerned with however, was the possibility that a workingman's allotment might be "an inducement to neglect his usual paid labour" (Reed 1991: 19).

<sup>9</sup> There is a long tradition of intimidatory marches being used to deliver petitions to King or Parliament in London. In the modern period this resistance to an 'unreceptive' government has occurred on a number of occasions. In 1817, over five hundred petitions calling for political reform and signed, their organizers said, by one million people, were to be presented to the Prince Regent in London by the Blanketeers. Starting with the Manchester weavers, the Blanketeers (so-called from the blankets strapped to their backs) were to make their way through the Midlands, picking up disaffected radical workers on the way. The 12,000-strong "citizens' army" was disbanded by military force soon after leaving Manchester (Epstein 1994, E. P. Thompson 1966).

In 1936, 207 unemployed men from Jarrow led by Ellen Wilkinson, their Member of Parliament, and their Mayor, walked 300 miles to London to present Parliament with a petition signed by 11,572 people. Like the Blanketeers, they all had rolled groundsheets slung round their chests, for they too were sleeping rough on the way. The petition The Jarrow Hunger Crusade carried "humbly pray[ed] that the necessary active assistance be given by the government for the provision of work in the town of Jarrow ...". It had had close to a 75% unemployment rate for some 15 years. Further petitions bearing 90,000 signatures were gathered en route before a final rally in Hyde Park and the presentation of the petitions to Parliament (Pickard 1982).

The most recent manifestations have been the Poll Tax march of the late 1980s and the 1998 march of over 100,000 people against the proposed ban on hunting. Both of these marches ended up with rallies in Hyde Park and presentation of petitions to Parliament.

1795. Just as workers and laborers were excluded from political power, so a system of local regulations and bylaws excluded them from the public spaces in which they could articulate their political grievances. Judicial regulation was reinforced by police and militia. Coercive retribution was exercised in employment and also in housing in the case of agricultural workers living in tied cottages.

Steeped in the republicanism of Thomas Paine, and drawing on the lessons of the French Revolution, working-class male and female Radicals and Chartists assembled in formal and informal public spaces. Mass gatherings in daylight hours were held on open moorland and commons. Protests and demonstrations of anger against government policy or the introduction of labor-replacing machinery often had the festive quality of fairs and carnivals. Women made speeches, were at the forefront of agitation, took the brunt of deprivation when their husbands were imprisoned or transported to penal colonies and ensured that their plight was kept alive in the press (Schwarzkopf 1991). They also made banners and *Bonnets Rouges* for the protesters.<sup>10</sup> Resonating to the *citoyen* as soldier of the Revolution, the moors and commons were also where 'citizens' drilled at night in preparation for their right to bear arms (Epstein 1994, Evans 1995, Gadian 1986). Such mass meetings fed into fears of 'rebellious plots' uncovered in the Midlands.<sup>11</sup>

The spectacular quality of military fêtes designed to generate volunteers from beyond the middle class, can be read as a prototype appropriated and inverted by the Chartists. A similar carnivalesque inversion of order and hierarchy accompanied the courtroom defenses of Radical demagogues (Epstein 1994), which like the mass outdoor gatherings, were theatricalized, performative political utterances. Such challenges to governmental authority,

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<sup>10</sup> The *Bonnets Rouges* were the red Phrygian caps worn by French Revolutionaries. In ancient Rome a Phrygian cap was given to a freed slave.

<sup>11</sup> By the end of the century, "exaggerated middle-class fears of more openly aggressive forms of working-class militancy" led to militaristic voluntary leisure organizations being formed in which working-class boys and adolescent males received extra-military training under strict middle-class leadership. The Boy's Brigade was even referred to at the time as "A Juvenile Citizen Army" (Springhall 1977: 14-17).

loaded as they were with the possibility of armed insurrection, mounted in intensity until they finally spilled over in August 1819 with the Radicals' huge outdoor assembly at St. Peter's Field, Manchester (Epstein 1994, Gadian 1986, Horn 1980, Thompson 1966).<sup>12</sup> Led by numerous bands and carrying banners, branches of laurel and *Bonnets Rouges* atop poles, between sixty thousand and a hundred thousand highly disciplined, well-organized and unarmed people marched into Manchester to the assembly ground. "Where performance, display, and spectatorship were essential components of the social mechanism" (Russell 1995: 17), the pageant-like staging of the Chartist gathering at St. George's Field took on transgressive cultural and political significance. This was not lost on the state in its local manifestation. The mass gathering turned into a riot as, on magistrates' orders, the cavalry rode down and sabred their way through the crowds to arrest the speakers. Nine men and two women were killed and hundreds were injured in what became known as the Peterloo Massacre.

Protesting Peterloo, some 30,000 people gathered a month later for a reform meeting on Hunslet Moor outside Leeds.<sup>13</sup> Among the caps of liberty displayed there, there was a flag showing a man in chains, "bending under two immense burdens of *National Debt* and *Taxation*. At the top was written *A Free Born Englishman*, and at the bottom, *Britons never shall be slaves*" (Wright 1970 cited in Evans 1995: 231).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> One purpose of the gathering was to petition for the repeal of the corn laws (in British English, corn is wheat). The Corn Law of 1815 (and its various amendments until repealed in 1846) forbade the importation of foreign wheat until the price of English wheat was over 80 shillings a quarter. This kept the home market undersupplied, and prices high. Contemporary perceptions (Cobbett 1830, Committee on Agricultural Distress 1836, Report of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture 1843, all cited in Burnett 1979) were that the lower classes were being pushed from a bread to a potato diet to enable them to survive on the lowest possible wage. The potato stood as a symbol of degradation, deeply associated with the immiseration of the Irish (Thompson 1966).

<sup>13</sup> Hunslett Moor was the site of a similarly-sized demonstration in October 1877 protesting a proposed rail line on the Moor. It was led by John De Morgan, an activist dedicated to defense of common lands whose "brand of radical populism was rooted in a tradition which connected the Chartist era to emerging socialist solutions" (Taylor 1997: 134).

<sup>14</sup> This was the refrain from *Rule Britannia*, an ode written in 1740 by James

In the aftermath of Peterloo, the iconography of the official medallion of the British Anti-Slavery Society was subverted to present the working poor's condition of "wage slavery" (Baum 1994: figures 1-2). The Society's Anti-Slavery medallion, manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood, shows an extremely muscular slave in profile, one knee bent to the ground, shackled wrist-to-ankle. Wearing only a loin cloth, his clasped hands are lifted in supplication and his head is tilted back as he looks up at an unseen 'other'. The legend, set in a ribbon band beneath him, carries the motto: "Am I not a man and a brother?" The Peterloo medallion carries a border of skulls and cross-bones centered on three figures. One is a raggedly-dressed man sitting back on his haunches; his arms extended upwards in front of him, palms upraised, his head tilted back and his mouth wide-open in terror as he looks up at a uniformed soldier wearing an executioners mask, knees flexed to bring down the dripping cleaver he holds aloft. Behind these two figures is the body of an already-slain worker. The legend on one side of the medallion's illustration reads: "Am I not a man and a brother?" to which the answering legend reads: "No! -- you are a poor weaver!"<sup>15</sup>

In the wake of the Peterloo Massacre and other riots or disturbances, the Government enacted measures that temporarily suspended the Habeas Corpus Act and

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Thomson. The music was composed by Dr. Thomas Arne, music director at the Drury Lane theater.

<sup>15</sup>(See footnote 27 this chapter re the draconian measures taken against handloom weavers.) Although Baum quite rightly connects the two medallions, the chain of connections goes further than this. In 1788, the captain of the British Fleet in Australia sent Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, white clay that had been found near Sydney Cove (Wetherell and Carr-Gregg 1990). Banks passed it to his friend Josiah Wedgwood, who used the clay to strike a medallion decorated with Grecian figures in relief, with the legend: "Hope encouraging Art and Labour under the influence of Peace". (This expresses what part of Chapter 2 explored -- how the arts, sciences, and commerce were brought into institutional alliance to better serve the advancement of 'British' industrial capitalism.) Not only is the "Hope" medallion the complete antithesis of the hope-less Peterloo medallion, but by bringing them into relationship with the Anti-Slavery Society medallion, one also catches sight (literally as well as metaphorically) of the role of mercantile and industrial capitalism in underpinning slavery abroad, 'wage slavery' at home, and (through both capitalisms' deep disruption of society) the penal colonies which received working class radicals sentenced to transportation, be they Jacobin libertarians, union-forming agricultural workers, or poachers (Archer 1989, Epstein 1994, Hay 1975, Thompson 1966).

curtailed free assembly. Fear of revolution and the power of a disciplined mob lay behind such reactions. In this period of national crisis, political dramas were swiftly reflected in stage productions (Bakscheider, 1993; Russell 1995). But sometimes stage productions spoke to the general atmosphere in which political dramas played out. At the time of Peterloo, Edmund Kean was playing the leading role -- that of a former slave motivated by unabating revenge -- in *The Carib Chief* at Drury Lane. Though the play was set in the reign of Elizabeth I, it resonated both to contemporary uprisings in the Caribbean plantations and to the industrial north (Baum 1994).

As reform or revolution were acted out on the stage, fear of the anarchical mob *and* pride in 'the people' surfaced. Tapping into the myth of the pre-Norman Yoke, 'the people' were "cast as those who remembered their ancient rights" and who were the repository of natural sensibility (Bakscheider 1993: 223).<sup>16</sup> Paralleling Chartist agitation for an unregulated press, popular and unlicensed theater was generally supported by Chartists as another site in which social tensions could be given expression. Performative aspects of radical culture such as trials, were re-staged in fund-raising performances as were Chartist productions of "Democratic dramas like *William Tell*" (Thompson 1984: 118). In the theater, in the iconography of Radicals' protests, and in the minds of the literary elite, race and class were becoming linked. Rioting in Jamaica led Southey (one of the Lakeists) to write: "God grant that the miserable conditions of our own poor may not one day ... lead to consequences quite as dreadful in this country!" (quoted in Baum 1994: 167).

Against a background of social dislocation, reform or revolution became the overarching issue in England.<sup>17</sup> Print capitalism engendered a national imagining supportive of the state's 'stating' of itself (B. Anderson 1991) to the landowning class, while social

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<sup>16</sup>Remembrance of pre-Norman 'ancient rights', and performative political utterance were to e/merge in the symbolic practice of the 1930s Peak District mass trespasses and the equally symbolic 'freedom to roam' trespasses of the 1990s organized by the Ramblers' Association.

<sup>17</sup>A corresponding crisis in France deepened that would lead to the middle and working classes coming together there in the Revolution of 1830.

disorder engendered Radicalism. In a mirror-imaging of itself, print capitalism made possible a Radical and radicalizing press. Increased literacy and extended liberty in the mainstream press aided the formation of early labor associations or trade unions (D. Thompson 1984) for the "little white slaves in the cotton factory" (Shelley quoted in Baum 1994: 140) and their agricultural counterparts.

Adding to the crisis in England was the emancipation debate which some presented as deflecting consideration from England's wage slavery at home (Baum 1994).<sup>18</sup> Agricultural discontent expressed in syndicalism, incendiarism and animal maiming (Archer 1990, Payne 1993, Mingay 1989, Hobsbawm and Rudé 1969), combined with industrial unionism and radical threats of revolution. Both fed into demands by the middle as well as working classes for political and constitutional reform (Helsing 1994, Horn 1980, Stedman Jones 1983, D. Thompson 1984, E.P.Thompson 1966).<sup>19</sup>

The fight to extend the franchise and so break the landowning class's political stranglehold on government policy failed. Instead, the Reform Bill of 1832 defused the issue by empowering only those members of the middle classes whose homes had an annual rateable value of more than £10.<sup>20</sup> It enfranchised about 800,000 new voters. Whereas

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<sup>18</sup>The Abolition Bill was passed by Parliament in 1807. Emancipation was legislated for the British West Indies in 1833.

<sup>19</sup>As with the problem of conveying an impression of the ruggedness of the Lake District's mountains, there is a problem in conveying the magnitude of the Reform crisis, and the depth and breadth of near-revolutionary discontent. I would simply refer here to the frequency and wide distribution of reform demonstrations as well as their size: above 100,000 in Birmingham and London, for instance, in the fall of 1831 and spring 1832 respectively. As Thompson writes:

In the autumn of 1831 and in the 'days of May' Britain was within and ace of a revolution which, once commenced, might well (if we consider the simultaneous advance in cooperative and trade union theory) have prefigured, in its rapid radicalisation, the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune.

(E. P. Thompson 1966: 817)

Entering into the debate as to whether Evangelical Methodism subverted or averted this revolutionary impulse (Olsen 1990) is beyond the scope of this work.

<sup>20</sup>The 1832 Reform Bill redistributed Parliamentary seats from depopulated boroughs (the "rotten boroughs" under the control of landowners or town

before 1832, 'the people' had been an inclusive term, after 1832 'the people' became synonymous with 'the working classes' (Gadian 1986, Stedman Jones 1983). The 1832 Reform Bill drove a wedge between the middle and working classes, and in the process helped promote the coalescence of a working *class* (Cunningham 1980, E.P. Thompson 1966). Of equal importance to that process of differentiation in England and Wales of the working poor was the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834 "which excluded them from relief and distinguished them from the pauper" (Polanyi 1944: 166). Anti-Poor Law riots continued up through the 1840s and mass gatherings of Chartists became even more freighted with revolutionary language in part through "the open association between the Irish Confederates and the Chartists" (D. Thompson 1984: 323).

Mass demonstrations, that often took place in the commons, the presence of revolutionary symbols at those gatherings, the delivery of petitions to parliament by vast processions -- all these figured in the April 1848 Chartist gathering in London at Kennington Common. Some proponents of 'physical force' within the Chartist movement saw this mass meeting as the rallying point of an armed insurrection. So great was this fear that Queen Victoria was removed to the safety of the Isle of Wight, and an remarkably strong show of force was mounted in London under the command of the Duke of Wellington. What had been mooted as a critical juncture in whether England would be caught up in the revolutionary fervor sweeping Europe, actually fizzled. Only some 20,000 Chartists attended the rally, the petition with its claimed five and a half million signatures was delivered to the House of Commons by Feargus O'Connor and other Chartist leaders, but those present at the mass meeting were not allowed to form a procession back into the City with the petition, and before O'Connor could make his presentation speech a committee rejected it on the grounds of spurious signatures (D. Thompson 1984).

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oligarchies), and "Pocket boroughs" (controlled by the crown or great landowners) to the new manufacturing cities.

## Religion and recreation

A social politics emerged in relation to the working poor that linked religion and recreation. The gin palace and the ale house -- those other 'spirits of capitalism' -- were major sites of working class 'recreational' activity. In an attempt to wean the 'lower orders' from drink and its attendant ills, religious activity was presented *as* recreation. Worship services soon began to be supplemented by Church-based clubs, associations, and outdoor activities (Springhall 1977, Walvin 1978), such as the Manchester Whit Walks.<sup>21</sup> In 1840, "40,000 school children were transported (by train) from Manchester to avoid the local races" taking place in Whitweek (Walvin 1978: 21). The Whit Walk

by which the self help movement of the great northern cities extended its members' cultural and spiritual horizons into the Lake District, was held annually in Coniston from the 1830's. Coincidentally, but with some symbolic relevance to events in Thirlmere, the walk was discontinued in 1894.<sup>22</sup>

(Murdock 1984: 155)

A spatialization of authority also helped influence perceptions of nature as mill and factory owners, churches and philanthropic organizations attempted to substitute useful pleasures for sinful ones (Walvin 1978). Temperance excursions to the seaside and countryside introduced large numbers of working-class children and their parents to places otherwise unknown to them.<sup>23</sup> Exposure to the 'purity' of nature was the antithesis of the moral degradation of urban squalor. The values encoded in these excursions for the working

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<sup>21</sup>Whitsuntide is the week of Pentecost which begins the seventh Sunday after Easter.

<sup>22</sup>Thirlmere was the sight of a major civil engineering project which reconfigured the lake into a vast reservoir from which water was piped cross-country to Manchester.

<sup>23</sup>In what seems an economy of scale in keeping with the beginning of mass production, the numbers of children and adults taken on excursions was "spectacular even by modern standards" (Walvin 1978:50). Multiple-engined trains capable of pulling up to 57 carriages explain how in "September 1842 2,364 Sunday school scholars and teachers left Preston for an excursion", "three thousand children travelled from Birmingham to Cheltenham in 1846; a similar number in that year journeyed from Macclesfield to Stockport ... [and] no fewer than 6,125 parents, children and teachers were taken by train from Norwich to Yarmouth in 1846...[while] a visit to the seaside [was made] by 5,000 working-class children and 3,000 spectators..." (Walvin 1978: 19, 50- 52).

class were to be more explicitly restated later in the century when walking holiday organizations linked the moral and the physical.

Depending upon who was doing the organizing, recreational walking could be used to attack the privileges of private property, it could be trumpeted as a medium through which fraternal bonds could be reforged amongst 'the workers', or it could be used as an occasion for moral education and transmission of middle-class values and aspirations. The upper- and middle-classes proclaimed leisure activities, such as walking, as having a "class-conciliatory function" (Cunningham 1980: 11). Though "social bonding founded on a mutual interest *can* often transcend economic conflicts and status divisions" (Taylor 1997: 55 emphasis added), it seems somewhat naive to imagine that this was anything more than wishful thinking.

A class based politics of views and viewing had long surrounded the English land-owning elite's country house. Picturesque tourism had extended that politics of viewing to the middling sort. Discursive emplacement of the Lake District had been accomplished by the production and distribution of watercolors, prints, paintings, poetry, maps and guide books. They remained ways of seeing and tools of knowing landscape. A thin veneer of economic development in the Lake District had followed as middle-class tourists had been serviced by new hotels, guides, carriage services, art supply shops, etc. But there it had stopped. What was different about recreational enjoyment of the landscape in the 19th century, especially recreational walking, was that it precipitated more active intervention in place. It established that a contentious set of values inhered in the landscape. As the century progressed, it became clear that the contestation ultimately derived from the ethos of private property versus a presumed right of the 'citizen' to have access to their land/scape (Hill 1980, Reed 1991, Eversley 1910).

The web of connections between antiquarianism, the Picturesque and the political was explored in Chapter 2. Here, ethnology, anthropology and liberal reform are brought into relation with that web around the issue of nationally important private property, through the figure of John Lubbock (1834-1913). A Liberal Member of Parliament, Lubbock's family

pedigree encompassed intellectual, financial and landed aristocracies (Kuklick 1991, Stocking 1987, Van Keuren 1982). Lubbock was elected to membership in the Royal Institution in 1849, the Geological Society in 1855, and the Royal Society in 1856, and was elected President of the Ethnological Society in 1864 and went on to be the first President of the Anthropological Institute, a position he held from 1871 to 1873. Nationally renowned for his promotion of science education for school children and workingmen, he also campaigned for a shorter working week and the introduction of bank holidays -- both of which were related to the needs of "the newly leisured and newly enfranchised artisan and lower-middle classes" (Kuklick 1991: 108). When elevated to the peerage in 1900, "he chose his title, Lord Avebury, from a prehistoric site whose megaliths he had studied, and which he subsequently purchased to save from demolition for new buildings" (Stocking 1987: 151).<sup>24</sup> It had been the excavations of the standing stone circles of Avebury, Stonehenge and Silbury Hill in the 1720s that had fueled romantic involvement with landscape archaeology. Though regarded by many at the time as infringing upon rights of ownership, the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments (1882) sponsored by Lubbock, set up the first official schedule of protected archaeological sites in Britain.<sup>25</sup>

Contested versions of England informed the cultural differentiation of participation in the open landscapes of the commons.<sup>26</sup> On the surface what was at stake was an aesthetic

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<sup>24</sup> Lubbock actually purchased only a part of the site (Malone 1989). After passing through many changes in ownership, Avebury was finally gathered into one estate and donated to the National Trust in 1943 after a public appeal had raised the money to endow its upkeep by the Trust.

<sup>25</sup> That same year, Lubbock had taken Ruskin on his first visit to Avebury and his diary entry records that "Ruskin had no idea there was such a place and was enchanted by it" (cited in Hutchinson 1914 (I) :188).

<sup>26</sup> Access to the commons was the crucial difference between two versions of 'England' which were the 'improving' political-economy construct synonymous with Britain, and the mythic Anglo-Saxon 'real' England of the pre-Norman Yoke. Not only did the deep antiquity of common land signal a pre-manorial system in early Britain, it was both proof and linkage to theories advanced by "Von Maurer, Sir Henry Maine, Seebohm and others...that the common rights now existing are...survivals of a system of collective ownership of land...the prevalence of which in the early stages of communities has been traced over the greater part of Europe" (Eversley 1910: 5). This "proof and linkage" was in turn used to buttress legal challenges and parliamentary maneuvers aimed at protecting the few

nationalism located in landscape. At a deeper level, politics, religion and recreation were linked elements in a struggle for access to more than landscape. Undergirding this 'more than landscape' theme are the four great Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, 1884 and 1918 which served to gradually extend the franchise and to bring political emancipation to Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists.

#### Threads of Dissenters and threats of dissension

Tensions arising out of the practice of im/moral economies (Barrell 1980, Brownlow 1983, Hill 1996, Hobsbawm and Rudé 1969, Williams 1973), the formation of cultural nationalism in Britain's Celtic fringe (Morgan 1983, Pittock 1994, Trumpener 1997), Dissenters' voicing of an anti-slavery rhetoric in relation to 'the trade' as well as wage-slavery at home (Baum 1994), and the extra-parliamentary activity of Radicals and Chartists (Epstein 1994, Schwarzkopf 1991, E.P. Thompson et al 1975, D. Thompson 1984), disturbed the surface story of a unified 'Britain' (Colley 1992, Brewer 1997, Newman 1987). Further disturbing that sense of unproblematic 'Britons' was the Dissenters' moral and intellectual culture of Otherness, a culture with strong links to radical agendas.

The specific expressions of radicalism that emerged in the 1770s were leveled against 'Old Corruption' -- the concatenation of the aristocracy, the landed interest, the Establishment church, and their combined hold on Parliament. They were the most recent expressions in a long line of radical responses to state regulation of labor and land. As demands shifted towards constitutional reform and a Charter of Rights, this nation-wide political movement

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remaining commons. Von Maurer (1790-1872) was a German jurist and historian whose work centered on the Mark as the unit of early German society; Frederic Seebohm (1833-1912) was a British agricultural and economic historian of the village. The works of comparative historical jurisprudence written by Sir Henry Maine (1822-88) -- such as *Ancient Law* (1861) -- were influential in modern British social anthropology. His work on custom and law studied the process by which "the modern modes of European individual ownership had developed through the aggrandizement of powerful leaders at the expense of the common holdings of the village community" (Stocking 1991: 126). Although in a different register, it is the issue of custom and law that was to emerge in relation to access.

became known as Chartism.<sup>27</sup> Chartism was not a monolithic organization but a movement that was responsive to changing circumstances of time and place, and manipulable by different interest groups. The presence of pre-industrial artisanal groups (such as handloom weavers)<sup>28</sup> or factory-located wage workers within the Chartist movement created internal differentiation along regional lines. Although particularly strong in the Midlands, for instance, local particularisms within the region resulted in radical militancy waxing and waning over time (Gadian 1986).

Chartism's social origin lay in political discontent, but it not only articulated the anger and distress of disaffected social groups, but also conveyed "a practicable hope of a general alternative and a believable means of realizing it" (Stedman Jones 1983:96, D. Thompson 1984, E. P. Thompson 1966). From the late-18th century onwards industrial capitalism absorbed the substantial out-migration from the English countryside as the hopeful and hopeless streamed into the new towns to become factory or mill worker, to go into service in the homes of the urban middle class, or to swell the ranks of the unemployed, the unemployable or the criminal underclass. The population of London grew by 20 per cent

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<sup>27</sup>The People's Charter, published in May 1838, called for universal male adult suffrage, a protected ballot, the dropping of property qualifications for Members of Parliament, payment for MPs, numerically equal electoral districts and annual parliaments (D. Thompson 1984)

<sup>28</sup>One tiny but none-the-less illuminating example of the brutal measures taken to advance industrial capitalism can be seen in the following:

On 27 February 1812 George Gordon, Lord Byron, addressed his peers in the House of Lords for the first time. Not yet the famous poet he would become, Byron spoke passionately about the 'unparalleled distress' he had witnessed among textile workers living near his estate in Newgate. His remarks were offered in support of an *unsuccessful* attempt to defeat a bill that sanctioned the use of the death penalty for 'frame-breakers' -- those who damaged newly installed textile machinery.

(Nicholson 1991: 22, emphasis added)

In his poetry Byron targeted abolitionists for not addressing the 'slavery' of the immiserated English agricultural laborer and working poor. However, by the time that domestic reform was reaching a critical point in addressing this issue, Byron was referring to the radical leaders William Cobbett and Henry Hunt, as "low, designing, dirty levellers" (Baum 1994: 100). See footnote 3 this chapter for the connotation inhering to "levellers".

between 1821 and 1841, the population of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield grew by more than 40 per cent in that time, while Bradford's grew by 65 per cent (Williams 1973: 152). Regardless of their socio-economic 'destination', most people living in industrial towns in the early decades of the 19th century remembered country living and in-migration was the main cause of this explosive urban growth, for given the unsanitary and crowded living conditions, infant mortality rates were high (Burnett 1979, Carter and Lewis 1990).<sup>29</sup>

While a 'London' culture, so deeply rooted in landed interests, was indeed widespread among the provinces, another web of socio-cultural life existed that was oppositional to it and through which Nonconformists of all stripes achieved success. In the urban manufacturing districts of the Midlands and the north. Unitarians and Quakers in particular

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<sup>29</sup>The explosive growth of the manufacturing towns was in part dependent upon the earlier accumulation of capital achieved through the slave trade. "Between 1701 and 1810, England exported from West Africa over 2 million slaves, about two-thirds of the total number shipped by the three major powers in the slave trade" (Wolf 1982: 198). Depending upon who was doing the trading, the value of slaves in relation to trade goods 'paid' for them, ranged between 4:1 to 6:1. The return on the slave trade between 1620 and 1807 is estimated at being approximately 12 million pounds sterling, "with perhaps half that sum accruing between 1750 and 1790" (Craon 1974 cited in Wolf 1982: 198). In language that calls up Dickens' descriptions of factories and workers as mere extensions of the machines they tended, a British mercantilist, writing in defense of the slave trade wrote that it was "the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion" (Postlethwayt quoted in Craon 1974: 120, cited in Wolf 1982: 198). Through its generation of capital amongst merchants and bankers (such as the Hoares -- see chapter 2), the slave trade was a "principal dynamic element" that set England on its industrializing path. Wealth achieved within a system of mercantile capitalism supplied the initial input required within industrial capitalism.

By the mid-18th century, Bristol had been replaced by Liverpool as England's most important slave port because of its proximity to the industrial Midlands (Wolf 1982). Indeed Birmingham was "not only an integral part of the triangle trade, through its cotton industry, but also the center of gun manufacturing for Africa" (Baum 1994: 43). No wonder Coleridge got short shrift when he preached his anti-slavery message there. Whitehaven (a grimly inverted place-name if ever there was one), was not only a trading port for Jamaica that sent out some four slave ships a year, it was also -- in a reverse flow - - one of the Cumbrian ports of entry for a quiet traffic in black children imported into the Lake District (Baum 1994). It was also one of England's most prosperous coal ports. Families such as the Lowthers straddled both 'businesses'; Wordsworth bridged them in writing that "though *fettered* slave be none," England's manufactories and fields "Groan underneath a weight of slavish toil" (*Humanity* 1829, cited in Baum 1994: 71).

formed not only a social, commercial and scientific elite, but were deeply involved in the radical cause that also flourished in those areas. Infused with "rationalism, enthusiasm, utilitarianism and radicalism bound in a coherent pattern" (Peel 1971:54) that culture of Otherness was engaged in by Presbyterians, Quakers, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, Evangelicals and other Dissenting groups<sup>30</sup> and given expression through their universities, scientific and literary societies, academies and informal dining circles, Radical Corresponding Societies, Mechanics Institutes and the radical press, as well as through commercial networks such as those of the Quaker bankers, ironmasters and potterymasters.<sup>31</sup>

Humanitarian reformism, an anti-slavery stance, and "sympathy for liberal causes and oppressed races" (Peel 1971:76) marked the structure of feeling of this culture of Otherness. Yet Dissenting culture was not univocal but nuanced by differences of locality, political agenda and particularities of religious persuasion. Also that Other culture was not confined to the provinces but could operate 'within': Thomas Hodgkin, a Quaker physician at Guy's Hospital, was a central figure in the founding of London's Ethnological Society in 1843. Nonconformists, and Quakers in particular, formed a substantial part of its antiquarian and philologist members, although the Society's natural scientists tended to have no formal religious beliefs (Van Keuren 1982).

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<sup>30</sup>Without wading into doctrinal waters, suffice it to say that issues of hierarchical structure and biblical exegesis led to the initial appearance of Non-Conformity in England in the form of the Puritans. Though Nonconformists did not at first secede from the Church of England, the Act of Uniformity (1662) requiring that all ministers be ordained within the established Church, forced the issue of secession. The Toleration Act (1689) referred to Protestant Dissenters. Access to public office was denied to Non-Conforming Protestants and Catholics, and they were subject to special control particularly at those points where the state legitimates the person: registration, marriage and burial (Hoecker-Drysdale 1992: 46 n.1). Two of the authors cited in my text come from this Nonconformist tradition which, as Stedman Jones makes clear, shapes their view of history: "Christopher Hill came from a family of Plymouth Brethren and E. P. Thompson came from a Methodist missionary family" (Stedman Jones 1997:155-6).

<sup>31</sup>As Josiah Wedgwood, the Quaker potterymaster lamented, commercial success could be painfully dependent upon acceptance within the 'London' culture of taste (Young 1995).

For good and for bad, the variety of radical expression was eventually united to the metropolis through the railways. Although journeying by rail allowed radical speakers to maintain parliamentary contact and also to move around the country more swiftly (Southall 1996), sometimes it facilitated the provinces' challenge to London being taken over by a London-based elite. For instance, the work of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831 in York, which "represented the claims of provincial scientific culture over and against those of the metropolis and the ancient universities" (Rudwick 1985:30), was eventually swamped by speakers from Oxbridge and London who could now easily travel to provincial cities in which the Association held its annual meetings.

A political manifestation of this broad culture of Otherness was the Complete Suffrage Union, founded in Birmingham in 1842 by Joseph Sturge, a Quaker corn-factor, railway promoter and philanthropist "who had been active in the anti-slavery agitation" (Spencer 1904 (I): 249). The Union, which received a great deal of support from Dissenting clergymen, operated most actively in Birmingham, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby -- where Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was its honorary secretary. Spencer, the 'father' of sociology, was born into a Wesleyan Methodist family and epitomizes the rejection of the system that rejected Nonconformists. He "had very little feeling for the antiquity of social creations like the colleges, churches, traditions and local communities which provided emotional bearings for most nineteenth-century English critics of industrialism" (Peel 1971:212). Rather, Spencer rejoiced in the vigor, innovation and 'spontaneous activities' of industrialism, which had proved for many Dissenters an avenue of scientific and commercial emancipation. At the same time he railed against the opportunities for "financial chicanery" and "speculation and avarice" (Spencer 1855: 9-10) that industrialism provided -- especially to the landowning class.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>In a collection of reprints from the *Edinburgh Review* published under the title *Railway Morals and Railway Policy*, Spencer uses "the mis-interpretation of the proprietary contract" under which railway corporations operated, to present his views on contract law (Spencer 1855). What he has to say about the linkages between railway stockholders, parliamentarians, and landholders is worth

Despite his dislike of elements within the landowning class, Spencer's autobiography provides ample evidence of his love of what they owned and controlled -- be it the farmland of the Home Counties or uninhabited picturesque mountain scenery, although in the latter case he bemoaned "Celtic indolence," (Spencer 1904 (II):94), damp rooms and dreary sabbaths. Long Sunday rambles around London, days-long rambles in the Thames Valley or in Kent, walks around Derby or at the country estates of friends such as Sir John Lubbock and Lord Houghton, functioned as a source of respite from the mental fatigue that plagued him. Walking holidays in Wales, the Lake District and the Highlands of Scotland filled his annual "craving for the mountains" (Spencer 1904: (II) 52) and so colored his taste for landscape that even when in the Alps, surrounded by a "vast panorama of mountains and lakes", he found "Switzerland...far inferior to Scotland" (Spencer 1904 (I): 498-499). The occasion of his getting lost in the Scottish Highlands when on a solitary walking holiday, led Spencer to deplore the quality of maps (this in 1862) and to be impressed "with the heavy

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quoting in full, for it presents the background against which the defense of the Lake District from railway extensions took place -- part of the subject matter of Chapter 6. Spencer himself held shares in an American railway company (Spencer 1904 (I):540).

Once the greatest obstacles to railway enterprise, owners of estates have of late years been among its chief promoters. Since the Liverpool and Manchester line was first defeated by landed opposition, and succeeded with its second bill only by keeping out of sight of all mansions, and avoiding the game preserves -- since the time when the London and Birmingham Company, after seeing their project thrown out by a committee of peers who ignored the evidence, had to 'conciliate' their antagonists by raising the estimate for land from £250,000 to £750,000 ... since then, a marked change of policy has taken place ...When it became known that railway companies commonly paid for 'land and compensation', sums varying from £4000 to £8000 per mile...when...preference shares and the like, were granted to buy off opposition -- when it came to be an established fact that estates are greatly enhanced in value by the proximity of railways -- it is not surprising that country gentlemen should have become active supporters of schemes to which they were once the bitterest enemies. ...[and that] in 1845 there were 157 members of Parliament whose names were on the registers of new [railway] companies for sums varying from £291,000 downwards.

(Spencer 1855: 12-14).

responsibility which rests on the makers and publishers of guide-books" (Spencer 1904 (II): 90-91).

Spencer's involvement with The Union for Complete Suffrage emerged from that organization's efforts towards a reconciliation of the middle and working classes which had been carried out on the pages of *The Nonconformist*, the Birmingham newspaper published by Edward Miall (Spencer 1904 (I): 249) for which Spencer contributed articles on social evolution (Stocking 1987).<sup>33</sup> Prior to 1832, the enemy had been 'Old Corruption', but the shared radicalism of middle and working classes shattered upon the First Reform Act that politicized matters of principle and intensified differentiations of class as it

defined more clearly than at any time before or since in British history, and more clearly than had been done in any other country, [that] a qualification for the inclusion in the political institutions of the country [was] based entirely on the possession of property and the possession of a regular income.

(D. Thompson 1984:5)

As a word used to refer to social stratum, 'class' first appeared in the 1740s.<sup>34</sup> It moved into more general usage in the 1790s and came into universal usage in the 1830s and 40s (Peel 1971). Without getting ensnared in the linguistic turn in history which has challenged an essentialist perspective of class and questioned the practice of history,<sup>35</sup> elements in that debate concern whether political exigencies or economic experience produced notions of class, or whether class is an artifact of discourse. From the political perspective, the Napoleonic Wars gave rise to the 'middle class' and Reform agitation gave rise to the 'working class'. The 'essentialist' perspective is presented as "class identities

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<sup>33</sup>His *Autobiography* shows that a number of his ideas came to him whilst observing nature during the course of his rambles and walking holidays.

<sup>34</sup> Such a structural view of society could be seen as a reflection, in an entirely different register, of the role of stratigraphy in scientific geology. Indeed stratigraphic sequencing, which involves structure across time, could also be seen as central to the debate on human evolution: just as different 'times' of geological formations were co-existent in the present, so different 'times' on an evolutionary scale of 'primitive' to 'civilized' so-called 'races' were also co-existent in the present.

<sup>35</sup>Steadman Jones 1997 and Vernon 1994 provide an overview and entrypoint into the literature generated by 'the linguistic turn'.

[being] ...the collective cultural experience ... produced by the Industrial Revolution" (Joyce 1994: 161). What the upper-case language of the 'Industrial Revolution' tells us is something else.

However its meanings were understood, contested, manipulated or constructed, what is apparent is that the shift to universal usage of the word 'class' was paralleled by the growing presence of state responsibility for 'society'. Perhaps the emergent field of sociology, with its laws, regularities and systems approach helped reify not only 'society' but a class system too. However that may be, the political-moral relationship between social stratification and industrialism is seen as having

originated in the social experience of middle-class provincials, often Dissenters, contrasting themselves with the landed gentry and aristocracy. *Class* meant mobility, both geographical and social, against the stability of *rank, order* and *estate*; it referred to occupation or role rather than to status; it was achieved by one's actions, not inherited by one's birth.

(Peel 1971:60)

Although Peel acknowledges that it is an idealized exaggeration, he writes that class replaced "[V]ertical bonds of deference, loyalty and patronage [with] horizontal political solidarity ... separated from one another by vertical antagonism" (Peel 1971:62). Yet those strata were not free of contention. When brought into finer focus, the 'horizontal band' of Chartism -- where strident 'vertical antagonisms' might be expected to have achieved horizontal solidarity, reveals a welter of "cracks and fractures" (Stedman Jones 1997: 171. D. Thompson 1984).

The crushing of trade unions, reform of parochial and municipal government, reform of the Poor Law and factory reform were of particular importance in traditional radical areas such as Birmingham and Manchester. Towns ringing the Peak District, such as Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Oldham and Nottingham, "in which the traditional authority of church and state was weak" (Thompson 1984: 6), were the site of Chartists processions of protest.

If deference, loyalty and patronage were the means whereby local societies were governed on a day-to-day basis by Justices of the Peace, backed-up by local militia, then in a

brilliant spatialization of politics, Southall literally as well as textually maps "the creation of a national politics, linking localities, which could challenge these local polities (Southall 1996: 178). Of particular interest here is the mapping of Feargus O'Connor's journeys in 1838 and 1839 in which he made 147 appearances as he travelled the country infusing energy into the social movement known as Chartism. Travelling backwards and forwards between London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Scarborough, Newcastle, Carlisle, Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow, to name some of the cities he gave public speeches in during the two years in question. Whit Week 1839 saw him speaking to a mass meeting (with a claimed attendance of half a million) at Peep Green, Yorkshire, another one organized by the Birmingham Radicals, and a third mass meeting at Kersal Moor, near Oldham. Advertisements for these meetings urged "every man, woman, and child within a day's march" or "within twenty miles" to come to the meeting sites. The 'cry' of the advertisements was "To the Moor! To the Moor!! To the Moor!!!" (Southall 1996:181).

The laboring classes were of inconsequential strength in highly localized societies, but once brought together in their thousands or tens of thousands they formed "a vast assemblage of moral power ...capable of being trained to physical purposes" (O'Connor 1839 quoted in Southall 1996:180-181). Reports of O'Connor's speeches carried in the *Northern Star*, reveal that he likened the meetings to links in a chain. Through speaking at meetings up and down the country "the links were now perfect. London, Newcastle, Carlisle, Glasgow, and Edinburgh had now become *forged* as it were together" (*Northern Star* 1838 quoted in Southall 1996: 181, emphasis added). O'Connor's forging of a great chain shaped a social movement that resisted and challenged the establishment's overarching project -- the 'forging of Britons'.

## Rural myths

It was against these cumulative undercurrents of division, and expressions of massive and deep social unrest that from the 1820s on, a middle class "vision of peaceful farmland as a synecdoche of national identity" (Hemingway 1992: 298, Payne 1993) began to emerge in landscape representations of what has been called 'village-centred England' (Jeffrey 1983). In contrast to the Picturesque or Romantic upland landscape of mountains and ruins, this version of England looked to the highly cultivated lowland landscapes of the south-east as a nexus of rurality/golden age/contentment when harmony existed between the various 'orders of society'. A myth of rural England existed in the double sense of the countryside as a place of harmony *and* England *as* a rural nation, a 'green and pleasant land'.

This myth was purveyed in paintings and literature to both an aristocratic elite and a newly-urbanized manufacturing, trading and shopkeeping population of the 'middling sort'. Nostalgia filtered memory of the non-urban past, leading to the construction of a myth hugely at variance with the harsh realities of the agricultural laborer. What was forgotten or screened-out in the myth-making was that agrarian capitalism's im/moral economy was a deeply political one. The myth completely filtered out urbanization. Emblematic of this filtering process were the "Transparent Landscape Window Blinds" offered in an 1820s catalogue "to the Nobility and Gentry" by London's artisanal Co-operative and Economical Society (Thompson 1966:789).

Paradoxically, the rural myth/myth of the rural was being constructed for an urban middle class, most if not all of whom had either grown up in the countryside or in such small towns that the countryside was just a short walk away. Myth-making and forgetting were self-reinforcing. One mark of how deep amnesia ran was the language of 'gracious peer and happy peasant rubbing shoulders', used by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to report upon leisure activities in the 1860s that has been glossed as

an attempt by the middle class to appropriate to itself the values of a refined gentry. And this in itself is symptomatic of a profound rejection of urban and industrial civilisation, and of a wish to escape back into a simpler patron-client kind of society. (Cunningham 1980: 120)

There was a resurgence of 'Merrie England' sports and pastimes, such as archery contests, harvest suppers (which were also transformed by the Establishment Church into religious Harvest Festivals), May Day 'festivities', and Rush Bearing services, and so on.<sup>36</sup> These events were further real/ized in paintings and novels as the myth of rural England received into itself innocence, security and peace, all imprinted on particular landscapes and landscape-related activities located in a rural past freighted with "lost identity, lost relations and lost certainties" (Williams 1973: 139). What were truly being lost were ancient rights of way in remnant open spaces of the new manufacturing towns and their nearby countryside, and many of the remaining commons.

Just as an 18th century London-based cultural life had been promulgated in the provinces, so during the course of the 19th century a south-eastern vision of England was constructed as a mythic palliative to the anxieties of a Victorian 'today' and more particularly 'tomorrow'. This anti-urban, anti-modern vision of England was to gain even more ground in the 20th century when the country succumbed to a near-fatal case of nostalgia (Daniels 1993, Hoskins 1955, Howkins 1986, Matless 1993, Miller 1995, Wiener 1981) in face of the loss of Empire, loss of world-class 'status', and, most recently, the effects of global restructuring as well as the pressures of European integration.

Whereas the imagery of that rural myth centered on the cultivated lowlands of the south-east, demands for recreational access to open spaces centered on the uplands of the north-west and the few remaining stretches of commons surrounding London.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>The Rush Bearing ceremony is a tourist attraction at Grasmere's Church, where the Wordsworths are buried. I happened upon by chance and saw the congregation, led by a marching band and young children carrying rush and flower-decorated baskets and crosses process through the streets. Family, friends and tourists film the event and take photographs. The children are very solemn. The service of thanksgiving for the 'beauty and bounty' of nature then takes place in the flower-decorated and rush-strewn church. While in the realm of 'Merrie England' sports and pastimes, London's Kennington Common, referred to earlier in this chapter as the site of the feared revolution-making Chartist gathering in the spring of 1848, is the site of the Oval cricket grounds.

