Nomination for
THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
AN EVOLVING MASTERPIECE

For inscription on the
World Heritage List

Lake District
National Park Partnership
PREFACE

Securing a place on UNESCO’s tentative list for World Heritage Site status recognises the international importance of the English Lake District’s cultural landscape. In 2017, we hope that World Heritage Site status will be confirmed.

The Lake District National Park Partnership’s formation in 2006 revolutionised how partners began to collectively work together to help manage the Lake District. Now with 25 member organisations and considerable experience it is a real driving force for sustaining and enhancing the Lake District. This Plan, collectively produced by the Partnership combines the management requirements of a National Park and potential World Heritage Site to ensure that we take a single strategic approach that is consistent and appropriate for both designations.

This Plan covers the period 2015-2020 and will ensure the Lake District’s Outstanding Universal Value is protected and that we remain on track to achieving our 2030 Vision of the Lake District being “an inspirational example of sustainable development in action”. It will be a place where its prosperous economy, world class visitor experiences and vibrant communities come together to sustain the spectacular landscape, its wildlife and cultural heritage.

We believe the Lake District is the defining cultural landscape of its type. Having been first nominated in 1986 as a mixed site and again in 1989 as a cultural site, on both occasions being deferred, the Lake District was used as a test case to define UNESCO’s new and additional category ‘cultural landscape’. The Lake District’s spectacular landscape, its wildlife and cultural heritage can only possibly be sustained and protected if the living working places that have created it – and continue to evolve it – are able to thrive. The strategies outlined in this Plan seek to ensure the Lake District will continue to thrive as a truly living-working landscape, and demonstrates to others how it can be achieved.

Steve Ratcliffe
Chairman of the World Heritage Site
Project Management Group
PREFACE

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Department for Culture, Media and Sport
UK Government
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Note on further editing expected before final submission

A number of authors and editors have been involved in the production of this Nomination Document, and each chapter/section is at a slightly different stage in this process.

Boxes like this have been put at the start of each section of text to highlight clearly at which stage of editing the following section is at.

A note on images throughout the document

There are a number of images which have been sourced for inclusion in the Nomination Document. Shortlisting of these and agreement of copyright is still underway, therefore only a very limited few have been included. It is the intention that relevant images of the arguments made within the text will be included in the final formatted version that goes off in 2016 and these will be spread throughout the text.

Executive Summary

To be included at a later date based on the information contained within the Nomination Document.
SECTION 1.0
Identification of the property
SECTION 1: IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY

1.a Country (and State Party if different)
UNITED KINGDOM

1.b State, Province or Region
State: UNITED KINGDOM
Region: NORTH WEST ENGLAND

1.c Name of Property
THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

1.d Geographical coordinates to the nearest second

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British National Grid</th>
<th>Lat/Long Decimal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>329958 509568</td>
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<td>54°28'35.8&quot;N 3°04'56.7&quot;W</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

1.f Area of nominated property (ha.)

The area of the English Lake District candidate World Heritage Site is 229,200 hectares.
Location:
The English Lake District: cultural landscape – an evolving masterpiece

1.a Country: United Kingdom

1.b State, Province or Region: North West England

1.c Name of Property: The English Lake District: cultural landscape – an evolving masterpiece
SECTION 2A

Description of Property
Note on further editing expected before final submission

Section 2A – Description

To be inserted at start of chapter: short (approximately 3 page) introduction of the Lake District as a whole, to precede the detailed valley chapters which follow.

Note that each valley chapter is in a different stage of editing process. Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside – currently placed as the first chapter is the example chapter in its near final state. The other valley chapters will be re-presented and re-ordered to fit this example layout.
GRASMERE, RYDAL, AMBLESIDE

Description
GRASMERE, RYDAL AMBLESIDE

Brief description

The Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley is a classic U-shaped, glaciated, upland valley located at the centre of the Lake District. It runs generally north-south from the watershed at the pass of Dunmail Raise separating north and south Lakeland to meet with the Langdale Valley from the west and join the Windermere valley which continues south to the Levens Estuary and Morecambe Bay.

Perhaps more than any other, this valley illustrates the diversity of landscape which characterises the Lake District. The rugged drama of the imposing high fells contrasts with and complements the richly patterned and managed appearance of the pastoral landscape blended with the parkland and designed landscape of the Victorian period so well represented in this valley. Large scale, unenclosed fell juxtaposed with intimate field systems and parkland, ancient semi-natural woodlands punctuated with exotic species of conifers, simple vernacular farmhouses rubbing shoulders with ‘high Victorian’ design; all these combine to produce a unique landscape highly valued for its scenic qualities and sense of history.
The valley has been shaped by humanity over the millennia, with traces of human activity going back to the Neolithic and Bronze Age. At Ambleside there are the remains of the Roman fort of Galava, protecting one of the routes through the Lake District to the Cumbrian coast.

The later settlement pattern was established between the 10th and 13th centuries. Permanent settlements and arable agriculture were established in the valley bottoms with grazing on the surrounding valley sides and upland fells. The existing settlements of Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside all existed by the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Traces of various past industries include mining and quarrying, charcoal production and manufacturing of woollen and linen cloth, using water powered mills. The remains of a lead mine dating from the Elizabethan period survive in Greenhead Gill and a short-lived boom in the value of iron ore led to the opening of mines at the northern end of Grasmere at Tongue Gill in the 1870s. Disused quarries for roofing slate are located on the northern slopes of Loughrigg Fell and at Banneriggs between Grasmere Lake and Rydal Water.

The inherited landscape today contains elements from planned enclosure in the mid-19th century on the higher slopes above the valley floors, and irregular stone-walled fields surviving from the 16th and 17th centuries. On the higher slopes and side valleys - away from the settlement centres - fields are built around farmsteads located over earlier seasonal shieling sites with medieval or earlier origins. On the valley floors closest to the roads and the early villages the surviving fields represent enclosed strips carved from the medieval open fields and possibly the lords’ own tenements, and it is possible to identify a small number of these early boundaries on the ground. Stone farm buildings survive from the 16th century onwards (see below), replacing earlier wooden structures, and other continuing elements of the farming landscape include pollarded ash trees of which there are good examples growing alongside the walls of the inbye land in the fields by Ghyll Foot, under Helm Crag, and on the north side of Rydal Water. The traditions and practices of traditional Lake District farming continue strongly in the valley.

From as early as the mid-17th century, the estate of Rydal Hall was transformed to create a picturesque landscape. From the late 18th century, the valley was a focus for the Romantic movement, exemplified particularly by the work of William Wordsworth, and became a focus for early tourists and for people of means who wished to live in the area and improve its scenic qualities through the construction of villas and ornamental landscapes. Large numbers of these villas survive. The valley was the scene in the 19th century of successful campaigns to prevent the construction through much of it of a railway. It has subsequently been the location of many purchases by, and gifts to the National Trust to conserve the landscape in perpetuity.

Qualities

Attributes of potential OUV are listed in Table x. There is clear surviving evidence of the continuing traditional agro-pastoral system, including field walls, the evidence of successive phases of enclosure, and many surviving farmhouses from the 16th century onwards. The
farms continue to practice agro-pastoral farming with hefted flocks of Herdwick sheep and continuing use of fell pastures and common land.

There is also good evidence of past phases of use, going back to the prehistoric period, within this continuing tradition. Relict elements include evidence of industry based on woodland and stone quarries and making use of water power. The market town of Ambleside and other settlements established in the medieval period survive and still serve their surrounding communities as well as adapting to new functions such as tourism.

This valley has extensive evidence of the discovery and appreciation of the Lake District as a rich cultural landscape. Examples such as Rydal Hall and its landscape demonstrate the adaptation of the landscape to meet picturesque sensibilities. The numerous villas exemplify the attraction of this part of the Lake District to those with an interest in the Lake District’s romantic qualities. Prime among these are the successive homes of William Wordsworth and the evidence in his writings of his response to this landscape.

The Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley also has strong evidence of the development of the conservation movement in the Lake District. The absence of any railway from Windermere to Grasmere demonstrates the success of the opposition to its construction in 1846 and again in 1876, 1886 and 1899. These campaigns involved both Wordsworth and John Ruskin. The National Trust, a key component of the Lake District model for protecting cultural landscape, has acquired considerable property to preserve it in perpetuity.

The Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley functions as an authentic agro-pastoral landscape intertwined with surviving villas and designed landscapes, substantial artistic activity and ongoing management by the conservation bodies including the National Trust and National Park Authority. It also displays high integrity in containing many examples of all the attributes that have been identified for the Lake District relating to traditional agriculture and industry, settlement, artistic inspiration, villas and designed landscape and the success of the early conservation movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRASMERE, RYDAL, AMBLESIDE</th>
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<td>THEME</td>
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<td>DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE</td>
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<td>Dales-bred flocks</td>
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<td>Shepherds meets/shows</td>
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<td>Market towns</td>
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<th>DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE</th>
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<td>Viewing stations</td>
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<td>Villas</td>
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<td>Designed landscape</td>
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<td>Early tourist infrastructure</td>
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<td>Residences and burial places of Romantic poets</td>
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<td>Key literary associations with landscape</td>
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<td>Opportunities for quiet enjoyment and spiritual refreshment</td>
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<td>Conservation movement</td>
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<td>National Trust ownership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Protective Trusts and ownership including National Park Authority</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1. Ambleside Roman Fort  
   (owned by National Trust)
2. Town Head Farm  
   (owned by National Trust)
3. Brimmer Head Farm  
   (owned by National Trust)
4. Greenhead Gill Mine  
   (owned by National Trust)
5. 19th century enclosures in Scandale
6. Rydal Park
7. Bridge House, Ambleside  
   (owned by National Trust)
8. Dove Cottage
9. Allan Bank and garden  
   (owned by National Trust)
10. Rydal Mount
11. Villas at Under Loughrigg
12. Villas at Clappersgate
13. Stockghyll waterfalls
THE GRASMERE, RYDAL AND AMBLESIDE VALLEY

“…and lastly, the vale of Grasmere, Rydal, and Ambleside, brings you back to Winandermer, thus completing, though on the eastern side in a somewhat irregular manner, the representative figure of the wheel”.
W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

Introduction – general character of Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside

The Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley is located at the centre of the Lake District. It runs generally north-south from the watershed at the Pass of Dunmail Raise separating north and south Lakeland to meet with the Langdale Valley from the west and join the Windermere valley which continues south to the Leven Estuary and Morecambe Bay.

The underlying Borrowdale Volcanic Group rocks of this classic U-shaped upland valley have been shaped by glacial activity in the last ice-age. The two relatively small lakes, surrounded by woodland and pasture, are contained within a dramatic low fell backdrop with the tops of the craggy high fells adding occasional further drama. The soils of the valley floor are largely river washed gravels improved over the centuries and enclosed to create in-bye fields of bright green pasture which contrast with the more muted browns, greens and greys of the rougher textured intakes on the lower fell sides and open fell above. Extensive, mainly deciduous, woodland cover blurs the boundary between the valley floor and the lower slopes and lends a softness and intimacy to the landscape.

The valley is an intriguing and attractive mix of agricultural and designed landscape with a lush and serene appearance. In the open areas between the woodland the strong pattern of fields enclosed by stone walls blends with mature parkland, most notably around Rydal Hall, where in-field specimen and veteran trees and pollards contrast with more natural woodland. Non-indigenous conifers widely planted by the Victorians on estates and in the gardens of villas punctuate the landscape and form striking features. There are seasonal bursts of colour from flowering garden species, such as the extensively planted rhododendrons and azaleas, and in autumn particularly from the wide variety of deciduous trees and the golden/copper hues of bracken on the lower fallsides. This complex and intricately patterned landscape is rich in colour, texture and seasonal change and is a welcoming place for visitors contrasting with the wilder appearance of the enclosing fells.

The principal settlements in the valley are Grasmere village and the small town of Ambleside with the hamlets of Rydal and Town End which experienced less tourist driven expansion in the 19th and early 20th centuries facilitated by the opening of the railway to Windermere in 1847. High Victorian design is prominent in the principal settlements and also throughout, particularly the southern section of the valley where vernacular farmhouses mix with Victorian villas sited in their extensive and ornate gardens. North of Grasmere the landscape is less influenced by design and Victorian architecture and has a
stronger upland agricultural character. Woodland is less important and the high fells more
dominant.

The contrast between the mountain setting and the intricate detail and softness of the valley
landscape; well wooded, much influenced by design and with a strong sense of history on
many levels, leads to a richness, variety and scenic beauty which has appealed to the
nation for centuries. It has long been celebrated by writers, artists and poets resulting in the
cultural associations, most notably with William Wordsworth, which are an integral part of
this landscape.

DESCRIPTION

The inherited landscape today contains elements from planned enclosure in the mid-19th
century on the higher slopes above the valley floors, and irregular stone-walled fields
surviving from the 16th and 17th centuries. On the higher slopes and side valleys - away
from the settlement centres - fields are built around farmsteads located over earlier
seasonal shieling sites with medieval or earlier origins. On the valley floors closest to the
roads and the early villages the surviving fields represent enclosed strips carved from the
medieval open fields and possibly the lords’ own tenements, and it is possible to identify a
small number of these early boundaries on the ground. Stone farm buildings survive from
the 16th century onwards (see below), replacing earlier wooden structures, and other
continuing elements of the farming landscaped include pollarded ash trees of which there
are good examples growing alongside the walls of the inbye land in the fields by Ghyll Foot,
under Helm Crag, and on the north side of Rydal Water.

With the exception of roadside accommodation, private villas and designed landscape, the
only significant recent development has been around the settlement cores at Grasmere and
Ambleside.

Farming today (map)

There are ten working fell farms with sheep flocks in the Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside
valley and a further three flocks from adjacent farms which graze on the fells surrounding
the valley. The National Trust owns three farms with landlord flocks in Grasmere (Town
Head, Brimmer Head and Underhelm) along with Tarn Foot Farm which has grazing on
Loughrigg Common.

Town Head has a pure Herdwick flock and Brimmer Head has both Herdwick and
Swaledale. Brimmer Head is particularly significant as its sheep heafs cover the fells
adjoining Langdale, Borrowdale, Grasmere and Thirlmere.

There is a very clear distinction between the fell grazing land above the valley. The open
fell grazing land in the western half of the valley is largely common land, comprising the two
commons of Grasmere and Loughrigg while the fell land in the eastern half was originally
demesne land which has been divided into large, stone walled enclosures as described above.

(Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture)

Important local traditions linked to hill farming culture in the valley include Ambleside Sports and Grasmere Sports and Show which are held in July and August each year. Grasmere Sports developed in the mid-19th century from the annual Grasmere Sheep Fair, when sporting activities were an important social activity. The origins of the Ambleside Show may be traced back even earlier to the annual fair which followed the granting of the market charter in 1650. Both events still include the traditional sports of Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, hound trailing and fell running. The Rydal Sheepdog Trials, dating from 1901, are held in August in Rydal Park.

Another long-standing tradition in both Grasmere and Ambleside, rush bearing, also takes place in July. This is the continuation of the ancient custom of annually replacing the rush floor coverings of the church and is a community event including a procession with decorated bearings and rushes cut from local lakeshores.

Farmsteads

As with the stone walls, the traditional farm buildings in Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside are constructed from local stone and many date from between the 17th and 19th centuries. Key examples include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photo</th>
<th>Grid Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Protection</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Brimmer Head Farm" /></td>
<td>NY3245208483</td>
<td>Late C16 or early C17 house comprising one long range with hay barn and shippon. Original building included firehouse with gable entry, parlour and three bedrooms. Rear wing added in the mid to late 17th century. C17 internal wooden fittings. Other buildings include early/mid C19 barn, dairy and bank barn of 1830-40.</td>
<td>Late C16/early C17 with C19 additions</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2.jpg" alt="Town Head Farm" /></td>
<td>NY330809860</td>
<td>Farmhouse of late C17th/early C18. Firehouse at eastern end, thick stone walls with roughcast, slate roof and the typical round chimneys. Fine collection of C18 interior woodwork including a spice cupboard dated 1702. Other buildings include a C18 five bay barn; large 19th century bank barn</td>
<td>Late C17/early C18</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Skelghyll</strong></td>
<td>Two unit house of late C17/early C18. Good examples of interior wooden panelling and doors of the period. Also includes a barn built on the line of the farmhouse and a second at right angles to it.</td>
<td>Late C17/early C18 and C19</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Low Score Crag</strong></td>
<td>Former farmhouse dating from early to mid 17th century. Divided in the 19th century into two separate cottages. Early C18 bank barn to south of farm house.</td>
<td>Late C17/early C18 and C19</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rydal Hall Barns</strong></td>
<td>Group of barns to north and east of Rydal Hall.</td>
<td>Late C17</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rydal Park Barn</strong></td>
<td>Earliest dated example of bank barn in the Lake District (1659).</td>
<td>C17</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goodybridge House and Barn</strong></td>
<td>Whitewashed C17 farm house with interior staircase of the period. Adjoining barn contains medieval crucks.</td>
<td>C17</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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</table>

**Settlements**

The principle settlements in the valley are Grasmere village and the town of Ambleside and important small hamlets include Town End at Grasmere and Rydal.

**Grasmere**

Grasmere had ten fulling mills in 1494 engaged in washing and finishing woven cloth and the archaeological remains of these still survive in the vicinity of the village (see below). Key early buildings in the village include St Oswald’s church (whose earliest surviving fabric dates from the 14th century); the cottage now used as the Gingerbread Shop, which served as the village school from c 1685 to 1854; the 18th century Rectory; the 17th century house with barn at the rear which is now owned by the National Trust and home to the Northern Centre for Storytelling; and the cottages, yards and former barns clustered at the rear of the Red Lion Hotel.

**Ambleside**

Ambleside’s complex street pattern which originated in the medieval period has been partially overlaid and extended in later periods to include a network of roads, narrow lanes,
and ginnels. The former 17th century market place still retains its original shape and the remains of the octagonal shaft of the market cross also survive.

Significant early buildings in Ambleside include How Head, in the medieval core of the town, dating from the late 16th or early 17th century incorporating dressed stone recovered from the Roman fort at Galava. Further down the hill is a cruck barn, known as Albert Moore’s Barn, dating from the 15th or 16th centuries which is now used as an electrician’s workshop. The barn was part of the farm linked to Ambleside Hall which lay on the east side of the Stock Beck. The Bridge House on Rydal Road is one of the most iconic and famous buildings in the Lake District and a popular tourist curiosity. It was built in in the late 17th century as a garden house originally to span Stock Ghyll and to connect the gardens of Ambleside Hall to the orchard that lay on the other side of the beck. A significant group of buildings of the late 17th/early 18th centuries is located at the foot of Smithy Brow, including the Golden Rule Hotel, the Old House and a number of cottages.

**Town End**

Prior to the fame that would come from Wordsworth’s residence, Grasmere’s Town End, was a farming hamlet which had developed alongside the packhorse route running down from White Moss Common to Grasmere. This route is also known as a ‘coffin route’ because it was one of the routes by which the deceased were carried from Ambleside to the parish church in Grasmere in their coffins for burial in the churchyard. At the point where the corpse road and the packhorse track meet there is a large ‘coffin stone’ or ‘resting stone’ on which the coffin was set while the bearers rested.

Dove Cottage, William Wordsworth’s home from 1799 to 1808 is a small cottage of the late 17th century with 18th century additions. The interior has a surviving 17th century wooden staircase and 18th century oak panelling. It now forms part of the Wordsworth Museum and is open to the public. Few of the buildings in Town End are less than 150 years old and comprise farmhouses, cottages, a former smithy, byres, barns and sties typical of a traditional agricultural settlement (more below).

**Rydal**

The hamlet of Rydal comprises a small number of buildings constructed on the west side of the Rydal deer park. These include farmhouses, cottages and barns and collectively form a good example of vernacular Lakeland architecture. The key building is Rydal Mount, home of William Wordsworth from 1813 until his death in 1850 and now open to the public. This started life as a typical ‘Statesman’ farmhouse of the late 16th century and in c. 1750 an earlier owner, John Knott, reoriented the house so that the principal rooms gave views to the south-west and Lake Windermere. The older parts of the house have typical Lake District vernacular features including construction from colour-washed local slate, slate roof and round chimney stacks. The east block of the house is the earliest, with the west wing added in the 17th century, and further additions and alterations in the early to mid 18th century additions.
Another substantial farmhouse, Cote Howe, dating from the early C16 and C17 is located on the south side of the A591. It has thick, buttressed and rendered slate walls, slate roof with oval chimney stacks, a spinning gallery and a rare survival in the Lake District of exposed timber framing.

Nab Cottage, a two storey house on the northern shore of Rydal Water dating from 1702, was the residence of Hartley Coleridge (eldest son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge) who died there in 1849 and also has associations with Thomas de Quincey’s wife.

**Dove Cottage, the Garden and Town End**

Inevitably, much of the work of William and Dorothy Wordsworth focuses on their life in Grasmere. Dorothy’s *Grasmere Journal* is a wonderfully vivid account of their daily life at Dove Cottage, mingling the prosaically domestic – “*Mr Olliff sent the dung and Wm went to work in the garden*,” with the intensely poetic:

“Our favourite Birch tree . . . the sun shone upon it and it glanced in the wind like a flying sunshiny shower – it was a tree in shape with stem and branches but it was like a Spirit of water”

As the *Journal* reveals, the garden at Dove Cottage was as important to the Wordsworths as the house itself. Wordsworth often composed out of doors on the terrace, pacing up and down in his “*Sweet Garden-orchard, eminently fair, / The loveliest spot that man hath ever found*” (*A Farewell*).

Aside from Dove Cottage and the garden, a number of buildings in the hamlet of Town End have survived from Wordsworth’s time, and are now in the ownership of the Wordsworth Trust. They include Ashburner’s Cottage, the home of Thomas and Peggy Ashburner. Wordsworth’s poem *Repentance* draws upon the experience of his neighbours, who were forced to sell land that they owned in order to pay off debts, much to their later regret.

Sykeside is another building that formed part of the Town End that Wordsworth would have known. It was the home of the Fisher family, John and Agnes Fisher, and John’s sister Molly, who was the Wordsworths’ domestic help.

Rose Cottage was for a time the home of the poet Hartley Coleridge (1796-1849), eldest son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, although he was not resident in Town End when the Wordsworths lived there.

**The Wordsworth Trust**

The Wordsworth Trust was founded in 1891 to look after Dove Cottage, home of Wordsworth from 1799 to 1808, his ‘golden decade’ when he wrote most of what is now regarded as his greatest poetry. Today, Dove Cottage is an internationally-important heritage site, receiving tens of thousands of visitors every year.
The Wordsworth Trust is also the custodian of an archive containing the most important collection of Wordsworth manuscripts anywhere in the world. Nowhere else can so much of a great writer’s work be seen in the very place in which it was created. Today, this archive – some of which is displayed in the Wordsworth Museum behind Dove Cottage - is the cornerstone of a collection of manuscripts, printed books and works of art that tells the story of British Romantic movement. In 2005 the Jerwood Centre was built to house the collections of the Wordsworth Trust and subsequently won a RIBA award for the quality of its design. In 2012 Dorothy Wordsworth’s Journal was included on the UK Memory of the World Register by the UK National Commission for UNESCO as a work of literature of international significance.

In addition to manuscripts relating to Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy – including all of the known manuscripts of Wordsworth’s masterpiece, The Prelude - the Trust’s collection contains works of other leading Romantic writers, including Coleridge, Byron, Keats and Shelley. It is rich in material relating to the writer Thomas De Quincey (who lived at Dove Cottage after the Wordsworths), including the only surviving manuscript of his Confessions of an English Opium Eater, published in 1821. Highlights of the fine art collection include Ullswater, Cumberland, by J.M.W. Turner, a watercolour described by Ruskin as “the great central work of Turner’s life”. There are also major oil paintings, watercolours and drawings by other leading British artists of the 18th & 19th century, including John Constable, Thomas Gainsborough and Joseph Wright of Derby.

Industry

There are traces of various past industries in the Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley including mining and quarrying, charcoal production and manufacturing of woollen and linen cloth. The remains of a lead mine dating from the Elizabethan period survive in Greenhead Gill and a short-lived boom in the value of iron ore led to the opening of mines at the northern end of Grasmere at Tongue Gill in the 1870s. Disused quarries for roofing slate are located on the northern slopes of Loughrigg Fell and at Banneriggs between Grasmere Lake and Rydal Water.

The abundant power available from the becks in the valley was harnessed from the medieval period until the 19th century for a number of industrial processes including corn grinding, wooden bobbin production, crushing bark for tanning, and manufacturing linen and woollen cloth. The archaeological remains of fulling mills survive at Loughrigg Terrace and at Sourmilk Gill in Easedale and surviving examples of the numerous mills in Ambleside include the wool and linen mill at Low Stock and the fulling and later corn mill just below High Stock Bridge (see below). The remains of potash kilns survive in the valley, for example in Fox Ghyll Wood, and retting ponds, used for the initial retting or soaking of flax prior to further processing into cloth, can be seen in Rydal Park.

The aqueduct carrying water south from Thirlmere was constructed through Grasmere and Rydal and its course can be traced in the present landscape by the distinctive access gates and other minor infrastructure built by the Manchester Corporation at the end of the 19th century.
Picturesque buildings and landscape

In 1668-9, on the east side of Rydal Old Hall, Daniel le Fleming created the ‘Grotto’ ‘around a small waterfall on Rydal Beck. There are good views of the Grotto from the contemporary bridge over the beck, including the small summer house which was constructed with a window designed to provide the best frame for a beautiful view of the falls. Sir Daniel’s accounts provide a detailed account of the construction of the grotto in 1668, which he refers to variously as “the Sumer house at the Cawweel”, “the grothouse” and “the grot in the Mill-Orchard”. This summer house is thought to be the earliest known example of a viewing station in England, pre-dating the Picturesque movement by nearly a century.

Other picturesque constructions in the garden include a single span bridge over the Rydal Beck and a game larder. The wider grounds around the house were planted with a mixture of native and other trees such as Scots Pine and now form mature, open parkland. In 1909 the landscape gardener Thomas Mawson supplemented this Picturesque garden with a series of formal gardens to the south of the mansion. These include a rose garden and double terrace with balustrades, steps and topiary. Around the garden he added formal tree planting of exotic species including American and Japanese pines, maples alongside native species.

Villas and ornamental landscaping

Below Rydal Water the landscape of the valley opens out to the south with the result that from favoured spots around Ambleside, and as far north-west as Rydal, long views along Windermere can be obtained. Rydal Hall had long capitalised on one such location and its remodelling in the later 18th century was clearly designed to take advantage of this view.

For this reason the earliest villas in the valley, dating from the late 18th century, cluster in and around Ambleside and similarly make use of elevated sites offering views over Windermere. They form part of a wider Windermere group of villas extending from Clappersgate to the eastern shore of the lake, to Bowness and beyond. In the early 20th century this group expanded with the building of a small number of villas in Arts and Crafts style.

Builders who could not afford a lake prospect chose other sites, including the lane running parallel with the west bank of the Rothay, creating the Under Loughrigg sequence of villas.

The hamlet of Rydal began to attract genteel residents from around 1800. Rydal Mount, a prominently sited, south-facing vernacular farmhouse which later became Wordsworth’s home, was occupied by John Knott from about this time, as described above, and its accommodation was progressively extended and refined. Knott laid out a garden to the south and west of the house which was later developed by Wordsworth following Picturesque principles advocated by Uvedale Price. The garden is on sloping ground and a series of terraces were constructed on the steepest part of the site. These give way to further areas of differing levels of
formality to achieve a transitional effect from the formal and ornamental grounds around the house to the farmed landscape beyond.

When Wordsworth took Dove Cottage at Town End as his rural retreat at the end of 1799 a small number of villas were already under construction in and around Grasmere. Other early villas or villa conversions occurred along the Red Bank road south of Grasmere, in the narrow entrance to Easedale underneath Helm Crag, and in the village of Grasmere where several modern-day hotels originated as villas.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Photo</th>
<th>Grid Reference</th>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Protection</th>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Scale How, Ambleside" /></td>
<td>NY3753504880</td>
<td>3 bay Georgian house built for the Benson Harrisons, who owned ironworks in the Lake District. Remodelled 1824-5.</td>
<td>c. 1790</td>
<td>University of Cumbria</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Iveing Cottage, Ambleside" /></td>
<td>NY3773604007</td>
<td>Early villa noted in West’s Guide, 1st edition, now a hostel.</td>
<td>1790s</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Croft Lodge, Clappersgate" /></td>
<td>NY3681603638</td>
<td>Originally a white villa built for a Miss Pritchard before 1796. Substantially remodelled 1828-30.</td>
<td>Late C18</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Wansfell Holme, Waterhead" /></td>
<td>NY3802102697</td>
<td>Large house in gothic style by George Webster for Thomas Wrigley.</td>
<td>1840-1</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Wanlass How, Waterhead" /></td>
<td>NY3750603400</td>
<td>Now called Ambleside Park. Villa built for James Brooks and later remodelled.</td>
<td>1841-2</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Lesketh How, Ambleside" /></td>
<td>NY3724905010</td>
<td>Built for Dr John Davey.</td>
<td>1844-5</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="The Knoll, Ambleside" /></td>
<td>NY3733004806</td>
<td>Unadorned house of local stone, built for Harriet Martineau.</td>
<td>1845-6</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Rothay Holme, Ambleside" /></td>
<td>NY3737004125</td>
<td>Substantial villa built for Elizabeth Head.</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Fox Ghyll, Under Loughrigg" /></td>
<td>NY3631805115</td>
<td>House in Regency style. De Quincey lived here from 1820.</td>
<td>C19</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Miller Bridge House, Under Loughrigg" /></td>
<td>NY3703304302</td>
<td>Early villa with lake view.</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fox How, Under Loughrigg</strong></td>
<td>NY3651704950</td>
<td>Holiday home of Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby School and his son Matthew Arnold, poet. Design of house influenced by William Wordsworth.</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Loughrigg Brow, Loughrigg Fell</strong></td>
<td>NY3691604432</td>
<td>Gothic style villa by Ewan Christian.</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rydal Mount, Rydal</strong></td>
<td>NY3639306372</td>
<td>C17 farm house gentrified in late C18 by John Knott. Wordsworth’s home 1813 until his death in 1850. Garden designed by Wordsworth.</td>
<td>C17-C19</td>
<td>Private but open to the public.</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ivy Cottage, Rydal</strong></td>
<td>NY3633406177</td>
<td>Now Glen Rothay Hotel. C17 inn, extended and gentrified in gothic style.</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Silverhowe, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3317806858</td>
<td>Single storey house built by William Gell, much developed in the 1820s. Steep garden with gothic grotto.</td>
<td>1797/8</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The Hollens, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3430207603</td>
<td>Three bay cottage villa of late C18, built for a Mr Olive and visited by William and Dorothy Wordsworth whilst in his ownership. Converted to hotel in 1849. Now the National Trust’s North-West Regional Office</td>
<td>1790s</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Allan Bank, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3334107688</td>
<td>Italianate style villa built for John Gregory Crump, a Liverpool attorney. Extended in 1834. The Wordsworth family lived here from 1808 to 1813. Later owned by Canon Rawnsley.</td>
<td></td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Glenthorne, Easedale</strong></td>
<td>NY3532407683</td>
<td>Built in 1837 and extended 1867.</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lancrigg, Easedale</strong></td>
<td>NY3304808486</td>
<td>Early C19 villa visited by William and Dorothy Wordsworth.</td>
<td>c.1840</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Listed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dale Cottage, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3362007439</td>
<td>Early C19 villa, now Dale Lodge Hotel.</td>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Forest Side, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3425208069</td>
<td>Villa by Thompson and Webster.</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>How Foot, Town End, Grasmere</strong></td>
<td>NY3422906923</td>
<td>C19 house, now a hotel.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Helmside, Town Head, Grasmere</strong></td>
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</table>
### Designed landscape

All villas can be expected to possess some form of garden or designed landscape, but in the Lake District not all have extensive grounds since the surrounding landscape is easily appropriated in terms of views and setting. Some villas nevertheless have quite elaborate designed landscapes, incorporating networks of paths, buildings and other structures, prescribed viewpoints and planting of trees. Silver How, Grasmere, was extended during the 1820s by Samuel Barber, who also laid out winding paths and built a root house with a mock-chapel, a snail mound and a ‘Swiss bridge’ on the slopes above the house. Wordsworth’s garden at Rydal Mount, where he lived from 1813 until his death in 1815, was developed in accordance with principles he articulated in his *Guide* and attracted numerous visitors; it is the only Registered villa garden in the Grasmere area (nearby Rydal Hall, a gentry house, also has a registered garden). Wordsworth also advised friends on garden design, as he did John Gregory Crump, the first owner of Allan Bank, in 1807, though the surviving designed landscape there, with its woodland walks and tunnel, is primarily of later date. A striking landscape presence belongs to the gardens at Helmside (1850s onwards), at the north end of Grasmere Vale, where richly varied broad-leaved and coniferous tree-planting contrasts the normally open landscape of meadows and fells. Not all gardens of note belonged to larger villas. Eller How in Ambleside was built in 1851 and bought in 1863 by Henry Boyle, who spent massively on ponds, ferneries, a summer house and a belvedere tower atop an artificial mound, all within grounds of no more than suburban extent. Among later gardens, White Craggs at Clappersgate deserves mention. Created from 1904 by its owner Simon Hough with the aid of William Purdom, a Kew plant hunter, around a villa designed by the Arts and Crafts architect Dan Gibson, it has the distinction of being the subject of a short guidebook by CH Hough (*A Westmorland Rock Garden*, Ambleside, 1929) which went through several printings.
HISTORY

Development of the farming landscape (formerly ‘Early Settlement’ and ‘Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape’)

There are clear indications of prehistoric activity in the Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside valley including Neolithic or Early Bronze Age rock art, for example at Allan Bank. The large cairn on the summit of Dunmail Raise, traditionally held to be the burial place of Dunmail, the last king of the early medieval kingdom of Cumbria, is also probably prehistoric. However it is likely that significant settlement and agricultural developed towards the end of the first millennium BC. The earliest demonstrable settlement is associated with the Roman fort and vicus settlement at Waterhead (Galava) but it is not clear if this represents continuity of an earlier pattern or a new development resulting from the Roman advance into the Lake District.

The dedication of the church in Grasmere to the Northumbrian St Oswald hints at the existence of a settlement here in the 7th century and the high number of place names containing Old Norse (ON) elements may indicate a major phase of settlement and agricultural development in the 10th century. The name Ambleside is thought to derive from the ON \textit{hamala saetr} (=Hamal’s clearing) and Rydal contains the ON element \textit{–dalr} (=‘the valley where the rye was grown’). The survival of place names incorporating the elements \textit{scale} and \textit{saetr} indicate the locations of shieling settlements which were occupied as part of a transhumance system in which permanent settlement and arable agriculture was established in the valley bottom and stock was grazed on the fells during the summer months. However these place names do not appear in documents until the 13th century and later and it is likely that some were introduced in later periods. Nonetheless the limited evidence in Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside suggests that the later medieval settlement pattern was established between the arrival of Scandinavian settlers in the tenth century and the later thirteenth century.

Grasmere first appears in documents in 1246 as \textit{Gresemere}, Rydal in 1274 as \textit{Ridale}, and Ambleside in 1324 as \textit{Hamelsete}. The parishes of Grasmere, Rydal and Troutbeck are each recorded as ‘forest’ within the parish of Kentdale, comprising demesne land within the Norman feudal pattern of land tenure. This legal reclassification may indicate the relative agricultural poverty of the valley although it does not imply that tree cover was more extensive or that land under cultivation was reduced. Within the private forests the lord of the manor’s demesne tended to be restricted to the head of a valley and tenants purchased rights to pasture, fishing, and turbary on the demesne land through their rents. The forest law which prevented local tenants from assarting restricted the spread of enclosure during the 12th and 13th century.

In Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside the surviving documentary evidence implies the existence of a limited amount of arable, inbye land in the medieval period and there are documentary references to a water-powered corn mill in Hamelsate (Ambleside) in 1334, an arson attack on a stockpile of corn in Rydal in 1439 and a further corn mill in 1454. The early inbye land
in Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside may either have been arranged in small, communal open fields or within enclosures attached to tenant farms or the lord's holdings. The 1787 Clarke map for Grasmere shows a pattern of long strip-fields, tofts, or closes, perpendicular to the road north of Grasmere which may indicate the strips that were enclosed from open fields before 1787. The extent of the enclosed land as shown on Clarke's map may well approximate to the extent of medieval inbye land along this stretch of road north of Grasmere.

Documentary sources indicate a pattern of shared and fragmented land ownership in the medieval period. In 1274 Robert de Ros of Werk held at his death 'the farm of Gresmere' and a forest in Ridale. This suggests that he was the steward in control of the farming system for the parish of Grasmere and also responsible for the administration of part of the royal forest. He also held a moiety (part of) the mill at Grasmere which indicates that some parts of the farm and forest were in shared ownership. The fragmentation of ownership is further confirmed by the granting by his widow, Margaret de Brus, of 'her part of Rydale by bounds, her part of Amelsate and Loghrygg with common of pasture within the bounds of Gressemere' to Roger de Lancaster the following year. Roger de Lancaster developed part of this holding in the valley of the Rydal Water as a deer park (see below).

In 1283 a post-mortem inquisition accounted for 13 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow in Grasmere held by William de Lyndesye 'in demesne', in addition to just over 133 acres of land held by his tenants, 11 acres of waste, and a free tenant with an estimated 4 acres of land. This may also reflect the pattern of stewardship where the lord of the manor occupied a larger farming unit which in this case may have comprised the land at Town Head at the head of the valley. Another example of a similar larger land holding, bounded by a sub-circular enclosure, may have existed adjacent to Rydal Old Hall as indicated on the 1787 Clarke map.

Reference to early enclosure of the common waste is included in an agreement of 1277 following a dispute over encroachments of William de Lyndesye's grazing animals into the deer park owned by Roger de Lancaster. As a result Roger de Lancaster had his manor fenced off along the boundary between Rydal and Scandale' and it was further agreed that the boundary should be decided 'by juries of respectable men ... near the fence at Scandale Beck'. This boundary may have comprised an earthen bank topped with a wooden fence. Its line survives on Nab Scar as an archaeological feature underlying the later parish boundary wall; parts can be dated to 1565 and 1581. The stone wall which enclosed the head of the valley of the Rydal Water indicates the later use of the disused deer park as demesne grazing. The southern end of the deer park, in the area around the present Rydal Hall, was developed as parkland in the second half of the 17th century and the original medieval hall at Rydal, the foundations of which can still be seen on a rocky knoll adjacent to the A591, may have developed from a hunting lodge for the deer park.

At the onset of the post-medieval period the 1574 Richmond Fee and Marquis Fee rental and survey documents indicate a process of sub-division of the medieval tenements through the generations, until the size of the remnant parcels were impractically small.
Tenants were driven away and many changes of ownership occurred during the century after 1574, followed by a process of the gradual acquisition of small adjoining holdings into one tenement. The 1574 survey documents record that tenants in the Amylsyde parish ‘claim to have annexed and adjoined to each tenement of the rent of 6s. 8d., 7 acres of arable and meadow land by divers grants of divers lords’. This indicates that the enclosed land around Ambleside had been extended considerably prior to 1574. This was accompanied, as elsewhere in the Lake District, by the investment by ‘statesmen farmers’ in stone farm buildings, constructed on the sites of earlier buildings or shieling sites (see descriptions below).

The farms and stone walls located in the smaller side valleys in Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside probably represent this wave of expansion and consolidation.

The 1787 Clarke map of the valley thus reflects reorganisation of the former medieval fields in the 16th-18th centuries but elements of the pattern of inbye land attached to farms, strips enclosed from former communal open arable fields and perhaps larger lords’ holdings at the heads of the valleys can still be detected.

The wider pattern of the 16th–18th century re-organisation of the farming landscape in Grasmere can be seen more clearly on the 1863 Ordnance Survey map, including the intakes which extended the limits of enclosed land during this period. The intakes from earlier periods are distinguishable by their more-irregular outlines (clearly seen around Townhead) and there are examples of stone-walled avenues (outgangs) to connect small-holdings with newly-enclosed allotments in the 16th and 17th centuries. The field pattern in Easedale may derive from piecemeal enclosure dating from the 16th and 17th century along with some minor reorganisation of the medieval pattern.

The outer extent of the major upland enclosures above Rydal, Scandale and Stock Ghyll were built during the tenure of Sir Daniel le Fleming prior to 1700. Dalehead Close was the final phase of the 17th century intaking in this valley, although the outer reaches of Rydal Head and Scandale Head were not enclosed until 1863-1899. Newer parcels are characterised by ruthless pursuit of right angles except at the very outer limits of enclosure. The First Edition Ordnance Survey clearly shows a pattern of planned enclosure including part of the extensive and regular ‘Troutbeck Hundreds’ which extend into the Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley area.

The Rydal estate closer to Rydal Hall was sub-divided and reorganised for orchards, grazing and plantation woodland during the 18th and 19th century. Given the late date of the First Edition Ordnance Survey (1863) it is possible that most, if indeed not all, of the planned enclosure in these valleys post-dates the general Enclosure Act of 1840. With no evidence for a ring garth (as seen in Langdale) yet identified in Grasmere, Rydal or Ambleside, future field survey is needed to establish a sequence and interpretation for development of the inbye and intake land, and the planned enclosure which follows.
Grasmere
Grasmere village may have origins in the early medieval period as its church is dedicated to St Oswald, the 7th century king and saint of Northumberland. The village developed in the later medieval period as a centre of water-powered woollen industry and then from the late 18th century, particularly due to its Wordsworthian connection, as a focal point for Lake District tourism.

Ambleside
The Norse element in Ambleside’s name may suggest a 10th century origin of the settlement. Like Grasmere, but to a greater extent, Ambleside developed in the later medieval period as a centre of water-powered textile industry and from the late 18th century as an important centre for tourism.

Ambleside grew in size as the Lake District wool industry developed from the 14th century and from the 16th century wool processing became Ambleside’s major industry. In 1650 a Royal Charter established a wool market in the town, recognising the value of its wool trade.

The importance of Ambleside for the woollen industry was due to its location on key routes through the Lake District and because of its fast-flowing streams which were harnessed to drive the fulling mills. The first record for a mill in Ambleside is for a corn mill in 1324, followed by a fulling mill in 1453. Both of these were built high up the Stock Beck, close to the picturesque Stock Ghyll Falls. The fulling mill worked until the early 19th century. By the early 16th century, five mills were supported by the Stock Beck and by the 19th century, nine mills had been powered by it.

In the 18th century Ambleside was also well known for the production of a cloth called ‘linsey-woolsey’, made up from a mix of linen and wool. Following the award of the market charter in 1650, industrial development extended to the more level ground south of Stock Ghyll, where a combined wool and flax mill was constructed in 1795. This building, which has a reconstructed water wheel, is now used a restaurant and shop. In 1825 Ambleside’s wool market closed and the remaining fulling mills began to be put to other uses. For example the former fulling mill on the north side of Stock Beck was converted from fulling to milling of corn in 1638 and continued in use until 1930. The boom in textile industries in the north of England created a huge demand for wooden bobbins. Bobbin making began in Ambleside when a mill known as ‘Stock Force’ was built in 1810 and bobbin making became another mainstay of the economy for the next 70 years.

Rydal
Rydal has seen remarkably little change in the last 100 years or so and the village and its landscape setting are thus largely a legacy of the 18th and 19th centuries.
DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

The Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley was one of the key attractions for the early tourists who were attracted to the Lake District by the publication of the first guide books and later due to the influence of William Wordsworth. Easier access was also afforded by the construction of metalled roads after 1770 and the railway to Windermere in 1847. William Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy took up residence in Grasmere in 1799 and it was his poetic descriptions of the area around Grasmere that did much to stimulate the growth of the town as a centre of tourism in the 19th century. When the railway reached Windermere in 1847 it placed Grasmere within reach of the cities of northern England and also stimulated the interest of wealthy industrialists and others to build residences in the area (see below).

In 1770 a turnpike road opened that linked Grasmere to Keswick to the north and Ambleside to the south. The regular coach services that now passed along this route stimulated the growth of Grasmere as a place of coaching inns where travellers could spend the night, and horses could be changed, refreshed and shod. One of the earliest surviving coaching inns is the Swan, built in 1650 and mentioned in Wordsworth’s poem “The Waggoner”. The Red Lion Hotel (parts dating from the early 18th century) is another key example from this period, and some of the outbuildings that cluster up against this building were probably used as stables and blacksmith’s forges.

Similarly it was tourism rather than industry was to drive Ambleside’s economy and subsequent expansion through the 19th and 20th centuries. The turnpike road reached Ambleside in 1761 and The Salutation, The White Lion and The Royal Oak were popular coaching houses of this period which are still in use today. The opening of the Kendal to Windermere railway line in 1847 also afforded easier access to working people as well as the wealthy and educated and the subsequent development of Ambleside reflects the need for a wide variety of accommodation, including hotels, guest houses and in the 20th century, a youth hostel.

Ambleside’s rapid expansion in the mid/late 19th century doubled the size of the town. Many buildings in Market Square were rebuilt in c.1860. The Millans area was constructed between 1880-1910. St Mary’s Church, built to accommodate the increased number of worshippers, was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott and consecrated in 1854. It is the best example in the Lake District of the High gothic style and encapsulates the era of Victorian prosperity.

Picturesque buildings and landscape

Before mass tourism arrived in the Lake District, Grasmere was, in the words of the poet Thomas Grey, who visited in 1769, a place of ‘rusticity and happy poverty’, of scattered
whitewashed farmhouses and slate roofed or thatched slate-stone cottages, with no intrusive brick buildings. Gray saw red brick as the symbol of the nouveau riche, and celebrated the fact that Grasmere has ‘not a single red tile, no gentleman’s flaring house, or garden walls’.

Although neither Rydal water nor Grasmere warranted the identification of viewing stations in Thomas West’s Guide to the Lakes of 1778, he does include a description of Grasmere and approved the earlier description by Gray. Grasmere also provides the only illustration in the edition of 1780. Clearly Grasmere and Rydal were considered in the second half of the 18th century to have picturesque qualities, but this aesthetic had been the concern of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall almost 100 years earlier.

The manor of Rydal came into the ownership of the le Fleming family in 1409 when Sir Thomas le Fleming married Isobel de Lancaster, who inherited the feudal lordship of the manor. Originally the family lived at Coniston Hall. In 1575 they moved to Rydal Old Hall (already described as ‘old’ at that date) built on a knoll in fields bordering the River Rothay and described as ‘now in ruins’ in 1681 (see above).

William le Fleming moved the family from the Old Hall to the site of the present Rydal Hall in the late 16th century. In the mid-17th century, Sir Daniel le Fleming (1633–1701) transformed the estate, developing the landscape as an early Picturesque garden incorporating Rydal Beck and its natural waterfalls. Daniel le Flemming extended and gentrified the 16th century house which he inherited through the addition of the west wing, back staircase and other rooms. Stables and barns were built behind the hall. Further remodelling of the hall took place in the 18th century.

The park and pleasure grounds at Rydal created in the late seventeenth century were still much admired in the 18th and 19th centuries and were a major attraction for a succession of visiting artists and writers. They were described in Wordsworth’s poem, ‘An Evening Walk’ (see below) and features in paintings by Joseph Wright of Derby and John Constable.

Rydal Hall remained in the ownership of the le Fleming family until 1970, when the Diocese of Carlisle purchased the buildings to create a retreat, conference and youth centre. The gardens, which are open to the public, were restored in the mid 2000s and further restoration is underway.

**Villas and ornamental landscaping**

The harmonious beauty of the Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley attracted visitors from the earliest period of interest in the sublime and picturesque. This initial interest was soon followed by people of means who wished to live in the area and improve its picturesque qualities through the construction of villas and ornamental landscapes. The favoured locations for villas were those that offered views of lakes, fells and woodland which conformed as far as possible to picturesque principles.
In the 18th century Ambleside provided a weekly market for provisions, a Post Office, and other services such as coaching inns. The town also offered the attractions of picturesque vernacular buildings and one of the better-known local waterfalls, Stockghyll Force.

The hamlet of Rydal began to attract genteel residents from around 1800.

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

Grasmere and Rydal are known internationally as the home of the Romantic poet William Wordsworth and his family, his sister Dorothy and a number of other important Romantic poets and personalities of the period who were drawn to live in the area because of Wordsworth. All the houses that Wordsworth lived in still survive along with a vast number of landscape features which appear in his poetry and the poetry of others. The landscape also survives, including the stone walls and vernacular farmhouses and buildings belonging to the local community which underpinned Wordsworth’s deep appreciation of the relationship between humans and the natural world and his development of the concept of the ‘economy of nature’. Most importantly, the Wordsworth Trust maintains the Wordsworth archive at Dove Cottage which is one of the world’s great literary collections (see below).

Wordsworth’s first residence was the cottage that has come to be known as Dove Cottage (photograph #), but which had recently ceased functioning as an inn when he took up residence with Dorothy in 1799. He then moved to Allan Bank in 1808 (photograph #). Though Wordsworth decried Allan Bank as an ugly building and a blot on the landscape that he loved, and though he was to quarrel with the landlord over the fact that the house was damp and impossible to heat because the chimneys did not work, he nevertheless rented the house for his growing household.

Allan Bank was subsequently bought by Canon Rawnsley in 1915, who two years later retired there from his living at Crosthwaite, Keswick. The Rawnsley family gifted the property to the National Trust in 1951.

From Allan Bank, Wordsworth moved in 1811 to the Rectory, in Grasmere, opposite St Oswald’s Church (photograph #). The Rectory was built in 1690 and enlarged in the late 19th century. It was a damp house and the Wordsworths suffered the tragic loss of two of their young children here.

Wordsworth’s final move was to Rydal Mount in 1813 and he lived here until his death in 1850 (photograph #). The house continued to be rented by the family until 1859 when Wordsworth’s widow, Mary, died. Wordsworth extended and altered the house, and landscaped the gardens which survive in the form that he left them. Wordsworth’s other legacies to the village include St Mary’s Church, built by Lady le Fleming in 1824, in whose siting and design he played a part, and the woodland known as Dora’s Field (to the west of the church and to the south of Rydal Mount). This was purchased by Wordsworth as the site for a house that was never built and was planted by the poet himself with wild daffodils in 1847 as a memorial to his daughter Dora. It is now owned by the National Trust. Major works written at Rydal Mount included the *Duddon Sonnets* and *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, the
1820 Miscellaneous Poems and the revision of The Prelude, published in 1850 after Wordsworth’s death. Wordsworth entertained many eminent visitors here including the American visitors Ralph Waldo Emerson and the feminist Margaret Fuller. The house is still lived in and is displayed much as it was in Wordsworth’s time. It includes embroidered work by Mary and Dorothy Wordsworth and Sarah Hutchinson and portraits of the family, including the only known portrait of Dorothy. Rydal Mount continues to attract many visitors to the village, and is open to the public.

William Wordsworth is buried with his wife Mary in St Oswald’s churchyard in Grasmere. Adjacent plots include those of his sister Dorothy and his children and grandchildren. Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s son Hartley is also buried here.

Other properties of notable figures linked to Wordsworth include Nab Cottage, occupied by both Thomas de Quincey and Hartley Coleridge, and the group of villas at Under Loughrigg, alongside the River Rothay and overlooking the famous stepping stones. These include Fox How (see above), the holiday home of Dr Thomas Arnold (1795 – 1842), headmaster of Rugby school who was encouraged by Wordsworth to buy the land and build the house in 1833. Thomas Arnold was the father of Matthew Arnold, the poet and critic, who inherited the house and spent many holidays there. Fox Ghyll, further along the Under Loughrigg road, was the home of Thomas de Quincey from 1820 to 1825, during which time he wrote Confessions of an English Opium-Eater (photograph #). The next house, Loughrigg Holme, was the residence of Wordsworth’s daughter Dora following her marriage to Edward Quillinan in 1841 and visitors here included Harriet Martineau and Charlotte Bronte in 1850. The house at Stepping Stones (photograph #) belonged to Wordsworth’s son William and then his grandson Gordon, who arranged and edited Wordsworth’s manuscripts there.

**Romantic associations**

**Grasmere Vale**

Much of Wordsworth’s poetry celebrates the landscape and the people of the Vale of Grasmere, most notably the poem known as ‘Home at Grasmere’. The poem begins with Wordsworth recalling his first visit as a schoolboy, looking down on the vale from Hammerscar:

“And with a sudden influx overcome
At sight of this seclusion, I forgot
My haste - for hasty had my footsteps been,
As boyish my pursuits - (and sighing said),
"What happy fortune were it here to live!"

Later in the poem, having reflected on the achievement of his dream, Wordsworth strives to encapsulate the unique qualities of the place:
“’Tis (but I cannot name it), ’tis the sense
Of majesty and beauty and repose,
A blended holiness of earth and sky,
Something that makes this individual Spot,
This small abiding-place of many men,
A termination and a last retreat,
A Centre, come from wheresoe’er you will,
A Whole without dependence or defect,
Made for itself and happy in itself,
Perfect Contentment, Unity entire.”

While at Dove Cottage, Wordsworth wrote a number of ‘poems on the naming of places’, about locations in Grasmere that held special significance for him and his family. They include John’s Grove (Lady Wood), off Wishing Gate Lane, which overlooks Grasmere Lake The grove, named after for Wordsworth’s beloved brother, a sailor, is the subject of Wordsworth’s 1802 poem ‘When, to the attractions of the busy world’. Another example is Stone Arthur, subject of the poem “There is an Eminence”, which is named for the poet (at the suggestion of his sister).

Greenhead Gill, east of Grasmere Village, is central to one of Wordsworth’s greatest poems, ‘Michael’, about a Grasmere shepherd and his relationship with his family, and with his land.

“If from the public way you turn your steps
Up the tumultuous brook of Green-head Gill,
You will suppose that with an upright path
Your feet must struggle; in such bold ascent
The pastoral Mountains front you, face to face.
But, courage! For beside that boisterous Brook
The mountains have all opened out themselves,
And made a hidden valley of their own.”

In a letter to Charles James Fox of January 1801, Wordsworth cites Michael as an example of the ‘statesmen’ farmer, for whom “Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings”. He laments that this class of men is rapidly disappearing.

The poem was composed towards the end of 1800, and it is interesting to read Dorothy’s Grasmere Journal entry for 11 October 1800, recording a walk with William up Greenhead Gill in search of a sheepfold, which she describes as “built nearly in the form of a heart unequally divided.” At the beginning of ‘Michael’, Wordsworth describes “a straggling heap of unhewn stones”, which can be seen in the same place today (although it is not clear whether they are actually the remains of a sheepfold).

The Swan Inn (photograph #), located on the main road at the north end of Grasmere village, is mentioned by Wordsworth in ‘Benjamin the Waggoner’ (“Who does not know the famous Swan?”) as one of the inns that tempts the protagonist, Benjamin, as he makes his way from Grasmere to Keswick. Also mentioned is “the Dove and Olive-Bough” from
which Dove Cottage derives its name (although it was never named thus in Wordsworth’s day).

**Rydal Water**

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was a frequent guest of the Wordsworths at Dove Cottage (and later at Allan Bank). His Notebook records many walks around Rydal, and also contains an amusing account of passing by Rydal Hall with Wordsworth in November 1799, and being accosted by “Sir Fleming’s servant” who reproaches them for having passed before the front of the House. As Coleridge acidly observes: “by our Trespass of Feet with the Trespass on the Eye by his damned White washing!”

The Lower Falls at Rydal (photograph #); much favoured by artists in search of the picturesque, feature in Wordsworth’s 1793 poem ‘An Evening Walk’:

> “Sole light admitted here, a small cascade, Illumes with sparkling foam the twilight shade. Beyond, along the visto of the brook, Where antique roots its bustling path o’erlook, The eye reposes on a secret bridge Half grey, half shagg’d with ivy to its ridge”

Wordsworth lived at Rydal Mount for thirty seven years, until his death in 1850. A number of his later poems feature the landscape around the house, for example ‘Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Splendour and Beauty’

> “No sound is uttered, - but a deep And solemn harmony pervades The hollow vale from steep to steep, And penetrates the glades”.

Wordsworth designed the garden at Rydal Mount, and it features in a number of his poems, including ‘This lawn, a carpet all alive’ and ‘The Contrast’. The latter, addressed to the poet’s daughter Dora, celebrates the summer house between the terraces – “This moss-lined shed, green, soft, and dry”.

**Other artists and notable residents**

Wordsworth’s presence in Grasmere and Rydal attracted other poets and admirers to live and work in the area both within his own lifetime and later. These included close friends and colleagues such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, his son Hartley, and Thomas de Quincey along with others such as the headmaster of Rugby School, Dr Thomas Arnold, and his son Matthew, the poet.

Harriet Martineau, often described as the first female sociologist and also a respected novelist and author of *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855), built a house in Ambleside (the Knoll) and was resident from 1845 until her death in 1876. Wordsworth was a friend and advised on the design of the garden around the Knoll.
Artists continued to be drawn to the valley in the 20th century, including the landscape painter Alfred Heaton Cooper, whose original wooden log studio, imported from Norway, can be seen by the road at the south end of Ambleside. The Heaton Cooper family continue to paint in the Lake District and also run the Heaton Cooper Gallery in Grasmere. The German artist Kurt Schwitters also resided briefly in Ambleside in the 1940s and is buried in Ambleside churchyard.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The importance of the early conservation movement in the Lake District for the landscape of the Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley lies in what was not built and the resulting preservation of much of the traditional farming character and later formal landscape features. The earliest and perhaps the most severe threat to the peaceful tranquillity of Grasmere and Rydal were the various proposals in the 19th century to build a railway from Kendal to Grasmere.

In 1844 a branch line railway from Kendal to Windermere was proposed and vigorously opposed by William Wordsworth. This included publication of a 'Sonnet on the projected Kendal and Windermere railway' which started

"Is then no nook of England ground secure from rash assault?"

Wordsworth argued that there was no industrial or agricultural requirement for a railway and that the working class, who would be likely to come on holiday to the area in large numbers, would not have the capacity to appreciate the “beauty” and “character of seclusion and retirement” that the Lakes District offered (see History and Development section 3b.x). He concluded with the plea “Let then the beauty be undisfigured and the retirement unviolated”.

Wordsworth’s arguments did not initially find much favour, including with other Lake District residents such as Harriet Martineau, but became more widely influential in the later 19th century when the value of scenic landscape was increasingly appreciated. In the event the Kendal to Windermere railway, completed in 1847, reached only as far as the hamlet of Birthwaite (which subsequently developed into the town of Windermere).

The proposal for the extension of the Kendal – Windermere line to Ambleside (and on to Keswick) was resurrected in 1876 and on this occasion the opposition was led by Robert Somervell (a local manufacturer) with support from the more famous John Ruskin. Ruskin wrote a preface to a campaign pamphlet entitle A protest against the Extension of Railways in the Lake District (1876) which consciously followed the arguments of Wordsworth’s earlier sonnets and letters on the same subject. As with Wordsworth, these arguments tended towards an exclusivity of the Lake District landscape for persons of taste and
encountered both opposition and support, but in the end the scheme was dropped due for economic reasons. Other proposals were made for an extension of line in 1886 and for an electric tram route to Ambleside in 1899 (by the British Electric Traction Company), on this occasion opposed by Rawnsley, but these were also opposed and not implemented.

This early organised opposition to development in the Lake District that was deemed to be detrimental to the landscape and traditional way of life formed a crucial part of the wider movement that would be galvanised to oppose the Thirlmere reservoir and to form both the Lake District Preservation Society and eventually the National Trust. It was at the Swan Inn in Grasmere that local landowners gathered in 1877 to form the Thirlmere Defence Association (see History and Development section 3b.x)

Although the Thirlmere reservoir was built in 1890 and the aqueduct taking water to the City of Manchester was constructed through the vales of Grasmere and Rydal, the landscape effect of the latter has been minimal. Its passage through the valley can be traced by access gates and other relatively minor infrastructure which are constructed in a uniform style (of stone and wrought iron)

In the later 19th century intense interest in the literary achievements of William Wordsworth and his importance for the Lake District led to moves to preserve the physical evidence of his legacy in Grasmere. In 1890 the founder of the Wordsworth Trust, the clergyman Stopford Brooke, wrote:

“There is no place, ... which has so many thoughts and memories as this belonging to our poetry; none at least in which they are so closely bound up with the poet and the poems ... In every part of this little place [Wordsworth] has walked with his sister and wife or talked with Coleridge. And it is almost untouched. Why should we not try and secure it, ... for the eternal possession of those who love English poetry all over the world.”

The Wordsworth Trust bought Dove Cottage in 1890 for £650 and it has been open to the public since 1891, currently receiving around 70,000 visitors each year. The Trust subsequently acquired an internationally important collection of manuscripts and works of art relating to Wordsworth and his contemporaries (see above).

The National Trust also took an early interest in Grasmere and Rydal, due in part to the association with Wordsworth, and one of its first acquisitions was the iconic Bridge House in Ambleside, bought by local subscribers and given to the Trust in 1928. In 1935 Gordon Wordsworth, the poet’s grandson, gave Dora’s Field, Rydal, to the National Trust and Allan Bank, one of the Wordsworth family’s residences, was bequeathed to the Trust after the death of Canon Rawnsley’s second wife, in 1951.

In the early 20th century the National Trust acquired a series of small properties in Grasmere, including the Roman fort at Galava and the surrounding Borrans field in 1913; the small open space of Moss Parrock in the middle of the village (given to the Trust in 1934); the low hill of Butharlip How, just outside Grasmere (purchased in 1939); and White Moss Intake on the edge of Rydal Water (donated in 1925). The largest of its properties,
bought in 1943, was the land behind Dove Cottage, stretching from Grey Crag to Alcock Tarn.

From the mid-20th century the National Trust started to acquire, by lease and purchase, more extensive areas of Grasmere, including an extension to the Alcock Tarn property via a gift in 1975. One of the key developments was the purchase of a series of key farms and protective covenants in the vale, comprising Dale End Farm in 1971 (covenant only); Underhelm, acquired under National Land Fund procedures in 1974; Brimmer Head in 1973; and Townhead at the head of Grasmere vale, purchased in 1981 with bequests and a donation. The National Trust’s Lake District office is now at the Hollens in Grasmere (photograph #).

The beneficial effects of monitoring and pressure from the Friends of the Lake District from the 1930s and the National Park Authority from 1951 can also be seen in the preservation of the harmonious beauty of the Grasmere-Rydal-Ambleside valley. This has been achieved despite the huge tourist pressure on this very popular part of the Lake District.

More recent conservation actions which have assisted in preserving the scenic beauty of the valley have included the undergrounding of the electricity supply in Grasmere in the 1920s (championed by the Friends of the Lake District) and the prevention of major road schemes including dualling of the A591 trunk road and a bypass around Ambleside (led by the National Park Authority and the Friends of the Lake District). The National Park Authority has also achieved a ban on heavy goods vehicles on the A591 from the 1970s and has maintained the tranquility of the valley through the adoption of bylaws banning motor boats on small lakes including Rydal and Grasmere.
CONTRIBUTION TO OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

The Grasmere/ Rydal/ Ambleside valley is at the centre of the Lake District and contains many attributes of the proposed Outstanding Universal Value. These are summarised in Table x and mapped out on Map y.

There is clear surviving evidence of the continuing traditional agro-pastoral system. This included physical features such as field walls and the evidence of successive phases of enclosure. There are also many surviving farmhouses from the 16th century onwards. The farms continue to practice agro-pastoral farming with hefted flocks of Herdwick sheep and continuing use of fell pastures and common land.

There is also good evidence of past phases of use, going back to the prehistoric period, within this continuing tradition. Relict elements include evidence of industry based on woodland and stone quarries and making use of water power. The market town of Ambleside and other settlements established in the medieval periods survive and still serve their surrounding communities as well as adapting to new functions such as tourism.

This valley has extensive evidence of the discovery and appreciation of the Lake District as a rich cultural landscape. There are examples such as Rydal Hall and its landscape demonstrating the adaptation of the landscape to meet picturesque sensibilities. There are a numerous villas which exemplify the attraction of this part of the Lake District to visitors and residents with an interest in the Lake District’s romantic qualities. Prime among these are the successive homes of William Wordsworth and the evidence in his writings of his response to this landscape.

The Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley has also inspired numerous landscape painters including JMW Turner, Joseph Wright of Derby, Edward Lear and Francis Towne. Several key examples of their work are curated by the Wordsworth Trust.

The Grasmere/ Rydal/ Ambleside valley also has strong evidence of the development of the conservation movement in the Lake District. The absence of any railway from Windermere to Grasmere demonstrates the success of the opposition to its construction in 1846 and again in 1876. The first campaign involved Wordsworth and the second John Ruskin. The National Trust, a key component of the Lake District model for protecting cultural landscape, has acquired considerable property to preserve it in perpetuity.

The authenticity of the potential attributes of OUV in the Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside valley is clearly demonstrated in the ongoing practice of traditional farming, the good survival of villas, designed landscape, houses and collections associated with William Wordsworth and the continuing protection and conservation of the valley through National Trust ownership and National Park Authority action.

This valley, perhaps more than any other in the Lake District, demonstrates strong integrity across the full range of attributes of all the three themes of OUV that are incorporated in its rich cultural landscape (see Table x).
<table>
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<th>GRASMERE, RYDAL, AMBLESIDE</th>
<th>ATTRIBUTES</th>
<th>FREQUENCY/IMPORTANCE or Significance?</th>
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THE LANGDALE VALLEY

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

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

The valley rings with mirth and joy; Among the hills the echoes play, A never never ending song, To welcome in the May…….

From the Idle Shepherd, William Wordsworth

It was William Wordsworth who first compared the pattern of ridges and valleys of the Lake District to the spokes of a wheel where the hard, erosion resistant, igneous rocks of the Borrowdale Volcanics Group form the high central hub from which the glaciated valleys radiate outwards in every direction. Langdale runs west to east from these high central fells with Bowfell and Crinkle Crags at its head before meeting with the adjoining Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside valley and on south into Windermere. It is a stunning example of a U-shaped glaciated valley with the typical features of headwalls, combes, glacial tarns, hanging valleys and truncated spurs all well represented. The distinctive skyline of the Langdale Pikes dominates the valley and can be seen for many miles from the south and east. Unusually for a Lake District valley of its size, Langdale does not contain a major lake.

The steep valley sides provide a powerful sense of enclosure and the rough texture of the crags, screes and rock outcrops together with the rough grazing, heather, remnant juniper and extensive bracken beds provide a strong contrast with the flat, smooth textured, lush-green and strongly patterned valley floor. The managed appearance of the valley is enhanced by features associated with traditional hill farming practice such as the patchwork of irregularly shaped pasture fields enclosed by stone walls, veteran trees and pollards. Riverside trees snaking their way along the meandering Great Langdale Beck now contained within banks of excavated gravel further contribute to this effect.
Settlement in the upper part of the valley is of scattered farms nestling at the foot of the south-facing fells. These are generally small farms of white, rendered and limewashed, vernacular farmhouses with collections of stone shippons and barns attached to, or tightly grouped around them. Combined with the characteristic in-byre pasture contained within a defined ring-garth wall and the prevalence of the distinctive Herdwick sheep this creates a compelling image of Lake District upland farming. Further east and closer to the town of Ambleside the valley is more densely settled as a result of past industries. Elterwater’s former gunpowder workers houses, Chapel Stiles’ distinctive, green slate quarrying community terraces and church and Little Langdale’s’ housing loosely grouped around extensive slate quarries convey a strong sense of history. Of the three only Elterwater gunpowder works, now re-developed as a timeshare holiday complex, has ceased to operate and the slate quarries, whilst smaller in scale, provide a high quality product for domestic and international markets and demonstrate the strong link between the Lake Districts’ past, present and future.

Despite being one of the busier valleys Langdale has a strong sense of tranquillity as a result of the dramatic landform and the perceived naturalness of the high, open, fells. The valley has long-held historic and cultural associations with rock climbing with routes on the steep crags on the north side of the valley being climbed as early as the beginning of the 19th century and popular today. The valley is also busy with walkers with routes such as the Langdale Pikes, Bowfell/Crinkle Crags and a route to Scafell Pike starting here amongst many others.

The numbers of people, the three hotels and the campsites in the west part of the valley together with the more numerous accommodation providers in the east do nothing to detract from the abundant natural beauty and sense of remoteness, tranquillity and history which make Langdale such an iconic location.

Notable omissions:
- NT presence
- Hydro – past and present
- Road through and out of valley
Topographic map of Langdale
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early settlement

Pollen analysis at Blea Tarn, between Great and Little Langdale has provided evidence for clearance of woodland in the Neolithic period from around 3000 BC. This sequence of forest disturbance is contemporary with the production of stone axes in Great Langdale as demonstrated by radiocarbon dates from recent excavations. The rock that was used for axe production was a band of fine-grained tuff which forms part of the Borrowdale Volcanic Series and is perfect for the manufacture of axes because of its very hard, yet easily workable nature. (PIC)

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

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

The Romans constructed a fort at Water Head at the top of the lake of Windermere which was surrounded by a large civilian settlement and the remains of a Roman road linking this with the fort at Hardknott can be traced through Little Langdale and over Wrynose and Hardknott Passes. (PIC)

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

“The first evidence of human activity in Great Langdale is associated with the Neolithic axe factories which were quarried for around one thousand years until around 2,000 BC. It is unlikely that there existed any permanent settlement in the Langdale valley at this time. Occupation is likely to have been sporadic and part of
some form of summer transhumance, with people travelling in from the surrounding lowlands and coastal areas to quarry stone to make ‘rough-outs’ that were then taken away for finishing and polishing. The earliest permanent settlement in the valley may have appeared in the Bronze-Age (2,500 – 700 BC), a period that saw a wave of colonisation throughout the central Lake District fells. It is possible that the low stone boundaries and earthworks recorded in Mickleden may be the remains of house platforms and field systems established at this time. The climatic deterioration after the Middle Bronze-Age resulted in many settlements in marginal areas being abandoned and returning to woodland.”

Before the Norman Conquest
The valley area falls outside the geographic scope of the Domesday Book and so we are unable to identify any potential pre-Norman settlements.
Old Norse (ON) placenames are present as they are among the other Lake District valleys, however. Many Great Langdale place-names contain some derivatives: Langdale (the long valley); Kirk How (the meeting place on the hill); and Thrang (narrow road) (Smith, 1964, pp. 203-4).
Many place-names derive from a combination of ON and OE, such as Oxendale (valley of the ox). The placename Mickleden (great head of the valley) has been taken to derive from an OE compound of muckel and dene, although Mickle has a wider heritage and is found widely in placenames across Scotland, Northern England and Northern Ireland (Kay, et al., 2004, pp. 221-2). Walthwaite contains the common ON suffix for a clearing, -thwaite; the prefix ‘wall’ is most likely to be OE. The presence of OE elements perhaps suggests an early if elusive settlement.
As a compound of two ON words, Baysbrown (bass=cowshed and Bruni pers nom (Smith, 1964, p. 204)) indicates pastoral cattle farming. The placename Rossett may include the ON suffix saetr, itself indicative of the transhumant summer grazing pattern thought to be characteristic of early pastoral agriculture. This implies both that early medieval settlement extended impermanently to the head of the valley and that it was later upgraded to a permanent farmstead, probably in the mediaeval period. Other shieling sites - identified as archaeological remains - in the valley do not necessarily date to this period. While the possible huts and enclosure remains east of Stickle Tarn are undated they could be early medieval. Still further east by Scale Gill there are two shieling sites which probably date from the medieval period. The placename ‘Side Gates’ connecting Fell Foot in Little Langdale with the ancient enclosures around Blea Tarn is further implication of this transhumant relationship between upland and lowland pasture. This road appears in the 1216 manor of Baysbrown document which records the manor boundary as following ‘the road to Little Langden’.

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The history of development of the field system in Great Langdale has been researched in detail and is outlined in Section 3.a (History and Development). The first documentary evidence for land use in Great Langdale dates from 1216 when William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal, granted to Conishead Priory the ‘land of Basebrun’, which then became a separate manor from the Manor of Great Langdale. The course of the boundary wall of first new manor is described in detail in the grant document and can still be identified on the ground today. (PIC)
The grant of 1216 also includes a reference to the ‘inclosed land of Great Langden’, which indicate the existence of a wall built to enclose the valley floor which was known as the *ring garth*. The ring garth separated the tenanted farmland on the valley floor, which was cultivated in strips as an open field, from the manorial waste on the fell sides. It served as both a legal boundary and a physical boundary to prevent stock trampling the crops growing in the valley bottom. There is evidence that the ring garth was still fulfilling its function in 1738 when rental was collected from ‘...the several persons who put cattle on the common on the outside of the Ring Garth...’. It is likely that in some form at least, the Ring Garth pre-dated the manor boundary of Baysbrown. Its course can still be traced in the present pattern of stone walls in the valley.

Towards the end of the medieval period a small number of intakes were constructed on the outer edge of the Ring Garth, but intaking was minimal until the end of the 15th century when a rising population increased demands on land. *(PIC)* In addition to Baysbrown and Rossett farms, which had their origins in the Norse period, the place-name and field system evidence indicates the establishment of four additional farmsteads in the valley during the medieval period. These comprise Middle Fell Place, Robinson Place, Harry Place, and Johnson Place. It is believed that farms whose names end in the word ‘Place’ were established as encroachments into areas of ‘forest’. In the Barony of Kendal, in which Great Langdale lay, such encroachments were legalised in 1190. These farms may therefore have been established during the 12th or 13th centuries.

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

From the late 16th century, the period of the ‘Estatesmen’, further substantial stone walled intakes were added to the outer edge of the ring garth. For example the Robinson Place intakes can all be dated to before 1691 from a document of that year. This lists the intake at the top of the group, Wormall Crag, which must post date the others further down the slope. This group of intakes therefore demonstrates development of the field system in Great Langdale from the medieval period to the late 17th century. *(PIC)*

The common field within the ring garth, which had been farmed in strips since the medieval period, was gradually enclosed from the late 16th century to the 18th century. This process was completed by Act of Parliament in the 19th century when the last few areas of the common field were enclosed with the ruler straight stone walls characteristic of this period. There are a few examples of these in the valley bottom in Great Langdale.
The topography of Great Langdale has dictated the particular character of the field system in the valley, with the pattern of intakes creeping up the steep slopes.

The character of the field boundaries with rugged stone walls of volcanic rock in the valleys of Great and Little Langdale. The Langdales are one of the key areas in the Lake District for Herdwick sheep farming and many of the historic farms in both Great and Little Langdale have substantial Herdwick flocks. These include Fell Foot and Birk How in Little Langdale and Middle Fell, Stool End, Wall End, Baysbrown, Millbeck, Robinson Place and Harry Place. (PICS) The majority of these farms are now owned by the National Trust which has ensured the survival of Herdwick farming in this key area.

The Medieval Period.

Documentation

Documented enclosure of the waste under manorial encouragement during the 12th-14th centuries is rare in the Lake District. The survey work carried out by the National Trust has managed to identify physical elements in the surviving landscape and the surviving layout which can be equated to some of the elements detailed in the documentation. The records for Langdale provide rare and tantalising glimpses into the process of medieval enclosure. In addition to the 1216 reference to the ‘inclosed land of Great Langden’, later documents refer to individual ownership of waste amongst the tenants, and to failed tenancies. The 1216 grant to Conishead Priory of the manor of Basebrun records a hay meadow between Wall End Farm and Great Langdale Beck, hedges, and corralling of cattle on farmland. A meadow would have required clearance of stone for cultivation, and this must have occurred no later than 1216. In 1283 Ralph de Berburn held 40 acres of waste (Farrer & Curwen, 1924), which presumably was marked or otherwise enclosed at some point. In the same year a post-mortem inquest shows that in addition to 15 tenants holding 136 acres between them (presumably within the old ring garth around the inbye) there are another 6 tenants who hold 28½ acres of waste land (Farrer & Curwen, 1924). The same document refers to 2 cotters who previously rendered 8d yearly but whose tenements ‘are now waste and yield nothing’ (Farrer & Curwen, 1924). The two tenements which had returned to waste in 1283 may be the same as another pair which are recorded as defaulting on payments and having gone to waste in another post-mortem inquest in 1324 (Farrer & Curwen, 1924).

In 1375 a rental made at Staveley records the tenants at will in Langden and their tenements. The account includes references to three ‘intacks’; two worth 1d and one worth 2d annually, in addition to a pasture called ‘Whelpestrothe’ worth 5s. A second rental of 1390-94 records ‘half a garden’ worth 1½d, an intake worth 2d, and Quelpstrothe worth 5s again. By itself this might suggests that at the close of the 14th century the area extended by manorial enclosure was generally modest or that it took in poor-quality land, bar the enigmatic Whelpestrothe.

Open field systems

For example the field systems around the villages of Hawkshead and Sawrey have fossilized the pattern of former open town fields.
Although most of the inbye of Great Langdale within the ring garth was probably common-field (NT 2002:57), it is impossible to identify any of the tell-tale strips in the modern or historic landscapes that give it away. There may be tight-knit patterns around Thrang/Chapel Stile and Elterwater Hall perhaps that have been enclosed from former open fields, but this is purely speculation and they are not genuinely good candidates. Later reorganisation of the landscape seems to have been total, leaving only traces of the former arrangements; perhaps topography and other practicalities favoured larger parcels.

Little Langdale seems to illustrate a (reorganised) open field layout rather better than the ribbon-like Great Langdale. This again is not a great candidate with obviously-enclosed strip-fields.

**Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads**

The place-name and field system evidence indicates the establishment of four new farmsteads in the valley during the 12th-13th centuries at Middle Fell Place, Robinson Place, Harry Place, and Johnson Place. It is believed that these farms with the element ‘Place’ were encroachments into areas of ‘forest’ (Winchester, 1987, p. 62) legalised in the Barony of Kendal in 1190. Middlefell Place is implied by the appearance of a ‘Charles de Mithelfell’ 1332.

A survey of 1573 records ten farms in the valley, which is probably a very good reflection of the situation at the close of the medieval period. These 10 are listed - Wall End, Sidehouse, Ash Busk, Rossett, Whitegill, Thompson, Bowderston, Pye Howe, Robinson’s [Place] and Thrang.

There seem to have been some fluctuations in the extent of the area under cultivation which may be are undocumented in the other Lake District valleys. The placename Wall End probably preserves the extent of the Baysbrowne manor boundary although it could potentially refer to an upper limit to the land within the ring garth. A ring garth in some form probably pre-dated the 1216 Baysbrown manor boundary and it was probably only after this that the new manor boundary was constructed.

It may be that Stool End and Wall End at the western end of Langdale represent a roughly-contemporary extension of settlement westward to the then-limits of enclosed inbye land; both of these would seem to post-date the Middle Fell ‘colony’ dating from the 12th-13th century.

**Monasteries**

Although the Priory of Conishead took possession of the manor of Baysbrowne in 1216 there is little physical evidence of their influence. The numerous charcoal production sites in the Langdale valley towards Skelwith and Elterwater may reflect an inheritance from this monastic influence. The single large enclosure around Blea Tarn (see right) may perhaps comprise a small monastic stock enclosure.

**16th-17th Centuries**

The number of farms recorded in 1573 fell as tenements were reorganised to create larger farms. Many buildings were left empty and eventually-ruinous, although this is something seen as early as the 14th century. This period also saw the majority of building stock replaced in the local stone which gives the Lake District vernacular architecture its distinctive character.
Reorganisation of the medieval landscape
What had probably been the common field within the ring garth was gradually enclosed from the late 16th century to the 18th century. This process was completed by Act of Parliament in the 19th century when the last few areas of the common field were enclosed with the ruler straight stone walls characteristic of this period. There are a few examples of these in the valley bottom in Great Langdale. “Outgangs” (walled trackways) were left between some intakes to provide access on to the communally grazed fell, connecting traditional grazing areas to tenancies which could be some way distant. The Lord of the Manor tried to trace the line of the ring garth at the turn of the 18th century to distinguish inbye from intake so as to claim the correct rents. This task was difficult even then as the inhabitants were not entirely sure where it was.

In Great Langdale, any National Trust-owned farms not recorded by 1573/74 (Stool End, Middlefell Place, Millbeck and Harry Place) all appear in documents during the 17th century. The multiple tenements implied by the same 1573 survey seem to have survived into the early-18th century.

The occupied farmhouses in National Trust ownership in Great Langdale (as well as Hellsgarth, Sidehouse and Robin Ghyll) were built in or incorporate stonework of the 17th century. Only Robinson Place can dated more specifically (c 1692).

Vernacular farmhouses which were rebuilt on earlier sites during the late 16th and 17th centuries include Fell Foot in Little Langdale and Blea Tarn farmhouse. Many farms in use during this period survive today, including buildings at Wall End dated to AD 1613-1616.

Intake Enclosure in the Landscape
From the late 16th century, substantial stone-walled intakes enclose the outside of the ring garth like a second skin in Great Langdale. In the Langdale Valley area there are also examples of considerable intake enclosure extending across the lower slopes of Lingmoor Fell, Loughrigg Fell and Side Pike. The Lingmoor Fell intakes seem to have become managed woodland, perhaps from an early date, and perhaps associated with the forges and supplying other woodland industries. This connection may have been inherited from the monastic management of the Baysbrowne manor in the medieval period.

Documentary evidence for further intaking of fellside common in the 17th and early 18th centuries seems to distinguish it from 16th century intakes (to increase productive land to relieve the population pressure). Enclosure of common pasture on the lower slopes seems to concentrate of geographically-defined open fell areas to which farms had acquired traditional rights. These rights had developed out of medieval grazing rights on the common manorial wastes. Tradition had come to accept that farmers grazed their cattle on specific areas close to the farmhouse instead of on the common generally, similar to the heafing of sheep. While there is no documentary evidence for the enclosure of cow pastures in Great Langdale there are some intakes which are typical of this pattern: Oxendale Intakes at Stool End; the four intakes west of Middlefell Place, intakes between Middlefell Place and Millbeck, and some of the intakes at Robinson Place, closer to the farms.

The Robinson Place intakes can all be dated to before 1691. This lists the intake at the top of the group, Wormall Crag, which must post-date the others further down
the slope. Successive periods of enclosure up the fellside can be seen - the earliest, probably medieval, enclosure takes in the bottom of the fell and by the time Wormall Crag is reached the enclosures are likely to be 16th-18th century. This group of intakes is a good example at microscopic level of the development of the Great Langdale field system from the medieval period to the late 17th century.

18th-19th Centuries
By the first half of the 18th century, tenements had been amalgamated and reorganised as larger units. Wall End, Robinson Place and Robin Ghyll were extended during the 18th century when most of the ‘Statesman’ outbuildings were constructed. Edward Benson of Millbeck’s acquisition of Whitegill in 1734 led to the farmstead there being abandoned and ruinous by the late 18th century when a hoghouse, standing today, was built on the site. Another abandoned farmstead at Borderstone only survived until 1726 at the latest – the remains of the farmstead comprise two building platforms and three sides of a barn fossilised in a field wall. At Stool End the four 17th century tenements had become two by 1760, one of which acquired the neighbouring Ash Busk which survives only as archaeological features visible amongst stone walls. Great Langdale contains two episodes of planned recent enclosure, and an Act of Parliament of 1836 eventually saw the last remaining areas of common field enclosed by a geometric and expertly-surveyed group of stone walls at 328860 506030 and 331270 505300.

What survives?
There are no deer parks or formal designed landscapes in the Langdale Valley area. The surviving pattern is a rich mixture: the majority of the surviving pattern is the 16th-18th century intakes on the lower slopes which overlook former medieval common fields and the inbye and piecemeal enclosure reorganised during the same period. The 16th-18th enclosures at Robinson Place, and the probable enclosure of cattle pasture at the western end of Great Langdale, provide an unusually-clear sequence which can be demonstrated in features in the modern landscape. The former medieval inbye hosts the dispersed farmsteads and hamlets in Great Langdale, Little Langdale, and the north bank of the River Brathay; the buildings comprising these also date from the 16th-18th century. The surviving farmsteads overlie earlier farms although apart from a cruck barn at Wall End and re-used crucks in the roof of Middle Fell farmhouse there seems to be little incorporation of earlier fabric.

Earlier settlement survives as suggested colonisation as farms of early medieval-medieval shieling sites in the 12th-14th century, and the traces of a medieval ring garth referred to in 1216. The very small medieval croft enclosures immediately south of Stool End survived until the 20th century; those adjacent to Side House survive to today.

Industry
Since the medieval period the natural resources of Langdale have been harnessed for industrial production. Corn and fulling mills were constructed on many of the rivers and becks in the area and the remains of a corn mill of medieval origin can be seen at the foot of Stickle Ghyll in Great Langdale. (PIC)
However the industries which have left the greatest mark on the landscape of Langdale are slate quarrying and mining. Some of the largest slate quarries in the Lake District operated in Great Langdale at Elterwater and on either side of the valley at Chapel Stile and on the slopes of Lingmoor Fell. (PIC) These were exploiting volcanic slate which is used for roofing. In the area of the Silurian geology there are quarries for slate flags, used for flooring and construction, at Brathay. The well-preserved remains of Greenburn copper mine can be seen at the head of Little Langdale. (PIC)

**Settlements**

The settlement pattern over the area of Langdale is small farming hamlets in the narrow valleys.

The Langdales are particularly rich in examples of vernacular farmhouses which were rebuilt in the relatively affluent period of the late 16th and 17th centuries. These include Fell Foot in Little Langdale, Blea Tarn farmhouse, set in grand isolation with a rugged mountain backdrop, and the majority of the farmhouses in Great Langdale. (PIC)

Further structures of the 16th and 17th centuries which have survived include a series of small, single-span packhorse bridges, including the well-known example of Slater’s Bridge in Little Langdale. (PIC)

Many of the small farming hamlets in Langdale have their origins in the medieval period and were substantially rebuilt in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In contrast to the agricultural basis of some of the hamlets and villages, some notable settlements in Langdale developed as a result of both industry and tourism. For example the village of Elterwater has an early core of 17th century buildings around the bridge in the centre but was expanded greatly in the 18th and 19th centuries due to the demand for labour at the adjacent gunpowder works. In similar vein, Chapel Stile in Great Langdale also expanded during these centuries to provide living accommodation for quarrymen in the local slate quarry.

**DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

*Early tourism*

**Picturesque buildings and landscape**

**Villas and ornamental landscaping**

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**
Although Langdale feature in many of the poems and other writing of the Lakes poets, it is not an area where many took up residence, unlike Grasmere, Rydal and Keswick.

Blea Tarn, separating Great and Little Langdales is the setting for Books II and III of Wordsworth’s poem *The Excursion* (1814). It represents an ultimate unity between man and nature contrasting with the wilderness of Lingmoor Fell above which the narrator of poem travels through:

>A quiet treeless nook, with two green fields,  
A liquid pool that glittered in the sun,  
And one bare Dwelling; one Abode, no more!  

(II.337-39)

In Great Langdale, Dungeon Ghyll Force is the location for Wordsworth’s pastoral poem, *The Idle-Shepherd Boys*. And it was to Great Langdale that George and Sarah Green walked from Far Easedale in 1808, dying in the vicinity of Eagle Crag and Millbeck, leaving eight orphaned children. Dorothy Wordsworth’s *Narrative Concerning George and Sarah Green* is a sensitive but stark revelation of the way in which the poverty of subsistence farmers in the Lake District was masked by their apparent independence as land-owners.

In his text for the Revd Joseph Wilkinson’s *Select Views* (1810), Wordsworth identifies Great Langdale as a ‘must visit’ valley:

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

**DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

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

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

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

The prime mover in this was Dr G M Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History and Master of Trinity College Cambridge, who spent holidays in Great Langdale in the interwar period. In 1928 Trevelyan purchased Stool End and Wall End farms and the Dungeon Ghyll Hotel in Great Langdale in order to donate them to the National Trust. In 1944 he added Harry Place and Mill Beck farms. Between 1928 and 1949 Trevelyan was chairman of the National Trust Estates Committee and he encouraged others to follow his example. It was largely due to his influence that the majority of both Great and Little Langdale ended up in National Trust ownership. Prof GM Trevelyan is buried at Holy Trinity Church in Chapel Stile.

Similar activity was undertaken by the Rev HH Symonds in other parts of the Lake District and in 1937, together with RST Chorley, he established the Lake District Farms Estates Ltd to further pursue the purchase and protection of farms. However the most famous personality involved in the purchase and protection of farms which were later donated to the National Trust was Beatrix Potter. Beatrix Potter’s involvement in Lake District life and farming is outlined elsewhere (Section 3a) and the bequest of farms and other properties that was left to the National Trust by Potter (then Mrs Heelis) and her husband, William Heelis, was substantial, particularly in the Langdale. Farms and property in the area bought by Potter and donated to the National Trust included Busk Farm in Little Langdale, Dale Head farm between Little Langdale and Elterwater and Fletcher Wood, Elterwater.

As a result of the Heelis and Trevelyan bequests and other donations and purchases, the National Trust holdings in the Langdale area are very substantial and form the core of the Trust’s Lake District Estate.
WINDERMERE

Description
THE WINDERMERE VALLEY

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

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

‘The wind blew away the cloud as and the stars shone out high over Swallows……….The deep blue of the sky began to pale over the eastern hills. The islands clustered…..became dark masses on a background no longer as dark as themselves. The colour of the water changes. It had been as black as the hills and the sky, and as these paled so did the lake. The dark islands were dull green and grey, and the rippled water was the colour of a pewter teapot.’

Swallows and Amazons Ch.21, Arthur Ransome

Windermere is the largest natural lake in England. It is a ribbon lake formed in a glacial trough after the retreat of the ice some 12000 years ago. It runs north-south from the meeting of ice from adjacent valleys near what is now the head of the lake carving its way south as one enormous glacier. The valley contains huge diversity in its scenery and character for a variety of reasons, both natural and cultural. The lake and its landscape setting has two distinct basins, north and south, which differ in character owing to a change in the underlying geology from the hard and erosion resistant volcanic rocks in the north to softer shales in the south. There is also a distinct change in landscape character between the more settled east shore and the densely wooded, less accessible west. The Lake District, and in particular the east shore of Windermere, has been one of the country’s most popular destinations for holidays and summer homes since the early 19th century, with rapid expansion following the opening of the railway branch line to Applethwaite, soon to be re-named Windermere, in 1847. The result is an attractive mix of agricultural land with parkland and designed landscape associated with Victorian villas constructed by the new industrialists. The wider Windermere area encompasses other smaller valleys such as Troutbeck and Kentmere to the north of the area, Winster and Lyth to the

Note on further editing expected before final submission

Section 2a - Windermere

This chapter will be re-ordered to fit the layout and structure of Grasmere, Rydal, Ambleside. Further essential additions to content are expected as this chapter is yet to have its first edit of 2015. Some additions have been provided by various authors and require editing into the text considering style and percentage of overall content. At this stage, these sections have been included rather than excluded but note they will be subject to further revision. This particularly refers to the text on history and development of the field systems.
south and the Longsleddale, Bannisdale, Borrowdale and Crookdale valleys in the east. The landscape of these valleys and the higher land between them varies significantly but the general trend is for more rugged, unenclosed fell grazing in the north of the area changing to a lower altitude, more settled, wooded, enclosed and intimate landscape south of the A591/Kendal-Windermere railway corridor.

The northern Windermere valley is dominated by the wide expanse of Lake Windermere, often referred to as such to distinguish it from the village of Windermere (strictly speaking all lakes in the Lake District are referred to as a ‘Water’ – Coniston Water, Wast Water etc. or a ‘mere’ – Thirlmere, Buttermere etc. with the one exception being Bassenthwaite Lake). The impressive backdrop of Wansfell, the Fairfield Horseshoe, Loughrigg, and further away the distinctive skyline of the Langdale Pikes, together with the expanse of water create a dramatic landscape with a strong ‘upland’ character. Influenced by weather and light conditions the developed and busy nature of the tourist hub at Waterhead, the residential development along the east shore, and the A591, somewhat surprisingly, do little to detract from a sense of remoteness and wildness.

Further south the shorelines of the lake have a softer, more wooded and parkland character with the west shore being almost continually cloaked in mainly deciduous woodland on the lower slopes and mixed or coniferous woodland higher up. Although the surrounding fells are much lower and less rugged this creates a sense of enclosure and intimacy, particularly as the lake narrows further south. The eastern shore is speckled with large houses, including a significant number of Arts and Crafts houses including Broadleys (Voysey) and Blackwell (Baillie Scott), often facing the lake and with extensive gardens and parkland planting running down to the lakeshore. Many have a distinctive style of boathouse and a jetty. Ornamental planting, including a diverse range of exotic tree species introduced by the Victorian plant collectors, make a bold statement and add variety, interest and a defining character to the landscape.

The significant settlements around the lake are Waterhead at its northern end, Bowness-on-Windermere roughly at the midpoint of the east shore, Windermere, set back from the lake behind Bowness, and the smaller Lakeside and Newby Bridge at the south end. Bowness is bustling Victorian creation following the arrival of the railway with imposing and ornate hotels, guest houses and shops with all the trappings of ‘high Victorian’ design. Hectic boating activity at the lakeshore including the large lake steamers, yachts, cruisers and rowing boats adds its own character to the lake. East of the lake settlement north of the A591 route from Kendal to Windermere is limited to small agricultural communities of vernacular buildings such as Troutbeck, with its numerous listed buildings, Kentmere Village with its prominent church and fine, fortified, Kentmere Hall and Sadgill in Longsleddale. The A591 links a number of communities including the busy working village of Staveley, prosperous since medieval times as a result of water powered industries such as bobbin manufacture and textiles, with impressive mill buildings and 19th century stone terraced houses. South of the A591 the Winster and Lyth valleys and the low fell farmland between them are densely settled with scattered farms, small villages and hamlets including Crook, Winster, Underbarrow and Crosthwaite and further south in the locality of the busy A590 trunk road Witherslack, Lindale and High Newton.
The Windermere valley is a landscape of great diversity and contrast. It includes the busiest location in the Lake District in the tourist hotspot of Bowness Bay but also the quietest in the valleys and hills of the Shap Fells in the east. It includes high, open, wild landscapes where marginal hill farming is the only sign of human activity, intimate patchworks of enclosed pasture fields nestling between small woodlands and also grand and ornate buildings, gardens and estates created by the influx of enormous wealth from Victorian industrialists seeking to modify their environment to suit their taste and status. It contains the excesses of modern tourism alongside a viable farming system changed little in the last few centuries and modern industries often located in buildings adapted from redundant former uses. The landscape today would still be wholly familiar to the 17th century yeoman farmer or the Victorian tourist and retains a reputation today, as it has done since the 18th century, of being one of the most scenically beautiful areas of the world.

Notable omissions:
Swallows and Amazons (except quote)
Belle Isle
Burnside Hotel
Topographic map of Windermere – North
Topographic map of Windermere - South
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement
The earliest evidence of human activity in Langdale and Windermere is represented by the finding of Mesolithic flints (c. 8,000 – 4,000 BC) beneath the Roman fort at Waterhead at the northern end of Windermere.

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

Before the Norman Conquest
Just outside the Windermere Valley area there are Anglian Crosses known at Kendal and Heversham.

In 685, Earl Ecgfrith of Northumberland granted to St Cuthbert the lands of Cartmel and Carlisle ‘et omnes Britannos cum eo’. This suggests the presence of a ‘native’ subject population.

There is a possible early farmstead site at Cunswick Fell (LDHER 31732), and Bryant’s Gill, Kentmere is a supposed early medieval longhouse site.

There are a variety of placenames indicative of seasonal settlements for putting stock out to summer upland pastures include:
Shielings (High Skelghyll)
Saetr (Banniside, Sadgill)

At the date of the Norman Conquest the valley area appears to have been owned by Gillemichael, as the manor of Strickland. Around the fringes some may alternatively have been owned by: Torfin as the manor of Austwick, Yorks; Earl Tostig as the manor of Whittington, Lancs; and by Earl Tostig as the manor of Beetham. With the exception of the manor of Beetham, by 1086 the land belonged to William I; Beetham had been granted to Roger de Poitou, with Ernuin the priest under him.

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape
The field patterns in other parts of the area testify to a similar history though in less extreme topographic situations. For example the field systems around the villages of Hawkshead and Sawrey have fossilized the pattern of former open town fields, and the same can be seen in Troutbeck where the farms of Town Head and Town End delineate the extent of the open field. Other notable features which can be seen in the present day field pattern include the remains of a 13th century deer park around the Tongue at Troutbeck and the ‘Troutbeck Hundreds’, a series of straight walled fields to the northwest of the village that The Troutbeck Hundreds, north-west of the village, were enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1831.
The character of the field boundaries also varies, with rugged stone walls of volcanic rock in the valleys of Troutbeck, upper Kentmere and Longsleddale and a mixture of stone walls, shard fences (vertical slate walls) and hedges in High Furness.

Important Herdwick flock to the east of Windermere include those at Troutbeck Park and Brockstones, Kentmere. However the incidence of Herdwick flocks generally decreases on the eastern side of the Lake District where there are now more Swaledale flocks, and are fewer in number in the smaller side valleys to the east of Windermere.

The Medieval Period

After the Norman Conquest of England, Westmorland was still border country and Cumberland was not made part of Norman England until 1092 (Newman R 2006:93). All Kentdale (including Beetham) was granted to Ivo de Tallebois by William II, probably in connection with his efforts in that conquest. Westmarieland (as in Barony of Appleby as opposed to Barony of Kendal?) was a royal possession in 1130 (Pipe Roll) but not all of it is accounted for (Farrer and Curwen 1923:7-17). Farrer and Curwen propose that Kentdale was not a royal possession in 1130; it may have been held in trust for the future Roger de Mowbray, who came of age in 1140.

Henry I c 1114 granted to Stephen of Blois the whole honor of Lancaster which included Cartmel and Cartmel Fells. Stephen, as king, enfeoffed William de Lancaster of the lands of Warton in Kentdale, and Roger de Mowbray enfeoffed the same William of all his land of Lonsdale, Kentdale and Horton in Ribblesdale, to hold by the service of four knights (c1145-54) (Farrer and Curwen 1923:7-17). During the majority of King Stephen of England’s reign (1135-1154), Cumberland and Westmarieland were held by King David of Scotland. It was through King David that Westmarieland came to Hugh de Morevill, Constable of Scotland. At Henry II of England’s accession in 1154 William de Lancaster rented lands in Westmarieland and Kentdale from Morevill for a Noutgeld of £14 6s 3d) (Farrer and Curwen 1923:7-17)., a rent payable in cattle.

Westmarieland was a royal (English) possession again at Michaelmas 1176 however; Farrer and Curwen suggest that “the change of paramount lord had little, if any, effect on the position of William de Lancaster in Kentdale” (Farrer and Curwen 1923:7-17).

“The parish of Windermere, like Grasmere, were “forest.” Down to a comparatively recent period there were no freeholds in these parishes except the Fleming estate in Rydal and Loughrigg, monastic land such as the Conishead Priory estate at Baisbrown, a small freehold estate in Little Langdale, and a freehold at Lickbarrow. Windermere water was a several fishery of the lords of Kendale, and so it has always lain in Kentdale and the county of Westmorland.”

Farrer and Curwen 1923 'Introduction', in Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale: Volume 1, ed. William Farrer and John F Curwen (Kendal, 1923), pp. vii-xvii
Open Fields
The settlements in Kentdale appear to have many open-field origins. Some unusually may be characterised by settlements at either end, although this may reflect the origin of one settlement as a separate lord’s holding.

Sadgill and Stockdale
At the north end of Longsleddale appears to retain some open field strips on both sides of the road, bounded on the west side by the R Sprint. Longsleddale doesn’t appear until 1692, whereas Sadgill adjacent appears from 1238 onwards. In 1282 Margaret de Ros owned 600 a. pasture across Sadeill and Strickland Ketel. That the shieling at Sadgill (derived from saetr?) is still referred to thus in 1283 (perhaps also 1360) suggests it was still recognised as seasonal upland pasture. “1246 William de Lancastre III gave to Robert de Layburn a shieling in Sleddale at Sadgill by bounds (described), to hold for ld. yearly and 3½ a. meadow with pasture, worth 10s. yearly; Reg. of D. at Levens Hall; Lancs. Inq. pt. i, 167. “The same William gave to Roland son of Ellis de Revegill 39 a. land, meadow and pasture in Sleddale by bounds (described) worth £5 yearly, to hold for 1d. yearly; ib.; Lancs. Inq., pt. i, 167.”