<sup>37</sup> Out of the 37 million surface acres of England and Wales, 1.5 million acres are all that is left of the commons. Some 70% of them are located in the northwestern uplands (Reed 1991).

Recreational activities are not neutral, but exist in a "complex interlocking of economic, political, social and cultural forces" (Cunningham 1980: 198) which may be threatening to the ruling elite. Ultimately, that ruling elite expresses its power and control by initiating, supporting, or suppressing such activities. Hunting and poaching -- two Janus-faced activities, one legal and one illegal, exemplify the contested claims upon the countryside. Game laws operated against gentry farmers, middle class landowners, tenant farmers, and agricultural laborers alike, starkly illustrating the land-based power structure of the governing class who, through patronage and heredity shaped the House of Lords and had a highly visible presence in the House of Commons.

Late-19th and early-20th century landscape preservation efforts were essentially anti-urban, but this was neither ill-founded nor irrational given the conditions of industrial and manufacturing towns (Lowe 1989). Leaders in landscape preservation were often also engaged in urban reform, and linked the two arenas through recreation and leisure activities for the urban working poor. This led to the countryside being viewed as an urban amenity at the same time that it was being invested with a distinctive ecological importance. This is a common dynamic detectable in many places and at different times (Ching and Creed 1997). Whether conceived of as a regional landscape, a network of footpaths, or works of art, the tensions between private property and national asset were to become more pronounced and were to inform Parliamentary politics. I now turn to a brief examination of the Peak District, a regional landscape where issues of private property versus national asset were attended by violence and civil disobedience.

### Locating the Peak District

Situated at the south end of the Pennine uplands some ninety miles south of the Lake District, the roughly 200 square mile Peak District is surrounded by a roll-call of manufacturing towns. Halifax, Huddersfield, Barnsley, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Derby, Stoke-on-Trent, Leek, Macclesfield, Stockport, Manchester, Oldham, and Rochdale tightly ring it

round. Forming a second, only slightly more distanced ring are Coventry, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Liverpool, Preston, Bradford, Doncaster, Nottingham and Leicester. The Peak District functioned, and still does function, as an oasis for the surrounding urban population.<sup>38</sup>

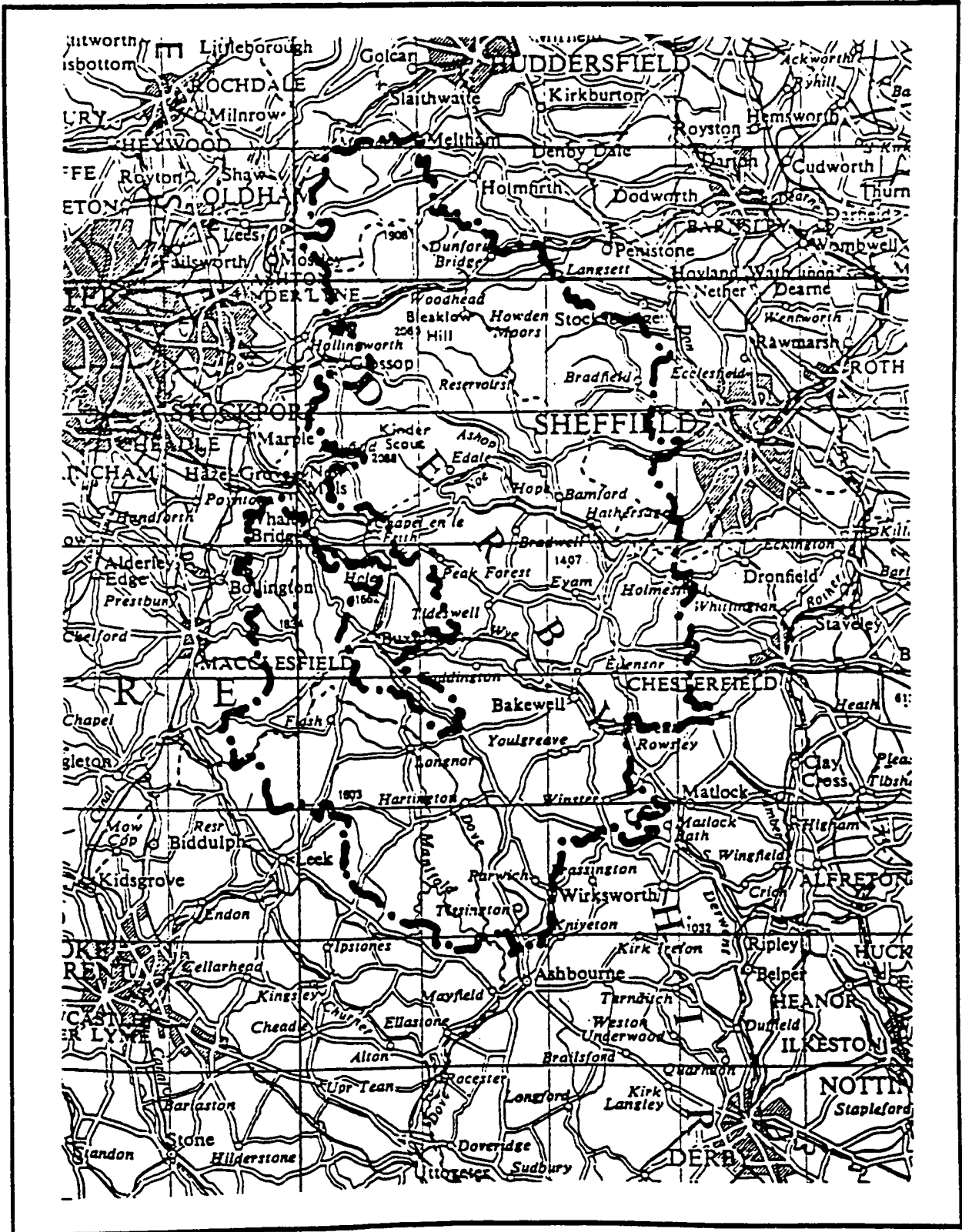
The Peak District divides into upland gritstone moors in its northern part, and upland limestone hills and dales (pasture land) in its southern part. Folding, faulting and uplifting of Carboniferous Limestone, and grits and shales of the Millstone Grit Series some 200-250 million years ago (the late Upper Palaeozoic), have given rise to a landscape of north-south aligned anticlines (folds). Erosion and weathering over the millenia have resulted in a flat plateau called the Peak District Upland Surface. Elevations within that plateau, most notably Kinder Scout, represent remnants of a pre-Cretaceous surface called the Peak District Summit Surface, which was buried and then re-emerged some 50 million years ago. Erosion's cross-cutting of the gritstone folds has led to an upland plateau bounded in places by abrupt escarpments from which there are panoramic views (Small 1990, Trueman 1971). It was access to those panoramic views that was to become an issue (Hill 1980, Lee and Houfe 1996, Lowerson 1980, Rothman 1982).

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<sup>38</sup>The Peak District is within easy reach of some 60% of the present population of England.

MAP 2

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PEAK DISTRICT NATIONAL PARK  
enlarged from the 1"/10 mile map, no longer to scale



The Peak District was the site of some of the country's bitterest struggles for access to open landscape. As the Introduction to this work stated, the key to this lay in its vast stretches of heather moorlands which provided suitable nesting cover for the game birds that were reared for the kill. Grouse-shooting landowners pitted themselves not only against poachers, but also against those who wanted to exercise their perceived rights of access to open moorland.

In dealing with the Peak District, I link culture and politics by grounding the early decades of the struggle for recreational access to its open moorland landscape in the antagonistic social relations of agricultural or industrial work. The rapid and unregulated growth of a market economy involving agricultural, industrial and commercial development "crushed multitudes of lives" as it caused "lethal injury" to social institutions (Polanyi 1944: 82, 157). Under the impact of that market economy's spatial reconstruction of England, and from the perspective *of* that market economy, the Peak District remained underutilized or 'negative' space. In the Peak District, only 5-10% of commons and waste and 10-20% (in some areas less than 10%) of open-field arable were subject to Parliamentary Enclosure Acts (Turner 1980).

Rather, a landowning elite looked to the Peak District for the annual slaughter of grouse, and a working class 'non-elite' looked to the Peak District for spiritual refreshment *and* a little light poaching. The 'superior' leisure activity of grouse shooting was pitted against 'inferior' and 'inappropriate' leisure activities such as walking, climbing and poaching by non-deferential manufacturing and agricultural workers. The moors became the site of a symbolic contestation over citizenship by those whose labor was the raw fuel of the manufacturing industries, but who were denied a vote in the political life of the nation.

### Rural walks

In addition to the loss of bridleways and footpaths through Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure, the Stopping-Up of Unnecessary Roads Act of 1815 enabled their closure if

agreed upon by two Justices of the Peace and confirmed at the next Quarter Sessions. Since rural magistrates were generally either drawn from or received their support from the landowning classes, such closures were not difficult to organize. But mounting legal challenges against them was difficult, expensive, and time-consuming.<sup>39</sup>

Early footpath preservation societies, dedicated to protecting ancient rights of way, were extremely numerous, and many -- though not all -- were highly localized: some remained in action (often direct), agitating over years for appropriate legislative protection (Eversley 1910, Hill 1980, Jones 1988),<sup>40</sup> while others were ephemeral, coalescing around a particular enclosure or footpath closure and then becoming quiescent or defunct (Lee 1976, Hill 1980, Taylor 1997). Founding members and membership in societies that operated beyond the local level, such as the London-based Commons, Open Spaces, and Footpath Preservation Society (Commons Society) founded 1865, and the National Footpath Preservation Society founded 1884, which merged with the Commons Society in 1899, tended to be drawn from the professional classes and reformist circles. The Commons Society's President was George Shaw-Lefevre. Later Lord Eversley, a leading Liberal lawyer and member of all the Liberal governments between 1868 and 1895.

One of the oldest associations was The Manchester Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths (commonly known as the Manchester Footpaths Preservation Society, or MFPS) formed in 1826 response to the Flixton confrontation. Ralph Wright, a local magistrate and landowner at Flixton, a small village seven miles outside of Manchester, had two fellow magistrates sign orders extinguishing footpaths running across his fairly modest grounds. Without waiting for Quarter Sessions confirmation, Wright had the footpaths

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<sup>39</sup>The 1835 General Highways Act effectively repealed the 1815 Stopping-Up of Unnecessary Roads Act.

<sup>40</sup>Not all rambling clubs held the same opinions about rights of way or access to open land. The Scottish Cairngorms Club, founded in 1889, sought to encourage stavaiging (wandering at will), while the elite Scottish Mountaineering Club, founded in 1890, specifically disassociated itself from rights of way issues. In contrast, the Liverpool Hobnailers, organized in the 1890s, were a collection of "tough ramblers who used to go out with the intention of walking in areas where access was restricted" (Hill 1980:25).

ploughed up and the land sown. The hedges bordering the footpaths had been removed earlier in order to give Wright's estate a more park-like appearance, with the presumably unforeseen result that the locals who used the footpaths were then totally visible from his mansion (Taylor 1997, Lee 1976).

A group of neighboring farmers unsuccessfully challenged Wright in Quarter Sessions. They turned for help to Nonconformist radicals in Manchester, out of which association arose the MFPS. Over the next two years, an expensive campaign removed the case from Quarter Sessions into the Court of King's Bench, where it was eventually won.<sup>41</sup> The MFPS represented a new town-based radical liberalism and its challenge to a land-based oligarchy. Among its members were men who had supported the Blanketeers' march on London in 1817 and had also been signatories to a Declaration of Protest against the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 (Taylor 1997). Organizations such as the MFPS brought political and spatial exclusion into common focus.

In the first decades of the 19th century, agricultural landscapes and open commons existed in close proximity to most industrial towns. Regardless of the myth of 'Merrie England', easily accessible open spaces and footpaths disappeared as the towns expanded.<sup>42</sup> But it was not only space that disappeared. Under the discipline of the factory whistle, free time did too. Until the "granting of free Saturday afternoons" in the 1860s, Sundays were the only breaks "between bouts of work" (Walvin 1978: 5-7). On Sundays, and until the towns had encroached upon their surrounding land, workers could walk out of town and into nearby open farmland. In Manchester for instance people could find themselves in

... meadows, and corn-fields, and parks in the immediate neighbourhood [of the

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<sup>41</sup>The Peak and Northern Footpaths Society (which absorbed the Manchester Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths in the 1890s), was still fighting footpath closures in Flixton 150 years later.

<sup>42</sup>For instance, the common moor outside Oldham "disappeared under eight cotton mills and two hundred and thirty six houses" (Reed 1991: 17). Within the towns "even the high palisades that surround ornamental gardens are jealously planked over to prevent the humble operatives from enjoying the verdure of the foliage or the fragrance of the flowers" (Taylor [1841] 1968: 133 cited in Cunningham 1980: 82-83)

town]. There are so many pleasant footpaths, that a pedestrian might walk completely round the town in a circle, which would seldom exceed a radius of two miles from the Exchange, and in which he would scarcely ever have occasion to encounter the noise, bustle, and dust of a public cart road or paved street.

(Prentice 1851, quoted in Lee 1976: 4)

Depopulation of the countryside had 'fueled' industrial capitalism. Now crowded into the urban slums, the original inhabitants of the countryside were again displaced through construction of the railways' vast terminals and surrounding sheds, sidings and marshalling yards. Appalling slum conditions were further exacerbated by sudden and highly localized increases in population densities resulting from demolishing housing to accommodate such construction. Until reformers could bring about Parliamentary change, there was no right of rehousing (Carter and Lewis 1990, Dyos and Reeder 1986). Not only was urban housing demolished, however. Many peri-urban open areas ringing towns such as Birmingham were first given over to workingmens' allotments, then built over by the stations, goods sheds, and stockpiles of coal needed to fuel the steam-engines that drew the trains (Cunningham 1980).

In a reverse movement, the laboring poor were taken out from the manufacturing cities into the landscape for leisure activities. Often that landscape was at the seaside, the margins of the nation where the unpeopled view was unowned and indeed unownable, where the perspectival gaze was robbed of its proprietary function.<sup>43</sup> In a very real sense, as industrial capitalism subtly reached into the landscape, slums and holiday destinations were connected phenomena. Evangelical and reformist combating of 'illegitimate' leisure activities such as gambling, drinking or 'fornication on the Sabbath', loaded working class recreational walking with moral and educative meaning.<sup>44</sup> Courtship practices of 'walking out' had always been sexually loaded. Now walking out into the countryside was linked to the development of fellowship, and knowledge of Natural History -- a knowledge that could bolster either a reverential Ruskinian or a rational Darwinian-scientific approach to 'Nature'

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<sup>43</sup> I am indebted to Gerry Boswell Esquire for this insight.

<sup>44</sup> It could be argued that the making of the 'right sort' through institutionalized engagement with the open landscape is perhaps still being played out in the Lake District and in other mountain and moorland areas around Britain in various 'Outward Bound' and 'Duke of Edinburgh Award Schemes'.

and God.<sup>45</sup> Recreational walking was popularized among the working class in various Midland towns through weekly newspaper columns that described both nearby and more distant routes (Taylor 1997). Rambling on Sundays, however, faced the same disapprobation from church and chapel as did other leisure activities.<sup>46</sup>

### Grouse, poachers, and walkers

As the Flixton confrontation showed, footpath closures could restrict what comparative freedom of access remained to the laboring classes. What could not be controlled in the same way was game, the protection and pursuit of which pitted the social classes against each other in what has been called "the most persistent, brutal and bitter conflict the countryside experienced from the mid-18th century onwards" (Archer 1989: 52).<sup>47</sup> For not all recreational walking was innocent. It could also be the opportunity for poaching -- which was part sport, part necessity (it was often the only way of putting meat on the table), and always wholly a crime!

The myth of rural peace and plenty was a far cry from reality. A walk in the country could be viewed as a suspicious activity.<sup>48</sup> With the introduction of the *battue*<sup>49</sup> the

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<sup>45</sup>Professors in the natural sciences at Scottish universities founded two early societies for their university men: the Rights-of-Way Society in 1845, and the Edinburgh Association for the Protection of Public Rights of Roadways in Scotland, in 1847. Landowners in Scotland hindered access to remote valleys where they wanted to shoot deer 'in peace', by having local JPs revoke the licenses of inns and hotels that catered to less well-off walking holidaymakers (Hill 1980).

<sup>46</sup> As late as the 1930s, playing card games on Sundays at certain walking holiday centers was not allowed. Members were beginning to question what the difference was between playing tennis on Sundays (which was allowed) and playing cards (Comradship XXIV (4) May 1933:15).

<sup>47</sup>Gamelaws were denounced as unconstitutional oppression. Property in game was in part predicated upon a £100 a year income generated from freehold landholdings -- a requirement that many 18th and 19th century wealthy farmers could not even meet; some categories of game belonged to its 'owner' even when it strayed onto other men's land; and some game rights were not tied to ownership of the land at all -- so that property rights in the game applied even when that game lived and bred on another man's land (Hay 1975). Indeed, the right to take game was at times more exclusive than the right to vote, and the rights *of* game took supremacy over commoners' rights in the commons (Hay 1975).

<sup>48</sup>When Dorothy and William Wordsworth took long walks with Coleridge along

preservation of game was undertaken in even more earnest in order to ensure the larger 'bags' and competitive shooting that it facilitated (Cunningham 1980). Though game was viewed by the general community as part of a God-given larger commons available to whomever would and could catch it, to be caught abroad at night poaching could lead to imprisonment, impressment, or transportation. Under the Ellenborough Act of 1803, resisting arrest by a gamekeeper could even lead to the death penalty (Archer 1989, Hay 1975). Legal and extra-legal working-class action to maintain public rights of way not only across commons but also across *private* land, challenged the very roots of a land-based system of power.

Violent confrontations between groups of armed gamekeepers and gangs of poachers lasted well into the late 19th century in the Peak District. The Cotton Famine of the 1860s brought many weavers from the mills to the fields for poaching game, while in the 1860s-80s the conflict over fishing rights "reached frightening proportions in ... the Lake District" and elsewhere (Archer 1989: 60-61). The daily movements of agricultural laborers and farmers were carefully watched by gamekeepers because poaching was not only a local problem, there was also an extensive national black market in game.

Whether for walking or poaching, working class access to the countryside was facilitated by a network of railways which was most densely developed in the Midlands. In a remarkable contraction of space, what had been begun in the 1830s as a means of transporting goods to markets soon came to include passenger travel to resort towns -- some of which only became resort towns as the result of railway service being extended to them. The extension of the railway northwards to the Lake District and Scotland occurred in the 1840s. Cornwall, at the opposite end of the country, was the last county in England to be connected into the railway system in 1859 (Robbins 1988).<sup>50</sup>

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the Somerset coast in the summer of 1797, they were thought to be French sympathizers undertaking spying activities in preparation for an invasion (Baum 1994).

<sup>49</sup>Introduced in the early 19th century, the *battue* is where beaters flush out the game, driving it towards the lines of guns.

<sup>50</sup>The railway network increased in Britain at a remarkable rate: 417 miles of track in 1835, 3,277 miles by 1845, 13,411 miles by 1850, and 30,843 by 1885 (Walvin

Access to the Peak's moors had been denied in the 19th century as a way of protecting grouse from working-class poachers. Chartist rhetoric called, amongst other things, for the restoration of pre-Norman rights such as commoners rights to game.<sup>51</sup> It was the legally questionable enclosure of commons that was viewed as the fundamental infringement upon rights. An ancient right of way across the Peak linked Hayfield Village, in the Hayfield Valley, with Woodlands Valley. It crossed William Clough and the Kinder Scout plateau -- waste land which had remained unenclosed until 1836. The ancient right of way eventually joined up with the Sheffield to Manchester highroad.

There was nothing remarkable about this except that at a certain point along its length, it crossed the Duke of Devonshire's grouse moors. In 1876 he closed the path, saying it interfered with the grouse-shoot. With fifty year's experience behind them, starting with the Flixton footpath case examined above, the Manchester Footpath Preservation Society (MFPS), joined by a newly-formed Hayfield and Kinder Scout Ancient Footpaths Association, challenged the Duke's closure of the pathway. Experience or no, it took twenty years of legal dickering to get the right of way finally reinstated in 1896, by which time the Peak District and Northern Counties Footpaths Preservation Society (the Peak & Northern), had been formed not only to support the issue of access to Kinder Scout, but in response to the wider problem of the public's exclusion from large tracts of common moorland used for

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1978). Traveling long distances was complicated by the fact that time was a highly localized affair. It differed from one part of the country to another, which created havoc for railway companies' timetables. It took an Act of Parliament in 1880 to finally standardize time in Britain (Robbins 1988). Where these long-since abandoned railway lines still exist, their embankments and derelict tracks are now flower-rich backwaters, environmental life-support systems for butterfly and insect life. Like the U.S. Rails to Trails movement, some abandoned railroad beds have been converted to footpaths and cycling paths. The Peak District's Tissington Trail for instance is the former Ashbourne to Buxton railway line. There are splendid views from the Tissington Trail, for rather than being cut into the landscape, it is set upon a high embankment giving a slowed-down version of InterCity travel's "First Class Views" of the English countryside.

<sup>51</sup> The Norman Conquest simply would not lay down and die, indeed it is still being pressed into service either directly or by allusion (Hill 1980, Reed 1991).

the private rearing of grouse (Lee and Houfe 1994). The Peak & Northern's primary objectives were:

(a) The preservation, maintenance and defence of the rights of the public to the use and enjoyment of public highways, footpaths, bridlepaths, bye ways and otherways, vacant spaces, waste lands, and roadside slips, and to right of recreation over commons in the Northern and Midland Counties, particularly in the Peak District;

(b) The prevention of the abuse of such rights, especially trespass and damage to crops and property, and disturbance of game by trespassers.

(Lee and Houfe 1996: 7)

These worthy objectives were fought for -- and against! -- every step of the way. The 'fight' was more than ably carried forward under the auspices of the Clarion Ramblers clubs that enjoyed widespread popularity. The first of them was the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' (SCR) founded by G. B. Ward in 1900 after he had been dismissed from his position as a Methodist Sunday School teacher for leading Sunday rambles.<sup>52</sup> Ward placed an advertisement for 'fellow-walkers' in the local socialist *Clarion* newspaper and the response enabled him to start a secular Sunday rambling club.<sup>53</sup> Ward's purpose was to re-establish

the sense of fellowship between men amid the objects of nature [an aim that] quickly brought it into conflict with the powerful vested land interests pursuing their hunting and game shooting privileges which were so widely extended following *the Norman Conquest*.

(Hill 1980:32. emphasis added)

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<sup>52</sup>Ward's related interests on which he published numerous articles were "infant mortality, the need for pure milk and for infant milk depots" [Prynn 1976: 69] serviced by the railways that served the system that created the desperate conditions of the cities! Through his involvement with the Socialist movement in Sheffield, Ward became a friend of Edward Carpenter, an erstwhile Oxbridge mathematician who became "a peripatetic lecturer with the University Extension Movement in the north of England" (Marsh 1982:17), and a proponent of simple country living including what was called at the time, 'free love'.

<sup>53</sup> Some organizations such as CHA handled the problem of Sunday rambling by incorporating Sunday services in their events. The Young Men's Christian Association-Manchester Rambling Club would undertake 70 mile walks that started on a Saturday afternoon and extended through Sunday evening, while Presbyterian clubs affiliated with the YMCA in Scotland restricted their rambles to Saturday afternoons (Hill 1980).

Where out-and-out poaching had been the problem before, in the 1920s and 30s working-class walkers were accused of disturbing breeding and nesting grouse, thereby lowering the 'bags' (birds killed in organized shoots).<sup>54</sup> This economically-driven class conflict took on political coloration when violent confrontations took place between gamekeepers and recreational walkers. Access to Kinder Scout had become a sort of testing-ground for the larger open access movement.<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the 1920s joint raids on Kinder Scout were undertaken by Sheffield and Manchester-based rambling clubs. In 1928 the socialist-led Sheffield and District Ramblers' Federation organized a mass demonstration on the moors in support of the latest in a (failed) series of Private Members Bills introduced into Parliament for Access to Mountains. Attended by some three-thousand people, it became an annual event up to 1939 (Taylor 1997).

At the time, the only way to enjoy Kinder Scout's panoramic views was by trespassing. The situation boiled over in what is still, nearly 70 years later, called "The Mass Trespass". In April 1932, amidst much publicity, several hundred members of the British Workers Sports Federation, an off-shoot of the Young Communist League, trespassed onto Kinder Scout (Taylor 1997, Hill 1980, Rothman 1982).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Walkers are still perceived by landowners as a threat to raising grouse. A report prepared for the Ramblers' Association [Watson 1991], directly critiques a Peak District Joint Planning Board report that links recreation and disturbance of wildlife. In a review of the scientific literature dealing with walkers' recreational access to the countryside and their impact on birds, the issue of walkers' disturbing the red grouse population is dismissed as a "red herring" (Phillips 1987 quoted in Sidaway 1990: 16).

<sup>55</sup>A permit system operated across part of Kinder's grouse moors that gave access to the summit. After the deaths of two ramblers in separate winter accidents in 1922, even this limited access was rescinded. Gamekeepers intercepted and chased off those who had come for the panoramic views. By the 1920s photographs taken of ramblers were being published in regional newspapers with captions offering a £5 reward for anyone who could supply the name, address, and occupation of the persons shown. Writs were served on those identified, restraining them from going onto Kinder Scout (Hill 1980, Taylor 1997).

<sup>56</sup> Not wanting to be lumped together with 'the far left', the Manchester Federation of Rambling Clubs had disassociated itself from the trespass.

Those about to engage in civil disobedience gathered at Hayfield Village's recreation grounds where they were met by the police.<sup>57</sup> Reminiscent of the reading of the Riot Act to early 19th century Radical gatherings, the Parish Clerk recited regulations prohibiting the holding of meetings on public recreation grounds. The crowd dispersed and reconvened under fairly tight leadership, along the Hayfield to Woodlands Valley pathway. Ascending Kinder Scout, the ramblers were met by around 60 gamekeepers backed-up by a contingent of county police (Taylor 1997, Hill 1980, Rothman 1982). Six of the trespasser's leaders were arrested and charged with riotous assembly. Their trial quickly became tainted with innuendoes that the trespass was a Jewish-led Communist plot, for three of the six charged were Jews, and British Communist Party newspapers had been found on their persons. Five of the six received prison sentences. National newspaper coverage of the trial served to place access firmly on the political agenda. Mass demonstrations in the Peak District continued that year, with larger contingents of club-wielding gamekeepers, mounted police and foot police with Alsatian dogs meeting even larger contingents of ramblers (Hill 1980, Rothman 1982).

Apart from sheer class-driven bloody-mindedness, private property was at stake, and grouse were the 'red herring'. A report prepared in 1934 for the Sheffield branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England detailed the ownership of the Peak's grouse moors to which access was being refused. Of the seventeen private owners, seven were aristocrats, two were army officers, eight were industrialists, and one was a local authority (Hill 1980:35). Trespasses were transgressions of social as well as spatial boundaries. And as far as the 1933 Rights of Way Act was concerned, it could easily be circumvented by a landowner posting notices

to the effect that he did not intend to dedicate a right of way, thus claiming that public access was only granted as a privilege [and] by erecting notices before a twenty-year period of use was established, it was ... possible for any owner to prevent a footpath from becoming a right of way.

(Taylor 1997:255-6)

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<sup>57</sup>It was the Hayfield Village to Woodlands Valley right of way cutting across the Duke of Devonshire's grouse moors that had been stopped-up in 1876 and which had taken MFPS twenty years to get re-opened (see above, this chapter).

## Conclusion

Contextualizing access to landscape within multiple frames opens up larger issues of cultural hegemony and the ideologies that go into the 'making' of landscape. It also helps make clear how landscape is 'a' repository of social, political and economic histories and to what extent it can be 'tilted' to reflect back out the havoc wreaked by the im/moral economies of agricultural and industrial capitalism. Under the twin impacts of those processes, the open moorlands surrounding the urban manufacturing towns of the Midlands and the north were where mass gatherings of Radicals and Chartists could 'air' their moral and political grievances and voice their demands for political entitlement.

While a state project was the production and presentation of a unified Britain, looking beneath the surface to the teeming particularities reveals numerous countervailing identities. Countervailing the 'forging of Britons' were Chartist mass outdoor meetings that 'forged' a chain of the laboring classes from Edinburgh to London. Alliance and support for this social movement came from the ranks of Nonconformists who were also denied full political participation in the life of the nation.

Religion, recreation and a militant temperance movement functioned separately and together as a site for the transmittal of middle-class values. Temperance excursions to the country or seaside, and working-class walking or rambling clubs that emerged from the Nonconformist church, re-introduced vast numbers of people to the land they or their parents had left or been forced to leave. The contraction of space and time experienced under disciplines of the workplace rendered access to open landscapes and linear pathways even more precious, and led to the founding of localized footpath preservation societies and national organizations for the preservation of the commons. The early Socialist movement was another force in the making of the rambling club movement.

There was no early landscape preservation legislation aimed specifically at the Peak District. Instead, the Peak District became the site of working-class direct action and agitation

over the freedom to roam. By contrast, the Lake District was the object of State action to preserve its landscape -- a landscape without grouse-stocked heather moorland. Doubly distanced from the industrial Midlands by miles as well as artistic and literary associations, the 'superior' leisure activities associated with the Lake District -- solitary fell-walking or touring by people with an informed appreciation of landscape -- was pitted against 'inferior' and 'inappropriate' leisure activities such as day-trips to the Lakes by beer-swilling workers who, bereft of aesthetic capital, were brought in on rail excursions from the manufacturing towns of the Midlands.

A predominantly middle-class myth of a rural lowland and cultivated 'Little England' was firmly entrenched by the 1920s and 30s (Samuel 1989, Miller 1995a), by which time a working-class myth of open air 'fellowship' in the 'uncultivated' uplands was also in evidence. The open countryside was where the industrial working class went

to gain freedoms from the antagonisms of the workplace ... not to look at nature with the dreaming gaze of poets but to regain good fellowship amidst the mountains and dales, away from the antagonistic relationship of the factory.  
(Hill 1980:15)

Factory time-space discipline was the antithesis of the freedom to roam. And the freedom to roam was viewed by activist rambles as being in some way a fundamental right of citizenship, a reassertion of pre-Anglo-Saxon customary rights to access open land 'without let or hindrance' (Hill 1980, Taylor 1997). This is not meant to derogate the harsh realities of the manufactories, nor the exhilaration of leaving their noisy, dirty time/space confinement for the wind-blown silence of moor or mountain and the companionship of fellow-walkers. It is meant to help catch sight of an equally backward-looking, nostalgia-laden framing myth, and to show within what context the deep history of the Norman Conquest is still sometimes resuscitated.

Thanks to 'socio-geographics', recreational or excursive walking evolved into two distinct, class-bound leisure practices which gave rise to similarly class-bound preservation movements. Workers exclusion from the grouse moors brought a particular impetus to a movement for protection of ancient linear rights of way and open access to common land.

Concern for the Lake District was drawn from reformist and academic elites who looked to the Lake District for spiritual refreshment. This gave rise to a movement for the preservation of landscape which operated at a national level. This is the material of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ACCESSING THE LAKE DISTRICT

**...the scenic essence of British identity ... has a profoundly English cast. Nowhere else is landscape so freighted as legacy. Nowhere else does the very term suggest not just scenery and *genres de view*, but quintessential national virtues.**

Lowenthal 1994: 20

#### Introduction

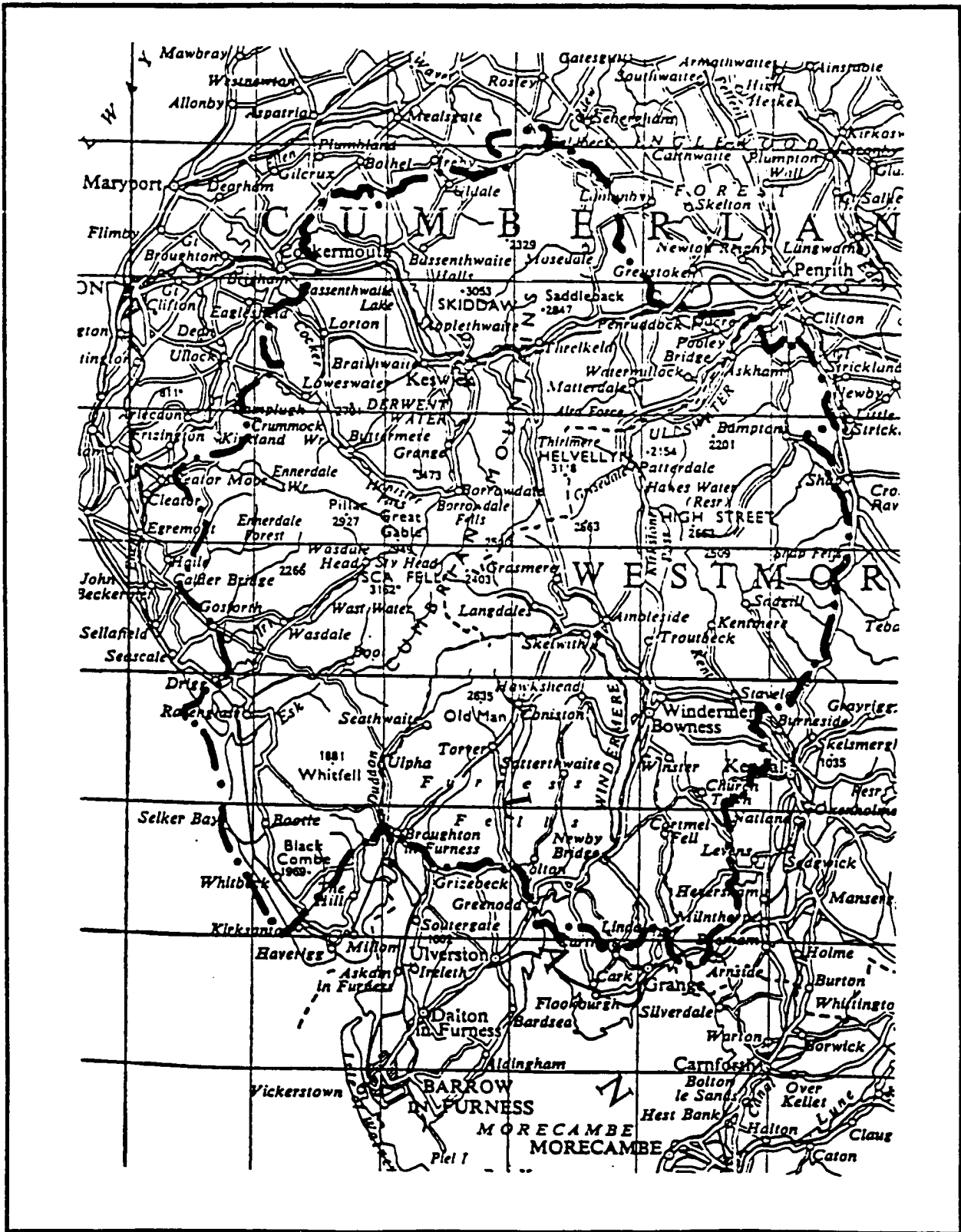
Valorized in the 18th century through Picturesque tourism, a new and unprecedented accumulation of value accrued to the Lake District under the influence of the Lakeists, particularly Wordsworth. The Lake District was aesthetically valued by an intellectual elite precisely because it was other than the new urban concentrations. On those grounds it was fiercely defended from proposed industrial encroachment and the incursions of the working class. Wordsworth's declaration of the Lake District as "a sort of national property" was symptomatic of the swirling cross-currents that existed between understandings of landscape, nation, and citizen on the one hand, and private property on the other. Issues of leisure and class were subsumed in the claim of the landscape's having a national dimension. That dimension was both expressed and contested in Parliamentary politics, eventually leading to legislation immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II that for the first time dealt with access to the mountains.

#### Location

Situated in the northwestern uplands of England, the Lake District is a roughly circular domed area only thirty-odd miles in diameter into which are crowded 180 mountains. The structural evolution of this central dome has been a process of folding, uplift and erosion. Volcanic activity (during the Ordovician period -- some 500 million years ago), glaciation (during the Pleistocene epoch --2-1/2 million years ago), the raising of the earth during the

MAP 3

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LAKE DISTRICT NATIONAL PARK  
enlarged from the 1"/10 mile map. no longer to scale



mid-Tertiary some 35 million years ago, and weathering have created a spectacular landscape of barren and exposed crags, cirques (steep-walled, bowl-shaped rock basins scoured by glacial action), arêtes (precipitously steep-sided rocky ridges - often the crest around one or between two cirques), tarns (bodies of water, sometimes found at the bottom of a cirque, othertimes not, and generally frigidly cold even in summer), and over-deepened U-shaped valleys (Stephens 1990, Trueman 1938). The oldest rocks in the Lake District that are exposed are the Skiddaw Slates from the Ordovician. Marked by a radial drainage pattern, mountain ridges and valley floors radiate out like spokes in a wheel.

Unlike the Peak District, the Lake District's areas of acid upland moor and heath have not been used extensively for grouse rearing. The Lake District National Park (LDNP) was made up of parts of the old counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and north Lancashire. Local government reorganization in 1974 created the new county of Cumbria within which the LDNP now lies.

#### Potatoes and coal

A middle-class tourist trade in the Lake District had given rise to hotels, lodgings-houses, weekend retreats and country residences. These intrusions were irritants to local literary and artistic circles but not overwhelming ones. What began to tip the balance was the extension of the railway that would bring the Lake District within reach of the Midlands towns. Wordsworth's expressions of moral outrage made little difference, because railways had a central role in economic expansion (Marshall and Walton 1981, Walvin 1978).

Unlike Wordsworth, the political economist/sociologist Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) who also lived in the Lake District, was enthusiastic about the railway's potential for bringing workers out to the mountainous countryside.<sup>1</sup> Martineau 'preached' that fresh air

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<sup>1</sup> Writing for the *Monthly Repository*, a forum for Dissenters, Martineau's articles dealt with religious and educational topics as they applied to women (Hoecker-Drysdale 1992). She popularized *laissez-faire* economics in relation to 'issues of the day' through works of fiction such as *The Rioters* (1829), *Poor Laws & Paupers* (1833-1834), and *The Forest & Game Tales* (1845). Martineau maintained a

and wide open spaces were all to the good for people confined to the noisome dirt of factory and town. She also saw the railways as a means of bringing *ideas* into what she perceived as backward Lakeland society, in which the celebrated 'yeoman farmers' had little knowledge of agricultural science or skill in its practice, and where pockets of squalor matched whatever the distant towns had to offer. Martineau's guide book to the Lake District, published in 1855, is written in a straight-forward manner, and contains information about inexpensive inns and lodgings. It has a panoramic tipped-in map with mountains and ridges named. The book's endpapers carry advertisements for both grand hotels around the Lakes, which list their recent patronage by the titled nobility of Europe, and hotels catering to the middle classes.<sup>2</sup>

As walking in the fells and around the lakes became more popular with a burgeoning middle class, disputes arose over rights of way and footpaths. This led to the founding in 1856 of the Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association. Protests generated substantial attention: up to 400-500 people attended one protest, while some 2,000 attended another (*Manchester Guardian* 1887 quoted in Hill 1980:41). Even allowing for the vagaries of memory (the letter published in the *Manchester Guardian* was recalling events that had taken place in 1857), there obviously were large numbers of walkers (whether from within the Lake District or outside), to protest footpath closures there.<sup>3</sup>

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Francophobic stance, comparing "the English artizan discussing with his brother-workman the politics of the town, or carrying home to his wife some fresh hopes of the interference of parliament about labour and wages' with 'the French peasant returning from the field in total ignorance of what has taken place in the capital of late'" (cited in Peel 1971: 194-5). One major issue of the day was emancipation: inspired by Wordsworth's sonnet *To Toussaint L'Ouverture*", Martineau eulogized the leader of the Haitian revolt against French rule in her book *The Hour and the Man* (1841).

<sup>2</sup> The *Royal Hotel* at Bowness for instance, listed "the late Queen Dowager, the King of Saxony, the Prince of Prussia and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia" among their recent patrons. Other advertisements include those for artists' supply stores, natural history guides to flowering plants and mosses of the district, travelling maps, collections of Lake District views, and art exhibitions.

<sup>3</sup> While the following story may well be apocryphal, in which case it is interesting for having been invented, the same edition of the *Manchester Guardian* recounted how Wordsworth removed an obstruction blocking a footpath across the fields as he was on his way to dine at Lowther Castle. When the

When further railway extensions to the Lake District were proposed in the 1870s, apart from the likely proliferation of summer residences for industrialists, it was feared that cheap and swift transit would inundate the area with workers from the Midlands. While the French peasantry had earlier been imagined as potatoes in a sack (Marx 1972 (1852): 123-4), those members of the English industrial proletariat who would be able to take excursions to the Lake District were imagined as lumps of coal. Ruskin (a nationally-renowned art critic and leading figure in workingmens' education (Fedden 1974, Marshall and Walton 1981)), admonished them to save their money for holidays nearer home rather than suffer being "emptied like coals from a sack" into Keswick and Windermere, only to have the railway "shovel" them "from one station to the other" (Ruskin 1876: 5-8). People imagined as inanimate objects were a class apart from the solitary fell walker. The anticipated "stupid herds of modern tourists" were contrasted with the "Border peasantry of ... England ... whose strength and virtue yet survive to represent the body and soul of England before her days of mechanical decrepitude and commercial dishonour" (Ruskin 1876: 5). Behind this kind of polemic was a mass tourism that was quite extraordinary. Where twenty-five year's earlier cheap excursions had transported a few thousand people at a time, now people in the hundreds of thousands could be deposited in a town on any one day (Walvin 1978).

The third threat capable of producing apoplectic fits among the defenders of the Lake District was disturbance to the landscape through mining and quarrying. Protoindustrial mines and quarries had either been overlooked in early guide books or had functioned as elements in the Picturesque landscape (Marshall and Walton 1981). The mining and quarrying necessary to off-set the engineering costs of the railways' various projects operated at quite another magnitude. Resistance to rail and mining interests was conducted

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landowner, Sir John Wallace, who was at the same dinner, threatened to horsewhip whoever had knocked-down the obstruction, Wordsworth is reported to have risen to his feet and said, "I broke your wall down, 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" (Manchester Guardian 1887, quoted in Hill 1980: 40).

on both moral-aesthetic and economic grounds, with the defenders of the Lake District switching gears to achieve their goals. As opposition to such proposals took on organizational form, Wordsworth's earlier arguments were brought to bear in 'environmental' battles. At one point the railway's opponents were accused of promoting "a sort of aesthetic Enclosure Bill of their own, which would fence around the rugged majesty of Skiddaw ... for the benefit of men of taste" (*Westmorland Gazette* 1876, quoted in Marshall and Walton 1981:208).