William Farrer and John F Curwen (Kendal, 1923), Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale: Volume 1, pp. 300-307
Pasture in Longsleddale seems to have been shared amongst a variety of landowners, including the monasteries, as shown by a 1263 agreement between local landowners and the Abbot of Shap. The ruins of the ‘convent’s mill of Revegill’ described in this document are thought to survive on the hillside overlooking the River Sprint opposite Yewbarrow Hall and the church. Sleddale appears in the Patent Rolls of 1229, although a manor in the dale of Sleddale is not referred to until 1306. In the 1332 Subsidy of a Fifteenth refers to 9 individuals, perhaps each the head of a household, liable variously for 15s. (1), 30s. (5), 40s. (1) to 60s. (1).

A tenement west of the R Spryt is referred to in 1364 as held by Thomas son of Benedict. Perhaps this is Tom’s Howe - Henry Holme of Tomshow was buried Sleddale Chappel, 19 December 1713; the first to be buried at the chapel after it was licensed for burial 1713. The farms at Stockdale and Tom’s Howe, and the shieling at Sadgill, are perhaps relics of the ‘deserted medieval village’ of Longsleddale. Machell (1690s) “mentions 2 hamlets at the head of Sleddale in the middle of which is a chapel and a court. He says there are 39 families living here (S1291 p. 94). ~ The MVRG Index records a deserted medieval village which although not mentioned in the Domesday Book (1065-86), can be found in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1332 and of 1334/36”. Tom’s Howe sits apart from the Sleddale open fields, and may well represent the farm of a feudal steward. An enclosure at Sleddale is referred to in 1336 as having been broken into and timber and goods carried away.

Garnett Bridge
at the foot of Longsleddale, around the Sleddalefoot Mill
Ing
to the immediate south of Troutbeck Park, ‘Ing’ place-name a toponym indicating a
narrow corner. Troutbeck Park and Dale Head are among the earliest places to
appear documented (in 1272 in an IPM).

Troutbeck hamlet
Trotbeck as a settlement may be referred to obliquely in the 1272 reference to
Troutbeck Park, in that reference is made to pannage of Applethwaite and Troutbeck
in Troutbeck Forest. A medieval chapel was rebuilt 1562.
The 1324 IPM of Ingram de Gynes records that he held at his death:
“the hamlet of Troutbek, parcel of the said manor of Wynandremer, in which there
are 11 tenants at will, who render £11 8s. 2½d. yearly, six tenements there were in
the lord's hands and ought to render £5 11s. 2½d. yearly and now nothing”
[The timing of this document suggests that the Scots laid it waste, perhaps also that
Ingram himself was a victim of this episode]

Townend to Ibbotsholme
(monastic placename?) – this may possibly contain the Old Park, which supposedly
extended to the water, and which was divided among the....?

Orrest and Near Orrest
Orrest and Orrest Head don't appear until 1626 Manorial Court Rolls, but both Orrest
Head Farm and Far Orrest incorporate the remains of cruck-trusses so represent re-
used timber from medieval buildings. To the west of Causey, which doesn’t appear
until 1838, around Galls Tarn there is an area of tightly-wound fields, although there
doesn't appear to be a settlement associated with this.
Note Scroggs appearance in the recently enclosed land; this probably makes an
appearance in a 1636 IPM, referring to 2 closes in Bradleyfield one called "le
Uppermost Close" the other "Scroggy Close".

Hugill and Ings
Hugill appears from 1457 onwards, these may preserve some strips, although the
picture is quite distorted.
Brundriggs is a nicely enclosed space, quite curious.

South of Kentmere
North of Kentmere
NB Kentmere may be part of the references to Strickland Ketel
“Down to the 15th century, the following hamlets were described as lying within the
vill of Strickland Ketel, Whinfell, Longsleddale, Bannisdale, Skelsmergh, Strickland
Roger, Staveley, Hugill, Kentmere, Applethwaite, Undermillbeck, Little Langdale,
Crook, Crosthwaite and Winster. It is important to remember that an action described
in the plea rolls as relating to Strickland Ketel may in fact relate to one of the hamlets
of that vill.”

Staveley in Kendal
The open fields may even the whole area north of Staveley, hence Over Staveley?
Staveley appears early on, in a grant 1189-1200. The grantee (William Godmund) is given liberty to ‘make improvements between the highway and Kent to the bounds of Bolteston and common of pasture’. If the highway skirts Spy Crag then this may be associated with Staveley Park Farm, preserving in its placename a lord’s holding (in blue). Alternatively if the highway is the old Kendal Road the a suggested outline to this park is presented in red below; perhaps it includes land either side of the Kent, up to the common on Spy Crag. The outline this has been distorted closer to the line of the railway. The first reference to a park at Staveley is in an IPM of 1323, although by 1344 another IPM records that it had been split into two pieces, of 1/3 and 2/3; this may perhaps record the customary right of a widow of a copyholder to only 1/3 of a. The park is referred in 1396, and not again until 1525 when 5 messuages are recorded within its boundaries.

In 1281 there is a grant to William de Twenge for a market on Fridays at his manor of Staveley in Kendale, and a 3 days’ annual fair. Old Chapel of St. Margaret is said to have been first built as a chapel of Kendal in 1388.

**East of Howe**

A possible group, although Howe doesn’t appear until 1535 and there are no good candidates for strips.

**Bradleyfield, SE of Cunswick Hall**

One of the clearer examples. Cunswick is recorded in 1186-1200, along with part of the vill of Tranthwaite by described bounds. In 1220–46 the vill of Tranthwaite appears again, with references to Bracanrigg (probably indicating rigg and furrow or open field cultivation), a High Assart and Adam’s Assart (both indicating recent clearance).

**Crosthwaite**

There seems to be a small area of arable to the south of (and part of?) Crosthwaite Green. Crosthwaite first appears in 1187-1200. In 1301 there is reference to a mill here. A 1374 Rental refers to a ‘tenter’ at Mirks Howe (Mirkhouse?), two closes (one called Malasdogghar), one intake and an improvement (probably also enclosed). In a 1454 Rental one intake is recorded as ‘newly enclosed’ by William Belle (“for which he does not answer because he occupied the said intake without lease or licence of the steward”).

**Great Hartbarrow**

Quite indistinct around Great Hart Barrow itself, though, and perhaps in part derives from lynchets there? NB Intake Wood suggests development continues into later period.

Thornythwaite @ Cartmel Fell

**Thorfinsty**

Has a classic Hall at one end of former open field. It appears first in 1275–6 as:
“a messuage and a plough-land in a suit against the Prior of Cartmel, alleging that the prior had no right except by one Alexander de Thorphinsty, who had made a grant there to the injury of the plaintiff's grandfather, Thomas le Fitz Kelly or son of Ketel. The prior raised a technical objection—that Thorphinsty was neither town nor borough—and plaintiff could not gainsay.” (Farrer and Curwen Townships: Cartmel Fell', in A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8, ed. William Farrer and J Brownbill (London, 1914), pp. 281-285

Simpson Ground

Staveley in Cartmel
Placename Line Riggs backs this up, although documentation is little help; a ‘Town End’ at the north of this group is shown on the Clarke 1787 map of Windermere.

Ayside
Contains placename saetr?

Higher to Nether Newton

Field Broughton

Lindale

Row & Howe

Cowmire Hall
Possible @ Town End, although Cowmire doesn’t appear until 1675 in the Parish Registers. It is difficult to see where an open field would have been, unless directly to the north of Cowmire Hall as suggested.

Mirkhouse and Hubbersty Head
Hubbersty appears as Ubberstede in 1283.

Strip lynchets
These undated features occur on the steep hillsides east side of Holbeck Ghyll, and there is a ‘deserted medieval village’ to the west behind the Low Wood Hotel, with ridge-and-furrow agriculture extending upslope; some of this is clearly broad ridge and furrow agriculture.

The enclosure of the land between Waterhead House and Thief Fold Wood seems to (from the maps alone) indicate similar improvement of land for agriculture as lynchets. Perhaps the drive towards arable improvement in the 12th and 13th centuries was interrupted permanently in the 14th century for the reasons commonly provided.

Do these occur around the southern end of the area as well, on the coast, around Meathop?

Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads
There are examples of what appear to be colony farms, set apart from the open field settlements, which represent 12th-13th century settlement expansion.
Possible examples include:
Wastdale Head nr packhorse route to Shap; Hause Foot in Crookdale; Borrowdale Head; and
Bannisdale Head (which first appears first in 1357 under Strickland Ketel (IPM)).

**Sow Howe**

**Mislet and Heaning**
Grassgarth at the head of Mislet doesn’t appear until 1711.

**Foxfield**

**Monasteries**
1263 Shap Abbey sheep-farming interest and a mill at Longsleddale
In 1525 the abbot and convent of St Mary’s Abbey, York, granted and let-to-farm to
“James Layburne, esquier, all the tethe cornez of the hamelett of Skelmyssergh with
all the approwmentes at the making herof enclosed within the seid hamelett in the
pishinge of Kirkeby in Kendal, exepte the tethe cornez with the approwmentes of
the tenementes of Gilthwartrige, Ladyforde, the tenemente of John Redemayn and of
a tenimento late in the handez of Willm. Gilpyne; also thei have latten to ferme to the
seid James Layburn all the tethe cornez of Bradeleyfeld and Tranthwate wth
Connyswik, Bulmerstrandes and Bradesl[ak] [eaten away] with ther intakes and
approvementes which Thomas Layburn father to the seid James occupied afortyme;”
This document refers to enclosed improvements in Skelmsergh, and also to various
lands in Cunswick, Bradleyfield and Tranthwaiate which have been subjected to
intakes and improvements.
In the medieval period the hamlets of Addyfield, Hartbarrow, Birket Houses,
Ludderburn, Rosthwaite and Gill Head and the northern end of Cartmel Fell were
held for the most part by customary tenants of the Prior and canons of Cartmel; a
great deal of it was common land although by 1577 after the authority of Cartmel
was removed there were disputed encroachments onto the fell, locations unknown.
The only manor in this area was Burblethwaite.
Thorfinstny is another example of how land ownership evolved from customary rights
once the monasteries had been removed from the equation. Mabel Benson claimed
Thorfinstny unsuccessfully in 1577. In 1587 Thomas Allen claimed the tenement
under a lease from the Crown for twenty-one years at a rent of £3 2s. 8d. This was
the rent formerly paid to the priory. Thomas Hutton said that he and his ancestors
had held the same as customary lands of the manor of Cartmel.

**Deer Parks**

**Troutbeck Park**
Troutbeck Park and Dalehead are recorded from a very early age (1272). By 1552
Troutbeck Park is believed to have been disparked.
NB the ‘Old Park’ is reported (by Scott 1904) as at the southern end extending down
to the lake which would make the park at the northern end (Dalehead?) the new
park.
This may not be correct, and perhaps it was Le Cole Park which was disparked (see
below).
**Calgarth Park**
recorded from 1365.

**Kentmere Park**
Clearly occupies the high ground to the west of Kentmere Hall, and can be fairly confidently traced. The Hall was established in the 14th century, but the park doesn’t appear documented until 1559 as ‘my feeding land called le Parke’ [George Gilpin’s IPM dated 1617 quotes the 1595 marriage settlement in which George Gilpin includes the Hall etc].
Cusnwick Hall Deer Park

**Witherslack Hall**
is not mentioned until the 1600s (see below).

**Others unknown location**
There are others at:
Routheworth Park? 1255–72 (Underbarrow, Bradley Field and Cunswick), location unknown;
and
Le Cole Park, (1437, Ambleside and Troutbeck) location unknown.

**16th-17th Centuries**

**Reorganisation of the medieval landscape**
This period or reorganisation and expansion is relatively well-documented compared to the other Lake District valleys. Nonetheless, even with documented evidence for new intakes of land (below) it is mostly a picture of small episodes of piecemeal enclosure, developed over long periods ‘microscopically elaborated by each generation mosaic-style’ (Dick, 1966).
With a broad brush view, the HLC shows intake occurring extensively in the NE of the area, although this is on closer inspection attributed to Recent Enclosure of Fell, which is more likely.

In the south of the valley area, intakes occur at the edges of inbye, probably occupying easily accessible slopes on former common land adjacent to existing holdings, around Staveley-in-Kendal, for example.

**Piecemeal enclosure**
There is an unusually broad body of evidence, but it is impossible to identify the following examples without further field investigation.

**1560 Court of Henry, earl of Cumberland** (Ambleside and Troutbeck):
“The tenants of Appultwhait who ought to make Bregzeat (fn. 2) (or Bregyeat) have two gaps (8d.) and 2 defects (4d.) in their fences there, 12d.; Christ. Broun has 2 defects in his fence 4d.; Robert Byrkhead and his fellows have one defect in their fence, 2d.; Thomas Coikeson will not hang his gate at his field against pain 4d.; the wife of John Barwick and Robert Barwick for the like, 4d.; Roger Aray for one defect in Ynggarth, 2d.; Thomas Atkynson for the like, 2d.; the tenants of Dromylhead for a gap, 4d.; Thomas Atkynson and Math. Dikeson for one defect between them in their fence at Headdike, 2d.; Math. Dikeson and George Rallandson in like manner at
Woundall, 2d.; Anthony Birkhead for one defect in his fence, 2d.; the wife of John Barwick for the like, 2d.”
This shows that tenants were responsible for maintaining the enclosures around their tenements.

1567 deed (Underbarrow and Bradleyfield):
Refers to “a close called Nether Merbank, containing 3 a., and another close called Over Merbank, containing 3 a.”

1574 Richmond Fee Survey (Crosthwaite and Lyth):
“Relict of Miles Briges for an improvement”

1574 Richmond Fee Survey (Ambleside and Troutbeck):
This is followed by a Memorandum that “the said tenants claim to have annexed and adjoined to each tenement of the rent of 6s. 8d., 7 acres of arable and meadow land by divers grants of divers lords”

1579 Articles of Agreement (Crosthwaite and Lyth):
“Item that the Tenandes within their tenementes maye take woodde for plow and harro, soo they make no wast; and if thaye haue no wooodd vpon the same then the Baylef to deliuer thaime in an other manes Tenement suche as shalbe nedfull.
Item that the Tenaundes maie take suche wodde as groweth wth in theire owne Orchard to cut downe at their pleasur.
Item that euerie Tenand beinge allowed by the Lordes Quest, and Baylef, maie Stub and grubbe all olde deade woodd wth in their farmeholdes in any place wheare they maie make arroble grounde or medowe, for the amendment of his Tenement.”
Suggests that the tenants were given some license to make arable ground or meadow for the amendment of their tenement.

1579 conveyance (Longsleddale):
many farms and the occupants of Longsleddale are recorded by name, and many of these may have already been present before the Dissolution:
“30 messuages &c. and lands in Sleddall, Stockdall, Swinkelbancke, Sadgyllthwaite, Sadgylthhead, Stockdallhead, Sleddallhead, Graycragg, Arncruew and Towside;”
The same number of farms are presented in the Hearth Tax for 1669/72 a hundred years later, suggesting that the last 500 years has seen very little change in Longsleddale, and possibly longer.

1593 Rental of the Marquis Fee:
refers to particulars of improvements in Crosthwaite.

1558–1603 A rental of Underbarrow (Underbarrow and Bradleyfield):
refers to “a tenement on the west end of Crooke of ancient time improved of the lord”, as well as an “Olde close”.

1595 marriage settlement quoted in 1617 IPM for George Gilpin (Kentmere):
“George also owned several of the small farms south west of the Hall “houses and buildings at Park Yeate and closes adjoining”. It looks as if he had managed to buy out enough of his humbler neighbours to make what had been “Wrea Quarter pasture”12 into his personal pasture land. George also owned several of the small farms south west of the Hall “houses and buildings at Park Yeate and closes
adjoining”. It looks as if he had managed to buy out enough of his humbler neighbours to make what had been “Wrea Quarter pasture” into his personal pasture land. The Gilpins of the Hall no longer needed a team of sturdy neighbours to follow them to the wars, and soon there were no other houses in what became known as “Hall Quarter”. It is recorded in an 18th century document that a man born in 1683 “hath heard an ancient woman say that her mother was born in one” of these houses.13 When the site of one of them was excavated in 1991, the only dating evidence that came to light was, significantly, a sixpenny piece of Elizabeth I (1558-1603). 14


1618 Lumley Fee Rental (Crosthwaite and Lyth):
38 entries in the MS. record the rents of new improvements paid by the tenants whose names have been entered above as the holders of tenements.

1636 IPM (Underbarrow and Bradleyfield):
records 2 closes in Bradleyfield one called “le Uppermost Close” the other "Scroggy Close".

1669 Demise document (Longsleddale): refers to sheep heafes, as in formerly common pasture now attached to specific farms by custom.
The tenants were liable for repair and maintenance to the fences and walls, presumably a codification of historic local custom.

Troutbeck Hundreds
Troutbeck Parish is divided into hundreds as Kentmere is divided into Quarters. Originally divided into 72 tenements called five-cattle tenements, each had five cattle ‘gaits’ onto the fells and the common pasture. As early as Henry VIII some tenants had doubled their holdings by acquisition into ten-cattle tenements (all quotes from Scott 1904). It is difficult to identify these original tenements, as it is difficult to identify the location of the Old Park.
The development is likely seen in the 1574 Richmond Fee Survey in which most (of 56) tenants are calculated as 6s 8d. Only 8 tenants have precisely double this, at 13s 8d. Some smaller rental units mean that it is difficult to account for the 72 original tenements but they are likely still present within this pattern.
Scott 1904 says that after the Old Park was divided among the tenants the rent was fixed at 6s 8d.
In 1675 Scott says that there were 48 tenants, 16 fewer than in 1574. Of these only 22 had the 6s 8d intact; others held larger tenements or parts thereof.

18th-19th Centuries
The majority of the ‘Recent Enclosure’ shown on the map above can probably be matched to the numerous Parliamentary Enclosure Awards that occur from the early 19th C. Smaller examples were probably enclosed by private agreement or else represent improved and drained mosses in the south of the area, with the exception of the Cartmel Fell uplands. It is likely that a good deal of the ‘Intake’ around
Longsleddale is actually Recent Enclosure of Fell, as the info tool shows, and not intake per se.

1796 - 1809 Cartmel Fell Enclosure Award (incl Staveley, Lower Holker and Lower Allithwaite)
1815. Enclosure map of Heversham
1816. Enclosure map of Strickland Kettle
1822 township of Undermilbeck
1823 Crook enclosure award 1823
1828. Underbarrow and Bradleyfield
1829 Witherslack Inclosure Award,
1829. Enclosure map of Whitfell and Selside, Fawcett Forest
1831. Enclosure map of Ireleth, Lindal and Martin, Kirkby Ireleth
1842 Applethwaite Enclosure including Hugill and Troutbeck, WQR/I/6
1849 Sleddale Forest Inclosure Award
1850. Enclosure map of Kentmere commonfield
1854. Enclosure map of Green Quarter
1854. Enclosure map of Over Staveley
1868 Sadgill or High Fell. Includes Kendal and Longsleddale

Farm Buildings

Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

Industry

Since the medieval period the natural resources of Windermere have been harnessed for industrial production. Corn and fulling mills were constructed on many of the rivers and becks in the area.  

Numerous medieval bloomeries (iron smelting sites) are scattered throughout High Furness and most of the woods in this area contain evidence of charcoal production in the form of charcoal burning platforms, or pitsteads. In the late 17th and early 18th century water power was introduced into the iron smelting process to create a more efficient smelt and the remains of water powered bloomeries can be seen at Cunsey on the west side of Windermere.  

Settlements

The settlement pattern over the large area of Windermere is very varied and ranges from small farming hamlets in the narrow valleys to the large conjoined town (in Lake District terms) of Bowness and Windermere with its tourist facilities.
The earliest surviving domestic structures are the remains of defended pele towers of the 14th century which are generally located on the periphery of the Lake District. Examples here include Yewbarrow Hall in Longsleddale, Kentmere Hall, and possible Calgarth Hall on the east side of Windermere. (PIC)

However the finest example in the area and probably the entire Lake District is Town End at Troutbeck, one of the jewels of the National Trust’s Lake District estate. (PIC) The house at Town End dates from 1626 and belonged to the Browne family. It is a typical house of a well-to-do Lake District yeoman family, of stone and slate construction with wood-mullioned windows and characteristic tall, round chimneys. The house contains a wealth of internal detail including carved furniture and fittings and forms part of an important group of buildings which includes a fine 17th century bank barn. Town End was passed down through 12 generations of the Browne family until 1943, when it was acquired by the National Trust. (PIC)

Other fine examples of 17th century vernacular buildings include Low Miller Ground, situated on the eastern shore of Windermere lake, at the old ferry crossing on the ancient packhorse route between Kendal and Hawkshead. (PIC) Further south along the shore is Rayrigg Hall, built in the 17th century and with the addition of a superb 18th century wing. Further structures of the 16th and 17th centuries which have survived include larger bridges including the 16th century example at Newby Bridge which forms a fine setting to the southern end of Windermere lake. (PIC)

Many of the small farming hamlets in Windermere have their origins in the medieval period and were substantially rebuilt in the 16th and 17th centuries. Examples include Kentmere. However the finest example is the village of Troutbeck, which along with Town End, includes some of the best surviving examples of groups of farm buildings from the 16th and 17th centuries. Troutbeck is first mentioned in a document of 1292 but its name has earlier Norse origins relating to the spawning of trout in the adjacent beck. However, very few buildings in the village pre-date the prosperous period of the mid-17th century. (PIC)

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

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

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

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

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

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

84
The town of Bowness-on-Windermere probably has its origins in the 11th century and is first mentioned as ‘Bulebas’ in 1190, becoming ‘Bulness’ in 1282. By this time Bowness was already well established as a settlement, primarily a fishing village (centred on catching the char found in Windermere), grouped around St Martin’s Church. The town lay almost directly on the ancient packhorse route from Hawkshead to Kendal which crossed the lake at the old ferry point at Low Miller Ground. Over the centuries, the lake also came to support commercial traffic associated with slate, copper, timber, wool and tourists from the 19th century.

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

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

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

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

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

**Halls and Pele Towers**

**Witherslack Hall**
This probably first appears in 1542, perhaps taking advantage of newly-freed-up monastic land. In 1653-4 the surrounding park is described in detail as:

“capital messuage or mansion house commonly called Wither Slacke situate in Witherslack Park and one barn, an oxhouse, a stable and a malt kiln, a courtyard, an orchard, a garden and greens, containing in the whole by estimation 2 acres 1 rood; and also all that Park or demesne lands called Witherslack Park consisting of several parcels of land, namely, 33 acres arable, 37 acres meadow, 620 acres of rokey and woody pasture bounded on the south-east with a certain parcel of land called the "Deare Garthes," on the north with Whitbury common and a place called Howredding, on the west with certain lands called Poobancke and on the south with certain lands called the Customary Lands and with a certain common called Witherslack Common; and also all that "stocke and game of deare" in the said Park and all and every or any other part of the premises . . . . . . whatsoever to the said capital messuage park and premises belonging. All which now are or late were in tenure of the said John Leyburne or his assigns; and all other the lands tenements and hereditaments in Witherslack, etc., and containing in the whole by estimation 694 acres, 3 roods”

The deer park boundary is suggested to be on the east side of Witherslack Hall.

**Cunswick Hall**
The House has been entirely re-built except for a portion of early 16th-century rubble walling; the Gatehouse is 15th or early 16th-century.

**Calgarth Hall**
There is 14th century fabric (a doorway) indicating that there was a medieval house at right angles to the present hall. The hall contains fabric from the 15th-17th C.

**Crook Hall**
This was built probably early in the 18th century. Inside the building, however, is a re-used early 16th-century moulded beam.

**Cowmire Hall**
This originated (built probably in the 16th century) as a pele-tower, now the west wing of the present house.

**Kentmere Hall**
The ruined pele-tower at the west end of the house dates from the 14th century; the house itself is perhaps of the end of the 14th or of the next century.
Meathop Hall
Meathop Hall was built late in the 17th or early in the 18th century.

Yewbarrow Hall
The pele tower at Yewbarrow Hall is probably first mentioned in 1531, when William Vaux and Joan his wife passed by fine to Anne and Thomas Haryngton tenements in Langsleydayll [probably including Yewbarrow Hall]; Feet of Fines, 24 Henry VIII. (in William Farrer and John F Curwen (Kendal, 1923), Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale: Volume 1 pp. 300-307). It is referred to as a dower in 1573, but probably developed from a ‘capital messuage’, perhaps in its own land as suggested below.

Surviving 17th century buildings
Many sites occupy medieval settlements, where wooden buildings were demolished or cannibalised. The 14th century Scottish invasion probably demolished most of the houses present in the 1320s. Other than fabric from the pele towers which were hurriedly erected after this, a single medieval building at Garthrow overlooking Kendal is the earliest surviving vernacular architecture in the Lake District. The majority of vernacular architecture in the valley area dates from the 17th century. A small number of buildings are known to contain original (probably 16thC) or re-used (medieval) crucks; the actual number may possibly be higher. The following paragraphs provide some detail, but time didn’t allow a full investigation of the 1936 RCHME survey. In Staveley in Kendal there are some notable 17th C survivals: Barley Bridge, Staveley Park Farm, High Scroggs, Low Scroggs and Low Fold.

Most of the surviving rural building stock in Troutbeck dates from the 17th century including the 1626 Townend (which has many 17th C additions) in the ownership of the National Trust. The Troutbeck ‘secular monuments’ recorded in the RCHME are also mostly 17th century, with only 6 dating to the 18th century. Glenside has heavy wall-posts which may indicate a cruck-frame, although the present building is dated 1634.

Most of the surviving rural building stock in Underbarrow and Bradleyfield dates from the 17th century, with only 8 notable buildings from the 18th C. In Undermillock there are 10 notable buildings from the 18th C. The remainder are 17th century and the church rebuilt in 1875 contains 17th century fittings.

In Windermere, most (17) of the surviving rural building stock dates from the 17th century, with 11 notable buildings from the 18th C. Orrest Head Farm and Far Orrest both incorporate the remains of cruck-trusses, and Low Longmire is said to have a cruck-roof.

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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

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

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

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

Picturesque buildings and landscape

Modification of the landscape around Windermere resulting from picturesque interest began with the creation of new woodland, often using imported, non-native species. The Rev. Braithwaite is reported to have planted over 40,000 different plants or trees in Scar Wood in 1797. It is likely that many of these were non-native species, although a number of oaks were also planted. At about this time John Curwen began to acquire land on the west side of the lake for his Belle Isle Estate, purchasing a number of properties between Pinstones Wood in the north and Cunsey in the south in the period 1783 to 1805. He undertook planting on Belle Isle in the early 1780s but his largest scheme was at Heald Wood where according to Curwen’s annotated map of his estate “(in) 1798 by the desire of my respected friend Dr Watson Bishop of LLandaff I planted here 30,000 Larches”.

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

Villas and ornamental landscaping

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

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

The designs of the houses and villas which followed the construction of Belle Isle were more conventional in terms of contemporary design but also had a significant impact on the landscape around the lake. Brathay Hall, near Clappersgate, now an outward bound centre, was also built in the late 18th century to a classical design and Dove Nest, built in 1780 above the eastern shore of the lake in a more romantic style. (PICs)

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

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

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

Ornamental Parkland and Designed Landscapes
There are many of these in the valley area:
Meathop Grange is 20th C
Hampsfield House and the grounds below are late-19th C, first appearing on the 1899 OS Lancs edition.
Borwick’s Aynsome Farm and the surrounding gardens are early 19th C at the latest; the farm is Late C17 or C18.
The grounds of Broughton Lodge are late 19th C, first appearing on the 1899 OS Lancs edition. The Lodge itself was built 1780-90 by J Birch or his son. For directors of Backbarrow Cotton Mill.
The small parcel of parkland at Stony Dale, Field Broughton, is 20th C, although the house is c1790 and 1811.
Haws Wood, on the shore of Windermere, is ornamental parkland on the HLC, it is woodland on Clarke’s 1787 map.
Fell Foot Park, National Trust owned, on the southern tip of Windermere, contains a splendid Victorian boathouse surrounded by formal parkland and gardens.
Thorns Villa (now Barn) is shown as formal park/gardens on both 19th C OS maps; a house called Thorns is shown on the 1770 West map.
The Gilpin Lodge Hotel grounds don’t appear until the 20th C; the house was built as a private residence in 1901.
Belle Isle started to become a pleasure ground in the 18th century, Wordsworth described the (Grade I-Listed) cylindrical building (started) as a tea canister in a shop window. The island was landscaped by Thomas White in the 1780s.
Low Bridge House, Selside, was built 1837 by the R Fothergill; the gardens probably date from the same period.
The Howe, Troutbeck, is probably a mid-19th landscape garden, perhaps built for Admiral Wilson who is recorded at the house in 1867.
Calgarth Hall grounds were turned over to formal gardens probably in the early 19th century soon after the hall was rebuilt (1790).
Adjacent to Calgarth, the Brockhole House and Gardens were built c1910 for Thomas Mawson of Manchester, and these are now the Lake District National Park Visitor Centre.

Romantic sites, buildings and associations

Although Windermere feature in many of the poems and other writing of the Lakes poets, it is not an area where many took up residence, unlike Grasmere, Rydal and Keswick.
In later years Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy visited many of the major residences around Windermere including in William’s case a visit to Bishop Watson at Calgarth Hall. As a young man, and ardent republican, he had, fallen out with the Bishop over political developments in France (prompting his ‘Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff in 1793). Coleridge and De Quincey were also entertained at Calgarth. Lowwood on Windermere was the place where Dorothy recorded in her famous Grasmere Journal her sorrowful parting from her brothers William and John when they set off on a tour of Yorkshire in 1800. In 1802 she wrote a critical account of the house and landscaped gardens on Belle Isle and visited the owners, the Curwens, in 1831.

Like many who have since enjoyed the lake and its surroundings, Wordsworth and his school friends ended up at The White Lion in Bowness: ‘nor did we want/Refreshment, strawberries and mellow cream.’ (ibid.) Among Wordsworth’s friends at Hawkshead were Fletcher Raincock and John. Both these friends were brought together in memorable poetry associated with Windermere:

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There was a Boy: ye knew him well, ye cliffs
And islands of Winander!- many a time
At evening when the stars had just begun
To move along the edges of the hills,
Rising or setting, would he stand alone
Beneath the trees or by the glimmering lake,
And there, with fingers interwoven, both hands
Pressed closely palm to palm, and to his mouth
Uplifted, he, as through an instrument,
Blew mimic hootings to the silent owls,
That they might answer him; and they would shout
Across the watery vale, and shout again
Responsive to his call…’ (Ibid. Book V.389-401)
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As a student returning home from Cambridge, Wordsworth would cross the ridge at Banner Rigg, as car-borne visitors do today, see Windermere and know he was almost home:

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‘A pleasant sight it was when, having clomb
The Heights of Kendal, and that dreary moor
Was crossed, at length, as from a rampart’s edge,
I overlooked the bed of Windermere.
I bounded down the hill, shouting amain
A lusty summons to the farther shore
For the old Ferryman…” (Ibid. Book IV. 1-7)
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DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similar activity was undertaken by the Rev HH Symonds in other parts of the Lake District and in 1937, together with RST Chorley, he established the Lake District Farms Estates Ltd to further pursue the purchase and protection of farms. One of these was Stockdale Farm in Longsleddale, which was placed under National Trust restrictive covenant in 1944.
However the most famous personality involved in the purchase and protection of farms which were later donated to the National Trust was Beatrix Potter. Beatrix Potter’s involvement in Lake District life and farming is outlined elsewhere (Section 3a) and the bequest of farms and other properties that was left to the National Trust by Potter (then Mrs Heelis) and her husband, William Heelis, was substantial, particularly in the Windermere area. One of the earliest farms that Potter purchased was Troutbeck Park, which at the time was one of the largest Herdwick farms in the Lake District. (PIC)

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

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

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

Description
The Coniston Valley

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

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

The Coniston valley is very different to the northern and western Lake District valleys in its composition and in how its landscape and scenery change as the rivers make their journey to the sea. Typically a Lakeland river valley begins in the wild and remote high fells before more gentle topography and increasing human influence combine to produce a ‘softer’, more managed landscape. Here, the valley runs north-south but the most obvious differences in landscape character are a west-east split where the high, rugged fells including the Old Man of Coniston and Weatherlam comprise the west side of the valley and the east is heavily forested low fell extending across to the west shore of Windermere for almost its entire length. Human influence is readily apparent throughout the valley represented by mining and quarrying in the high fells, pastoral farming on the lower ground, extensive woodlands supporting traditional woodland industries and intensive silviculture centred on Grizedale. Outside the high fell and forests the valley is relatively densely settled. Recreation contributes much to the character of the valley with the Coniston fells being popular with walkers and climbers, Grizedale Forest being a recreation hub for cycling, all kinds of family activities and the arts, and a range of water based activities on Coniston Water, the third largest Lake in the Lake District.

Despite, or perhaps even because of, former mine and quarry workings the Coniston fells have all the attributes of wild, remote high fell. Mine and quarry waste add to the natural crags, outcrops and screes to create a coarse-textured, ‘rough’ appearance.
to the landscape and the clutter of spoil tips, adits, shafts and decaying mining machinery give the landscape a haunting feeling of abandonment.

Coniston, still very much a working village, grew simultaneously to serve the farming and mining communities and then expanded as a tourist destination in the Victorian era thanks in part to the opening of a branch of the Furness Railway in 1859. This is reflected in the mix of building styles from vernacular to 'High-Victorian'. The fells, the village and the lake are inextricably linked, visually, historically, and economically both through past industries and present-day tourism. The village sits comfortably in the landscape and viewed from the east shore of Coniston Water around Brantwood the combination of lake, village and fell scenery is magnificent.

To the east of Coniston Water the scale of the forest plantations can only really be appreciated from elevated viewpoints. The forest overlays the low fells and hides an uneven topography with frequent rocky outcrops. The forest has the capacity to absorb high numbers of visitors and a dense network of footpaths, bridleways and forest tracks used as mountain bike trails emanating from the visitor centre at Grizedale. To the south of the coniferous forestry the low fells are a patchwork of pasture and deciduous woodland which creates a sense of enclosure and intimacy except on the higher ridges where fine panoramic views can be had. In the more gentle terrain to the south of the main forest the rural road network negotiating this undulating topography and servicing the scattered farms and small settlements is a challenge to all but the very local. To the west of Coniston Water and the River Crake, south of the Coniston Fells, the landscape is similar low fell topography and altitude (generally <300m) to the east but has historically been clear of woodland and forestation and is mostly common grazing with extensive patches of bracken and gorse with rocky outcrops and has a distinctive character.

Overall there is a strong sense of being in a working landscape yet it retains a natural beauty as intense as any part of the Lake District. There is designed landscape in parts but not on the same scale as some other parts of the region and the slightly untamed nature of the landscape is always apparent.

Notes: ‘Lovely rock scenery, chased with silver waterfalls.’
John Ruskin

Notable omissions:
Ruskin etc
Esthwaite
Char fishing
Active quarrying)

Other suggested additions: geological description underlying landscape;
More specific examples of sites and features illustrating description; rivers, woodlands; cultural sites etc. See 2010 text.
More on natural heritage. See 2010 text and attribute list.
Physical and transport connections with other valleys and out to the coast and Furness peninsulas: See 2010 text.
Designed landscape, too understated in final paragraph: Monk Coniston; Brantwood
Key views: in attribute list and reference in 2010 text.

Complex geology:

- Borrowdale Volcanic Series in NE part of valley – characterised by high jagged fells, slate etc.
- Important mineralisation – copper – and slate;
- Coniston Limestone boundary between BVS and Silurian slates and shales (now named Ashgillian Series – type site SSSI is on Torver High Common);
- Silurian slates and shales in south – lower, rolling country;
- Limestone in far south – e.g. Roudsea
Topographic Map of Coniston
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

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

Further evidence for early settlement comes from the place names in the area, many of which have origins in the Norse settlement of the late 10th century. Coniston Water itself was referred to as Turstiniwatra in a document of 1160 then Thorstainewater in 1196 and Thurston’s Water in the 13th century. The personal name Thorstaine is Norse in origin. The name Coniston derives from the Anglian term for ‘king’s estate’ and also dates from the late 12th century. It was known as Thurstonmere until as recently as around 1800 when it took its name from the nearby settlement of Coniston.

“The survey area and the wider landscape is likely to have been predominately wooded at the time of the arrival of Norse settlers on the west coast of Cumbria from the tenth century. Coniston, like other Lake District valleys, is likely to have been colonised at this time, with a handful of settlements established in clearances on the valley bottom. Hoathwaite Farm may have been established during this wave of colonisation, although there is no firm evidence to support this.”

The disappearance of the tree cover around this time is also recorded throughout High Furness by the Scandinavian word ‘thwaite’, which suggests a clearing in the woods. Local examples of the thwaite prefix include Esthwaite meaning ‘clearing in the ash trees’, Loanthwaite and Cowperthwaite. However, not all examples are representative of Norse activity as the use of the thwaite prefix continued until at least the thirteenth century (Winchester, A. 1987. p41).

Other local place names that derive from Norse include Wray meaning ‘nook’, Claife meaning ‘cliff’, and Latterbarrow meaning ‘hill where the animals lie’ (Ekwall, E. 1922 p218). Other place names appear to combine Norse toponyms with personal names such as Harrowslack meaning ‘the slopes belonging to Harrald’. Other examples include Tock How that combines the hill or ‘how’ belonging to ‘Toki’ or ‘Tocca’ and Hawkshead or ‘Hawkesete’ combining the Norse for farm with the name Houkr (Ekwall, E. 1922. p218).

NT 2000: An Historic Landscape Survey of the Hawkshead and Claife Estate (Volume One), unpubl, p10

A series of small enclosed field systems can be identified in the pattern of farms and fields close to the centre of the survey area between High Wray and Tock How. At least three small globular enclosures exist in this area, each between 10 and 12 acres, (ntsmr’s 25473, 25474 and 25475). These enclosures appear to have once
been separate, and utilise the well-drained land on the gentle slopes south of Blelham Tarn (figure 2).

A broad outgang can be seen between field systems ntsmr 25473 and 25474 that appears to have allowed access from either enclosure to the north towards Blelham Tarn. To the south of the outgang their appears two other routes, both of which continue onto the higher ground to the south and east, this may suggest that the enclosures were part of an infield-outfield system that required easy access to upland pasture.

It is difficult to offer any firm date for the appearance of these intakes, although their existence at the heart of the swath of enclosed fields suggests that they are likely to have been among the first areas to be enclosed. It is likely that other early enclosures may exist in other areas, the pattern of fields at Low Wray, Hawkshead Fields, High Loanthwaite and to the east of High Wray are suggestive of this type of enclosure. It is possible that these field systems were created during the period of Norse colonisation prior to the foundation of Furness Abbey in 1127.

NT 2000: An Historic Landscape Survey of the Hawkshead and Claife Estate (Volume One), unpubl, p10-11

In the southern half of the [Claife] commons the abundance of ‘scale’ intake names suggest that an association with upland seasonal dwelling sites, these include The Scale, Scale Head, Scale Ivy Intake and Moss Eccles Intake (not National Trust). The appearance of these Norse derived ‘shieling’ place names may suggest that the areas of good upland pasture had been regularly exploited to provide summer grazing for the lowland cattle perhaps as early as the twelfth century.

NT 2000: p17

A Tingvalr at Fell Foot is likely to indicate an early settlement and a society with likely Scandinavian heritage; although the mound itself is in the Langdale Valley area much of the associated settlement lies inside the Coniston Valley area.

Attribute list:
- some Old Norse placename examples including Scale (=shieling) and Thwaite (=clearing) e.g. Eddy Scale, Nibthwaite and Grizedale (valley of pigs) – although perhaps not as many as elsewhere in Lake District?
- examples of early farm buildings?
- Furness Abbey parks/granges on east side of Coniston;
- open field evidence around Coniston?
- Neolithic and Bronze age burial cairns and ring cairns on Torver High Common;
- Small stone circle on Bleaberry Haws;
- Bronze Age clearance cairns, field systems and settlement on Blawith and Torver Low Commons;
- Bronze Age burnt mounds – Torver Low Common
- Heathwaite Fell early medieval settlement;
- Medieval earthwork (?deer trap) on Torver high Common;
• Broughton Tower (14th century Pele in origin)
• Industrial sites (see below)

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The Medieval Period

Medieval Settlement

Early settlement in this valley area is mainly distinguished by monastic settlement of the Furness Fells, between Coniston and Windermere and along the Crake Valley, from the 12th century.

West of Coniston there appears to be a small number of lay manors - Broughton, Torver and Coniston itself - with origins in the 12th century or perhaps earlier. Earl Tostig held 'Borch' as part of his lordship of Hougun at the Conquest, assessed as six plough-lands and it is possible that Broughton preserves this name. The later manor of Broughton seems to have been in the Fells, held of the Lancaster family as a member of their barony of Ulverston.

Probably it became attached to this lordship after the partition of Furness Fells about 1160, William de Lancaster choosing the western moiety, which would include Broughton and Dunnerdale


The appearance of open fields in the historic maps and current field boundaries probably preserve common fields. The monastic granges east of the water have similar arrangements but are less clearly arranged in strips which may reflect the relative ease with which they were reorganised following the Dissolution.

OAN Summary

The abbots of Furness Abbey were granted almost all of the land in High and Low Furness in 1127, and by 1196 were undisputed landholders in the area (Brydson 1908). The monks had numerous interests but the most pertinent for the study area is their iron mining interests in Furness that were documented by at least 1292 (Collingwood 1902). The process of smelting their raw mined ore required a ready source of charcoal fuel, and in 1339 they were granted entitlement to empark and enclose woodland in High and Low Furness (Brydson 1908). The earliest examples of this process were the three parks created on the eastern side of Coniston Water, at Water Park, Parkamoor and Lawson Park. It was here that bloomeries were established, probably one in each park, and the surrounding enclosed managed coppice woodland would have provided their fuel and the rest of the enclosure would be farmed as a herdwick.

OAN 2010: East Coniston Woodland, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey, unpubl, p20
at the foundation of Furness Abbey in 1127 [...] all of High and Low Furness, except
the lands of Michael le Fleming, was granted to the monastery (Fell 1908, 100;
Brydson 1908, 47). [...] Along with pasturage for the sheep and cattle farmed by the
monks, wild game was plentiful, and in 1337 Furness Abbey was granted exclusive
hunting rights for lands in their possession. A valuation taken in 1292 shows that the
monks had also taken advantage of the ironmines that they had been granted in the
region, with the income derived from these iron-mines being approximately double
that from farming (Collingwood 1902, 5- 6). The iron industry was already well
established in the region, with some of the bloomeries for charcoal smelting possibly
dating back as far as Roman times (Brydson 1908, 52; Collingwood 1902, 3-4). The
use of charcoal, however, meant that the extent of surrounding woodland was
severely reduced, especially as the tenants of the abbot had the right to take timber
for house building and wood sufficient for their daily needs (Fell 1908, 100).
OAN 2010: East Coniston Woodland, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey, unpubl,
p9

The suggestion is that east of Coniston Water, medieval deforestation was
extensive.

The foundation of Furness Abbey in 1127 appears to have had little effect on the
land to the west of Coniston Water, although it had been granted the land between
Coniston and Windermere. The foundation of Furness Abbey marked the
introduction of a new authority and landowner in to the Lake District. The Abbey
utilised the previously uncultivated uplands by establishing a number of remote
farms to develop sheep farming and from it a trade in wool, it also set up a number
of granges the closest of which was in Hawkshead.
NT 2001:12
The majority of parish churches in Cumbria appear to have been established by the
eleventh century, including that in Coniston village that served the Church Coniston
NT 2001:12

a further grant of 1339, which entitled the monks to enclose woods and make parks,
was of considerable importance. The earliest examples of these enclosures were
Lawson Park, Parkamoor and Water or Watside Park, all of which are within or are
adjacent to, the survey area; the iron industry within the parks is evidenced by large
slagheaps which remain (Brydson 1908, 51). The monks were further able to
capitalise on their holdings by using the enclosed parks as pasture for cattle and
sheep once the woodland was exhausted (Collingwood 1902, 7).
OAN 2010:9

To extend the useful life of the woodland, the monks also employed the traditional
practice of coppicing. [...] the first mention of this form of forest management in this
area only dates back to 1512 (Marshall and Davies-Shiel 1977, 165).
OAN 2010:9-10

“By 1300 the major part of the woodland on the valley bottom is likely to have been
cleared of trees and enclosed for agriculture, the number of farmsteads in the Manor
of Coniston is likely to have steadily increased until 1600. The majority land around
the farms is likely to have been used either pasture or meadow, with the majority of arable land contained within the ‘townfield’, that utilised the better soils of at the head of the lake and spreading down the western shore. The southernmost part of the Coniston townfield is contained within the survey area. The pattern of intakes on the valley sides is likely to have developed in a piecemeal fashion by this later date. The population growth appears to have slowed in the seventeenth century, resulting in a decline in the number of farms and a steady amalgamation of land to create fewer, larger holdings or estates.” 

NT 2001:4

The majority of available land on the valley bottom is likely to have been enclosed by tenant farmers prior to the surrender of Furness Abbey, with the majority of better land enclosed by the fourteenth or early-fifteenth century. The fifteenth century saw a growth in the rural population and a revival of the agricultural economy. The disasters of the fourteenth century had left a reduced population who were able to expand outwards to create larger holdings on the enclosed land. Any new enclosure during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries is likely to have been piecemeal and small scale. 

NT 2000:13

Furness Abbey appears to have attempted to further restrict the growth in illegal enclosure in the early years of the sixteenth century. This is suggested by two agreements made between Furness Abbey and their tenants regarding restricting new enclosure, the first in 1509 and the second in 1532. These agreements allowed an additional 1 ½ acres of land (for use as arable) to be enclosed from the pasture for every 6s. 8d, of yearly rent paid on existing holdings. Clearly this was attempt to control further intaking by existing tenants, rather than a restriction on new farms, the preamble to the agreement refers to the fact that the tenants in the Furness Fells had ‘enclosed common of pasture more largely than they ought to do’ (Winchester, A. 1984. p54).

NT 2000:13

Open Fields
Coniston

“Coningeston’ (Coniston) first appears in a document of 1160 and translates as ‘the King’s tun’. This has been interpreted to suggest that the area once formed an important part of a pre-conquest estate (Ekwall, E. 1922. p215). Small independent ‘royal’ estates did exist in the Lake District. Sometimes referred to as multiple estates these areas consisted of areas of summer pasture, meadow, demesne lands along with a village and a church.’” 

NT 2001:10 [cf perhaps also Cunswick @ Windermere which has similar cyninge root].

By the 1st edition mapping the historic pattern had been distorted by the railway line and the expansion of the settlement as it reacted to the mineral wealth higher up on the Old Man, and it is not possible to clearly identify a townfield.

“The first mention of ‘Cuningeston’ appears in a thirteenth century document recording a grant of land from Gilbert Reinfrid to Gilbert Bernulf in return for military
service and obligations. The document refers to an area bounded clockwise by Torver, Little Arrow, Goatswater, Leverswater, Yewdale Beck and Coniston Water, which included land on the valley bottom as well as parts of Coniston Old Man and the Coniston Fells (WD/RY/Box 92/2). This lands at Coniston, along with other lands in Urswick, Claughton and Carnforth are granted soon after by John son of Adam of Urswick (a likely descendant of Gilbert) to Richard le Fleming on his marriage to his sister, Elizabeth.”

NT 2001:12

Torver
“Thoruergh’, the earliest form of Torver, appears in 1195, and later in 1246 as Torvergh. The use of the ‘torf’ (turf) with ‘ergh’ (a shieling) may suggest an obvious source for the name, although the prefix may have originally been ‘Thor’, making it ‘Thor’s shieling’ (Gambles, R. 1985. p45).”

Although by the 1st edition mapping the historic pattern has already been distorted by the railway line it is just about possible to identify a small townfield with the church at its western end.

Broughton in Furness
A common field system seems to survive into the 19th C (as strips) to the south of the town; the place name Eccle Riggs supports this. The 12th-century doorway in the church gives a good for the settlement, although it may be a much earlier village of pre-Conquest date associated with Earl Tostig. There may be another system associated with the town at Border-Riggs, to the east.

Colonisation of the upland landscape by manorial farms
Much of the inbye land west of Coniston, between Broughton and Torver, seems to have been the result of manorial enclosure in the 12th and 13th century; with isolated farmsteads and small hamlets planted within recently cleared woodland. Clearing woodland may have been encouraged by the monk’s forges; the large area seems unusually stretched, perhaps reflecting the speed with which woodland was enclosed along the valley.

Manorial Enclosure seems to be reflected around Blelham Tarn, outside the monastic lands at the north end of Coniston on the western shore of Windermere.

The picture is less clear for those farms at the centre of the survey area near Blelham Tarn where no sign of a common field exists. It is possible that a smaller common field may have existed in this area, some of the lower land around Blelham Tarn is likely to have provided good arable or meadowland. However, no documentary references to a common field in this area exists, nor is it suggested by the pattern of existing boundaries or by place name evidence. It is possible that the farms within the broad swath of lowland pastureland may have relied upon their surrounding fields for their arable and meadowland.

NT 2000:16

Heathwaite
Although there are strip-fields here this appears to represent an isolated colony farm in the uplands using ground arranged on terraces alongside the lane through the
farm – as opposed to an open-field village settlement. This probably dates from the late 12th or 13th century in this case.

**Thornthwaite and Raisthwaite**
Any evidence for strip fields is sketchy and would have been an extremely small arable area for a village settlement. It seems more likely then that this (west) side of Coniston was progressively settled by dispersed farming hamlets, encouraged by manorial lords in cleared woodland.

**Lowick Green**
The strips here are not clear but the name Lowick Green and Garth Row suggest an early origin with a ring garth. The name first appears as *Lofwick*, 1202. It is divided into two main portions, Upper and Lower, with Lowick Common in the centre. This would be a good candidate for manorial settlement in the 12th century, given that Lowick Hall is located on the west of this layout. It seems to have been granted to Conishead Priory before 1517.

**Subberthwaite and Raisthwaite**
There is possible a big one here or perhaps two combined. Subberthwaite was a hamlet of Ulverston in 1349, appearing first as *Sulbithwayt*, 1346.

*The country is desolate and the hamlets are few and small. Subberthwaite and Tottlebank are in the upper part; High and Low Stennerley and Gawthwaite in the lower part.*

The family name of Stannerley derives from a local settlement, appearing as *Staynerlith*, 1246, in the 13th and 14th centuries. The family and estate disappear after the 14th century, perhaps merged into Subberthwaite.

**Colonisation of the upland landscape by vaccaries**
The Abbey received royal licence in 1338 to create new enclosures or ‘parks’ both in Claife and throughout the Furness Fell generally (Atkinson, J. 1886-8 p173). Many of the remote upland farms established at this time can be identified by their ‘park’ name, with numerous examples situated between Windermere lake and Grizdale. NT 2000:13

Enclosure of the fells by the monks for their new granges to be run by lay brothers seems to have been responsible for these settlements in and around Rusland, around Sawrey, more generally between Coniston Water and Windermere, and east of the Crake.

*The twelfth and thirteenth centuries appear to have been a period of sustained population growth throughout High Furness. It is likely that many of the farms and hamlets that are scattered throughout the Hawkshead and Claife estate were established at this time. Farms that predated the foundation of the Abbey may have become monastic tenants, retaining their holdings and paying rent or a levy to the Abbot. It has been suggested that the numerous ‘ground’ farm names that surround Hawkshead were created under patronage of the Abbey as early as the thirteenth*
century, even if their ‘modern’ names were coined in later centuries (Winchester, A. 1984. p54). It is unlikely that many farms were established after 1450 as a result of the restrictions on new enclosure on monastic land imposed by the Abbey. It is unlikely that the ‘ground’ farms were established as late as the first half of the sixteenth century as is sometimes suggested (Millward, R. & Robinson, A. 1974. p177).

After the suppression of the abbey several surveys were made showing the value of the different parts of the estate. In 1537 the rents of Colton were £7 8s. 3d.; Nibthwaite Town, 75s. 7d.; 'Bethacre,' 60s. 10d.; Parkamoor, 32s. 7d.; Nibthwaite Grange, Bridgefield and Hellpark, £6 2s. 7d.; Sales, Crake and Tottlebank, 58s. 10d.; also Oxen Park, Bannighead, Abbot Park, 'Icornthwaite,' &c. The monks had also divided their pasture lands into various herdwick and sheepcotes, including Brotherilketh, worth £10 a year; Watside or Waterside Park, 46s. 8d.; and Parkamoor the same.

Hawkshead
The present settlement probably originated as a grange settlement belonging to Furness Abbey (now Hawkshead Hall). A chapel at Hawkshead was included in an agreement between Furness and Conishead c 1200 so the settlement certainly predates this; but the church of St Michael is no earlier than the end of the 15th century. ‘Hawkesete’ combining the Norse saetr (shieling) with the personal name Houkr (Ekwall, E. 1922. p218), suggests an early seasonal settlement developed as a permanent grange by the monks.

Now almost lost to re-organisation, it is possible to see many more strips in the 1851 Lancs OS. Town End seems to mark a boundary east of Hawkshead village, or perhaps the northern end of a townfield on the east of the beck. There was probably open field at, possibly extending to, Hawkshead Field adjacent to the Esthwaite Lodge YHA.

It is unclear when the common field at Hawkshead was established, although it may have had an association with the arrival of lay brothers from Furness Abbey and the establishment of the Grange at Hawkshead. The only documentary reference to the common field appears in a lease of 1513 between the Abbey and one Thomas Doweling, for a ‘parcel’ or one tenth of the common field (Beck, T. A. 1844. p305). The common field system at Hawkshead appears to have spread from Fieldhead to the north of Hawkshead village, and south to Esthwaite Lodge. Within this area are a number of fossilised boundaries can be seen marking the edges of the long narrow strips running from east to west, marked either by hedgerows or shards fences. Shard fences are common to the south of Hawkshead village and may have been set up during the later subdivision of the common field.

The abbey administered the grange through bailiwicks, later sometimes called manors. The former parsonage (now Glebe House, below) behind St Michaels Church is in the centre of a separate holding, presumably separate glebe lands. Although monastic granges were maintained by lay brothers this perhaps gave a superior position to the abbey’s bailiff.
Lowick Bridge
Possibly a group of strip-fields surviving here; Conishead Priory certainly had mills
and land in Lowick, and the picture of manorial enclosure to the west of the Crake
and monastic enclosure to the east probably oversimplifies historical reality.
Peter de Lowick gave the canons a rent from lands there, and William de Towers
gave land by Stainton Beck, extending from the Crake as far as the road to Routand
Beck; Dugdale, Mon. vi, 556–7. John Penny in 1517 paid the canons £2 6s. 8d. as
fine on entering the tenement in Lowick his father had held of them; Duchy of Lanc.
Rentals and Surv. bdle. 4, no. 4. The Conishead rental of 1536 shows that Rowland
Pennington had a mill on the Crake at a rent of 36s. 8d., and William Holme a fulling
mill, &c., at 10s. rent. John Penny and others had lands
'Townships: Lowick', in A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8, ed. William
Farrer and J Brownbill (London, 1914), pp. 360-362 fn29 http://www.british-
history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol8/pp360-362 [accessed 26 March 2015].

Haverthwaite
Finsthwaite, Haverthwaite, Rolesland (Rusland), Bouth and Neburthwayt
(Nibthwaite) occur first in 1336. Colton appears in 1202. The parish was originally
part of the chapelry of Hawkshead, and was probably being settled by the abbey of
Furness around 1200.

Finsthwaite
(See Haverthwaite Text)
There is some by Cinder Hill at the SW end.
There is more at the north, by the church.

Nibthwaite
(See Haverthwaite Text)
Probably founded as a grange with arable within it. In 1613 James I granted to
William and George Whitmore the manor or bailiwick of Nibthwaite, with lands.

Hoathwaite
"Settlement at Hoathwaite is first documented in the early fourteenth century,
although its 'thwaite' suffix suggests a possible eleventh of twelfth century date. The
early farm at Hoathwaite belonged to Conishead Priory, and being located in Torver
was never included within the landholding of the le Fleming's."
NT 2001:6
"The first reference to 'Holtwayt' (Hoathwaite), meaning a 'clearing in a hollow'
appears in 1272 although the settlement may have been established much earlier
(Ekwall, E. 1927. p215)."
NT 2001:10
This supports the statement about the division E/W not being so simple, although
perhaps it was founded as a manorial settlement in the 11-12th century and granted
to Conishead later, in the 14th century.

Parkamoor
Appears in the 1537 rents of Colton.
This fits as a grange farm in the enclosed monastic woodland between Coniston and Windermere; the OAN survey has identified the remains of a longhouse which may have been the original form for most of these smaller satellite grange settlements. [OAN] survey identified two areas of building platforms, one at each farmstead; they may relate to a further domestic subdivision of tenements at each farm, which had subsequently gone out of use by at least the early nineteenth century. At Low Parkamoor there are building platforms south of the main farm group (NTSMR 181217 and 181219) and at High Parkamoor there are the foundations of a range of farm buildings upslope from the main farm (NTSMR 181179; Plate 25). The latter range of buildings is a longhouse sub-divided into domestic and agricultural buildings and has a well-defined hood wall for drainage on the east end.

OAN 2010:18

Appletree Holme
Appears in the 1537 rents of Colton.

Tottlebank
Appears in the 1537 rents of Colton.

Crake Birk / Birk Bank
Probably appears in the 1537 rents of Colton.

Sawrey
The majority of pastureland between the villages of Near Swarey and Far Sawrey is also likely to have been enclosed prior to the fourteenth century (ntsmr 25477). At the time of the Abbey’s surrender 21 tenants were record at Near Swarey, with an additional 12 at Far Sawrey. A monastic survey recorded that the average size of the tenanted holdings in Sawrey was 7 acres and that the farm belonging to John Braithwaite of Briers was only 6 acres (Brownbill, J. 1919. p638). The existence of an area of good arable land between the villages of Near Sawrey and Far Sawrey may suggest that this area was held in common, with a number of farms clustered on the edge. Access to parts of this block of enclosed fields was clearly important, with Cuckoo Brow Lane and Stones lanes running along the edge of the fields, while the present road between the villages passing along the southern edge.

The farm at Hawkshead Field is set apart from the rest of the survey area, situated to the west of Esthwaite Water among the pattern of ‘ground’ farms and ‘intake’ enclosures. The pattern of landholding around this farm is also likely to have developed in the thirteenth century at the time of so called ‘pioneering enclosure’ (Winchester A. 1984. p54). Land belonging to Hawkshead Field Farm abuts onto the edge of the common field that utilised the arable lands surrounding Esthwaite water. This may suggest that the foundation of Hawkshead Field Farm preceded the creation of a communal system of agriculture for Hawkshead. The first documentary reference to the farm appears in 1601 and a cruck framed building of either late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century still stands.

NT 2000:15
The cruck-framed building at Hawkshead Field is another rare surviving example for the Lake District. Its separation from the common field may reflect a superior status such as held by a bailiff.

Deer Parks

Low Dale Park

dale Park is supposed to have been inclosed for deer by Abbot Banke of Furness about 1516.
The outline of the park is mostly preserved in field walls. Walls have been removed in various places around the perimeter and part of the northern perimeter follows a footpath on the same alignment.

Coniston Hall Deer Park

An undated deed records how was John le Fleming, son of Richard, acquired the ‘right of forest, chase, park and wassel and of their beasts and fowls’ over John de Lancaster’s land in Coniston (WD/RY/Box 92/18). The grant refers to an already established park containing both ‘deer and great deer’ which suggests it was stocked with both red and fallow deer. It is impossible to guess when the park may have been first stocked with deer, although certainly prior to the grant which was made sometime between 1297 and 1307, and must have been enclosed by this date (WD/RY/Box 25).

NT 2001:13

“The deer park was stocked with deer as late as 1690 and appears to have been abandoned only in the early-seventeenth century, after which parts of the park along with other in-hand land was let to a tenant farmer.”

NT 2001:4

Perhaps the lords of the manor retained a narrow passage onto the upland hunting chase via what was later intake enclosure, once the park was sub-let in the early 17th century?

Broughton East Park

There are scant references to Broughton in the records, but in 1552 the Earl of Derby complained that various persons had been hunting in Broughton Park near
Hangman’s Oak and killed three ‘tegges.’, giving a clear taq for this deer park. The deer park was probably not created out of former monastic land given Broughton’s antiquity and the 14th century date for the adjacent tower. The park seems to have been larger than Broughton East Park now; the eastern half seems to have been split into intakes.

**16th-17th Centuries**

The Dissolution obviously freed up most of the eastern half of the valley area for development by private individuals letting their new estates as a mixture of rich and marginal farmland. Division of the former monastic parkland as intakes associated with isolated farms and hamlets is most marked at Claife Heights.

There is a large group of intakes which are centred on Rusland Cross as the inbye was previously. The group includes High Dale Park, the land between Satterthwaite and Graythwaite, extending south to Rusland Heights, taking in Hulleter Little Pastures and parts of Bethecar Moor.

The Park at Coniston was evidently carved out of the monastery’s land.

North-west of Torver there seems to have been a rapid extension of fell enclosure onto Torver High Common, at Matthew Tranearth and Fleming Tranearth, with names like New Intake. The Tranearth placename seems to indicate a division extending up the fell in a line form individual farms on the valley floor, perhaps fossilising earlier customary stints, perhaps related somehow to ‘scrow’ (see below).

… blocks of intakes developed on the edges of the deer park, spreading out from the cluster of farms around Coniston and Torver. Much of this enclosure is thought to have occurred before 1600 as the rural population in many valleys increased after the disasters of the fourteenth century (Bevan, B. et al. 1991, Maxwell, R. 2000). However some new enclosure was still taking place after this time. In 1639 two tenants from Little Arrow farm in Torver were fined for setting up new hedges on the common at Little Moss without permission (WD/RY/1C).

NT 2001:25

Around the north tip of Coniston Water there is considerable extension of the enclosed land by intakes, a mixture of small and large.

another collection of fellside intakes referred to as ‘scrow’ parcels or ‘scrow grasses’. These large rectangular compartments retain their scrow names into the nineteenth century and are clearly depicted on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1851 (see figure 6). These parcels are sometimes referred to as ‘cow grasses’ suggesting that they were predominantly used as private pasturing for stock, although others have links with peat mosses and may have also have functioned as enclosed areas of private peat extracting ground.

The first references to the payment of ‘scrow’ rents appear in the 1660’s, showing that these parcels were being distinguished from the open fell in some way by this time (WD/RY/Box 92/24/2). Unfortunately we have no more information than this, we do not know if the pattern of ‘scrow’ parcels were well established or had been
enclosed by this time. The location of the scrow parcels beyond and abutting the pattern of intake fields, indicates that they certainly post-date the development of the adjacent intake fields that were enclosed to bring large areas of marginal land on the edge of the commons into private ownership.

NT 2001:25

North of Blelham Tarn the intake land represent a doubling in size of the enclosed land.

Reorganisation of the medieval landscape

OAN Summary

At the Dissolution, the King’s Commissioners valued each of the Coniston parks as being worth 46s 8d each. Little timber of any value had survived due to the previous intensive exploitation for fuelling the bloomeries. The parks and herdwick farms were annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, let and then sold off over time by the Crown to various property speculators who often then sold the land on to sitting tenant farmers. The woodland management and iron processing continued but was now in secular hands, and the destruction of woodland in Furness for fuel was so severe that it led to a temporary ban on the use of bloomsmithies in 1567 (ibid.). Around the same time, a survey of each of the parks described the farms within each of them as containing an old house and barn with a bracken-covered roof. The farm at Parkamoor was sub-divided, probably by inheritance, into High Parkamoor and Low Parkamoor by about 1614 when a new farm was built at Cocket How (possibly High Parkamoor), and several Satterthwaite families were residing at Parkamoor at the time (National Trust nd).

OAN 2010:20

OAN Detail

in 1537, a survey of the [E Coniston] area was carried out by the King’s Commissioners, which recorded the uses of the monastic lands and the resulting profits. This found the value of sheepcotes and herdwicks in Waterside Park, Lawson Park and Parkamoor to be 46s, 8d each. The certificate of revenues also lists some of the other woodland industries carried out at the time, including the manufacture of various wooden goods, such as cartwheels and kegs, and also the manufacture of charcoal (Brydson 1908, 59-60). The abbots were found to be ‘accustomed to have a smythey and sometime two or three for the making of yron to thuse of their monastery’ (ibid). The scale of this exploitation was such that, within the three parks in the survey area, the Commissioners found little timber of any value, although there were still sufficient small oaks and other species (Fell 1908, 104). What remained was annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, and let by the Commissioners to William Sandes and John Sawrey to maintain their three iron smithies. The men speculated by renting the woods and parks together with others in High Furness for £20 in order to provide raw materials for the local iron industry (Brydson 1908, 61).

OAN 2010:10

[A] survey was undertaken of the three herdwicks in Furness Fells (the Coniston parks) on 12th August 1570, by John Braddill Esq, surveyor of the woods of the Duchy of Lancaster Special Commissions. It described the state of the woodland in
each park, and in particular it mentioned that in ‘Parkeamore’ William Sandes, the late Receiver of Furness, eighteen years previously (1552) had cut down fifty acres of woodland and made it into charcoal for ‘certain yrne smithies’. Parkamoor Farm at the time consisted of ‘one old mansion house, and one olde barne covered with brackens, wherein Christopher Jackson, the hird, ther now dwelleth’ (Brydson 1908, 62-5).

There were farms at Parkamoor that were separate from the herdwick and it was these that were sold in 1613 by property speculators, on behalf of James I, who subsequently sold them on to the sitting tenants when the speculators disposed of Furness Abbey’s land in High Furness (National Trust nd, 1). In 1614 there were two sub-divided tenements at Parkamoor held by the sons of Christopher Satterthwaite, the original tenant, and one of the houses was newly erected at this time at Cocket How (probably High Parkamoor; Plate 4). Previous to 1614, several Satterthwaite families had been living at Parkamoor, but these holdings were parts of the High and Low Parkamoor farmsteads (ibid, 2).

It seems that post-Dissolution the Parkamoor landholdings were eventually subdivided into Low and High farms (Section 3.2.6), with the extant farmhouses having elements of surviving seventeenth and eighteenth century architectural design.

OAN suggest that the Hennet 1830 illustration shows that all of The Park enclosure was improved and farmed as pasture (OAN 2010:18).

NT Summary
The tradition of splitting farms continued in the Hawkshead area until the late-sixteenth century. This suggests that land shortage, along with restrictions imposed by the Abbey, prohibited any new farms being established or any significant enlargement of existing farms from taking place. This land hunger, together with the improved security of land holding afforded to the ‘statesman’ farmers after 1586 appears to have encouraged the intaking of marginal lands or land located at the edge of the commons.

NT Detail Claife
It is unknown when the first land was enclosed on what came to be known as Claife Commons. Furness Abbey had been granted royal licence from Edward III as early as 1338 to create new parks in Claife and throughout the Furness Fells generally, although no references to actual parks in Claife appear in the monastic records. It is possible that the ‘Old Park’ near Low Wray may have been created as a result of the royal licence, although there is no evidence to support this suggestion. The intakes on Claife Commons are likely to have been contemporary with the appearance of fell-side intakes in other Lake District valleys including Langdale, Borrowdale and Wasdale Head. This would suggest that the first intakes located on the higher common appeared during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
The majority of enclosures on the common have ‘intake’ place names, including Waterson Intake, Moss Intake and Old Intake. [...] The earliest documentary reference to a possible intake on the commons appears in the Royal Grant of High Wray that details the forfeiture of the estate and later execution of Thomas Lancaster in 1674. The list of property includes the 12 arable acres around the farm and peat cuttings, but also lists the ‘arandest rigge’ and ‘two other acres’ that may have referred to the enclosed land set apart from the farm situated on the commons (LRO/DDN/2/15).

More useful is a conveyance from 1733 that lists Katy Plain (now Katy Intake Plantation) and Moss Intake among the holdings of High Wray Farm (ibid.). These areas are again listed in a deed of 1771 that also notes that Wilson’s Knott had been acquired from Fold Farm in Near Sawrey (ibid.). Moss Intake and Wilson’s Knott continue to descend with High Wray and are listed on the 1841 conveyance deed to James Dawson (ibid.).

Some enclosure of woodland compartments along the eastern edge of Claife Heights took place prior to enclosure during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A number of enclosed woodlands are depicted on the pre-enclosure map of 1795. The majority of these compartments cluster around the farms at Belle Grange (Sandbeds) and Harrowslack and are likely to have been annexed to enclose an area of woodland for the exclusive use of the local farm.

18th-19th Centuries

From the late-eighteenth century onwards the pattern of land holding in the Hawkshead and Claife area fundamentally changed. This period saw the pattern of small lowland farms that had existed being reworked resulting in fewer larger farms. The amalgamation of farm holdings quickened after 1800, partly as a response to the enclosure of Claife Commons and the struggle for farms to remain economical, but also as a result of the declining rural population.

In the early eighteenth century, there appeared to be one, and possibly two, further farmhouses/tenements in occupation at Parkamoor, which were additional to the main farms (ibid 4). In the eighteenth century the two main farms at Parkamoor were held by the Bayliffe and Coupland families and there is evidence that both Low and High Parkamoor farms were still in use as separate entities in 1829. There is, however, no evidence that High Parkamoor farmhouse was occupied after 1842 (ibid).
In 1818 the Greenwood Map shows the eastern shore of Coniston as almost entirely wooded apart from west of the lakeside road and two discrete pastures west of Dales Wood and Rigg Wood. The woodland may date from the early 19th century (OAN 2010:13)

Enclosure Awards
The parliamentary enclosures in the Coniston valley area cover a wide date range, from the mid-18th century through to the close of the 19th century.
Enclosure map of Finsthwaite Height, Colton 1771
Claife Enclosure Award map of 1799
Enclosure map of Dale Park, Grizedale 1843
Broughton in Furness 1847
Enclosure map of Tilberthwaite Fell 1858
Enclosure map of Hawkshead 1862 (incl Skelwith)
Enclosure map of Satterthaite High and Low Commons, Pennington Heights 1894

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

- Clear pattern of valley inbye land in Grizedale valley (including around Satterthaite) but any intakes now obscured by forestry;
- pattern of inbye land in Yewdale, north of Coniston;
- Example of cleared ‘island’ in lower fells – Appletree Holme (SD 277 886) and Cockensell just to north;

The land on the east side of Coniston was gifted to Furness Abbey in the 12th century and the monks established sheep farms at Lawson Park and Low Parkamoor. The name of the estate at the head of the lake, Monk Coniston, is derived from this early landownership. Also Hawkshead High Park (where there is some evidence of an earthwork boundary – HER ref); Ref. in one of Winchester’s texts and also in CWAAS transactions article by ?

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

- Also see regular pattern of small enclosures to SW of Coniston at SD 291 967;
- Larger straight boundary planned enclosures on Eddy Scale/Hare Crag SD277 953; and examples SW of Torver on the north of the A593;
- Something that looks like a planned ‘co-axial’ field system at SD 353 897;
- Bigland allotment – SD 364 843;
- Shard fences common in this area (e.g. around Broughton Mills)

**Farm Buildings**

The farm buildings and walls in the Coniston Valley present the familiar solid stone character as other valleys, making use of the local Silurian slate and green slate for roofing material.

The National Trust farms in Yewdale, north of Coniston are one of the best surviving groups of early vernacular farm buildings. The group of farm buildings at Yew Tree is one of the most iconic and best-known in the Lake District. The rear part of the house is cruck-framed dating from the mid to late 17th century. The front part of the house was added in 1743 by George and Agnes Walker. The front parlour was furnished in 1934 by Beatrix Potter as a tea room. The range of late 17th and early 18th century barns and cow house (PIC) has one of the finest examples of a “spinning gallery” in Cumbria. High Yewdale is a cluster of two houses, various barns and other farm buildings. The farmhouse has 17th century origins. Low Yewdale consists of two farmhouses, two barns and a cottage. The former farmhouse is of 17th or early 18th century origins.

Low Tilberthwaite Cottage, near Coniston is a small 17th century farmhouse with an 18th century in-line outbuilding with another well-known “spinning gallery”

Hoathwaite farm, owned by the National Trust is an extremely grand two and a half storey, 17th century farmhouse of importance for its unusual and distinctive form and wealth of woodwork and other dateable features.

High Arnside farmhouse is a remarkably intact traditional Cumbria dwelling built in 1697 to a design which has proved to be typical of Coniston and Hawkshead, but not apparently other valleys in the Lake District. Low Arnside, close by, is another good example of a 17th century farmhouse.

Lumbholme at Broughton Mills is another good example of a late 17th or 18th century farmstead with later additions.

Wrostler Barn, or Low Barn at Dodgson Wood on the east side of Coniston Water is a good example of wrestler slate on the ridgeline and is owned by the National Trust.
Surviving 16th and 17th century buildings

Hoathwaite
“The present farmhouse at Hoathwaite, along with the small farmhouse across the courtyard, are seventeenth century in date. ”
NT 2001:6

Low Parkamoor Farm
Parkamoor Farm in 1570 consisted of ‘one old mansion house, and one olde barne covered with brackens, wherein Christopher Jackson, the hird, ther now dwelleth’ (Brydson 1908, 62-5). This presumably was replaced soon after, in the 17/18th C by the current Grade II Listed Building (NHLE 1225184). The description of Low Parkamoor as old in 1570 indicates that the current building almost certainly occupies the site of a medieval farm. The 2010 OAN survey identified remains of a longhouse at High Parkamoor farm, which may have been the original form for most of these smaller satellite grange settlements; other building platforms are also observed at Low Parkamoor.

Abbot Park Farmhouse
Late C17 or C18 house (NHLE 1266554)

Troughton Hall
Richard Fleming’s purchase of a messuage from John Troughton in 1573, sold later to Ralph Latus in 1597, probably provide a tpq for this property. Edward Rigby of Burgh in Duxbury died in 1627 holding a messuage called Troughton Hall in Broughton, a garden, &c, and common of pasture for all cattle in the wastes of Broughton, providing a date range of 1573-1627. The core of the surviving buildings at the farm – especially the outhouses to the east and maybe the central longhouse-style building - are probably 17th C or have 17th century elements. The property is not listed and whilst the the present farmhouse building may represent C19 remodelling the outbuildings appear to be much earlier.

Town End Farmhouse and outbuildings
Ruined house and outbuilding. Probably C17 with later outbuilding. This presumably marked the limit of either Torver township to the NE or perhaps Troughton to the SW.

Surviving 18th and 19th century buildings

High Bethecar
Farmhouse with attached barn and outbuilding. Fireplace keystone inscribed: "JCA/1756".

Bank End, Torver
18th C – its position adjacent to Town End and Lords Wood suggest an earlier foundation date.

Hesketh Hall
The panel above the door with a 1594 date is re-used; the present Grade II-listed building is probably a C19 remodelling. This is an example of early sites being reused. The adjacent barn and byre are 18th century.

High Ground Farm, Hoathwaite
“While the majority of buildings at High Ground farm date from the nineteenth century, the farmhouse and cruck barn appear to date from an earlier period, probably the eighteenth century.”
Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

There are 69 farms with fell-going flocks in the Coniston valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 4 are Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are another 9 non fell-going Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are 4 National Trust landlord flocks in Coniston valley area (Tilberthwaite, High Yewdale, Coniston Hall and Hoathwaite).

William Green in his “The Tourist’s New Guide” to the Lakes in 1819 recorded that George Martin at Tilberthwaite rented a flock of 800 Herdows. In the 1930s Beatrix Potter became tenant of the farm, having sold it as part of the Monk Coniston Estate to the National Trust in 1930. The outgoing tenant refused to sell her the heaved flock when she took over the farm. So she and her shepherd Tommy Stoddart went about re-establishing a heaved flock. In 1939 when she relinquished her tenancy she wrote to the National Trust “If and when I retire the Trust should purchase a sufficient landlord’s stock of sheep – it would be wicked to let them be dispersed a second time after the labour and profitless expense incurred by the shepherd and me, in founding a new heaved flock.” High and Low Yewdale were bequested to the National Trust after the death of Beatrix Potter by her husband in 1944. Her will stated that the sheep on her fell farms, which included High and Low Yewdale, where the flocks were fell-going, should “continue to be of the pure Herdwick breed”.

At Yew Tree farm in the 1930s Beatrix Potter encouraged and assisted her tenants to open a tea room for visitors to complement the farming income. Today, Yew Tree Farm continues this tradition of diverse income by offering visitor accommodation and direct selling of Herdwick meat.

There are about 4150ha of Registered Common Land in the Coniston valley, around 15% of the total area, and most of the open fell. The main areas of Common Land are west of Coniston Water, including the eastern part of Duddon, Seathwaite, Torver and Coniston Common, Blawith Common, Woodland Fell, Torver Low Common, Torver Back Common, and part of Lowick High Common. Bethecar Moor is the only Common Land to the east of Coniston Water.

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

Broughton-in-Furness at the southwest of the Coniston valley area, on the Duddon Estuary, is one of the two locations for the main Herdwick sales of ewes and rams in September and October each year. The other is Cockermouth, just outside the northwest of the Lake District.

The Walna Scar Shepherds’ Meets are in July and November. The summer meet is on the Friday nearest the 21 July alternately at the Blacksmiths Arms, Broughton Mills, Newfield Hotel, Seathwaite and Church House Torver. The Shepherds’ Meet and Show are at the same place as July on the first Saturday in November. These meets are for the District of Seathwaite, Torver, Dunnerdale, Broughton, Woodland and Coniston.
The Whitehaven News reported the Centenary Celebration of Walna Scar Shepherds’ Meet was held at The Church House Inn, Torver in November 2008, which included showing of Herdwick and Swaledale Sheep, followed by evening singing competition in a packed Church House Inn. It was noted how similar the event remains to the first show one hundred years ago.

References:

The Lakeland Country Fair takes place every year at Torver in August and the Coniston Country Fair is held at Coniston Hall every July. These are both typical Lakeland shows with Herdwick sheep showing classes, shows for terriers, beagles, foxhounds and lurchers, Cumberland & Westmorland Wrestling, Fell Races, traditional Cumbrian walking stick show, and local crafts and food.

The Hawkshead Show is also held in August and includes a large variety of sheep classes, including Herdwick and Rough Fell, horse showing, horse carriage and horse jumping classes, arts and crafts and a hound trail.

References:
http://www.lakelandcountryfair.co.uk/index.html accessed 20/03/15
http://www.conistoncountryfair.co.uk/ accessed 20/03/15
http://www.hawksheadshow.co.uk/?Timetable:Visitor_Information_and_Directions accessed 20/03/15
http://www.herdwick-sheep.com/herdwick_annual_%20sales.html accessed 20/03/15
http://www.cumbriahillfarming.org.uk/hillfarming/shepherdsmeets.html accessed 20/03/15

Industry
The Coniston area has been a hive of industrial production from at least the medieval period, including woodland industries, water-powered industries, iron smelting, mining, and quarrying. The relationship between woodland and iron-smelting industries and water power is particularly significant.

Woodland industries
The Coniston valley has probably the highest concentration of evidence for charcoal burning, potash production, bark peeling and other woodland industries in Lake District. This is particularly so in the Rusland Valley, where the last commercial traditional charcoal burn took place in the 1930s, and on the east side of Coniston Water, Roudsea Wood, and Graythwaite woods. Arthur Ransome gave a vivid description of charcoal burning at night and an illustration.

Much of the woodland around Coniston Water was used for charcoal production

...Ransome description of charcoal burning........ and (PIC)
The iron bloomeries of Furness Abbey began to create a demand for charcoal in the medieval period and probably earlier. In 1565, a royal edict suppressed the bloomeries at the request of the High Furness tenants, illustrating the concern over woodland use.

According to Collingwood,

“At one time the woods were nearly destroyed, and we can imagine a period when the barren hills were only varied by smoking ‘pitsteads’, where charcoal was made, and flaming ‘hearth’ where grimy workers toiled at the bellows, or shovelled the red ore and black coals.”

Woodland cover recovered over the following century. Thomas Pennant in 1770 wrote about the Crake valley, saying about the woods that

“thick coppices, or brush woods of various sorts of trees, many of them planted expressly for the use of the furnaces and bloomeries….the owners cut them down in equal portions, in the rotation of sixteen years, and raise regular revenues out of them; and often superior to the rent of their land… The furnaces for these last 60 years have brought a great deal of wealth into the country.”

By 1803 the Gentleman’s Magazine reported that the proprietors of Colton in High Furness had “ceased to breed sheep”, so far were they involved in the cultivation of coppices.

Holly was valued for sheep fodder in High Furness and was so cultivated that that Thomas West commented that “large tracts of land are so covered with holly trees as to have the appearance of a forest”. Soon after West wrote the Gentleman’s Magazine reported in 1803 that the holly had been cut down for local bird-lime manufacture or for pattern-cutting for calico manufacture in Carlisle.

40 tons of hazelnuts were shipped out of Broughton-in-Furness in one year in the early 19th century.

Alder was in great demand for the quality of its charcoal, used in the manufacture of blasting powder. It may be that the abundance of these trees was one of the reasons for the location of Low Wood gunpowder works.

Woodland coppicing and the iron industry go hand-in-hand and the coppice woodlands of the Coniston valley area probably reached their peak in the 18th and 19th centuries when the iron furnaces were at full blast. In Hawkshead in 1820 woodland returns outperformed sheep returns per acre. By the end of the 19th and early 20th century the return per acre on wood products had tumbled dramatically due to foreign competition. And when Backbarrow furnace converted from charcoal to coke in 1920 most of the neighbouring woodlands were rapidly abandoned.

In the mid-19th century bundles of coppiced wood were sent from Sunny Bank Mill at Torver for use as fenders in the Liverpool docks.
By 1850 there were twenty one tanneries in the High Furness area creating a high

Description of “igloo”, bark peeler’s hut in Ransome’s “Winter Holiday” (1933).

The centre of the swill (oak basket) making industry was around Broughton in
Furness.

Furness Abbey

**Water-power**

We describe in this section how water power was integral to the iron smelting
industry in the Coniston valley area. Bobbin manufacture was another water-
powered local speciality. There is evidence that the Lakeland mills alone produced
about half of the requirements of the textile mills of Great Britain in the mid-19th
century. Stott Park and Penny Bridge were the largest in the area, but there were
many others on the River Crake and others on the watercourses in the Rusland and
Hawkshead areas, such as Nibthwaite Mill, converted from the previous iron forge in
1840, Thurs Gill, near Hawkshead, converted from a Flax Mill and Cunsey Mill, now
a saw mill. In 1857, Spark Bridge Bobbin Mill had sixty hands producing 1800
gross(144) (259,000) of thread bobbins weekly. It continued to operate until the
1970s.

Stott Park Bobbin Mill is the best surviving example of the bobbin manufacturing
industry in the UK. It is a well preserved working mill, which now operates as a
museum and visitor attraction. It was built in 1835 on the site of the former Stott Park
smithy. It was originally powered by water wheel, that was then supplemented and
eventually replaced by water turbines, a steam turbine and by the time the mill
closed in 1971, electric motors. In 1983 it was re-opened as a working museum and
contains original machinery, engines, turbines and a boiler. The mill’s water
management system survives well.

The River Leven which flows out of Windermere had a number of significant water-
powered industries along its course, including Backbarrow ironworks and Lowwood
gunpowder works, both of which are described below. The “Dolly Blue” mill,
manufacturing the blue pigment ultramarine, used in the textile industry was also
powered by the River Leven at Backbarrow. It occupied what is now the Whitewater
Hotel.

**Iron-smelting**

The Coniston valley area has a very high concentration of remains of medieval
bloomeries (iron smelting sites) can be found dotted around the shores of Coniston
Water *(PIC)*, and in the area between Coniston Water and Windermere. deliberately
placed to utilise the charcoal produced in the surrounding woodland and to smelt
iron ore from Low Furness which was transported by packhorse or up the lake on
boats. The following examples have been the subjects of geophysical survey: Water
Park, Springs, Selside Beck, Tom Gill, Colwith Wood, Mill Bridge, Grey Stone,
Harrison Coppice, Moor Gill Foot, Parkamoor, and Skowbarrow. This area also has
the best examples in the Lake District of the next phase of 16th and 17th century
water-powered bloomeries in the Coniston valley: Blelham Tarn, Stony Hazel Forge, and Cunsey Forge.

The Coniston valley area is also very important for the later iron industry. The first blast furnaces in the area were at Backbarrow, near Newby Bridge and Cunsey, on the shore of Windermere in 1711/12. at the blast furnace at Nibthwaite on the River Crake was established in 1735. Some of the workers’ housing that survives is amongst the earliest in the country (PIC). Other blast furnaces were established at Low Wood in 1747 and Penny Bridge in 1748. Cunsey furnace closed in 1750, Nibthwaite in about 1755, although a forge ran until 1840, Penny Bridge in 1780 and Low Wood in 1785. All these blast furnaces were located to enable the essential water-power for the blast bellows and other purposes. Substantial remains, either ruinous or converted in whole or part, exist at Backbarrow and Nibthwaite, and of only storage buildings only at Cunsey, Lowwood and Penny Bridge. Backbarrow Furnace is the most extensive site and had the longest life. Backbarrow Furnace operated until 1966, switching from charcoal to Coke as late as 1920.

**Mining and Quarrying**

The Borrowdale Volcanic Series includes important mineralisations that have led to the significant mining and quarrying activity in the Coniston alley area. Extensive mining for copper took place in the Coniston Fells, and very significant archaeological remains can be seen at Coniston Copper Mines and around Wetherlam (PIC). The mine and remains of processing buildings at Penny Rigg (PIC) are particularly impressive. Mining here dates back to at least 1599 by The Company of Mines Royal, but may have started earlier by other individuals or groups. Mining here continued into the early 20th century. The total labour force in and around the mines at its peak was at least 600. Water power was fundamental to the operation and as many as thirteen waterwheels were used in and around the site around 1850. Before 1859 when the Coniston railway opened, the ore was carted to the lake at Coniston Hall, shipped to Nibthwaite Quay and then carted again to Greenodd and Kirkby quay to be transported by train or ship. In 1860 a railway extension opened to Copper House for the mines.

The other significant areas of copper mining were at Red Dell Head, Dry Cove Bottom, Tilberthwaite, and Greenburn. The Tilberthwaite and Greenburn copper mines remain a relatively well-preserved, extensive and impressive mining landscape containing the remains of a wide range of upstanding and buried mining features dating from the 17th to the 20th centuries. These include levels, shafts, trials, water management systems for powering machinery, ore transport systems, processing buildings, and spoil heaps.

The slate industry was also very important and huge slate quarries, including underground ‘closeheads’ can be seen (PIC). The principal quarries are found at Tilberthwaite and Hodge Close in Little Langdale (Cathedral Quarry) (PIC) with other significant workings at Penny Rigg, in the Coniston Copper mines valley, at Brandy Crag, at Bursting Stone on the flanks of Coniston Old Man, and at Broughton Moor. The last three quarries are still working (PIC). Roofing slate was extracted from the Borrowdale Volcanic Series and building slate and flooring slate, Brathay flags, from the Silurian Slates and Shales, for example Torver High Common and Eddy Scale.
Quarry. The industry peaked in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1778 Thomas West commented “The most considerable slate quarries in the Kingdom are in the Coniston Fells.” In the early 19th century quarry men could earn between 3 and 5 shillings a day which was remarkably high compared with an agricultural wage. In the 1830s the total output for the whole of Furness and Coniston was probably in excess of 20,000 tons per year and over 100 men were employed in the Coniston area alone. Slate was carried by pack-horse to Waterhead from where it was shipped by barges to the foot of the lake.
In 1859 the railway arrived at Coniston and provided a boost for the mining and quarrying industries. The Rigge and Atkinson families dominated the Coniston quarries in the 18th century, but the Mandall Slate Co. Ltd and The Coniston Slate CO. were both formed in the 1840s and the Mandalls continued until the 1960s.

A narrow band of Coniston Limestone runs from the southwest to the northeast through the Coniston area, along which are a series of early (late 18th century) limekilns. Examples are at Broughton Mills, High Pike Haw, and a well-preserved example at Yewdale. (PIC)

**Gunpowder industry**
The gunpowder works of the Coniston valley area contributed to Furness and Westmoreland’s supply of the greater part of the UK’s needs for gunpowder from the late 18th to the early 20th century. There was a lot of local demand from the mining and quarrying industries and a key constituent of gunpowder was charcoal, which was in plentiful supply form the area’s coppice woodlands. Juniper in particular was used at the Clock Tower Works at Low Wood, which set up in 1799. The nearby Black Beck works, near Bouth, started in 1860. Water-power was essential and Low Wood was on the east bank of the River Leven. Production ended shortly after the First World War. Low Wood is the best preserved 19th century gunpowder works in northern England.

**Railway**
The Coniston railway linked Coniston to Broughton-in-Furness from 1859 to 1962. Originally built for transport of copper ore and slate, it also became a transport route for tourists. The Lakeside and Haverthwaite railway was opened in 1869. To carry coal to the Windermere steamers, iron ore to Backbarrow and sulphur and saltpetre for the Black Beck and Low Wood gunpowder works. The freight coming out from the area included pig iron, gunpowder, pit props, ultramarine “blue” powder, wooden bobbins and livestock.

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Settlements
The Coniston valley area contains a number of rich historical and architectural settlements and buildings in addition to the vernacular farm built heritage. The key settlements are Coniston, Hawkshead and Broughton in Furness along with Near and Far Sawrey.

The principal settlement in the main valley is the village of Coniston (PIC), with a smaller hamlet at Torver. Further hamlets are found along the course of the river Crake, including High Nibthwaite, Blawith, Water Yeat, Spark Bridge, Lowick, Greenodd and Penny Bridge. Many of these settlements include stone-built cottages, often in terraces, built to house local industrial workers (PIC).

Coniston grew from the 16th to the 19th century due to the copper mining and slate quarrying industries. The lake and later the railway were key transport routes in and out for raw materials and products. The Coniston branch of the Furness Railway was opened in 1859 and quickly led to an influx of tourists. Hotel development (PIC) in and around Coniston followed, leading to an expansion of what had originally been an industrial settlement.

Coniston Hall (PIC) is one of the few substantial manor houses in the central lakes and the only one owned by the National Trust. It dates from around 1580 and is built on the site of an earlier hall. It is one of the most noted buildings in the Lake District, with its distinctive tall, rounded chimneys and was the seat of the le Fleming family from 1250. The bank barn to the northwest of the Hall, dating from 1688, is one of the earliest examples in the Lake District and there is another classic bank barn of 19th century date southwest of the hall.

A notable event involving Coniston Water was its use by Donald Campbell for world speed record attempts in the 1950s and 1960s. Coniston, together with Ullswater and Windermere, had been used for power boat record attempts from the early 20th century. Campbell set seven speed records between 1955 and 1964 in his boat Bluebird K7 but was tragically killed on the lake in a further attempt in 1967. The remains of Bluebird K7 have been recovered and are being restored with a view to permanent display in the Ruskin Museum in Coniston. The tradition of power boat record attempts continues on Coniston on an annual basis with the Coniston Power Boat Records Week.

Hawkshead is a small historic town of exceptional character, with an historic core that is largely untouched by 20th-century development. It has a tangle of narrow streets, squares, yards and alleys (ginnels) that thread between a closely packed jumble of houses, inns, shops, outhouses and civic buildings. (PIC?) Many buildings are of exceptional historic and/or architectural character, forty two are nationally Listed Buildings, ranging in date from medieval to late 19th century, including the 12th-century church, the Grammar School (founded 1588) and the Town Hall (1790).

Hawkshead's origins are as the administrative centre for the northern estates of Furness Abbey. Hawkshead Courthouse, north of the town, dates from the 13th century and, as such, is one of the oldest secular buildings in the Lake
District. Hawkshead’s major industry from the 16th century was the woollen industry. At this time the Sandys family owned large estates around Hawkshead and made significant investment in the town’s public buildings. Edwin Sandys became Archbishop of York. He made Hawkshead into a parish and probably contributed much of the funds that rebuild St Michael and All Saints Church. This very large parish church sits in a commanding position on a small hill overlooking the town and the Esthwaite valley. Sandys also founded Hawkshead Grammar School in 1588, later attended by the young William Wordsworth. In 1608 Hawkshead was granted a market charter. Many of the buildings in the town centre today were built from the late 17th to late 18th century as the market grew in importance, notably the fine town hall built in 1790. An 1849 trade directory published by Mannix & Co said that the town had yet to be discovered by tourists despite “some comfortable inns” and the “conveyances (that) are always in readiness for visitors and tourists”.

Near Sawrey and Far Sawrey are small villages on the historic route between Hawkshead and Kendal, between Esthwaite Water and Windermere. Both have many buildings of architectural and historical quality. Buildings predominantly date from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and include good examples of the vernacular tradition, together with buildings in the Arts and Crafts and the Vernacular Revival styles. Near Sawrey is closely associated with Beatrix Potter who lived at Hill Top and the village provided the settings for a number of her illustrated stories. The early hamlets comprised a number of scattered farmsteads. The arrival of the railway to Windermere in 1847 led to the development of many large houses and villas. Much of Near Sawrey village and surrounding farmland is owned by the National Trust.

Broughton-in-Furness on the southwestern edge of the Coniston valley area, close to the Duddon estuary is a prime example of a planned Georgian town square built in the 1760s at the behest of John Gilpin Sawrey, then Lord of the Manor and resident of Broughton Tower.

Thomas West wrote in his 1774 ‘Guide to the Lakes’, “This place is so much improved by the late lord and the inhabitants that it has the appearance of a new town.” He continued, “The principal commodities are woollen yarn spun by the country people and brought to the market…the annual return on this article is upwards of £4,000 per annum. Blue slate is another important article, of which 2,000 ton is exported per annum. Sheep, short wool, and black cattle of the longhorned kind are the produce of this district.”

The latter part of the 18th century was a time of high prosperity. The new market place, trade coming from ships in the estuary, local woodland crafts, slate quarrying and the nearby Duddon iron furnace (opened in 1736) all contributed to economic growth. By the 1780s Broughton had clearly developed into a town with market place and three storey houses, town hall, enlarged church and four public houses. The present-day layout of roads and buildings was largely established. The next major development in the town was in October 1850 when the Furness Railway branch line was opened from Foxfield to Broughton. In 1857 the link was made with the country’s mainline by the completion of the Ulverston and Lancaster Railway. An eight-mile extension to Coniston was opened in June 1859 easing the transport of
copper ore southwards from Coniston. The relatively low level of tourism to this western part of The Lake District and the tenuous link to the mainline meant that the coming of the railway did not lead to a boom in mid/late 19th century post-railway building as happened in, for instance, Ambleside or Bowness. With the growth of heavy industry after the middle of the 19th century the area suffered depopulation, as did other similar rural areas, with a drift to the developing towns of Millom and Barrow, boom towns of the 1860s. As large iron works developed in these towns, the small out-dated Duddon Furnace ceased operating in 1867. Between 1861 and 1870 Broughton Parish lost 400 people out of 1300, almost a third of its population. The town continued to evolve slowly with Victorian houses, villas, pubs and banks. St Mary’s Church was enlarged in 1874 and a new tower was added in 1900. A Wesleyan Chapel was built in 1875. The school which had been rebuilt in 1864 was enlarged in 1886 and 1894. In the 1880s, it was the secondary products of the Furness coppice woodlands – hoops, baskets, brush handles and wooden shafts for farm tools – which formed the chief trade of Broughton. Indeed, Broughton became a centre for swill-making. A swill is a shallow basket made of woven oak strips and the focus of this craft was in and around the cluster of buildings to the rear of Cinder Hill (outside the conservation area).

The town contains many good examples of 18th century provincial dwellings, notably Broughton House and houses around The Square and many good examples of Victorian residential and commercial buildings from the post-railway era. St Mary’s Church and churchyard are located almost out of sight of the town, with Norman origins and possibly some Saxon fabric. Broughton Tower (PIC?) up above the town to the northeast was originally a 14th century pele tower which the Gilpin Sawreys rebuilt in 1744. It was further altered in the gothic style in the late 18th century and is set within fine landscaped grounds with ha ha, and designed historic parkland.

Other buildings

Elsewhere in the Coniston valley the following buildings are important 16th and 17th century houses. A key higher status building in the south of the area is Lowick Hall, dating from the Elizabethan period and a later wing of 1746. (PIC) Ashlack Hall’s south and west wings are 16th century and north and east wings are 17th century. Waterside House, near Newby Bridge is probably 1650-60 with an extension dated 1675. Graythwaite Old Hall is 16th or 17th century with an east wing dating around 1710.

Typical 17th or 18th century houses include: The Cragg at Colthouse (PIC?) was built by William Satterthwaite in 1695, a notable local Quaker. A Friends’ burial ground is nearby. Bull Close, Bull Close Cottage and Barn End, Skelwith are three houses originating on the late 17th century (PIC?). Roger Ground House, Hawkshead is probably 18th century with a 17th century wing to the rear (PIC?).

Early Halls and Pele Towers

Coniston Hall

“Richard le Fleming acquired the parcel of land that formed the heart of the Manor of Coniston, which includes the survey area to the north of Hoathwaite Beck, on his marriage to Elizabeth de Urswick in around 1250. Coniston Hall thereafter became
the manorial seat of the le Fleming family. The adjacent deer park, along with the fishery of 'Thurstonwater', were both acquired later through separate grants in the thirteen or early-fourteenth century. The land attached to Hoathwaite Farm lay in Torver parish and never formed part of the landholdings of the le Fleming.”

“The present Coniston Hall was built around 1580 on or adjacent to an earlier hall. Coniston remained as the manorial seat of the le Flemings until Sir Daniel Fleming moved to Rydal in the later-seventeenth century. The deer park was stocked with deer as late as 1690 and appears to have been abandoned only in the early-seventeenth century, after which parts of the park along with other in-hand land was let to a tenant farmer. Around time Coniston Hall occupied by a tenant farmer. The hall appears to have been partly rebuilt in around 1815, at which time the main hall was converted for use as a barn, and has since remained in use as a farmhouse.” NT 2001:4

“Coniston Hall is one of the few substantial surviving manor houses in the central lakes, and the only one owned by the National Trust.” NT 2001:6

Hawkswell
This seat, at the southern end of the Crake Valley, was the home of the Fells before they settled at Swarthmoor. It doesn't appear in documents after the 17th century.

Hawkshead Hall
The grange at Hawkswell was established where Hawkshead Hall Farm now stands, the only remaining fragment of the manorial buildings is the gatehouse or courthouse that dates from the early-fifteenth century NT 2000:13

Broughton Tower
This consists of what appears to be a 14th-century keep, incorporated into a modern mansion.

Lowick Hall
Deeds at Lowick Hall indicate that:

“William de Lancaster (II) is recorded to have granted LOWICK to one Robert de Turribus or Towers in the 12th century. At that time, therefore, Lowick was in the lordship of Ulverston. William de Lowick son of Robert de Towers granted to the monks of Furness a rent of 6s. from Lowick for the benefit of his father Robert and mother Avice”

Hugh Askew died in 1673 and was described as 'of Lowick Hall'; this gives a loose taq for the Grade II*-Listed property. The south wing is C16 or C17, and the hall has origins as a pele tower, one of 2. The rest of house is mid-C18, the rainwater head is dated 1746.
division of the county in Parliament. (fn. 6) This is now owned by Mr. Harold Brocklebank

Surviving 16th and 17th century buildings

Ashlack Hall
The building, now a farm-house, is of two stories with rough-cast walls and slated roofs and is of late 16th or early 17th-century date.
The date 1667 with the initials of William Kirkby, but the date is probably later than this part of the building.

Esthwaite Hall
Esthwaite Hall, now a farmhouse, was partly demolished and its original plan is untraceable.

Graythwaite Hall
Graythwaite Hall is said to be the second house on the site and may be originally of late 16th or early 17th century date.

Graythwaite Low Hall
Low Graythwaite Hall was owned by one of the Sawrey families in the 16th century.
*The house lies facing directly to the road from Hawkshead to Lakeside, and is a typical rough-cast house of the 16th or 17th century, which, though very much modernized and perfectly plain in appearance, retains something of its ancient character.*
The windows are all barred sashes, the house having probably been remodelled in the 18th century. 'Although a perfectly plain almost factory-like block in appearance [the building] is yet very charming from its old-fashioned garden, its ivied walls, and its large barns built close to the house.'

Surviving 18th and 19th century buildings

Brathay Hall
18th Century Georgian country house. It was built by George Law, the son of an Attorney who was involved in Backbarrow ironworks.
The placenames Brathay Garth and Pull Garth Wood suggest that it occupied land enclosed far earlier.