Reservoir construction to alleviate the industrial cities' insatiable demand for water constituted a fourth threat. Thirlmere, which had often figured in the Lakeist's poetry, was the site chosen by Manchester Corporation in for construction of a reservoir. The project was introduced into Parliament, and the Bill's opponents coalesced in 1877 to form the Thirlmere Defence Association (TDA). Promoted by local notables Robert Somervell, a Lake District publisher, John Harward a landowner at Grasmere, and the Bishop of Carlisle, the TDA was supported by academics, aristocratic landholders, nationally-known public figures such as Ruskin and Carlyle, and the Commons Society.

Speaking in support of the Bill during its second reading, Isaac Fletcher, Member of Parliament for Cockermouth (Wordsworth's Lake District birthplace), paradoxically presented the project as *protecting* the landscape.<sup>4</sup> He said the Corporation's acquisition of Thirlmere's catchment area of

11,000 or 12,000 acres of the most beautiful part of Cumberland [would protect it] from the incursions of those aesthetic gentlemen who come down surveying the district and building Gothic villas upon the shores of this beautiful lake.  
(Fletcher 1878 quoted in Marshall and Walton 1981:211)

Under pressure from the reservoir's opponents, notably the Liberal MP William Edward Forster whose Elementary Education Act of 1870 was foundational to the system of compulsory education, a *public* or *national* dimension was claimed for this landscape. As a result, the Parliamentary enquiry into Thirlmere was conducted by special committee rather

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<sup>4</sup> This is the same sort of paradoxical landscape conservation linkage that Shell Oil successfully made such mileage out of a hundred years later (Wright 1985).

than the usual select committee. This allowed for *all* interested parties to submit evidence, rather than only those property owners who would be directly-affected (Marshall and Walton 1981). Opposition to the reservoir failed and Thirlmere was drained, enlarged and reconstructed as a reservoir.

To discourage ramblers around Thirlmere, employees and tenants of the water company were "not allowed to accommodate overnight visitors, and were even forbidden to provide refreshment" (Hill 1980:39). So not only were the incursions of aesthetic gentlemen repelled, but until 1989 (yes, 1989, not 1889), public access to the environs of Thirlmere was denied. Only then did modern water treatment facilities allow for the installation of lakeside paths for public use (Welsh 1989). By then, given the Manchester Water Corporation's conifer afforestation program, great swathes of gloomy forest devoid of any undergrowth were hardly inviting areas to walk through.

The special committee status under which the Thirlmere Act of 1879 was debated set a precedent for later controversial issues. What also emerged from the battle over Thirlmere, was that ad hoc defense committees were not enough. A national voice was needed to defend a property deemed to be of national importance. Early in 1883 that voice was summoned into being by a proposed railway line over the Honister Pass south of Derwentwater. Intended to service the slate quarries, the possibility was raised of it also bringing tourists into the heart of the isolated fells.

Opponents presented the scheme in the national and provincial press as "the unnecessary destruction of a national shrine" and national petitions were organized to help protect a landscape described as "Nature's own English university in the age of great cities" (Marshall and Walton 1981:214-215). The promoters withdrew their Bill. Another railway was proposed in the summer of 1883: a line to the head of Ennerdale Water. When that Bill squeaked by its second reading and went into committee, it followed the Thirlmere precedent and went into select committee, at which point, the railway promoters withdrew it. While an educated elite were successfully defending the Lake District in a rhetoric of its 'national'

importance by virtue of its literary and painterly associations, local entrepreneurs presented the Lake District in terms of its commercial possibilities.<sup>5</sup>

An organizational core of local notables had been meeting for some time before they founded The Lake District Defence Society (LDDS) in 1883 to respond to this series of assaults upon the landscape. In an example of the poetics of politics or perhaps the politics of poetics, its main body was drawn from the national membership of the Wordsworth Society. Here is an example of the ideological potency attaching to "landscape" when linked with nation, native, and nature (all rooted in *natus*, to be born). Reflecting the *national* and 'cultured' *nature* of this otherwise uncultivated landscape, most of the Lake District Defence Society's nearly 600 members lived outside the region and were drawn from legal, political and academic circles (Marshall and Walton 1981).<sup>6</sup>

Interlocking circles of social reformers, society figures, and landscape preservationists, some of whom were quite radical in their challenges to sacrosanct notions of private property and landownership (Lowe 1989, Samuel 1994), joined in the protection of the Lake District. The leading lights amongst them were Hardwicke Rawnsley, John Ruskin, Octavia Hill, and Robert Hunter. Canon Rawnsley, Vicar of Crosthwaite, was one of the local core organizers of the LDDS. Before moving to the Lake District he had served as a

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<sup>5</sup> The Honister Pass Bill was approved of by English Lake District Association (ELDA) precisely because it would open up an isolated area to tourists. ELDA was founded in 1877 by "hotel proprietors and shop keepers to advertise and develop the district, during which period it worked with the Lake District Advertising Association to publicize the area (Thompson 1946: 34, Berry and Beard 1980). ELDA was also involved in footpath preservation and public access. Different authors refer to ELDA and the Lake District Association. I am indebted to Peter Jones, Secretary of the Lake District Area Ramblers' Association, for clarifying that they are one and the same organization, which seems to have been defunct since the mid-1950s.

<sup>6</sup> Fewer than 10% of its members were Cumbrians, more than 25% lived in London and the Home Counties, with another 25% coming from Lancashire, mostly from around Manchester. While there were some industrialists, Oxford and Cambridge supplied 35 members, along with a dozen Americans -- mainly academics from the East Coast -- while 18 masters from Charterhouse, plus others from Eton, Harrow and Winchester, as well as the headmasters of Rugby and Uppingham were members (Marshall and Walton 1981: 214).

curate in the slums of Bristol and London, where he had been introduced to Octavia Hill (who was deeply involved in housing reform), by her mentor John Ruskin.

Rawnsley and Hill's concern for moral values formed an overlay to and reinforcement of notions of purity associated with nature.<sup>7</sup> They were both concerned with the preservation of urban and peri-urban recreational space and, in 1895, were founding-members, along with Robert Hunter, of the National Trust for Places of Historical Interest or Natural Beauty (the National Trust).<sup>8</sup> Hunter had worked on commons preservation with John Stuart Mill and in government reform with the political economist Henry Fawcett (also a member of the Commons Society). It was Hunter, later the third founding-member of the National Trust, who had devised the means of preventing the creation of new copyholds referred to in Table 2 (Eversley 1910).

Octavia Hill was a prominent member of the Commons, Open Spaces, and Footpath Preservation Society (the Commons Society), which she had brought into the unsuccessful defense of Thirlmere. She was also deeply involved in urban housing reform and the setting up of the British army cadet movement (Springhall 1977). At the time that the LDDS was fending off incursions of the railways, and Rawnsley was leading a faction within that Society which sought to bring fellside access into its formal agenda, the Commons Society, under the direction of Robert Hunter, was doing the same thing in relation to London's nearby Epping Forest .

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<sup>7</sup> Moral truth was located in landscape. An educated individual perception of nature could reforge the link between Man and God, nature/ally leading to submission to the Creator. Art took on a mediating role in the triadic relationship of God, Nature, and Religion, which is why *truth* in art took on such central importance for Ruskin. I have referred to this elsewhere as "a kind of Christianized nature-worship ... or secularized Christianity, depending upon one's point of view" (Darby 1992). This moral aesthetic lent itself to being used to inculcate working-class people with middle-class values. It also helped shape preservation philosophy.

<sup>8</sup> Inaugurated at a meeting at the Duke of Westminster's Grosvenor House, London, "and attended by up to a hundred eminent Victorians, the National Trust was dedicated to 'the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest; and as regards lands, to preserve (as far as practicable) their natural aspect, features and animal and plant life'" (Marsh 1982: 56, Thompson 1946).

An early manifestation of an inherent conflict in preservation philosophy became apparent. As more tourists came into the area, rights of way to and around the lakes received heavier usage. Footpaths were closed by the very landowners who supported the LDDS. Once protected from one source of external threats such as mines, railways, or reservoirs, and valorized in the process, how is the resource to be protected from being 'loved to death' by visitors, second home builders, and associated servicing infrastructure? What is important is that

It was in Lakeland that some of the earliest challenges were made to the rights of...property-owners to develop their land as they saw fit... The Lake District had not only become a tourist centre of importance, it had also become a forcing-house for new ideas about the proper relationship between man, property, morality and the environment.

(Marshall and Walton 1981:219)

### The national dimension

It was here and in these circumstances that the concept of a *national* park was formed. Chapter 1 showed that a class-based politics of viewing was already well 'in place' by the late-18th century and that the landscapes of the English country seat were later "considered in a manner our oldest and grandest National Gallery (Blunden 1935). What follows will show that the 'national gallery of landscapes' was soon to be expanded through the inclusion of the Lake District (Wordsworth's "sort of national property") and other upland areas.

The idea of landscape as 'national gallery' concealed an inherent contradiction: this 'national gallery' was not an expression of a homogenous nation, but rather a means of class differentiation. Not of course that there *was* an homogenous nation. The Second Reform Bill of 1867 had further redistributed Parliamentary seats and nearly doubled suffrage to include many workingmen in the towns and cities, but agricultural laborers and miners were left unenfranchised until the Third Reform Bill of 1884 added about 2 million rural electors.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The Second Reform Bill was enacted under Disraeli's Prime Ministership at the head of the Conservative Party, but the next year's General election saw Gladstone and the Liberal Party voted into office in part through the action of the newly enfranchised class. The Third Reform Bill was enacted during Gladstone's

By the 1830s a discussion had begun about works of art in general. Were they best held in the great private collections of the English country houses for a national governing *elite*, or should they form the basis of a democratically accessible *national* collection?<sup>10</sup> In 1860 Ruskin presented his ideas on the subject to a parliamentary committee on national museums. What he proposed was a system of separate museums for the working class where collections of less valuable objects and usable objects would be displayed and the minimal presence of keepers would be conducive to workingmen feeling at ease even having their wives and children accompany them in 'their' museums.<sup>11</sup>

In this way, "class difference was to be institutionalized as the just way to provide for the differing viewing needs of all the nation's subjects" (Helsing 1994:129-30). National viewing would not so much create *national* viewers, but rather would differentiate the viewing public by class, gender and religion -- for the ruling aesthetic from which aesthetic nationalism derived was that of the upper-class English-bred Protestant male (Helsing 1994). Participation in aesthetic life was not to be kept from the working class, far from it, but it was to be undertaken within 'appropriate' spaces.

Ruskin's fulminations against the arrival of the 'aesthetically challenged' masses to the Lake District was similarly informed. Specifically in relation to the Lake District, Ruskin rhetorically asked reformers supporting the extension of the railways if:

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administration.

<sup>10</sup>By being placed in a national museum, works of art are removed from circulation in the market place, rendering them literally 'priceless' as they are rendered 'national' (Helsing 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Museums set up by anthropologists a little later in the century to cater to the working class were imbued with a similar ethos:

Anthropologists believed that these classes reasoned in the concrete terms characteristic of the more primitive members of the human species. ... Museums were designed to represent spatial correlates of hierarchical social order and to document the process of evolution. ... They would observe that examples of each type of artifact, arrayed in a developmental sequence, had been modified very slowly over time. Thus the act of viewing museum displays would impart a clear political lesson: responsible citizens did not press for precipitous change, but recognized that social evolution was necessarily gradual.

(Kuklick 1991: 108 drawing upon Van Keuren 1984)

After all your shrieking about what the operatives spend in drink, can't you teach them to save enough out of their year's wages to pay for a chaise and pony for a day, to drive Missis and the Baby that pleasant 20 miles, stopping when they like, to unpack the basket on a mossy bank? If they can't enjoy the scenery that way, -- they can't any way; and all that your railroad company can do for them is only to open taverns and skittle grounds round Grasmere, which will soon, then, be nothing but a pool of drainage, with a beach of broken gingerbeer bottles; and their minds will be no more improved by contemplating the scenery of such a lake than of Blackpool.

(Ruskin 1876: 5-6)

Better for the working class to deal with the known landscapes of home (the equivalent of the "usable" art works in the class-specific museums), than to travel great distances to stand before landscapes they could neither recognize nor engage with (the equivalent of 'high' and therefore 'national' art works). In this Ruskin was reiterating Wordsworth's earlier arguments against the railway's 'incursion' into the Lake District (Wallace 1993). Class membership was at issue, not participation in the viewing of national treasures -- be they objects or landscapes. To facilitate the working classes' entry into the inner sanctum of museum or Lakeland would be to condone 'matter out of place' (Douglas 1966).

The landscape was the "one space for viewing in which Ruskin imagined these subjects could be united" because it and only it "offered common aesthetic ground to all English subjects" (Helsing 1994: 139). However, common ground was predicated on the working class having been educated to see aright and in having subjugated the touch to the gaze -- a process achieved through educating the eye through the practice of drawing. This right way of seeing was not *simply* the representational mode of the perspectival gaze, it was shot through with political overtones. Overt differentiation along class lines was neither initiated in Britain's provincial museums and National Galleries nor put into practice in relation to physical landscapes.<sup>12</sup> In so notoriously class-structured a society this was

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<sup>12</sup> Differentiation of access to the 'national gallery of landscapes' by class and race is examined in the ethnographic section of this work.

hardly necessary. Such is what the InterCity poster -- "A First Class View" of the English landscape -- is all about: knowing one's place.

The defense of the Lake District landscape was conducted along the Wordsworthian lines of "a sort of national property". But as land came up for sale in an expanding land market, it was realized that, unlike a work of art that could be donated to the National Gallery, there was no statutory body to guarantee inalienability -- that is to say, remove land from circulation and to make it literally 'priceless'. Not until 1907 was the National Trust made a statutory body by Act of Parliament. From today's perspective, the National Trust can well be seen as having furthered Ruskin's aims of constructing precisely the 'right sort of gaze', and of having helped shape a national aesthetic that does indeed locate the "English landscape as the defining space for national viewing" (Helsing 1994:126)

The National Trust's membership grew to exceed the combined membership of the political parties and the Church of England. Considering the class antagonisms which the displacement of agricultural laborers occasioned historically in the landscaping of the English country house, it is ironic that the National Trust, through its system of preserving those houses (and the families that live in them as lifetime tenants of the Trust), can now be described as a vast system of outdoor relief for distressed gentryfolk. The Trust's presentation over the decades of dominant culture, devoid of the circumstances of its creation, has been avidly consumed. Meaning and experience have been uncoupled, and "(i)n the process a common set of assumptions and selections from 'our' tradition ... emerge despite the fact of differentiation" (Roseberry 1989: 45). It is only recently that the Young National Trust Theatre has presented plays at National Trust properties showing how 'the other half' lived. One such production is *Flowers and Slaves* which depicts Chartist campaigners and their country-house-living "factory bosses" (Turner 1996).

Ruskin's Inaugural Lecture at Oxford in 1870 to the educated elite who would form the future governors of Empire, presented the English landscape as memorializing the local, the sacred, the slow accretion of better pasts -- a landscape that could

only be enjoyed by cultivated persons; and it is only by music, literature, and painting, that cultivation can be given ...the child if an educated race has an innate instinct for beauty, derived from arts practised hundreds of years before its birth.

(Ruskin 1870 quoted in Helsinger 1994: 139)

It was of course the practice of the Picturesque aesthetic over the previous century or more that had given Ruskin his beloved Lake District.

But at the same time Ruskin also projected the English national landscape into the future and onto foreign shores. He urged Britain to "found colonies as fast and as far as she is able ... seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on" (Ruskin 1870 quoted in Helsinger 1994: 139). The term "fruitful waste ground" places us squarely in a rhetoric of 'improving' and 'scientific' farming that required a prior dispossession and annihilation of a way of life. To speak of "seizing...waste ground" is to speak within the political mode of the perspectival gaze.

This discursive linking of English and foreign landscapes expresses English nationalism in terms of the British imperial dimension. The inscription of the Lake District on the landscape of Kandy and the 'seeing' of the Lake District and other parts of England in Tasmania, Australia and New Zealand as noted in Chapter 3, epitomizes the integration of the political and representational "perspectival gaze", and the nesting of England within the British Empire. It gives an additional dimension to the notion of the English landscape as being "the defining space for national viewing".

### Class and leisure

The working-class walking movement received "stimulus ... (and) guidelines" from the workers' education movement, Nonconformist religion and early socialism (Taylor 1997: 85). Rambling clubs varied by the religious affiliation, political ideology, and class membership of their leaders, as well as by the membership they were founded to serve.<sup>13</sup> In

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<sup>13</sup>Rambling clubs coming directly out of adult education included the Midland Institute of Ramblers, formed in 1894 by student teachers at the Birmingham and Midland Institute of Adult Education. Natural History associations conducted

an era dominated by an ideology of self-improvement, recreational walking dovetailed with enthusiasm for Natural History. It provided an educational component to rambling and also served to introduce religion into the enterprise.<sup>14</sup>

The Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA) started by the Nonconformist Reverend Thomas Arthur Leonard (1864-1948) had no Church of England equivalent although Natural History clubs operated out of Anglican churches and necessarily went on afternoon or day-long rambles. Its previously unexamined archive<sup>15</sup> provides a way of seeing how a "mainly working class movement" (CHA, Minutes October 8, 1898) gave its members a view of the landscape.

T. A. Leonard, the minister at Colne Congregational Church, Lancashire, ran a popular Saturday afternoon rambling club for his congregation.<sup>16</sup> Preaching that holidays were an arena in which "the devil wields no small influence" (Leonard 1891, quoted in Speake 1993), a strong antidote existed in talks on "wayside flowers and Wordsworth" and the 'sacred purity' of nature in general (Leonard, n.d. c.1910). In June 1891 he took 30 male parishioners on a four-day fell-walking holiday in the Lake District. The cost was 21 shillings per person. By 1893, 268 working class men and women had gone on Lake District

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weekly rambles in the course of following their determining interest, while others 'tagged-on' rambling to their central remit, such as the Men's Meeting and Literary Associations of Edinburgh's Wesleyan West End Mission which conducted Saturday summertime rambles (Hill 1980, Taylor 1997).

<sup>14</sup>Where the nature-religion link was made, Ruskin was a medium through which it could be accomplished, whether through lectures on his ideas to rambling clubs, the inclusion of rambling in progressive education syllabi, or lectures on Ruskin through adult education schemes (Taylor 1997).

<sup>15</sup>Colin Doyle, Director of CHA, kindly gave me permission to work in the CHA archives on deposit at the Greater Manchester Public Records Office. Arriving at the PRO it turned out that the material had never been accessioned. Against all the rules I was allowed into the stacks where I found dozens of string-tied brown paper packages of CHA material piled on shelves. Several open boxes contained marbled ledger books which turned out to be hand-written minute books of the Association's earliest years. In the time I was given in the stacks, I found that all the boxes held 19th through early 20th century material. This formed the archival material on which I now draw.

<sup>16</sup>Colne had been described in the mid-19th century as being utterly destitute, with close to 25% of its inhabitants on parish relief. Not surprisingly, it was a stronghold of Chartism (Morris 1986).

walking holidays with Leonard. Thereafter the figures climbed rapidly: 673 in 1894 and 1,064 by 1895. In 1894 Leonard left the Church to carry his ministry permanently into the running of CHA, which became a legal entity in 1897.

Its cheap walking holidays (in 1897 it cost 30 shillings for a full week, thirteen shillings for a weekend)<sup>17</sup> were complemented by evening lectures and lantern slide shows. The Lecturers' Committee, formed in 1895, determined that these lectures were to be

of an informal character ... extemporaneous talks upon natural science, history and literature illustrated by local examples [by] gentlemen lecturers; ...[that] each lecturer be asked to introduce in an out-of-door talk some notable book, by preference one included in the General Introductory Courses of the National Home Reading Union; (and) that the Executive Committee of the N.H.R.U. be asked to grant in the General Course Magazine two pages to be devoted to  
1. Holiday Association announcements; 2. answers to queries on scientific and literary topics suggested by the holiday lecture talks; 3. Lecture notes;  
4: Recommendations of literature ....In the Association to pay dues to R.U. to that equivalent.

(CHA Minutes, March 24, 1899)

CHA also entered into agreement with London Polytechnic to advertise each others' holidays.

CHA holidays included daily morning prayers, and "Dr. Martineau" was engaged to work with Dr. Paton<sup>18</sup> on ensuring their suitability (CHA Minutes, October 23, 1897). In all probability this was the Unitarian minister James Martineau (1805-1900), brother of Harriet Martineau who had herself been a vocal supporter of working-class holidays in the Lake District.<sup>19</sup> Morning prayers were to be read by the local secretary of the group on holiday,

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<sup>17</sup>At this time CHA "manageresses [received] 25 shillings a week salary plus third class railway fare [presumably from their home to the CHA House] and laundry allowance" (Minutes of February 27, 1897). The Domestic Committee Minutes also of February 1897, indicate that "The manageress may give permission to any of her servants to join one of the rambles ... taking into account the character of the servant". The servants were women. Two year's later that Committee's Minutes referred to them as "helpers". Male guests helped with the heavy work in kitchen and scullery.

<sup>18</sup>Dr. John Brown Paton (1830-1911) was a Nonconformist educator involved in the National Home Reading Union. As Principal of the Congregational Institute in Nottingham, he taught T. A. Leonard and was the first President of CHA (Speake 1993: 35).

<sup>19</sup>James Martineau was a member of the Metaphysical Society, a debating club that met for about ten years starting in the late 1860s. It included Roman Catholics such as Cardinal Manning and agnostics such as Thomas Huxley. Sir John Lubbock was also a member and Herbert Spencer declined membership. The exchange of ideas apparently did little to liberalize James' views. In 1872 he

but this was to be "considered quite optional, he shall be asked to do his utmost to get a substitute if he objects to do this duty himself". Group secretaries were 'naturally' expected to be males.

Cannon Rawnsley of the Lake District Defense Society wrote a sonnet for CHA "upon the Whitby Holiday Home" as he attended a meeting there (CHA Minutes, March 24, 1899). (Rawnsley later became a Trustee of CHA.) Though the sonnet was not read into the Minutes, its closing lines have been published elsewhere. Whereas the bardic nationalism discussed in Chapter 3 dealt with pre-urban harmony between people and place, this piece of Victorian 'bardic nationalism' is infused with a mythic vision of workers in harmony with their place in life:

The World of Labour -- nobler music still  
Than Caedmon knew, our England shall o'er spread.  
For here by Hilda's Abbey on the slope,  
The harps of God begin again their chime  
The chime of love and sympathy of heart.  
I see the workers come awhile apart.  
And go refreshed with music of sweet hope  
For human brotherhood's melodious time.

(Rawnsley 1897 quoted in Speake 1993: 39)

So many women wanted to take CHA holidays that it was decided "not to allow the proportion of females to exceed two thirds of the entire party, and in order to remove a possible hindrance to masculine bookings, the ... late booking fee arrangement" was reduced from two shillings and sixpence, to one shilling (Minutes, January 4 and 5, 1897). Why men rather than women might be more likely to book holidays at the last moment is a mystery. The holidays attracted large enough numbers that it was decided that "members should come in detachments, with their own officers to keep order. The suggestion that each week be limited to fifty people was not acted upon (CHA, Minutes, October 23, 1897).

Disbursements of CHA's "Fresh Air Fund" were made in the amount of £7 each to Glasgow, Bradford, Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester, and £4 each to Nottingham

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published attacks on Huxley's and Spencer's stands on the general question of Evolution (Spencer 1904 (II): 286-89). He also wrote scathing reviews of his sister's work, for the agnosticism it revealed (Hoecker-Drysdale 1992).

and Oldham (CHA, Minutes December 30, 1895). CHA's own "Poor Folk's Holidays", in which there were no excursions just "rest and freedom", were sometimes earmarked only for women. Reports on these assisted holidays up through the Second World War show that women formed the vast majority of guests.<sup>20</sup>

CHA was far from being apolitical. The Executive Committee in 1898 decided that the Association would sign a protest against a scheme to construct a "light railway" to Beddgelert, Wales, and determined that "a request be sent to all the members of the association (that is everyone who had gone on a CHA holiday) asking them to communicate with their respective Members of Parliament" about the matter (CHA, Minutes February 19, 1898).

CHA's walking holidays were so successful that CHA-rambling clubs soon proliferated, especially in the Midlands. CHA published a small-format monthly magazine called *Comradeship*. This contained short articles, book reviews, reminiscences, births, deaths and marriage of CHA 'folk', photographs of CHA holiday centers, a calendar of its different centers' Free Holidays, lead articles by CHA officials, and news from CHA clubs.<sup>21</sup>

The magazine's masthead for the first decade and a half was a narrow horizontal band divided into three compartments by bars of heraldic chevrons. The central and largest

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<sup>20</sup>There were 14 of these holidays in May 1897 and 23 in September of the same year, each lasting for ten or eleven days. The process of nominating people for free holidays was open to abuse. In a particularly blatant case in the 1940s, a Mr. Piggott turned out to be charging people seven shillings to nominate them, sending five shillings to CHA as a 'donation' and pocketing the difference. It took a couple of years for Mr. Piggott's scheme to be discovered, at which point he was informed that no further nominations would be accepted from him.

<sup>21</sup>'Foundational moments' in English history occasionally break in, unconsciously or otherwise legitimating walking within an educative value. A report on a reunion of the York CHA group reads in part:

the party traversed the historic country known as the Forest of Galtres. Tea was provided at Stamford Bridge, the quaint old East Riding spot where more than 800 years ago King Harold vanquished the hardy Norsemen and from whence he departed to meet his own fate at the hands of the Conqueror at Hastings. Rambles are being continued fortnightly until the end of May.

(*Comradeship*, October 1924)

showed a young man with a rucksack on his back and walking stick in one hand facing a young woman carrying a sprig of oak leaves that bears an acorn. The man's gaze is directed beyond the woman, the woman's gaze is directed at us. Their right arms are extended towards each other, hands clasped in a gesture of sex-free 'comradeship'. Behind them and more or less filling the frame, is a horizontal segment of an oak (?) tree with distant mountains to the left and cliffs and the sea to the right. The smaller side panels each carry an oak sapling (from the leaves they appear to be *Quercus alba*). One oak has closed books propped around its base, although the one facing the viewer is open. Flowers grow around the other oak and a rucksack with the initials CHA above its buckle clasp is propped up against it. The design is unsigned.

In 1924 the masthead was enlarged and changed. Two young men and one young woman are shown seated on a grassy knoll overlooking the sea. A book is next to the woman. Another woman, wrapped in a cape, stands behind the group, also looking out to sea. Walking shoes not boots are the visible footwear. There is one lone (and indeterminate) pine tree on their knoll. In the background are mountains to the left, sea cliffs and foreshore to the right. Beneath them, undergirding their resting place as it were, is the title *Comradeship* flanked by rucksack and open book.<sup>22</sup>

In 1932, the horizontal masthead was replaced by a full-page cover. The foreground is dominated by an enormous oak tree whose branches extend slightly beyond the sea-girt island-realm on which it is set. In the middle distance and to one side is a ruined castle, on the other a church-spired village. Mountains form the backdrop. Flying up from castle keep and village, and surrounding the oak tree, are birds. Arching over the tree is the word *Comradeship*, while in the tree is a ribbon band bearing the legend "The Magazine of the Co-operative Holidays Association". This frames a heart-shaped device at the heart of the oak tree, in which the letters CHA are intertwined.

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<sup>22</sup> The illustrator's signature is barely legible, it may be "H. M. Rock".

The oak tree has a long symbolic presence in English history (Thomas 1983). Over time it has been appropriated by both kings and rebels, reflecting different political visions. CHA's political vision was of international peace. It used its house magazine to preach that part of its creed: "It is part of the work of CHA to help forward the international movement" and too this end it suggested that people learn French or German to make them more able to communicate with their 'fellows' when on trips abroad (*Comradeship* (5) 1:3 September 1911).<sup>23</sup> By 1913 CHA had forty-two holiday centers, five of them in Ireland, five on the Continent (Taylor 1997). The progression from the sea being but one part of the picture (1911) to its defining 'England' (1932) is an expression of insularity that is at variance with CHA's avowed internationalism.

During the First World War *Comradeship* seemed blessedly free of excesses of jingoistic patriotism, even when appeals were made for members to take in Belgian war refugees.<sup>24</sup> Correspondence was published from members in the forces. A letter written to CHA on Boxing Day 1914 by Private H. H. Granger stationed in India with the Somerset Light Infantry confirms Wordsworth's belief that the Lake District was capable of being taken in by the eye in a way that the Alps with their grander size were not. Private Granger's letter read, in part:

Three of us...climbed Dodabetta in the Nilgiriio.[Nilgiri] the highest hill in Southern India. The summit is about 9,000 ft. above sea level. ... Although Dodabetta is so high, and the prospect from it wide and wonderful, I do not consider it half as imposing as our own lesser hills. It rises in terraces of perhaps 2000 ft. at a time, and these masking each other, never allow the great bulk and towering height of the mountain to be properly appreciated.

(*Comradeship*, October 1915 IX (1): 14)

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<sup>23</sup>CHA was a corporate member of the League of Nations Union and gathered signatures at its various houses for presentation to the Disarmament Conference that took place in Geneva in February 1932 (*Comradeship* XXIII 2: 5 December 1931).

<sup>24</sup>During the First World War CHA houses in Britain were offered to the British Red Cross as convalescent homes or for use as military or naval hospitals. The CHA house at Dinan was given to the French government for use as an auxiliary Military Hospital.

The history of leisure activities has been written "on the assumption that what is new starts from high up the social scale and is diffused downwards" (Cunningham 1980:10). Part of the upper- and middle-class mystique surrounding the Lake District comes from the early fell walking and rock climbing 'fraternity' who, regardless of generations of shepherds and locals who had walked and climbed, *wrote* themselves a central role in the activity.

In a physical reconfirmation of the Lake District's earlier picturesque linkage to the Alps, alpinists such as Leslie Stephens, founder in 1879 of the London-based Sunday Tramps club and Secretary to the Commons Society in its early years,<sup>25</sup> used the Lake District in winter or early spring when snow and ice-cover approximate alpine conditions. Tough rock climbing had been popular since mid-century, but the early 1880s saw

a systematic attack on the crags and buttresses of the Lake Country by most of the expert climbers of the day. The conquest of almost all the major peaks in the Alps meant that the climbing fraternity turned increasingly to rock climbing, as opposed to pure and simple mountaineering.

(Lefebure 1977: 249)

In doing so the alpinists developed some of the still great Lake District climbs (Craig 1992, Lefebure 1977). Postcards and lantern slides taken by climber-photographers were used to illustrate books of rock climbing, which helped further popularize the Lake District (Milner 1986).

In this period of Empire and exploration, climbing in the Lake District satisfied "the desire to exert one-self physically ... (and conferring) the joy of conquest without any woe to the conquered" (Crook 1900, quoted in Milner 1986:109). A new Climbers' Club was formed in 1898, but it was drawn from the same professional and university ranks as the Alpine Club.

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<sup>25</sup>An article in *The Times* of London celebrating the Club's 50th anniversary, recounted that when the Sunday Tramps were challenged by gamekeepers for trespassing, they would recite together: "We hereby give you notice that we do not, nor doth any of us, claim any right of way or other easement into or over these lands and we tender you this shilling by way of amends." As the article went on to say, "The effect on the gamekeeper must have been devastating" (*The Times*, 18 January 1930, quoted in Hill 1982:18).

The issue of class jumps off the pages of a presentation on fell walking and rock climbing, given as part of a symposium on the Lake District held in 1984 at the Victoria & Albert Museum. This took place in conjunction with an exhibition entitled *The Discovery of the Lake District* (Murdock 1984), which appears to have been part of the run-up to the Lake District National Park's unsuccessful nomination as a World Heritage Site.<sup>26</sup> In the presentation, class, diffusion from 'above', naming and silencing are intertwined as the following examples show.

Walter Parry Haskett Smith then began his splendid series of new climbs. He was 21 at the time, and quite by accident had chosen Wasdale Head as the base for two reading parties from Oxford. An Old Etonian, an Oxford man, later a barrister, his background was the same as the others in the Alpine Club ...  
(Milner 1986: 106)

In 1888, Cecil Slingsby, A Yorkshire businessman, and a member of the Alpine Club ...[enjoined] his fellow members 'Do not let us be beaten on our own fells by outsiders ... Let us not neglect the Lake District .. whilst we are conquerors abroad.'  
(Milner 1986: 106)

Another pioneer was Professor Norman Colie, a brilliant scientist, who ... led the first ascent of Moss Ghyll, on Scafell, in 1892.  
(Milner 1986:108)

The first of these bolder and more exposed routes was the ascent by Godfrey Solly, a Birkenhead solicitor, of the Eagle's Nest Ridge, direct, on Great Gable (the Napes), in 1892  
(Milner 1986:108)

Then, in 1890, a new star appeared, perhaps the greatest, Owen Glynn Jones, a man of Welsh origin, *but* born in London. A young schoolmaster of 23 ....  
(Milner 1986: 108 emphasis added)

In 1914, the Lake District became pre-eminent among the climbing areas of Britain when the ascent of Central Buttress on Scafell was pioneered by a young Manchester man. It was the hardest climb in the land and remained so for the next 20 years  
(Milner 1986:112).

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<sup>26</sup>In the same year as the exhibition and symposium (1984), the British Government ratified the UNESCO convention for the protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage. In 1985/6 the LDNP was submitted for inclusion to the World Heritage List. It was denied.

Having been treated to the names, places of education, and professions of the elite Alpinists, the young Mancunian remains unnamed, despite his acknowledged achievement. He was, in fact, Siegfried W. Herford, who was killed in the trenches in December 1915.<sup>27</sup>

In 1907 the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District was formed, which extended membership to men who could bicycle in from nearby towns. Unlike the Alpine Club, "Ladies" were not only eligible for membership, but were eligible at a reduced rate. Women wore knee breeches under skirts; they would remove the skirts and put them in their rucksacks once they had left the last village on the route. Women were singled out for instruction regarding 'strong boots' -- what they were not, what they were -- as well as an introduction into the mystique of oiling them (Comradeship 1912).<sup>28</sup> Plimsolls were to make a tremendous difference:

On Scafell Pike ... we found rubber soles so good -- never a slip the whole time. Often we came across rocks with scratches made with hobnails half a yard long, and that in places where we felt never a slip.

(Smith c.1922 n.p.)<sup>29</sup>

Footgear is of tremendous importance to the walker, but the experience of the fells also depends upon food and lodging. After a strenuous day on Scafell Pike

we were desperate for food and drink, and after a wash had tea specially served for us in the smoke room. As we were finishing that the gong rang for dinner and we -- nothing daunted -- went in and fell on it like wolves! So we made a non-stop run of tea and dinner.

(Smith c.1922 n.p.)

Touring in the Lake District could be undertaken for minimal cost.

On Friday we had to leave Grasmere after two or three days of the very best.

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<sup>27</sup> I am enormously indebted to Malcolm Pitt for supplying this information.

<sup>28</sup>Footgear varied from 'proper' climbing boots available in places such as Chamonix in the Alps, that had soft iron edge nails, to hob-nailed boots -- a 'home-grown' version of the 'proper', plimsolls (canvas shoes with rubber soles), just socks, or even bare feet.

<sup>29</sup>At the time of this walking tour, Walter Raymond Smith lived in Bideford, Devon, where he worked as a piano-tuner. Although the family think Smith probably left school at 14, there is a poetic quality to some of his descriptive narrative, reflecting both his upbringing as the son of a Methodist preacher and his having attended Devizes Grammar School. I am indebted to Philip Ray for making available to me a transcript of a diary of a walking holiday taken around 1922 in the Lake District, that he found among his uncle's papers in 1992.

We had splendid fare and the best attention with Mrs. Borwick of Goody Bridge House and paid six shillings a night each for supper, bed and breakfast. Then they say the Lakes are dear! As a matter of fact, this was the usual price all round.  
(Smith c. 1922 n.p.)

At those rates, £15 could cover a month in the Lakes. A guide for a month in the Alps would cost ten times that amount (Milner 1986).

The Lake District was becoming a recreational landscape in which different classes could meet or at least catch sight of each other. Posters of circa 1910 and 1914 for the Furness Railway advertised

tourist and week end tickets all the year round with cheap excursions during the summer months from London and principal provincial stations. Illustrated guides, tour programmes, etc. supplied on application to the Superintendent of the Line.  
(London Transport Museum)

The posters depicted the "English Lake Land" and the "English Lakes" bathed in moonlight; picturesque vignettes showed the houses or the settings where Romney, Ruskin, Southey and Wordsworth lived (each man's name appeared in 'his' vignette). The Lake District was presented to excursionists in terms of the picturesque scenery its literary and painterly luminaries had celebrated.

In the post-World War I period, a reduced work week, changes in church-going habits and a more relaxed attitude towards clothing and social activities for mixed groups of young people, encouraged working and middle class people to get out into the open landscape via cheap train fares or the explosion of cycling clubs. Motor bikes purchased on Hire Purchase allowed working men from the industrial north, trained on the Peak District climbs, to reach the Lake District cheaply and quickly at weekends.<sup>30</sup> There they opened up new climbing

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<sup>30</sup>What helped male members of the 'other classes' make it into crag climbing in the Lake District in particular, was not only the trains but the more widespread acceptance of hire purchase. HP as it was referred to, involved making a small down payment on a generally large consumer object, followed by weekly payments spread out over several years. Though "it had reached well into the middle strata of working-class life" in the 1890s and early-1900s, "its use multiplied four times in the period 1918 to 1938, accounting for perhaps two-thirds of all mass-produced articles, and absorbing about £50 million at any one time" (Walvin 1978: 109, 139).

routes, and imbued the sport with a militantly working class aura (Cook 1974, Hill 1980, Taylor 1997).

Having fought *for* 'the country' in the First World War, the working class wanted access *to* 'the country'.<sup>31</sup> This study has shown how the struggle for spatial and political access had long been deeply intertwined. The Fourth Reform Bill, passed in early 1918 -- several months before the end of the War -- went some way towards acceding to demands for Woman's Suffrage, women having proved themselves essential to the war effort.<sup>32</sup> The struggle for political access having now been won, working-class voters' struggle for spatial access could insert itself into the party political arena.

#### Converging paths: linear access, open access, and landscape conservation

In order to be considered a legal right of way, a path had to lead from one settlement to another. This interpretation was challenged in 1900 in the context of Richmond Hill, Surrey in a case that established "that there could be a public right of way to a single spot, such as a summit or viewpoint" (Marsh 1982: 52). The Commons Society had been involved in the preservation of Ham and Petersham Commons at Richmond, a scheme that

was intimately connected with a movement for saving from defacement, by building, the exquisite and panoramic view of the River Thames and its

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<sup>31</sup> After the 1914-18 War, it was suggested that open spaces be dedicated as war memorials. The National Trust received three Lake District landscapes for this purpose: Borrowdale's Castle Crag, given by Sir William and Lady Hamer; Scafell Pike given by Lord Leconfield; and Great Gable and Great End given by the Fell and Rock Climbing Club. In 1925 the Master of Magdalene College and Wordsworth's last surviving grandson, together purchased additional acreage on Scafell, giving all the land above the 3000' level as an addition to the Scafell Pike war memorial (Thompson 1946). The silence of these open spaces and their vistas and views form a complete antithesis to the mind-breaking cacophony and tunnel-vision of trench warfare that men such as Siegfried W. Herford (see above, this chapter) lost their lives in.

<sup>32</sup>Limited suffrage was granted to women: they had to be over the age of 30. With the outbreak of the war, militant action by the suffragettes had ceased, and both they and the non-militant suffragists had lent themselves to the war effort. Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929), wife of Henry Fawcett -- a leading member of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society -- led the non-militant suffragists. In 1924, Millicent Fawcett was made Dame of the British Empire.

valley from Richmond Hill -- one of the most beautiful features to be found near London -- the frequent subject for artists, and the theme of poets.  
(Eversley 1910: 232)

In further efforts to protect "the middle vista of the view from Richmond Hill", a conference of open space societies, County Councils, and Local Authorities put together the moneys necessary to buy out common land which was being enclosed under common law. The Richmond Hill, Petersham, and Ham Act of 1902 was the first Statute "incorporating the principle of the purchase of a property by a Local Authority, for the purpose of the preservation of a landscape view" (Eversley 1910: 236). The "sweaty vulgar" of Chapter 1 -- along with their cooler aesthetic counterparts -- had gained their right to a particular perspective.

The aim of most early footpath preservation societies had been the maintenance or reopening of local linear ancient rights of way. The push for open access developed in the late-19th century. In the early-20th century rambling clubs began to federate the better to campaign for open access to moors and commons (Taylor 1997, Holt 1995, Hill 1980). Thus the London-based Federation of Rambling Clubs (FRC), an offshoot of the Commons Society, affiliated with clubs in Bristol, Cardiff, Darlington, and Newcastle. Some two-dozen working-class rambling clubs in the Sheffield area had been in the process of federating prior to the First World War, something they finally accomplished in 1926. By then, there was also a Manchester Federation of thirty-eight rambling clubs (Holt 1995).

Demands for open access and political access developed along intertwined trajectories. Walking clubs grew politically sophisticated in their tactics, using parliamentary politics to achieve their aims. Thus the Manchester and District Federation of Rambling Clubs, formed in 1922, canvassed candidates in that year's General Election asking "'in the event of your election will you be willing to co-operate in the introduction of a Bill to give free public access to moors and mountains'" (Hill 1980:57).

In addition to the industrial unrest of these years, English agriculture suffered dramatically from world competition. At a time of sustained economic and social crisis, land

use planners recognized that recreational access would have to be accommodated within the economic and strategic changes occurring in the countryside (Rogers 1989, Taylor 1997). Upper-class idealization of 'tramping'<sup>33</sup> co-existed with hunger marches, homelessness and massive unemployment (Wright 1985) which were much more deeply felt in the north. The seat of Government, a seemingly indifferent one at that, was located in the south which is where Conservative interests were focused.

Uneven distribution of the social effects of the General Strike of 1926 and the 1930s depression meant that the south-east of England was not only relatively economically unaffected, but even prospered. Suburban housing or 'ribbon development', was serviced by the introduction of a national electricity grid, an extended railway network and automobiles. As the middle class moved into suburbia, its wealthier sector then moved further out into the countryside.