Graythwaite New Hall
This was built by Mr. John Job Rawlinson, about 1820, to the southeast of the old hall, commanding a view over Windermere Lake.

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

In 1848, hoping for an increase in tourism, James Graves Marshall demolished the Waterhead Inn at the head of the lake and replaced it with a "handsome hotel".

The Coniston Railway was opened in 1859 and quickly led to an influx of tourists. From the outset the railway company was aware of its potential for tourism. In an attempt to attract more tourists to use the line the railway company commissioned the building of the Steam Yacht Gondola to provide trips on the lake for tourists. It was launched on 30 November 1859 and began to run a regular service the
following June. SY Gondola was 84 feet (26 m) long and was registered to carry 200 passengers. The Illustrated London News of 7 July 1860 reported after her maiden voyage that the first class saloon was "beautifully finished in walnut wood and cushioned and decorated after the style of the royal carriages of our railways." It continued: "The vessel… is a perfected combination of the Venetian gondola and the English steam yacht – having the elegance, comfort and speed of the latter, and the graceful lightness and quiet gliding motion of the former. It may be said to be the most elegant little steam vessel yet designed, and is especially suitable for pleasure excursions on lake or river."

In time Gondola formed part of what came to be known as the Great Circle itinerary, introduced to boost flagging revenues by Sir Alfred Aslet, Ramsden's successor at the Furness Railway. The nickname presumably intended to echo the Grand Tour, which still only the wealthiest could possibly afford. Lancashire's increasingly prosperous middle classes could take a paddle steamer from Fleetwood to Barrow and thence by rail to Lakeside on Windermere. A steam vessel up the length of Windermere provided the link to Waterhead, from where a coach and four brought travellers to the delights of Coniston Water. Gondola would return them in fitting style to the southern end of the lake, before continuing by road and rail to Barrow and so by paddle steamer back to Fleetwood. All this was at a cost of ten shillings and sixpence first class, seven shillings and sixpence second class - considerable sums at the time. This gives a good indication of just how much the better-off Victorians now valued their leisure.


Gondola was decommissioned in 1936, its engine was removed and sold in 1944, then used as a houseboat and then sunk in 1963-64. It was re-floated and acquired by the National Trust in 1978 and was restored and re-launched in 1980. The Gondola plies the lake once again, owned and operated by the National Trust (PIC).

Picturesque buildings and landscape

Coniston became a favourite destination for tourists following the construction of the Coniston branch line railway in the second half of the 19th century. However the lake had attracted the attentions of the earliest picturesque guide book authors, including Thomas West, who described the views from a series of four stations around the lake and one description on the lake: Station I – Water Park, High Nibthwaite; Station II – High Peel Near (Peel Ness); Station III – Beck Leven Foot: Station IV – mid-lake, east of Coniston Hall/Lands Point; Station V – High Guards, Coniston; Station VI (Crosthwaite’s) – South of Hollin Bank Farm, Coniston.

The stations on the west shore of Windermere will be dealt with in the Windermere valley description.

http://www.aenvironment.co.uk/downloads/The%20Lakes%20Historic%20Landscape%20Characterisation%20through%20a%20Glass%20Darkly%20Derwentwater.pdf accessed 23/03/15
He also described the view from a boat positioned in the lake, opposite Coniston Hall:

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

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

Pursuit of the picturesque aesthetic also extended to landscape design, with extensive modifications to the Monk Coniston estate from the mid-18th century. The estate was owned by the Knott family from 1769 to 1835, whose wealth was based on iron smelting in the Lake District and Scotland. During this period a major programme of tree planting took place along with development of the pleasure grounds around Monk Coniston Hall (PIC), including a walled garden and gazebo. The Waterhead Estate, as it was then known, was sold to James Garth Marshall, son of John Marshall of Hallsteads, Ullswater, in 1835. As with most other Marshall family property acquisitions, Wordsworth advised the Marshalls on the purchase. Over the following decade James Garth Marshall acquired further land and property in the area, including the Yewdale valley, Tarn Hows, Tilberthwaite, Oxen Fell and Stang End. After an Enclosure Act of 1862, James Garth gained full possession of the land around what is now Tarn Hows. He embarked on a series of landscape improvements expanding the conifer plantations around what were then Low, Middle and High Tarns and constructing a dam at Low Tarn that created the larger lake that is there today. (PIC) Tarn Hows has since become one of the most popular attractions in the Lake District. James Garth also undertook further tree planting on the Waterhead Estate, which he renamed to Monk Coniston, including exotic conifers. One intriguing small feature is the “eye-catcher”, northeast of Shepherd Bridge, Coniston (PIC?). The structure is built of stone with the datestone JGM 1855 and includes small turrets with arrow slits and a central arch. Parts of the estate were bought by Beatrix Potter in 1930 and later passed on to the National Trust, which also bought Monk Coniston Hall in 1945. The estate is currently the subject of a major restoration project. and is now run by HF holidays as holiday accommodation.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarn_Hows accessed 24/03/15
http://www.hfholidays.co.uk/holidays/freedom-break-conistonwater/accommodation accessed 24/03/15

Villas and ornamental landscaping

There are many fine examples of 18th and 19th century villas and landscaped gardens in the Good examples of 18th/19th century large houses or villas in the Coniston valley.
John Ruskin’s house and gardens at Brantwood, Coniston, is described in detail in the following section. The development of Monk Coniston or Waterhead Estate is described in the section above.

Esthwaite Lodge (PIC?), south of Hawkshead on the west side of Esthwaite Water, was built in 1819-21 for Thomas Alcock Beck, author of Annales Furnesienses (1844) by the architect George Webster. The grounds were especially laid out with easy gradients for Beck’s invalid chair he was confined to for much of his life, due to a spinal complaint. It is now owned and run as a hostel by the Youth Hostel Association.

Belmount Hall, a large Georgian House, was built in 1774 for the Rev Reginald Braithwaite, vicar of Hawkshead for 38 years. Beatrix Potter bought the Hall and estate in 1937 and it was given to the National Trust in 1944 by William Heelis. It is now a hotel.

Rusland Hall is a late 17th or early 18th century house with additions of 1850. It was built by the Rawlinson family who also owned nearby Graythwaite Old Hall. The landscaped gardens have vistas down the Rusland valley with many specimen trees and shrubs.

Bigland Hall is a late 16th and 17th century house, remodelled and extended in 1809.

Finsthwaite House is late 17th century or early 18th century with alterations and front range around 1790. Along with the house are a walled pleasure garden, a kitchen garden and stables. Pennington Lodge Tower on nearby Water Side Knott was built in 1799 by James King of Finsthwaite House to honour the English naval victories over France, Spain and Holland.

Broughton Lodge, Field Broughton, was built in 1770-80 for Josiah Birch of Failsworth, Manchester, either for the Directors of Backbarrow Cotton Mill, or as a holiday house, which would be a very early example.

The oldest parts of Graythwaite Hall date from the early 16th century and extension work was carried out in the 18th century. Major refacing in 1840 gave the hall the appearance of a Victorian Gothic-style manor house. It has been in the Sandys family for 500 years, whose family members include Edwyn Sandys who was Archbishop of York from 1576-88. The grounds consist of 5 ha (12 acres) of gardens laid out by Thomas Mawson from 1889-99, his first major commission. The Dutch garden, rose garden, yew hedges and terraces show the Arts and Crafts style of the time. An arboretum contains some fine trees. Dan Gibson, Mawson’s architect, designed the sundials and wrought iron gates. The Graythwaite woods were a favourite walking spot for Wordsworth and were the setting for Beatrix Potter’s, “The Fairy Caravan”.

Brathay Hall, a Georgian house, was built in 1794-96 for George Law, a West India merchant.

Brathay Hall was built in 1798 by businessman George Law, the son of an Attorney, who was involved in Backbarrow ironworks. On Law’s death, in the West Indies in
1802, the house passed to his son Henry and in 1804 he in turn rented it to John Harden, a gentleman with connections in Edinburgh and Dublin. It has a fine prospect down Windermere, framed by trees and parkland to the water’s edge.

Wray Castle is a Victorian castellated mansion for Dr James Dawson, a surgeon of Liverpool in 1840-47, the architect was JJ Lightfoot. Dawson was a relative of Hardwicke Rawnsley, who became vicar of Wray Church. Beatrix Potter spent a summer holiday at Wray Castle when she was sixteen in 1882 and met Rawnsley, which was to lead to a life-long friendship and the founding of the National Trust.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusland_Hall accessed 24/03/15
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Graythwaite_Hall accessed 24/03/15
http://graythwaite.com/index.php accessed 24/03/15
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wray_Castle accessed 24/03/15
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Ornamental Parkland and Designed Landscapes
Coniston Old Hall
Coniston Hall has been a farmhouse since 1815. The Coniston Hall Estate was acquired by the National Trust in 1971.

Broughton East Park
The tower was extensively altered and enlarged into a country house, particularly during the 18th and 19th C. Its extensive grounds and parkland were landscaped as described in the Broughton Conservation Area plan.

Esthwaite Lodge
Thomas Alcock Beck (1795–1846) was the author of Annales Furnesienses (1844), a history of Furness Abbey, which was dedicated by permission to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Beck was a long-term resident of Hawkshead in Lancashire, where his parents had lived at The Grove. He was to spend much of his life confined to a wheelchair, being unable to walk due to a spinal complaint.

Around 1819 he commenced the building of his regency mansion, Esthwaite Lodge (subsequently a youth hostel), to the design of George Webster. The grounds were specially laid out with easy gradients for his invalid chair.

Grizedale Hall
Neither the Old nor the New Hall are extant. A third hall, built 1905, was demolished 1957.

A 'manor' of Satterthwaite, with lands in Grizedale and Dale Park, was included in the sale of Colton by the Crown in 1614. (fn. 4) Old Grizedale Hall was the residence of a Rawlinson family, noticed above among the worthies and benefactors of the parish. (fn. 5) A new building has recently been erected on the site, which commands a fine view of the Grizedale valley. The New Hall was last century the seat of the Ainslies, one of whom, William Ainslie, at one time represented the North Lonsdale
Some elements remain; the walls and stairs of the massive garden terrace and the close with its gates can still be seen today.

**West Shore of Windermere**
It was Thomas English who first began to transform the landscape along the western side of Windermere lake. In 1774 English acquired Belle Isle…

Piecemeal additions to the Curwen’s lakeshore estate were made throughout the preceding decades
NT 2000:22 and Fig 4
This stretched from Wray in the north to the Cunsey Beck in the south.

**Epley Head and Wray Castle**
The grounds are well worth visiting for the sake of the specimen trees – wellingtonia, redwood, gingkoa, weeping lime and varieties of beech. There is a mulberry tree planted by William Wordsworth in 1845 (see photo in Gallery below). Watbarrow Wood is the wooded bank between the castle and the lake, and has several pleasant paths leading through it to the water’s edge. There are spectacular views across Windermere.

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

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

Coleridge visited during his walking tour of 1802 and was captivated by the lake -“an admirable junction of awful and pleasing Simplicity” - and Coniston Hall with its “four Round Chimneys, two cloathed so warmly cap a pie with ivy”. He stayed at the Black Bull Inn in Coniston (PIC), which was also frequented by Thomas De Quincey in 1805 and 1806. It was here that De Quincey wrote his essay on ‘The Constituents of Happiness’.

Wordsworth attended Hawkshead Grammar School from 1779 to 1787. He lodged at Ann Tyson’s Cottage in the village from 1779-1783. In 1783 he moved with the Tysons to Colthouse, probably Greenend Cottage or a house nearby which no longer stands. He attended St Michaels Church on most Sundays. Wordsworth wrote his first poems whilst a pupil at the school, including *The Vale of Esthwaite* (1787), “a long poem running upon my own adventures and the scenery of the country in which I was brought up” and thus a forerunner of *The Prelude.*

Wordsworth wrote of a picnic in 1783 with his schoolfriends. He floated in a boat under

“the shade of a magnificent row of sycamores, which then extended their branches from the shore of the promontory upon which stands the ancient, and at that time, the more picturesque Hall of Coniston.”
A year later in the summer of 1784, when Wordsworth was fourteen, he was walking along the road near Outgate on his way between Hawkshead and Ambleside he was struck by the beauty of an oak tree. As he said in old age,

*The moment was important in my poetical history; for I date from it my consciousness of the infinite variety of natural appearances which had been unnoticed by poets of any age or country, so far as I was acquainted with them: and I made a resolution to supply in some degree the deficiency.*

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

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

Other aspects of the Coniston valley feature in many of Wordsworth’s poems. In ‘The Waggoner’ he describes the local slate quarries under Coniston Old Man:

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

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

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

The poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson and his bride stayed at Tent Lodge (PIC) on the north east shore of Coniston on their honeymoon in 1850 where he composed *The Princess* during his stay. Visitors included Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle and Edward Lear. The Tennysons returned in 1857. Charles Dodgson (“Lewis Carrol”) visited this time.

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

Later literary associations with Coniston also include the series of famous children’s books by Arthur Ransome (1884 – 1967) beginning with *Swallows and Amazons*
(published in 1929). Ransome’s family regularly holidayed at Laurel House, High Nibthwaite, then a farm, from his early childhood until 1897. Ransome was carried up to the top of Coniston Old Man as a baby by his father and his early education was in Windermere. Ransome became a close friend with WG Collingwood, Ruskin’s Secretary, and between 1903 and 1913 he was a frequent visitor to their house, Lanehead, on the east shore of Coniston Water, just north of Brantwood. This is where Ransome took up sailing. The Swallows and Amazons series was inspired by Ransome’s experiences in the Coniston valley and many characters and places around Coniston Water, Yewdale, Tilberthwaite and the Coniston Fells feature in the series. Perhaps best known is Peel Island on Coniston Water, “Wildcat Island” in Swallows and Amazons. The SY Gondola was the inspiration for Captain Flint’s houseboat in Swallows and Amazons. As a small child Ransome was allowed by the captain to steer the vessel. In Coniston's Ruskin Museum there is a black and white post card of Gondola that Ransome sent to his illustrator, with changes to the outline in ink to show how he wanted the houseboat to look. Ransome’s home from 1940-45 was The Heald, a mile south of Brantwood and from 1948-50 Lowick Hall. He is buried in the churchyard at Rusland. (PIC).

The Near Sawrey and Hawkshead area is the core area for Beatrix Potter. Many of the settings for her books are recognisably in these settlements and the surrounding countryside. In Near Sawrey, the large Victorian house, Ees Wyke, is where Beatrix Potter stayed with her parents, who rented the house in the summer of 1896, 1900 and 1902. The key site is Hill Top, Near Sawrey. She bought the 17th century farmhouse and land in 1905 with royalties from her books supplemented by a legacy. It was never her permanent home, but she spent long stays there, writing most of her books from The Tale of Mr Jeremy Fisher (1906) onwards there. It is the key setting for books such as “The Tale of Jemima Puddleduck” and “The Tale of Samuel Whiskers”. Potter continued to return to Hill Top to write after she had moved, following her marriage in 1913, to Castle Cottage, the farm she bought in 1909. She continued to live at Castle Cottage until she died in 1943. The Beatrix Potter Gallery in Hawkshead occupies the former offices of William Heelis, Beatrix Potter’s solicitor husband.

- landscape links to the Potter books – examples in Jemima Puddleduck – including Hilltop bee boles, example of a local charcoal burners hut and; and Moss Eccles Tarn etc.

The Coniston valley area continues to inspire artistic activity, one of the most well-known being the Grizedale Arts organisation based at Lawson Park Farm, in Grizedale Forest, established in the late 1970s.

The Ruskin Museum was founded as Coniston’s permanent memorial to its most famous resident, John Ruskin, who died on 20 January 1900. Ruskin’s friend, confidant, and first biographer, W.G. Collingwood, organised an influential Ruskin Memorial Exhibition, held in the main Assembly Room in Coniston Mechanics’ Institute over the summer of 1900, and visited by over 10,000 people. The proceeds paid for the construction of a new museum -The Ruskin Museum – dedicated to his memory and celebrating the local cultural and literary heritage. This was opened on
31 August 1901 by Canon H.D.Rawnsley. The Ruskin Museum has extensive displays on the history of Coniston, the geology, archaeology, mining of the area and local crafts. It also presents Ruskin’s life and activities. There are displays of his personal belongings, including his paintbox, his set of musical stones and billhooks used for coppicing. A selection of his sketchbooks and paintings is displayed along with some of his collection of minerals, as well as examples of the local craft of “Ruskin lace” he encouraged.

http://www.ruskinmuseum.com/content/the-ruskin-museum-coniston/about-the-ruskin-museum.php accessed 31/03/15

As in other valleys in the Lake District, John Marshall and his sons acquisition and management of the Waterhead Estate at the head of lake exemplified their desire to control of the prospects that those lakes offered. With advice form Wordsworth they conformed to the aesthetic values emerging at the time in seeking to improve prospects of both landscape and production by tree planting and not building new villas. After John Marshall’s death Anthony Salvin did extend Monk Coniston Hall.

John Ruskin’s concerns about industrialisation;

Tourism in the Coniston area expanded with the arrival of the railway at Coniston in 1859. John Ruskin’s concerns over tourism by the masses.

The Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District, often shortened to ‘The Fell & Rock’ or FRCC, is the premier rock-climbing and mountaineering club in the Lake District. The idea of founding a climbing club was first proposed by John Wilson Robinson about 1887, when the sport of rock climbing was being pioneered in England. Robinson climbed with Walter Parry Haskett Smith, generally acknowledged as the father of rock climbing in Great Britain. In 1885, Robinson introduced the use of the alpine rope on the Lakeland crags. The FRCC dates from a meeting held at tea-time on 11 November 1906, at the Sun Hotel, Coniston, after a day on Dow Crags, often described as the Opening Meet, though the first formal Meet was held at the Wastwater Hotel on 30 March 1907. The impetus came from Edward Scantlebury; his friends A.Craig and C.Grayson, who had spent the day with him on Dow Crags, (later recorded as the Opening Meet), and one other, were the founder members of this new climbing club. After some debate, (’The Coniston Climbers’ was considered too localised, but the ‘Lake District Climbing Club’ excluded fell walkers), they decided that its name would be ’The Fell and Rock Climbing Club’, as this ‘so well expressed’ their ‘objects, viz:- the encouragement of Fell Rambling & Rock Climbing & as we intended that the club should be for the Lake District only - we added to the title the words “of the English Lake District”.’ The Sun Hotel became the venue for the FRCC’s Annual Dinner. The FRCC has published the definitive series of climbing guides to the Lakes since 1922.

http://www.ruskinmuseum.com/content/about-coniston/coniston-and-lake-district-climbing.php accessed 27/03/15
Coniston’s tradition for climbing was continued by the formation of the Coniston Tigers in 1931, a group of climbing friends from Barrow and South Cumbria. In 1932 they bought a former garage at Coniston Hall Farm and converted it into a very basic hut, only the second such base in the Lake District at the time.

There are many centres for outdoor activities in the Coniston valley area including the YHA’s three hostels in the Coniston valley area, those of Hawkshead (Esthwaite Lodge), Coniston Holly How, and Coniston Copper Mines; the HF holidays centre at Monk Coniston Hall; Water Park Lakeland Adventure Centre; Low Bank Ground, run by the Brathay Trust for Wigan Council; Thurston Outdoor Education Centre, owned and operated by South Tyneside Council; The Raymond Priestly Centre, University of Birmingham; and The Keplewray Centre, at Broughton-in-Furness.

YMCA Lakeside

http://www.yha.org.uk/places-to-stay/region/north-west/lake-district accessed 27/03/15
http://www.keplewray.org.uk/ accessed 27/03/15
http://www.waterparkadventure.co.uk/
http://www.sport.bham.ac.uk/page.aspx?sitesectionid=136
http://www.lakelandoutdoorcentres.com/
http://thurston-oec.co.uk/

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Perhaps the most famous resident of Coniston during the 19th century was the poet, artist and philosopher John Ruskin (see Section 3a). Ruskin bought the Brantwood Estate on the eastern shore of Coniston in 1871 and set about improving the property in line with his views on aesthetics and husbandry of the land. The appearance of the Brantwood property, now maintained by the Brantwood Trust, is much as it was during Ruskin’s time there (PICS). Ruskin is buried in St Andrews churchyard in Coniston along with members of the Collingwood family. Ruskin grave is a celtic-style cross designed by WG Collingwood and carved by a local craftsman from Tilberthwaite stone, resting on a rock from Elterwater.

Box – Brantwood description with pics

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

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

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

1) Practical landscaping and land-management projects. The most significant and historically interesting of these is Ruskin’s development of a system of terraces and reservoirs to control the rapid flows of water on the steep estate and restrict the loss of nutrients in the soil. The purpose was to demonstrate a method suitable to create areas suitable for growing crops, herbs, fruit and flowers in a mountain environment. Most of the principal areas of terracing and cultivation still survive, or have been restored to, active management. The largest and most important of these is the Moorland Garden. Three reservoirs, one of considerable aesthetic and design complexity, retain their functionality in the water course engineered by Ruskin, which connects the terraced areas. It also embodies a feature that allows a cascade to be run to order outside the front door of the house. The system still furnishes Brantwood with its drinking water.

2) Experimental interventions. Ruskin used Brantwood as a place to explore and demonstrate ways in which projects could be carried out which would better the lives of ordinary working people in mountainous rural areas. Using the skills of local quarrymen and miners, he tunnelled into the hillside to create a community ice-house. Ice was harvested from the lake in winter and made available to households in the area throughout the year. In the Professor’s Garden, a plot was created which was indicative of the average small-holding of a working family. In this area a series of planting experiments were undertaken to prove and demonstrate optimum planting regimens for the successful cultivation of health-giving balances of produce for nutrition and recreation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, Brantwood mounts a substantial programme of exhibitions, artists’ residencies, concerts, theatre, talks, courses and other cultural study events. These represent an important continuity of Ruskin’s own purpose during his life at Brantwood. Brantwood is also home to the Ruskin Foundation, the parent trust governing the use of the scholarly collection and an extensive education and
Ruskin’s secretary at Brantwood was W G Collingwood, a Lake District author, archaeologist and artist of importance in his own right, who lived at Lanefoot, just north of Brantwood. Collingwood had been one of Ruskin’s students at Oxford along with Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, founder of the Keswick School of Industrial Arts and co-founder, with another of Ruskin’s students, Octavia Hill, of the National Trust.

- John Ruskin’s concerns about industrialisation;

Wray was a key location for the meeting of significant characters in the Lake District’s conservation story. Dr James Dawson, who built it, was a relative of Hardwicke Rawnsley, who became vicar of Wray Church in 1878. Beatrix Potter spent a summer holiday at Wray Castle when she was sixteen in 1882 and met Rawnsley, which was to lead to a life-long friendship and the founding of the National Trust.

Beatrix Potter’s influence on the ownership and management of farms and land in the Hawkshead and Coniston area from the late 19th century onwards cannot be overstated. She bought Hill Top farm in 1905 and Castle Cottage Farm in 1909. Potter also bought the 4000 acres (1600 ha) of the Monk Coniston Estate in 1930, including the iconic Lake District Farms in Yewdale and the Tarn Hows area. She immediately sold just over half of the area to the National Trust and left the rest to the Trust at her death in 1944.


The National Trust acquired a large extensive estate in the Coniston valley. As well as the large estate acquired from Beatrix Potter, the Trust acquired the larger properties of Parkamoor in 1968 and Coniston Hall Estate in 1971, as well as many smaller properties.

Reference: National Trust Acquisitions Up to December 2011.

The Lake District National Park Authority has large ownership of Common Land in the Coniston valley, namely Torver High, Torver Low and Torver Back Commons (845 ha) and Blawith Common (654 ha). The National Park Authority entered into a 99 year lease of the Torver Commons from the Crown Estates in 1966 in order to provide public access and recreation. Blawith Common was purchased in 1970 from Broughton Estates Ltd in order to provide a public access area and to control recreational use of the Common.
Coniston has featured in recent conservation battles over access and recreational use of lakes. In the late 1950s the bed of Coniston Water was bought by a private individual concerned for the future development of the lake and conveyed to trustees, known as the Rawdon-Smith Trust. This is now administered by Coniston Parish Council. Clause 3 of the Trust Deed stated the purpose of the Trust to be “to preserve the Trust property in perpetuity under local control for the purpose of affording to the public facilities for recreation’.

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

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

The route from Coniston over to Seathwaite in the Duddon valley is known as the Walna Scar Road. It will have been used to drive stock over and access for quarrying. But in the 20th century it has been the subject of disagreement over its recreational use. Walkers, cyclists and horses all use the route. Increasing and unmanaged motorbike and four-wheel drive use has been blamed for erosion of the surface of the route. Opponents pointed out that such routes were not designed for motorised vehicles. Supporters argued that they were just carrying out their legal right according to its highway status. Various measures have been tried and tested, including voluntary restrictions, codes of conduct for users and legal orders restricting motorised traffic, all with mixed success. Since 2006 a legal battle has continued over the status of the route and most recently it has been determined that it is a route for non-motorised traffic.

In 2005 there was a public controversy over the National Trust’s proposal for the future of High Yewdale Farm, which involved splitting the land between neighbouring tenants when the when its then tenants retired. Many people felt that this was a betrayal of Beatrix Potter’s motive in acquiring the farm. Views ranged around the economic, social and environmental implications of this proposal. The proposed split up of the land went through, but it sharply illustrated the range of views on how Lake District farming should be structured in the future and the potential impacts of different arrangements on cultural heritage, the cultural landscape, local social structures, economies and the environment.
DUDDON

Description
The Duddon Valley

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

INTRODUCTION

‘Through icy portals radiant as heaven’s bow;  
I seek the birth-place of a native Stream.—  
All hail, ye mountains! Hail, thou morning light!  
Better to breathe at large on this aëry height  
Than toil in needless sleep from dream to dream;  
Pure flow the verse, pure, vigorous, free, and bright,  
For Duddon, long-loved Duddon, is my theme!’
William Wordsworth. From Sonnet I from a series written between 1804 and 1820.

Enclosed at its head by the rugged, steep, high fells of Harter Fell, Ulpha Fell and Grey Friar the valley of the River Duddon runs south-west to an expansive estuary. Two of Lakeland’s, and England’s, highest mountain road passes descend the watershed at the heads of the Eskdale and (Little) Langdale valleys joining from opposite directions to meet at Cockley Beck where a minor road then follows the course of the river down the Duddon Valley, also known as Dunnerdale.

The northern section of the valley, the upper reaches of the river, is a relatively narrow valley with an enclosed and intimate feel. There is a strong sense of remoteness, wildness and tranquillity as a result of the high enclosing fells, sparse road network and infrequent habitation and the upper valley can seem an inhospitable place in the winter months. The pattern of large intake fields, the irregular enclosing walls and the bright green improved pasture are a feature of the valley bottom and lower slopes and contrast with the browns and greys and rougher texture of the open fell. Further south the west side of the valley is densely cloaked with conifers and the sense of a changing valley landscape is engendered by
continuing felling operations. As the valley descends the same sense of isolation and tranquilly persists though isolated farms do become more frequent.

The small, historic settlement of Seathwaite marks the beginning of a widening of the valley and a more extensive pattern of irregularly shaped fields enclosed by stone walls on the valley floor. Still however the model evident in other valleys of relatively flat in-byre on the valley floor, a relatively constant width, enclosed by steep fells with intakes on the lower slopes, is not the case here. The valley has several subtle changes of direction and widens and narrows with a number of pinch-points where open fell continues down to the rivers banks. There are areas of enclosed pasture at higher altitudes than some valleys, developed by the scattered farms taking advantage of areas of less steep ground and accessed by a network of minor roads not possible in other valleys where topography dictates a single road along the valley floor. This variation and the strong sense of isolation, wildness and tranquillity north of Duddon Bridge creates the atmosphere of an upland valley very different to the adjacent broad upland dales. There is scant evidence of designed landscape here and on the west side of the valley woodland continues to be an enclosing influence though these are smaller more irregularly shaped deciduous or mixed woods very different to the large conifer plantations of Dunnerdale Forest further north.

South of Duddon Bridge the river enters the flat pasture and tidal landscape of the estuary and leaves the Lake District National Park. West of here the valley includes the significant bulk of Black Combe, a rounded, grassy hulk with some steeper faces and crags on its south-east flank, and the Whicham Valley below where the network of pasture fields bounded by hedges is used for dairying. The valley then runs to the coastal plain and the sea under the imposing bulk of the west face of Black Combe with the long sand and shingle beach running north-west to the farm settlement of Annaside and then continuing to Ravenglass.

Notable omissions:

None noted.
Topographic Map of Duddon
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

The earliest evidence for settlement in the Duddon Valley area includes the Neolithic stone circle at Swinside Farm. Bronze Age settlements and fields are found on the fells above the Duddon Valley and there are an important group of Bronze Age ring cairns around Seathwaite Tarn. A Roman road joining forts at Ambleside and Hardknott crosses the head of the valley at Cockley Beck. The area contains little in the way of confirmed early medieval archaeology, although the remains of a rectangular stone hut divided into 2 rooms at Smathwaite may possibly be Early Medieval. This might be the remains of a shieling, or perhaps a shieling site first colonised and then abandoned.

Apart from the common Scandinavian placename evidence present in the Lake District valleys, notably in this case Seathwaite, Pikeside, Baskell, Gaitscale, How Scale Haw and Ulpha, there is little else to indicate Scandinavian-style semi-transhumant agriculture during the Early Medieval period. This possible shieling site may suggest permanent lowland settlements supported by shielings in the uplands on summer grazing grounds (Winchester, 1987). A possible additional example occurs close to the boundary with the Coniston valley area on the east side of the Dunnerdale Fells – the placename Stephenson Scale located at 1km from the farm at Stephenson Ground suggests a survival of this early transhumant pattern.

None of the medieval longhouses in the Duddon Valley have been dated, and it is possible that some at least were built by Scandinavian settlers in the early medieval period. This would be consistent with the suggestion that later Norse colonists of the 11th and 12th centuries were forced to occupy upland areas as the coasts were already full (Winchester, 1985). It should be reiterated that no firm archaeological evidence from this period has been recovered from these sites. Pre-Conquest settlement may be represented of course, most probably on the lower valleys around, Crosby Thwaite, Beckfoot and Ulpha, but in the absence of archaeological evidence it seems safer to posit medieval dates for the establishment of these settlements.

The shift to permanent colonisation and settlement of inland areas seen during the 10th to 12th century does not occur so obviously in the Duddon Valley, perhaps because of unwelcoming topography and sparse settlement. The place-names which have been taken elsewhere to indicate settlement of this date (including saetr, thwaite and scale) are present but scarce simply because of the few settlements.

The Duddon valley has been settled from at least as early as the Neolithic period, and the remains of one of the most impressive of the Lake District’s many stone circles can be found at Swinside Farm, on the northern side of the Duddon estuary (PIC). The traces of Bronze Age settlements and fields can be seen on the fells.

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1 LDHER 1482, at NGR 318950 488730
above the valley and an important group of ring cairns of this period are located around Seathwaite Tarn (PIC).
- Coastal plain Neolithic – Gutterby stone circle and timber circles and flint scatters
- BA cairn on Whitfell;
- Caw summit cairn
- Winds Gate burnt mound
- Crosbythwaite prehistoric settlement, cairnfield (HER 1408)
- Hesk Fell cairn field, Funerary cairn etc.

The course of the Roman road which joins the forts at Ambleside and Hardknott crosses the head of the valley at Cockley Beck and there are numerous foundations of medieval longhouses on the upper slopes possibly dating from a period when the climate was warmer. Also dating from the medieval period are the remains of a medieval fortified farmhouse at Old Hall Farm (PIC), described by Wordsworth as:

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

**Duddon Sonnet XXVII**

- Crosbythwaite 3 medieval settlements, 2 shielings (HER 1408)
- Long houses (Stephenson Ground excavation, and the various other Duddon examples from survey)
- Monk Foss Farm and fishponds (HER 1477) – fishponds given to Furness Abbey in 1127;

The first mention of the Church at Ulpha (St John’s) is 1577 when it was marked on Saxton’s map of Lancashire. It was part of Millom parish until the mid-19th century when Ulpha became a separate parish. Birkerthwaite was also included in the parish Ulpha but broke away with the coming of Quakerism, which has a strong following in the area. There is a Friends burial ground at Ulpha which was last used in the mid-18th century.

**Ulpha deer park (Millward and Robinson p167)**

- Frith Hall (Cooper)
- Ulpha Old Hall (Cooper)
- Bee boles at Boadhole
- Gaitscale farmstead
- Packhorse Bridge at Birks
- Packhorse Bridge at Bleabeck
- Sheepwash at Stephenson Ground Scale (HER 33183) – made of slate shards

- Duddon furnace – used in Industry
- Bobbin mills – used in Industry
Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The Duddon Valley in the 11th-15th century: the Anglo-Norman Feudal System

In terms of medieval documentation, “The place is rarely mentioned in the records. An award concerning the sheepgates in Seathwaite was made in 1681” (Brownbill & Farrer, 1914). Dunnerdale first appears in the Lancashire Pipe Rolls in 1160 (Brownbill & Farrer, 1914). It seems to have been regarded as a hamlet of Kirkby (in Furness), certainly so in 1407 (Brownbill & Farrer, 1914), and in 1497 it was sold and probably then passed into the hands of the Earl of Derby.

There do not seem to be any obvious early settlement centres, settlement instead conforming to a dispersed pattern of hamlets and farmsteads (Birks, Black Hall and Dale Head, for example). The nearest large medieval settlement is Broughton-in-Furness to the east of the Duddon estuary in the Coniston Valley area, although presumably Furness Abbey was fairly influential in this valley area during the medieval period.

Open field systems

Below ‘Hall Dunnerdale Farm’ the pattern may perhaps (dubiously) reflect an early division between the tenants and the lord or their agent; whereby the tenants occupied lower ground and the manorial lord or their agent occupied the high ground. The strip-fields located immediately south of the Hall Dunnerdale Farm may comprise the only surviving evidence for former open field arable agriculture; these strip-fields having been enclosed from the open fields as shares were consolidated in the 16th and 17th centuries.

It is possible that there are some additional examples of open-field agriculture preserved in later patterns at Whineray Ground, and between Whinfield Ground and Loganbeck/Beckstones, where strips may have been enclosed from former open fields once shares were consolidated. Further west, along the Irish Sea coast, we see two more possible examples of this kind of survival, at Silecroft and Whitbeck. Both Whitbeck and Silecroft are shown as heavily built-up in Donald’s 1774 Map of Cumberland. Whitbeck may contain the remains of an arrangement whereby the land allotment for the feudal tenants is separate to that set out for the manorial lord or their agent (see above). It is not possible to make out this arrangement at Silecroft (left) which may be more akin to classic medieval village.

Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads

Away from the coastal strip facing the Irish Sea and the marshes overlooking Duddon Sands the valley area is mostly mountainous and the side-valleys are narrow. Aside from the placenames, two shielings and some probable open-field arable agriculture there is little to suggest that the area had been extensively colonised before the medieval period. The absence of villages and lack of numerous farmsteads suggests that it was not a favoured location for manorial colonisation, although population pressure and the urge to invest pushed settlement further inland where land was suitable. A small enclosure of possible inbye around an abandoned
farm at Gaitscale\textsuperscript{2}, up on the Roman Road across Wrynose, marks the furthest extent of colonisation inland; this is most likely to be a medieval settlement although it is only documented between occupied between 1686 and 1771. Enclosure of waste by ‘assarting’ and establishment of new settlement further inland was encouraged by the feudal lords as a means of improve revenues from their tenants. Although carried out on a large scale (Winchester, 1987, p. 42) it is impossible to trace most specific instances on the ground. Some place-names (i.e. Smawaite, Crosby Thwaite, Seathwaite and Grassguards) are likely to indicate clearance\textsuperscript{3}. Medieval inbye land which has survived via the patterns ossified in the later walled enclosures certainly appears to be widespread around Ulpha and Seathwaite, and at Cockley Beck.

Farms at Birks and Dale Head probably comprise the earliest settlement in the upper valley; Dale Head may represent its earlier limit. At the utmost head of the valley we could even posit a sequence of development whereby Black Hall was planted at the head of the valley on the line of the Roman Road and overlooking the passes to Eskdale and Langdale, in a clearly-dominant position above the farms below at Dale Head and Birks. In sequential order Cockley Beck, Cockley Beck Bridge and Gaitscale probably represent colonisation in the 12th-14th century -a second wave of clearance - located as they are on (or beyond in the case of Gaitscale) the edges of the inbye land cleared in the first wave.

At Seathwaite the early pattern is similar to that around Dale Head. Two separate hamlets comprising 2 and 3 building clusters are surrounded by a series of smaller possibly satellite farms (Wallowbarrow, Tongue House, Under Crag). The pattern below the open fields as you reach Ulpha from Hall Dunnerdale Farm is generally the same. Larger inbye fields surround isolated farmsteads – Pikeside, Baskell, Crosby Thwaite, Hazel Head and so on - all the way down the valley to Beckfoot and perhaps on south and west as far as what is now Thwaites Mill. There are no outrakes or drift roads which, alongside a lack of documentation to record any disputes over resources, seems to confirm the general poverty of the uplands. This said, there are instances of placenames with ‘Peat’ as an element (see Low, Middle and High Peat Stock at Cockley Beck) which indicates that turbary rights were probably exercised from the earliest settlement. Kiln Bank suggests that in addition to limited arable agriculture and extensive stock-raising, the inhabitants supported the poor harvest from the hinterland by engaging in industry, perhaps stimulated by their proximity to Furness Abbey.

**Dispersed farms, medieval longhouses and surviving evidence**

The pattern of dispersed farms occupying irregular inbye is repeated along the south-eastern boundary of the Duddon Valley area, where colonisation of the side-valleys has spread - from the direction of Broughton – across the north bank of the River Lickle up to Stephenson Ground. Stephenson Scale is an unusually prolific site in terms of archaeology. Most relevantly it has produced archaeological evidence from the medieval period (a double-walled farmhouse boat-shaped ‘longhouse’ building with associated pottery and charcoal dated to the 12-14th century (Newman, 2005). Although thwaite was still used and understood with this meaning in the 16th century.
2006). It also provides firm evidence for Iron Age and Bronze Age settlement, suggesting that the uplands were perhaps a favoured location for some people.

The presence of such medieval longhouses\(^4\) (Matthiessen, et al., 2013) as archaeological remains on the valley slopes could indicate that the climate was once warmer and did once support settlement at higher altitudes. The Duddon Valley area also contains relict field systems\(^5\) – ridge and furrow, walls and possible enclosures\(^6\). Associated with the longhouses are clearance cairns, disused tracks, and low or collapsed low walls; these are probably too small for sheep but may have held cattle if topped by fences or hedges. The absence - from almost all the longhouse sites - of rig and furrow\(^7\) implies that these longhouse-dwellers were pastoralists growing only a small quantity of subsistence crops (Matthiessen, et al., 2013). Many of the large number of bields\(^8\) on the unenclosed higher ground are probably medieval and thus fit this model.

For whatever reason in any case, some of the longhouses were abandoned in the medieval period; although some survived until a later date\(^9\) (Matthiessen, et al., 2013). Based on the map evidence alone, settlement contraction since the medieval period appears to have been minimal in most of the Duddon Valley area. Many of the earlier colonies have survived as the farmsteads on the modern mapping, occupying settlement sites which probably date to the first or second waves of colonisation during the medieval period. As elsewhere the structural fabric of these farmsteads is later, with surviving farmstead buildings first appearing in the 16\(^{th}\) century on the site of older settlements. The surviving farm at Old Hall Farm\(^10\) may be very unusual in that it contains on site and in its fabric remains of a medieval fortified farmhouse which may well be late 15\(^{th}\)-century; this would be a very rare example in the Lake District of vernacular architecture surviving from the medieval period.

**Lowland Settlement**

Further around the base of Black Combe, past Whicham to Silecroft and beyond along the coast towards Holmegate and Barfield - at the shared edge of the Duddon Valley with the Eskdale valley - we see extensive lowland agriculture which probably mostly originated as inbye land spreading out from early settlements at Silecroft and Whitbeck (see above). Much of this land was rearranged in the 18\(^{th}\) and 19\(^{th}\) centuries, however, when drainage methods encouraged improvement of waterlogged mosses, and of coastal and estuarine marshland. Whilst most of the strip between Millom and Ravenglass is reorganised inbye land, its layout and appearance today probably do not in the main reflect its ancient character.

\(^{4}\) Lad How, Pannel Holme, Baskell Farm, and Pikeside

\(^{5}\) Hawk Hall Wood Farmstead, Field System (LDHER 7820 @ 319900, 490950); deserted medieval settlement at Corney (LDHER 1447 @ 311300, 491300)

\(^{6}\) i.e. LDHER 7757

\(^{7}\) (a few are visible near Pikeside)

\(^{8}\) i.e. Bield at Long Crag, Dunnerdale; Bields at High Wallowbarrow Farm LDHER 39575 @ 320454, 496610; LDHER 39574 @ 320448, 496502

\(^{9}\) Baskell Farm survived until the early 18\(^{th}\) century

\(^{10}\) LDHER 1407
Monasteries
Extensive ancient woodland is strung along the River Duddon forming an almost-unbroken line along the western bank. The LDHER records a lot of charcoal production features in Rainsbarrow Wood. The evidence for medieval bloomeries in the landscape suggests that the Furness Abbey and Calder Abbey monks may have been active in the landscape. The place-name Monks Foss at the western limit of the Duddon Valley area may perhaps record a bank built by monks during the medieval period.

Ulpha Park is marked on the 1774 Donald Map of Cumberland, although its extent is not recorded here. The 19th century Ordnance Survey maps provide clues to its extents and it seems to occupy the area around Frith Hall, up to Rainsbarrow Wood (possibly it once included Rainsbarrow Wood as well). It is likely to represent a former stock enclosure or deer park otherwise unrecorded. It is unlikely to have been connected with Duddon Hall which was not built until the late 19th century, although it could have been a possession and stock enclosure of Furness Abbey before Frith Hall was built in the 16th century. The free chase of Millom is referred to as the forest of Ulpha in the early 16th century (see Winchester, 1978; p69 and notes on p272-273) and it is possible that Ulpha Park originated as a 13th-century vaccary similar to other known examples at Brotherilkeld and Lingcove.

16th-17th Centuries
During the 16th-17th century the opportunities arose to address the problems inherent in the feudal system of land tenure. Former open fields - traditionally been subdivided to the point of poverty - began to be reorganised by manor courts and petitions. This process is not often well-documented, and the Duddon Valley area is no exception. Former open fields became enclosed as strips on a piecemeal basis, with individual farmers or small groups enclosing formerly open areas (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26). The strips might then also be combined into larger parcels as farms were abandoned or amalgamated. Small-scale enclosure of this type tends to be undocumented (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26). It seems to have occurred in the Duddon Valley area in the fields around Hall Dunnerdale Farm, Silecroft, Whitbeck, Whineray Ground, and Whinfield Ground.

As part of this reorganisation some farms were abandoned (Matthiessen, et al., 2013) whilst others were combined (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26). Building stock began to be replaced in more durable materials and documents begin to correspond to identifiable places – Baskell may appear in 1576 as Barstall. This period sees the foundation of what we know as the Lake District’s vernacular architecture; stone enclosure walls, and stone farmhouses and barns newly-built or rebuilt on earlier sites alongside more handsome residences for the wealthy – Frith Hall is a fortified site and hunting lodge (ruined) of 16th-17th century date. Many farm buildings in the Duddon valley area date from the 17th century, including one at Stephenson Ground which may date from the early 16th century when the Stephenson family was granted wasteland for cultivation by Furness Abbey. Under Crag has a wooden spice cupboard door dated to 1714. The stone bridges of the 17th and 18th centuries - at Duddon Bridge, Ulpha, Cockley Beck Bridge and Birks

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11 Rainsbarrow (LDHER 5777), Beckfoot (LDHER 15954), Grassguards (LDHER 32054)
Bridge – reflect changes to the parish responsibility for highways upkeep and pressure from mercantile interests. The church of St John in Ulpha also dates from the 17th century.

One example only of contracted settlement in the post-medieval period can be clearly seen on the map evidence. There are only a small number of settlements shown on the 1774 Map of Cumberland with multiple buildings (Whitbeck and Silecroft, Woodend and perhaps also Seathwaite). Of these, only Woodend appears since to have contracted from the 8 buildings shown in 1774 although it is not until the 20th century (after the 2nd edition OS map which shows 9 buildings) when the number of structures reaches a peak and then drops.

**Intake Enclosure in the Landscape**

There are very large areas of intake enclosure on the fells which probably date to this period, around Cockley Beck and the upper valley, as well as around each of the other early settlement centres at Seathwaite, Hazel Head, Crosby Thwaite and Hall Dunnerdale Farm. These are generally very large parcels – sometimes forming herring-bone-like strips enclosing the lower slopes and incorporating becks as markers – perhaps the walled enclosures have evolved from earlier topography-only boundaries, as is suggested to have happened in Wasdale Head. There are no intake enclosures along the coastal strip between Silecroft and Waberthwaite as by the end of the medieval this stretch of land had presumably reached its logical conclusion. As the focus moves inland and upland the enthusiasm for intake enclosure increases dramatically, especially either side of Crosby Thwaite and on the lower slopes of Seathwaite Fell (see right). This is probably connected to the area’s sheep-farming heritage, as well as proximity to and connections with active textile producing areas. Indeed the scant historic reference we have is to an award concerning sheepgates in Seathwaite in 1681 (Brownbill & Farrer, 1914). The placename ‘Close’ appears time and again in the present-day landscape; the name Cockley Beck Great Intake perhaps recognises this enthusiasm at the time. Above the River Ickle (red to the right) the enthusiasm for intake enclosures higher up the side valleys is almost opposite to what occurs in the Duddon Valley; this probably reflects the harsher and steeper topography on that side of the Seathwaite Fells.

**Summary**

The extent of intake enclosure in the Duddon Valley area is minimal along the coast, but further inland it takes in areas which are approximately 4 times the size of the former enclosed land. Whilst the surviving pattern in the uplands does reflect medieval arrangements in many ways it is the extent of 17th and 18th century intakes which dominate the surviving pattern. Drainage of the lower fields along the coast was dealt with in the subsequent period, but as elsewhere most of the steeper slopes on the upland fells remain unenclosed. Enthusiasm for enclosure has been such that even steep fellsides have been enclosed in the upper Duddon Valley area (as at Brock Barrow below Stickle Pike, and High Green south of Gaitscale).

**18th-19th Centuries**

There are four principal groups of recent, planned enclosure in the Duddon Valley area.
Those around Silecroft and Monk Foss probably represent improvement of marsh or coastal pasture through improved drainage. The name Monk Foss certainly suggests an earlier layer to the landscape history which has been lost through this recent re-organisation.

The area below Swinside Stone Circle seems to represent infill of unenclosed fell lying between groups of earlier intakes.

The area to the south and east of Rainsbarrow Wood seems to represent planned enclosure of the lower north-facing slopes of Ulpha Park, within which we find the former hunting lodge at Frith Hall. The occurrence of archaeological remains relating to charcoal production in Rainsbarrow Wood suggests perhaps that Ulpha Park may have been a former Furness Abbey possession, although its proximity to Duddon Hall presents a more likely candidate. Extensive modern conifer plantations now occupy the south-facing slopes of Ulpha Park and also at the head of the valley.

What survives?

Earlier survival in lowlands and of shieling sites

Colonisation of uplands and growth of lowlands represented by piecemeal enclosure (inbye)

Intakes post 1550 mainly present in upper Duddon valley.

In the lowlands the extent of medieval inbye land shown in the HLC mapping contains some tracts (Monk Foss) where the surviving field layout represents later activity. Inbye land has probably been extensively reorganised across the Duddon valley area, and whilst some trace elements of medieval organisation survive as curvilinear boundaries and strip-fields - the surviving landscape is overwhelmingly a product of the 16th and 17th century.

Some small stretches of the surviving layout are later. Planned enclosure seems to have improved cultivation of some coastal mosses around Monk Foss and perhaps also Silecroft. Reorganisation and enclosure of the surviving layout mostly pre-dates the 1st edition OS which makes it early-19th century at the latest.

Close to the coast the geometric shapes probably represent drainage of the estuarine marshes, whereas higher up the earlier irregular layout dominates. Small pieces of intake and recently enclosed land are represented on the HLC by woodland parcels (for example Ulpha Park and around Broadgate).

The character of the farming landscape in the Duddon has been influenced by its topography of narrow river valley surrounded by extensive slopes and open fell. There are many small single farms, often at a relatively high level, created by improving fell land which generally comprise small stone-walled inbye fields, surrounded by open fell grazing. Examples include Gaitscale Close (now abandoned) Woodend Farm, Bowscale Farm, Swinside and the group of farms by the River Lickle – Stephenson Ground, Jackson Ground, Carter Ground and Ball Hall. Much of the farming landscape in the Duddon is likely to have an early origin: some of the higher farms may have originated as early medieval or Norse shielings and later developed in to farmsteads, indicated by the many place names with ‘thwaite’, meaning clearing, or ‘scale’, meaning shieling, for example Gaitscale, Seathwaite and Crosbythwaite. Many of the farms, inbye fields and smaller, irregular intakes are likely to date to the late 13th century expansion which has been
documented in Cumbria. As in surrounding valleys on the western side of the Lake District, many of the field walls here are of massive construction resulting from the need to clear the plentiful stone from the fields. However there is a particularly wide variety of wall construction in this valley, which also includes shard fences (vertical slate walls) (PIC) and the use of a local source of hexagonal basalt for features such as water yeats (stock barriers over becks) (PIC). Extensive areas of open fell grazing surround the whole of the Duddon valley on the highest ground.

- The ‘Ground’ farms were through by earlier researcher to date to later expansion in the 15th or 16th centuries (Millward and Robinson p177-178). Winchester (p54) disagrees and thinks that these too are part of the late 13th century expansion;

The general scene in the Duddon Valley has not changed greatly since the 18th century when Wordsworth wrote, upon viewing the valley from the Walna Scar road:

“Time, in most cases, and nature everywhere, have given a sanctity to the humble works of man, that are scattered over this peaceful retirement”.

Notes to The River Duddon, A Series of Sonnets.

In the upper valley from Wrynose to Seathwaite the character of the farming hamlets and irregular shapes of both inbye and intake fields suggests an early origin. There is possible evidence for Norse (or early medieval) shielings that subsequently developed into farmsteads, for example at Gaitscale Close at northern end of valley in Wrynose Bottom. Although there is no specific evidence from historic landscape survey, the inbye land from Cockley Beck to Dalehead Farm may indicate a former medieval common field later surrounded by intakes. A further extensive area of inbye land is from Tongue House Farm to Turner Hall Farm. Some of the former farming landscape has been obscured by forestry plantations.

In the middle valley from Seathwaite to Duddon Hall there are a many farms of possible early origin with inbye land at a higher level at Pike Side (with evidence for early long house structures), Hole House and Bigert Mire. There is a shieling-type farmstead at the isolated area of inbye and intake at Woodend Farm on Ulpha Fell, although here the field boundaries are straight. There are large areas of inbye above the main valley on the western side from Crosbythwaite to Hazel Head, Old Hall Farm to Logan Beck. And there are further extensive areas of inbye land in the main valley on both sides of the River Duddon from Seathwaite to Ulpha. From Wallowbarrow to Bowscales, on the high slopes of the western valley side between the inbye and irregular intakes and the open fell there is an extensive area of large straight-walled enclosures. These appear planned and are likely to date from the 18th century or later.

In the lower valley from Duddon Hall to the coast there is extensive inbye at a higher level on Thwaites Fell around Fenwick, along the Whicham Valley and at the foot of Black Combe on the coast. Here the inbye land is bounded directly by open fell grazing.
Extensive ancient woodland is distributed along the length of the Duddon, with an almost unbroken ribbon along much of the western valley floor and side. Rainsbarrow Wood (PIC) is particularly notable as a haven for dormice and red squirrel and contains much evidence for charcoal production. There are also extensive areas of modern conifer plantation, including the head of the valley (which is currently being converted to native broadleaf woodland) and in Ulpha Park in the lower reaches.

**Farm Buildings**

The farm buildings in the Duddon valley, many of which date from the period of rebuilding in the 17th century, have a rugged character deriving from the use of the local volcanic rock and slate for walls and roofs. Many are finished in a weatherproof coating of limewash.

The most important farm buildings include the following:

The old farmhouse at Stephenson Ground (PIC?), now a farm out-building, is possibly early 16th century, no later than early 17th century, former longhouse type dwelling. Stephenson Ground was granted as wasteland for cultivation by Furness Abbey to the Stephenson family in 1509. It is likely that a farmhouse was built soon afterwards and the present structure may represent this building or its successor. The present farmhouse nearby is late 18th century.

Stickle House Barn is a probable 17th century cruck-framed (timber trusses) field barn (Internal and external PIC?).

Hall Dunnerdale is a mid to late 18th century farmhouse with later additions and alterations. Byres were added at each end in spate 19th century builds (PIC?).

Loganbeck is possibly a 17th century farmhouse with later additions, including a barn and alterations (PIC?).

Low Whineray Ground is a 17th century or earlier farmhouse with adjoining byre, earth closet and cart shed, with later additions and alterations (PIC?).

The are several other examples of current farm buildings dating from 17th century including Hazel Head, Cockley Beck, Browside, and Dale Head.

Under Crag is an early 18th century farmhouse, a wooden spice cupboard door dated to 1714, whose roof was raised in the 19th century. It is the birthplace of Rev Robert Walker, born 1710, for 67 years curate of Seathwaite, made famous by Wordsworth as “Wonderful Walker” in his Duddon Sonnets.

Hesketh Hall is probably a 19th century re-modelling of a far earlier building which includes a 1594 panel above the door. Adjacent is a good example of a late 18th or early 19th century example of a ramp barn and byres.
Other buildings tell more of the story of the activity of the farming industry in the valley. Whitbeck Mill is probably an 18th century mill with a large narrow wheel or iron and timber in a pit on the north western gable end. There is a pond upstream on Millergill Beck. Thwaites Mills is a 19th century corn mill and later saw mill, close to Black Beck. The wheelhouse contains an iron and timber wheel which was fed by an enclosed concrete channel.

Washfolds (Grassgill Beck HER 7698)

**Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)**

There are 59 fell-going flocks in the Duddon valley area listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005, of which 19 are Herdwick flocks listed in Brown 2009. There are another two non fell-going Herdwick flocks. There are 9 National Trust landlord flocks.

William Green in his “The Tourist’s New Guide” to the Lakes of 1819 gave a list of the largest flocks in the Lake District. He began by stating that he did not think that there was anywhere else in the district where as many sheep were kept in one small area as there were on the adjoining farms of Toes (Taw House) and Brotherill Keld (Butterilkelt) in Eskdale and Black Hall in the Duddon valley. William Tyson of Black Hall had over 2000 sheep.

In the West Cumberland News in 1942 it was written that the flock belonging to Thomas Bowes at Fenwick, Thwaites had been handed down from father to son without a break since 1789. Furthermore, Thomas Bowes also took over part of the Broadgate stock of Herdwicks owned by Sir William Lewthwaite which the Lewthwaites had held since 1657.

In the first Herdwick flock book in 1920 Joseph Harrison’s at Black Hall, Ulpha had a 500 ewe flock and Tyson Hartley of Turner Hall had 500 ewes in two flocks at Turner Hall and Mosshouse. The Hartley family at Turner Hall, Seathwaite and the Troughton family at Thwaite Yeat, Thwaites are two of only six families listed in the 1920 flock book that are still breeding Herdwick sheep on the same farm. Turner Hall is a large privately owned farm and flock and has probably the most consistent track record of success in the show and sale ring over the past forty years. Turner Hall flock bloodlines have been very influential in the breed with the farm registering about fifteen to twenty tups a year.

There are 8047ha of Registered Common Land in total in the Duddon valley area, around half the total area. The Common Land runs continuously on the open fells, on the west side from south of Harter Fell in the upper valley to Duddon Bridge in the lower valley, and on the east side from Grey Friar in the upper valley to High and Low Whinneray in the lower valley.

The following registered Commons fall wholly or partly within the Duddon valley area: On the west side of the valley, Ulpha Fell (1439ha), Thwaites Fell (669ha), Black Combe and White Combe (1797ha); and on the east side of the valley Duddon, Seathwaite, Torver and Coniston (3892ha),
Other small areas of Common (250ha) include High Tongue, Holling House, Sunny Pike, Long House Close, The Cove, Ash Bank, Yew Pike, Arrow Moss.

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

The Walna Scar Shepherds’ Meets are in July and November. The summer meet is on the Friday nearest the 21 July alternately at the Blacksmiths Arms, Broughton Mills, Newfield Hotel, Seathwaite and Church House Torver. The Shepherds’ Meet and Show are at the same place as July on the first Saturday in November. These meets are for the District of Seathwaite, Torver, Dunnerdale, Broughton, Woodland and Coniston.

The Whitehaven News reported the Centenary Celebration of Walna Scar Shepherds’ Meet was held at The Church House Inn, Torver in November 2008, which included showing of Herdwick and Swaledale Sheep, followed by evening singing competition in a packed Church House Inn. It was noted how similar the event remains to the first show one hundred years ago.

References:
Herdwick: A Portrait of Lakeland. Photographic Exhibition. Ian Lawson. 2015
http://www.whitehavennews.co.uk/news/business/1.268742 accessed 24/04/15

The Stoneside Shepherds Meet and Show is on the second Saturday in November, alternately at Waberthwaite, The Green and Ulpha. This meet is for the District of Waberthwaite, Bootle, Whitbeck, Whicham, Thwaites, Ulpha, Corney and Birker. Stray sheep are advertised two weeks in local paper and kept for one year and one day. If not claimed they are sold for expenses. It celebrated its centenary in 2008. The first meet in 1908, for the exchange of stray sheep, was held at Walna Scar quarry high up on the fells.

Broughton-in-Furness on the Duddon Estuary is one of the two locations for the main Herdwick sales of ewes and rams in September and October each year. The other is Cockermouth.

Industry

The geological, woodland and water resources of the Duddon valley provided a basis for industrial activity in the valley over several centuries, including slate quarrying, copper mining and iron smelting.

In Rainsbarrow, Wallowbarrow coppice and Lilly Woods there is an abundance of charcoal burning platforms or “pitsteads” burning coppice wood to use for fuel in other industries, often iron smelting. Over one hundred platforms have been recorded on the western side of the valley. There are also many remains associated with bark peeling, where oak bark was peeled to produce tannin for use in leather production. There are the sites and remains of two Bobbin Mills in the valley by Duddon Bridge and at Ulpha. The Bobbin Mill at Ulpha, at the southern end of
Rainsbarrow Woods, used a water wheel for power and turned bobbins for the Lancashire thread mills until 1910.

There is abundant evidence of the importance of the wool and cloth trade to the valley. At Seathwaite there is the site of a carding mill of unknown date, which included a small workshop employing up to ten men, working on hand-operated carding engines, and hand jennies, spinning yarn for hand-loom weavers. At Duddon Hall there is the site of a carding mill, dated 1770, belonging to William Cooper. Carding is the process of combing out wool ready for spinning. At Beckstones/Logan Beck there is the site of a fulling/walk mill. Fulling is the process of beating and cleaning cloth and walking is the process of shrinking cloth after it has been woven and before it is made up into clothes. At Grassguards there was a hamlet of 5 homesteads all engaged in the wool trade making cloth, rugs and “Millom Dyer” carpets. The fulling process used lye soap made from potash. Farmers produced potash to supplement their income by burning green bracken, high in potassium, in potash kilns. There are good examples of potash kilns in Kiln Ellers Wood at Stonestar and two at Stephenson Ground.

Hemp grown for rope needed to be soaked in “retting” ponds to release the fibres. There are examples of hemp retting ponds at Old Hutton (west of Broughton Mills) and at High Wallowbarrow Farm.

As in other valleys peat was an essential fuel source. There is evidence of peat cutting at Brandy Crag on Harter Fell, the remains of a peat house at Pike Side used to store dried peat and good examples of peat huts or “scales”, used for drying cut peat, are situated in the area of Copt How with further evidence above Devoke Water and at Longhouse Close.

Walna Scar is an extensive area of slate quarrying remains consisting of spoil tips, buildings, tracks, clefts, shafts and caverns. The quarries started operating in the early 17th century and ceased in the 1940s. Until the opening of the Ulverston Canal in 1796 the slate would have been carted via Broughton Mills to the port at Angleton on the Duddon Estuary. In 1896 there were 12 employees. There are many smaller slate workings in the valley, such as those at Stainton Ground and Caw. (PIC – AP of Walna Scar quarries)

There are remains of copper mining at Cockley Beck and at The Pike and Hesk Fell on the west side of the Duddon and the remains of a Lime kiln at Boad Hole, near Duddon Bridge.

The earliest evidence of iron smelting in the valley exists at the medieval bloomeries at Cinder Hill near Ulpha and at Beckfoot, near Duddon Hall. However the small scale production of the medieval period was eclipsed by the construction of a blast furnace near Duddon Bridge in 1737. (PIC) The Duddon furnace is one of the best preserved in England and remains include not just the furnace itself but also the massive storage buildings for iron ore and charcoal. The iron ore was brought from Low Furness to wharves below Duddon Bridge and charcoal was produced in the local woods, which contain many examples of charcoal burning platforms. The furnace was in production until 1867.
References:
Ring Cairns to Reservoirs (2009);
Duddon Valley History. J.C. Cooper (date?)

Settlements

Unlike many of the other valleys in the Lake District, the settlement pattern in the Duddon valley does not extend to villages. Two small hamlets of a few houses each are located at Seathwaite and Ulpha, while the nearest large settlement is the planned village of Broughton-in-Furness, just to the east of the Duddon estuary. (PIC)

Other notable features include stone, single span bridges of the 17th and 18th centuries such as the Bleabec Bridge, Cockley Beck, Birks Bridge and Shop Bridge and the larger multi-arch bridges of Seathwaite bridge, Ulpha Bridge, Rawfold Bridge and Duddon Bridge. (PIC) The Church of St Mary, Whicham is probably 12th century in origin, with various later additions and 1858 restoration. The Church of St Mary, Whitbeck is probably medieval in origin with heavy restoration in 1883. The church of St John in Ulpha dates from the 17th century and contains the remains of 17th and 18th century wall painting uncovered in the early 20th century. (PIC) The Church of Holy Trinity at Seathwaite dates from 1874.

Broadgate, near Broughton, is an early 19th century house, significant largely because there are very few other examples in the Duddon valley area.

Holme Cottage, Ulpha, is another smaller early 19th century house.

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism and Picturesque buildings and landscape

As the Duddon Valley was located on the then remote west of the Lake District and also does not possesses a lake, it was not high on the list of preferred destination for visitors seeking picturesque views. The only major house of the period is Duddon Hall, built in the early 19th century in neo-classical style and with an ornate temple in the grounds, dated 1843. (PIC) Duddon Hall is surrounded by plantation and coppice woodland. In the mid-19th century it was home to an icehouse and fountains. By the end of the 19th century (see below) it had a gate-lodge on the roadside, a rain gauge occupying its own house, formal gardens, and the ‘temple’.

Villas and ornamental landscaping

Duddon Hall and Grounds? (Cooper)
Romantic sites, buildings and associations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But, both Wordsworth’s poem and Turner’s ‘Duddon Sands’ (watercolour and white chalk c.1830) revolve around the transitions from one cycle of nature to another.

SEE PIC (Turner in the British Museum, 1980, plate 167)
Some individual features which are described in the Duddon Sonnets have now disappeared, such as the yarn-spinning mill below the church at Seathwaite, which Wordsworth described as “a mean and disagreeable object, though not unimportant to the spectator, as calling to mind the momentous changes wrought by such inventions in the frame of society – changes which have proved especially unfavourable to these mountain solitudes”. But the majority of the landscape which Wordsworth described still survives and even individual features such as the stepping stones just downstream from Seathwaite footbridge and St John’s church at Ulpha, which Wordsworth revisited in old age in 1844, walking in the early morning in the churchyard where “the recollection of former days and people crowded in upon him”.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Despite the range of industrial activity, which remained relatively small-scale, the Duddon valley in the 19th century remained free of the types of development pressure that elsewhere in the Lake District lead to mass protest and campaigning. However in the first part of the 20th century, commercial tree planting by the Forestry Commission in the upper Duddon valley (PIC) along with upper Eskdale did lead to significant protests about the landscape impact of conifer plantations. In 1933 the Forestry Commission purchased extensive tracts of fell land at the heads of the Duddon and Eskdale valleys with a view to planting commercial conifer forest. This led to much controversy and campaigning, principally by the newly formed Friends of the Lake District, and in 1936 a landmark agreement was reached under which the Forestry Commission undertook not to pursue commercial forestry with the core of the Lake District (see Section 3a Commercial Forestry in the Lake District)

Although commercial forestry was established at the head of the Duddon valley, continuing pressure from conservationists led to significant compromises, including an agreement in 1958 to exclude Black Hall Farm from planting. Black Hall Farm was eventually bought by the National Trust in 1961. The land in the upper Duddon valley (Dunnerdale Forest) that was planted with conifers from the 1930s has, in the last ten years, begun to be replanted with native broadleaf trees with financial support from the Friends of the Lake District.

- clearing of non-native tree species by Forestry Commission with funding for FLD (also Rainsbarrow Woods and not without local controversy)

In the 1940s the Duddon valley came under what the Friends of the Lake District considered to be a double threat to its natural beauty: firstly, a possible new reservoir, north of Seathwaite Church and; secondly, a proposed major hydro-electric scheme. The proposal included tunnelling to bring water into the upper Duddon valley from Eskdale, three sets of reservoirs and three power stations all linked by an overground steel water pipe and transmission lines, transformer stations and switchgear buildings. The river flow would be significantly reduced for most of the year.. It did not proceed for economic reasons, but it reinforced Friends of the
Lake District's argument that a Lake District National Park with a strong planning framework was urgently needed.

The threat to the beauty and significance of the Duddon valley from commercial afforestation led, from the 1920s, to the purchase of farms by people concerned for the protection and maintenance of the traditional way of life and the farming landscape. In 1929 the farms of Cockley Beck and Dale Head were purchased and gifted to the National Trust. In the 1930s, the Rev. H. H. Symonds, prime mover behind the formation of the Friends of the Lake District, purchased five farms in the Duddon which he donated to the National Trust in 1950. These comprised Thrang, Browside, Hazel Head, Brighouse, Pike Side and Beckstones. Using the Goodwin bequest of 1957, the National Trust bought Troutal Farm and Black Hall (from the Forestry Commission in 1961). The Trust also bought a number of farms originally purchased by Lake District Farm Estates: Low Wallowbarrow Farm and Pannelholme Intakes in 1958 (LDFE bought in 1941); Longhouse Farm in 1968 (LDFE bought in 1948); Biggard Mire Farm in 1960 (LDFE bought in 1956/7); High Wallowbarrow in 1974 (LDFE bought in 1938).

- Tongue House
- Hawes Farm
- Baskells

Seathwaite Tarn was developed as a drinking water reservoir for Barrow-in-Furness in 1907 and it is still in use today. In recent years some steps have been taken to remove some infrastructure in the landscape. In the Duddon valley, United Utilities, the regional water company, have drained, re-landscaped and are returning the former Baystone Bank reservoir to a natural landscape. The work started in 2011 after the reservoir had ceased to be used for water supply for fifteen years. It was originally built in 1876.
ESKDALE
- Description
The Eskdale Valley

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

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

“The journey up Eskdale, from Ravenglass to Boot, is by a miniature railway, with the oddest little engine and a carriage or two of primitive simplicity. At each station on the upward winding track – stations represented only by a little wooden shed like a tool-house – the guard jumps down and acts as a booking clerk, if passengers there be desirous of booking. In a few miles the scenery changes from beauty to grandeur and at the terminus no further steaming would be possible, for the great bulk of Scawfell bars the way”

The Odd Women, George Glissing, 1893. The narrow-gauge railway, opened in 1875 to carry haematite iron-ore from the mines at Boot to the standard gauge Furness Railway line at Ravenglass is still running, mainly, but not exclusively, carrying tourists. It is known affectionately as La’al Ratty.

The story of Eskdale starts up in the highest mountains of the Lake District in the Scafell massif. This wild, craggy, remote and rugged scenery extends to England’s highest mountain, Scafell Pike at 977m above mean sea level. The area represents the hub of Wordsworth’s representative figure of the wheel with the 13 valleys radiating from these hard and most resistant volcanic rocks. From these lofty heights Eskdale runs south-west to the sea through a changing landscape representing the full range of scenery associated with the progression of a river from a cascading upland beck to a fast flowing river in its mid-section then meandering slowly over the coastal plain to the open, tidal landscapes of the river estuary.

There is a sense of timelessness in the eastern, upland section of the valley where the powerful scenery contains few obvious human influences and the changing
effects of light, weather and season have such an effect on the appearance and atmosphere of the landscape. The U-shaped glaciated valley then broadens and softens into a verdant, green landscape with large patches of broadleaved, mixed and coniferous woodland giving a well-wooded feel to the valley. The valley floor is strongly patterned with pink granite stone walls enclosing bright green in-bye fields of improved pasture. In places these walls enclose larger intakes of rougher pasture on the valley sides. As the valley widens to the south-west the gently rolling topography falls away to a more open landscape with extensive views west across the Irish Sea and east up the valley to the imposing high fells. The deeper soils here are suited to more intensive farming including dairy and walls gradually give way to hedges and hedgerow trees. Still further west the low lying coastal margins become a flat or gently undulating landscape of hummocky dunes, raised beaches and coastal mosses before morphing into the tidal mudflats, shingle beaches, saltmarsh and the big skies of the Mite and Esk estuaries where timelessness returns.

The land use that characterises the valley is undoubtedly agriculture with rough gazing on the open fell and steep valley sides and the higher quality, improved pasture of the in-bye on the valley floor. Industry, principally the mining of iron-ore, brought change to the valley and reached its peak in the mid-19th century. Other service industries flourished utilising the natural resources available such as woodland industries and a well preserved corn mill at Boot where the abundant head of water provided a reliable power source. The signs of wealth are increasingly conspicuous moving further west down the valley and the small vernacular rough granite buildings rub shoulders with larger, grander houses built in dressed stone. Muncaster Castle with its 14th century fortified tower was extensively and lavishly remodelled in the 19th century and overlooks the valley from a high ledge where it has an imposing presence. Its extensive gardens and estate plantings give a notable appearance of designed landscape to western parts of the valley. Ravenglass, the only coastal settlement in the Lake District and formerly a busy port and market centre dating back to Roman times, is characterised now by 18th and 19th century buildings. It has a unique atmosphere, a strong sense of history and a powerful relationship with the estuary and the sea.

Eskdale then is a landscape of contrasts on its journey from the high fells to the sea which tells the story of the development of this part of the Lake District from prehistory to modern times. It has scenic beauty in abundance from the wild and rugged mountains through intimate farmed landscapes, vernacular buildings and designed landscape. It contains much evidence of past land use and industries which have shaped the landscape and add interest and depth to it. The past is entirely consistent and compatible with current land use which together help to drive another strand of the local economy which is tourism, helping to sustain communities and manage the land to conserve its interest and beauty.

Notable omissions:

- Hardknott pass at the watershed. Roman built linking the coastal fort at Ravenglass with their garrisons at Ambleside. Max 393m (1,289ft) and 1 in 3
• Hardknott fort on a rocky spur commanding views over Eskdale and protecting the pass. 500 Dalmatian cavalry
• Eskmeals range

Everywhere there is a sense of the past evidenced today by its abundant industrial archaeology, historic sites such as the Roman Hardknott Fort built on a rocky spur overlooking Eskdale and at one time housing 500 Dalmatian cavalry protecting the route out of the valley linking the port at Ravenglass with its garrisons at Ambleside etc?
Topographic Map of Eskdale
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<th>ESKDALE</th>
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<td>Residences and burial places of Romantic poets</td>
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<td>Key artistic associations with landscape</td>
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CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

Prehistoric settlement is in the Eskdale Valley area is known to us from numerous finds of flints along the coast (especially at Eskmeals), and sites inland at Barnscar. There are also complex ritual landscapes on higher ground, at Burnmoor and Stockdale for example.

There is a Roman fort and *vici* settlement at Ravenglass (Glannoventa) and a tileworks at Parkhouse Coppice. In common with most of the other valleys we can’t tell how much the pattern of Romano-British settlement, itself built onto earlier patterns, continued into the Early Medieval period\(^\text{12}\).

Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse placename evidence is present in Eskdale. Waberthwaite is a local example of the placename indicating a clearing (ON *thwaite*). Ravenglass potentially comes from Old Irish roots, OI *rinn/rann* (headland) compounded with OI *glas* (green/stream). That Ravenglass was a port for the Romans may indicate that it was important during the early medieval period – there is no archaeological evidence to date that supports this but it is an intriguing theory.

Placename evidence need not necessarily indicate Scandinavian or other ethnic roots for a settlement or a landscape, as loan words continued to be used long after the early medieval period\(^\text{13}\). More significant are the Gosforth and Waberthwaite sculpted crosses expertly intertwining Scandinavian and Anglian artistic traditions. More telling still is the presence of the *Thingmount* at Little Langdale, at the head of Eskdale, recording in physical form a form of government (a *Thing*) peculiar to Norse kingdoms. These certainly suggest a significant presence of Norse culture if not people.

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

Waberthwaite St John’s Church - late ninth/early-tenth century Anglo-Scandinavian high cross shaft
Remains of medieval agriculture – earthen boundary on Great Moss, part of Brotherilkeld Farm grazing, from 1242;
Medieval shielings and earthwork boundaries at Great Grassoms;
Medieval iron bloomeries and water-powered bloomery at Muncaster Head; Trough House Bridge bloomery has been radiocarbon dated to around 1275 AD;
Medieval settlement on Muncaster Fell;
Seaton nunnery – established 1190;
Eskdale Mill;
Peat Huts on Boot Bank;
Pele Tower at Muncaster (from C13?);

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The Eskdale Valley in the 11th-15th century: the Anglo-Norman Feudal System
What the Normans inherited
‘It is difficult to establish the impact of the Norman imprint on the area’
The land seems to have been part of Copeland Forest, and thus royal free chase or hunting land. Feudal barons ran their manors directly or through bailiffs, and although technically illegal the enclosure of waste by assarting and establishment of new settlement was probably encouraged by the lords as a means of improving the revenues from their manors. Although impossible to trace most specific instances on the ground, some placenames recorded in 15th century rental documents refer to now-abandoned Eskdale farmsteads which probably derive from manorial enclosure of the 13th-14th century: Park House (1455), Yoad Park (1470, meaning ‘old park?’) and Hethwaite (1470, meaning perhaps either clearing from the heath or high clearing). Winchester considers it likely that Eskdale is similar to Langdale and Longsleddale in that ‘almost all the farmstead and hamlet sites running up the sides of valleys […] have been occupied since this active phase of colonisation, much of which probably took place in the thirteenth century.’
Generally where the valley floor was not extensive enough to accommodate a large area of arable land as open fields, the farmsteads tended to be strung along or within a ring

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14 Eskdale and District Local History Society 2008, Walking in the Footsteps of Mary Fair, CWAAS, p26
garth or head dyke\textsuperscript{16}; Eskdale appears to be at one end of this spectrum with the farms consisted ‘entirely of small irregular enclosures’\textsuperscript{17}. Tenants occupied their farmsteads at places like Bank End (1493), Coalpit How (1587) and the others referred to above, working inbye field parcels close to their isolated farms and putting stock out to pasture on common grazing land on the higher, unenclosed fells. The name ‘Scale Close’ at the head of Eskdale at a cluster of huts probably refers to seasonal shielings (from ON skali) common to much of the uplands in the 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries but which were colonised as farms elsewhere in the Lake District\textsuperscript{18}.

Possible exceptions to this pattern are found in Eskdale, nonetheless: between the hamlet of Boot and the 14\textsuperscript{th} century St Catherine’s Church the flat space may have supported communal arable agriculture, and to the south of the road there are some strips which may have been enclosed from a small open field system. Dalegarth Hall’s appearance at the southern end of this possible open field system may represent a relationship between a lord’s holding and the open fields of tenants\textsuperscript{19}, that it too is 14\textsuperscript{th} century seems to support this as a phase of active colonisation. Elsewhere in the valley strip-shaped fields appear frequently, close to the coast around Middleton Place, Langley Park, Bootle and Annaside. If these do represent relict open field systems then they may reflect denser populations along the coasts. Alternatively these could represent sub-division of tenement holdings amongst descendants, as it is difficult to discern a strong pattern amongst these strip fields; some alongside the railway should be regarded with suspicion. This said, the clearest example of strip fields in the Eskdale valley has to be at Ravenglass, however, on the east side of the railway. Here the railway has bisected each of the strips, which would previously have extended to the tenements along Ravenglass’ main street in a classic medieval village pattern. The ‘Grant of a Fair and Market’ to Ravenglass by King John in 1209 affirms its importance as a port and town in medieval Cumbria.

Furness Abbey established a vaccary at the head of Brotherilkeld in 1292\textsuperscript{20}. This reflects well the reservation by the manorial lords of the dale head areas during the 11\textsuperscript{th} -13\textsuperscript{th} centuries. These choicest pastures had hay-meadows on the valley floor for amassing winter fodder and were mostly surrounded by a bowl of fellside summer pasture\textsuperscript{21}. The establishment of a vaccary here is one effect of the Pennington family’s grant of this particular dale head in 1242 to Furness Abbey. The presence of a vaccary will have also restricted peasant colonisation in the Upper Eskdale valley until at least the Dissolution. Later documents (1587) seem to suggest that the lower limit of the vaccary may have been at Blea Beck. Two emparked areas shown in the 1\textsuperscript{st} edition Ordnance Survey up on the high fells which are otherwise undocumented are of unknown status – Prior Park on Corney Fell and a pair of parks at Little and Great Grisson on Bootle Fell may possibly have been among other stock enclosures belonging to Furness Abbey.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Winchester AJL 2013 ‘The Landscape Encountered by the First Tourists’, in Walton JK and Wood J 2013, \textit{The Making of a Cultural Landscape}, publ Ashgate, p56-7
\item \textsuperscript{17} Winchester AJL 2013 ‘The Landscape Encountered by the First Tourists’, in Walton JK and Wood J 2013, \textit{The Making of a Cultural Landscape}, publ Ashgate, p57
\item \textsuperscript{18} Winchester AJL 1987, \textit{Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria}, Edinburgh, p93-4
\item \textsuperscript{19} Compare Town Head in Grasmere and Rydal Old Hall in Rydal
\item \textsuperscript{20} Winchester AJL 1987, \textit{Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria}, Edinburgh, p42-3
\item \textsuperscript{21} Winchester AJL 1987, \textit{Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria}, Edinburgh, p42-3
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
From around the middle of the 14th century, settlement abandonment, depopulation and economic decline associated with war, plague and livestock disease may be recorded by a single physical specimen. A tenementum prostratum (=‘destroyed holding’) is referred to at Banggarth\(^{22}\) in Lower Eskdale\(^{23}\), although not until 1570.

16th-17th Centuries
The manor of Eskdale is notable for containing the highest mountains in England\(^{24}\), and until the late 18th and early 19th century it contained an even-greater proportion of waste than other Cumbrian townships (as much as 60-70\%\(^{25}\)).

For the Eskdale Valley the process of enclosing pastures on lower fell slopes during this period – as ‘intakes’ – is very rare in that it is relatively well-documented\(^{26}\). Here ‘open sections of the lower hillsides had been assigned to each farm as a cow pasture, to provide grazing for milking cattle close to the farmstead, in a manor court order of 1578\(^{27}\) (the ‘Eskdale Twenty-four Book’ of 1587). Initially the division of the fellside seems to have required no additional physical enclosures; the community seems to have been happy merely to respect the court order. Whether the 1587 order was defining something new or merely codifying existing and perhaps ‘long-standing practice is impossible to tell\(^{28}\).

By 1701 many intakes were walled, however. ‘The codicil of 1701 makes it clear that, by assigning exclusive rights to a section of the lower fells as a cow pasture, the 1587 award had led many tenants to enclose their cow pastures.’\(^{29}\) Beyond the intake walls, the uplands provided vital summer grazing as well as various other resources, tenant rights for which identify the most valued amongst these. ‘Throughout the commons in the manor the principal common rights exercised by the tenants were common of pasture, common of turbary and common of estovers. Pasture rights were – and remain – an integral part of the local farming system, both for ‘great goods’ (cattle and horses) and for sheep. Common of turbary was of vital importance as peat was the principal fuel until the 20th century: turbary rights continued to be exercised until the 1940s.’\(^{30}\) Each of the peat huts (variously standing, ruinous and repaired) on the common land above Boot and Dalegarth Station are still allocated to individual commoners; the packhorse or sledge tracks leading down from the peat cuttings and huts to the farms below were often well-built and some survive in the landscape today\(^{31}\).

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\(^{22}\) Compare Bainrigg at Grasmere (Ol bean = woman/wife?)

\(^{23}\) Winchester AJL 1987, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh, p48; Winchester notes that the location of this tenement is made on the basis of earthworks close to Ban Garth Mine

\(^{24}\) Winchester AJL 1987, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh, p48

\(^{25}\) Winchester AJL 1987, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh, p48


\(^{28}\) Winchester AJL 1987, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh, p88

\(^{29}\) Winchester AJL 2008 ‘Eskdale: Historical Briefing Paper’, *AHRC Contested Common Land Project*, p3

\(^{30}\) Winchester AJL 2008 ‘Eskdale: Historical Briefing Paper’, *AHRC Contested Common Land Project*, p3

The distinctive Lake District farmsteads began to take their modern form from the close of the 16th century. Dalegarth Hall possesses a datestone of 1599, although it is known to have occupied the same site since the 14th century. The farmhouse at the former vaccary site of Brotherilkeld was rebuilt in the 17th century. Eskdale Old Brant Rake is a 17th century farmhouse; here an associated barn contains re-used 16th century cruck trusses which suggest an earlier house on the site. The mill at Boot is known to have been extended in the 1700s but it probably contains elements which may support a late 16th century construction date. The cottage and barn close to Dalegarth Hall are late 17th- early 18th-century. The period of major investment identified by Winchester between 1660 and 1740 is probably broadly correct for the Eskdale Valley, although it seems to have a broader and later spread here: Forge House is dated 1750, and in Boot the Bridge End Farmhouse, Boot House and Whillanside are 18th century. Most of the surviving housing stock in the rural areas dates from the 18th-19th century at the latest.

The 16th and 17th centuries in the Lake District were a period when tenements and enclosures were reorganised and consolidated. Some Eskdale farmsteads were clearly abandoned during this period - for whatever reason, perhaps connected with the growth of the Cumbrian iron industry, William Pennington was buying up tenements as they became available between 1619 and 1636. Bank End is last recorded in the first half of the 17th century. Coalpit How was last mentioned in a lease renewal of 1754 whereby all the farms at Muncaster Head were brought together under a single tenant—by 1767 Coalpit How had gone to be replaced by Coalpit Field. In a lease of 1723 we see the last references to Yoad Park and Park House. The abandonment of these farms and the collation of separate holdings under single tenants are indicators of how energetic individuals were responsible for reorganising the medieval farming landscape into the surviving parcels. Upper Eskdale as illustrated by Donald in 1783 (see below) is perhaps more sparse than it might have been in 1600.

Further study of the surviving building stock might help to identify farms which reoccupy earlier sites, in the manner of Old Brant Rake and Brotherilkeld. Similarly no large-scale formal field survey has been carried out to date in the Eskdale Valley, although topographic surveys of some of the individual abandoned long-house sites in Upper Eskdale have been undertaken. Additional field survey would provide a provisional sequence of enclosure walls, which in turn should identify potential ring-garth or head-dyke features and open-field agriculture. An enhanced interpretation of the sequence of enclosures may shed light on how farms were formed out of a scatter of more modest tenements.

18th-19th Centuries
The Eskdale Valley does not benefit from the type of large-scale early maps which reveal much about other Lake District valleys, although Thomas Donald's 1783 map appears to show a series of isolated farmsteads in the upper valley with the densest concentrations of buildings at Yester Field, Eskdale Green, ‘Butter Ilket’ = Brotherilkeld. Notably Boot is still just a pair of farms, perhaps with the Eskdale Mill at Boot.

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33 Eskdale and District Local History Society 2008, *Walking in the Footsteps of Mary Fair*, CWAAS, p30
34 Eskdale and District Local History Society 2008, *Walking in the Footsteps of Mary Fair*, CWAAS, p33
36 Eskdale and District Local History Society 2008, *Walking in the Footsteps of Mary Fair*, CWAAS, p26
represented as the circle\textsuperscript{37}. The lowlands support far greater concentrations, at Park Nook, Corney, Stub Place and Muncaster, and the towns of Ravenglass and Bootle warrant quite different illustration as blocks.

Whilst the lowland areas had already been turned over to agriculture long before 1800, the extent of late 18\textsuperscript{th} century and 19\textsuperscript{th} planned enclosure in upper Eskdale appears to be virtually non-existent. The historic reasons for this are unclear but it may be that the costs outweighed the benefits. Parliamentary Enclosure in the Eskdale Valley area is recorded, however, and the Bootle Fell Enclosure Award of 1857 carved up large swathes of the uplands above Bootle.

There are some discrete areas which may have been enclosed by private arrangement – on the slopes of Birkby Fell above Knott End facing Muncaster Castle there are regular enclosures above earlier (16\textsuperscript{th}-17\textsuperscript{th} century?) parcels with ‘coppice’ place-names.

The agricultural landscape of Eskdale is characterised by a pattern of late 16\textsuperscript{th}/early 17\textsuperscript{th} century individual farms on the valley floor, within a network of small, irregular inbye fields surrounded by extensive intakes which reach up the valley sides to open fell grazing above. Because the valley is narrow, the areas of inbye are consequently small. There is no clear evidence of a ring garth in Eskdale, but the small irregular inbye fields particularly around Boot indicate an early origin. Like those in Wasdale, many of the field walls in Eskdale are unusually wide due to the huge amounts of stone that had to be cleared from the fields to permit arable cultivation \textit{(PIC)}. For example at Boot, the field walls of granite boulders are often five feet thick. Intakes have been constructed both in the main valley and the small tributary valleys which join on both north and south. Patches of ancient broadleaf woodland are distributed throughout Eskdale and become more extensive as the valley broadens out, particularly on the southern side, around Stanley Force and further downstream.

There are examples of ‘islands’ of improved fields on the low fell, for example, Birkerthwaite on Birker Fell. These may have early medieval origins and could have developed around shieling sites that became permanent. The ‘thwaite’ place name component (=‘clearing’) may indicate Norse origin.

The walls and the farm buildings in Eskdale are generally constructed from the distinctive local pink granite and contribute to the rugged feel of this west facing valley \textit{(PIC)}.

**Farm Buildings**

The local architecture in the upper valley is typical Lake District vernacular, with numerous examples of stone walled, slate-roofed farm houses and barns dating from the 17\textsuperscript{th} century and later \textit{(PIC)}.

The building west of the current Cropple How farmhouse is a rare surviving example in the Lake District of a small mid to late 16\textsuperscript{th} century farmhouse. The building’s accumulated alterations clearly illustrate the development of a small farmhouse over successive centuries from its mid-to late C16 origins * It contains two exceptionally rare surviving original internal features: Cumbria’s only known mid-to late C16 totally intact wattle-and-daub smokehood complete with reredos and heck, and what is thought to be\textsuperscript{37} Although not included on the key it may represent a mill pond?
a contemporary door to the rear of the smokehood heck that is entirely of oak construction with even the hinges being formed from an oak pin turning inside an oak staple pegged to the door frame. No comparable door has been identified. The current Cropple How farmhouse is mid-18th century with later alterations.

The farm buildings at Brotherilkeld at the top of the valley form an important group, the present structures dating from the 17th century. The farmhouse is of typical vernacular style, of rubble construction with white, lime-washed walls and slate roof. (PIC) Brotherilkeld or 'Butterilket' was established in 1292 AD as a 'vaccary' or dairy farm by the monks of Furness Abbey on the site of an existing sheep farm. It later became an important 'Herdwick' farm. In 1819 the farm at Brotherilkeld is recorded as having had a flock of 3,000 animals. Since the 13th century, permanent settlement has advanced no further up the valley. Brotherilkeld is still the last farm in Eskdale.

The other best examples of farmhouses and farmsteads include Yattus at Eskdale Green, a 17th century farmhouse and Forge House and buildings, a roadside group of farm buildings. Forge House itself is dated 1750. The buildings either side are late 18th or early 19th century.

Long Rigg Farm is the best example of a complete planned farmstead in the Lake District, built by Lord Rea of Gatehouse, Eskdale Green in 1903, expanding on an existing farmstead, of which the house dates from the early to mid-19th century.

Higher status buildings include the manor house of Dalegarth Hall, on a site occupied by the Stanley family since the 14th century. The present building dates from the late 16th century with alterations from around 1750. It has five fat conical “Westmorland” chimneys. The dining-room ceiling was once ornamentally plastered, featuring the date 1599 and initials E. & A.S., for Edward and Ann Stanley. It is the oldest domestic building in the valley. (PIC).

In Eskdale more than any other valley the fellsides are scattered with the remains of small drystone huts, known as “peat scales”; in which peat was dried and stored. Farmers in the valley had rights of ‘turbary’ (the right to cut peat for fuel) and each farm had its own individual peat hut, as did the Eskdale cornmill. The peat huts are usually located on unenclosed common land around the 300m contour, near the marked break of slope between the peat-yielding plateau and the steep drop down to the valley floor. Many have been built close to carefully graded sledge tracks which zigzag up the slope to the peat. The largest concentration is the cluster of nine huts on Boot Bank. The huts are simple rectangular drystone structures made of local granite rubble. They all have gables indicating they were once roofed, probably with bracken thatch. Documentary evidence suggests that some were in existence by the end of the 16th century. Oral evidence suggests that the huts ceased to be used for peat storage between in the early 20th Century.

**Continuity of Farming culture and practice (map)**

The Eskdale farming landscape illustrates the strong continuity of farming from the medieval to today, in its field pattern, farmsteads and buildings.

Eskdale is one of the key valleys in the Lake District for the native Herdwick sheep. There are sixteen fell-going flocks in the Eskdale valley area (listed in the Lakeland
Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 7 are Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are 5 non fell-going Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are 6 National Trust landlord flocks (Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005).

The following registered Commons fall wholly or partly within the Eskdale Valley: Eskdale Common; Birker Fell; Birkby Fell; Waberthwaite Fell; Corney Fell and; Bootle Fell.

In 1819, William Green in his The Tourist’s New Guide to the Lakes commented that he did not think that there was anywhere else in the in the district where as many sheep were kept in one small area as there were in the adjoining farms of Toes (Taw House, just under 2000 sheep), Brotherill Keld (Butterilket, 3000 sheep) and Black Hall (2,000 sheep).

Landlord’s flocks were important in Eskdale with Joseph Harrison of Butterilket in 1895 quoted as saying “if it had not been for the system of hiring sheep I could never have taken on this farm.”

At the Fell Dales Show in Eskdale in 1910 there were 21 Herdwick classes, including 57 entries for Best ten Tups. Joseph Harrison of Butterilket became a member of the Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association in 1929-30 with a flock of 600.

**Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture**

Eskdale hosts the premier annual Herdwick show on the last Saturday in September and the Herdwick Tup show in May. (PIC) The Eskdale Show has show classes for Herdwick sheep, foxhounds and terriers, along with hound trails where trained hounds race following the scent of aniseed over the surrounding fells, local handicrafts, children’s sports events and fell races.

**Industry**

Although the principal land use in Eskdale is pastoral agriculture, the valley has also been the location for a range of industrial activity from at least as early as the medieval period. The underlying granite geology includes rich sources of iron ore which was mined and smelted for hundreds of years. Eskdale has numerous remains of medieval ‘bloomeries’ (iron smelting sites) which produced wrought iron using charcoal produced from the oak woodland and the local iron ore. One of these sites, at Trough House Bridge, has been radiocarbon dated to around 1275 AD. The most visible remains of iron ore mining date from the 19th century and include the extensive workings at Nab Gill, near Boot. (PIC) A narrow gauge railway (known locally as the ‘La’l Ratty’) was built in 1875 to take the iron ore away to the coast at Ravenglass. Passenger services also ran on the line. In the 20th century it was used for transporting granite from Eskdale’s quarries The Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway still operates, now as a very popular visitor attraction (PIC). The River Irt locomotive is the oldest working 15” gauge locomotive in the world. The double-wheeled corn mill at Boot probably dates originally from the medieval period but the first record is in 1547. (PIC) This mill, approached from the village by a fine packhorse bridge, is mentioned in a survey of 1578 but may have earlier origins. It addition to the two 4 metre working overshot wheels, the mill contains a wealth of interior features including hoists, a perforated metal drying floor heated by a
peat kiln below and a bakehouse. It was restored in 1975. It is now owned and operated by a local community Trust and is the only working cornmill in the Lake District. (PIC)

Settlements
The settlement pattern in Eskdale is one of dispersed, single ancient farmsteads which have their origins in the medieval period. The largest settlement is the coastal village of Ravenglass (awarded a market charter in 1208) and smaller settlements include Eskdale Green and Boot. (PICS)

Eskdale Green is a small settlement which expanded around the railway in the late 19th century, dominated by Gate House (described in “Villas and ornamental landscaping” below).

Boot is a tight whitewashed cluster of cottages, farms, a pub and Eskdale Corn Mill (described in “Industry” above). The parish church of St Catherine at Boot dates from the 14th century but was substantially rebuilt in 1881. (PIC) Doctor Bridge, East of Boot, is a fine single span stone packhorse bridge of the 17th century which was widened in 1774 for a Doctor Tyson to accommodate his horse-drawn trap.

Ravenglass
Ravenglass’ distinctive estuarine setting nestled at the confluence of the Rivers Esk, Mite and Irth is critical to its historical development. Access to the sea and a safe harbour were essential for trading, transportation and fishing. The construction of the Roman fort (established circa 100 AD and occupied well into the 4th century) on land nearby to the south was also significant to the development of a settlement. The first written record of R’englas was a gift of land for a hospital in the 11th century. Following the Norman Conquest a castle and parish church were established at Muncaster. In 1208 King John gave a charter to Richard de Luci, Earl of Egremont to hold a weekly market and annual fair at Ravenglass. This led to the development and persistence of the medieval street pattern of the market place comprising open space enclosed by buildings with narrow pinchpoints at either end to restrain animals or for defensive purposes, with side lanes to ancient field system and the shore- thereafter the village and port grew and flourished for 500 years, until first the silting up of the estuary and then the coming of the railway put an end to commercial trade in the port.

With its safe harbour, market and fair, Ravenglass was at this time the busiest and principal port in the old county of Cumberland. The town was also well located on the north-south overland route along the coast and was a stopping point where travellers waited to cross nearby fords of its three rivers.

The present buildings in Ravenglass are mostly of the 18th and 19th centuries but laid out on medieval pattern around the market square and site of a medieval cross.

Ravenglass Conservation Area was designated in 1981 and extended in 2001 because of its architectural and historical value of the buildings and townscape. Almost all buildings have architectural and historic interest, including two listed buildings (Pennington House and The Bay Horse) and many others which make a positive contribution to the area’s historic character and appearance. The 17th century Pennington House stands tall amongst the lower houses around it on Main Street. It was re-fronted in the 18th century and re-modelled in the 19th century. (PIC?) There are good examples of 18th and early 19th century provincial dwellings together with a few
vernacular farm buildings. There are characteristic Victorian dwellings (e.g. Wells Cottages) and municipal buildings (e.g. Parish Hall) built in the Arts and Crafts style. The stone-built mid/late 19th century railway buildings, notably goods and engine sheds, stations and signal box, are associated with both the Whitehaven and Furness Junction Railway and the Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway. There are also buildings developed by the Muncaster Estate at the turn of the 19th century, e.g. Parish Hall and adjoining buildings, Clifton Terrace, Wells Cottages

Other buildings
Other key buildings in Eskdale not described elsewhere in this valley description include the following: (PIC) The Church of St John (Grade II* Listed), Waberthwaite has a C13 foundation. Seaton Hall with attached ruins (II*) of a Benedictine nunnery founded 1190. The house is C16 with C19 additions.

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism and Picturesque buildings and landscape
Because of Eskdale’s relative remoteness on the western side of the central Lake District Fells it did not have the degree of attention given to it by 18th Century visitors compared with more accessible parts of the Lake District. The result is that there is no evidence of the earliest tourism in the valley or any picturesque buildings or evidence of picturesque activity.

Villas and ornamental landscaping
The most significant house in the valley is Muncaster Castle, seat of the Pennington Family, at the coastal end of Eskdale. (PIC) The present building incorporates parts of a 14th century medieval pele tower and was substantially altered and extended by the architect Anthony Salvin in 1862-6. Within the castle grounds, the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Muncaster, is C16 with alterations by Salvin in 1874. A 10th century cross stands in the churchyard. Muncaster Castle is also surrounded by spectacular landscaped gardens (Grade II* Registered Parks and Gardens), initially dating from the 18th century, which include an internationally important collection of rhododendron.

At Eskdale Green, Gatehouse is a large mansion built for Liverpool ship owner Lord Rea in 1896 to 1901, by Arthur Huddart, with a turreted pele tower as a later addition. The interior has Arts and Crafts details. The associated gardens were designed by Thomas Mawson, including rhododendrons, specimen trees, rockeries and rills around an artificial tarn with boathouse. Lord Rea allegedly aimed to “create a garden to rival Lord Muncaster’s estate”. Mawson and Rea also created the Japanese Garden close by in 1912-1914.

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

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

Just before entering the head of Eskdale, Coleridge unintentionally descended Broad Stand, dropping onto a ledge and then found that the distance above him was too high for returning, and so was obliged to take on the risks of further descents onto ledges. This is now recognised as one of the first recorded ‘rock-descents’ in the history of mountaineering. Duke of Edinburgh Gold Award candidates would only be allowed to descend Broad Stand today with helmets, ropes and skilled supervision. Immediately on completing his perilous descent Coleridge on the recommendation of Mr Tyson at Wasdale Head made for Taw House Farm and stayed the night.

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

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

‘...And into silence hush the timorous flocks,  
That slept so calmly while the nightly dew  
Moisten’d each fleece, beneath the twinkling stars:  
These couch’d mid that lone Camp on Hardknot’s height.’  
(Duddon Sonnet, XVII, 7-10)

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

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

Paintings by JMW Turner – Eskdale Mill at Boot; sunset paintings on Lake District Coast around Ravenglass?

The continuity of the romantic tradition for walking in the Lake District and the spiritual refreshment and self-discovery it afforded into the 20th century is exemplified in Eskdale in the extensive areas of open fell around the valley, much of which is Common Land,
having the tradition of open access on foot. The growing popularity of this in the early 20th century led to the expansion of the Youth Hostel Association (YHA). The Eskdale Youth Hostel was purpose built and designed by John Dower, one of the founding fathers of UK National Parks and Chair of the Dower Committee which reported to the 1945 UK Government paving the way for the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act (1949). Eskdale YHA opened in 1938, replacing Taw House (1933-38). Gate House at Eskdale Green was converted into an outdoor education centre in 1950 and is now run by the Outward Bound Trust.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Eskdale illustrates the success of the conservation movement it inspired in the extensive National Trust ownership in the upper valley, the lack of conifer afforestation, the continuation of large Herdwick farms in the valley and the survival of Eskdale Mill as a working museum.

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

The threat of commercial forestry as in upper Eskdale was one of the catalysts for the formation of the Friends of the Lake District and the campaign in the central fells was the first major FLD campaign.

In the 1940s Eskdale was threatened with a significant proposal for the hydro-electricity generation. This would have consisted of two reservoirs in the upper valley, access roads and tunnels connecting to the Duddon valley. It did not proceed for economic reasons, but it reinforced Friends of the Lake District’s argument that a Lake District National Park with a strong planning framework was urgently needed.

In the 20th century a number of key assets in the valley have been acquired by conservation bodies. The National Trust now owns and manages a number of key farms in upper Eskdale and much of the surrounding fell land, including Eskdale Common and Scafell Pike, which was gifted to the National Trust by Lord Leconfield in 1919 as a war memorial. NT farm acquisitions in Eskdale have been: Wha House Farm (bought with legacy in 1942); Taw House Farm (bought with legacy in 1942) and; Penny Hill Farm (bought using Healis bequest). Brotherilkeld was bought with a legacy in 1961; Field Head was bought in 1974; Gill Bank Farm, Boot was purchased by Lake District Farm Estates in 1955 then gifted to the NT in 1977.