This resulted in the 'uglification' of England, and created a new impetus among the aristocracy and the middle-classes to preserve the landscape. Concrete and hedgeless arterial roads, massive and densely placed roadside advertising hoardings, petrol stations, towering electricity pylons, and overhead electricity and telephone lines, all went into supporting encroaching acres of "bungaloid scurf" ('tasteless' housing), while roads, cars, and motorized buses allowed picnicking urban lower-class day-trippers to spread their litter further and faster (Bunce 1994, Jeans 1990, Jeffrey 1983, Lowerson 1980, Newby 1987).<sup>34</sup> Suburbanites, for their part, did not necessarily care for some of the agricultural practices that produced the scenery they were so pleased to invade (Miller 1995a).

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<sup>33</sup>Down and out tramps were not what 'tramping' was about! Rather it was associated with the long-distance solitary walker, small groups such as Oxbridge reading parties, or the likes of Leslie Stephens' Sunday Tramps.

<sup>34</sup>In a manner more than a little reminiscent of Ruskin's fulminations, the Architectural Journal trumpeted that "It will take time to teach the vandalistic *nouveaux riches*, who infest our countryside at weekends, not to leave the remains of their picnics behind", while "Country Life reported that 'townsmen seem to have the mentality of serfs. They act as uneducated slaves might be expected to act when suddenly liberated. They have no sense of responsibility to the countryside' (quoted in Jeans 1990: 259).

Access began to be cloaked in an aesthetic rhetoric. An impetus for landscape preservation was given organizational form in the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), an umbrella organization founded in 1926 from some forty constituent groups, representing a variety of land-related interests.<sup>35</sup> It was supported by "a body of intellectuals who wrote vigorously in defence of the countryside" (Jeans 1990:251) and acted as a *de facto* lobbying group. In an ambiguous twist presaging the 'heritage industry', the tourist industry welcomed preservation since the 'timeless English landscape' was such a draw for newly motorized tourism, especially by foreign visitors .

Preservation's double-bind is that what is rendered 'special' and therefore worthy of preservation, becomes marked-out as interesting to more and more people -- and in the case of the countryside, it was ordinary people's interest in it that was perceived to be the initial 'problem'. George Macauley Trevelyan (1876-1962), an historian of Britain whose eminently readable books were best sellers in the 1930s and 40s was caught up in this double-bind. His meliorist view of history (human agency was capable of rendering history a process of inevitable advancement, progress and improvement) overlooked the dark side of the story. Being related to both Darwin and Huxley perhaps accounted for his general 'evolutionary' frame of mind. Certainly through Darwin he had rejected his family's Evangelical roots at an early age (Cannadine 1992). However, cutting across his version of history was a cultural pessimism aimed at urban Britain and its invasion of the countryside.

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<sup>35</sup> The Country Gentleman's Association, the Central Landowner's Association, the land Agents' Association and the Surveyors' Institution represented the major landowners and their servicing professions. The Royal Institute of British Architects and the National Town Housing and Town and Country Planning Association were there looking after built aesthetic (and their own) interests, while the National Trust and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings added their own grace notes to the aesthetic corner. Users' interest groups included the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, as well as the Royal Automobile Club and the Automobile Association. 'Local' input was seen to be represented through the National Federation of Women's Institutes, while Local Government was represented by the County Councils Association and the Rural District Councils Association.

By denigrating the urban and valorizing the countryside, he helped foster the very action he decried (Collini 1992).

Cannadine's biography of Trevelyan affords a view of the interconnections that existed between intellectual, political and institutional circles. Of interest here are those interconnections in relation to landscape. Trevelyan's father, George Otto Trevelyan, was a close friend of James Bryce, sponsor of numerous Bills for access to Scotland's mountains (see Table 3, Chapter 4). The older Trevelyan and Bryce both found spiritual solace in long distance walking, as eventually the younger Trevelyan came to. As a young man at Cambridge, he had gone to Seatoller in the Lake District's Borrowdale Valley on a Easter vacation reading party. Starting in 1898 and going on for nearly two decades with few interruptions, every Whitsun saw Trevelyan and a group of friends in the Lake District conducting their own version of Whit Walks.

A great admirer of Wordsworth, Trevelyan became actively involved with the National Trust in 1912 through his support of its landscape preservation efforts in the Lake District. In an antiquarian touch, this was over the acquisition of a Roman fort at Ambleside. After the First World War "as many of the great aristocratic estates were broken up and one quarter of England was put onto the market" (Cannadine 1992:151), the work of the National Trust took on particular urgency and Trevelyan spearheaded fund-raising campaigns for the purchase of properties, bringing in influential political friends such as Stanley Baldwin, and Ramsay MacDonald, as well as members of the aristocracy and the intellectual elite. Partly through his efforts the Trust's holdings in the Lake District increased by nearly 10,000 acres during the course of the 1920s.

Trevelyan was elected to the National Trust's Council in 1926 and served on its Estates Committee (which he Chaired from 1928-1949) and its Executive Committee (where he served as Vice-Chairman from 1929-1946). From these various positions he also had input into the recently-formed CPRE. An outspoken critic of proposed roads and electricity pylons in the Lake District, Trevelyan argued that "German" conifer plantations there would

be "a crime against Nature's local bye-laws" (cited in Cannadine 1992:156). Over the years, Trevelyan himself purchased land in the Lake District for donation to the Trust. As Chairman of the Trust's Estates Committee, in 1941 Trevelyan was in the odd position of receiving from his brother Sir Charles Trevelyan, the donation of Wallington Hall, the family's 17th-century Northumbrian country seat and its 13,000 acre estate (Williams-Ellis 1947). Charles Trevelyan, who served as Secretary of Education in the first two Labour Governments after 1945, was also involved in landscape preservation and access efforts (see Table 3, Chapter 4), and in the Depression had turned some of Wallington's outbuildings into dormitories for the use of the Northumbrian Trampers' Guild, and later donated them to the Youth Hostels Association (Taylor 1997) of which his brother, George, was the first President.

Under pressure from CPRE, the government set up a National Parks Committee in 1929 to consider whether and where one or more national parks might be placed. Its deliberations, contained in the Addison Committee Report (see Table 5), recommended a two tier system of Regional Reserves for recreational access and National Reserves for science-driven conservation and observation of nature (Ditt 1996, Holt 1995, Taylor 1997).<sup>36</sup> Within the general discourse of dislocation and change that engulfed Britain at the time, this debate among planners and preservationists has been read as "a particular landscaped version of English citizenship" (Matless 1995: 93). Wordsworth had spoken of the Lake District as "a sort of national property...in which everyman has a right and interest, who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy". Ruskin's aim had been to educate the eye and the heart. Expanding upon the Romantics' ideology of the importance of the non-material values of

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<sup>36</sup>It is interesting that land to be designated for public accessibility was 'regional', and that to be separated out for scientific observation was 'national' -- as if, somehow or other, the public in need of access to the land (i.e. that segment of society which did not have its own) did not constitute 'the nation'. There is also an inescapable comparison to be made to Ruskin's class-based two-tier system of museums. Not only that, Ruskin's proposals for a stratified museum have already been shown to correlate to his ideas (or, his 'views') on landscape. Within each system, the Lake District falls in the category of exclusive "national" property.

nature (Ditt 1996), the town and country planning that blossomed in response to the uglification of England enforced 'taste' and legislated aesthetics.

As a result of the Addison Committee Report, in which the Lake District was slated for designation as a National Reserve, the mechanism for a Cumbrian Regional Planning Scheme was developed in 1932. It gave official recognition to 'The Lake District' as a regional entity cross-cutting the administrative boundaries of the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire and called for the setting up of a single planning authority for 'Lakeland' (Lake District National Park Planning Board 1986). The Friends of the Lake District (FLD) came into being to have input into the protection and preservation of this landscape.<sup>37</sup> Oxbridge members of the Wordsworth Society had been a source of support for setting up the National Trust (see earlier this chapter): now George Trevelyan, a leading member of the NT, helped promote a branch of the FLD at Cambridge.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>A photograph of the core organizers and supporters of the Friends of the Lake District taken at the inaugural meeting on June 17th, 1934, includes T. A. Leonard (founder of CHA and HF). The group stands on the top step of a porch of Fitz Park, Keswick. Though still part of the group but slightly off to one side, and one step down from the local and national luminaries in the landscape preservation world, stands Roland Taylor of Whitehaven, a leading local RA activist. Unlike the other men (except those in clerical dress), Taylor does not wear a three-piece suit, nor does he wear a tie: rather his shirt is open at the neck and folded back over what looks to be a sports jacket. His distancing from the main body of worthies visually captures class relationships. I am extremely grateful to Ian Brodie, Secretary of the FLD, for bringing this photograph to my attention, and for making a copy of it available to me. It provides an amazing contrast to a photograph taken in summer 1907 of the men in the Manchester Rambling Club, who after an all night walk are shown in suits, with waistcoats, collars and ties (Hill 1980: 29). In a form of cultural mimicry, working-class men in 1907 were still aping their 'sartorial betters', sweating their way through an all-night hike in three-piece suits and ties. By 1934, an RA representative could sport a relaxed sartorial distancing from his 'betters' that in turn reflected their im/posed social distancing of him. Here was cultural mimicry radicalized.

<sup>38</sup> In 1951 Trevelyan was approached by Helen Lowenthal of the Victoria & Albert Museum with an idea for a summer school for Americans. While visiting the Bliss' (founding members of the American National Trust) at Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, D. C., Lowenthal had listened to them lament that so few Americans were exposed to the collections, architecture and settings of the great 18th century English country house. Ever open to possibilities for extending appreciation of all that was 'good and true' about England, and having been brought up in an air of Anglo-American friendship -- his father counted Theodore Roosevelt, Henry James and Henry Cabot Lodge amongst his friends (Cannadine 1992) -- Trevelyan lent himself and the National Trust to Lowenthal's

In 1935, under the influence of geographer Vaughan Cornish, who was inspired both by Wordsworth and visits he had made to American and South African national parks (Ditt 1996), CPRE set up a Standing Committee on National Parks. It was composed of representatives from rambling federations, camping, cycling and motoring clubs, and various scientific bodies.

By the 1930s a recognizable 'environmental lobby' had emerged, committed to defending the countryside from the threat of urban sprawl and urban ways...The dilemma which existed between promoting the spiritual pleasure of the countryside and preserving it from the 'madding crowds' of insensitive visitors was never far from the surface... the countryside needed to be preserved for 'the nation', but *from* 'the public.

(Newby 1987: 176, emphasis in the original)

The Standing Committee favored the Addison Committee's two-tier approach but the depression thwarted central government from implementing any of the Committee's suggestions. The rambling federations were split over whether to throw their weight behind national parks and protection of footpaths, or to agitate for open access to mountains, moorland, commons, and private but uncultivated land. In 1935 The National Council of Ramblers' Federation<sup>39</sup> supported the push for National Parks, although, as the next chapter will show, the RA is now at the forefront of agitation for open access. Holiday Fellowship (HF), founded in 1913 by T. A. Leonard as an offshoot from CHA, plus CHA itself and the Cyclists' Touring Club among others, backed the campaign for national parks. CPRE and the Commons Society leaned towards negotiated access, while The National Trust's primary commitment was to preservation of the landscape, not public access (Lowe 1989). Yet that public was much in evidence. Working-class hiking and rambling had moved beyond the

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proposal. Under the aegis of the (English) National Trust, the first Attingham Summer School took place in 1952 with George Trevelyan supervising the tutorials. Attending the Attingham Summer School in 1986 with support from the Royal Oak Society (the American arm of the English National Trust) gave me an extraordinarily privileged view of the English country house, for which I remain most grateful.

<sup>39</sup> The National Council of Ramblers' Federation was formed in 1931 from eleven regional federations. It became the Ramblers' Association (RA) in 1935. The Manchester Federation declined to be part of the new association, preferring, until 1939, to remain outside the fold in order to champion open access.

popular to the point of being a 'craze'. The size of some of the rambling groups out actually walking is nothing short of staggering: 200, 300, 700, 800, even 1,600! (Taylor 1997). Rambling clubs negotiated cheap rail fares for their outings, sometimes going out to one countryside station from which they would start the day's walk and returning from another station at the end of the day. Recreational walking was often practiced in large groups. This example is drawn from the Lake District:

We ...started our climb at Catbells, then straight along the ridge, over Maiden Moor, Narrow Moor and Eel Crag to Dale Head where we had lunch. While resting we saw our first 'party'. They were then ascending Robinson and against the skyline looked like so many matches. There were, I should imagine, 60-70 in the party.  
(Smith c.1922 n.p.)

Bicycles, motor cars and railways were the means of escape from the cities: a shorter working week and drop in church attendance freed-up weekends for that escape. One rambler's song captures this feeling:

I'm a rambler, I'm a rambler from Manchester way  
I get all my pleasure the hard, moorland way  
I may be a wage slave on Monday  
But I'm a free man on Sunday ...<sup>40</sup>

There was, of course, the influx of the unemployed too. For them -- as for their 19th-century counterparts -- the only cost involved in getting out of the towns and cities was the boot leather, or the energy expended on cycling out to the moors.<sup>41</sup> "By the early 1930s ... (e)stimates put the number of regular country walkers at over 500,000, with about 10,000 in the Derbyshire Peak district alone during a summer weekend" (Lowe 1989: 122).

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<sup>40</sup>At the end of a week's walking with a group of women, when we were sitting at our 'last' supper. Jane Sweet (a past member of the Woodcraft Folk movement) said she had something for me -- for my project. She then proceeded to sing a song with a voice that matched her name. She later told me the song was Ewan MacColl's *The Manchester Rambler*. I would have given anything to have had my tape recorder with me, but to have asked her to wait and so on would have been to have ruined the delicacy of the moment. The next morning before we all went our separate ways I had her 'tell' me the song, one verse of which I reproduce here.

<sup>41</sup>The unemployed men of Jarrow "went for really long walks. A walk to Newcastle was nothing to most of them and ... they put an awful lot of their time in that way" (interview in Pickard 1982: 48). Such walking served the men well on their 300 mile walk to London in 1936.

E. V. Lucas' *The Open Road: A Little Book for Wayfarers*, first published in 1899, was in its fortieth edition by 1932.<sup>42</sup> Such pocket-size anthologies of poetry matched literature to landscape from a youth hostelling as opposed to a drawing room perspective. They were part of an efflorescence of nostalgia-laden 'country' literature. In 1932, the country writer S. P. B. Mais, undertook a 15,000 mile journey through Britain at the British Broadcasting Company's (BBC) request. Walks done on that journey formed a series of BBC talks broadcast in order to stimulate "in listeners a desire to explore and rediscover their own island' (quoted in Taylor 1997: 231). Mais obviously struck a responsive chord. When in 1932 he organized a midnight train excursion to see sunrise at Sussex's Chanctonbury Ring. 16,000 people turned up! The sun was hidden by clouds (Lowerson 1980).<sup>43</sup>

Given the vast numbers of people walking around the landscape it is perhaps not surprising that there was some degree of hostility between ramblers, hikers and trippers. From the perspective of ramblers, hikers and high-minded preservationists, trippers were the littering, radio-playing, noisy urbanites. Ramblers (according to a Ramblers' Association publication) viewed hikers as 'townies' who were not as well informed about the countryside as they ought to be (Holt 1995). The Youth Hostels Association (YHA) was founded in 1931 to provide cheap accommodation to walkers and cyclists. By 1939 it had 30 hostels and 83,000 members.

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<sup>42</sup>Poems in *the Open Road* are sorted into subject topics that follow seasonal and life-cycles as well as the rhythm of the mundane 'journey'. Sections devoted to poems of winter, spring, summer, and autumn are interspersed with sections dealing with setting out, meeting with 'the lover', companionship on 'the' journey, and a final section entitled "A Handful of Philosophy". I am indebted to Professor John Horne, for making available a copy of his late mother's 1932 edition of *The Open Road*, which accompanied her and her sisters on their rambles in the 1930s and 40s.

<sup>43</sup>Mais, together with Tom Stephenson (who was to be a figure in the post-1945 access debate), was the editor of *Lovely Britain: A description in words and pictures of the beauties and interests of the British countryside* (1949). In its coverage, county by county, of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, it comes close to being an updated compendium of the 18th century illustrated county histories.

Working-class walkers were subject to physical and verbal harassment in the countryside (Holt 1995), and ridicule in literature. This view of them is at the heart of Mary Butts' *Warning to Hikers* (1932) which lambastes working-class Midlands walkers who, with their broad accents, "bugger"-larded language and inappropriate footwear, were considered unable to appreciate the 'real' England, for theirs was not the "deeper authenticity of (Butts') own green world" (Wright 1985: 121-2). Butts considered the hiking craze (she did not use the word 'rambling') not as a return to nature, but as an expression of a *cult* of nature engaged in by "our new barbarians, bred inside that hideously fabricated world, under conditions that man has never known before" and from which they want to escape (Butts 1932:15). It was the YHA that catered to the escapee urban "barbarians". for its overnight charge of one shilling made a week's walking holiday within the range of even low-paid clerks and manual workers on thirty- or forty-shilling a week salaries (Lowe 1989: 123, Taylor 1997).

Butts' *Warning* conjures-up a new bardic nationalism located in the land, in which escapee urbanites have no 'place'. Once hikers

...have taken one step across the line of protection, the belt of urban needs and values each of them carry strapped tight about them, they will find themselves in a world as tricky and uncertain, as full of strangeness, as any wood near Athens. No friendly greenwood, fixed by poets; no wise gnome-tapped mountain; no gracious sea. *The dragon-green, the luminous, the dark, the serpent-haunted*. Will they face it? When the Sirens are back at their business, sisters of the Harpies, the Snatchers? When the tripper-steamer -- her bows to the sun -- turns into the boat called Millions-of-Years?

Quiet in the woods. They can be very quiet when a wind from nowhere lifts in the tree-tops and through the pine-needles clashing the noise of a harp runs down the trunks into the earth. *And no birds sing*.

(Butts 1932:36 emphasis in original)

The Duke of York, the future King George VI, entertained a less gloomy and doom-laden view of hikers. In May 1933, he

included in a speech "a word in defence of the hiker". Compared with the motorist who "rarely enjoys the loveliness of England...those who stride away through woods and over hills, who sleep under the stars in meadows, and who hear the nightingale in its own home...really know England"

(Holt 1995:5)<sup>44</sup>

What about the escapee barbarians themselves? Certainly a Miss G. M. Bluck of Camberwell, London, who wrote a winning essay for CHA in 1931 entitled *Holidays by Instinct*, was attuned to something when she wrote of the "compelling instinct" that caused her to turn away from the

rich, fat fruitfulness of many Southern counties. ... a smell in the wind, a sunset, a chance remark ...will bring (the compelling instinct) back fresh and disquieting. Then ...the north, the mountains and the moors, come to me ... and London becomes ...a barren desert of bricked ugliness. ... There comes a great restlessness, a disgust with all cities and neat suburbs, and toleration of one's lot, and with it peace of mind flies away.

(*Comradeship* XXIII 2:11-12, December 1931).

As the country moved closer to war, the possibility that some of the new towns of uglified England might be bombed out of existence, was a welcome thought for some.

Come, friendly bombs, and fall on Slough  
It isn't fit for humans now,  
There isn't grass to graze a cow  
Swarm over, Death!  
...Mess up the mess they call a town ...

Betjeman 1937

Paradoxically, it was the Second World War itself that transformed thought about town and country planning, access and recreation, and the need for a system of National Parks, into implementation. Chapter 6 begins with the wartime ministerial reconstruction committees whose remits included consideration of access to the landscape.

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<sup>44</sup>Holt gives no citation for the Duke of York's words -- where his speech was given, to whom, and upon what occasion. From its larger context, which I do not reproduce here, it seems the 'quoting' of his words occurred in a Parliamentary debate in 1936 concerning physical training. This might connect with Duke of York's Summer Camp for Boys. Elsewhere it has been written that the Camp's annual photographs show "the sharpness of social and physical contrasts [between the Duke's] ... public school helpers [and] ... boys of the same age...[who were] four or five inches shorter, with large gaps in their front teeth, [and] generally looking a good ten years older" than their public school contemporaries (Lowerson 1980: 270). Holt has possibly appropriated to working-class hikers words that the Duke used about upper-class 'trampers' -- and then only if the Member of Parliament was accurately quoting the Duke's earlier speech! One would have to get back to the original speech to find out.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ACCESS/ABILITY: PRIVATE PROPERTY & NATIONAL PARKS

#### *The Scott Report, 1942*

**The precept that the countryside is the heritage of all involves the corollary that there must be facility for access to all.**

quoted in Hill 1980: 86

#### *Footpaths and Access to the Countryside Report 1947*

**Fostered by the instincts of an urbanised population, torn increasingly from its ancient roots in the soil by the industrial revolution, an urban existence that pushes the primeval background out of sight, that makes it remote and unavailable, that deprives people of intimate contact with it ... is unlikely to produce adequate men and women.**

quoted in Marsh 1982: 13

**It has been the professional and semi-professional strata who led the National Parks movement, while on access it was the ordinary ramblers drawn from the industrial towns of the North. There are those who have attributed to these social distinctions the greater success of National Parks than of access. But this is to misread the situation. The right to walk anywhere on uncultivated land makes much greater inroads into the exclusiveness of private ownership than does the right to control the use to which private land can be put. The latter is a negative function, whereas the act of walking anywhere on uncultivated land is very positive.**

Hill 1980:114

**Since 25 per cent of finance and a good deal of control [of National Parks] is local, they are only partly National; since they contribute in limited ways and with conflicts to the recreation supply, they are only partly Parks.**

Simmons 1975: 111

## Introduction

Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer tell us that "neither the profoundly cultural content of state institutions and activities nor the nature and extent of state regulation of cultural forms are adequately addressed in much of the literature" (Corrigan and Sayer 1985:2). State regulation of the culture of leisure and the state's reification and expression of 'national character' and 'cultural identity' are integral to the legislative history of access and England's National Park system.<sup>1</sup> Incorporated in this history are the interlocking objectives of the state and preservation organizations which are no less cultural forms than the landscapes they protect.

Reflecting an antiquarian interest, early preservation legislation (Ancient Monuments Acts of 1882 and 1913) was applied to built objects in the landscape. As aesthetic-ecological interests gained legitimacy, built objects *in* and built objects *and* the landscape were "presented as a collective inheritance expressing the essential national spirit...and the definition of national identity" (Lowe 1989:119). Opposition to early preservation measures had been predicated on the fear that the importance attaching to 'public interest' would be at the expense of private property rights. As public interest gained national prominence through the defense of the Lake District, a solution to this conflict was negotiated within the framework of private property relations through the institutional form of the National Trust:

...the inalienability of the Trust's property can be regarded (and also staged) as a vindication of property relations: a spectacular enlistment of the historically defined categories 'natural beauty' and 'historic interest' which demonstrates how private property simply *is* in the national public interest.

(Wright 1981:52)

The creation of national parks raised again the specter that private property rights might in some way be curtailed. They were not.

This chapter first presents an overview of the Parliamentary Committee work leading to the enabling legislation for designating national parks. It also presents an overview of the actual legislation itself. It highlights the inherent tensions and conflicts existing within

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<sup>1</sup> This legislation simultaneously created national parks in Wales.

national parks as farming, housing, recreation and nature conservation claims, and those of central and local governments compete (Clout 1984, Ditt 1996, Healey et al 1988, Holt 1995, Lake District National Park Plan 1986 (LDNPP), Lowe 1988, Mormont 1983, Newby 1987, Rüdig 1995, Simmons 1975, Whitby and Ollerenshaw 1988). It ends with the highly contentious re-emergence of demands for open access in the 1990s, and the debate surrounding the fundamental nature of private property and the comparative weight to be given to private and public rights in the land.

### Cultural constructions a.k.a. definitions

*The commons.* In England, 'the commons', or common land, is not common property. Historically, common land was the unenclosed wasteland (mountain, moor, heath or down) that existed beyond a settlement's arable land, meadowland and pastureland. The Statute of Merton (1235) confirmed a lord of the manor's rights to the commons. The 1925 Law of Property Act brought common land that lay within Urban Districts into the public domain.<sup>2</sup> There is no legal right of access to common land outside metropolitan areas despite their ongoing *de facto* use (i.e. 'by sufferance'). Agreements with landowners for access to private land, or in the case of commons, agreements with manorial lords, is *de jure* access (Simmons 1975). *De jure* access may sometimes be limited by season. Though the English manorial system of commons and communal working of open fields are used as the Ur-motif in constructing 'the tragedy of the commons' (Hardin 1968), that motif has been sorely bent out of shape. Strictly regulated, the English commons and the communally-tended and cooperatively-grazed open fields, were anything *but* available to individual efforts at self-serving economic rationalization or maximization.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Urban Districts were defined as a County's smaller towns (the large ones and the cities were County Boroughs -- administrative 'islands' within a county). (Pepler 1950).

<sup>3</sup>The commons tend to be either demonized (the source of economic hardship, the remedy for which is privatization) or romanticized (everyone working on the commons in social harmony and ecological equilibrium). Anthropologists have shown that common property does not necessarily equate to open access and that

*Rights of way.* Regulations abound. All public roads are rights of way. Designated footpaths (for people on foot), bridleways (for people on foot, horseback and bicycle), and byways (all traffic), are also rights of way (Highways Act 1980). Definitive rights of way maps are held at local parish council offices, though paths not shown on them may be public rights of way that have been omitted from the maps. Minimum widths are set for paths and bridleways if these have not been legally recorded. In such cases, a footpath running across a field must be 1 metre, a bridleway 2 metres; if a footpath skirts the edge of a field then it must be 1-1/2 metres wide, and a bridleway 3 metres wide. Dairy breeds of bull but not beef bulls are banned from fields crossed by public paths. Beef bulls must have their herd or cows with them if they are in fields crossed or skirted by footpaths. The Rights of Way Act (1990) set up specific time-frames within which farmers must restore ploughed up paths. Paths that do not have legal standing beyond the temporary wish of the landowner are termed permissive paths. They are not definitive rights of way but can be revoked at any time.

*Stiles.* Adding emphasis to the significance of the rights of way are stiles that mark the break in boundary walls and hedges through which a right of way passes. They vary enormously: decorous and decorative small wrought-iron Victorian gates at the end of a village lane, pairs of narrowly-splayed stones through which only the thinnest and most nimble can easily pass, steep wooden step-ladders with hand-poles, broad through-stones built into drystone walls (no hand poles!), insulated breaks in electric fences (sometimes as discouragingly narrow as 8", in which case they are certainly reportable to the local parish council's footpath officer), and other variously configured wooden step systems in a wide range of repair and disrepair.

*National Parks.* National parks in Britain are not set-aside wilderness areas as in the U.S., but are lived-in working landscapes which support farming, forestry, extractive

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the commons are often highly managed and regulated. The central question, as is shown in various edited collections of commons studies, is 'who gets access to what, and when' (Acheson and McKay 1987, Bromley 1992, Lees and Ortiz 1992, Taylor 1995).

industries and a multi-tiered tourist industry. Most land in most national parks is privately owned (Poore and Poore 1987). Inevitably, conflicts occur between economic use and recreational activity, let alone between both of these and nature conservation objectives. There has never been any serious debate over the desirability of the state acquiring the freehold of land in national parks, though large acreages are already held by public organizations and QUANGOs (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations) such as the National Trust.

### From Committee to Act

The cultural backdrop to the wartime appointment of a Coalition Government Minister of Town and Country Planning was a threnody for the English landscape that had been sounded in a florescence of topographical writing in the two decades leading up to the Second World War (Bennett 1993, Slater 1987). In 1940 the Coalition Government's Ministry of Labour launched a

*Recording Britain* project... -- the 'pictorial Domesday' for which Sir Kenneth Clark mobilized a galaxy of talents to preserve, in watercolour and gouache, tokens of the civilization which an enemy invasion might be expected to destroy.

(Samuel 1994)<sup>4</sup>

Although wartime bomb damage and the possibility of invasion were the overt reasons behind the project, its underlying ethos was closely attuned to the enemy within:

Photography can do much, but it cannot give us the colour and atmosphere of a scene, the intangible *genius loci*, [the spirit of a place]. It is this intangible element which is so easily destroyed by the irresistible encroachment of what we call civilisation: schemes of development, the growth of industry, and the building of reservoirs and aerodromes; (and) by motor roads... (The project) shows us exactly what we are fighting for -- a green and pleasant land, a landscape whose features

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<sup>4</sup> Like the pseudo-travel of the panoramas, selections from *Recording Britain* were exhibited around the country in an attempt to cut down on 'unnecessary' holiday train travel and petrol use. The term 'Britain' was a misnomer, for only England and Wales were covered (a separate scheme dealt with Scotland), and even then Wales was far from adequately addressed. The project was undertaken with money from the American-funded Pilgrim Trust (Mellor, Saunders and Wright 1990). George Trevelyan persuaded the Pilgrim Trust to also make donations to the National Trust for the purchase of properties and land (Cannadine 1992).

have been moulded in liberty, whose every winding lane and irregular building is an expression of our national character. We are defending our very possession of these memorials, but when we have secured them from an external enemy, the existence of these drawings may serve to remind us that the real fight -- the fight against all commercial vandalism and insensitive neglect -- goes on all the time. There will be little point in saving England from the Nazis if we then deliver it over to the jerry-builders and the development corporations.

(Reed quoted in Saunders 1990: 7)

The Ministry of Town and Country Planning (MTCP) set up a Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas chaired by Lord Justice Scott, a past Vice-President of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE). The Scott Committee grappled with the social, political and economic ramifications of the rural-urban divide and attempted to negotiate several sets of conflicting interests: the economic viability of rural communities and agriculture, aesthetically driven preservation and conservation of the landscape, access to the countryside, and urban sprawl (Miller 1995a).

The Scott Report, *Land Utilisation in Rural Areas*, was published in 1942. It declared that "the establishment of National Parks in Britain is long overdue" and recommended that "within the first year" of peace, a National Parks Authority be set up and decisions made on which areas might become National Parks and which might become nature reserves. In 1944 a Government White Paper entitled *The Control of Land Use* "referred to the establishment of National Parks as part of the programme of post-war reconstruction" (Abrams 1959: 21).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Abrams' edited collection of articles on the National Parks is interesting for affinal and organizational connections it reveals. At the time of publication Abrams was Secretary of the National Parks Commission; the book was dedicated "To the Memory of John Dower and H. H. Symonds".

John Dower (1899-1947), an architect involved in planning, had been the Honorary Drafting Secretary to CPRE's Standing Committee on National Parks. When invalided out of the armed forces, he served as a wartime civil servant in the Ministry of Works and Planning and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning where he undertook work central to the planning of national parks. He designed hostels in the Lake District for the YHA, and was architect to the National Camps Board.

Reverend Symonds (1885-1958) had been Drafting Secretary to CPRE's Standing Committee on National Parks, Vice President of the Friends of the Lake District, a Member of the Lake District Planning Board, Vice President of the Ramblers' Association, and Vice President of the Merseyside Youth Hostels Association.

While access was a central bone of contention, so was administration and funding of the proposed national parks. The wartime coalition government set up a Committee chaired by John Dower, whose remit was to hear evidence on the "choice of areas (for National Parks). controls to be imposed, the facilities to be provided, the machinery, powers and technique required, and the necessary co-ordination with other purposes of planning and with the policies and activities of other Departments (Dower 1945: 6).

In 1945, Sir Norman Birkett, chairman of CPRE's Standing Committee on National Parks and President of the Friends of the Lake District, gave the Rede Lecture at Cambridge University. Calling Wordsworth into service, Birkett used the opportunity as a platform to push for 'a National Parks Commission'. National Parks would be:

the regions of our finest landscapes made national possessions by the deliberate choice of the nation...preserved by the nation in their natural beauty, made accessible to the people, and particularly cross-country walkers, and brought into the fullest public service consistent with these ends

(Birkett 1945: 19).<sup>6</sup>

The Dower Report, *National Parks in England and Wales*, was published in April 1945, three months before the General Election that was -- in an astounding reversal -- to bring in a Labour Government.<sup>7</sup> In the Report, Dower fully developed the philosophy and concept of national parks and supported access to all uncultivated land. A national park was defined as:

An extensive area of beautiful and relatively wild country in which, for the nation's benefit and by appropriate national decision and action, (a) the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved, (b) access and facilities for public open-air enjoyment are amply provided, (c) wild life and buildings and places of architectural and historic interest are suitably protected, while (d) established farming use is effectively maintained.

(Dower 1945: 6)

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<sup>6</sup>A mark of the audience Birkett was addressing is that an extensive quotation from Wordsworth's *Preludes* with which the lecture ends, is not referenced as being Wordsworth at all. That carried through into publication.

<sup>7</sup> The sudden sound of cheering carried to an British Army officer's bungalow in India, set up-hill from the rank-and-file's barracks turned out to be occasioned by the news of Winston Churchill's ousting from power, and the election of a Labour Government (personal communication from Professor Joan Vincent). The revenge of the 'bungalowoid scurf' as it were.

In response to the Dower Report, Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning in the newly-elected Labour Government, set up a Committee on National Parks in England and Wales chaired by Arthur Hobhouse.<sup>8</sup> One of its remits was to design the mechanism for implementation of national park legislation (Ditt 1996). The Hobhouse Committee's Access Sub-Committee (which like the main Committee included John Dower amongst its members), "recommended that access should be given to all uncultivated land, whether mountain, moor, heath, down, cliff, beach or shore" (Hill 1980:87). The Hobhouse Wildlife Sub-Committee was chaired by Sir Julian Huxley. The Hobhouse Committee Reports were published in 1947. They and the Dower Report formed the basis for The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949.

In tandem with the Wordsworthian theme of certain landscapes being 'a sort of national property', George Trevelyan met with Silkin and Hugh Dalton, then the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the new Labor Government to talk about preservation policy. The following year, Dalton's Budget included £50 million to create the National Land Fund. The money was designated to reimburse the tax authorities (Inland Revenue) for land and houses that were given to the nation in payment of inheritance taxes (death duties). Such land and houses would then be passed on to the National Trust. Dalton's resignation, due to a piece of political ineptitude, was lamented by Trevelyan in a letter to the *Times*, in which Dalton's governmental department was singled out for having actually been concerned with preserving the nation against the 'rising tide' of urbanism (Cannadine 1992).

Traditional linkages of marriage and patronage were just below the surface. Dalton, a supporter of the National Trust and President of the Ramblers' Association, had been a political protégé of Sir Charles Trevelyan, George's eldest brother. John Dower, author of the *Dower Report*, was married to Pauline Trevelyan, Sir Charles' eldest daughter, and Julian Huxley was a distant cousin of the Trevelyans. George Trevelyan so imbued his daughter Mary with his love the Lake District and Wordsworth, that she went on to publish a biography of Wordsworth.

## The Act of 1949

The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949 repealed the 1939 Access to Mountains Act, made provision for the future designation of national parks in England and Wales and for access agreements and orders on the types of land recommended by the Hobhouse Committee. The two Ministries most deeply involved in the 1949 Act were Town and Country Planning, and Agriculture. When Lewis Silkin was appointed to the Ministry, he found that his press officer was Tom Stephenson, an RA activist and "an Independent Labour Party colleague of some twenty years before" (Holt 1995: 23). However, the landowners' agricultural lobby far outweighed this 'inside track'. For the rambling movement also lost lobbying power after John Dower's death in 1947.

The burden of applying for access as it existed under the 1939 Act was shifted onto the shoulders of local authorities, but this still meant access operated on a piece-meal basis and depended on local authorities not dragging their heels.<sup>8</sup> Under an RA-orchestrated public pressure campaign, Silkin was adamant that the trespass clause of the 1939 Act would not be re-enacted, and it was not (Holt 1995). The Act continued to emphasize negotiated access in which local circumstances were given a strong role in structuring restrictions, thereby impairing full implementation of the Act. The 1949 Act legislated 'open access' for particular types of 'open country'. This might seem a radical departure from the pre-existing network of tightly defined linear rights of way, but an evaluation of the 'rights' granted under the Act shows otherwise (Barker and Parry 1996).

First it is necessary to undo the bundle of meanings inhering in 'rights'. Four distinct legal advantages are seen to reside in 'rights': claims (claim-right), liberties (privileges), powers, and immunities (Hohfeld 1923 cited in Barker and Parry 1996, Radcliffe-Brown

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<sup>8</sup> The authority vested in local government to negotiate access agreements has been used infrequently: "The House of Commons Environment Committee (1995) reports about 48 such agreements in the national Parks" (Whitby 1997). An Access Agreement to the Peak District's Kinder Scout was only signed in 1958, seven years after the designation of the Peak District National Park.

1950).<sup>9</sup> While Part V of the 1949 Act entitled the public to open access -- that is the right to wander freely -- over upland areas, what it actually provided was that "where an access agreement or order has been made, an individual who enters without breaking or damaging any wall or fence, and who complies with the relevant bylaws and extensive restrictions contained (in other sections of the Act) *is not to be regarded as a trespasser*" (Barker and Parry 1996:3, emphasis added). In other words, what was granted was an immunity-right not to be treated as a trespasser, rather than a claim-right of access. This negative quality regarding access again confirmed that public 'rights' to open access "are to be regarded as *interferences with* established private property rights, the scope and effect of which must be limited and controlled" (Barker and Parry 1996: 4).

The Act set up a National Parks Commission authorized to appoint semi-autonomous joint management boards for each park. Half the members were to represent local interests, the other half were to represent national interests. It was assumed that the local contingent would resist implementing schemes deemed to be in the 'national interest' because it would in part be local funds that underpinned those schemes and indeed the county councils were loathe to give up administrative control of 'their' park areas to joint management boards. The effects of war on the home front had led to a finely honed ability to 'muddle through somehow'. This ability was now brought into play in the setting up of the national parks under Hugh Dalton, who had returned to office in 1950 as Minister of Town and Country Planning.

Between 1951 and 1957, ten national parks were established in the uplands of England and Wales, only three of which were single-county parks run by county council committees (Dartmoor, Northumberland and Pembrokeshire Coast) (MacEwen and MacEwen 1987). The Peak District National Park (the first designated and which straddled

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<sup>9</sup> The interwar period that saw the 'search for order' through engagement in studies of law and disorder. Hohfeld was one of the numerous scholars engaged in such comparative or historical jurisprudence, some of whose work entered anthropology (Vincent 1990)

land in six counties), was administered from the beginning by a joint planning board. The Lake District National Park (the second designated and which at the time included land in three counties) was set up with a special authority drawn from the three county councils, each one of which maintained control over its expenditures within the park.<sup>10</sup> The remaining parks were each administered by a joint *advisory* committee that had no regulatory power vis-a-vis the county councils -- each of which maintained administrative control of 'its' bit of whichever park it was in.

The 1949 Act covered both nature conservation and the management of public access to open country. The areas singled-out as appropriate for national park designation were extensive areas of great natural beauty that because of their relation to population centers, afforded opportunities for a large number of people to engage in open air recreation. Their preservation and the enhancement of their natural beauty were somehow to go hand in hand with the promotion of their enjoyment by the public. Just a few years after the parks' designation, Birkett wrote of the Lake District National Park in strong anti-Ruskinian tones:

it is not a nationalised museum piece over which is written 'Please do not touch'; it has not been created by faddists and cranks who worship at the shrine of natural beauty to the extent that they would put it beyond the reach of the ordinary man and woman.

(Birkett 1959: 34)

Harkening back to the two-tier approach recommended in the Addison Committee Report, the 1949 Act made provision for national nature reserves (NNRs) and sites of special scientific interest (SSSIs) "to safeguard places with a special flora, fauna, or geology" (Lowe 1989: 125-6). These were to be under the control of the Nature Conservancy, a research and advisory body especially created by Royal Charter in 1949. Public access to NNR's was not

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<sup>10</sup>It was only with the reorganization of local government in 1974 that the multi-county council planning board was replaced by the Lake District Special Planning Board-National Park Authority. Set now entirely within the new county of Cumbria, the park includes parts of four District Councils. The Board Most of the common land in the LDNP came within the former Lakes Urban District, which through the 1925 Law of Property Act, ensured public access to many of the fells and mountains (Simmons 1975). Unlike the rest of the national parks, 41.3% of the land within the LDNP is publicly owned (Poore and Poore 1987). This does not mean however that there is unrestricted access to all of that land.

encouraged, SSSIs were, and still are, not generally on accessible land. Provision was also made for designation of areas of outstanding natural beauty (AONBs) "chosen on landscape grounds alone" (Lowe 1989: 125-6).<sup>11</sup>

The 1968 Countryside Act responded to an increased demand for outdoor recreational space in order to siphon off some of the pressure on the national parks. It set up country parks, picnic areas and water-based recreation facilities. Where woodland and waterways had come within the definition of open countryside in the 1949 Act, they received more emphasis in the 1968 Act thereby increasing land potentially available for access agreements. The 1968 Act also created the Countryside Commission out of the National Parks Commission. Recognizing the inherent conflict in the 1949 Act's favoring preservation over agriculture, planning authorities were newly charged by the 1968 Act "to give due regard to the needs of agriculture and forestry and to the economic and social interests of rural areas" (LDNPP 1986:3).

Further development and tourist pressures on the national parks led the Government to appoint in 1971 a review committee under the chairmanship of Lord Sandford.<sup>12</sup> The Sandford Committee Report (1974) detailed the extent to which short-term utilitarian considerations had taken precedence over conservation. Road and housing development, extractive industry, reservoirs, increased motorized tourism had all been allowed or encouraged to take their toll of the national parks. The Report stated :

The presumption against development which would be out of accord with park purposes must be strong throughout the whole of the parks; in the most beautiful parts which remain unspoiled it should amount to a prohibition to be breached only

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<sup>11</sup>For an overview of the jurisdictional divisions and multiple levels of designation used in protecting landscape in Britain, see Poore and Poore 1987.

<sup>12</sup> At the time of his appointment, Lord Sandford, the Reverend John Cyril Edmondson (b.1920), had served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and was currently Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department of the Environment. He remained involved in regional planning and environmental education up through the 1980s, including serving in an advisory capacity to Countrywide Holidays Association (the renamed Cooperative Holidays Association founded by the Reverend T. E. Leonard). He was also Vice President of the Youth Hostels Association from 1979-1990.

in the case of a most compelling national necessity.

(LDNP Plan 1986:4)

The Government endorsed the recommendations of the Sandford Report while acknowledging the need to address lack of housing and job opportunities for the local communities within the national parks.

A measure of the national parks' success was the staggering increase in their use. This was the recreation 'explosion' feared by both central and local government (Blunden and Curry 1988). In tandem with the increased *use* of the countryside was an increase in environmental awareness. The mid-1960s to mid-70s saw the greatest expansion in the founding of national environmental groups in Britain (Lowe and Goyder 1983). Membership in voluntary environmental organizations' moved from under 700,000 in 1970 to over 3-3/4 million in 1990 (Robinson 1992). Starting in the 1970s, and emerging from the realm of polemics to state policy, a fundamental reappraisal of agriculture's role in relation to rural economics occurred (Blunden and Curry 1988, Harvey and Whitby 1988, Hodge 1986, Robinson 1992).

The 1981 Wildlife and Countryside Act addressed the conflict between agricultural intensification and conservation of wildlife and landscape and introduced the concept of "management agreements" into the agri-environmental world.<sup>13</sup> The Act incorporated recommendations of the Sandford Report regarding clarification of national parks' statutory powers in relation to agricultural practices, modifications of public rights of way, and the national parks' obligation to prepare maps showing moor, heath, and woodland areas of particular conservation interest.

A remarkably fatuous access Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in 1983 by the Conservative MP for Banbury, Tony Baldry. His proposed *Greater Access to the Countryside* Bill, which was not given a second reading, proposed that county councils be

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<sup>13</sup>Management agreements as they operate in England pay farmers to *not* do environmentally damaging things which in many cases they would not have thought of doing were it not for specific Ministry of Agriculture subsidies *to* do those things.

given extended powers to divert footpaths for farmers' convenience, thereby 'facilitating' access to the countryside! In return "farmers should have a statutory duty to take all reasonable steps to mark the route of any footpath crossing their land" (Hansard 1983 (61) c 924).

### Constructions of citizenship

Wordsworth's terming the Lake District a "sort of national property" prompted the question who was worthy of inclusion in the nation? (Chapter 3). A succession of Reform Bills widened political access to 'the nation' as spatial access to 'the country' was pursued in parliament (Chapter 4) and, with appropriate *caveats*, won in the post-war era (this chapter).

It has been argued that in post-industrial Britain, strong identification with political party, religious affiliation or class membership has been replaced by individualism and 'self-invention' through lifestyle:

What people do with their time is increasingly a reflection of who they feel they are. What we call leisure time, is actually one of the key disposable resources in their lives, and frequently significant therefore in the meanings they give or find in their lives.

(Grove-White 1996: n.p.)

Commodification of recreation and the state's redefinition of the role of active leisure being no longer an element of citizen rights but rather a question of means, has led to a situation in which

... access to active living is no longer a societal goal for all, but a discretionary consumer good, the consumption of which signifies 'active' citizenship. It furthermore signifies differentiation from the growing mass of 'deviants' who are unwilling or unable to embrace this new construction of citizenship and are, therefore, increasingly denied access to active living and, hence, active citizenship.

(Ravenscroft 1994: i)

Within the arena of 'active living,' rural recreation is given a low place on the state's budgetary totem pole.<sup>14</sup> However, the sheer numbers of people pouring into the national

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<sup>14</sup> Curiously enough, the Ordnance Survey's recently-released CD-ROM, Interactive Atlas of Great Britain, covering the country at the scale of 1 inch to 10 miles, and 1 inch to 4 miles (plus zoom capacity), does not show footpaths. I am grateful to David Ogilvie for bringing this to my attention.

parks requires that the issue of access be addressed -- for were there more generally available access to the countryside, then the parks would bear less of the brunt of visitors. As it is, the daunting numbers of visitors to the national parks lead to almost unimaginable traffic jams, a sort of Los Angeles freeway scenario transposed to the English countryside. One humorous postcard on sale all over the Lake District shows a single-track road solid with cars backed-up over the mountains. The driver of the first car, which is pulling a caravan, is saying to his passenger "And not another car in sight too!". The 880 square miles of the Lake District National Park receives 20 million visitor days a year (Stanners and Bourdeau 1995). The nearly 600 square miles of the Peak District National Park receives 22 million visitor days a year. In 1996 the Lake District National Park Planning Board initiated preliminary discussions with 'interested parties' about banning all vehicular traffic in the Park at the height of the summer. The very thought created strong negative responses from the shopkeepers I spoke with in various towns in the Park.

While many tourists never go much beyond the 'honey pots' (the tourist attraction areas), hundreds of thousands of people climb, mountaineer and fell-walk. Not surprisingly, damage to footpaths and other rights of way in the parks is reaching epic proportions. In the Lake District, eroded footpaths appear as great gashes on the fells. In the Peak District, runnels in the peat disfigure sites such as Kinder Scout.<sup>15</sup> Repairing the damage is costly. In some parts of the Lake District, stone slabs have to be helicoptered up the mountains to the repair site. But then, even as a severely eroded footpath is stabilized, perhaps with a series of huge stone 'steps', even *more* people are empowered to go further up the mountain, thereby shifting the problem to even more inaccessible sites. In the Peak District, various approaches -- such as duck-boards on styrofoam support pads -- have been tried in heavily trafficked areas to prevent peat turning to bog.<sup>16</sup> The Council for National Parks recently hosted a

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<sup>15</sup>An access agreement was entered into for Kinder Scout in 1958 bringing its panoramic views into public view 58 years after the securing of the panoramic views from London's Richmond Hill (see Chapter 4). Differently time/framed views for different classes of viewers.

<sup>16</sup>I was shown this relatively soon after their introduction, and pointed out to the

seminar that considered, perhaps not too seriously, the idea of taking out human activity from areas within national parks in order to let them 'return to the wild' (Evans 1998).

One way of relieving pressure on the ten national parks is to open up access to other areas. The Inheritance Tax Act of 1984 was supposed to help accomplish this through relief from inheritance tax on landscapes designated as 'Heritage Landscapes' by the Treasury Department. Such landscapes have to be of outstanding scenic or historic or scientific interest. In return for inheritance tax exemption, the Heritage Landscape's new owner is expected to provide 'reasonable' public access to the land. The Act does not define what constitutes 'reasonable' public access. Figures for taxes lost to the public purse vary: one source cites £65 million between 1984/5 to 1995/6 (Whitby 1997), whereas another cites £90 million foregone between 1983/4 to 1991/2 (Holt 1994) The 'Heritage Landscape' inheritance tax relief project is a particularly clear example of the class-based/class-biased relation between landed property-owners and the state. Landowners are not obliged to institute rights of way on Heritage Landscapes, nor are Heritage Landscapes publicly listed rendering local knowledge indispensable to their access/ability. Quite clearly, there is no *quid pro quo* for taxes foregone.

Rural recreation has been promoted as an alternative though as yet uncoded economic activity, and access is presented as an "income elastic" good, that is one upon which more money is spent as incomes increase (Whitby 1997). However, costing of rural recreation is being brought into play. A quasi-market approach was introduced into agri-environmental policy in 1991 in England through the centrally-funded Countryside Stewardship Scheme. Under this scheme, what a farmer seeks to 'sell' for scheme payments, is an environmental output deemed by the Countryside Commission (CC) to enhance the

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PDNP officer that there were bits of styrofoam blowing around quite a distance from the path -- it had already begun to break apart at the edges. He was not happy. Another approach was introduced on the coast-to-coast walk in the Yorkshire Dales National Park in 1996. Infra-red 'rambler-counters' were installed on stiles to monitor usage. When usage went beyond what was considered the path's environmentally sustainable capacity, walkers were directed onto other less fragile routes (Wainwright 1996).

amenity value of the landscape (Lloyd 1992, Fraser 1996). Access is one of those amenities, a public good that is "frequently produced as (a) joint product (often unintended) with other (possibly private) goods." In other words, farmers' economic returns on growing crops or raising livestock are not matched by any economic return "for providing access on *traditional rights of way*" across her property (Whitby 1997, emphasis added).<sup>17</sup> By late 1997 there were over 1200 Stewardship scheme agreements containing *permissive* access routes (Cooke and Gough 1997), that is, they were not definitive rights of way.

Site visits have revealed that less access has been 'purchased' than the figures would indicate: some new access routes are poorly signed, making them difficult or impossible to find and use, some are even blocked. The Ramblers' Association has thus challenged the 'success' of access 'purchases' within this new property market. There is no public listing of farmers' who have entered into Stewardship access contracts so knowledge of 'access' is something of a hit or miss affair. In short, a public policy geared towards commodification of access, had only served to re-privilege and re-legitimize rights of private property (Whitby 1997).

Some view the central government's funding of Stewardship farmland access as tacit presumption *against* open access, despite statements to the contrary. And, given the market-economy approach, there "is a strong case for the assertion that the access question will become more, not less, important as we become wealthier" (Whitby 1997). Here access and citizenship meet and Corrigan and Sayer's concern with the "profoundly cultural content of state institutions and activities (and) the nature and extent of state regulation of cultural forms" can be seen at the level of practice.

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<sup>17</sup>While the 'purchase' of new permissive access routes is one thing, paying farmers to produce the 'public goods' of access to *traditional rights of way* begs the question of traditional rights of way being just that -- legal rights of way. Some farmers maintain that they suffer an economic loss through access (traditional and definitive, or new and permissive) for which they want preemptive grant aid. Economic losses come about through gates being left open (which allows livestock to wander and damage crops, and costs the farmer time in gathering livestock together again); footpaths not being kept to and growing crops being trampled instead; unleashed dogs harrying livestock.

Starting in 1985 with a single protest walk, the RA subsequently organized *Forbidden Britain Days* throughout September and across the country, when local protest walks highlight areas where access is forbidden. The name has since been changed to *Open Britain Day*, and subsequently, to *Access Days*<sup>18</sup> By whatever name they go under, they are the occasion for much press and television coverage for the RA -- not all of it friendly. The RA's new-found overt combativeness is directly linked in some articles to its 'communist' roots in the 1932 Mass Trespass<sup>19</sup> and its feisty Chairman, Kate Ashbrook who, when elected in 1995 at age 40, was the first woman and the youngest ever chairman of RA (Farndale 1995). Landowners, landuse managers, farmers and farm workers are predominantly male; as presented in cartoons and print, ramblers are more often depicted as 'whimpy' males or strident females. The RA's confrontational stance has served to alienate some of its more conservative members (male and female) and has given 'country' writers, cartoonists and photographers new fodder upon which to feed.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>The chronology of title shifts is as follows: The first Forbidden Britain Day was in 1985, with one event at Edale. In 1986 Forbidden Britain Day became a multi-sited event. In 1993 it was designated Woodland Walks Day, in 1994 there was no nationally coordinated event. 1995 saw Jubilee Campaign Day. I am again indebted to Peter Jones, Regional Secretary of the Lake District RA for information and clarification on this matter.

<sup>19</sup>A 1930s illustration now reissued as a postcard shows ramblers kicking, punching and throttling gamekeepers. Its caption reads "Even the Little Steepingford Ramblers' Association was not without its hooligan element". It forms an inverted pendant pairing to a photograph taken on the 1932 Mass Trespass at Kinder Scout (published in Hill 1980), which shows some ramblers bent around and helping the one injured gamekeeper (he twisted his ankle).

<sup>20</sup>Access is portrayed in relation to class, privacy, political party and religion. One cartoon by Jak, published in the Evening Standard on 30 September 1991, showed three shot-gun carrying landowners outside one of their stately homes. By the side of a 'no trespassing' notice board are the bodies of ramblers, Ordnance Survey maps in hand, neatly stretched out like so many brace of grouse. The caption reads, "Not a bad bag old boy, after all it was only our first ramblers shoot!" There have been numerous cartoons about ramblers demanding to pass through dining rooms or bathrooms (usually with buxom women in the tubs) because they have learned that a right of way passes through the house. Others play on that part of the Lord's Prayer which goes, "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us". Other cartoons work on the theme of trespassing ramblers about to be shot, executed, taken hostage by farmers. Other cartoons associate the Labour Party with the Ramblers' Association.

Over the past two years, access has become a party-political issue. In December 1995 the RA published, as a consultation document, a draft Access to the Countryside Bill. It sought freedom to roam on foot in open country (as defined in the 1947 and 1968 Acts), except where particular conditions required temporary prohibition orders (Ramblers' 1995).<sup>21</sup> Open country included woodlands, cliffs, riversides and foreshores, and brought Forestry Commission woods back into the open country category on a statutory footing -- including many of the woods sold off by the Commission over the years to which access had been subsequently rescinded. The freedom to roam that the Bill sought did *not* include the freedom to tramp across agricultural land sown to crops or people's gardens. Opponents have sought to present it otherwise. Again, cartoonists have had a field day.

In a barely-concealed attempt to forestall possible access legislation, a counter-proposal, called *Access 2000*, was issued in November 1996 by The Country Landowners' Association (CLA) (MacNicol 1996). This called for a process of lengthy assessment leading to voluntary agreements. Giving tacit support to the notion that access is an interference with private property rights, *Access 2000* turned aside any notion of a claim-right to access, and placed itself behind the quasi-market approach. CLA openly acknowledged later that it "does not support the creation of a statutory Right to Roam" (Etchell 1997)

The British Mountaineering Council (BMC) entered the debate by publishing its own Access Charter in February 1997, a much less sophisticated document than the RA's *Freedom to Roam* Bill. What is interesting from the perspective of this ethnohistorical work is something buried in its notes which reads as if it were from the 1833 Committee on Public Walks referred to in the previous chapter:

(1) Climbing, mountaineering and hillwalking, in common with other forms of countryside recreation are of great benefit

(1.3) to society in general: by enhancing the mental, physical and spiritual health of individual participants these activities help promote a healthier nation; by

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<sup>21</sup>Some reasons for temporary prohibition orders were shooting (limited to 12 days in any calendar year), exceptional weather conditions likely to result in fire, lambing, protection of floral or faunal restoration efforts.

*engendering a spirit of adventure* and self-reliance, the wider community benefits in many ways, from crime reduction to the stimulation of enterprise.

(BMC 1997 n.p., emphasis added)

Expressions of that "spirit of adventure" have led to inter-generational use issues in the national parks, where there is a statutory presumption of 'quiet enjoyment'. The growing popularity of mountain biking, much of it motorized,<sup>22</sup> the use of off-road vehicles and the presence of motor boats on the lakes has caused controversy. Particularly in the LDNP, military low flight training exercises have been a 'use' issue for years.

After a year's consultation with RA members and numerous organizations, the Access to the Countryside Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1997 by Paddy Tipping, MP for Sherwood and a long-time RA member. It did not get past its first reading, which was much as RA had expected given a Conservative Government. Prior to the general election, the leaders of all three political parties committed themselves to access legislation in the next session, though without detailing exactly what legislation would be introduced. Tipping introduced the RA Access Bill again in 1998, this time under the new Labour Government, but once again there was no real debate and it did not get beyond its first reading.

In February 1998 The Government issued its own consultation paper, *Access to the Open Countryside in England and Wales*. It gave landowners three months to come up with a voluntary code for access to private uncultivated land -- mountain, moorland, heath and registered common land. This does not include the woodlands, cliffs, riversides and foreshores which the RA sought. The Countryside Commission (the Government's

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<sup>22</sup>While on an *inter-personal* level this has been dismissed as a "perceptual problem" based solely on anecdotal evidence, it is acknowledged that there is a "real" problem in relation to erosion and disturbance of wildlife [McGowan 1996]. (Evidence is dismissed as 'anecdotal' because it has not been the personal experience of that article's author! If McGowan had interviewed me about being forced off a mountain track by motorized mountain bikers while conducting my ethnographic research, would that too have fallen in the category of a "perceptual problem? We all applauded when one idiot's bike finally broke-down and we realized its owner had the choice of carrying the monster down or abandoning it.) In relation to mountain biking, the English landscape has been rendered strangely personal in being portrayed as "*disadvantaged* in its ability to provide for this sport" (emphasis added) unlike the "the desolate wilderness areas of the United States" in which the sport arose (McGowan 1996 n.p.).

countryside and landscape advisor) responded that "access on this scale will represent a significant cultural change" and that

Open access legislation should provide three freedoms ...freedom for the public to explore open countryside on foot without any unnecessary constraints on their free movement; freedom for individual owners and occupiers to close this land temporarily on accepted grounds where this is necessary for land management reasons -- without seeking prior approval; and freedom for the statutory agencies to limit access if this is essential to protect particularly sensitive wildlife or historic sites.

(CC: June 1, 1998)

In a marker of the "profoundly cultural content of state institutions and activities" (Corrigan and Sayer 1985:2), the CC sees the need for "education and persuasion" in order "to ensure that visitors and landowners respond positively and constructively to the new arrangements", and they suggest such education be introduced into "the National Curriculum" (CC, June 1, 1998). One can only wonder whether it is the visitors who need educating and the landowners persuading.

At the same time, CC is pushing for a "more flexible approach" to linear rights of way, one that would be less expensive, less time-consuming, less-confrontational. Its proposed *Paths 21* would be a cost-effective "network of paths that meets the needs of the next century, and not one that is the result of historic demand" (CC June 12, 1998). In other words (perhaps) a return to Tony Baldry's 1983 proposed *Greater Access to the Countryside* Bill, which would have putatively 'rationalized' legal rights of way -- the historic paths -- out of existence, replacing them with ones more 'convenient' to the farmers.

*Paths 21* turns out to be part of a new look at countryside planning that calls into question certain taken-for-granted ideas. It allows that under this new kind of 'planning' there will not be as much countryside left.<sup>23</sup> This, when more and more people are seeking access? When one can hardly open a British newspaper without reading of a new motorway tearing up some piece of common land fought for and protected in the past? When the

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<sup>23</sup>Somehow there will be a "net environmental gain from all development. ...Though [the countryside] may not be quite as extensive, it should grow in quality to compensate for what is lost in quantity" (CC, 19 September 1998).

Council for British Archaeology feels compelled to call for farm subsidies to be linked with environmental protection in order to prevent farmers receiving "Class Consents" permitting them to deep-plough Mesolithic, Roman and Civil War sites with impunity?

Green Belts are being brought under the same economic gaze to determine whether they "help or hinder sustainable development, [what] their impact [is] on the *efficient* use of resources (land, minerals, water, etc.), [and whether] they help us think and plan sensibly for the long term" (CC, 19 September 1998, emphasis added). In the same document there is a proposal to "create the right setting for towns". All towns should:

sit in well managed countryside. Development plans need restraint policies on urban growth and positive objectives for the countryside around towns. Every town and city should develop a Greenspace programme, so that everyone, *including socially excluded groups*, has access to, and is able to enjoy, open space near their homes.

(CC, 19 September 1998 . emphasis added)

Is this perhaps not also a way of *keeping* the socially excluded groups out of the English countryside? This is after all the group most affected by the lack of public transportation into the distant countryside. Perhaps they will settle for 'Millennium Greens'? for which the CC obtained a ten million pound grant from the National Lottery. Two-hundred and fifty 'Millennium Greens' are to be created in England by the year 2000. These will be community-based "breathing spaces" organized locally but administered and maintained by a Charitable Trust.

Vociferous demands for open and linear access within and beyond national park boundaries have been met by equally vociferous protests over urban infringement on 'a country way of life' (by all those 'uneducated visitors' from the cities and towns?). An economic argument has been advanced against proposed bans on foxhunting,<sup>24</sup> conjuring-up

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<sup>24</sup>The anti-hunt movement, which has been growing over the past several years, received a major boost when The National Trust reluctantly banned stag hunting on all NT property. Whereas in the past fox-hunting was a countryside ritual enactment of power and possession, in the contemporary landscape it smacks of nostalgia and dispossession. Perhaps the still-maintained tradition in the Lake District of only following the hounds on foot maintains an element of a more democratic localized culture. (Given the terrain, there are no scarlet-clad hunters thundering around on horseback. If you want to hunt with Lake District hounds,

the specter of unemployed saddlers, hunt tailors, grooms and dog handlers, and the putting down of hunting packs. In July 1997 a crowd estimated at 100,000 demonstrated against a Private Member's Bill that would have banned the hunting of wild mammals with dogs. In March 1998, over a quarter of a million 'country' people, led by red-coated huntsmen, descended upon Hyde Park in a march organized by The Countryside Alliance. The presence of landowning interest groups served to undercut that "The Countryside March" represented the spectrum of rural workers. Nothing could quite disguise the fact that it was a protest against the introduction of legislation banning foxhunting.<sup>25</sup>

Sections of The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) were a response to hunt saboteurs. Section 68 of the Act made a new criminal offence of 'aggravated trespass,' by which was meant trespass with the intent "to intimidate persons engaging in lawful activity on land or to obstruct or disrupt that activity." But a wider net was cast through Sections 70 and 71 of the Act that dealt with "trespassory assemblies." These are defined as groups of 20 or more persons intending to assemble "on land in the open air to which the public has no right of access or only a limited right of access." Those exercising their rights under the 1949 Act could thus be 'caught' in the sweep of Sections 70 and 71 of the 1994 Act.<sup>26</sup>

The antagonism between country and town can be seen in the November 1995 launching of the Countryside Movement, an organization whose posters indicated that they

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then you have to be prepared to make it up the fells.) On the occasion I bumped into a Lake District hunt, the fox found its freedom.

<sup>25</sup>A week later, the Bill failed to make it to the statute books as opponents introduced hundreds of amendments and made lengthy speeches that used up the allotted debate time. Given that sightings of foxes are now quite common occurrences in urban settings in England, perhaps the fox is playing the Countryside Alliance at its own game and is moving into town.

<sup>26</sup> What is also at stake are intergenerational use issues. Mass outdoor festivals of 'travellers' exist outside of official discourses of countryside leisure activities, but they do speak to leisure preferences of a generation that is discounted and whose activities are now criminalized. The hedging-around of access privileges the already-privileged, and promulgates their literal and metaphorical 'point of view'. In a sense, the travellers festivals are another 'bead on the string' of mass gatherings.

were dedicated to "Putting the Country's Side" on issues of recreational access, the national importance of farmers, farmers' role as the *real* people who take care of the countryside.<sup>27</sup>

Another indicator of the conflict between agriculture and leisure is the

growing tendency to confine a large proportion of countryside leisure pursuits to officially defined and administered recreation areas, in a controlled extension of the notion of national parks. [Although it has produced] substantial benefits to outdoor recreational amenity...it has also, ironically, helped to perpetuate the practice of exclusion from vast tracts of open countryside, as well as the 'stopping-up' of public rights of way, particularly in arable districts and around the urban fringes (Taylor 1997:275).

Conversely, the CC acknowledges the tremendous economic value of recreational activities in the countryside, particularly leisure walking which generates "up to £2 billion of visitors spending for the local economy" (Ashcroft 1998). The central dilemma is that rural communities cannot get the economic benefits of tourism and recreational activities such as walking, without bearing the burden of increased access.

### Conclusion

Private property relations are rooted in control of and access to land. Tensions inevitably preceded proposals for superimposing national parks on private land. Even the great stretches of common land that fall within the national parks' boundaries are not necessarily open to all-comers. Indeed, they never have been. Paradoxically, a cultural nationalism rooted in landscape fostered a rural-urban divide, while aesthetics, agriculture and recreation make for a fraught ménage-à-trois!

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<sup>27</sup>A national advertising campaign introducing the Countryside Movement featured posters that juxtaposed large 'art work' images with contrary messages. An image of the Yorkshire Dales was captioned "While You're Trying to Save the Brazilian Rainforest The British Countryside is Disappearing"; an outside image of a hand cupped around a small dead mammal carried the caption "the Killer is a Male, White Collar Worker, Probably in His Late Forties Who Lives and Works in an Industrial Town"; a portrait of a man in a rubber apron was captioned "George Roberts, Head Slaughterman and Animal Lover." The 'message' they carried was that the five million or so people who live and work in rural Britain have been unable to make their voices heard in countryside matters even though they are the "best qualified to look after it". CM wanted to "start the process of rebuilding the understanding that used to exist between town and country".

Attempts to order these multiple sets of conflicting needs and demands seem only to have incorporated the conflicts, not settled them. Perhaps no settlement is possible, or perhaps the cost of the settlement is too high as with the need for high-density city and town living to preserve the beloved countryside that so many people want to go and live in. Questions of public good however, tend to get short shrift in the market place.

The long history of denial of access to and control of movement across the English landscape is a process still very much in the making. In as densely populated and highly urbanized a country as England, open land *is* an extremely scarce resource. Contestation, state regulation and ultimately commoditization of that resource is hardly surprising. English NGO's and policy-makers remain locked in historically determined, narrowly conceived ideas of leisure, and "have difficulty in according leisure its true social significance" (Grove-White 1996: n.p.). The subsequent ethnographic chapters explore the social significance of fell walking -- one aspect of leisure which is dependent upon access.

As regards fell walking,

...acclamation of the substantial practical achievements and social and political significance of a British outdoor movement, founded on a locally nuanced progressive core ideology, does not represent a Whiggish or triumphalist affirmation of the irreversible consummation of an idea. Many of the objectives continue to be frustrated, while gains are often counteracted by losses. Regressive conservative forces within the movement itself, sustained by a strong compromising tendency, have militated persistently against the unified effort needed to pursue the interests of walkers, mountaineers, and touring cyclists. Footpath and access campaigners are fighting much the same battles at the end of the twentieth century as they were in the 1820s.

(Taylor 1997:273-4)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PROLOGUE TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC

**Your life depends to some extent on your shoes; care for them properly. But a quarter of an hour each day is enough, for your life depends on several other things as well.**

René Daumal 1974: 118

*"To \_\_\_ on Her First Ascent to the Summit of Helvellyn":*

**Inmate of a mountain-dwelling,  
Thou has clomb aloft, and gazed  
From the watch-tower of Helvellyn;  
Awed, delighted, and amazed ...  
Maiden! now take flight; -- inherit  
Alps or Andes, they are thine ...  
For the power of hills is on thee,  
As was witnessed by thine eye  
Then, when old Helvellyn won thee  
To confess their majesty!**

William Wordsworth 1816

I have been examining the shifts and turns in the cultural production of identity as it 'takes place' in and through landscape, especially in relation to the Lake District and the Peak District. The point of this prologue is to 'locate' fell-walking in the Lake District as I have experienced it in the spring, summer and autumn months of 1995, 1996 and 1997. In addition to pleasantly warm dry weather that is perfect for walking, I also experienced walking and scrambling in driving rain, sleet, light snow flurries, and intense summer heat. I know nothing of fell-walking in snow and ice.

In a way there are really two Lake Districts. One I call Wordsworthshire, compounded of drifts of daffodils, lake-side strolls, the ever-hovering presence of the National Trust's long-ago comforting world of Peter Rabbit and Mrs. Tiggy Winkle, and high teas taken in gleaming dark wood interiors set with chintz and lustreware. Despite the fact that I do know that Dorothy Wordsworth and her brother took famously long walks across the fells, Wordsworthshire exists now as a parallel universe of the bottomlands, and is not much my concern. Rather I am concerned with the Lake District of the horizon-bounding

mountain ranges that seem to catch the clouds down to themselves. And unless you have slogged around them all day long in pelting rain, or even in the unusual extreme heat of recent summers, it is hard to quite get the right pitch of their ruggedness -- especially if you are an American more likely to think of mountains in terms of 13,000 rather than 3,000 feet.

As has been explained in Chapter 5 in some detail, the Lake District is a roughly circular domed area only thirty-odd miles in diameter into which are crowded 180 mountains. Mountain ridges and valley floors radiate out like spokes in a wheel. The compactness of the Lake District means that the cumulative ascent in a day's walking can easily go to or over the 3000' mark. The Lake District National Park's 850 square miles is virtually co-terminous with the geographical Lake District. Though there are only four peaks in the Lake District that top the 3,000' mark, neither they nor the others are to be dismissed lightly. Glaciation, volcanic activity and weathering have created a spectacular landscape of barren and exposed crags, cirques (steep-walled, bowl-shaped rock basins scoured by glacial action), arêtes (precipitously steep-sided rocky ridges - often the crest around one or between two cirques), tarns (bodies of water, sometimes found at the bottom of a cirque, othertimes not, and generally frigidly cold even in summer), and over-deepened U-shaped valleys (Stephens 1990, Trueman 1938).

The fells present themselves a little differently each time you go out on them depending upon the season, weather conditions, your own level of physical fitness, and -- not least importantly -- the company you are in. Bringing the range of my own experience briefly into focus is intended as payment somehow for all the others' 'performances' that I watched. I want to make it clear that I was not simply watching others confronting their limits, I was in that confrontation myself. Consideration and fear sat firmly on my own shoulders as I willed myself up what were sometimes heart-poundingly steep slopes or, even worse, scrambled down frost-fissured crags in fierce blustery wind -- whatever the obstacle course of the day held. Under the impact of organic impression, the boundary between the observing would-be ethnographer and the walker-as-informant thinned out. I left the

privileged safety of 'audience' and became an at-risk 'fellow-actor' in the performance. My view was not only that of an onlooker but, if you will, also that of inlooker.

Britain gets its weather from the West. Set in the northwestern uplands of England, south of the border with Scotland, the Lake District gets the weather full in the face, with all the force generated by its proximity to the Irish Sea. I quickly learnt this during my first fieldwork experience in the late 1980s in the Hartsop Valley, high in the central fells, with its average 90 inches rainfall a year. One year's welcome fires on June evenings and shock of ground frosts in July can be the next year's sunburn and dehydration. The immediacy of weather conditions when walking makes for great awareness of the sky. Generally it is very active with some combination of mist, rain or cloud cover coming in. Storms can blow up quickly, and temperatures drop rapidly, even at the height of summer. The speed at which the weather comes in can be glimpsed in the towering cloud-plumes carried by air currents breaking around a *dod* (a foothill). Even on seemingly stable days, weather conditions can vary enormously -- both between valleys (one valley can have a hail storm, while another just a few over can be sunny), and within a two or three thousand foot change in altitude. Given the wrong combination of circumstances, death from hypothermia is a year round risk, and the Lake District's mountain rescue teams spend almost 20,000 hours a year on their task (Lake District Mountain Rescue Team Association 1995).

But even without such circumstances, severe chilling can be experienced within minutes of stopping as, powered by the breeze, sweat-soaked clothing turns into individually-tailored refrigeration units. 'Extras' come out of the backpack: wool sweaters, windproof jackets, wool hats, scarves and gloves. The 'technophiles' scoff at all this, preferring gear woven from synthetic fibres whose micro-filaments wick sweat from the body to the outer surface of the fabric where it can evaporate without any chilling effect. Having listened to the pros and cons of this rather heatedly discussed at just about every rest stop, I eventually invested fifty dollars in a wickable top and can no longer understand the technophobes' technophobia. Given the cost however, I can understand why at least one manufacturer

advertises that the fabric has received an anti-bacterial treatment "enabling the garment to be used on multi-day activities ... whilst still retaining some friends" (Karrimor 1994).

If there is one overarching reason why people would choose to push themselves very hard physically, often under unpleasant or even downright nasty conditions, it seems to be the glorious spectrum of views. These vary from phenomenal cloudscapes that complement the onrunning mountain ranges, to sun-shot glimpses through parting rain clouds of the lakes far below, to the non-view experience of walking through a Kurosawa-like mist-enveloped world. At the other extreme are panoramic days such as one I shared in, rare enough that people in the group who had been walking in the Lake District for over thirty years had never seen the likes of it before. The snow-capped mountains south of Glasgow were clearly visible some seventy miles away to the north, while a quarter-turn to the west revealed even further-distant mountains in Ireland.

My first week of 'dissertation-therefore-serious walking' was undertaken from Borrowdale, one of the least accessible valleys in the far west of the Lake District. It was my first introduction to walking hour after hour in on-going driving rain. Going up a path through a disused slate quarry in a light drizzle, a wall of stacked debris to the left, an open drop to the right, was nerve-racking. Coming down the same path in pelting rain led me to question my choice of topic. People did this by choice? For their holidays? Later that week, our little group went over Green Gable and came to Windy Gap. The leader, who had taken the activities manager's place just for a couple of days, indicated that I was to go down "over there" whilst he attended to someone further back in the line. I looked at the spot he had pointed to: a steep scree slope (loose surface rock). I genuinely believed he was joking. He was not. It was "Aaron's Slack," a 700-800' descent to Styhead Tarn. His response to my exclamation "How?", was "Just lean back, dig your heels in, and go!" So in the heels went and I found myself sliding three to four feet at each footstep as my bodyweight scudded me forward through the scree. I cannot say "I" established a rhythm, not at all. It was more that the rhythm miraculously established itself. After the first few hesitant steps I ran down,

grinning. Beyond the scree was a steep stone pathway down which I sped on a tip-toe run, by boots' rigidity letting me just skip from stone to stone. This was a total in-body experience, a state of grace with no fear, but rather a heightened awareness of the body moving in perfect alignment with the visually-vivid terrain, and an awareness of an observing mind that could see when the ordinary self began grabbing at the experience, threatening to shift me out of the exquisitely balanced moment of now. But 'now' was maintained over and over again as I finally ran down the grassy incline at the bottom and threw myself down to wait for the others far behind me, before swimming in the ice-cold tarn.

I have come to think of that first week's experience as being "In the Beginning," and I have to admit it gave me a false sense of my boots, let alone myself. I somehow *believed* in my boots -- *they* knew what they were doing, *they* had their own kind of eyes, *they* took care of me. So on another fieldtrip I asked a walking friend who is not only an extremely accomplished walker but also a climber, to take me to 'do' Striding Edge, an approach to Helvellyn that I had heard so much about but actually knew nothing of. As it turned out, after a long hot slog, Striding Edge is a sharp, jagged knife-edged arête, one arm of the rim of a cirque on the north-eastern slope of Helvellyn (one of the four mountains over 3000'). The other arm of the basin's rim is Swirrel Edge. Red Tarn sits some 1800 precipitous and rocky feet below in the center of the basin. West of Striding Edge is a less steep but deeper 2300+' incline to the valley floor.

At the point where I saw my friend wobble on that knife-edge in the thrust of the wind and have to drop down to his hands and knees, I had to make my way off the top and down to a parallel foot-path. Regaining my nerve I went back to the top, but it was beyond me to look at the views. What I saw with my peripheral vision warned me not to bother. The arête negotiated, there is still a bit of a scramble up Helvellyn's shoulder to get to the top. Working our way around some largish patches of snow got us into scree. At one point my leading foot stepped on a rock that promptly went out from under me and I started falling down the tarn-side slope. I heard, as if at a great distance, someone screaming. It was my

self spread-eagled as the scree slid fractionally past my face while I dug-in with my boots and fingers for a hold, which my boots found. In the intense silence I experienced sheer incredulity at what had happened and where I now found myself. My companion climbed down to me, while another man some thirty or so feet below positioned himself to break my fall if I slipped again. I was helped off the scree and, tremendously shaken, made to continue to the top immediately. After a few steps on the sloping top of Helvellyn I sat down and refused to budge. I would not walk the last couple of hundred yards to the top of Helvellyn for the much-touted view - all I could think was "the mountain can keep its sodding views!" Black and blue from the top of my boots to the top of my hips and totally drained of energy, the five hour walk out over Dollywagon Pike, down more steep scree to Grisedale Tarn and out through the long valley was undertaken in silence, even when I tripped over the rock equivalent of a toffee paper and went crashing full-length to the ground, just missing hitting my head on a boulder. I had gone almost full circle -- for had the first fall been longer or on my back, or the second fall worse, it would have been the Patterdale Mountain Rescue team that would have been called out, the team founded in 1964 by the Hartsop Valley's Dr. James Ogilvie, whose ashes had been scattered from the top of Helvellyn just day's before my 'doing' Striding Edge.

Fieldwork "After the Fall" was literally plagued by nightmares. Even walking along the simplest of contour tracks provoked anxiety and steep scrambles held a kind of terror. It took a while to regain even some of my previous sense of ease and balance. It is between these two poles of experience, of physical exhilaration and physical terror, that my fieldwork has been undertaken. It is from within their parameters that I have been able to relate to what other fell-walkers expressed about their senses of accomplishment, about pushing up to their limits, and about why they bother doing this. It is due to their camaraderie and encouragement that there is anything to report -- for my work in the Hartsop Valley had not prepared me for this kind of fell-walking. It had been carried out under my own steam with no one to see or comment on my lack of experience.

My time in the Hartsop Valley had itself dredged-up a then nearly 25 year-old memory of when in the early 1960s, aged 17, I had joined a rock-climbing club. Though I wasn't the only girl there I certainly was an oddity in not being someone's "bird" (girlfriend). Women climbed by default.<sup>1</sup> Not particularly welcomed, I had continued into the winter until after one disastrously ice-slipping day (I could not afford the proper boots), the man who ran the club devastated me by announcing in earshot of everyone and in unequivocal relation to me, that now he knew what Hannibal had felt like getting the elephants over the Alps. It is only now in reading Simon Schama's Landscape and Memory, in which he unpacks that act of Hannibal's monumental hubris and its impact on the Romantic taste for "delightful horror" and "moralizing mountaineering" (Schama 1996: 422), that I have remembered that I had again forgotten. Perhaps it was no coincidence that any mountain-walking in the subsequent twenty-five years had been done in Greece, an environment far away from ice and upper-class Englishmen. Perhaps my choice of topic is somehow trying to get over the Alps again. At least I have had better boots on my feet this time in gathering this bird's (*I*eye) set of views.

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<sup>1</sup> In a session of the 1974 National Mountaineering Conference entitled "The Mountaineer and Society," it is commented upon with a certain degree of self-satisfaction, and couched in terms of the "healthy heterosexual debauchery that characterises the climbing community today" that "there are many more girls" than there used to be. Then, in a shift of terminology, the speaker continued: "women are not yet on the scene on their own terms ... but there are now women who are defined as climbers and not just as 'so-and-so's-bird'" (Cook 1974). That it required commenting upon shows what rare birds they indeed were. My thanks to Malcolm Pitt for bringing this address to my attention.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### RE-SITING/SIGHTING/CITING THE VIEW

The modern anthropologist Victor Turner operates with a set of oppositions similar to Virgil's in his discussion of the relationship between the structured, hierarchical world of the city and state, and that of '*communitas*', which builds upon a feeling of egalitarian brotherhood. The two forms of social organisation are, conceptually and experientially, mutually incompatible, with the result that they must be mediated by myth and ritual. The passage from one to the other takes place via a rite which allows one to cross the limen or invisible boundary between them. A pilgrimage is a very literal form of such passage in which people often move from urbanised core areas of the state, to rural areas which are often perceived to be the core of the ancient national homeland of a given people within a state. Through the process of travelling together by primitive means and in common dress, people form ties which cross social boundaries.

Olwig 1993: 326-7

Rambling is...a culture and a craft...an intense love for one's own country, the innermost and the most remote parts of it...It is a love ... which cannot be exhausted, a love which...compels a devotion and adoration which is equal to some men's religion.

Ward 1934-5 quoted in Hill 1980:32

The National Parks have been called the last jewel in the nation's crown. Their heartland, 'the remote and fortifying Commons', stand aloof and untouched. Up here, what came to be called 'Thatcher's Britain' seems very small indeed; and a clearer view emerges -- it is not 'Their' Britain but Ours.

Reed 1991:7

We crave the comforts and conveniences of civilisation, but if this means wholly abandoning contact with the visual symbols of the habitat to which we still properly belong, we may become like the lion in its cage...reduced to the neurotic behavior of pacing backwards and forwards because something is deeply wrong. ...*Exploration*, in short, is one of the most fundamental kinds of survival behaviour, and we are powerfully motivated to put it into practice because it is in our nature to want to do so. ... Placed in this context the great cultural stream of art and literature which fixed attention on the Lake District can be seen, not as some parallel stream of experience, alternative to that of the climber or fell-walker, but as part and parcel of the same thing.

Appleton 1986: 119-122

Man was meant to, designed to roam twenty-odd miles from his cave; all this technology and being by-passed by more up-to-date stuff all the time, all the stress - no! - walking was how it was meant to be, gets you to the elementals - do I hurt, am I hungry, do I want to pee. That's why I love walking - its just you and your body and the elements.

Martin F. 1996

## Introduction

Chapters 1 through 6 dealt with historical processes over some 250 years and their role in the cultural construction of the Lake District. Those processes turned on the issue of access to the landscape. Running parallel to this and at times deepening the issue of access to the commons, was the social movement for political access. I now turn to a small-scale study -- the popularity of fell-walking in the Lake District amongst a group of mostly urban people. I treat this as the most recent manifestation of that earlier imagining of, engagement with and accessing to this landscape, this cultural terrain, this version of 'England'.

My multi-sited and locationally mobile ethnography of fell-walkers does not fit the conventional British 'community study' mould (Arensberg & Kimball 1940, Bell 1994, Cohen 1985, Fox 1967, Frankenberg 1957, 1966, Mewett 1986, Strathern 1981, Williams 1956). It is neither locationally static, nor does it cover an annual cycle, and kinship plays no central role in it. Far from being an ethnography of the "involuntarily localized 'other'" (Appadurai 1988: 16), it is a study of a dis/located community of feeling (Williams 1973) made up of people who -- returning to the Lake District for years, even decades some of them -- demonstrate not only affective affiliation to a non-quotidian locale, but also to the fluid form of this social field (Turner 1974, Turner and Turner 1978). It also about access, the inclusions and exclusions of 'community', specifically temporally-bounded communities of walkers. Although conceived of in quite different registers, access to the landscape, political access, and access to community, individually and jointly articulate a politics of access.

In this re-siting of the 'field' of fieldwork, the feeling of "local distinctiveness [obtainable through] indigenous perception of the locality" (Cohen 1982: 1) which is of such importance to British social anthropology, is turned on its head. For what I deal with is the distinctiveness of this upland locality as it is perceived and experienced by temporary and mostly urban incomers. That this sort of community and locality does not have the 'purity' of a typical fieldsite or object of study speaks to assumptions about the discipline and its practice, the conventions of which are ever more under interrogation (Gupta and Ferguson

1997). This study is not only part of an emergent trend towards multi-sited ethnography, but given its broadly based ethno-historical framing, it is also part of a move to locate such work within an interdisciplinary sphere (Marcus 1995).

#### Research populations and research methods

The *General Household Survey* of 1990 revealed that 20.1 million people in Britain rate walking as their main outdoor activity. Although this encompasses much variation in meaning -- from taking the dog for a walk over the local park of a Sunday afternoon, to taking day-long walks or a week of walking -- in the course of an interview at the London offices of the Ramblers' Association (RA), this figure was presented as indicating to what extent RA activities (such as maintaining footpaths and pushing for access) affects a far greater percentage of the population than the RA membership of some 185,000. Commercially-organized recreational walking outfits advertise in membership-organization magazines, commercial magazines catering to walkers, on maps such as "Britain for Walkers" which is published by the British Tourist Authority, in monthly newspapers published by separate national parks, through local Tourist Authority bureaus and on web sites. These sources cater to the people who purchase over three million walking holidays in Britain each year. A combination of longevity and early retirement is fueling an ever-expanding market for such leisure activity.