Stanley Ghyll and its waterfalls have attracted visitors since at least Victorian times. It was purchased by the Lake District Special Planning Board from the Ponsonby and Dalegarth Estate in 1994, with the object of preserving nature conservation interests and providing access opportunities for the public.
WASDALE

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

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

“The lees Aa tell isn’t malicious, they’re nobbut gert big exaggerations”

The highest mountain, the deepest lake, the smallest church and yet another superlative for the valley – the (self-proclaimed) World’s Biggest Liar. Will Ritson 1808-1890, former landlord of the Wasdale Head Inn and inspiration for the annual ‘Biggest Liar in the World’ contest at Santon.

Wasdale is a valley of contrasts with the imposing bulk and dramatic landform of Great Gable, Scafell, Kirk Fell and Yewbarrow enclosing the head of the valley which then runs south west and abruptly changes to a more gentle, wooded, pastoral landscape including large country houses, gardens and parkland then on to the softer, more open estuarine landscapes of the Irt and Mite.

The eastern part of the valley is amongst the most wild and dramatic scenery in the UK including England’s highest mountain, Scafell Pike, 977m high, and deepest lake, Wastwater 79m deep. Sheer, grey scree slopes cascading down from to the summit ridge of Whin Rigg and Illgill Head dominate the south shores of the lake and emphasise the steepness of the valley sides where they are easily imagined plunging forever down into the depths. At the foot of the lake is Low Wood, the first of many mixed and coniferous woodlands marking the beginning of a very different landscape. This is a peaceful landscape dominated by pastoral farmland and mixed
or deciduous woodland further west and the large conifer plantations of Blengdale and Miterdale in the east. It contains the two river valleys and links the lowland plain to the upland fells set against the backdrop of the lower fell fringe with its crags, rock outcrops and extensive bracken beds. The rolling or undulating farmland continues west with the distinctive field boundary walls, built with rounded, beck-bottom stones that appear to defy gravity and inspire awe at the skill of the wallers who built them, give way to hedges and more frequent woodland cover creating an altogether softer appearance to the landscape. Further west still the land becomes flatter and woodland cover and hedgerow trees become less frequent leading to a more open landscape. West of the A595 the landscape has a distinct coastal feel and glimpsed views of the extensive Drigg Dunes system west of the confluence of the Irt and Mite confirm this.

One of the defining features of Wasdale is the single road in and out of the valley squeezed onto the narrow undulating margin between the lakeshore and the steeply rising fellsides enclosing the valley from the north. There is not even the space for a reasonable footpath on the south shore where the screes plunge into the lake and negotiating the public right of way can be difficult. This all adds to the drama of the valley. At the end of the road lies Wasdale Head, a remote, isolated and historic hamlet of vernacular buildings including the 17th century Inn and the diminutive St Olaf’s Church, set in its quadrant of yews and with beams thought to come from a Viking longship. The hamlet is set amidst a unique and culturally important patchwork of ancient walls constructed of the distinctive rounded stones and flat pastoral fields contained within the ring garth and enclosed by the steep high fells. Wasdale Head is popular with the walkers and climbers seeking challenge on the higher fells and this adds to the atmosphere at the valley head. Napes Needle on Great Gable is often credited with being the birthplace of English rock climbing following its first ascent by W. P. Haskett Smith 1886. The topography dictates that settlement is sparse, limited to occasional farms, until the valley widens further west where fine, large houses built in the late 18th and 19th centuries by wealthy ship owners of the West Cumbrian ports are a distinctive feature of the landscape. Examples include Irton Hall, Steelfield Hall and Greenlands and all have mature gardens and extensive parkland with exotic trees forming notable features in the landscape and metal estate railings replacing walls or hedges. The village of Gosforth is the principal settlement and local service centre and apart from the hamlets at Santon Bridge and Nether Wasdale the settlement pattern is of scattered farms, small vernacular dwellings and a surprisingly high number of large country houses.

Travelling east into the valley the tranquil, genteel, pastoral, wooded landscape of the wider western section of the valley has an intimate feel which provides few hints to the overwhelming sense of majesty, drama and foreboding engendered by the dark waters of the lake enclosed by the steep slopes and high rocky tops soon to be encountered. This is upland, ice carved scenery at its best, modified but certainly not tamed, by human influence which simply adds further layers of interest to the landscape.

Notable omissions:
Proximity to Sellafield
Nat trust ownership
Traffic chaos
Campsite
3 peaks problems
Tranquillity
“Britain’s favourite view”
Topographic Map of Wasdale
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

The earliest evidence for settlement in the Wasdale Valley area includes clearance cairnfields, possible roundhouse remains and rudimentary field boundaries from the Bronze Age at Whin Garth (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 16), although evidence for clearance of woodland by fire is found as early as the Mesolithic (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 14). On the valley bottom, burnt mounds (possible cooking places) dating to the Bronze Age have survived (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 18). The lower valley area, towards the coast, has probably been put to use as agricultural land since the earliest prehistoric periods.

The area contains early medieval and Norse archaeology including the sculptural crosses at Irton and Gosforth churches, and the hogback stones at Gosforth church. Some possible candidates for shielings and clearance cairns of this date have been identified through field survey (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 20), and there seem to be firmer indicators of Scandinavian settlement and heritage in this area than merely place-names. The district of Copeland’s name may derive from ON *kaupa-land* (‘bought land’) (Winchester, 1987), and a pattern of Scandinavian -style semi-transhumant agriculture seems to have been practised, with permanent lowland settlements supported by shielings in the uplands on summer grazing grounds (Winchester, 1987). It has been suggested that Wasdale Head may have been upland grazing which was later settled permanently (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 20). A shift to permanent colonisation and settlement of inland areas, including the sites of former shielings, during the 10th to 12th century comes from the occurrence of place-names including *saetr* and *scale*, both indicating a shieling (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 21). The abandoned farm at Scale probably indicates early origins as a shieling which was then permanently occupied (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 21).

The earliest surviving traces of human activity in the area are the Mesolithic flint finds on the coast at Drigg. Other early remains are found on the fells in the Neolithic stone axe production remains on Scafell Pike. In the valley there are extensive clearance cairnfields, rudimentary field boundaries and settlements of later prehistory (PIC). Bronze Age activity in the valley bottom is attested by a number of burnt mounds (possible cooking places). The lower reaches of the valley, abutting the coastal plain, contain the best agricultural land and are likely to have seen continuous use from early times. There are clearance and burial cairns dating to the Bronze Age on the fells surrounding Nether Wasdale. Early medieval and Norse remains include ecclesiastical sculpture at Irton and Gosforth churches (PICs) and medieval sites include the remains of iron-smelting bloomeries in Nether Wasdale and the remains of a 14th century Pele tower at Irton Hall (incorporated into the 19th century design).
Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The Wasdale Valley in the 11th-15th century: the Anglo-Norman Feudal System
What the Normans inherited

The name Wadell first occurs in 1301, (under an entry for de Matild de Wadell) in the Liberty of Saint Mary, York, Lay Subsidy. The Free Chase of Wastedaleheved is recorded in 1338, and the upper valley around Wastwater seems to have been part of Copeland Forest under direct control of the lord of the manor, whilst the lowland plains were sub-let to tenants (Winchester, 1978, p. 69). After 1338 the free chase was split between 3 heiresses into 3 wards – Ennerdale, Kinniside and Eskdale (including Eskdale and Wasdale townships).

There appear to be relics from an open-field system surviving into the 19th century as strips enclosed from a former open field system east of Gosforth. An open-field system is almost certainly the case around Mite Houses on the Esk Estuary; this comprised strips enclosed from an open fields within a circular enclosure shown on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey. This was historically associated with Ravenglass, which is first recorded in a charter for fair and market in 1208/1210. There are issues with marsh drainage in the 19th century, however, and this may have blurred the layout of these fields closest to the estuary.

Colonisation inland from early settlements

Enclosure of waste by ‘assarting’ and establishment of new settlement further inland was encouraged by the feudal lords as a means of improve revenues from their tenants. Although it was carried out on a large scale (Winchester, 1987, p. 42) it is impossible to trace most specific instances on the ground; the establishment of a pele tower at Irton Hall in the 14th century may reflect this pattern; it is surrounded by field names including the word Frith (indicating a stock park enclosure) and Close. Some place-names further inland (i.e. Marthwaite, Moesthwaite, Bengarth and Guards) also indicate clearance. Medieval inbye land certainly appears to be widespread across the lowlands.

In 1322 and 1334 there are 4 vaccaries (commercial cattle ranches) recorded at Wastedalehead. These seem to have been established by the lord of the manor and by 1334 they were let to tenants-at-will. This differs from the usual pattern in Cumberland and Westmorland whereby vaccaries were established by monasteries. It shows that the colonisation of inland areas by the manorial lords was beginning to extend into the uplands. The establishment of vaccaries by a lay lord may have released some pressure on lowland settlement; monastic vaccaries are thought to have restricted colonisation elsewhere of the upper valleys (i.e. Brotherilkeld in upper Eskdale).

We cannot tell from the available evidence how these 4 former vaccary farms evolved during the 14th and 15th century, although demesne vaccaries such as those at Wastedale Head were replaced by peasant farms on which sheep were raised (Winchester, 1987). A court book entry of 1547 suggests that the division of 19

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38 Although thwaite was still used and understood with this meaning in the 16th century
39 IPM Thomas de Multon, 1322 (P. R. O. C. 134/71/1) includes reference to four vaccaries at Wascedale. IPM John do Multon, 1334 (C. 135/41/1) specifies that they were in loco vocatur Wasedaleheved and had been arrented to tenants at will for £12 per annum.
tenements into four groups of regular rents at Wasdalehead may represent the survival of four of the original tenurial vaccary units (Winchester, 1978, p. 192).

A hypothetical and very broad-brush division of 4 vaccaries suggested overleaf - on the basis of curvilinear patterns occurring in the 1st edition mapping – conflicts only a little with the National Trust landscape survey of 2000 which identifies the ‘earliest enclosure’ to the north-east of Wasdale Head. The potential conflict is with the suggested ring-garth outline; although the NT version is probably correct and the ring garth and Wasdale Head ‘earliest enclosure’ perhaps pre-date the documentary evidence for the vaccaries and thus an early upland shieling site colonised by the early 14th century.

16th-17th Centuries
After the Dissolution of the Monasteries into the 17th century the opportunities arose to address the problems inherent in the feudal system of land tenure. Former open fields had traditionally been sub-divided to the point of poverty, and these began to be reorganised by manor courts and petitions; this process is not often well-documented. The former open fields became enclosed as strips on a piecemeal basis, with individual farmers or small groups enclosing formerly open areas (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26). The strips might then also be combined into larger parcels as farms were abandoned or amalgamated. Small-scale enclosure of this type tends to be undocumented (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26), and a complex progression based on topography and wall inter-relationships has been proposed for parts of the former open fields at Wasdale Head (National Trust, 2000, p. 28).

Building stock began to be replaced in more durable materials during this period. This represents the seeding of what we have received as the Lake District’s vernacular architecture; stone walls, and farmhouses and barns newly-built or rebuilt on earlier sites alongside more handsome residences for the wealthy - Gosforth Hall dates from 1658 and was subsequently altered in 1673. Farms were abandoned and others were combined (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 26).

Copeland Forest was still manorial waste available to the tenants. Manor courts in this period began to set out bye-laws dividing the fells into smaller units for specific purposes (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 25). The courts of the manor of Eskdale, Miterdale, and Wasdale Head, for instance, divided the waste into three: steep banks on the lower fell-sides; moors; and the higher fells. Banks and moors were most-suited to cattle pasture; as the areas of bank waste were most highly-valued they had often become enclosed by the end of the 17th century (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 25).

Higher fells were more suitable for sheep in the summer months. Fells could be divided into ‘heafs’, which would be assigned to a farm or to a group of farms. A heaf may have been assigned to a farm located some distance away. As a response ‘drift-ways’ or ‘out-rakes’ developed, paths or tracks along which farmers moved their sheep up onto the fells, and these are often preserved in the landscape (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 25).

Wasdale Head versus Nether Wasdale
These large-scale patterns contain some quite fine distinctions between individual settlements nonetheless. There is certainly a marked difference between Wasdale
Head and Nether Wasdale; perhaps Wasdalehead’s unusual vaccary heritage strongly influenced ‘the pattern of small, irregular fields at Wasdalehead [which] is markedly different from that which is found elsewhere in Copeland on areas of former open arable land’ (Winchester, 1978, p. 192).

At Wasdale Head the tenants had between 3 and 10 acres of arable and meadow in the common field called Wasdale Head field (which might have comprised a summary of several discrete spaces (Winchester, 1978, p. Map 7)\(^{40}\)). Of the 46 occupants of Nether Wasdale, only 6 had shared rights in common field (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 25). This has been taken to imply that the settlement of Nether Wasdale is generally later than of Wasdale Head (Oxford Archaeology North, 2009, p. 25).

The field system at Wasdale Head is described in 1578 as “18 tenants at will each holding a tenement consisting of a small garth adjoining his farmstead and a share of arable and meadow land in Wasdalehead Field” (Winchester, 1978, p. 386). In 1578 there are no enclosures referred to other than those garths attached to the farmsteads, and the pattern which appears in modern mapping probably represents reorganisation of the common Wasdalehead Field (or fields) between 1578 and c1850. While we know that accretion and amalgamation of farm holdings during this period saw the 18 tenements of 1578 reduced to 10 in 1750 and then 5 by 1850 (Winchester, 1978, p. 385), the earliest reference to ‘infield walls’ at Wasdale Head is 1664 (D/Ben/Crostwaite Tithe/1) by which time we can be confident that some reorganisation of the open fields had occurred by (National Trust, 2000, p. 30).

Immediately east of Wasdale Head, ‘several long strip fields [see red polygon right] may represent the furlongs of earlier (perhaps medieval) unenclosed land allotments, their shapes and boundaries fossilised during the subdivision process. However, not all the fields can be explained in this way and if such strips were originally more extensive the means of distribution of land parcels must have changed prior to the formalisation of field divisions using solid boundaries’ (National Trust, 2000, p. 30). Along the Lingmell Beck and close to Burnthwaite, the parcels are suggested to have formed at least in part from cleared stone, deposited along the steeper edges of palaeo-channels aligned NNE/SSW on earlier courses of the Lingmell Beck. These formed the basis for field divisions which progressively changed from linear clearance cairns into enclosure walls (National Trust, 2000, p. 30).

Intakes enclosed only the lowest slopes, and there are no outrakes or driftways that connect farms to far-flung heafs or intakes. Field survey has again been able to propose a stratigraphic sequence for these intakes. Dating the sequence of intakes is difficult, there is some range within each phase, and the relationship between intakes and the enclosure and reorganisation of the valley floor is unclear (National Trust, 2000, p. 31). The only certainties are that Phase V intake enclosure (possibly also Phase VI) pre-dates the 1795 estate map of the area (National Trust, 2000, p.

\(^{40}\) In 1567 an 'open field of 345 acres' (PRO Exchequer Kings Rememberancer. vol 37 f47, referred to in CWAAS vol 59, p89) could alternatively suggest a single field rather than two adjoining enclosures and this probably describes the way the valley floor was used rather than its visual appearance (National Trust, 2000, p. 29).
31), and that the extent of intake between 1578 and 1795 is modest, approximately extending the enclosed area by 20%.

Deer Parks
The deer fence shown on a plan of the fence in 1795 is thought to date from the late 16th century. The 1578 Survey of the Earl of Northumberland's estates in Cumberland describes it as "a walled enclosure of good ground and underwood preserved for the lord's deer". The name Newe Frith suggests that in 1578 it was yet-recently enclosed. The farm called Wasdalehead Hall, probably built by one of the 17th or 18th century lessees of the fence (it was leased in 1618 to Sir Wilfred Lawson), was probably the first farm inside the lord's deer park. Other such stock parks do occur in the Wasdale Valley area (both on Irton Fell): the placename Frithgill occurs on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map as a watercourse at Irton Hall issuing from Irton Park to the east, and Mecklin Park, seem to represent stock enclosures although they are perhaps earlier.

Summary
Around Wasdale Head, in the upper Wasdale valley at least, the surviving pattern reflects much earlier arrangements. Irregular enclosures associated with surviving and abandoned farm tenements have been consolidated from open fields, themselves the result of the sub-division of four 14th-century vaccary farms between the 14th-17th centuries. The deer park around Wasdale Head Hall probably reflects its original layout in the late 16th century. There is a limited extent of 17th and 18th century intakes encroaching onto the waste which add to this pattern (see National Trust 2000, Intake Phase map above).

Intakes of this period in the Wasdale Valley area more generally seem to have extended the areas within enclosed agriculture in a modest fashion, constrained by unproductive land occupying steeper topography, and poorly-drained mosses and estuarine marsh. Drainage was dealt with in the subsequent period, but the steeper slopes on the upland fells remain unenclosed.

18th-19th Centuries
The end of the 18th century saw the beginnings of planned enclosure in large quantities; land was brought into agriculture to supply rapidly growing populations and their needs in the northern towns. In the lowland parts of the Wasdale Valley area we see three examples of enclosure by Parliamentary Act, each on moorland. Whilst Mecklin Park and Irton Park on Irton Fell both suggest deliberate emparking in the medieval period they are characterised in the HLC as recent enclosure plantation woodland. They do appear to have been progressively enclosed during this period for plantations. The first and second edition Ordnance Survey maps show sub-division of the larger, earlier stock enclosures. The modern Ordnance Survey edition shows what is presumably 20th century enclosure still-higher uphill.

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41 CRO D/Lec/Plans/Eskdale/I cited in Winchester 1978, p385
42 Deriving from ON mickle + inpark?
43 Gosforth in 1810: CRO(W) YSPC/12/41; Irton Moor in 1813 (CRO QRE/1/59); and Dean Moor in 1815 (CRO QRE/1/16)
Whereas in the upper Wasdale valley the surviving pattern reflects earlier arrangements in the lower Wasdale valley area the higher slopes on Bleng Fell, Blengdale Forest and Hollow Moor are generally enclosed by very large, straight-walled field of parliamentary and other planned enclosure.

Intakes in the lower Wasdale valley area appear from the HLC to be very limited, around Craghouse Wood and Greengate Wood just north of Santon Bridge, at Pughouse Wood and east of Eastthwaite at the southern end of Wastwater, a few small parcels to the south of Irton Hall, and some small episodes close to farms on the lower slopes of Nether Wasdale Common. The extent of medieval inbye land shown in the HLC mapping contains enormous tracts for which the surviving field layout in fact represents later activity. The inbye has been extensively reorganised and - whilst there are some trace elements of medieval organisation surviving as curvilinear boundaries and strip-fields - the surviving landscape is overwhelmingly a product of the 16th and 17th century. Some of the surviving layout is in fact later: planned enclosure seems to have improved the cultivation of huge stretches of estuarine marsh and mosslands, around Carleton Hall particularly. Reorganisation and enclosure of the surviving layout appears to pre-date the 1st edition OS which makes it early-19th century at the latest. Closer to the coast the geometric shapes probably represent drainage of the estuarine marshes, whereas higher up (i.e. the fields north of Scattering Garth and higher up the River Mite) earlier inbye seems to have been rearranged in the geometric fashion; earlier forms are only rarely possible to trace from the maps as small planned enclosures seem to have overwritten and erased parcels of former inbye. A lot of the intake and recently enclosed land is also represented on the HLC by woodland parcels (for example at Porterthwaite and Irton Park).

Wasdale has a clear north-east, south-west split, between the relatively simple and typical fell farming landscape of inbye, intake, open fell from Wast Water north-east to the dale head and the more intricate patchwork of old fields, more recent enclosures, plantation and woodland at the south-west end of the valley around Nether Wasdale, Gosforth, Santon and Irton.

The tightly constrained pattern of stone walled fields at Wasdale Head is one of the most spectacular and iconic sights in the Lake District, especially when seen from a vantage point on the surrounding fells, such as Yewbarrow. It is likely to have very early, possibly (10th century?) Norse, origins having developed from one or possibly two early common fields (PIC). The only surviving ‘Norse’ place name at Wasdale Head is Burnthwaite (meaning?....). The farms were clustered in small hamlets on the edges of the common fields. The Percy Survey of 1578 says that the earls of Northumberland had seventeen tenants there and that each has between three and ten acres of arable and meadow in Wasdale Head Field.

- Vaccary established by barons of Copeland at Wasdale Head by the early 14th century (Winchester 2014)
The walls in the field system at Wasdale Head are extremely wide, reflecting the necessity of clearing the huge amounts of water-borne stone that have been deposited on the fields over hundreds of years. The in-bye fields have the irregular pattern of medieval or earlier enclosure and are surrounded by later intakes on the valley sides. The stone walled remains of a medieval deer park can still be traced at the northeastern end of the Screes (PIC).

In Nether Wasdale the pattern of the field system is typical of dispersed ancient single farms, particularly in the area to the north of the hamlet of Nether Wasdale (PIC). The farms are located on the edge of the inbye fields, just below the fell slope, probably surviving elements of a medieval settlement pattern. There are a few small, early intakes attached to the upslope sides of this system, but the higher land in the lower valley is generally enclosed with the large, straight-walled field of parliamentary or other planned enclosure. This is particularly clear on the south-facing slopes of Bolton Wood (PIC). West of Nether Wasdale village the dispersed farms are set within a more recent field system, comprising regular fields with straight boundaries. The frequency of hedges increases towards the coast. The Percy survey here mentions forty six tenements with only six of these sharing strips in a common field. The rest of the farms formed compact and individual holdings with no rights in the shared field.

Farm Buildings

There are records of four vaccaries (dairy farms) operating in Wasdale Head by 1334. By 1547 there were 19 holdings as recorded in rent records. Other 16th century records indicate the existence of 18 farms at Burnthwaite (4), The Row (8) and Down in the Dale (6). The farms were clustered in small hamlets on the edges of what were formally the common fields. The Row comprises a simple line of settlement which may have involved a degree of planning with farms placed at the end of existing strip fields. Only 8 farms survived by 1808 and 4 survive today: Burnthwaite, Middle Row, Wasdale Head Hall and Bowderdale. Only Burnthwaite has surviving buildings from the C17 – all the other farm buildings are from C18 to C20. Wasdale Head Hall Farm buildings were erected in the early nineteenth century within an earlier deer park.

A cluster of seven peat huts (“peat scales”) remains are present just upslope of the south-east corner of Fence Wood. The huts are drystone built structures which would have been used to store cut and dried peat prior to moving for use in the settlements on the valley floor. There are a range of sizes and forms which indicate various phases of building, similar to those above Boot in Eskdale, only a few miles away. The smaller simpler huts probably ceased to be used by the 19th century and the two larger huts probably were out of use by the end of the nineteenth century. The group of huts probably implies that several tenants had turbary (peat-cutting) rights on Greenhow. Even though the area is now freehold fell tenanted by Wasdale Hall Head Farm, Burnthwaite Farm still has peat cutting rights in the area.

Listed farm buildings in the Nether Wasdale include Hall Santon farmhouse from the mid to late 18th Century and the nearby cottage, barn, gingang and cartshed showing later farm development in 19th Century and Woodhow farmhouse, dated 1757, and
its attached byres, area walls and pump. Stang End farmstead has an early to mid-18th century cottage and adjoining barn. The barn was remodelled and house added in 1778.

**Continuity of Farming culture and practice (map)**

The Wasdale landscape shows a strong continuity of farming from the medieval period through to today in its field patterns, farmsteads and buildings.

Wasdale is one of the key Lake District valleys for Herdwick sheep, with several noted farms. In the 1920s Middle Row (PIC) was “a noted ram-breeding flock of long-standing” and Burnthwaite was “one of the oldest pure-bred flocks in the country. Many prize-winners, both male and female, can be traced back to this flock, which has been carefully handled for at least a hundred years.” The importance of these farms has been recognised by the conservation movement and many key farms are now owned and managed by the National Trust (see below).

There are xx fell-going flocks in the Wasdale valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 15 are Herdwick flocks in the Nether Wasdale and Wasdale Head area, including all four farms at Wasdale Head (listed in Brown 2009) and a further 7 in the Gosforth and Irton with Santon area. There are no non fell-going Herdwick flocks. There are 7 National Trust landlord flocks.

There are fifteen fell-going flocks of Herdwicks in the Nether Wasdale and Wasdale Head area, including all four farms at Wasdale Head. There are a further seven fell-going Herdwick flocks in the Gosforth and Irton with Santon areas.

The two main areas of registered common land in Wasdale are Nether Wasdale Common and part of Eskdale Common (extending onto Wasdale Screes and to the eastern shore of Wastwater and Scafell Pike). There are a number of other small areas including Little Moor (very small area near Santon Bridge) and Cat how, Berry how, School Green and Mill How (small area near Nether Wasdale).

**Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture**

Wasdale Head Show and Shepherds Meet takes place on the second Saturday in October every year. There has been a “Shepherds Meet” at Wasdale Head for over 100 years. It is believed that the “Shepherds Meet” started off with farmers from Wasdale meeting the farmers from the adjoining valleys of Ennerdale, Buttermere, Borrowdale, Eskdale and possibly Langdale, who walked their Tips (Rams) over to Wasdale Head to trade them, swap them or hire them. This is why the show is held so late in the year, Tip Lousing (Letting the rams loose with the ewes) in the valleys being in November so lambs being born in April. In all probability the showing of sheep also started in the early years and possibly also the showing of shepherd’s dogs, Hound Trailing would also have been introduced in these early years. Cumberland and Westmoreland wrestling the Fell Race and other stands and activities have all been added in the second half of the 20th Century.
Wasdale Shepherds’ Meets: Saturday nearest 20th July and first Sunday in December.

Buttermere Shepherds’ Meet at Fish Hotel, Buttermere on the last Saturday in November and with Buttermere Show at Lanthwaite Green, Brackenthwaite on third/fourth Saturday in October. This includes the Wasdale Head flocks.

Industry

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

Settlement

The settlement pattern in Wasdale is one of dispersed farms and small hamlets, with the largest settlements at Gosforth, outside the valley on the Western edge of the National Park and smaller settlements at Nether Wasdale and Wasdale Head. The buildings and walls in Wasdale Head are characterised by use of the local slate for construction while in Nether Wasdale there is more use of imported materials such as sandstone.

The notable buildings in Wasdale Head include the church of St Olaf, first mentioned c. 1550 but the building is considerably altered. (PIC) Other notable features in the valley include Row Bridge, the packhorse bridge north of the Wasdale Head Inn, one of the best examples in the Lake District with its backdrop of high mountains around the valley head. (PIC)

Out onto the coastal plain at Irton, Irton Hall is an 1874 enlargement of the previous hall, incorporating a 14th century fortified tower house, by G.E. Grayson of Liverpool for Jonas Burns-Lindow. The Church of St Paul Irton is a mid to late 19th century rebuild of an earlier church. The 9th century high cross in St Paul’s churchyard, Irton, is an excellent example of this class of monument. It is a rare survival of an intact high cross and is one of the most highly decorated crosses in Cumbria.

The Parish Church of St Mary, Gosforth has been an important site since the 8th Century. The oldest parts of the existing fabric are 12th Century. The early 10th century 4.42m high cross in St Mary’s churchyard is a unique monument standing alone amongst English Viking age crosses, not only in its size and complete survival, but also in the quality of its carving and its artistic inventiveness. Its decoration includes scenes from Scandinavian mythology unparalleled in surviving contemporary art. Gosforth Library is in a house dated 1628 which may incorporate the house known as Gosforth Gate mentioned in 1598. The churchyard also contains two hogback tombs.
There are a number of Halls on the coastal plain often built or improved by shipping families with business interests on the Cumbrian Coast described below in “Villas and ornamental landscaping” below.

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

British rock climbing began in the early 19th century in Wasdale. And the famous Wasdale Inn has had a two century association with it. William Ritson (1808-1890), friend of de Quincey and Wordsworth was born at Rowfoot Farm, Wasdale Head. Ritson had guest accommodation and turned the farm into the “Huntsman’s Inn” in 1856, which later became the Wast Water Hotel and is now the Wasdale Inn. It became the place to stay for the Victorian gentlemen fell-walkers and pioneer mountaineers, mostly professional men and academics from the cities. William Ritson gained a reputation for telling his guests tall tales of country life to his gullible guests. His legacy is The Biggest Liar in the World competition, held every November, at the Bridge Inn at nearby Santon Bridge.

William Wilberforce stayed in Wasdale/Rowfoot in 1776

Picturesque buildings and landscape

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

Villas and ornamental landscaping

Formal landscaping which might be attributed to a Picturesque sensibility are the grounds around Wasdale Hall, a mansion at the foot of the lake built by Stansfield Rawson, a wealthy Yorkshire banker (PIC). The property was purchased in 1811 and Rawson immediately began an extensive programme of tree planting. These included many exotic as well as native species and this landscaping was intended to form a landscape backdrop to the house, which was completed in 1829. This was followed by further work including the creation of gardens and further planting. William Wordsworth knew the Rawsons through Stansfield’s mother and visited Wasdale Hall in 1832. Other designed landscapes can be seen at Carleton Hall (c1790s), built for Cuthbert Atkinson, steward to the 1st Lord Muncaster, and Irton Hall (redesigned and rebuilt in 1874 out of a 14th century pele tower, which may already have been renewed in the 18th century).
The coastal plain at the end of Nether Wasdale was favoured in the 19th century by wealthy shipping families from Whitehaven for building large country residences. These include Greenlands, an 18th century farmhouse extended in 1820 for Thomas Brocklebank and Steelfield Hall at Gosforth, built in 1840 for Sir Humphrey Senhouse. Gosforth Hall is earlier, dating from 1658 and altered and extended in the 1670s. (PIC) Carleton Green is a late 18th century house.

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

The Romantic view of Wastwater, as expressed by Wordsworth, Coleridge and others was very different to the Picturesque perspective. In his *Guide* Wordsworth described the lake as “long, narrow, stern and desolate”, but also points out that it is “well worth the notice of the traveller who is not afraid of fatigue; no part of the country is more distinguished by sublimity”. Coleridge’s eloquent description has been noted above, deriving from his walking tour of 1802.

In the third edition of his *Guide* (1822), Wordsworth includes “Excursion to the Top of Scawfell”, an edited version of a letter by Dorothy Wordsworth written in October 1818, in which she describes an ascent of Scawfell with her friend Mary Barker: “We now beheld the whole mass of Great Gavel from its base, - the Den of Wastdale at our feet – a gulf immeasurable”.

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

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

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

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

(Prose II. p278-79) (PIC)

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

Having written was is believed to be the first account of ascending Scafell, Coleridge
famously and dramatically recorded his descent of Broad Stand in a letter to Sarah
Hutchinson:
“it was in truth a Path that in a very hard Rain is, no doubt, the channel of a most
splendid Waterfall. -- So I began to suspect that I ought not to go on / but then
unfortunately tho’ I could with ease drop down a smooth Rock 7 feet high, I could not
climb it / so go on I must / and on I went / the next 3 drops were not half a Foot, at
least not a foot more than my own height / but every Drop increased the Palsy of my
Limbs -- I shook all over, Heaven knows without the least influence of Fear / and
now I had only two more to drop down / to return was impossible -- but of these two
the first was tremendous / it was twice my own height, & the Ledge at the bottom
was [so] exceedingly narrow, that if I dropt down upon it I must of necessity have
fallen backwards & of course killed myself. My Limbs were all in a tremble -- I lay
upon my Back to rest myself, & was beginning according to my Custom to laugh at
myself for a Madman, when the sight of the Crags above me on each side, & the
impetuous Clouds just over them, posting so luridly & so rapidly northward,
overawed me”

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

Thomas Wilkinson 1824, “pyramids of the world” and Edward Lear painted Wast Water
during his 1836 sketching tour.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries Wasdale also became a significant early location for
the development of the sport of rock climbing, in parallel with similar developments in the
Dolomites and Saxony. Important figures included Walter Parry Haskett Smith, who
visited Wasdale Head from the 1880s and the Abraham brothers of Keswick (PIC).
Haskett Smith’s ascent of Napes Needle on Great Gable in 1886 was a key event in the
development of climbing and these early pioneers stayed at the Wasdale Head Inn,
which is still a thriving centre for walkers and climbers (PIC). The Fell and Rock Climbing
Club, the premiere climbing club in the Lake District, was established in 1906-7 and the
first formal meet was at the Wasdale Head Inn on 30th March 1907. In 1923 members of
the Fell and Rock Climbing Club gifted land including the peaks of Great Gable, Kirk Fell
and Glaramara to the National Trust in memory of the members of the Club who had
perished in World War 1. The small church at Wasdale Head, dedicated to St Olaf, is
furnished with a stained glass window also dedicated by the Fell and Rock Climbing
Club in memory of WW1 victims, with the inscription 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills
from whence cometh my strength' (PIC).
In 1969 Wasdale Hall became a Youth Hostel and added to the Youth Hostel Association network in the Lake District.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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

The National Trust also purchased farms in Wasdale in order to protect the landscape including Row Head, bought at auction in 1962 with funds from a legacy, and Bowderdale more recently. Burnthwaite was bought in 1975, using the National Trust’s Lake District Funds, generated by appeals. The Trust was also gifted farms in the valley from the Lake District Farm Estates when the company was wound up in 1977, including Harrowhead, Nether Wasdale and Gill, Broadgap and Buckbarrow in Wasdale. Middle Row and Wasdale Head Hall farms were gifted to the Trust by the state under the National Land Fund procedures (from the Leconfield Estate in lieu of death duties) for “permanent preservation”. The Nether Wasdale Estate, comprising 6 square kilometres, also came to the Trust under the National Land Fund in 1964 and the Leconfield Commons, comprising 123 square kilometres of fell land on the north side of Wasdale was given by the State to the National Trust in 1979.

The Fell and Rock Climbing Club bought 3000 acres of land over the 1500 foot contour to safeguard the interests of mountaineers, including the iconic fell of Great Gable, and donated it to the National Trust in the years immediately after World War One in memory of its members that died in that war.

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

Valley head electricity supplies were finally delivered in the 1970s by submarine cable along the bed of the lake to avoid landscape impact.
When the Lake District National Park was established in 1951 the iconic view looking north east from the lower reaches of Wastwater was chosen as the National Park’s logo. (PIC?) The view has Wastwater in the foreground and looks to Great Gable in the centre, Yewbarrow Fell on the left and Lingmell Fell on the right. So for over 60 years this view has been inextricably linked with the designation of the Lake District as a UK National Park. In 2007 this view was voted by the British public as “Britain’s Favourite View”.

Web reference for Wasdale Show:
http://www.wasdaleheadshow.co.uk/ 05/02/2015
ENNERDALE

Description
The Ennerdale Valley

“Next comes in view Ennerdale, with its lake of bold and somewhat savage shores”.  
W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

‘Wake, England, wake! ‘tis now the hour, To sweep away this black disgrace –  
The want of locomotive power, In so enjoyable a place.
Nature has done her part, and why, Is mightier man in his to fail?  
I want to hear the porters cry, ‘Change here for Ennerdale!’
Canon Rawnsley and the Lake District Defence Society opposing the plan to run a railway through the valley, published ‘Poetical Lamentation on the Insufficiency of Steam Locomotion in the Lake District, in the Pall Mall Gazette, 1883.

Ennerdale is the most westerly of all the Lake District valleys orientated east-west from the high central fells to the rolling hills and moorland plateaux of West Cumbria and the coastal plain leading to the Irish Sea. Though much modified by human activity in the form of forestry, water extraction and farming, it is the large scale natural features of the valley that impose themselves and create an overriding sense of isolation, wildness and tranquillity.

The geology underlying the valley and surrounding fells comprises volcanic rocks of the Borrowdale Series at the head of the valley, granite in the central portion, and Skiddaw slates in the lower valley. Ennerdale Water (PIC), the lake occupying the central and lower parts of Ennerdale, was formed through glacial action and other remnants of this process include a fine series of rounded moraines at the head of the valley, at Black Sail.

The head of the valley is framed by some of the Lake District’s highest summits including Green Gable, Great Gable, Pillar, Kirk Fell and Steeple composed of the hard, erosion resistant Borrowdale Volcanics group of rocks presenting a rocky,
craggy face to the valley and providing a strong sense of enclosure. The valley is relatively narrow at its head with rough grazing on the steep open fells where clear of crags, outcrops and screes. Lower down the valley slopes, large scale, mature conifer forests dominate the landscape. Continuing harvesting has created a diversity of dense conifers, areas of clearfell, conifer re-planting, natural regeneration and further west some areas of ancient oak woodland. This evokes an ongoing sense of change in the valley and the strong visual presence of the mobile, high energy River Liza enhances this. Ennerdale Water, known as Broad Water until the late 18th century, is a large glacial lake which has been deepened by a dam at its west end. It is one of the smaller lakes in the Lake District, with a maximum width of 1.5 km and a length of 3.9 km. It is also relatively shallow, but nonetheless has a resident population of arctic char. West of the lake the valley suddenly opens out to a landscape of rolling pastoral farmland with a rich network of hedgerows and trees with a much gentler feel and including the village of Ennerdale Bridge. The river from the lake westwards is the River Ehen.

The sense of isolation in the valley is reinforced by the fact that this is the only major Lake District Valley with no public road along it. East of the foot of the lake beyond the enclosed pasture there are no buildings along the south shoreline and beyond the Forestry Commission car park at Bowness on the north shore, the end of the public road, the private track serves only to access a field studies centre and a youth hostel at Low and High Gillerthwaite. Beyond that the only structure is Black Sail Youth Hostel accessible only by 4x4, bike or on foot.

The atmosphere and character of Ennerdale is apparent even before entering the valley. From the coastal plain and farmland to the west the steep fells of Herdus to the north and Crag Fell to the south, appear to guard the entrance and provide a warning that you are about to enter an exceptional and unique landscape. The head of the valley is crossed by one of the major Lakeland mountain routes, approaching from Wasdale over Black Sail Pass and continuing on to Buttermere over Scarth Gap. The land from just east of Ennerdale Bridge eastwards up the valley is virtually wholly owned by only three landowners. In 2003 these three landowners, the Forestry Commission, the National Trust, and United Utilities, formed the Wild Ennerdale Partnership to deliver a vision “to allow the evolution of Ennerdale as a wild valley for the benefit of people, relying more on natural processes to shape its landscape and ecology”. It remains to be seen where this low intervention management takes the valley but it will surely secure the continued future of Ennerdale as a valley with a unique character.

Notable omissions:
Lank Rigg and Kinniside Common
Cold Fell road
Recreation

Other suggested additions:
Natural Environment
Description of large area to SW of main Ennerdale valley: Kinniside Common down to River Calder, ancient semi-natural woodlands, and Calder Abbey.
Key Views
From Pillar summit area NY121121.
Scarh Gap (Seat above pass) NY185134.
Kelton to valley cNY090179
Kirkland Road cNY072177.

+ from Green Gable looking west;
From Caw looking southwest;

Geology
Granite - Ennerdale Granophyre – eastern part of lake and to north and south;
West end of lake is within Skiddaw slates and shales;
Borrowdale volcanics in south of valley area;
Topographic Map of Ennerdale
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

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

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

Attribute list:
- Concentration of prehistoric clearance cairns on lower fells in south of valley area;
- Vaccary established by barons of Copeland by early 14th century
- Calder Abbey established ‘dairy houses’ fell between Ennerdale and Wasdale (Winchester)

Key sites:
- prehistoric burial monuments (Samson’s Bratful etc.)
- the concentration of prehistoric clearance cairns and settlements on Stockdale Moor

Before the Norman Conquest

“At Gillerthwaite there was, as the name implies, a settlement that developed from a clearing within the forest, presumably during the early part of the medieval period. At the same time there was a second centre of activity at the immediate head of Ennerdale Water. These settlements were slow to develop and it was not until the later medieval or early post-medieval period that the valley floor was enclosed and improved.”

OAN 2003 ‘Ennerdale Historic Landscape Survey’, p47

“In the meanwhile the higher ground was being subject to transhumant farming, as evidenced by the shielings, and much of the land of the southern side of the valley was enclosed for deer farming.”

OAN 2003 ‘Ennerdale Historic Landscape Survey’, p47
Some of the place names, including the name of the valley itself and the rivers which flow through it have Norse origins and it is likely that Norse immigrants settled here in the later 10th century. There are stone footings of rudimentary structures high up on the southern slopes of Ennerdale, at Deep Gill, which may represent the remains of summer shielings of this period, used as part of a system of transhumance.

“no sites of certain early medieval date have been identified during the documentary research. Place-name evidence (Armstrong et al 1950) indicates a likelihood of Scandinavian, and possibly Anglo-Saxon, settlement, and the land tenure around the time of the Norman Conquest can be broadly reconstructed from published sources (e.g. Fair 1937).”

OAN 2003 'Ennerdale Historic Landscape Survey', p19

Ennerdale itself may appear in the Register of St Bees (c1135):

“variously spelt Avanderdale, Anenderdale, and Ananderdale, from the Old Norse Anundar-dalr, meaning ‘Anund’s (a personal name) valley’.”

OAN 2003 'Ennerdale Historic Landscape Survey', p19

[OAN] “surveys have identified a number of early settlements within the valley, there is very little dating evidence for these settlement remains and it is not known if these extend back into the early medieval period. The most significant of these sites is the EF VI cairnfield at the immediate head of the lake, which may have developed over a number of periods, of which one was in the medieval period (Fig 7). The other site with potential early medieval origins is the settlement remains (EF X and XI), comprising a number of small farmsteads, to the north-east of the High Gillerthwaite valley bottom enclosure.”

OAN 2003 ‘Ennerdale Historic Landscape Survey’, p20

Summary from OAN

“while none of the individual components of Ennerdale’s archaeology sets it apart from other valleys, the diversity, complexity, and survival of these remains undoubtedly does. Because Ennerdale has no extensive ring garth and has been subject to only limited valley bottom enclosure, the archaeological resource has not been adversely impacted on by the same level of intensive land improvement that is found in other Lakeland valleys. Consequently, Ennerdale contains a remarkable survival of settlement and industrial remains that extend back to at least the Bronze Age, and there are remains from the subsequent periods, albeit with some breaks, indicated by discontinuities of settlement, through to the present; its medieval remains in particular are very well preserved. Some site groups, such as the Smithy Beck mining remains and the Gillerthwaite medieval settlements, are undoubtedly of national importance, but the greatest archaeological importance of the valley is its collective archaeological resource, which reveals the complex mechanisms of the valley’s development.”

OAN 2003:46

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The upper reaches of Ennerdale, beyond Ennerdale Water, appear to have remained relatively unenclosed throughout the medieval period. An exception to this is Side Wood, on the southern slopes of the valley, a large stone walled enclosure
which functioned as a deer park (PIC). In contrast, the pattern of small, irregular fields on the northern side of the head of the lake are typical of the pattern of single, ancient farms more typical of the Lakeland valleys. It was not until the 1870s that Ennerdale was enclosed, with the pattern of large, ruler-straight enclosures, bounded with iron posts and wire, which are typical of that late period. This was one of the last major acts of enclosure to take place in England. However following economic depression over the next 50 years, the land in Ennerdale was bought by the Forestry Commission for commercial conifer plantation.

Attribute list:
- medieval shielings at Great Cove
- medieval settlements in Ennerdale
- medieval vaccary at Gillerthwaite
- medieval bloomeries and Smith Beck Huts
- Calder Abbey and associated sites
- important early farming landscape (including medieval vaccary) which has been partly obscured by later forestry;
- Ennerdale valley – typical inbye, intake and open fell grazing pattern but now obscured largely by conifers. Inbye areas in valley bottom, by Gillerthwaite, are still intact;
- ?enclosed former open field at west end around Ennerdale Bridge;
- Recent enclosure of fell south of Ennerdale;
- Recent, regular enclosed field around Ponsonby;

**The Medieval Period**

“Register of St Bees is the earliest source which can be used, together with neighbouring land tenure, to unravel the poorly documented early history of Copeland. Collingwood considered the place-name ‘Copeland’ to mean ‘bought land’, suggesting an allusion to it having been purchased from William I by Gospatric in c1070, as part of the Earldom of Northumberland, which had been Tostig’s before the Conquest (Fair 1937, 72-4). Ketel, who was father-in-law of Gospatric’s daughter Gunhilda, seems to have had a place in this tenure, though at what level is uncertain. Ketel’s nephew, William de Lancaster I, may have held the Barony of Egremont for a short time under King Stephen, in c1140.”

OAN 2003:20

“Assuming the derivation of the place-name Avanderdale to be correctly equated with Ennerdale (Section 3.4.3), a portion of the manor was granted ‘in pure and perpetual alms, free from every earthly service’ by Ranulph, son of William le Meschin, to Churches of St Mary of York and St Bees in c1135. Nothing more is known of the manor until the early fourteenth century, apart from confirmations of this grant in the time of Richard I (1189-99) and in 1308 by Edward II (BM Harl MSS 434; Reg St Bees, 36-9 and 534; Armstrong et al 1950, 2, 385). The lack of other papers relating to Ennerdale in the chartulary of the mother house, St Mary of York, may indicate that, to all intents and purposes, it was really in lay hands until the sixteenth century (Littledale 1931, 156-7).”

OAN 2003:20
On population figures:
“The Ennerdale figures for 1322 and 1334 are 26 and 31 respectively, and it may be presumed that there was little change here in the same manner as its neighbour. However, the population of Ennerdale is significantly smaller than neighbouring Kinniside.”
OAN 2003:24

There is little other useful medieval evidence, although the population seems to have grown considerably since the 1330s, this is perhaps skewed by the invasions at that earlier time:
“a muster roll of 1534-5, giving the names of 40 men, from 20 families, of military age in the manor (Littledale 1931, 179-80).”
OAN 2003:22

Medieval Settlement

“the earliest medieval occupation was centred in two locations: that possibly superimposed on the cairnfield of Woundell Beck (EF VI) and that at Gillerthaite (EF IX, X and XI) (Figs 7 and 8). The latter comprised a series of rectangular long houses linked either to pastoral enclosures or small cultivated plots, which extended from the valley bottom up the valley side. This was essentially small-scale peasant farming and the fact that it lay within a narrow band up the slope rather than along the better, more gently sloping land of the valley bottom would suggest that there were territorial issues restricting its growth. The documented presence of two vaccaries, or stock farms, would indicate that the lord of the manor had a represented presence within the valley, and it is possible that the peasant settlement had developed around the holdings of the vaccaries. Although there is no clear correlation between the documented vaccaries (established by 1322 (PRO C/134/71/1)) and the physical evidence, it is probable that these manorially-owned farms correspond to the two large medieval stock pounds (each with associated rectangular long houses) EF 102 and 398. It is perhaps significant that the latter putative vaccary was spatially (territorially?) removed from the peasant farming settlement of EF IX, X and XI (Fig 8).”

“Shielings: the medieval landowners as well as establishing the vaccaries within their holdings also would have sold summer grazing rights on the fells to the peasant communities. It is this summer grazing pattern of stock movement, or transhumance, which was expanded to allow peasant settlement in the uplands of the forests during the population growth of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Winchester 2000), but may have occurred in earlier periods. The high valley sides meant that these areas were still too remote for local pasture and they became the subject of transhumant pasture by the establishment of shielings at Great Cove (EF XVI) and Revelin Crags (Site 159 and 161). It is not known who occupied these shielings, but they may potentially have been the peasant community centred on Gillerthaite (EF IX, X and XI), although this cannot be confirmed.”
OAN 2003:44

“During the medieval period the mineral potential of the valley was realised and resulted in the increasingly intensive extraction and despoiling of the fell sides. In some places this resulted in hushing, notably on the north side of Herdus (Site 185;
Section 3.11.5), but in other places, such as the south side of the valley, extensive adits were excavated into the hill side and spoil heaps proliferated.”

OAN 2003:47

“there is an implication that there was mining activity on this side of the valley in the medieval and early post-medieval periods. Certainly, there is abundant documentary evidence for post-medieval extraction, particularly on the south side of the valley, which was both extensive and enduring. Given the extensive physical remains, and the documentary evidence, of extraction and processing from the medieval through to the later post-medieval period, this must be one of the more important aspects of Ennerdale’s heritage.”

OAN 2003:45

Open Fields
Crossdale
A very small amount of arable is shown here as strips, and some of these survive in modern boundaries. Crossdale is first mentioned in Assizes of 1279, perhaps either a reference to a now-lost sculptural cross, or a reference to its position at a cross-roads.

Calder Bridge - Ponsonby
Clearly open field-systems here on south side of River Calder. The place-names Scales to the north –east of this area may indicate transhumant pastoralism, but the arable may perhaps be part of a larger scheme associated with the Calder Abbey community.

Struddah Bank
Possibly another system here

Ennerdale Bridge
Possibly another system here, although ‘strips’ are quite wide. This may perhaps be related to the Ennerdale referred to in c1135 and which remained in lay hands uneventfully until the 16th C.

Colonisation of the upland landscape by vaccaries

The Ennerdale area seems only to have been colonised by manorial - opposed to monastic – vaccaries. It is surprising that monastic interests are so few given the presence of Calder Abbey in the far south-west of the valley area. The Savignac abbey first founded on land granted by Ranulph de Meschines II in 1134 was promptly destroyed by Scots invaders, and once re-founded in 1137 by Furness Abbey is became a Cistercian Abbey in 1147; the surviving ruins date from this second foundation. The monks were not rich or prolific in public life, and at Dissolution only possessed the rectories of Cleator, Gilcrux, and of St. John and St. Bridgid, Beckermet. A late 13th C suit shows that the monastery owned ‘3 carucates of land in Gilcrux, a carucate in Dearham, an oxgang in Milom, 10 acres in Irton and 2 oxgangs in Bootle.’ ("Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Calder", in A History of the County of Cumberland: Volume 2, ed. J Wilson (London, 1905), pp. 174-178 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cumb/vol2/pp174-178 [accessed 21 March 2015].)
Nonetheless their memory is recorded in the name Friar Moor at Kinniside, and at Monk’s Bridge over the River Calder. The abbey itself was demolished and cannibalised.