I gathered addresses of walking holiday organizations from a variety of printed and electronic sources and made my bookings from among the many brochures I was sent, choosing of necessity from among the lowest-priced holidays. The cost per week was between £225 and £308 (\$360 and \$493). I received brochures where the same Lake District walks cost between £600 and £800 (\$960 and \$1280). Meals, accommodation and size of groups as advertised were quite different in those cases. They reflect one aspect of the commoditization of walking. What follows therefore is drawn from a limited segment of the walking holiday market.

Historical research conducted for this and my previous work in the Lake District (Darby 1988) led me to want to understand the role walking holidays and clubs have in creating social networks and a sense of community. Given the historical intensity of class antagonism in relation to dispossession from and access to the landscape, I also wanted to see whether walking groups cross-cut class. Interest in attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about environmentally responsible politics and decline of the environment stemmed from research I had undertaken on regional and local implementation of agri-environmental European Union policy.<sup>1</sup> I thought it might be possible to catch sight of the issues from the ground up. In the course of fieldwork, issues of group dynamics, gender and race became additionally foregrounded.

The core study population consisted of about 120 people with whom I walked some 400 miles in one, two and three week stretches in the Lake District over the course of 1995, 1996 and 1997. None of these people lived in the Lake District. With the exception of six holidaymakers from Western Europe, all the people I walked with were British, and virtually all of them were English. We were on walking holidays run by national organizations such as Countrywide Holidays Association (CHA) and the Ramblers' Association (RA), and privately-run walking outfits. As stated at the beginning of this Chapter, these walking holidays were at the lower end of the price range.

Each group walked together for a week, returning in the evenings to a fixed locale for common evening activities in most cases. The houses stayed in varied from large Victorian piles situated on their own grounds outside villages, to a Swiss-style lodge built in a relatively inaccessible valley by a walking organization in the 1930s at the height of the hiking 'craze', to an early 20th century house overlooking Buttermere with wonderful views of the Lake through its enormous plate glass windows, to a converted barn. The weeks started on Saturday afternoons; a mid-week 'day off' was when walkers went shopping,

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the West European Regional Research Program for the Fulbright Fellowship that supported this work in the Netherlands, France and England in 1992.

visited tourist sites, took their own walks, or just rested. At the CHA houses, two or three groups operated simultaneously. Each group, of around 12-25 people, walked at a different level of difficulty (4-6 miles a day with 500-800' of ascent, 7-9/2000-2500', or 10-14/2500-3000+'). People were free to move between groups, but few did so.

To help lessen observational and quantitative biases a comparison was undertaken by walking with Holiday Fellowship from their Dovedale, Peak District house, and with locally-based walking clubs at Coventry, Oxford, Colwyn Bay (North Wales), and Kendal (in the Lake District). Like CHA, HF offers three different level walks each day, and shared evening activities. The comparison population also numbered around 120 people. I complemented participant-observation with a questionnaire survey of both populations (see the Appendix). I gave the questionnaire to 110 people: 50 were completed by people in the core population, and 52 in the comparison population. Given the length of the questionnaire -- some 56 questions -- the 97% response rate speaks to the interest walkers had in being an object of study.

There were no young families and few people under 35 years of age in either population (12% of the core and 3.8% of the comparison). The average age of the core population was 43 and there were slightly more males than females (52% to 48%). Retirees accounted for 20% of the group, of whom 2% were widowed. The average age of the comparison population was 52, and there were considerably more males than females (59.6% to 40.4%). A comment made to me on several occasions by men in the comparison population was that their wives could no longer do the kind of walking they had done when younger and so only came on some of the shorter walks or the weekend trips. Retirees accounted for 61.5% of this population and 13.5% of this population were widowed. Putting single, separated, divorced and widowed into category 'A', and partnered and married into category 'B' showed that both populations had a large minority of people in category 'A' -- 44% of the core and 35% of the comparison population.

A crosstabs comparison of professional, managerial, academic, white collar, blue collar and manual worker distribution between the two populations, showed no statistically significant difference between them. Household income was where an interesting disparity between the populations emerged, not in what it actually was -- that could not really be determined -- but that the missing response rate for this question jumped from 8% for the core to 23.1% for the comparison population. Regardless of how the distribution and return of questionnaires was organized within the groups forming the comparison population, this was the one question that was avoided -- in some groups almost completely.

There were seven income categories. While 45% of the core population income responses came into the £20-35,000 (\$32,000-56,000) category, the average for that population was £17,100 (\$27,360). The average of the income data received for the comparison population was £12,627 (\$20,280). The lower four categories were quite similar between the two populations, with the exception of a three-fold increase for the comparison population in the £5-9,000 (\$8-14,400) category. The comparison population suddenly 'blanked out' in the upper three categories. When the variable of gender was applied to income data what appeared was an average of £17,500 (\$28,000) for male and £16,700 (\$26,720) for female members of the core population; and £14,500 (\$23,200) for male and £10,750 (\$17,200) for female members of the comparison population.

Analysis of responses received showed that variations in income had no impact on what was spent on walking gear "this year" or "on average": 60% spent under £250 (\$400), 20% spent between £251-500 (\$4-800) and 5% over \$500 (\$800) but that older people spent less. The core population spent more on purchasing walking gear and walking holidays than the comparison population. White collar workers and older walkers participated more frequently in walks taken in England under the direction of a leader or guide. The frequency went down as income went up, until retirement was factored in. There is an acknowledged 'courtesy bias' in opinion polls. Perhaps indicating an unacknowledged 'macho bias', there was a correlation between the easier level of walking (such as strolling along a bridle path)

and white collar workers and women; and a correlation between difficult level walks (such as scrambling up steep mountain slopes" and men.

The questionnaire ended with a series of twenty-seven statements that operated on a five point response system: 1 = strongly agree, to 5= strongly disagree. A multivariate regression was run on the data using age, income, gender, marital status and occupation as explanatory variables. I was most interested in responses to three clusters of questions distributed amongst them. The first cluster focused on attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about environmentally responsible politics. Women were in greater agreement with the statements that the environment should receive certain priority over other issues; white collar workers were in disagreement with those statements. Since 60% of white collar workers were women, their socio-economic location can be posited as an over-riding determinant of their responses. There was no difference in response between the core and comparison populations.

In the cluster of statements that focused on there having been a decline in the environment, white collar workers were in disagreement with those statements. There was no significant difference by any other variable. Again, there was no statistically significant difference in response between the core and comparison populations. In the cluster of statements that focused on walking and personal fulfillment there was a significant correlation between age and scores, indicating that older people found more fulfillment in their engagement with walking. The core population, with its 74% employment/self-employment rate, found less personal fulfillment in walking as did people in managerial and academic occupational categories .

### Pasts and presents

As a reiterated performative act, fell-walking creates personal pasts that are 'located' both in time and place. These multiple pasts relate individuals through experiences and memories which are recited to new sets of people, intertwining people with place and

forging links that cut across urban/rural, north/south and economic markers of social 'emplacement' (in all of its meanings). For some of its practitioners, fell-walking's linking process also connects them to historical pasts such as those examined in chapters one through three. Poetry, literature or art associated with particular places in the Lake District form another layer of re-citation and re-sighting of the view. For some, organized and organizing groups of walkers resonates quite directly with the history of the struggle for access examined in chapters four and five. For yet others, that struggle for access is freighted with contemporary social issues of race and gender, topics explored later in this and the following chapter. For them, insistence upon and experience of access to the landscape and the mountains is simultaneously a kind of cognitive mapping and a strategy of resistance.

Few of the core population were on their first walking trip in the Lake District. Although I had some familiarity with the Lake District from previous work in the Hartsop Valley, I was a novice at this organized approach to fell walking. Most people in the core population were not. Some had been reconvening in the Lake District year after year to walk together, although since they lived in different parts of Britain, they did not see one another outside of the Lake District. Others arranged over the years not only walking holidays together in the Lake District, but walking trips elsewhere too -- although again not meeting up outside of the walking setting. Others, introduced to fell walking in the Lake District as children or youngsters, had kept returning, eventually choosing to retire there -- a very literal re-siting of themselves in 'the view'. These few people appeared in my 'comparison population' which included a locally-based walking club in the Lake District. Some of the Lake District core population had been taking walking holidays alone with CHA so often over the years that they had come to know others doing the same thing, and so unexpectedly met up on these week-long walks. Within these varying parameters, most people were 'returnees'.

My own 'returnee' status cannot be exempt from examination (Hastrup 1987). Being born and brought up in England yet having lived in America for many years meant that my

undertaking field work in the north of England blurred the hierarchical separation of field site and home. I occupied an uncomfortable inside-outsider position: I realized that at some inchoate level, the English landscape has remained the 'home-land' while England as a social entity is now for me a 'foreign' country. The paradox was not lost on me: I was supposedly undertaking a 'detached viewing' of those whose involvement with the landscape I was trying to understand, but I was certainly no fly on the wall. My own reactions to people and place entered into the group dynamics -- to a lesser or greater extent, depending upon particular circumstances.

While it might be structurally satisfying only to separate out individual topics for examination, the experience is that they were all tangled together. I have tried to bring some order to my material by both presenting a discrete week's 'tangle' in and of itself, and gathering-up the same strand from different weeks and presenting it under its own rubric. But before doing either, I first want to frame the walking group as a rite of secular pilgrimage.

### Secular pilgrimage

Without turning the notion of secular pilgrimage into a Procrustean bed into which any and everything *will* be made to fit, I do want to suggest that the patterns and processes, and the symbolics of walking create a secular parallel to pilgrimage. In particular, the density of the walking routes and walkers in the Lake District, its peripherality, multitudinous viewing points and density of popular routes construct a secular version of the shrines and way stations in networks of intersecting pilgrimage routes that lead to topographically-focused peripherally-sited pilgrimage centers (Turner 1974). Walking groups can then be seen as a spatialized actualization of the threefold classification of rituals of separation, transition and incorporation that bring the individual into the group and govern the movements of people and groups on the land (Van Gennep 1960). Locally-based walking groups bring the added dimension of dealing with movement across life-times, a topic that will be returned to later in this chapter.

The kinds of ritual that Van Gennep addressed have been considered "incompatible with the structure of modern urban life" (Gluckman 1962: 36-37 ) due to fragmentation of roles and activities, segregation of conflicts between roles, and the absence of belief that "specialized ceremonies ...will mystically affect the well-being of the initiands" (Gluckman 1962: 37). Walking groups allow for a breaching of what is for some an urban-generated isolation, at the same time that it functions as a withdrawal from the world. Within the rural setting of a group of individuals walking together for a week or more, and their escape from the urban. "solitude and society cease to be antithetical" (Turner 1974: 203). Walk leaders spoke of the help and support that the group gives to the lonely and emotionally needy, and the help that is generated through reestablishing a physical grounding in self. Various walk leaders who also had experience in locally-based walking clubs expressed the opinion that loneliness was the driving force behind many people's involvement in walking holidays and clubs. As Mark, the chairman of a large locally-based walking club, who also leads for a national walking holiday outfit, put it. "the physical exertion of walking and being in relation to nature helps people come out of their personal problems -- the experience of a week's walking can function as a spiritual renewal". This was summed up by a young man in his 30s who quite evidently to all of us was one of life's wounded.<sup>2</sup> In response to a survey question that asked whether "you read novels and poetry by authors associated with the areas you walk in", he wrote in the additional comments section:

I have ...a particular interest in Wordsworth; I often slip into his poetry while doing other tasks. I think his poems have a quality of healing: he understands anxiety and finds ways of soothing the mind. I like him for presenting Nature as a mysterious creative power to which we can attune our psyches.

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<sup>2</sup> Without going into details, suffice it to say that I found this young man deeply distressing. He was so obviously on the edge of life. Terribly upset, I in turn had to be reassured by someone else in the group that this man *was* at least temporarily located within a group of people that broke the isolation that he obviously lived in. I could not help seeing him in terms of *beyond* those boundaries. I watched with gratitude the great kindness with which Geoff, our leader that week, dealt with him.

In this sense the walking group can be the site of the magico-religious element of existing "in a special situation for a certain length of time ...between two worlds" (Van Gennep 1960: 18) -- although in this case the special situation is not between 'two worlds', but is the movement into a space beyond the ordinary daily structure. This is experienced as restorative of 'the person', of what is damaged under the 'technological imperative' of the ever-quickening pace of urban living. Like pilgrimage, walking can be an experience of the process of healing and renewal -- and this is dealing with walking not in terms of a formalized system of walking mediation which is a more recognizable ritual. Any phase in Van Gennep's classification can be more or less emphasized in any given ritual. Taking the walk-week as a 'ritual', the transitional phase is the extended liminal period in which *communitas* can be experienced. This the threshold state in which, if the ritual is collective in character, participants "experience...a spontaneously generated relationship between leveled and equal ...human beings, stripped of structural attributes" (Turner 1974:202).

Turner's construct of *communitas* is derived from his pilgrimage data. He defines *communitas* as anti-structure although "social structure is *not* eliminated, rather it is radically simplified: generic rather than particularistic relationships are stressed" (Turner 1974: 196). *Communitas* is cosmopolitan in character as opposed to being based on local particularisms, and is experienced as "a timeless condition, an eternal now" (Turner 1974: 238) in which one day replicates another and repetition transmits social bonds. *Communitas* is not constructed as a collectivity in opposition to another group, nor is Turner concerned with "spontaneous behavioral expressions of *communitas* ...such as an English pub [or] ..a group of passengers at play on an ocean voyage" (Turner 1974: 242). If religious pilgrimage sits at one end of the spectrum of *communitas* and English pub life at the other, perhaps walking-groups can be seen to occupy a mid-point that carries reflections of both. In societies

where this is little or no structural provision for liminality, the social need for escape from or abandonment of structural commitments seeks cultural expression in ways that are not explicitly religious, though they may become heavily ritualized.

(Turner 1974: 260)

As earlier chapters showed, and Chapters 4 and 5 in particular, access to the landscape and walkers clubs were cultural expressions and mobile symbolic practices of resistance to work-discipline. That is the thrust of the last two epigraphs at the head of this chapter. The notion of *communitas* reinforces viewing the walking group as a form of secularized pilgrimage. As on entering upon a religious pilgrimage there is a required loss of status based upon occupation or knowledge; the walk leader's occupation and knowledge renders him (or occasionally, her) exceptional and authoritative. Participants are leveled through the drastic change in activity and organization of time and space that center on a different set of daily rituals. As with pilgrimage, it is the activity itself -- the dropping away of familiar expectations -- that creates the structure of the group, and the potential for a new structure of feeling. The meeting of physical challenges with others leads to a sense of comradeship. Making up for loss of status and power is the symbolic empowerment of the group's arrival 'at the top'. It is the journeying that consolidates community, both synchronically and diachronically.

Particular routes lead to key objects to be seen from specific vantage points. Sighting of those key objects or views is obtained by voluntarily submitting to the discipline of physical exertion. This can be posited as the counterpart to the sacred objects or symbols which

operate culturally as mnemonics ... about values, and cultural axioms, whereby a society's deep knowledge is transmitted from one generation to another [and which are often presented] ... in the setting of "a place that is not a place, and a time that is not a time" (as the Welsh folklorist and sociologist Alwyn Rees once described for me the context of Celtic bardic utterance).

(Turner 1974: 239)

Those formerly poetically-scripted sacred elements in the landscape are now re-cited and re-sited in a secular milieu. Yet it is one that still resonates to the sacred: as Jane put it, "Walking also has a spiritual side for me. I feel uplifted by standing on top of a mountain -- similar to listening to Bach. Everyday niggles seem so much less important". Another woman said she experienced the space and relative solitude of the mountains as "a time of emotional and spiritual renewal".

In a literal reflection of the sacred, one evening as a small group of us were taking the lakeside footpath to the pub, we were stopped in our tracks by the setting sun. The mountains and their perfect reflections in the still water of Buttermere were tinged a fiery golden-orange. We sat down on the grassy banks of the lake and, in silence, 'in a place that was no place, and a time that was no time' watched a progression of colors so intense that I at least occasionally blinked to make sure I was registering them properly. These ephemeral minutes remained lodged in the brain to be vividly recalled by Waite Smith's journal description of rowing on Buttermere:

...we noticed that the sun was going down and setting the mountains on fire, so we hurriedly set off and pulled into the centre of the lake. There we rested and watched the most wonderful sunset I have ever seen. Starting at gold, the light gradually changed to orange, red, purple and then died away into a luminous sort of grey. It was the sort of evening to give you an 'overcome' sort of feeling.  
(Smith 1922 n.p.)<sup>3</sup>

It was that "'overcome' sort of feeling" that lay behind Eric's saying, "I'm not religious, but..." and then expressing how humbled he felt on the mountain tops. Others voiced such impressions, speaking of their sense of belonging to something much larger than their own individualities, while yet others wrote of it in additional comments on their questionnaires.

Generally when a group arrived at the top and even after people had caught their breaths, there would be almost no conversation as people took in the extraordinary views. What conversation there might be was often a verbal mapping of the mountains, ridges or lakes spread out below us. This recitation of place names served to orient people, not just literally to the points of the compass, but, it seemed, to also bring the immensity of the

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<sup>3</sup> This is remarkably similar to a description by Herbert Spencer of a reflected sunset on the Sound of Mull in Scotland that he witnessed in 1861, and the effect it produced upon him:

On the evening in question the gorgeous colours of clouds and sky, splendid enough even by themselves to be long remembered, were reflected from the surface of the Sound, at the same time that both of its sides, along with the mountains of Mull, were lighted up by the setting Sun. ...The exaltation of feeling produced was unparalleled in my experience; and never since has pleasurable emotion risen in me to the same intensity.

(Spencer 1904 (II): 78)

landscape back under some kind of control. Then photographs would be taken. Sometimes one or another person would go sit by themselves, but generally the group stayed together in companionable silence.

Nevertheless, walking groups provide opportunities for the experience of *communitas*. in a "temporal-spatial frame [that] marks off the special kind of reality" (Milner 1955 cited in Douglas 1966:78-79) However, experienced from below, *communitas* is structured from above. Institutionalization subverts *communitas* back into the structure of the market place. It is because of this that outward marks of rank are not entirely eroded. Differences in clothing, the experience of past walks taken in more or less expensive and exotic locations, and expressions of cultural capital prevent the ideal state of *communitas* being achieved in this secular pilgrimage. However, something approximating to its levelling mechanisms and the spontaneous arrival of comradeship can be experienced in the walking group because there too, as in pilgrimage, "an important component of the liminal situation is ... an enhanced stress on nature at the expense of culture" (Turner 1974:252). Walking the same territory over many years creates episodic memory, a re-experiencing in the mind of that which is literally a memory embodied through movement. This leads to a sense of recognition and attachment to place, a sense of located identity if not local identity.

### Clothing the image

Clothing was a medium through which a lack of harmony was expressed. Ritual displays of hi-tech clothing signalled the literal and metaphoric investment some walkers made in image-led market economics. Ritual displays of no-tech clothing signalled resistance to capitalism's commoditization of this leisure activity. Clothing also becomes the locus of memory, associated with past walking trips and weather conditions withstood. Clothing is a serious issue. It can capture the "moral divide" between fell-walkers and locals (Chapman 1993), and it can make the difference in saving lives. Given the sudden and fairly extreme variability of weather conditions in the Lake District, death through hypothermia is a

year round risk. It is not entirely unusual to go in an hour or two from being completely sweaty to putting on a 200-Polartec jacket or woolen sweater with a waterproof over it to cut the wind, as well as to don hat, scarf, and gloves, and to clamber into waterproof trousers for their warmth and wind-protection. Conversely, it is not entirely unusual to start out on a very crisp May morning through a light dusting of snow, and be walking in a short-sleeved top within a couple of hours. Some walkers attribute the drop in hypothermia related deaths to the phenomenal increase in the use of hi-tech, light-weight, waterproof outerwear and the heat retaining properties of Polartec even when wet.

The symbolic significance of these material objects, their status distinctions and the 'posturing' they engender is what offends some walkers. As Paula said to me, "walking clothes have become casual fashion -- walking boots that look like walking boots that wouldn't do the job. Its a sign of wealth to have clothes that are for leisure". Others, while appreciating their particular attributes, deplore the 'color pollution' created by their sometimes brilliant hues. A cartoon which catches some of these attitudes shows two frowning, angry members of the Keswick Mountain Rescue Team, kitted-up in hi-tech jackets in a blinding snowstorm. Pointing back up the mountain to two snow-obscured outlines of people, one rescue team member says to the other, "They refuse to be rescued because our Gore-Tex jackets clash with theirs".

Responses the questionnaire survey about hi-tech clothing showed that women disapproved of such clothing more than men. Some walkers resist co-option into this segment of the walking market with a sometimes overt and vocalized defiance, and continue to wear old and patched trousers and jackets or torn woollies. Marion put it this way: "I went to an exhibition of outdoor wear and I heard two chaps say 'And we haven't even tapped the walking market yet.' And I thought 'Well you are not tapping me!' And I immediately put up a block." But boots are the exception: almost everyone wears 'proper' walking boots of one type or another.

Boots are the object of much ritualized attention: cleaning off mud and digging out the treads takes place soon after returning from a day's walk, then the boots are placed in a heated 'boot room' to dry out. If leather, then sometime before going to bed, when the boots have dried off, they are rubbed with mink oil, boot polish or whatever waterproofing or polish is favored. Last minute oiling or buffing of leather boots takes place in the morning. There is a definite pride in the way leather boots are polished to look like new chestnuts. A lot of this boot mystique is confined to men, some of whom spoke of their boot polishing skills having been learnt in the army. This in turn was the source of much joking. Walkers' magazines are full of articles evaluating boots which are put through several hundred miles of testing by the articles' authors. The peculiarities of British feet are the topic of a two-page advertisement by Karrimor. A full page color photograph of a blistered heel catches the eye. Headed in inch-high print, "Most boots come in continental sizes. The rub is, British feet don't", the copy reads in part:

At Karrimor we have identified a problem with the walking boots worn by most British people. They don't fit. That's because the accurate fittings we enjoy as children allow our feet to spread naturally. So we British tend to have wider feet than our European counterparts. Unfortunately, the vast majority of walking boot manufacturers are out of step, and make their boots in narrow, continental sizes. We've shunned this narrow-mindedness and made our new Gold Standard K-SBs... wider. Specifically for British feet.

(Country Walking 1996: 38-9)<sup>4</sup>

Its tongue-in-cheek anti-European humor reinforces British 'natural' superiority. Olive, a retired nurse who does volunteer work in Rumanian orphanages, talking about walking solo in Europe said how recreational walking was viewed there as a "peculiarly English tradition".

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<sup>4</sup> Of interest here is the different tone between the tongue-in-cheek quality of this British hi-tech clothing ad and their American counterparts such as the full page advertisement for the Equinox sports store in Manhattan. Though with more overall space available, its major text runs:

go on.  
be a hero.  
gear up.  
superior equipment.  
technically-correct apparel.  
expert advice.

(New York Times 1996: 28)

### A window on the past

One thing that has changed in the course of engaging in this tradition is the level of comfort looked for in accommodation. In the affluent 1980s, the rather spartan accommodation available at CHA-owned centers in the Lake District and around Britain became less desirable, and bookings began to drop. In a move that managed to maintain the impression of continuity while eliminating confusion with the Co-operative movement and its chain of Co-op shops, the organization changed its name from Co-operative Holidays Association to Countrywide Holidays Association. The shift from the old-fashioned working-class self-help image of the 'Co-op' to the more expansive ring of 'Countrywide' was a commercially-loaded linguistic turn that reflected the 'middle-classing' of England.

By the time I was conducting fieldwork in the mid-1990s, CHA was an organization in the throes of major transition. According to one center's activities manager, it was a transition that would have to be accomplished if the organization was to stay in business at all. CHA had been forced to consolidate its assets by selling a number of its centers. It continued to close-down others during my period of fieldwork. Correspondingly, it was engaged in upgrading those centers it retained since fewer people than in the past were prepared to share bathrooms and toilets located down hallways, or find that they were competing with fifty or sixty others in the use of one coin-operated public telephone.

As I began fieldwork in 1995, CHA also instituted a new titled functionary at its centers, that of activities manager. Such managers lead walks and live at the centers either year-round or for the summer season. They have oversight of the volunteer walk leaders and hosts and hostesses who organize evening activities and also lead walks. This professionalization of walk leaders has been accompanied by the addition of substantially more strenuous grades of walks in order to appeal to a more vigorous and demanding segment of the market, which in large part corresponds with a younger segment of the market. So now CHA runs some weeks of 16 mile days and up to 5000' of ascent each day.

CHA was also at the beginning of reorganizing its marketing strategy. In 1998, its rather dowdy two-tone flyers and pamphlets were replaced by folio-sized full-color glossy brochures, that also advertised a CHA web page. At the same time, CHA entered into partnerships with for-profit holiday organizations and broadened its scope of specialty holidays that combine walking with tutoring in a range of hobbies such as landscape painting. Also, holidays for the 21-35 age group, family week holidays, and special deals for single-parent families were highlighted. These departures from past practice reflected the changing tastes and social realities of the late 20th century -- a far cry from CHA's 19th-century roots in 'cold water Christianity'.

My first week of organized walking was undertaken from CHA's 33-bedroomed Swiss-style guest lodge situated deep in the Borrowdale Valley, which commanded spectacular views. This first week revealed the tensions generated within the organization by the conflict between continuity and change. What was taking place in the microcosm of the Countrywide Holidays Association was a reflection of issues playing out in the country at large -- 'countrywide' in another register.

The guests fell into two distinct categories: those who were booked on a week of led walks and evening activities, and those who were using the center, either for a week or less, from which to conduct their own walks. The first category was composed of mainly over 60 year olds who generally appeared to be not very fit. They took the gentle level walks. There was just one couple within this group who were younger and fitter and took the intermediate level walks that also took place that week. From the questionnaires it was apparent that people in this group fell into the lower and lowest income brackets (£10-15,000 -- \$16-24,000 and even under £5,000 --\$8,000). They were rather quiet and did not seem to talk a great deal amongst themselves. When everyone met on the opening Saturday afternoon to introduce themselves, my project generated comments (mystifying to me at the time) from people in this group such as, "are you from the taxman's office?" (the Internal Revenue Service).

There were only two people under twenty-five: Mary, the activities manager, and a friend of hers who had come for the week's walks in order to visit her. Neither of them participated in the evening activities which were under the direction of Douglas and Rosemary, the 'host' and 'hostess' for the week. They had been hosting for CHA for the past thirty-five years and had been CHA members prior to that. The evening activities involved quizzes, guessing games and spelling bees. There was no *ceiledh* (an evening of dancing) because, Douglas said, there were not enough people. The Celtic word '*ceiledh*' was the word I heard used at various walking centers in England.

The host and hostess provided a window through which CHA's past history of fellowship and religion could be glimpsed. At our first evening meal Douglas announced in very jolly tones that we were not to sit next to the same person for more than one meal because "everyone here is good company". He then proceeded to give a rather lengthy grace. As I looked around during grace I saw that some people seemed, like myself, to be taken aback by this. They were among those who were not booked into the led walks and evening activities.

Conversations with Douglas revealed his perceptions that the fostering of fellowship and community which had been the hallmarks of CHA in 'the old days' had been put aside by the inroads individualism had made in recent years. He told me that up until 1991 he had conducted Sunday evening services on 'his' weeks, and he deeply regretted the passing of that custom. He indicated that there had been a change in Head Office management and hence of policy.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of Douglas's attempts to maintain continuity with CHA's past, change had obviously taken place. He regretted that a lunch hamper was no longer carried on walks by the men in the party, and that at afternoon tea breaks on the walks, the hostess no longer cut

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<sup>5</sup> As I was to experience later, CHA walk leaders still do conduct short Sunday services for those who are interested, so there is certainly no 'ban' on them. I have no explanation for why this particular man felt he could no longer conduct services.

up a cake and handed it around -- something that had helped define the hostess' role in attending to the well-being of 'her' guests. These were customs which he felt had helped foster a sense of belonging to a group among the guests, as had the communal washing-up of dishes after the evening meal. (Perhaps it was in relation to this lost but still-remembered past that a notice was prominently posted at the entrance to the kitchen announcing that guests were not allowed to enter the area.) Douglas contrasted this to current practice whereby each person picked up their own individually bagged lunches and snacks in the morning and carried them themselves, eating them whenever they wanted.

One instance where change had not occurred was Douglas's maintaining of his rule that no-one was to walk in front of him.<sup>6</sup> Walking a step or two behind him, I listened to him voice his regret that the phenomenal growth of Evangelical churches in recent years had taken away the young people who otherwise would have been the new intake for CHA. Douglas's equating the evangelical movement's intake with CHA's lack of a 'replacement' generation was an indicator of his perceptions of what CHA stood for, or more accurately, what it had stood for in his youth. This lack of a younger replacement generation was spoken about by various people over different weeks. It was explained as coming from changes in family structure: that adolescents no longer want to be with their parents and so they are no longer introduced to walking as a family activity. Such thinking presumably lies behind CHA's current efforts to emphasize young people's weeks, young families' weeks, and the

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<sup>6</sup> Some male leaders did mind if members of their group walked out in front, but mostly if there were people who were slightly faster than the rest of the group, then they were told where they would have to wait up for the rest of the group. It was always made clear that the rest-break would begin from when the end of the party arrived, and that people were not to leave before the break was over -- that the group would start again *as* a group. Some walkers insisted on always walking up front with the leader and would resist anyone else 'taking their place'. At times this reached quite ludicrous proportions as people were actually jostled out of the way if it seemed they were taking over that space. When a group was pretty well matched for speed, leaders moved up and down the line -- but not Douglas. Leaders would walk at the back if someone was having trouble, but then they would have the front of the group wait up at a certain designated spot so everyone could catch up and 'regroup'.

introduction of extremely strenuous weeks that would appeal to those who otherwise would dismiss CHA as being for the 'oldsters'.

Those who were using the center as a base for their own walks did not mix with the larger group in the evenings. They were couples and solo walkers who knew the Lake District well. They were in the younger age brackets (36-45, 46-55), and in the higher, even highest income bracket (over £50,000 -- \$80,000). One couple that fell into this 'category' but were not fell-walkers were an Australian opal merchant and his wife. Bob, in his late 50s, had been born in India to English parents but educated in an English public school. Jackie, who was in her early 50s, had moved to Australia as a young girl. They had included the Lake District in their trip to England specifically to see what they called "Wordsworth's landscape". They had both been introduced to his poetry at school and felt that they could not possibly be on this "big trip" without seeing the actual mountains and valleys named by him in his poems. They toured the area by car, only occasionally joining the gentle walks.

Like Jackie and Bob, Ian and Pauline felt they had wandered into some kind of a time warp. A recently-retired business couple from the Midlands who were equipped with the relatively expensive walking gear of which they strongly approved "provided it was used for actual walking and not High Street posturing", they readily voiced exasperation with the anachronistic air that the host cast over the week. Douglas became a metaphor through which Ian could express what he felt was wrong with Britain as a whole. The same arguments were brought to bear on the dowdy nature of the CHA house, the host from a virtually vanished past, and the shambles that had been made of British industry: a generalized fear of change and a backward-looking approach to industry, commerce, and social policies, the absence of foresight and vision amongst the leadership, and lack of willingness to put money into upgrading infrastructure in a timely fashion.

A strong component of CHA's ethos has been assisting those who are unable to otherwise afford holidays: subsidized and free holidays are funded through donations that are solicited during each CHA week. Discrepancies between the 'haves' and 'have nots' were

clearly evident in this week, publicly in clothing, language, and demeanor, and privately through information on the questionnaire. No other CHA week I experienced had anything approaching this concentration of low-income guests. This led me to think that I had booked into a week that had more-or-less been set aside for assisted and/or invited guests. This would explain the 'silence' of not openly voicing preferences or dislikes to the 'management' but welcoming changes resulting from others' voicing their preferences. It might also be an explanation for the initial suspicion with which my project was met -- that I might find out something that would jeopardize someone's entitlement to a free or assisted holiday.

Out on a walk, this 'silence' was broken by Barbara, a single woman in her early 50s, a clerical worker at a hospital. She confided how "patronizing" she found the host and how the way he "pushed religion" greatly offended her. Framing it very precisely in her knowledge of CHA's early history, Barbara put it that "they see us as working-class people who need educating". Though she was happy to be able to let off steam about this and manifestations of the host's authority over the group, she took extreme care that no-one could possibly overhear what she was saying. Barbara's highly conspiratorial air and obvious fear of being overheard seemed to indicate that she thought that were she to be overheard, she might be precluded from returning. Had she been a paying guest like myself, or like those not on the group being 'hosted' in the evenings by Douglas and Rosemary, she could have voiced her complaints with impunity. As it was, she used class as a social description of hierarchy in which she ranked her own identity and self-class/ification vis-à-vis Douglas and the organization. It was also through the category of class that she made sense of the collective memory of CHA.

Most of the guests on the led-walking party were in their late 60s to early 70s. They had been coming to CHA for decades. For them, the customs whose passing Douglas lamented had been part of the CHA they had known as young people. They much appreciated the hosted evenings organized by Douglas and Rosemary around the games that they had collected over the years. The gentle walks and familiar games provided traces of their

individually-remembered pasts and gave the impression of belonging again. Unlike Barbara, at least at the level of voicing, most of the guests 'knew their place' in the social order as it operated in this particular field -- this tail end of the CHA-that-was.

### Groups within groups

The organized circuits of a week's walks, rather like the organized Picturesque viewing stations, create a common space and time among the group and provide a modality of access among people who do not know each other. As procedures are reiterated each day (filling of vacuum flasks, packing of lunches, polishing of boots, assembling in front of the house, sizing up the weather, puffing up hills, admiring the views, and so on) an assemblage of reciprocal relationships between the individuals brings about 'the group'. This particular 'here and now', so hugely at variance with regular daily life, becomes superimposed upon individualities. Shared biographical details are exchanges that progressively initiate some overarching sense of a collective. At the same time, there are constantly shifting cross-currents of subtle and not-so-subtle categories of inclusion and exclusion. *Communitas* and contestation co-exist; one does not preclude the other's emergence. Certainly, any notions I might have harbored about an unproblematic, 'feel-good' community of walkers, were laid to rest.

An activity that evolved both in the evenings and out on the walks in the first week at Buttermere was the swapping of Latin phrases and declensions in a display of friendly one-up-manship! Everyone's long-ago educational backgrounds suddenly were brought to the fore as this 'activity' divided those who knew Latin from those who did not. Below the level of consciousness, knowledge functioned as a sort of social orientation or act of classification (Bourdieu 1984) while in the phenomenological world, internalized mental structure was made manifest. The 'Latinists' (who included the walk leader and whose ages ranged from mid-20s to mid-60s) seemed quite oblivious of their unspoken class assumption that

everyone would, like them, have taken Latin at school. They did not hear the silence it imposed upon a small segment of the group.

That it was a small segment was in turn a marker of the relative homogeneity of the group. Belonging is the experience of culture (Cohen 1982) and those who were not 'cultured' in this particular way did not 'belong' to the group for that display of cultural capital. The 'uncultured' ended up walking by themselves as 'others', only merging back into the whole as the 'game' petered out.

Cutting across this and any other configuration that the group experienced, was the way in which the group coalesced through Martin, a retired dentist in his late 50s, an unmarried, self-made millionaire as he described himself. Running as a sub-theme throughout the week was the 'social drama' (Turner 1974) he initiated. Under the intensity of close living, people's traits and weaknesses are quickly exposed. Martin swiftly and relentlessly zeroed-in on them which led to some fairly tense exchanges. When late in the week I was able to ask Martin why he did this, his response was by his stirring things up people were coming together.. Egoism flecked with altruism?<sup>7</sup>

If this was phase one of the social drama, as the week progressed we moved into phase two, "a phase of mounting *crisis*" (Turner 1974:38). One can "just note the encounters and watch the occasional fireworks, but it is likely that there will come a point when the fireworks started exploding round you" (MacDonald 1987: 121). Knowing that I had introduced myself as an anthropologist, Martin, linking anthropology's early history with fascism and eugenics, spoke of the chaos of today's "tribal Africa" as proof that Blacks were innately of inferior intelligence to Whites, and that this was caused by their different genetic make-up. I tried to counter this, only to be met with comments such as, "I'm not going to believe that I've got the same DNA as the jungle bunnies". Soon after, when we were all

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<sup>7</sup> These constituted the first phase of the drama, the "*breach* of regular, norm-governed social relations [by an individual who] always acts, or believes he acts on behalf of other parties, whether they are aware of it or not" (Turner 1974:38). It is this altruistic quality that differentiates between a symbolic breach or a crime, the latter always being marked by some element of egoism (Turner 1974).

quietly eating our sandwiches and enjoying the view, Martin said that surely as an anthropologist I should be "eating meat and chewing bones with the natives". Scratching his armpit and making grunting sounds he then said, "Shouldn't we be going uh, uh, uh, for you?" In a voice that even my own ears picked up as steely with anger, I shot back, "Oh, but you are in your own way!" There was dead silence for a few seconds, then someone sitting behind Martin winked at me. I was momentarily an insider. The fireworks display thus erupting around me seemed to touch two 'buttons' in the group: disgust at the deeply offensive content of what Martin said, and my status as a visiting 'American'. Several people in the group made it clear that as a 'guest' in England, moreover one who was specifically interested in walkers, they were anxious that I should not leave with the impression that Martin was either representative of 'Brits' or walkers.

After this incident Martin's verbal harassment of me ceased and we started having conversations. I think I became the only person he actually talked *with* rather than *at*. What Martin brought into focus for me by having invoked the archetypal anthropological 'field' was the *whereness/awareness* of the geographical location of my fieldwork and the anxieties that 'real' fieldwork takes place 'somewhere else', not 'here'.

The more culturally exotic and geostrategically embattled parts [of the world] thus become proper "anthropological" field sites whereas Western Europe... is a less appropriate "field", as the many Europeanists who struggle to find jobs in anthropology departments can attest.

(Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 12)

Fieldwork is anthropology's founding methodology for studying what were (erroneously or not) conceived of as 'small scale societies'. It is claimed to be anthropology's distinctive marker that serves to mark out and 'police' disciplinary boundaries (Gupta and Ferguson 1997), although recent work suggests that fieldwork/ethnography may not be the exclusive trade mark of the anthropologist (Bell 1994). Disciplinary insecurity about traditional fieldwork has been engendered by questioning the construction of the ethnographic text (Clifford and Marcus 1986), practices of power in the field (Crapanzano 1980), the

assumptions lying behind the naturalized 'purity' of field sites (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) and the fact that

the landscapes of group identity -- the ethnoscapas -- around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically self-conscious, or culturally homogeneous.

(Appadurai 1991: 191)

Within the landscape of walking group identity, the social drama playing out around Martin arrived at the third phase: "*redressive action*" (Turner 1974:39) on the last evening when after a week of getting under everyone's skins, antagonism towards Martin was articulated literally and through contravening certain drinking 'rituals'. This was all played-out amongst the men, the women were simply onlookers. As the whole group assembled to go to the pub a mile and a half away, Martin was told by one of the men he had been baiting that he would have to buy the first round for everyone -- that that was the cost of his coming along. Then, though it was all done with a smile, the men proceeded to humiliate him with a few well chosen home truths. The atmosphere became very tense and hugely awkward. A little later, well tanked-up with gin and tonics, "not that rubbishy beer you lot are drinking," Martin returned the humiliation in kind, pointing out to the walk leader that, contrary to general custom in more "up-market" walking outfits, there had been no 'whip-round' to buy the week's leader a gift. It was the men's turn to feel embarrassed.

From then on Martin was ignored. He appeared hurt and upset, not understanding why he had been picked on. Turning to me he explained that at University, the thing had been "to try to wind someone up 'til they broke, 'til the 'red mist' descended and they got angry -- then you'd won". It seemed to me that one lesson he had not learnt at University was that it was a game obviously best undertaken with like-minded players. From what he had told me of his (to my mind lonely) scramble up the economic ladder, 'winning' was the point of his game in whatever field of endeavor it was played. As it had been Martin versus the group, it seemed to have been Martin versus the economic world.

A more sustained form of contestation arose the following week at Buttermere as the result of a clearly defined sub-group existing within the larger group. The sub-group were described to me as "head-bangers" -- in other words, colloquially-speaking they were considered crazy. They were a group of about a dozen fiercely fit people, most of them men in their 30s, who met up for the same week each year at this place. Their object was to cover the most ground in the least possible time. The head-bangers had become great friends with the manager, I was told. He always led them and made it 'their' week -- regardless of who else came. Enquiries made to the manager and the current week's leader, quickly established that I was not welcome to try being with the next week's group. I was told that I would be on my own. To be the object of exclusion in this way brought the otherwise academic notion of a dominant sub-group into rather clear and immediate focus.

The head-bangers took over the largest table at both breakfast and supper, saving places for each other so that regardless of when they arrived, they would all be able to sit together; with rare exceptions they talked only with each other in the sitting room after supper, and they went off to the pub as a group. The strangeness of being so overtly disconnected from the main group was mitigated by the presence of a friend who came up to 'rescue' me. Since I only saw people at breakfast, supper and during the evenings, my roommate Elizabeth functioned as my source of information. She found the head-banger's pace grueling but just about manageable. Before falling into a pre-supper deep sleep upon her return from each day's walk, Elizabeth would fill me in on the explosive dynamics that were developing between the head-bangers and some of the other guests who were less able than she to adjust to the pace.

People who could not keep up with the head-bangers were unceremoniously dumped: either the group would get up and move off from a tea break immediately the slowest person finally managed to catch up with them or, in one instance, by being literally left behind after being told to "bugger off" and to stop trying to be part of 'their' group. Acid-laced banter in the evenings made it plain who was not welcome on the walks. My roommate supplied the

details. As the week wore on, those who were 'acceptable' to the head-bangers ceased to complain about the divisiveness of the situation and began to voice a similar line of 'if they can't keep up, they shouldn't be here' as they recounted the physical 'challenges' of the day. Yet these people still did not sit with the 'dominant sub-group' at mealtimes.

The head-bangers' organizer, and one of their few women 'members', was Jean, who at 53 was also the oldest. She kept in training for this one week by getting up, year-round, at 5 a.m. to do an hour of step aerobics and a second hour of swimming or squash. Jean acknowledged how fiercely competitive she was saying that when out on ordinary walks with her husband, "if I see someone up ahead I start walking quickly to overtake them. I can't bear someone being in front of me". For many of the walkers in the core population, what was regenerative about a week of walking was the way uncertainty and doubt were transformed into achievement. The head-bangers had little or no uncertainty or doubt about their abilities. Rather, they seemed to gain a sense of power through their mastery of the landscape.

One evening Robert, a social worker from Manchester who part of the head-bangers' group, described walkers in fixed class terms saying, "Walking has always been for me a working class activity, but I think it's become middle class really. I think it was definitely related, from a Marxist point of view, with the alienation of the means of production." Somewhat startled, I committed his words to memory thinking how glad I was that I had not had much to drink. He elaborated this thought with references to E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams, the enclosure movement and the industrial revolution. He finished by saying that to his way of thinking, walking was a way of symbolically reclaiming the land.

The only genuinely working-class person on that week's walks was George, a Londoner in his early 70s, a printer by trade but now retired. Not a head-banger, George went out with that group on each day's walk and, I was told, managed to keep up with them. From the questionnaire he completed I learnt that he jogged and took part in competition marathon walking. George was very quiet and kept himself to himself. In the evenings he would sit

reading a book in the midst of other people talking around him. Though friendly, he was difficult to draw out. But one evening he exchanged words with me for a few minutes about his early walking days. He said that as a youth he could not afford to come to the Lake District very often, but on the occasions when he could he would come up by train and then walk each day, spending the nights at different Youth Hostels spaced a day apart. His face and eyes became animated as he spoke of how much he had loved doing that, being out in the wide open, seeing the views from the tops. Then, like a door closing, he went back into his book.

In a final ritual of farewell for the last evening (and finally faring well as it turned out), Jean organized a meal at a fairly expensive restaurant in Cockermouth (Wordsworth's birthplace), a half hour or more's drive away. There was no meal served at the guest house that night. This meant that the people who had been the particular objects of the head-bangers' exclusion and who opted not to join in the 'communal' meal, had to make their own alternative arrangements. But rather than being a meal shared by all the rest before reintegration into 'normal' life, the meal made manifest the divisions within the collectivity. The head-bangers ate not only at their own table at the restaurant, but in a separate and inner room. Those who had been able to keep up with them were treated as honorary head-bangers and invited to join them. Laughter from those who were "high, inside and central by virtue of [their] very exclusions" (Stallybrass and White 1986: 22-23) reached the ears of the low, marginalized and outside group.

### Claiming place

Having observed gendered competitiveness, is specifically sought to walk with a group organized just for women. Scanning web pages for the Lake District, my eye was caught by a walking outfit that carried what I recognized as the name of a Norse goddess. It was a walking holiday outfit for women. Unlike the fracture lines created by a particular person or 'sub-group', walking with women for a week -- primarily lesbians -- was made

memorable by its peaceful sanity, the exquisite garden that we sometimes ate in, the superb cooking, the small size of the group (6 plus the leader). The internal workings of the group seemed less fraught, the cross-cutting elements of inclusion and exclusion less strident.

In a complex self-imposed modality of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion I noticed that whereas in front of other members of the group, my room-mate Sarah spoke of taking holidays and so on with her "companion", in the privacy of our room she spoke of her "husband". I asked why this shift in terminology. It turned out that even after coming on this walking holiday on three or four previous occasions, she felt uncomfortable making herself known as a heterosexual, and spoke with a flash of anger about "not all heterosexual relationships involve women being dominated!" In order to be included, as she saw it, Sarah had to silence a key ingredient of her own identity. Here was reverse 'closeting' in face of the real or imagined pressures of a group of lesbians.

From conversations and notices on the bulletin board, and from our own walks which were by no means confined to popular routes or even definitive pathways at all, it became apparent that there was another mapping of the Lake District (and indeed the rest of the country). It was different from that of the CHA, the head-bangers and all walkers I had met thus far. Walking outfits that cater primarily to lesbians form an overlay of an unseen series of pathways connecting lesbian-run bed and breakfast places, guest-houses, tea-rooms, restaurants and pubs. This hidden mapping of difference re-sites women in the practice of walking otherwise dominated by men as participants and leaders. and helps construct a community of landscape-located memory that privileges those who are usually silenced.

### Landscapes of non-identity

The absence of ethnic minorities was discussed in structured interviews and informal conversations with representatives of Friends of the Lake District, Ramblers' Association, Holiday Fellowship and Countrywide Holidays as well as with local club representatives. Each organization referred to a national level program instituted by the Ramblers'

Association in the early 1990s called "Let's Get Going" that built upon the Countryside Commission's "Operation Gateway" experiment (Blunden and Curry 1988). Implicit in the imagery of opening a gateway is of course the presence of earlier gatekeepers. There were no Black (Caribbean or Asian) Britons in the study population. Apart from one Black rock climber, and a young Asian couple I passed who were walking alone, the only Blacks and Asians I saw were school parties -- some rock climbing in the Peak District, some in a big summer camp-site in the Lake District.

RA's project "Let's Get Going" was specifically designed to bring into the countryside people "who don't have a tradition of walking" (Gunningham 1996). It had not yielded the wished-for results, in part because "Asian women in particular do not go out without their menfolk, and if they are wearing saris, it makes it very difficult climbing over stiles". Another RA project called "Family Rambling Days" had yielded better results. Its short 2-4 mile walks were meant to attract as new members families with young children. "I've seen more Black and Asian non-members on these walks over the last nine years, but it's still a very small proportion of a small group. But there is an increase" (Gunningham 1996).

I asked fellow walkers if there were Blacks in their home walking clubs, and what they made of the fact that there were none on 'our' week, nor were we meeting any in the course of our walks except for those in school parties. After regretful acknowledgments that there were no ethnic minorities in their home clubs, the RA campaigns would be referred to. As for their particular absence in the Lake District, a number of people explained it in terms of it not being a place that held "their" history. In following-up on this sort of response I found this to mean one of two things: Blacks had no 'history' of walking in the English countryside because they had not been 'brought up to it', and/or Blacks had no associational history with the countryside vis-a-vis early settlement, battles, literature, art, and agriculture. Blacks were 'seen to be' urban.

Landscape was experienced by some people as a bastion of 'Englishness'. For them, it functioned as a temporary refuge not only from social and economic changes, but also from the demographic reality of urban-England. A kind of patriotism crept in to people's responses when asked if they had ever gone walking abroad. Don, a retired man in his late 60s who was active in his local RA club and worked closely with the local county council's footpath officer, had never gone walking abroad. He said, "I wouldn't give a quarter-inch of England for an acre of anywhere else, I really wouldn't". Here was a flash of the ideological potency examined in Chapter 3, that exists when landscape is linked with nature, native, and nation. It indicates how nation/alism mediated through cultural forms of engagement with landscape gives rise to a particular form of belonging to something greater -- the group or the country -- in both of its meanings.

When Wordsworth termed the Lake District "a sort of national property", the question "whose nation?" was framed in terms of class. That was what Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were about, in part. Today race glosses class, and the question "whose nation?" carries a wider set of meanings that deal with ethnic and racial exclusions (Gilroy 1987). The issue of "whose nation?" is marked in stark visual and written terms by Ingrid Pollard, a Black artist. Pollard's captions to her holiday photographs (hand tinted to recall old postcards or watercolors) show herself and other Blacks in the English landscape. There visual-verbal content deal with power and powerlessness, appropriation and (im?)possible reappropriation. Referencing back to Wordsworth's "I wandered lonely as a cloud/.../When all at once I saw a crowd,/A host, of golden daffodils," one photograph caption reads:

...it's as if the black experience is only lived within an urban environment.  
I thought I liked the LAKE DISTRICT, where I wandered lonely as a Black  
face in a sea of white. A visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a  
feeling of unease, dread...

(Pollard 1984 cited in Kinsman 1995: 301)

Other of Pollard's captions contain ironic references to the poetry of William Blake. Her self-referential work is projected as an articulation of the "collective experience of black people in Britain" (Kinsman 1995: 306). Whether such totalization is warranted I do not

know, but the fact that I do not know -- in other words the fact that there were no Blacks in my study population from whom I might have gathered a different perspective -- only goes to support the view that Pollard's experience can be generalized.<sup>8</sup> However, landscapes can also be ethnically re-interpreted and re/claimed:

A day's pony trekking for Muslim girls in the Brecon Beacons "reminded everyone of Kashmir and Mirpur where they used to live. The small villages, the streams, the green fields ...sometimes it leaves you lost: you feel just like you're home.

(Coster 1991 cited in Daniels 1993: 7)

### Silences and privileging

Secular or sacred, mundane issues soon become apparent in extended walking. In hot weather it is easier for men to strip off to a comfortable level of undress than it is for women (even in a women's group). Rest stops, or 'bracken breaks', take on particular importance in hot weather when one needs to stay well hydrated and so drinks quite a bit. If in an area with stands of dense bracken, then there is no problem. But the same area in a different season affords no bracken cover. Women are at a distinct disadvantage.<sup>9</sup> In a virtually symbolic action of separation and boundary making (Douglas 1970), even though screened from the men in their own group, whichever side of a wall or rocky outcropping women are directed to they are in full sight of anyone else coming up or down the fell.

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<sup>8</sup>In an extraordinary appropriation of Pollard, one presumes an oversight, Urry quotes her captions, writes of her photographs but gives no citation to Pollard as their author (Urry 1995:205). It is only because I had become familiar with Pollard's work through a number of other articles by British cultural geographers, that I was able to deduce whose work Urry was drawing upon.

<sup>9</sup> A woman friend back in New York who had done some wilderness trekking had shown me a plastic device that (apparently) enables a woman to easily and discreetly urinate standing up. This funnel contraption had been developed for use in pristine wilderness areas where everything you take in, including your bodily wastes, you also take out. The other part of this 'piece of equipment' were the plastic bags into which the funnel would deposit your urine. I had declined her offer to bring it with me -- even minus the bags. I described this device to the women on one of the walks, where it caused enormous hilarity, necessitating the call for another bracken break.

A woman in one of the groups unexpectedly started menstruating and needed frequent stops. Too embarrassed to explain any of this to the leader (a man), different women in the group called for bracken breaks whenever she needed one. By the end of the week, the men were saying that they had never walked with such a bunch of weak-bladdered women before. They never knew otherwise. It prompted other women to say that they used birth control pills for the weeks prior to coming away in order to avoid having to deal with the issue. The avoidance and silence surrounding menstruation is maintained even in Eric Langmuir's compendious Mountaincraft and Leadership (1995), referred to as "the mountain leaders' 'Bible'" by a walker who was himself undergoing leadership training. While going into great detail about the different caloric needs of male and female youths (15-18) and adults (19-50), how those needs vary under different weather conditions, and how mental and physical stamina differ between the age groups, there is nothing about the different needs that might be generated as the result of menstruation. (There was nothing about people over 50 either!)

The male-derived yardstick of ability, endurance and speed is another 'mismeasurement of man' (*sic*). Women in mixed groups, even where they are the majority, are still somehow the 'minority': they do not set the pace, they settle to the back of the group while the men 'naturally' gravitate to the front to accompany the leader, checking the route with him and so on. (Even when passed by couples walking alone, that is not in any organized group, it was always the man who was leading the way and doing the map reading.) This unspoken and competitive edge (men as map readers, decision makers, leaders) was why some women in the mixed groups spoke of liking to walk only with women. Here they meant a locally-based cluster of women. Such a group was "more relaxed" and had a "less competitive atmosphere" in which one could develop confidence in one's abilities. Working against these women going on organized walking holidays run only for women, was their perception that such holidays were 'really' meant for lesbians.

Social rituals can carry gendered significance which are 'invisible' to the outsider until made opaque through their transgression. Buying drinks for a small group of people, one of

whom was male, I asked what people wanted. One of the women asked for a half pint of a locally-brewed beer. Everyone else said they would have the same. I therefore ordered that number of half-pints, at which point the lone male got very uncomfortable and embarrassed and offered to pay the difference between a half and a full pint. Half pints and masculinity did not go together. Alerted by this incident I observed that not only did most men drink pints, but even when having drunk six or seven pints, they began to order halves, they would carefully pour the half pints into previously used pint glasses. Since halves for women are served in differently shaped glasses (curved profiles instead of men's straight sided glasses), it is not even that a man's glass could be mistaken for a woman's. The symbolic enactment of difference does indeed exist in the least action (Douglas 1970).

### Retiring men

A number of men were met with, as fellow walkers and leaders, who under the impact of England's economic restructuring had been pushed into early retirement in their mid-to-late 50s. Despite being generally well-pensioned and reasonably financially secure, many -- though not all -- were bitter about early retirement. Though expressing anxiety about inflation in relation to pensions, most spoke of personal rather than financial needs to work. All of them were left seeking activities for their unstructured time. Where walking had been a recreational activity; it was now being pursued as an avocation and as an avenue for restructuring not only time, but self-image. Michael, a former air traffic control supervisor, put it this way: "I'd been in a very stressful job, and when I retired, it went from that to deciding whether I should have a raspberry yogurt or a plain yogurt! So I thought it was time to begin this leadership thing." Others who had taken up group leading upon retirement had led walks for organizations such as CHA as young men -- organizations they had been introduced to as children through their parents' involvement with walking.

Marion, one of the few female walk leaders I met, said that in her experience these retired men find it very difficult to adapt to a leisure situation: "They still want to manage

and they've got very set ideas -- they're not flexible at all, and you have the devil's own job sometimes to persuade them to do something out of the norm. They've got this little tunnel and 'this is my program, I only walk these walks, I only do this for entertainment for the evening, and I will only, that's my path.' And if you suggest, 'Well how about if we did this?' they're all concerned because they've never done it before. And it's always men."

Managerial skills were not only being brought into national walking holiday organizations but local level walking clubs. Through the clubs they often intersected with local politics in terms of access and planning issues -- inherently contentious arenas. Stan, an early retiree and ardent member of his local walking club, had organized local opposition to a proposed major housing project in former protected countryside; Nigel, a retired Chief Executive Officer of a London Borough Council, was leading a fight against the proposed countryside siting of a hypermarket that would both wipe out local high street shops, alter the local landscape and vastly increase automobile and truck traffic in the surrounding area. He said that people such as himself, the ex-insiders with knowledge of the 'rules of the game', were "the gamekeepers turned poachers".

Some men were building a bridge into walk leading prior to retirement, leading the occasional walk on an ad hoc basis when scheduled leaders got sick. Some just stumbled into the role. Robin, an off-shore oil rig worker, had been on a walking holiday in Spain where "the leader was awful," with the result that the group of fourteen people "had really bonded". The next year most of them met up in Britain for a walking holiday together. They enjoyed it so much that they continued to meet up two or three times a year. Since Robin was the most experienced walker amongst them, he led the walks. Enjoying that experience, had began a mountain walk leadership training program and planned to lead professionally after retirement.

### Social *movement* and *social* movement

While acknowledging that *communitas* and contention can co-exist, I have suggested that walking groups can be framed as sites of secular pilgrimage in which *communitas* may be experienced. Here I examine that idea within the extended time dimension of locally-based walking clubs where people walk together over the course of several years or even larger spans of life-times. I wish to see whether walking clubs become a mediated space in which the structured hierarchical world is temporarily but repeatedly sloughed-off, and an experiential community of more egalitarian feeling entered into.

From this perspective, week-long walking groups and locally-based walking clubs throughout Britain may be posited as multiple and shifting points in a less visible network that maps out not only the 'why' but the 'how' of a social movement that is both non-political yet has the capacity to initiate policy reform. Certainly, some particular groupings within the walking movement do "publicize the existence of some basic dilemmas of complex societies" (Melucci 1989: 222). Considering walking as a social movement does not conform to traditional social movement theory which explains the origins of a movement through the existence of social grievances (Klandermans, Kriesi and Tarrow 1988, Melucci 1989), as say with Chartism. Rather, it fits more with the theorizing of new social movements that are seen as marked by all or some of the following: a struggle over access to information, participation in 'the movement' as a goal in and of itself, participation being merged into everyday life, and awareness of environmental issues (Melucci 1989).

Viewed at this broadest level, walking as a social movement includes within itself the public and the private, the metaphysical as well as the practical realities of life. It encompasses self-regenerating national level organizations as well as, as I will discuss below, a naturally diminishing group of women and men who walk together and admit of no new members. In this social *movement* that is also a *social* movement, actors enter a field in which they produce meaning, negotiate life crises, and structure individual and group identities. Through walkers' local, regional and national level organizations, public space is

created in which communication and debate takes place over issues such as access and planning. At the same time walking groups create private spaces (either of an ephemeral or perduring nature) in which interpersonal relationships 'take place'.

What follows is drawn from observations of one of the most informally organized local club I walked with. Originally started in the early 1980s as part of the local council's adult education scheme, called "Focus", the walking club was for retired people. At the time that meant that members were women over 60 and men over 65. Under changing patterns of employment brought about by downsizing, men and women in their 50s began to join the club. As it expanded, the younger retirees began to dominate, wanting to walk faster and further all the time. The leader of the club announced that he was leaving the council organization under which the club operated, and was forming an independent club for older retirees. The "Out of Focus" club as its members then named themselves, has operated as a closed group ever since. It has some twenty members left. Sonia, a retired English teacher, explained, "No-one new can join. It's like family really -- if one of us is ill and confined to bed, then others will do the shopping, or if there's a crisis, you know that there'll be people rallying round." There had been three deaths in the group that year (1996). The members intend walking together "until the end," Sonia said, until no-one is left.

Members who had no cars were picked up by members who had, and at an arranged meeting spot people shifted around into as few cars as possible to drive out to the beginning of that day's walk. (Riders pay 5p/8.5¢ a mile to the day's driver.) As we were switching around between cars, one woman enquired numerous times where missing of the group were. Rose did not seem able to absorb that they had gone on a day trip to Dublin. People simply responded to her afresh each time with what the facts of the matter were.

Rather delightfully, we stopped for coffee and cakes *before* the walk began! In the tea room, Rose, the woman who had enquired as to the whereabouts of the rest of the group started gathering menus, having forgotten that she had already been given two or three (from her previous requests). Each time she was patiently dealt with, her odd behavior gently

ignored. At some point she told me that I should write my impressions down because one's memory is not as good as one thinks it is: "it's not that one forgets -- one remembers very clearly, but then it's very distant for a while and then it's just gone". She is quite right.

All now in their 70s, the "Out of Focus" group kept up a steady pace, even on those sections which though not severe, were uphill. I was told a 'group history' story that combined issues of nation/native/nature with the element of bardic utterance. On a walk one day when the weather turned foul, the group was going up the edge of a very steep field after a cloudburst so the path was literally running with mud. They went off the path and up along the edge of the crop. A farmer appeared and said, "And what exactly do you think you are doing? English, I suppose, and you've come from London. Can't you see the path? It's clearly enough marked and you're walking onto my land." One of the Out of Focus members who was not only Welsh but also a miner's daughter and Welsh speaking, came forward and explained, in Welsh, who they were. The farmer, Sonia said, "became like butter in her hand then, and we said, "Thank God for Lena!"

As we walked along it became apparent that like any family, they had had to learn to deal with each other's foibles. Indeed, that was the main reason they did not want any new members. They felt they were too old to start dealing with a new person's "quirks" -- they had spent so long learning to deal with each others. Kathleen related that in the group's history there was only one occasion when personality issues had reached a point where someone was almost asked to leave. After a few years of difficulties caused by one woman, "the menfolk finally put their foot down" and told that woman to pull herself together. She left the group only upon moving out of the area after her husband's death. Usually when someone's spouse dies, others in the group -- retired accountants, solicitors and realtors -- help deal with the bureaucratic aftermath.

One man's verbosity was another woman's bane, and occasionally the air got a bit strained. But other people would draw the man off, engaging him in conversation -- or rather listening to him. It was explained to me that David had lost his wife the previous year and

was not yet "able to cope". The only point when his bravura dropped was when, at the end of day he told Sonia he would not be able to pick her up the next week because he was going alone to Bruges: "It's my first journey alone you know -- we'll see how it goes".

Focusing my camera to take a photograph of the Out of Focus group as they were focused on the views at our lunchtime break, was like momentarily entering a hall of mirrors! These were people who through the medium of walking had formed their spirit of *communitas* by which they were also traversing the unknown territory of aging.

### Conclusion

Shorn of daily routine, set generally amongst people with whom there is no prior connection, the uncharted space of a week's walking encompasses both contention and something approaching *communitas*. Under the less intense conditions of locally-based walking clubs, a supportive network can grow that functions to structure social life and through that, an inner sense of 'belonging'. Here is *communitas* shorn of its pilgrimagic framing and inserted into everyday life. In both study populations, taking income as an indicator of class (by which I mean the status distinctions or cultural capital accrued through education, professional training and so on which translates into economic capital), the walking group provides a space that cross-cuts class. A randomly selected core population group showed a variation from the over £50,000 category (\$80,000) to the £5-10,000 category (\$8-16,000). A randomly selected comparison population group -- that is, a locally-based walking group -- showed income varying from the £35-50,000 category (\$56-80,000) to under £5,000 (\$8,000).

While fell-walking in organized groups can function as a temporary refuge from the loneliness and isolation of not having anyone to go on holiday *with*, local walking clubs help structure time year round, with their mid-week and weekend walks. They mark the now desacralized ritual calendar with walking trips at Easter and Christmas, and social events such as annual general meetings are timed to coincide with and are presented as doubling for

Harvest Suppers. Outfits such as CHA and HF also provide Easter, Christmas and New Year 'breaks'. People's experience showed that this spatialized organization of time and membership in a local walking group became especially important in facing life after divorce, bereavement or serious illness as Angela, a retired secretary, said, "in part because people don't have their families nearby -- children move away, so this does take the place". This motif of the group replacing the family was summed-up by the RA's Associate Director of Membership:

I sometimes think that walking has taken the place of church. The walking group, generally of around forty people, has become the congregation, the extended family - people find it very supportive.

(Gunningham 1996)

On the fell-walking weeks, sweating up steep hillsides, facing fear or unease negotiating a way up or down rock scrambles or scree, delighting in having succeeded, doing mile after mile in the heat or the pelting rain, receiving or lending a hand, waiting-up for a straggler or being that straggler and having someone wait-up for you -- all this and more is part of a process of "travelling together by primitive means" (see Olwig at this chapter's heading). Arriving 'at the top', there is a shared sense of accomplishment. These are moments when walking groups seem to come closest to *communitas*, to a feeling of "egalitarian brotherhood" -- though no one would dream of expressing it that way, particularly the women.

Shared experiences and sharing past experiences in which people present themselves in terms of walks taken, ascents made, weather conditions experienced, and people met, and dealing with the difficulties of the day adds multiple layers to past and present landscape-located memory. Everyone has the same mud splashed over them or is similarly bathed in sweat. Yet within this multi-faceted body-located commonality, differences of opinion and temperament have an uncannily fast way of making themselves known. Under these combined circumstances social boundaries thin out, get crossed (temporarily or otherwise), or remain confirmed in their impenetrability as multiple markers of social differentiation are on close-up view. Language, accent, clothing, eating habits, understanding which jokes can

be told at table or in what company -- all these and more are the site-lines by which people take silent and unseen bearings on class.

It is within this fluid social field that a *sense* of community is constructed which gives an additional layer of meaning to life -- be that life the 'life' of the temporally bounded group or the individual's life within or beyond that group. During one week, whenever we came to a cairn marking the top of mountain or ridge, or indicating the direction of an otherwise unidentifiable pathway, Sonia would always stoop down, pick up a stone, and add it to the cairn. I asked her why she did this. She said it was in memory of all the people who had walked that way before. This act of remembrance resonates to a Mexican Chalma pilgrimage practice. It is believed that erstwhile pilgrims are turned into stones. Since they will only regain human form when they finally arrive at their original destination, pilgrims are beholden to kick a few stones along in the direction of the shrine (Turner 1974).

While fell-walking was experienced as 'being away from it all' ( 'it' being the seemingly unrelenting stress of urban life), it was also experienced as holding the possibility of connecting to something larger, something beyond the mundanely personal. Although different people put it differently, a phrase that tended to occur in conversations about *why* one engaged in fell-walking, was that the effort of getting up into the mountains and seeing the panoramic views brought "a different perspective" or "a sense of proportion" to personal problems or worries. This was meant quite metaphorically. But I think it has a literal component. I have already referred to another way people responded to having made the effort and their responses to the views as being variations upon "I'm not religious but...". Where these conscious and subconscious responses converge is in the word 'immanence', the quality or state of being immanent which is defined thus:

IMMANENT: Late Latin *immanent*, *immanens* the present participle of *immanere* to remain in place, from Latin *in* + *manere* to remain, to dwell -- more at Mansion.

(Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary)

The etymology of 'immanent' is redolent with scriptural and psalmic overtones: "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John 14:1), and "I shall dwell in the house of the

Lord for ever" (Psalm 23: 6) are the first that spring to mind. Here is dwelling, indwelling, being in the world, being 'placed' differently: being re-placed, re-connected in and to one's self, in and to the visible world of Nature and through that to the invisible world of the "mysterious creative power" that we can only apprehend, never comprehend.

In other words a sense of belonging is gained by a particular "rite which allows one to cross the limen or invisible boundary" (see Olwig, this chapter heading). In this instance, that rite is of course just plain slogging up the fell-sides to the tops of the mountains. Beyond simply registering a pounding heart and aching leg muscles, a new relation to self and surrounding briefly exists, in which one can feel part of -- not separated from. The limen is the threshold. It is through organic impressions that one crosses the threshold, finds oneself opened to a different view. For all its being devoid of people, the view mysteriously includes self -- though not the self of personal anxieties or aspirations.

As the Prologue made clear, views come inflected with all sorts of weather conditions. This is what de Louthembourg's *eidophusikon* strove to replicate. His theater without actors was only about six feet wide and had no stage apron the better to focus the eye on the imagistic view. The withdrawal of the framing element helped eliminate 'distancing' between viewer and view. Up on the tops, there is the total absence of a frame of reference. The panoramic views shared with just a few fellow sight-seers are almost overwhelming. Self is a diminished center point for the dizzying rush of impression. The optical illusionism of the *eidophusikon* is reversed: rather than the view being made to appear larger, it is oneself that is reduced in size. The fundamentally empty and vast space of the theater of landscape reduces us, the actors-as-audience to our true level of unscripted insignificance. Scale, permanence and impermanence are re-sited beyond our grasp, but within the view.

## CHAPTER NINE

### PARTICULAR POINTS OF VIEW

When I was about fifteen I got on to Wordsworth ... and the next time I went to the Lakes...I realised that on the map it said "Green Head Gill" and it struck me like a thunderclap really, that this was the Green Head Gill which is the scene of "Michael". And then the whole thing struck me that I could actually go up there and look at that old sheepfold, and that of course he's writing about Helvellyn and I'd like to go up Helvellyn! He's writing about his boat on Ullswater -- I'd like to go and see! What were those mountains that worried him so much, and, therefore, I was then going up with the dual purpose -- I was following the steps of Wordsworth and his contemporaries. And that gave a great new dimension to my walking.

Sonia Ankers

Walking is still my first love, it's a whole spectrum of things that I enjoy about walking. ... It goes from meeting the people through the freedom. That's I think the main thing -- it's space and freedom, and, to start on a hill, and look around, three hundred and sixty degrees, and there isn't another thing in sight except hills and beauty. And I think that really it hurts, it really does hurt because it's so lovely, and for that moment it's mine. And, I don't share that with anyone, so it's a selfish point of view, really.

Marion Canning

When I'm walking on my own, or particularly when I'm back-packing or camping on my own, there's a very fine balance about what constitutes safety -- I mean as a woman -- because in general ... especially if its coming on to evening and I'm going to be looking for somewhere to camp, for me (*other walkers*) represent threat actually, you know, because if I'm camping on my own, I don't want them to know where I am and where I'm camping and it's a funny one isn't it. Because you know from another perspective other walkers represent safety if I've broken my leg ... but I'm terribly aware of the animal-like need for camouflage ... which is a gendered experience that relates to patriarchy and a culture of male domination, and women's fear of being attacked. Well that's all about access too isn't it.

Paula Day

## Introduction

Speaking *to* and speaking *for* is fieldwork's "double ventriloquism" (Appadurai 1988: 16-17). What follows is an attempt to lessen the ventriloquist's act by presenting the voices of three women with as little interference as possible so that they can literally and metaphorically 'speak for themselves'. It is a purposeful attempt to bring the margins the center. The three women are Sonia Ankers, born 1924 in Liverpool; Marion Canning, born 1938 in what was then the village of Castle Bromwich, Staffordshire; and Paula Day, born in 1954 in London. Sonia is a fellow-walker; Marion leads walks on a voluntary basis for a national walking holiday organization; and Paula runs her own women's walking holidays. Extended taped conversations with these three women yielded over two-hundred pages of tape transcripts. Rather obviously, choices have had to be as what to present, what to drop -- proof if it were needed that the ventriloquist is incapable of performing a disappearing act!

The central issue about which each woman speaks, recapitulates in terms of her own life a particular theme carried in an earlier chapter's exposition. This came about certainly not through any conscious forethought on my part but represents a fortuitous "conjuncture of style, sensibility, and mood between the ethnographer and the society he or she encounters" (Appadurai 1988:18). The 'theme' recapitulated by Sonia is the literary construction of the Lake District. Her early awareness of that constructed 'place' was instrumental in shaping her life-course. The glimpses provided by Sonia's half-century long membership in Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA) complements its organizational history presented in Chapter 5. Marion's organizing of a work-place walking club in the Midlands, and her deep involvement with leading walking groups all over the country, recapitulates the theme of 'repeopling' the landscape. Yet, as becomes apparent, this is not without its tension, its internal contradictions. Access is 'the' theme of this whole work. Paula, while recapitulating that theme, adds a gendered view to it. The walking holidays that Paula runs for women, primarily lesbians, brings into focus present-day issues of access and discrimination: to be

female, lesbian, Black, or urban *and* in the landscape, is to run into rejection, ridicule or resentment.

### Sonia Ankers

*Sonia lives in the seaside village of Rhos-on-Sea situated on Colwyn Bay, North Wales. She retired in 1980 from Penrhos College, a girls' boarding school there, where she had been Head of the English Department. All I knew at the time of my arrival at Rhos-on-Sea was that Sonia had walked in the Lake District for decades and had been a member of CHA since she was a young women. Within moments of starting the first of our taped conversations, the Lakeland poets were being 'placed' in the context of British culture and Sonia's life.*

When you're talking about relationship of people both intellectually and spiritually and secularly to the landscape, you're basically talking about music, art, and poetry. Understand? And, in the Lakes, at a certain time in history, you got a particularly unique combination, a kind of mini-Renaissance. Now, there have been many great nature poets in Britain, mostly young, and um -- that's quite a lot down south -- who are nature poets in that they are writing poems about birds, about animals, specifically about trees, and there isn't any what I would call philosophy behind it, it's just a delighted reaction in the beauty of blossoms in the spring, Housman's "Cherry blossoms", et cetera. And there are people who love that, and I think we all do up to a point, and they read their work, and they'd be delighted to go and see the places where they sat by the river and fed the nightingale or they walked through the grove of cedars or whatever, but the Lakeland poets were different in that they had a philosophy.

And their giant as it were, their Wordsworth, wasn't a nature poet in that sense at all - - though unfortunately in school everybody's taught "Daffodils" ("*I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud*") or "To a Celandine" or some such charming little poetic stuff, flowers and trees -- but he was undoubtedly pantheistic and his greatness lay in the "Prelude", no doubt about that, (*the rest of this sentence is spoken with great emphasis*) and in the intellectual caliber of

this meeting of some of the greatest writers this country has ever produced, so that you get the extraordinary phenomenon of a tiny cottage in a remote village in the mountains, owned by William Wordsworth, where his visitors are the crème de la crème of the literary world of the time.

Coleridge is not just the poet of the "Ancient Mariner," "Christabel" et cetera, he is a quite considerable nature poet, but he was also probably the greatest scholar I would say, all-round scholar, of the century. Coleridge, Hazlett, Shelley, these were all gathering at the house at one time or another; Cooper, a lesser poet ... Lowndes, Scott, meeting, talking, discussing life, philosophy, walking together out on the hills. It is an extraordinary coming together of talent which was not unnoticed by the literati of the times, so that by the time Wordsworth is an old man his reputation is already fixed, and from then on, you are getting the legend of the cottage as some sort of symbol of nature worship or whatever.

*Today* you are getting not only the English, Scottish, Irish ... you are getting people from all over the world, coming to his little cottage. Why? ... because Grassmere's a very pretty place, and the scenery's lovely, and you can buy some gingerbread, and you can look at the grave of the great Wordsworth, whose works you have not read, but you do know "Daffodils", and you can go home, bearing a badge with Wordsworth on it. But the intellectuals are not for that at all, but to go around the cottage and think how restricted the space in that cottage was, how simple the life, how hard physically, what a rotten life they all had materially -- what tragedy, what poverty -- a great deal of their lives, and what glory came out of it.

... From a practical point of view, Liverpool is very near the Lakes and my generation did not have cars, but the trains and buses were always good. And people would go for day excursions, always have, and holidays to the Lakes, and from an early age, the Lakes was one of our summer retreats....We were staying in a simple hotel, and we were walking. We were walking, we were not scaling the heights, but we were good walkers, and we would go round the Lakes, a lovely terrace kind of walk, I suppose you would say, a kind of 'C' walk, really,

(a reference to how CHA grades their walks), only perhaps longer in distance, but just enjoying it.

That is where I made the connection between Wordsworth and the landscape. I don't think that Wordsworth was in any way a romantic figure. I think he was an awkward cuss, but to think that the great man, great man intellectually, that I could follow in his footsteps, that up there -- it is true -- is the ruined sheepfold where the old chap had failed to complete it after his son had wrecked his career. And that Wordsworth had gone up there, and had seen the sheepfold! ... I found this, I suppose I found it incredibly romantic.

When I was perhaps twenty-one I found out that CHA ... is a good way to go on holiday if you are alone and you want to walk... And so I joined the CHA, and they're pretty hearty people, and they're clomping along up to the top, and clomping along back, not on the whole literary people. Well, we go on for a long time then, and I teach English, and ... -- you are not a good teacher of English literature if you can't act! Now my teaching is a highly dramatic thing (*she laughs*) and I taught through dramatic readings and sometimes acting the things out with the children, and, and then I was fortunate enough to have as an assistant a very brilliant woman. ... And we made a wonderful team because we approached things in a different way. I'm talking about the sixth form. And if we were teaching in the sixth form, for one thing, she had her favorite authors and poets and I did, so it gave -- you go to teach the things that you like most, if you don't like them to teach, you might as well not start in the first place, because the girls won't like it. And it widened what we could offer them from the set book range.

...And then I got a brilliant idea, because we had a new headmaster who was a mountain walker, he believed in, in, uh, canoeing, and absailing, and all the extra-curricular activity, you could imagine. ... And he very much wanted the staff not to be just teaching, but to be taking on activities. I don't just mean, a play-reading group, or discussion group or debating group, but something physical outside, because it was a boarding school. ...Well by this time I wasn't young, and I had never been any good at sport, and I wasn't likely to be

able to be in a canoe, or even take a rock-climbing course. Nevertheless I thought, well, I'm a good walker. I'm a very good walker, not of course now because I'm slow and older, but I was a very strong walker and I knew my mountains, and I got a brilliant idea.

So I said to Maureen, how would it be - we were studying Wordsworth for A-level, (*university entrance qualifying exams*) and part of the "Prelude" in with it -- if we had a weekend in the Lakes with our sixth form, and we combined ... going out in the mornings ... on a really decent climb there related to the poetry. We'll take them up Green Head Gill, up to Helen's Pike; we'll do Fairfield, or we'll go to Ullswater and we'll walk around. ... And we'll work out what Wordsworth could've been looking at there, and relate it, and then when we come in in the evening ...we'll have an evening meal, and then retire to the conference room and take that part of "Prelude". And the two of us would give a joint lesson, eh, I would read part, and I would interpret it, and then she would read part, and she would have, obviously, different ideas. In my opinion, those girls got some of the best lessons that anybody could ever have had because it was a combination of two minds that were very - we were very good teachers and we were expert at what we were teaching and those girls were lucky....And we did that for several years ... in the early 70s.

Now, while we're doing this, I always in the summer holidays had a fortnight at the CHA, and as I've been doing this over the years, I've got to know a lot of people. I don't mean as friends exactly, but I knew the leaders, and ... I knew some of the people who came every year. So, it was going home. After all, I knew the walks, I could take the walks and sometimes I did ... but it wasn't that, it was the friendship and it was the, the excitement of all being together again another year, and you can't tire of the things you do in the Lakes. (*Sonia laughs.*) I just never tire of them.

I came across CHA when I was twenty-one, which means I was still at university. ... I was beginning to get the feel of walking here, real walking. I cannot remember whether somebody told me, or I read about it, or I actually passed the place when I, probably on a holiday, and saw that it was a walking place. So the first time, I must have gone with great

trepidation ... I think the first time I went by bus, and I got off at the swamp (*the pub*). In those days, the principle of the CHA and the HF, and certainly the Youth Hostels, was to provide somewhere for -- I don't want to say working class people, quite -- but people who hadn't got a lot of money, and who lived in the towns, and who wanted the opportunity of spending a holiday exploring the countryside, and of course having, not in the case of Youth Hostels, but of CHA and HF (*Holiday Fellowship*), a program that was guided, because in those days there weren't Americans, Germans, or...other people coming. It was for people in the towns, the cheapest holiday.

It was very basic, but it was nothing to what it had been. ...When I went to CHA...the furniture was very simple. You had a bed and you had a bedroom chair, and you had a stick across the corner of the wall and a curtain on it, and that was a wardrobe. And you had a chest of drawers. You didn't have a bedside light, I think. And a bit of a carpet on the floor, and of course no wash-basins in the room. ...You had a breakfast, which is more or less what it is now, plunked down, and the evening meal was for quite a while very institutionalized ... a great bowl of soup put down, and a ladle, and everybody plunked out. And always boiled potatoes, always boiled potatoes till people began to make songs about what do we have for evening meal (*sings out in a loud voice:* ) Boiled potatoes, boiled potatoes! Cabbage, you can imagine. Eh, and, a slice of beef or a slice of some other meat, and of course traditionally in Grassmere, the rice pudding, which was always an alternative to some great heavy mucking piece of tart or some kind of trifle in a bowl where everybody's slopped out. And then you had entertainment which was usually of the jigging round, dancing, Scottish reels type, and then about quarter to ten, the host and hostess went to make a cup of tea and biscuits for the guests, and then they said, could somebody volunteer to wash up. That went on until very recently of course.

Also, there was a very strong Christian atmosphere ... with both groups (*CHA and HF*). It was the kind of thing, I think they had the ideal of the Englishmen that Thomas Arnold had at Rugby - you know, a sound mind and a sound body, and the body has lots of

cold showers and it doesn't think unclean sexual thoughts. And you go out (*here Sonia puts on a 'hearty' deep male voice*) and have a decent day on the hills, and you come in and you have a simple meal, and you've got your companionship, all very clean and upright and convivial. ... Hardly anybody at first thought of going down for a drink to the swamp (*the pub*). Because that's the whole point, you see. They never had a TV or anything like that, because that doesn't go for community - they wanted you in the evening to be in.

On a Sunday evening ... there was a service immediately after the meal, a kind of - from the Christian point of view -- interdenominational service, in other words, Bible reading, a few prayers, a few hymns, and there was always somebody playing the piano, and then there was the speech made for the appeal for the invited guests. And after that there were quiet games such as quizzes and paper games all day Sunday. Thursday was a concert, the guests you know got together and put on a show, and some of them were marvellous in their time. And the other days were as they are now pretty well....dancing, or a treasure hunt, or something like that. And at the end of the week you all gathered outside in the garden and you had a group photograph made, which was rather nice. I've only got one, because it was the same all the time (*Sonia laughs*).

There was every day, if you wished -- indeed it depends on the leader now -- prayers before breakfast in the lounge, and always grace, always at every meal. Until, oooh (*long pause*), ten years ago? There was this, this decidedly, it was a Christian...the founders of it were Christian. Fine if you weren't Christian, well that was fine because, I mean, you didn't have, certainly you didn't have to attend the services, and, I mean you can just sit through the grace, can't you? I've noticed that now how it's gone off, and, within the last, say the last six years, there have been leaders who haven't said grace or who haven't done anything at all, but there have been leaders who have said grace, and there have been leaders who have said for those who wish there will be morning prayers, and, and a little bit of a service after supper on a Sunday.

But the people who turn up for that are under ten, under ten in number, I would say, whereas in the past practically everyone went, of course. And that reflects the growing lack of religious belief in the country, of course. I think in many ways, walking (*long pause*) can be tied up with religion. There are so many hymns -- if you've been out for a walk on the mountains and then you come back and you sing, "All Things Bright and Beautiful", and you're having prayers for the, how lucky you are that you've had a holiday, and for the beauty of the mountains, the beauty of the hills, the beauty of the streams, for what we've seen today, the companionship on our walk - it lends itself doesn't it?

You know, Holiday Fellowship and the CHA, ... their song and hymn books have a lot of, not only hymns, but jolly songs, get-together songs that are about marching along the roads and the country ways. ... And now, of course it's very sad, but there are fewer and fewer young people who are coming with their parents as they did in the olden days, it's like people attend church, and therefore obviously go on to be parents who bring their children and that will ensure that the group, the organization goes on. So they've had to alter the course in the last few years. The diehards, the devoted CHA people such as myself are getting increasingly old and that's why they're now running a "C" party which is for those who are, have done every mountain and know them backwards like myself, and have been very strong walkers, and cannot walk them anymore but love the mountains and like to stay in the place and take part in all the activities, and go around to see them.

### Marion Canning

*Marion was one of three walk leaders taking an HF week that I was on. All such leading is done on a volunteer basis. In the evenings she and another of the leaders organized square dancing -- something they also do for clubs outside of HF. Marion also gave a pre-breakfast exercise class each day. Both in conversation and letters Marion stressed that her involvement with landscape went back to her mother who was born on a farm. There had been a few sheep, a herd of cows, some pigs and fowl as well as arable*

*land. Though her mother had left the farm, Marion grew up visiting grandparents and uncles who continued this mixed farming at the family place until the 1960s. Though the land has long-since been lost to development, the farmhouse still remains, with a preservation order upon it. Others of her uncles and their sons were all farmers, and so, as she put it in a letter to me, "my connections with the land 'run in the blood'".*

I have walked with a group I guess now for about 25, perhaps 30 years. I was always most keen on leading -- I wanted to lead before really I was capable of leading, and then I decided that I really ought to get something done, so I trained for mountain and compass work and gained all my certificates. And then ... I put a notice up in the place where I worked and said "I'm going for a walk on Sunday. If you'd like to join me, then do." And that has evolved now into quite a large rambling club that I organize and run. I'm the committee, the treasurer, the chairman, the whole lot, because I don't want to be affiliated to Ramblers', I don't want to have a committee because they always make problems. So I organize the whole program. And we are ... I think it's about 45, 50 members, which is quite a substantial club size. ... We meet always once a month and occasionally twice a month. This year it's our tenth anniversary, and so that's something I'm quite proud about.

And because of that I've organized a special ...walk, and it's called "Walk X"... And there are ten sections of ten miles distance, and each person who wanted to lead drew a month, and it started in February which is our starting month, and it finishes in November, and the person leading doesn't divulge the end of the walk until the day they meet. So they meet where they finish last time you see and then it goes on from there. And it will finish back where we started, at the old headquarters of the office. ...I'm thinking now that there are others coming in who may do it a little better than me, who can give it more time. ... But, that was the start of my leading, really serious leading.

It started when I used to work for the Central Electricity Generating Board...and when the CGBs decided to privatize, they went over to PowerGen and that's when I left ... but the

walking group had to keep going, so ... we had a competition (*for its name*) and 'Generators' won. It can be thought of in all sorts of ways -- you generate power you know, you generate happiness. The camaraderie there is fantastic! We've got a doctor in chemistry, and we've got a chap who packed in a warehouse. When we're walking, everyone's the same. One of the members recently described it as "my family." And I thought, that is a nice thing you know ... and I could believe that ... because this person's involved with everything we do .... She has accompanied me on some of our long distance walks. She always protests ... "Oh I'll never be able to do that, I shall keep you all waiting." And I realize that all she needs is, she wants you to say, "Come on, you can do this".

I've always enjoyed being in this country and travelling around this country. I like the villages and I like the open spaces, and I like the national parks. And so I, I just took it on from there, and because I became known as a leader then, you know word spreads very quickly, and then I became a guest leader for various groups and people would ring me and ask me to lead their walks which I did happily, and I do, or have done, a lot more, but occasionally I do some for the National Trust. We have a local center, quite a large center, seventeen hundred members, and I lead for their rambling group occasionally. I took it on for a couple of years, the whole thing, and enjoyed that.

And then I've led for various groups around, and only a couple of weeks ago I had a call from a lady in Malvern who's taking her walking group to the Quantocks and she asked if I would lead them down on the Quantocks. And I said, "Yes, happily, I can drive from here to there." And she said, "Oh no, I want it for three days." Right, fine. So she said, "I want two walks on the Quantocks and one on Exmoor itself." So I said, "Yes, that's fine, that's no problem at all. What's the average age of your group?" "Seventy-five," she said. And I said, "Oh, well, what kind of mileage are they thinking of?" And she said, "Oh, about ten miles a day". These are some very fit people, you know!

I kept being asked to lead more and more groups, and then this group that I, my own group, the 'Generators', they wanted to take a holiday with me leading. And I said, "Yes,

okay then", and I took them away on a week's holiday, and I led the whole time. When I got back I thought, oh, that wasn't bad, I quite enjoyed that really, I enjoyed showing them things and the camaraderie, and I thought, oh, that was great. So, I thought some more about HF then, and I applied to HF, and I went on the assessment, and that was quite rigorous, that put me through it.

They take you during the winter time, the winter months, and I had to go up to Coniston, in the Lake District, for a weekend, and they ask you to be there at five o'clock on a Friday afternoon. They don't want you there before, they don't want you there after. Five o'clock. Absolute chaos. We all arrived at five o'clock. But there were various leaders put, and if your name was Canning then you come into here with this leader. There's your room, there you are, we want you downstairs in ten minutes. And it was like that, that was the pace throughout the whole weekend.

Now at that time, I was fifty-three, and I was old compared with a lot of them. And we, that night we went out on the -- ten o'clock we went out on night leading, we sort of did a treasure hunt trail. We were sorting out routes for the next day; I didn't get to bed until two o'clock in the morning. They kept the pressure on. Sort out this! Do that! Make a time-table for tomorrow's walk. Pick out your highlights and write them all down. I was up at six o'clock then the next morning sorting this out, and you had to be downstairs on duty, you know.

And all the time they were sorting out your weaknesses and your strengths. All the time, it was weakness here, weakness there. God, I didn't realize I had so many weaknesses, you know. But I've got a few strengths I didn't know about as well. And all the time this is going on, you're being watched, not only by your own personal leader, but by the powers that be that are going around making little notes. And you realize, suddenly, it hit me like a bullet, I could fail. I had always considered myself to be a good leader. I never lost anyone, I could use a map and compass, I could get people out of trouble on top of a mountain,

whatever the weather conditions. I could do all of that, but he could fail me, because I made some silly mistake.

And on the Saturday, we had to -- a group of us, we were four in one group, and we were given a route which we had worked out the night before, and we then had to lead our leaders over this, and take it in turns leading. And we were going up onto Wetherlam near to Coniston and the chap who led in front of me, two chaps before me -- because there were three men and me -- the first one went wrong, and he got himself out of the trouble, but he was a bit surprised that no one had told him that it was going on. But that was the idea -- I mean you've got to get yourself out of this trouble, matey! Because I could go wrong and nobody's going to tell me about it. So, anyway, he got himself out of it.

But, because he'd done that, I think he'd unnerved the next chap, who took us up -- it was the most scary path I've ever walked, and I just felt out of control on it, and the weather was atrocious, it was coming down and hitting the rock face and freezing, so it was we were walking on ice. We hadn't got the proper crampons or anything. (*Crampons are metal 'teeth' that fit on boots; they dig into the ice providing some hold.*) And we were going up this path, and all this sleet, and I was scared out of my wits, I really was. It was terrible! And I froze at one point, and I thought, I am not going to tell anybody how scared stiff I am here. And I really had to take control and say to myself, "Right, get to the top then quick". Which I did. And when I got to the top I was like this (*she held her arms out, shaking*). I never before or since have been in that state, ever.

And when we got to the top ... my leader said, "Right, Marion, then you take over." And I said, "Well frankly, I would not have brought leaders or guests up here, up this rock, and I certainly in this weather condition would not take them any higher." And I said, "And I can't take over the leading at the moment, I'm not in a fit condition." "Why?" I said, "Well, because I was scared coming up that part, it really unnerved me, and the thought of bringing guests up there is just not on at all." So they said, "Well what would you do?" I said, "I'd take them down now." "Well, show me the route." So I said, "Down there! That's the most

obvious path straight down." So he said, "Well take us down, then." Oh! Okay, so I took them down, and I got to a point, and I said, "Well this is where I'd bring them to. From here it's quite, quite safe."

At that moment he fell to the ground and said, "I'm unconscious and breathing, deal with it." Oh, so I dealt with it -- I sent two off for an ambulance with the grid reference where we were, I got the others surrounding this chap and put him in the safe position and so on, dealt with all of that and he said, "Okay, that's fine." And, I thought, oh, I've blown this, I've blown the whole thing by my chatter earlier. So I thought, I don't care, I didn't really want to be an HF leader anyway.

And, as we were walking down, he said, "Continue, and give us the descriptions as you're going down." So I went down and I was showing them various things. And we got down to a road about four miles later, and he came to me and he said, "If it's any consolation, Marion, I would have done exactly as you did." Thank goodness for that. Well of course I passed! And I drove away from Coniston, on the, I think it was on the Sunday afternoon. I stopped about five miles down the road. I pulled into a lay-by and I just went across the steering wheel. And I thought, this is the first time I've relaxed since Friday afternoon.

*The conversation switched to the experience of leading walking groups.* I was up in Brecon last week and I was the first up a hill because the group were a bit slow and they were tired, and I stood waiting at the top, but I had the first view and all of these thoughts went through my mind then and I can remember quite clearly, I don't really want these people to catch up just now. You know, I was being very selfish, but I was just loving what I could see. ... And I would, if they'd have said, "Well, we're not coming up there," I should have been quite happy.

I enjoy walking alone and I do walk alone, and that makes me very aware of my surroundings in a different way to taking a group and being aware of the surroundings then. Walking on my own, I'm totally immersed in the countryside, totally immersed. And, I'm watching for all sorts of things, and looking for, and observing things that I would not see

when I'm walking with a group, because -- and if I'm leading that group especially -- because, I'm thinking of the comfort of my group: what do they want to see, what are they interested in? And you can stop and...talk to a group and say, that is a particular hill and there's an Iron (*Age*) Fort there, and then there's a castle, and later on they built another castle, but I'm sorry, sad to say it was ruined in the fifteenth century and all the locals pinched the stone and built their houses. They don't want to know. Ninety percent of the time they do not want to know. And I asked the group that I was leading on the one day, "Are you interested in the bits of history?" "Well, yes, I mean, if you say, that was the tree that King Charles hid in, on his run around, then yes, but no more than that." They only want to know that, the gossip.

You have to assess the group, and I find that the short low levels (*walks*) are generally, not always, but generally, they're the older groups, the older age group. Therefore they want to know everything because there's time. They want to go and inspect churches and they want to know about the churches, their history. Or they want -- whatever's going on, they want to know about it because they've got time to absorb it. And I do reckon that these older people, they are a fountain of knowledge because they're doing this, listening and going on tours and trips all the time.

...Then you get the middle group who are trying, they can't quite manage the high level long group walks, but they don't want to be on the low level short walks, so, yes, they will rush through their walks, they don't want to know, really, what's going on -- let's get this eight miles out of the way, you see, so they don't really want to listen. And they're of the age group, in that age group, thirty to fifty -- they know everything anyway, you're not going to tell them anything. ...Then you get the high level long walks, yes, they want to know, but mostly want to get the head down and walk. They want to know what that hill is over there, because, yeah, we wouldn't mind walking there some time in the future, you know ... that sort of thing.

A lot of people, as well, because they're coming on holiday, they walk perhaps once a month, and then they come on this annual holiday and they're walking every day for six days, and they tire very quickly. They don't realize how exhausting it is. And so, by Tuesday they're really very very tired. They need Wednesday to rest, Thursday they're really pulling themselves up ...to get going again, and by Friday they're feeling quite fit. So, you watch this as well going through the week. So you have to be very careful with them on the Tuesday. I find that they're very touchy, you know -- don't say anything because I'm very upset, I'm very tired, I don't want to walk really today, I'm having to push myself to do it.

...There are a lot of people in authority, the bureaucrats, who are not seeing our world, they're not seeing it's beauty. And that bothers me. You know that they can, at the flick of a pen, they can write off acres of land for building, without thinking about how can we build this little plot here elsewhere where we're not going to spoil the beauty. And that, these sort of things all rush through my mind when I'm looking at one of these views.

#### Paula Day

*Paula started her walking holidays for women as a way of funding herself whilst doing her doctoral studies at Lancaster University which she chose to attend in order to be near the Lake District. Initially a feminist, Paula now identifies as a lesbian-feminist. Her walking organization has gone through a similar transition, and now most guests are lesbians. However, her advertising brochure makes clear that all women are welcome. She neither wants 'lesbians only' to be read as the subtext of a 'women's walking group' nor to have heterosexuals "freak out" as she put it. Her father was a serious amateur mountaineer. Brought up to walk and climb, she 'had to find her own way' relating to mountaineering, climbing, walking, and landscape itself. The first of our taped conversations started with my asking, When do you remember first walking for walking's sake?*

Well that immediately gets involved with my father and his mountaineering background and so on. It has me start there (*long pause*) and then there'd be another start, which is when I started to do it for myself which is quite a different one, and that was a kind of probably beginning to claim or reclaim it for me. ... It would be being taken by him on weekends in the Lakes and Wales, yeah on weekends when he was going to rock climb he'd take my mum and me. I suppose (*I was*) probably eight, nine or ten. The memory that comes very vividly is going with my school friend Juliette, for a weekend in North Wales ...*[and]* her and me getting terribly excited about doing our own exploring up a stream bed -- actually following it to its source, sort of from the house, you know, so perhaps we could do some of our own our own exploring. ... And that was a terribly important bit of becoming independent.

I'm going to start -- all different sorts of connections all start to happen, because I guess that's the beginning of then, what I used to do with my school friends -- which was go into the countryside going out on walks, climbing out of the window in the middle of the night to go to the Downs to see the sunrise and things like that, you know when we were about fourteen or, no, maybe younger, twelve or thirteen. Yeah, so I suppose there's two things aren't there, there's sort of him taking me and showing me about all this mountain stuff that he did ... and then these other things about having exciting adventures with my friends.

He had a big thing about buying me proper walking boots, and ... it was always a very special day when I put them on. ... (*pause*) Yeah, because you know I was my father's daughter and supposed to be a chip off the old block and that meant proper walking boots... but there is something about his culture, you know, that's very important about his - his mountaineering culture which I've honestly been inspired by and also probably reacting against or exploring other ways of being ever since.

I used to go and climb in the Alps and things. Yes, so there was this tremendous sort of heroic imagery -- Matterhorn and all that -- and then later on I started to see it very

differently (*pause*) later on ah ... well I remember an occasion when I was 16, and a school friend and I went to the Dolomites and he (*Paula's father*) had an idea about me climbing mountains. He and I joined up with a mountaineering club (*to climb a mountain*) that we couldn't have done on our own .... but actually it was totally inappropriate -- I didn't have any experience. And what happened was one of the Italian guys decided the foreigners had to be on his rope, and I didn't speak a word of the language ... We got to the edge of a glacier and I didn't have crampons or an ice-axe, and I'd never done this kind of thing you see and my dad was somewhere miles back, so I started out across this steep ice. ... I now know that it takes a long time for an individual person to discover what's possible for them on a particular kind of ground, and I was completely in the hands of that man that I knew nothing about and I just tried to follow.

I knew I was going to slip but I didn't speak Italian so I couldn't say, and I started to slip and fall and if he'd been ah, competent, he would've held me by sticking his -- he'd have done an ice-axe arrest - he would have struck his ice-axe and held me and I would've just fallen just a little way. But being incompetent, though heroic looking in his yellow socks, he began sliding as well and in the end he stabbed himself in the leg with his ice-axe. So there's this unforgettable image of these amazing yellow socks he had on all stained with blood while I slid -- fortunately, don't know much about it -- not knowing what was going on. My dad lower down thought -- I mean there was a crevasse lower down -- and he thought I was going to go in the crevasse -- he started kind of running across the glacier lower down, he's all roped up to his poor Italian guide. I mean it was just awful. Fortunately I just came to a stop before I came to the crevasse. And the terrible thing about it was ... the whole expedition, this whole club, all thirty of them, all turned around with 'the duce' all bleeding heroic you know, and my dad, as compensation I think, gave him his watch or something. I was just left feeling totally in the end that I had, I had just been humiliated. I now feel furious that I was put in that position. I think it's totally irresponsible of my father, totally irresponsible and incompetent of the leader, and I mean I was just putting myself in the hands

of -- because I learnt to -- they were 'reliable' people. But you know they weren't, it was bloody dangerous and it totally put me off any kind of ice climbing or that kind of scene, which was fine.

But I think, I probably didn't recognize it then, but later on, came to feel that there was a hell of a lot of all this, it's all about sort of heroic posing and stuff, and egos. ... And I see it, I do see it on Striding Edge all the time -- men taking their girlfriends you know, and for that woman its not necessarily at all what she's ready to do or what she'd choose to do, but the guy -- it's part of his sense of himself to be able to, you know, support someone who's scared stiff and get her up the mountain, a macho self-image that's nothing to do with actually helping her develop her confidence. I think, yeah, and I hope part of what I do in my work is, I hope I'm not doing that, because I just think its ... if there's someone more experienced taking someone who's less experienced, then the whole thing has to be about the needs of the less experienced person and giving them the support that they want, to go that bit further than they perhaps would on their own, you know. And if it's about the needs of the experienced person to be seen as wonderful, then I just think that's crap really.

I'm sure it happens between men as well but -- perhaps it doesn't -- I think its a particular type of gender thing isn't it. You know, I mean it would be men who'd more likely be competing ... but the whole thing of 'taking' a woman who's less experienced, to a place that she doesn't feel safe on her own, that seems to me to be very much what happens. ... So for me there's then a stage of very much needing to go up on my own to find out what I could do, wanted to do. ...Especially when I first started the business and watching what's going on with groups walking in the hills, and it's just so often a sort of gendered thing, the dynamics going on -- the man has the map and I've always, I always greet the woman who is usually behind and doesn't make eye contact at first because she is following -- it's the man who makes the eye contact -- so I always carefully avoid eye contact with him and greet the woman at the back you know.

...The walking I do for myself is actually still my own, exclusively mine. Yeah. I do it for a whole lot of different reasons. One of them being is I don't like being left behind and I don't like being in front (*laughs*). I know that when I'm leading groups that that'll be an issue for the women in my group, but not for me because I'm their leader which means that I'm allowed to be in front and to be the benign person in the front if you see what I mean (*more laughter*). ...As a group leader ... it's clear to me that I don't in any way value or admire women up in front more than the women at the back -- I have just as much respect for them as I, you know what I mean. If I was in that position, situation in a group I think that I would think that the group leader -- that I'd kind of have to be good at it for the leader to like me. But actually I know as a leader that it's not like that at all -- I don't, yeah -- I respect how people handle themselves, wherever they are.

...(Speaking of 'getting to the top') I mean its so funny, the idea that the top bit -- the very high, the highest bit of the mountain is the important bit - it seems, it's taken as self-evident that the point of going near a mountain is to get on that particular rock on the top, you know, and of course we think that because all our language is full of land imagery. But it's a peculiar idea isn't it, that that's better than any other part. Often as not its got orange peel and graffiti, and stinks of pee (*laughter*) and there are wonderful places ... and plants that are on the flanks. And of course then all that is deeply involved in gendered imagery right through our culture, and that's what part of my thesis is all about, you know. Mountains are seen as male and valleys as female -- Tennyson saying "Come down, O maid, from yonder mountain heights" and all that. Why shouldn't women go to the top. I think its great that there are women's expeditions to climb Annapurna and all that, you know, and we've got every right to get onto the tops if we want to -- as men have -- but maybe I don't want particularly to go onto the top, you know.

It's both isn't it, it's both about women having the right of access, you know, to everything that men might aspire to also, and at the same time questioning whether those are the bounds that we want anyway. ... I remember, last year, there was a party of just two and

we went up by Dungeon Gill, it was wonderful, though I hadn't been there for some years. There's a scramble and we were stopping and looking at some flowers because there are all sorts of special things there and these blokes - in an absolutely classic - I don't know if they were Army -- but, ah young lads with an older chap, kind of stamping up there knocking all the rocks -- actually doing some very bad hill walking because they were being very clumsy and knocking down rocks and stuff. And as they kind of thundered past causing havoc to this fragile beautiful landscape, one of them actually turned round and said, "Always trampling on all your flowers, ho ho ho" -- it was just like, you know, a stereotype come alive, it was extraordinary. Yeah. Yeah. *(pause)* And, you know, there's such a dualism isn't there, that somehow to be, that those that do make it to the top means trampling on the flowers.

I'm sort of quite amused by the fact that I'm still running things, like holidays, like weekends, where the idea is to climb 'Big Lake District Mountains by the steepest way' and I kind of really enjoy it, and somehow I've got some kind of amusement about it, some kind of irony about it.... I'm not quite sure where I am with it as an idea, you know -- *(whether)* this is the thing to do. *Well it's enabling.* It's absolutely! ... I'm fine with me doing it because of lots of women want to do that, and it makes lots of sense that lots of women want to do it because its the thing that the culture says is the epitome of hill walking. And absolutely right that women should want to do what's the epitome of hill walking, you know, and I'm very happy to enable that, great. But personally I'm not sure where I am with the idea of climbing the highest mountains by the steepest routes. So I suppose, you know, its fine, its fine, I'm very happy to do it.

...When I first started, one of the women had made a women's symbol banner, you know, and every time we got to the top, we'd climb up to the trig point and hold up this women's symbol banner and had ourselves photographed, and there was something kind of ludicrous about it, you know what I mean ... And unconsciously I think, there's something about that, and that's great -- I mean here we are we're on the summit of Everest -- and well, we're not really *(laughs)*, and we're all wonderful and we shake hands with each other 'cos

we've reached the summit, and take photos of ourselves and that's (*pause*) I suppose its, um, (*pause*) ... I mean it's good fun. I think so, so perhaps that's what I mean about being amused by it -- and I think I've always had that feeling. And yeah, I'm really happy to see it, yeah.

*I asked Paula about a holiday she had run for Blacks.* It happened twice actually. But then I lost contact with the woman who initiated it, I lost contact. ... There was a mixture, a lot of them she knew through the Re-evaluation Co-Counselling Community actually, so *What's that?* You know about co-counselling? *No.* ... Quite a few of the women who came had done a great deal of work in Black women's groups on their identities as Black women, and on looking at the ways they might still be oppressing themselves and then breaking out of that. So I mean they were wonderful wonderful role models of, well for me as well, of very clearly, very consciously stepping beyond what felt safe, you know, and so they were very conscious of coming to walk in the countryside being um a courageous thing to do as Black women. And they supported each other a lot. ... There was such consciousness about being a group (*pause*) and that what they were doing (*pause*) was courageous and a break (*pause*) I mean they were, (*there was an*) absolutely amazing atmosphere here, absolutely amazing because -- yes, so that what could easily be seen as a very short local walk ... was quite clearly for some of them a big challenge which was taken on with immense courage and enthusiasm.

The woman who initiated it actually, you know, was very challenged simply by, ah, by walking on rough ground and encountering mud and stuff. And that's not unique to her as a Black woman, that's -- I've had White women who come on holidays who've never been in the country before, you know, for whom getting over a stile or getting through mud was a big challenge because that doesn't happen in London, on the street. And um, yeah, (*pause*) you know, I really respect that. That's just as big a challenge for them as doing huge long walks would be for somebody else, you know.

So its about being, um, how the woman experienced walking being a city experience and then encountering these unfamiliar physical things in the country -- that I guess that the

Black women, they were also identifying that there wasn't any physical time to lose their challenge about feeling safe enough in an environment where, you know, there weren't Black people, and where the culture seemed to be telling them they belonged in the inner-city and not in the countryside.

...Most of them were Afro-Caribbean, and um yeah there were two Asian women as well, yeah. And then you see, the other difference as well, I mean this wasn't visible to me (*at the beginning*) but there were very different kinds of identity among the Afro-Caribbean women, because some of them were people who had grown up in the Caribbean, and were very recent immigrants and felt that home was the Caribbean, and others were sort of second-generation immigrant background so they felt completely British and quite divorced from any sense of roots elsewhere. I mean I hadn't realized that was quite a different kind of identity.

...One of my ideas when I um set it up, which was at this woman's initiative but I thought it was great because I'd been aware how few Black women came on my holidays, and I thought this might be a way of opening it up. And I suppose I thought perhaps some of those women would come on other holidays I run, but then I thought about it. And they were saying, you know, the real lack of a Black space in the country, a centre or some such thing, for Black people in a rural area in the country. When I thought about it, I thought well you know, I've been on mixed ... courses and so on, and then you know now, having gone through all that and gotten confidence in myself, my choice isn't at all to go on mixed courses but to do things with women, so why would I expect Black women having just gotten over their fear, you know, of feeling less equal and less confident um, then choose to go off and be with White women when they could find ways to go off and be with other Black women? That makes total sense, and I don't think that is ah, (*pause*) why should we um, (*pause*) engage ah, I don't know, what would be the point given the choice of being with people with whom you feel strong and comfortable um, to not do that but to go and spend time with

people with whom you have a struggle?...And I think that, that actually given the world that we live in now, there needs to be loads more opportunities to make that choice.

...I mean, what I see as my job is making space, you know, the physical space in the house, and then a space in the sense of access to the space out there, and that people come into that, really come into that space. So I suppose I'm sort of saying a held space, and then they do whatever they bring, don't they, and that may (*pause*) that'll be all sorts of things, yeah.

I just thought -- there are some areas actually, in this area, not so much the Lakes, there are places I take guests in which feel to me very personal because they are places that aren't necessarily in guide books, and its always one of my joys making up walks that aren't in guide books -- just because I've lived in this part of the world for a long time and you know, there are places that are important to me. So I suppose in some ways there is something about, I've always felt that I feel good about taking groups of women to those places, but I certainly wouldn't want to write a guide book and publicize them to the world, and I probably wouldn't take mixed groups. The reason is always something about the landscape to me, in some ways part of my home. ... I was just thinking that.

*Yes, that there's a public and a private landscape out there. Yeah, yeah. (pause)* So in some ways I am sharing a personal -- the landscape is personal to me so I am sharing something that is personal to me. I think that is something I like, 'cos really it wouldn't be the same to me to kind of run holidays abroad or somewhere I'd gone and done some research ... and was 'doing a decent job'. That wouldn't feel the same as showing this particular landscape that means a lot to me. *But within -- you have the different kinds of weeks -- and in those there's generally a mix of the public landscape and the private landscape?* Yes I suppose so really. I think that's rather a good way of describing it. Yes, I'm often aware of trying to get a balance between -- OK people probably want to go to the highest hill or the well-known hill in the area that they've read about, and I'm willing to do that, and that's usually much busier. And then the days that I really enjoy showing are the ones which are

much less well-known which are much more personal. ... *So how would you characterize those landscapes, which ones are they? What type of landscape are they?* All kinds of imagery starts coming in, which is alright isn't it, but it does make me smile.

*Paula then went off on another track. A few minutes later I asked the question again,* Well that's where I started getting embarrassed, because I realised that what comes to mind is some of these amazing stream beds in the Dales that are very very secret -- hidden away, you know, so there's a wonderful sort of vulval imagery there especially um in some of the limestone places like *(name removed)* which is a dry limestone stream-bed ravine which I think is absolutely magical and incredibly sculptural, with amazing limestone rock walls, you know, and its very much a hollow -- so its the most amazing kind of womb imagery kind of place, and some of the women who I've taken there respond to it in that way. Yeah, so certainly there I wouldn't be -- I suppose it feels intimate and I dunno, I suppose it's probably a whole mix.

*...I reminded Paula of her having said that the fastest way up a mountain was slowly. This prompted her to recount the following.* We were having our stop and the guys came storming up the path with a real sense -- the one in the front setting up a really formidable pace and the others struggling along to keep up with him, you know, looking as if they were highly uncomfortable really, racketing up the path at that rate, and um -- but couldn't possibly be left behind, and then past they went. And then well back was this one Black guy kind of sweating along, but as he passed us ... he looked at us and caught our eye, and we were kind of laughing -- well I was laughing ... and he said "I think it must be male bonding" *(laughter)*. And we fell about laughing, and caught up afterwards. They were going too fast and in the end had to slow down. And it was just a lovely moment of recognition somehow. And that was just wonderful that he was the one Black guy and that somehow he was able to have a little bit of distance and see what was going on ... A little bit of distance from the values of the group.

## Conclusion

A staunch member of the Conservative Party and an Anglo-Catholic, Sonia Ankers voiced regret about the England that had passed. She lamented mothers' inability to stay home with their children; the word 'forename' having replaced 'Christian name' on forms; women having entered the priesthood; colleges having become 'universities' overnight and their granting of "rubbishy degrees"; the break-up of the Commonwealth; and Britain's loss of sovereignty through its membership in the European Union. Sonia related to walking through literature, not only in the sense of the 'great writers' but also in books *about* the landscape, about mountaineering, about walking, about the National Parks. In these lay the untouched verities, for contemporary Britain is a far cry from the world that Sonia grew up in or knew most of her adult life. Much as Marion Canning railed against planners and their wind farms and motorways, building sites and developments and their corresponding lack of inner city development, her love of the English landscape did not extend to embracing those who would defend it with militant tactics. She related the vast overuse of the national parks to the generalized despoliation of the countryside beyond their boundaries that was going on under the rubric of 'planning'. Though she could see no solution to the problem, she was adamant that "we cannot keep poaching the landscape" with impunity.

Walking as a form of engagement with the landscape operated at a variety of levels for Paula Day. The exploration of the stream bed as a child and the private landscapes only to be shared with women form but one level of landscape's foundational importance in the construction of her identity. My last week of 'dissertation' walking was with Paula's outfit. Towards the end of a blazing hot day, I was at the back of the line. As we made our way single file up a steep path, the line bore sharply to the left. There in front, some way ahead of me and silhouetted against the sky, was Paula -- absolutely straight, hands on her hips, going up with slow deliberation. It was an immensely striking image that carried within it movement and stillness, a centeredness that seemed to pivot around each foot's placement on the ground. Paula was teaching by example what she months later spoke to me about as

"being in synch with the body...going back inside and finding the heart beat, finding the breathing rate, and then...slowing to the pace that's actually going to be comfortable...regardless of what anyone else is doing ... a way of moving (where there's) the possibility of being present in each step". Here is walking as a practice of an inner journey, another kind of 'secular pilgrimage'.

## CHAPTER TEN

### CONCLUSION

**Gregory Bateson, the anthropologist, who was no believer, once pointed out how the erosion of the concept of divine immanence in nature led men to see the world around them as mindless, and therefore not entitled to moral, aesthetic, or ethical consideration. This led them to see themselves as wholly set apart from nature; when this loss of a sense of organic unity was combined with an advanced technology Bateson argued, 'your likelihood of survival will be that of a snowball in hell'.**

Fuller 1985:282-3

**...often at difficult moments you'll catch yourself talking to the mountain, flattering it, cursing it, making promises or threats. And you will have the impression that the mountain answers you if you speak to it properly -- by becoming gentler, more submissive. Don't think the less of yourself for that; don't be ashamed of behaving like those our specialists call primitives and animists. Just keep in mind, when you remember these moments later on, that your dialogue with nature was just the outward image of an inner dialogue with yourself.**

Daumal 1974: 117

**...'the real England' refers less to a bounded place than to an imagined state of being or moral location....there can be little doubt that the explosion of a culturally stable and unitary England into the cut-and-mix "here" of contemporary (reality) is an example of a phenomenon that is real and spreading...as actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, *ideas* of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient. It is here that it becomes most visible how imagined communities come to be attached to imagined places, as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality.**

Gupta and Ferguson 1992 10-11

The introduction showed how the Lake and Peak Districts were central to the 19th century struggle for access to and conservation of the English landscape, and briefly stated why that struggle took different forms in those two places. Despite differences in immediate objectives, working class activists, parliamentary reformers, members of the legal profession, and academics entered the swirl of legal and extra-legal practices aimed at maintaining or regaining access to open landscapes, commons, and footpaths.

By trespassing across disciplinary boundaries, Chapter 1 brought into focus the multidimensional interplay of representation, meaning and power that attach to strategies and ideologies embedded in landscape, especially more-or-less unpeopled landscapes. It made visible the margins of particular landscape representations and the 'marginalized within'. In a sense, it returned the perspectival gaze, challenging the depicted silences that had 'gone without saying' as cultural capital became inextricably linked with landscape. It followed the shift from landscape as theater of power to landscape as theatrical entertainment, and from that to landscape as panorama -- those theaters without actors where 'the unpeopled view' was all-important. It then charted the spatial and social dispersal of such unpeopled landscapes to wider audiences.

Triangulating between the rise of British nationalism, the Picturesque aesthetic, and antiquarianism, Chapter 2 mapped the cultural production of the Lake District. It negotiated a complex grid of linkages and influences whereby geographical space and social place intersected to construct a network of exclusions. The transformation of space to place was the shaping of a moral order, a re-enchantment of nature within which recreational walking and touring were reiterated performative modes of identity construction and maintenance. It made visible that such re-enchantment supported social and class differentiation even while making clear that valorization of the Lake District had begun to move into the realm of social memory through the ever-widening dissemination of a Picturesque aesthetic to literate and non-literate publics alike.

The following chapter looked at contesting ideologies of 'nation' that were located in and performed upon the land. To do this it used the political fiction of Great Britain to get at other versions or visions of what constituted 'England' and the strategies of behavior used by different communities as they laid claim to 'their' Englands. By moving back and forth between the nascent centralizing nation-state, cultural nationalisms, and what I called the Dissenters culture of otherness, it exposed aesthetic, cognitive and moral tensions and anxieties that masked class antagonism. This chapter continued to unpack the consumption and commoditization of 'the view' and the re-enchantment of nature as it followed the Lake District's further incorporation into a capitalist logic of tourism.

The specificities of 19th and 20th century legislative and extra-legal battles over access to and conservation of the Lake and Peak Districts were taken up in chapters 4, 5 and 6. They made clear the links between spatial and political geographies of exclusion. The apparent democratization of access to landscapes that were freighted with symbolic value was interrogated by considering contested processes of representation, incorporation and legislation of landscape aesthetics. The re-emergence in the 1990s of a fierce debate over access -- its use as a means of destabilizing ideas of private property, and the State's legislative response which makes certain groups' spatial practices illegal -- shows that landscape still functions as a repository of group identity that under particular circumstances barely, if at all, masks class antagonisms. Paradoxically, research data showed that walking groups can and do cross-cut class, that the well-heeled and the Wellington-booted occasionally meet in a single social space.

Chapter 7 reiterated many links between body, imagination and place contained in earlier chapters as it situated the author within the study. In chapter 8, the contested terrain of temporary and permanent walking groups was framed in terms of secular pilgrimage in which the potential exists for walkers to experience a sense of belonging. It showed how in their quotidian and life-time framed journeys through the landscape, walkers create structure, meaning and a sense of community through their walking groups. Warning that

"the 'secular pilgrimage' should not be taken merely as a fanciful trope," Benedict Anderson writes of it as being made up "by the constant flow of pilgrims moving towards (a specific place) from remote and *otherwise unrelated* localities" (Anderson 1991: 53-5 emphasis in original). This is a close description of the Lake District study population, some with affective affiliation to that place which has been bringing them back over twenty, thirty or forty years, in a few instances even longer. Their actions refute Modernism and by extension Post-modernism which is presented in the literature as a free-floating state of un- or non-attachment, where everything is ephemeral, disposable, and temporary -- including attachment to place (Harvey 1989, Urry 1995).

At heart are issues of fragmentation and homogeneity. The illusion of there being an 'English' culture has shattered under the impact of Americanization, immigration, globalization, imposition of European Union regulation, and loss of world-class status. In the past, the essentialist mantle of 'the English landscape' became a place of temporary refuge for a cultural elite. In the present, at a less remarked-upon level, the landscape serves a similar function for a wide segment of the population that cuts across class but not yet race or ethnicity. Even the conservation of 'traditionally' farmed upland landscapes in such places as the Lake and Peak District National Parks, can be read as thinly-veiled romanticized icons of national identity, a threnody to the England that once was.

Intense commercialization of walking has slowly captured the Lake District's symbolic value, converting it to actual value through incorporation into the market place. Stratification of access is hardly an issue: the sheer number of walkers attests to that. Indeed, the Lake District is now so densely saturated with walkers that capitalist penetration of other putative 'empty' spaces through commercialized walking is well underway globally. The mountain highlands of Scotland, Ireland, Eastern Europe, Nepal, New Zealand and Peru, are marketed as alternatives to the crowded and therefore less 'pristine' mountain-walking areas of the Lake District and the Alps. The quintessence of this fetishization of landscape is what has been called "Explornography" (Tierney 1998).

This work began by moving between dyadic sets of relationships operating around landscape representations. Doing so showed that the 18th century English cultural elite shared in an 'imagined community' of painted, printed and actual 'unpeopled landscapes'. From this complex of hierarchicalized 'sightings', the Lake District emerged as a new site of assembly for that elite. Gupta and Ferguson's epigraph at the head of this concluding chapter speaks to the present-day salience such places have *because* they are localities of imagined community. Moreover, the Lake District is decidedly *not* a "blurred and indeterminate" place.

In a curious inversion of the way community is generally thought of, the core study population were, without exception, outsiders. They had come to participate in excursive walking in the Lake District for a variety of reasons -- the panoramic views, literary associations of 'place', personal challenge, loneliness, re-engagement with nature, meeting up with like-minded walking friends, a whole gamut of things. They were sweaty and sometimes even vulgar. Their polyphony of lively, sad, ribald and 'cultured' voices jostled with each other for emplacement in the landscape. As all pilgrims -- secular or otherwise -- come to understand, though the journey is undertaken in groups, no-one else can take your steps for you: each one has to find their own particular pathway up and down fellside and mountain. Who leads a group can be critical -- not simply in terms of safety, but in terms of experiencing walking as something more than simply covering a certain amount of ground in a certain amount of time. Also, in metaphorical as well as literal terms, the boots you wear and the load you carry are other key factors in what you will experience.

I ended Chapter 1 by using British Rail's InterCity poster on "English landscape art. A private view," to get at the dual and conflated embodiment of class and England as being located in landscape. Although made complex by moments of inversion, the jacket art of a recent book on non-places, defined as non-relational, ahistoric and not concerned with identity (Augé 1995), bears an uncanny similarity to that poster image. Each is divided into two strongly defined horizontal bands: the InterCity's upper band shows a view of the sky as

seen in a flash through a train window. The book jacket's upper band is the interior of an airport boarding gate with a view through the window onto a waiting jet. In the flash of a second that high speed InterCity travel affords, the poster's lower band shows a ploughed field. The book jacket's lower band is a close-up shot of the industrial green-colored carpeting in the non-place waiting area. The regular lines of the plough marks find their distant echo in the close-up weave of the carpet. The one cannot be reached, the other is walked over unknowingly.

Poster and cover art are flooded with anonymity, boundaries, and framings. The view is beyond direct experiencing. An escalating series of distances are interposed between view and viewer as they are placed within a delimited space/non-place of train compartment or airport -- and once airborne, what is on offer is a post-modernist bird's eye view from 30,000 feet, cloud cover allowing. The reengagement with nature that walking groups allow, are intervals in the everyday constraints of confinement and conformity. They allow for transgression of anonymity and boundaries -- the latter sometimes quite literally. Walking groups also transgress the framed boundaries of landscape in its original sense of a painting bound up with an elite segment of society. The landscape view becomes an experiential reality bound up with a social organization that can cross-cut class. This is the re-peopling of those 'more-or-less' unpeopled landscapes.

New social movements act to buffer the insecurities engendered in modern societies that by their very nature destroy tradition and traditional ways of being *in* the world and relating *to* it (Melucci 1989). From this perspective, the innumerable locally-based walking groups and the several million walking holidays sold in Britain each year can be considered points in a web that add up to a *social* movement and social *movement* across national, social and cultural landscapes that breaches solitary individuality. The dense network of pathways criss-crossing England not only lead to places-in-nature, but the human movement along them creates the very places they lead to. The dense network of walkers, their shared experiences and their creation of memories and histories together create a "bass line ...

indicating the passage and continuation of time" (Augé 1995:77) within which there is place for community, for recreating a sense of the social.

## APPENDIX

### Questionnaire

Nearly all questions operated on a yes/no or five-choice basis that moved from strong approval or agreement to strong disapproval or disagreement, or from shorter periods of time/distance to longer ones, or from never to always. Where a list of options was given, room was left for 'other' responses, and space for additional comments appeared throughout the questionnaire. The following is a somewhat abbreviated form of the questionnaire.

### General statistical information

age; sex, employment status, occupation/former occupation; household income

### How you got started in walking

1. through family, school friends, friends at work, youth groups
2. at what age
3. did you start walking because you thought it would improve your health
4. do you engage in any other form of outdoor exercise such as bicycling, golfing, bird-watching
5. are you involved with charity walks
6. do you take part in competition walking
7. to what extent have walking contacts developed into social activities outside of walking
8. have you arranged walking holidays with people you have met through walking but whom you do not see outside of a walking setting

### Clothing

1. have you bought or been given any of the following items specifically for walking (a range of nine items followed)
2. how much do you spend a year on average to purchase walking gear
3. what is your reaction when you see walkers kitted-out in hi-tech gear
4. do you agree/disagree that present-day walking gear is more elaborate, comfortable, expensive, colorful, practical than in the past

### Walking in groups in England under the direction of a leader or guide

1. extent of participation (range: never to always)
2. frequency (range: once a year to more than once a month)
3. duration (range: one day to more than three weeks)
4. preferred level of difficulty (range: strolling to steep scramble)
5. average distance of a day's walk (range: 4-8 miles to over 20)
6. average expenditure on guided walking trips in England, including travel costs

(The same group of questions was asked about walking in led groups outside of England; non-guided walking in England; and non-guided walking outside England)

### Landscape preferences in England

1. do you prefer upland and mountain settings or lowland and coastal settings
2. how much of your walking is done in the various settings and which is your home setting

(The same group of questions was asked about landscapes outside England)

### Landscape, reading and the Web

1. do you read novels or poetry by authors associated with the areas you walk in and if yes, what have you read recently
2. do you read-up on local history of the areas you walk in and if yes, what have you read recently
3. do you read 'countryside' books or magazines and if yes, which ones
4. do you communicate with other walkers via the Web

### Membership organizations

1. are you involved in any organizations dedicated to the protection of and access to the countryside
2. how active are you in them and do you think they are doing a good job
3. do you belong to any of the following national walking, environmental or countryside organization (range: Council for the Protection of Rural England, Friends of the Earth,

Friends of National Parks, Long Distance Walker's Association, National Trust, Ramblers' Association, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, other)

4. do you belong to any local nature trusts, conservation or footpath societies and if so, which ones.

### General

1. do you ever walk in groups that are only the same sex as yourself, and if so then why and in what way is the experience different

2. have you ever taken any map reading or orienteering courses , and if so then where

### Attitudes about the countryside

how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. in voting for a political party, people should take into account its stand on environmental issues

2. farmers should receive subsidies to engage in environmentally sound agricultural practices

3. subsidies for intensive agriculture should be decreased

4. walking is the most challenging activity I undertake

5. current intensive farming practices are detrimental to the environment

6. environmental issues are important to me

7. the countryside of the northwest is most typically 'English'

8. vegetarianism is a good idea

9. there were a greater variety of butterflies in the countryside when I was younger

10. removing field hedgerow boundaries to make larger fields makes economic sense

11. the English landscape used to look much more attractive when I was younger

12. I prefer the countryside where it is divided into small fields

13. walking is more fulfilling than my everyday work activity

14. how the countryside looks should take second place to efficiencies of agriculture

15 large fields planted with one crop, like rapeseed, look attractive

16. there has been a great deal of change in the landscape since I was younger
17. change in the landscape is necessary to produce cheap food
18. changes to the countryside are a loss of history
19. loss of hedgerows to make larger fields has negatively altered the look of the landscape
20. there were a greater variety of wild flowers in the countryside when I was younger
21. we should be preserving the landscape for future generations
22. the countryside of the southeast is most typically 'English'
23. walking gives me a greater sense of well-being or accomplishment than my job
24. I would be willing to pay more for food if it meant the countryside would not be subject to such drastic alteration through agriculture
25. commercial conifer plantations should be interplanted with broad-leaf trees
26. the rolling hills of the Cotswold and the South Down is a 'typical' English landscape.

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