**Gillerthwaite / Ennerdale Head**

“The two vaccaries of John de Multon, last lord of the whole of the Barony of Egremont, are referred to only in 1322 (PRO C134/71/1) and 1334 (PRO C135/41/1; CROC D/Lec/Box 70/5; Cal Close Rolls, 1322) in the Patent Rolls. It is probably safe to assume that the forest had been cleared for their creation some time before 1322. The 1334 document (de Multon’s Inquisition post mortem) includes the following: ‘... and there are at Enerdale (sic), which is within the Free Chase of Coupeland fell 31 tenants at will, who hold various places (loca) and pay per year £6 4/6d at the terms of Michaelmas and Easter equally. And there is a certain render (reditus) called Dalemale [payment for right of pasture, literally ‘valley money’] coming from the said tenants 29/- per year at the Feast of St James for the whole year. And there is a certain place called Braythemire [now Broadmoor plantation] in the hands of the said tenants, and they pay per year for the same 13/4d at the said Feast of St James for the whole year. And there is there a certain place called Head of Ennerdale (Capud de Eynerdale) in the hands of the said tenants at will, and they pay per year £4 at the said Feast of St James for the whole year. And there are two vaccaries (vacarie) where the lord used to have his own stock (staurum suum proprum) and they are worth per year 60/-’ (translation courtesy of Dr Angus Winchester, Dept of History, Lancaster University).”

OAN 2003: 21

“two areas of medieval settlement, which both clearly pre-date the primary enclosure of the valley; these comprise the EF VI Ennerdale Lake cairnfield and the EF VIII – XI settlement remains to the north of High Gillerthwaite farm (Figs 7 and 8).”

“EF VI Cairnfield (Fig 7): one contender for one of the vaccaries is the EF VI settlement and cairnfield, which is situated quite literally at the head of Ennerdale Water.”

“In the eastern part of the cairnfield, at its southernmost edge, is a two-celled rectangular long house with an associated twocelled rectilinear stock enclosure (EF 102)”

“In addition to this there is a large complex drove route/intake arrangement for feeding stock towards the large stock pound. Significantly this stock enclosure is overlain by the valley bottom enclosure wall. The large stock pound would have been capable of accommodating substantial numbers of cattle and this may suggest that this was one of the Ennerdale vaccaries referred to in de Multon’s inquisition (1322).”

“As both the two-celled long house and the large stock enclosure are overlain by the small valley bottom enclosure to the south-west of the River Liza, this would confirm that the establishment of the valley bottom enclosure not only post-dated the EF VI settlement, but that settlement had been abandoned by the time the valley bottom enclosure was constructed.”

OAN 2003: 24-5
Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads

Gillerthwaite East

“Gillerthwaite East: the archaeological record has similarly demonstrated that there was a sizeable medieval community to the east of High Gillerthwaite Farm and significantly beyond the eastern valley bottom enclosure. This comprises a scatter of up to 12 rectangular long houses, each with an associated stock pound, which extend in a broad band up the northern side of the valley, the lowest being a pair just above the flood plain of the River Liza (EF XIc) and extending up to a group of five at a height of 120m above the valley floor (Fig 9). While this would imply a very sizeable community it must be remembered that the structures were not all necessarily contemporary. Their rectangular nature, and their unenclosed character, would suggest an early or high medieval date.”

OAN 2003:26

“Some of the long houses (eg EF 305, 311 and 345; Fig 8) are directly associated with cultivation terraces or plots, whilst some have apparently a pastoral association. One of the best contenders for one of the vaccaries is the very large two-celled stock enclosure, EF 398 (EF XIII), which is an enormous 54m x 50m in size and has decayed banks that are even now up to 1.1m in height and could have accommodated many cattle (Fig 9). Attached to the eastern side of the stock enclosure is a further rectangular long house. Although two dairy farms were documented in 1322, this does not necessarily indicate that these were either then or subsequently the sole settlements within the head of the valley. The fact that there is clear evidence of mixed farming practice within this community may suggest that it was either at the outset a community providing meat for the lord of the manor (vaccaries) and for a small local tenanted population or that the range of farmsteads reflects the development of a community practicing both mixed and pastoral farming. Althouh vaccaries are well known from documentary sources, they are very poorly attested in the archaeological record, and thus the presence of physical remains potentially corresponding to such a medieval cattle farm is of considerable archaeological importance.

“3.6.7 While some of the settlements were associated with small cultivation terraces, none of them were associated with any boundaries or fields as such, which clearly distinguishes them from the post-medieval farms of High Gillerthwaite and Gillerthwaite, which were associated with the valley bottom enclosure. The relationship of the medieval settlement to this valley bottom enclosure is significant; the fact that the primary medieval settlement area (EF IX, X and XI) was wholly outside the principal valley bottom enclosure indicates that this enclosure post-dated the medieval settlement, and that there was no apparent continuity of settlement (Fig 8). While it is possible that there were early settlement remains within the extent of the valley bottom enclosure, that have been subsequently destroyed by land improvement, it is clear that the majority of the earlier settlement remains was substantially removed from that of the valley bottom enclosure. This could either indicate that they had independent foundations or that the establishment of the later intake specifically avoided the land of the early settlement.”

OAN 2003:26

Great Cove

“the settlement at Great Cove (EF XVI) comprised a group of ten distinct structures, a main group of nine ruined stone buildings of varying size and condition, two
partially extant stretches of extant dry-stone walling, a stone-capped well or spring, and the remains of a substantial, slightly outlying, building to the south-east of the main group.”

OAN 2003:27

“The location and topography of the site, in relation to the medieval settlement at Gillerthwaite, may indicate that these were the shielings for that settlement. The comparative position of the two sites (Fig 11) shows the route down Deep Gill leads directly to Gillerthwaite and its valley bottom enclosure and such circumstantial evidence may indicate a contemporary relationship.”

OAN 2003:27

**Smithy Beck**

Possibly a miners’ settlement, or a:

“transhumant settlement, which provided solely for domestic accommodation as the stock was grazing on the open fell, and, as is common with shielings, did not require stock shelters in the summer”

OAN 2003:27

“ceramic evidence, which indicates some degree of occupation from the late fourteenth century through to the early post-medieval period”

OAN 2003:28

“the Smithy Beck houses (EF III and IV) reflect a settlement that was spatially and typologically distinct from the other settlements within the valley”

“Firstly the houses were substantially larger than their counterparts at Gillerthwaite East, but they were also in a very much better condition, suggesting a more recent abandonment date. The houses, for the most part, had a characteristic form, being enclosed or ‘double-walled’ long houses, and are a type which is relatively rare both within a regional context and potentially also nationally.”

“Several of the long houses were excavated by Bill Fletcher, revealing domestic hearths (Fletcher and Fell 1987), and the ceramics recovered dated from the late fourteenth/fifteenth century through to the late sixteenth century; there was also some later post-medieval pottery recovered.”

OAN 2003:27

**Manorial Enclosure**

“The establishment of new communities, through forest clearance (assarting) and fell enclosure, were at their height in upland Cumbria in the late thirteenth century. Winchester (1987, 39) refers to 160 acres being enclosed in just six years (1293-9) round the borough of Cockermouth. One riddings field-name (Old English ryding, ‘clearing in woodland’ - Field 1989, 273) was found on the tithe map (CROC DRC/8/71, ref no 447) close to the study area, between Mireside and Hollins, centred at NY 106 160), and there are two water riddings names, drained wasteland, west of Mireside.”

OAN 2003:21

**Ring garths at Char Dub**

“earliest formal enclosures of land were the two valley bottom enclosures, separated by the Char Dub, which are comparable to the ring garths found in most valleys (eg Langdale (Bevan et al 1991, 9) and typically date from at least the twelfth / thirteenth centuries.”
“The larger easternmost valley bottom enclosure is associated with two settlements (Gillerthwaite and High Gillerthwaite Farms) whereas there is no contemporary settlement associated with the western valley bottom enclosure, which is likely to be a remote satellite intake; hence it is likely to be the later of the two.”

Woundell Beck Ridge and Furrow
“Within the Woundell Beck cairnfield (EF VI), there is clear evidence of ridge and furrow in the northern part of the site, which uses bank EF 106/108 as a headland. It is evident that the ridge and furrow post-dates those cairns within its extent, and may not therefore be the earliest component of the landscape; however, it does have a direct relationship with the stone bank (EF 106/108) that extends out from the putative vaccary enclosure (EF 102). The ridge and furrow has an aratra or ‘S’ shape, which is typically a product of oxen ploughing, having a large turning circle, and this would imply a medieval rather than post-medieval date.”

Gillerthwaite
“Gillerthwaite EF X group is a series of small lynchetted plots (EF 344) associated with long house EF 345. These exhibit clear positive and negative lynchets, and reflect soil slippage as a result of ploughing or hand cultivation. The largest is only c33m x 22m in extent and thus does not reflect large-scale cultivation; instead it is more likely to be a form of kitchen garden intended to augment a predominantly pastoral economy. Directly above it are two further cultivated plots, EF 346 and 348, which are of a comparable size. Most of the other long houses within the group are associated with stock pounds rather than arable plots. These are likely to be of medieval date and consequentially this would indicate medieval cultivation.”

Ennerdale Eastern Valley Bottom Enclosure
“the eastern valley bottom enclosure is a long linear intake defined by the surrounding topography; it is edged to the south and west by the River Liza and to the north by the valley side. The only area of possible expansion to this enclosure is to the east, and there would appear to have been a small intake out from the primary valley bottom enclosure”

Herdus Field System
“Herdus Field System: on the south-west slopes of Herdus are the relict remains of a field system (Sites 117, 118, 119, 161) which was not shown on the OS first edition map (1867), and consequently it was evidently abandoned at a much earlier date (Fig 10). This represents an example of the parcelling of the land on the lower slopes, up to the most extreme and unusable terrain, where an horizontal wall was built running along the base of the Herdus crags with walls running down slope creating a series of ‘parabolic’ land parcels along the valley slopes. The tumbled dry-stone walls are in places (Site 102) aligned with the boundaries of the adjacent enclosed land to the west, and they appear to represent a, now abandoned, element of intake associated with the former Hollins Farm.”
“The relationships with the present-day field system indicate that these remains reflect the contraction, and ultimate closure, of Hollins Farm, which exploited the marginal and exposed lands at the foot of Herdus. Because of the relationship with Hollins Farm it is evident that the field system was abandoned in the post-medieval period, but it is entirely possible that it had its origin in the medieval period.”
OAN 2003:32

Deer Parks

The upper reaches of Ennerdale, beyond Ennerdale Water, appear to have remained relatively unenclosed throughout the medieval period. An exception to this is Side Wood, on the southern slopes of the valley, a large stone walled enclosure which functioned as a deer park (PIC).

“The Side Deer Park: one of the earliest independent intakes within the valley was Ennerdale Park, now known as The Side; formerly a deer park (Plate 8), it was estimated in the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 as being 320 acres in extent (CROC D/A Lonsdale Manors/Box 74; Jefferson 1842, 416; Littledale 1931, 164). The first reference to a Deer Park, as opposed to deer in the forest generally, seems to be in 1612”
OAN 2003:30

“The Park was described in 1650 as:
‘All that Parke or parcell of Fell ground commonly called or known by the name Ennerdale Parke alias the Fence, fenced partlie with an old wall, and partlie with ye water called ye Broadwater,”
OAN 2003:30

“It” “may, like the other enclosures in Gillerthwaite and elsewhere in Ennerdale manor, date from or before c1568.”
OAN 2003:31

“1822, the Park had increased to 961 acres when Lord Lonsdale purchased the manor; this comprised 434 acres of enclosed land (The Side) and 527 acres of unenclosed land (PRO MPE 667). The survey (undertaken in 1805) of the Side corresponds closely to the present boundaries for this”
OAN 2003:31

16th-17th Centuries

“Post-medieval: at some stage in the later medieval or post-medieval period the agricultural settlement in the valley bottom was rationalised with the establishment of the two valley bottom enclosures and the two surviving Gillerthwaite farms. By this stage the Woundell Beck settlement (EF VI) had already been abandoned, allowing the intake to develop over it (Fig 7), but the Gillerthwaite settlements (EF VIII – XI) must, to some extent, have still been in use, hence the intake avoided them (Fig 8). Remarkably, this intake was subject to very little development and expansion in the course of its subsequent life. Although there was a general expansion of field boundaries in the post-medieval period, this was for the most part the parliamentary enclosure of rough pasture, which dates to 1865 (CROC QRE/1/129), and the land was not subsequently improved.”
OAN 2003:45
“The post-medieval period saw, in common with all other upland areas, the increasingly intensive pastoral exploitation of the valley sides. The numbers of stock shelters and bields are testament to the increasing numbers of sheep on the fell, which inevitably had a considerable impact upon the vegetation, preventing the proliferation of heather moors.”

OAN 2003:47

Reorganisation of the medieval landscape

There seem to have been some monastic land in the area, at Kinniside, called Friar Moor, next to Side (=saetr). Perhaps the Dissolution encouraged intake on the fellsides here, or perhaps this is an undocumented vaccary settled post-Dissolution.

As well as monastic land re-distributed in the 16th century:
“in 1554 the lands of Henry Grey, father of Lady Jane Grey, were confiscated by Mary I, and the manor remained in Crown hands until 1822, without being made part of any ‘duchy, honour, castle or manor’, and always managed by ‘bailiffs, stewards, and greaves, there being no resident lord’ (Littledale 1931, 159). A note, undated but - from the handwriting - apparently from the late sixteenth century (CROC D/Lec/Mesne Manors: Ennerdale), informs the addressee of the inadvisability of purchasing the Manor. It seems therefore that it may have been offered for sale - either publicly or direct to Lord Leconfield, Lord of the Barony of Egremont who owned neighbouring Kinniside - though no other record has been found of this. Littledale (1931, 157-8 and 176-8) paints a picture of incompetent Crown lessees in the period 1665-1764, many of whom fell disastrously behind in their payments of rent to the Crown, to such an extent that legal proceedings against Denzil, Lord Holles, were begun in the year before his death.” (OAN 2003: 22).

“As far as can be determined, these leases were of the manorial rights only, including the deer park, but excluding the mines - which were leased separately (Section 4.5.5) - and possibly the forests, until Sir James L Worther’s lease of 3 January 1765” (OAN 2003: 22).

“... many of the forest areas, previously maintained as private hunting grounds, were abandoned by or during the sixteenth century. This had come about as a result of a number of influences. The first of these was clearance and colonisation by peasant farmers and small freeholders, and secondly as a result of the establishment of fellside pastures (hay meadows) and vaccaries by the feudal lords (Winchester 1987, 42). As the communities encroached into the lower lands of the forest, so the upper lands were adopted by the same communities as upland pasture. The more remote areas were adopted for seasonal grazing, and saw the establishment of shielings. Some of these shielings were the upland grazing for the freeholders and leased from the lord of the manor, while others, such as the Lords Seat, near Wythop, meaning Lords Saetr (shieling), reflect summer grazing under the direct control of the lord of the manor (op cit, 40). The impact of this encroachment was such that by the sixteenth century, the term forest was applied in a restricted sense only to demesne pastures in the uppermost reaches of the valley (op cit, 22). Copeland Forest, for example, had almost vanished by 1578, the northern part being...
by then a ‘free chase’ called the Forest of Gatesgarth, and the former hunting rights being restricted to upper Ennerdale.”

(OAN 2003: 22-3).

“On 14 November 1560, Elizabeth I appointed commissioners to survey her lands in Ennerdale, with instructions (PRO LR 1/329, f159) to induce the tenants to accept leases for 40 years, instead of the tenant right system in current use. The tenants, however, refused, claiming that they had never heard the name ‘lease’ before the manor came into Crown hands. Their petition states that they would be encouraged in their duty of bearing arms at the border if the Court confirmed the former Custom, and at their own cost they would ‘inclose their grounds severally w’th quycssets ...’ A ‘quickset’ was a planted hedge, usually of hawthorn. The Queen upheld the tenant right, but leased the tenements for 21 years to John Senhouse Croftfoot in 1563. However, he defaulted the terms of the lease by selling his title to John Lamplugh, who refused to ‘stand to the order of the Court touching the tenant right in the said manor’ and was committed to Navy service. A fresh survey was ordered on 12 February 1567/8, and on 3 April 1568 the 12 ‘Ancientest and Sagest Tennants’ declared the customs of the manor, among which were entitlement ‘to great timber for fire houses and barns, to harrowboote and ploughboote’ [the right to timber for building, or repairing farm implements (Coleman and Wood 1985, 47)], that there were no demesne lands (no arable demesne lands, Littledale assumes) in the manor, and ‘that from time out of memory ... their ancestors had always had within the forest certain agistments or common of pasture called Dalemale’. The Queen accepted the Customs, and the tenants the conditions, and paid two years’ rent as a gressum (fine) on 10 May 1568 (Littledale 1931, 169; Bouch and Jones 1961, 67).”

(OAN 2003: 23).

“Gillerthwaite (called ‘the head of Ennerdale’ in 1334) had certainly been enclosed by 1568, during the reign of Elizabeth I”

OAN 2003: 21

“a four-year law suit in 1608-12 concerning enclosures, made by Ennerdale tenants in the wastes of the neighbouring manor of Kelton, known as Bennefell [Banna Fell], Gavelfell, and Middlefell, presumably dating from the 1568 decision described above. The local manor Court Rolls held the answers, but instead elderly tenants, as old as 92 years of age, were called to give evidence”

(OAN 2003: 24).

“1560 survey also mentions a small tenement called Sinderhill, and this is the earliest documentary evidence for a bloomery in the manor.”

(OAN 2003: 23).

“The two Gillerthwaite farms are situated against the northern edge of the valley bottom enclosure, and Gillerthwaite Farm is within a small enclosure seemingly butted by the wall of the valley bottom enclosure, suggesting a contemporary relationship between this and the establishment of the settlement (though not the present structures). The enclosure for High Gillerthwaite, in contrast, is butted onto the inside of the valley bottom enclosure. The latter was subsequently divided by a series of north/south boundaries into ultimately eight irregularly sized fields. While a
basic sequential development of the enclosure is evident (Fig 14), the precise dates of the field divisions cannot be reliably established; however, the basic layout was in place by the time of the OS first edition map (1867).”

(OAN 2003: 29-30).

“The western valley bottom enclosure was divided from that to the east by the Char Dub,”

“The enclosure wall overlies the cairnfield, rectangular long house and stock enclosure of EF VI (Fig 7).”

“The overlying dry-stone walling has relatively few through stones, suggesting that it is somewhat earlier than the typical parliamentary enclosure walls; it is, in any case, shown to be earlier than the 1805 estate map”

“The intake was undivided until after the OS first edition map (1867) at which stage that to the west was divided into three plots by straight field boundaries. These three plots were subsequently improved with the removal of the surface stones and the cairnfield. While it is possible that this enclosure may have pre-dated the eastern enclosure, the absence of any direct relationship makes it difficult to establish their relative chronology. However, as the wall overlies the long house and stock enclosure of EF VI, it can be confirmed that this post-dated the demise of the putative vaccary.”

(OAN 2003: 30).

It is possible that the land around How Hall (see below) was originally an unnamed monastic possession, given that How Hall was soon in the hands of a family connected with Dr Swynburn and thus Henry VIII. A short string of farms curving around the north-west short of Ennerdale may have been established in the mid-16th C, perhaps on former shieling sites belonging to the manor of Crossdale.

18th-19th Centuries

It was not until the 1870s that Ennerdale was enclosed, with the pattern of large, ruler-straight enclosures, bounded with iron posts and wire, which are typical of that late period. This was one of the last major acts of enclosure to take place in England. A Herdwick flock was established at the valley head by Lord Lonsdale, with a bothy for his shepherds at Black Sail

“The fells around the valley were enclosed at a very late date. The enclosure map is dated 1865 (with approval of the Commissioners signed 1871; CROC QRE/1/129) and shows the parcelling of the fells around Ennerdale Water, and north and south of the River Liza (Figs 3 and 13). These enclosures were presumably implemented over the years following 1871, and are certainly shown on the 1899 second edition OS 6": 1 mile maps (Fig 3). For the most part they comprise a series of regular rectangular plots defined by straight walls which extend up the steep sides of the valley to the township boundary. In addition, a more irregular boundary was established on the southern side of the valley, above and to the south of the Side, following the natural ridge line.”

OAN 2003:32

“The next major episode of enclosure occurred as part of the afforestation of the valley in the 1920s (Loxham 1993). This entailed the enclosure of large packets of fellside and valley bottom for forestry, and where possible used the parliamentary
enclosure boundaries, but it also proved necessary to construct extensive lengths of new boundary, particularly at the head of the valley where there had previously been no parliamentary intake (Fig 13)."
OAN 2003:33

Around Gillerthwaite,
“Between the OS first edition (1867) and second edition (1899) maps (Fig 3) the development of the field system was concentrated around the two farms, principally relating to the construction of new buildings. At Gillerthwaite a new outbuilding was constructed on the southern side of the farmyard, the farm field was further divided, and a walled trackway was constructed along the southern side of the northern valley bottom enclosure wall. At High Gillerthwaite there was little change before the construction of two large buildings to the west of the farmhouse and an associated elongated enclosure wall.”
OAN 2003:30

Farm Buildings

Surviving 16th and 17th century buildings

High Gillerthwaite and Gillerthwaite Farms
“High Gillerthwaite and Gillerthwaite Farms (Fig 3): the High Gillerthwaite and Gillerthwaite farms are on the upper, northern side of the eastern intake. They are post-medieval farm houses, which are set into the line of the primary valley bottom enclosure, and their history would appear to be closely linked to that of the intake.”
OAN 2003:28

“Since two houses in Gillerthwaite are mentioned from the sixteenth century onwards in documentary sources, it is presumed, since there are no listed buildings here, that they have been rebuilt.”
OAN 2003:10

Unless they are just not listed for whatever reason, as How Hall Farmhouse is not.

Bowness
Bowness is a Grade II Listed Building, probably late C17/early C18; a cruck frame is rare in the Lake District.
“Bowness: the small area of field system around Bowness Farm was established prior to the OS first edition map (1867), and there has been very little subsequent change to it, the principal one being the expansion of the farmhouse between 1867 and 1899. The walls for the most part are of typical nineteenth century construction, incorporate through stones and are in good condition, reflecting the fact that they have been extensively maintained. Bowness Farm is on the line of the valley bottom enclosure in this area and it is almost external to the earlier field system; a series of straight-sided field boundaries were established to bring it within the enclosure. As such this farm may be a later establishment by comparison with the neighbouring farms of Hollins and Mireside.”
OAN 2003:32
**Longmoor Head**

At Longmoor Head there is another Grade II-Listed Building; a farmhouse with adjoining stables dating to c 1686. At the eastern end of a possible former common field, this may have originated as a steward’s holding.

**How Hall**

How Hall Farm, at the west end of Ennerdale, may have been re-built in the early 19th century, although its history is obscure and at least part of an earlier building may survive. Originally built in 1566 according to West, How Hall was ‘a mansion formerly of some note. The estate, by purchase, came into possession of the Senhouses’ prior to 1787 (West 1778 Guide book, A Guide to the Lakes). The building still stood in 1787 presumably, as West could read the following legend above the principal door:

“This house was built, A.D. 1566, by William Patrickson, and Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Swinburn, one of the privy counsellors to King Henry VIII.” (West 1778 Guide book, A Guide to the Lakes)

“The Patricksons, popularly known as the ‘Kings of Ennerdale’ (Caine 1916, 93; Littledale 1925, 128), held the neighbouring manor, also (confusingly) called the Manor of Ennerdale, from their family seat at How Hall (formerly Carswell How or Castle How) (Armstrong et al 1950, 2, 385), situated at the north-west corner of Ennerdale Water. This house is first recorded in 1523, but was sold to Joseph Tiffin in 1679 and then to John Senhouse of Calder Abbey (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 2, 36; Lysons 1816, 21; Whellan 1867, 434; CROC D/Lons/L1/1679).”

OAN 2003:11

Apparently the Patrickson family were of yeoman origin, not receiving armiger status until 1592. This perhaps shows how astronomic the upheaval was in 16th C society, partly arising from the opportunities born of the Dissolution. If this house is indeed 16th century - albeit situate within a 17th/18th C farm - associated with the Patricksons’ rise from the yeomanry then it is a very important property, especially in partnership with Abbey Mews in Calder Bridge.

**Continuity of farming culture and practice**

Although the main Ennerdale valley has been extensively afforested in the 20th century, there are many fell flocks located at the foot of Ennerdale Water and to the south along the western foot of the fells.

There are 16 farms with fell-going flocks in the Ennerdale valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 5 are registered Herdwick flocks (Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association 2015) and 2 are registered Swaledale flocks (Swaledale Sheep Breeders Association 2015). There is one National Trust Landlord’s flock.

There are about 3346ha of Registered Common Land in the valley area, around 31% of the total valley area. The areas of Common Land are concentrated on the south side of Ennerdale valley, the two main blocks being Kinniside Common and Stockdale Moor, along with Cold Fell and Ponsonby Fell. The other small areas of Common are Longmoor near Ennerdale Bridge and Watering Beck, Bowness Knott.
Parish Quarry, Bowness Quarry and latter Barrow Parish Quarry either side of Ennerdale Water.

Until the sale of the valley to the Forestry Commission Ennerdale had an important place in the tradition of Herdwick livestock in the Lake District. In the West Cumberland News in 1942 it was written that the flock of the Ponsonby family at White Banks, Kinniside had been in the hands of the present owner and his predecessors since 1773. Ennerdale was a stronghold with about one sixth of all tups registered from the valley. At the time of enclosure in the 1870s Lord Lonsdale, the lord of the manor, received the dalehead (“Ennerdale Dale”) and established a Herdwick flock there, building a bothy for his shepherds at Black Sail. In the early 20th century Gillerthwaite was one of the three or four most important sources of Herdwick tups for the whole of the Lake District.

Throughout the 19th century, an annual sheep fair was held at Ennerdale Bridge on the second Tuesday in September. In addition, Gillerthwaite farm held its own annual sale of “draft sheep from the coves” which it held by the side of Ennerdale Water, at Bowness.

In 1848 when the West Cumberland Fell Dales Show, organised for hiring and selling tups, was held in Ennerdale, Thomas Rowlandson wrote an account of it in the Journal of the Agricultural Society of England. In it he stated that “not less than two hundred specimens of the genuine breed changed hands”.

Clipping days were important social and economic events in the annual calendar and the Whitehaven News reported clipping at Gillerthwaite for many years. In the 20 July 1899 issue it was reported that clipping was a three day event involving 24 clippers from Ennerdale, Wasdale and Lorton and another eight men as catchers, fleecers and smitters. It was also reported that sixteen women, eleven of them unmarried, provided food and other refreshment. There was singing and dancing in the evenings. On the final day the event ended with a wrestling competition.

The Fell Dales Show held in Eskdale in September required the walking of tups from Ennerdale, in particular Gillerthwaite, already joined by those from Buttermere, over Black Sail Pass into Wasdale Head. There they met up with the Borrowdale and Wasdale tups and stayed for the night. The next day they walked over Burnmoor to the Woolpack Inn, Eskdale where the Fell Dales Show was held to let and hire tups to keep the bloodlines fresh. In the 1916 Fell Dales Show catalogue there are 31 entries for the best ten tups, including entries from J. Birkett of How Hall, Ennerdale, William Birkett of Gillerthwaite, Ennerdale, J Williamson of Routen, Ennerdale, J Richardson of Swinside, Ennerdale and W N Park of Crag, Ennerdale.

In the first Herdwick Flock book in 1920, William Birkett’s Gillerthwaite flock was listed as “one of the oldest established ram breeding stocks” with 606 ewes put to the ram and Joseph Richardson’s Swinside flock with 500 ewes in three separate stocks. The Allotment stock was established from Gillerthwaite stock in 1911. 408 ewes were listed in the Ennerdale Dale flock.
The depression in the 1920s and 30s resulted in many farms to let and stimulated a large amount of movement of families between farms hoping to better themselves. For example, just in the township of Kinniside in the early 1930s one family moved to Borrowdale, whilst other families moved into the township from Corney and Eskdale. Of the 130 farms in the inaugural flock book of 1920 only six families are still breeding Herdwicks on the same farms, one of which are the Rawlings of Hollins, Ennerdale.

Symonds reported that the Forestry Commission purchase of Ennerdale had resulted in the removal of 2000 Herdwick sheep from Gillerthwaite and Ennerdale Dale flocks.

References:
Afforestation in the Lake District. H.H. Symonds. 1936

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

The annual Ennerdale Show is held in the last week of August (PIC) at The Leaps, Kirkland, west of Ennerdale Water. It is a traditional Lakeland Show including showing of sheep, horses, dogs and poultry, vintage machinery, hound trailing, children’s sports, fell racing, Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, industrial and produce marquee and local food and drink. It was started in 1895 by a group of Ennerdale businessmen and farms as a way of supporting the village school. The first year it was a flower show and picnic followed by a summer ball. In 1900 it was expanded to include produce and a Herdwick sheep show, reviving the sheep fairs earlier in the 19th century. Beatrix Potter was President of the Show in the early 1934.

http://www.ennerdaleshow.co.uk/ accessed 24/04/15

Shepherds’ Meets:
The Buttermere Shepherds’ meeting is held at the Fish Hotel, Buttermere on the last Saturday in November for the fell flock Districts of Braithwaite, Newlands, Borrowdale, Wasdale Head, Ennerdale, Lamplugh, Loweswater and Buttermere. The Buttermere Shepherds’ meeting and show is held at Lanthwaite Green, Brackenthwaite on the fourth Saturday in October for the same Districts.

Borrowdale Shepherds Meet and Show is on the third Sunday in September at Yew Tree Farm, Rosthwaite.

Wasdale Shepherds’ Meets are on the Saturday nearest 20th July and first Sunday in December. The Wasdale Head Show is on the second Saturday in October.


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

Since 1864 Ennerdale Water has been used as a water supply for West Cumbria. In 1902 a shallow weir was added to maintain the level. There have been a number of proposals for further raising the water level in the 20th century, but none of these have gone ahead (see “Development of a Model for Protecting Cultural Landscape” below). Compared to Thirlmere and Haweswater the impact on the valley of the water industry is relatively minor. A new water treatment works was opened in 1995, featuring a six feet diameter tunnel, dug by divers under the lake, tunnelling under pressurised conditions.

United Utilities are planning to stop using Ennerdale as a source of water in 2022 when the abstraction licence it has from the Environment Agency will be withdrawn in order to protect the environment of Ennerdale, the lake and the River Ehen.

Reference:

The Forestry Commission acquired 5000 acres in the Ennerdale valley in 1925, including Dale Head from Lord Lonsdale. Planting began in Ennerdale in March 1925 and further land acquisitions and planting continued throughout the 20th century with the final acquisition of land around Clews Gill in 1978. By the end of 1933 the Commission had planted one and a quarter million larch and five million Sitka or Norway spruce in Ennerdale and on the Thornthwaite state near Keswick. The Commission transferred 3,500 acres of non-plantable high ground, including Great Gable and Pillar, to the National Trust.

Towards the end of the 20th century the Forestry Commission, nationally, started to widen its remit culminating in 1998 with the publication of the England Forestry Strategy. This saw the focus of forest management shift from timber production (linked to falling market prices and competition from Europe) towards rural development, economic regeneration, recreation, access and tourism, conservation and the environment.

Over the past two decades the Commission’s management has moved towards creating more mixed woodland habitats through native broadleaf planting and thinning/clear felling of monoculture conifer forest. Over the past ten years the “Wild Ennerdale” project has been running led by the three landowners, the Forestry Commission, the National Trust and United Utilities. The project’s vision is “to allow
the evolution of Ennerdale as a wild valley for the benefit of people, relying more on natural processes to shape its landscape and ecology."

The forestry actions listed in the “Wild Ennerdale” Stewardship Plan 2006 for the past ten years were:

- Control Sitka spruce to ensure that this species does not dominate the future forest.
- Reduce the impact of mechanised forestry operations in the valley.
- Prioritise the felling of areas viewed to be visually detracting within the landscape.
- Do not restock recent clearfells.
- Plant native broadleaves and Juniper as seed trees in the eastern valley to give natural processes the opportunity to develop woodland away from becoming dominated by spruce.
- Allow natural woodland encroachment beyond present forest boundary to soften stark contrast between forest and open fell.
- Continue to control sheep grazing on The Side to encourage natural regeneration east and west of the current woodland.
- Introduce cattle into the forest to restore a natural disturbance process.
- As timber operations reduce, identify where sections of the forest track network could be allowed to revert to vegetated tracks under natural processes.
- Look to thin areas of maturing forest to provide more open habitats for future herbivore grazing.
- Allow small scale timber operations to provide for local need e.g. woodfuel for the YHA’s and Field Centre.

Reference:


Settlements

The Ennerdale valley area is notable for its lack of settlements. Ennerdale Bridge is the only village in the valley area.

Other buildings

**Calder Abbey**
Calder Abbey, dissolved 1536, was given to Dr Thomas Leigh, one of Henry VIII’s Commissioners in 1538. A painting by Matthias Read in Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, shows the property c.1730 when it was purchased by John Tiffin; this painting shows the original form of the south range now incorporated in the house. The house was probably then mid-16th C, and is a Grade I Listed Building. A new frontage to the west end of this range was added in the late C18, during which time the property was associated with the notable Senhouse family.
The main abbey ruins adjoin to the North. The Savignac Abbey was first established in 1135 as a daughter house of Furness. It became a Cistercian Abbey in 1147 under Furness and the surviving ruins date from this second foundation, but with later additions.

The Gatehouse to the west in probably 14th century with later additions. Other remains of this important group of monastic buildings include a Monk’s oven and a water leat to the east of the main buildings. The buildings are set in a parkland setting.

*Monk’s Bridge*

The Monk’s Bridge over the River Calder is unsurprisingly said to be medieval but the surviving fabric is probably 17th or 18th C. This is a Grade II Listed Building and also a Scheduled Ancient Monument. It is a “good and relatively rare surviving example of a simple single span packhorse bridge, a type common in the region during the medieval and early post-medieval periods, with the arch high enough above the water level to protect the bridge from rapidly rising flood waters which are a characteristic of rivers draining the Lakeland fells.” (SAM Description)

**DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

**Early tourism and Picturesque buildings and landscape**

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

**Villas and ornamental landscaping**

There are no villas or ornamental landscaping in the Ennerdale valley area.

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

Ennerdale is the location which informs the narrative of Wordsworth’s poem *The Brothers* (1800) and through which he demonstrates the time-depth of the pastoral system in Lake District valleys. There are different versions of the origins of the poem but they are all based around the time that Wordsworth and Coleridge were in the valley in 1799 when they were told the story of a John or Jerome Bowman who had died after breaking his leg near Scalehow Force and another story of a man who broke his neck by falling off a crag whilst sleepwalking at Proud Knot. The Bowmans were a local farming family from Mireside Farm, Ennerdale. There is a Bowman family grave in the churchyard in Ennerdale. This and other documents provide evidence of the family from at least 1757 to 1894 Wordsworth used the Bowman family as his inspiration for the Ewebank family in The Brothers. The Bowman family of Ennerdale were of particular interest to Wordsworth because of his awareness of and interest in the challenges facing Lake District’s hill farmers.

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

‘Perched on the forehead of a jutting crag,
Pencil in hand and book upon the knee,
Will look and scribble, scribble on and look,
Until a man might travel twelve stout miles,
Or reap an acre of his neighbour’s corn.’

The Brothers (1800), 6-10

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

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

After Walter died, ‘the estate and house were sold’ (301)

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

(301-04)

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

When Coleridge and Wordsworth toured the Lake District in 1799, Coleridge remarked upon Ennerdale and its island and then, later, Wordsworth echoes his friend’s note in his Guide including another echo of Milton’s Paradise Lost XI.835:
'In the bosom of the lakes Ennerdale and Devockwater is a single rock, which, owing to its neighbourhood to the sea, is-

“The haunt of cormorants and sea-mews’ clang”

a music well suited to the stern and wild character of the several scenes!' (Prose, II. p184)

It was at Pillar rock, Ennerdale that it can be said that true rock-climbing began. Jonathan Otley’s 1823 Guide described the Pillar Stone as “unclimbable”. A local shepherd, John Atkinson took up the challenge and climbed it in 1824. From then on, an increasing number of visitors climbed the rock. In 1850 the Swiss C.A. Baumgartner established what is known as the “Old Wall Route”. The tricky “North Climb” was achieved by W Haskett-Smith in 1890.

Reference:

Haystacks, the fell between Ennerdale and Buttermere is famous for being Alfred Wainwright’s favourite fell and where his ashes were scattered near the shores of Innominant Tarn.

The Youth Hostels at Gillerthwaite and Black Sail are as important as they are famous for being remote “wilderness” hostels. Black Sail is the former bothy of Lord Lonsdale’s Ennerdale Dale shepherd and is only accessible on foot or bike.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Railway

In 1883 proposals were put forward to construct a railway to serve the iron ore mining operations in the valley. This was opposed strongly by Canon Rawnsley and the Lake District Defence Society and an ironic poem was published in the Pall Mall Gazette:

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

Nature has done her part, and why
Is mightier man in his to fail?
I want to hear the porter’s cry,
‘Change here for Ennerdale!’

The proposal was abandoned and this proposal combined with others in the Lake District at a similar time convinced Rawnsley to form the Lake District Defence Society, which ultimately became the Friends of the Lake District.
Forestry

Ennerdale was enclosed in the 1870s and the farms allocated areas of fell which were fenced against each other and to the parish boundary on the watershed. This made the fell land, previously common land, vulnerable to sale, due to the financial difficulties of farms in the economic depression of the 1920s. Virtually all of the plantable fell land in Ennerdale was acquired by the Forestry Commission in 1920s. In total the Commission acquired 5000 acres. The Commission had been set up in 1919 to ensure that the UK would have adequate supplies of timber in the future. By the end of 1933 the Commission had planted one and a quarter million larch and five million Sitka or Norway spruce in Ennerdale and on the Thornthwaite state near Keswick.

The greatest significance of the Ennerdale afforestation was in its use by Symonds as evidence to argue the case against further large-scale afforestation in Eskdale and the Duddon valley and ultimately the 1936 agreement between the Forestry Commission the newly formed Friends of the Lake District and the Council for the Protection of Rural England. The agreement included the exclusion of forestry from a small area at the head of Ennerdale, at Black Sail and the Forestry Commission also transferred around 1,400 hectares of non-plantable high land around Ennerdale, including Pillar, to the National Trust (PIC). In “Afforestation of the Lake District”, Symonds drew on the early lessons of the Ennerdale afforestation to argue against further afforestation on landscape, access, farming and economic grounds.

Water

Since 1864 Ennerdale Water has been used as a water supply for West Cumbria. In 1902 a shallow weir was added to maintain the level. After 1945 Lancashire and Cumberland County Council carried out a review of future water demand and supply and a proposal was made to raise the level of Ennerdale Water by five feet to provide for the takeover by Courtaulds of the Royal Ordnance Factory at Sellafield. It was approved at a public enquiry, but the scheme was dropped as Courtaulds never relocated.

In 1960 the lake level was raised by 4.5 feet to extract an extra six million gallons a day.
In 1978 the North West Water Authority applied for permission to take additional water supplies from Ennerdale for the Nuclear industry at Windscale. This would necessitate a further raising of the lake level. British Nuclear Fuels Limited at the same time had a plan to extract water from Wastwater. Many amenity groups representing anglers, walkers, rock-climbers, farmers and conservationists were opposing both proposals. The Inspector after the public inquiry reported to the Secretary of State that both schemes were unacceptable on environmental grounds. The Ennerdale project would have required major re-working of the northern shore ‘completely out of keeping with such a scene’ and at Wastwater the inspector shared the objectors concerns about a draw-down rim. The projects were not even necessary as enough water could be sourced from the River Derwent. The Secretary of State rejected both proposals in December 1981.

To bring the conservation story up to date, United Utilities are planning to stop using Ennerdale as a source of water in 2022 when the abstraction licence it has from the Environment Agency will be withdrawn in order to protect the rare and fragile population in the River Ehen.

References:
http://www.lakestay.co.uk/ennerdale.html accessed 28/04/15

The farm at Mireside was bought by Lake District Farm Estates in 1941 to try to prevent this but due to economic factors it was not implemented. Mireside was later gifted to the National Trust.

Wild Ennerdale

In 2002 the three major landowners in Ennerdale – the Forestry Commission, The National Trust and United Utilities PLC – together formed the Wild Ennerdale project as a new initiative for managing the valley. This initiative has built on the change in Forestry Commission policy towards its estates following the fall in the value of timber and development of the Commission’s objectives regarding conservation and access. It seeks to manage the Ennerdale valley as a unique place allowing natural forces to become more dominant in the shaping of the landscape and the ecology and therefore providing an inspirational visitor experience and special conservation habitats. The Vision of the Wild Ennerdale partners is,

“to allow the evolution of Ennerdale as a wild valley for the benefit of people, relying more on natural processes to shape its landscape and ecology”.

This is a unique example in the Lake District cultural landscape management using low level management interventions to enable natural processes greater freedom to function. Ennerdale is a unique Lake District valley in terms of its preceding 80 years of afforestation and management that enables this form of management to begin a new chapter in the evolution of Ennerdale.
National Trust ownership

The National Trust has an extensive estate in the Ennerdale valley area. This includes the Dale head land in the main valley on leasehold to it from the Forestry Commission and fell and farms around Ennerdale Water. Mireside Farm which was bought by Lake District Farm Estates in 1941 to resist proposals to raise the lake levels was gifted to the National Trust in 1976 when LDFE ceased operating. The National Trust also owns large areas of common on Kinniside Common and Stockdale Moor.
BUTTERMERE

Description
The Buttermere, Crummock, and Loweswater Valleys

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

INTRODUCTION

‘Mellbreak and Crummock Water, essential partners in a successful scenery enterprise, depending on each other for effectiveness. Crummock Water’s eastern shore, below Grasmoor, is gay with life and colour – trees, pastures, farms, cattle, traffic, tents and people – but it is the view across the lake, where the water laps the sterile base of Mellbreak far beneath the mountain’s dark escarpment, where loneliness, solitude and silence prevail’ that make the scene unforgettable.’
For those who Love the Hills – Quotations from Wainwright’s Pictorial Guides to the Lakeland Fells, Dyer 1994

Buttermere is a classic U-shaped glacial valley containing the lakes of Buttermere and Crummock Water, once one lake, running roughly south-east to north-west from the central fells to the meandering Derwent Valley and on to the West Cumbria coastal plain and the mouth of the Solway Firth. The River Cocker, draining from the north end of Crummock Water lends its name to the town which bears its name at the confluence with the Derwent at Cockermouth.

At the head of the valley the steep, craggy and scree covered fells including Fleetwith Pike, Dale Head, Robinson and Haystacks tower above the valley floor and provide a strong sense of enclosure. The lakes occupy the whole width of the valley floor leaving little scope for in-bye pasture, though where opportunities exist at the south end and east shore of Buttermere, the isthmus between the two lakes, at Rannerdale on the east shore of Crummock Water, and at the north end of Crummock and beyond, the bright green pastures with a striking pattern of slate field walls and hedges contrast sharply with the rough textured greys and browns of the...
fell. The composition of the steep imposing fells, the flat valley floor, the large lakes and the softening influences of the in-bye field pattern, woodlands, hedgerow and in-field trees and attractive vernacular buildings results in stunning scenery with a more managed and gentler appearance than some valleys.

Built development in the valley represents the full range of economic drivers in the Lake District over the centuries. Principally focussed on farming Gatesgarth Farm farms the in-bye at the head of the lake and the rough grazing on the surrounding fells and the three farms in tiny Buttermere village together with two hotels, cafes, a public car park and a campsite in a very small area create a unique atmosphere. This is enhanced by the sense of containment and remoteness created not just by the enclosing fells but also by the relative difficulty in getting into the upper valley by road. Apart from the narrow, twisting, rural road network often enclosed by walls or high hedges from lower down the valley the village is accessed by three mountain passes, Whinlatter, Newlands Hause and Honister Pass, the latter two providing a challenging experience for drivers unused to such roads and providing an insight into an upland landscape contrasting with life in the valleys. The working quarries and mines at Honister Hause and the legacy of spoil tips and fans cascading down the steep fellsides are a dramatic reminder of the scale of past industries in the fells. Whinlatter Pass travels through extensive conifer plantations though now combine timber extraction with tourism with a visitor centre and cycling hub.

Further down the gently meandering course of the River Cocker into Lorton Vale the valley broadens though more distant fells still provide a strong sense of enclosure. The pasture fields, stone walls, hedges, hedgerow trees and a network of small woodlands create an intricate pattern to the landscape which has a tranquil atmosphere, in part due to the lack of major roads. West and east of Lorton Vale the fells become lower with the smooth profile of the softer Skiddaw Slate underlying geology. The verdant, intricately patterned, side valley containing Loweswater has a tranquil feel not dissimilar to Lorton Vale but lacking the designed landscape introduced in the village of Lorton where exotic coniferous varieties of trees punctuate the landscape. The valley gradually widens as the enclosing fells diminish in height until the defining characteristic from the flatter, more open farmland becomes the view south back to the dramatic upland edge.

Notable omissions:

Rannerdale bluebells
Continuous path around the lake
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

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

There is a possible bi-vallate hillfort at Loweswater Pele, which may be Iron Age (NTSMR 20464).

“the juxtaposition of possible prehistoric farmsteads and subsequent medieval and post-medieval farmsteads, at Rannerdale (NTSMR 24355; Plate 9), Lanthwaite Green (NTSMR 20389, NTSMR 23020; Plate 6), and High Nook Farm (NTSMR 27581; Plate 7), gives an impression of settlement continuity. This could, however, be an illusion created by discontinuous episodes of exploitation of preferable agricultural land.”

There are no sculptural crosses in the valley area although “the origins of a farm named ‘High Cross, lying to the north of the road between Loweswater and Waterend may be indicative of a former boundary marker.”

Thwaite placenames indicate clearance, but the use of this ON root has a long duration:
“Lanthwaite and Brackenthwaite, within the survey area, and also Thackthwaite, Littlethwaite, and Thornthwaite, which are in Lorton Parish to the immediate north of the survey area, and Graythwaite, which lies within 1km to the northwest of Loweswater. The thwaite element is also present in Gillerthwaite, to the north of Lanthwaite Wood.”

Scales placenames indicative of seasonal settlements for putting stock out to summer upland pastures could indicate Early Medieval settlement. They include: “The general name of ‘Scales’, referring to a large part of the fell in this area, has also been applied to several landscape features in this area, such as ‘Scale Beck’ and ‘Scale Island’. The scales element also occurs in ‘Scale Hill’.”

Kirk placenames perhaps suggest an Early Medieval origin, as in ‘Kirkgill’, ‘Kirkgate’, and ‘Kirkhead’; names which cluster west of the church in Loweswater village, as well as ‘Kirk Close’, east of Buttermere lake. A chapel in Loweswater dates from
1154 and 1181, although this may have replaced an earlier example; subtle earthworks near Kirkhead, Loweswater, have been suggested as representing the remains of an earlier chapel. (OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1:23).

**Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape**

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

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

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

**The Medieval Period**

“in c 1100 the ‘honour of Cockermouth’, which consisted of five vills and the fells lying between the Rivers Cocker and Derwent, was separated from the earlier Copeland barony (Winchester 1987, 16). At this time, the eastern part of the study area lay within the honour of Cockermouth, whilst the western part remained part of the Copeland estate. The eastern part of the study area lay within the upland subdivision of the honour of Cockermouth called Derwentfells and was considered private forest, or free chase (op cit, 19–20; Plate 12). This area would have been under the complete control of the overlord of the honour of Cockermouth, whereas the western part of the study area comprised part of the lowland sub-division of Copeland estate and any settlements in this area were freehold and, therefore, unlikely to have been under the direct control of an overlord (ibid).”


“the conquest of Carlisle being followed by the large-scale movement of peasantry from the south of the country (op cit, 5, 17). The lowlands and valleys of upland forests were subject to continued clearance and colonisation during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is evident in Buttermere, where studies of the rate of accumulation and mineral composition of Crummock Water sediments suggest
significant increases of deep and intensive local soil erosion between AD 1150 and AD 1300 (Shen et al 2008, 138–9). This is suggestive of increased settlement and the intensification of agriculture in Buttermere at this time, and may reflect the introduction of deep ploughing to the area (ibid). Historical records demonstrate the presence of a mill at Buttermere village prior to 1215 and it has been suggested (Winchester 1987, 140) that a nucleus of settlement, from which Buttermere village developed, may have existed on the delta flats between Crummock Water and Buttermere Lake (Plate 13) by 1200, and that the farms on the surrounding fellsides developed from 1215 and throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (ibid)."

The more remote regions of the Lake District seem to have characterised in the medieval period more by transitional and permanent dispersed settlement than by nucleated villages and moated sites. The Buttermere valley area certainly is more removed from urban centres, and seems to reflect this trend.

“Seasonal settlements or shielings, generally associated with summer grazing, permanent dispersed farmsteads, cattle ranches or vaccaries, monasteries, chapels, moated or tower houses, and industrial sites, such as bloomeries associated with iron working, are all sites that might be encountered within rural and upland contexts during the medieval period (CN Newman 2006, 121, 123, 124, 132), and many of these sitetypes are represented within the survey area.”


“documents record fisheries at Buttermere lake and an eel fishery at Crummock Water in 1478 (ibid). Fishing during the sixteenth century is also demonstrated by the historical occurrence of the place-name Fyshegarth in 1570 (Armstrong et al, 354).”


Some of the valley area placenames occur in the 13th and 14th century: Stanger (1322 IPM),

Open Fields

Buttermere

A small village has developed from medieval origins at Buttermere. Here the route to Newlands adjoins from the north and the arable potential of the flat delta between Buttermere and Crummock Water is greater than in other parts of the valley. On the flat delta between the lakes of Buttermere and Crummock Water, the existing field system represents the remains of a medieval open field which was subdivided with stone walls in later periods (PIC).

The presence of a ring garth at the southern end of the Buttermere valley appears to be shown by the placename Gatesgarth Farm; this:

“is likely to reflect private land use associated with the management of the vaccary. The lines of two former ring garths may also have been preserved within the extent of the postmedieval head-dyke in the environs of Bowderbeck and the farms at Wood House, Sorescale Bank, and Spout House (op cit, 140–1).”


High and Low Orton
Between High and Low Lorton there is clearly a former open field, Lorton Hall may perhaps have had its own holding.

**Loweswater**

Loweswater, adjacent to Low Park, there are strips which may possibly represent former arable enclosed as strips. Loweswater first appears in an IPM of 1367.

**Embleton and Wythop Mill**

At Embleton and Wythop Mill there are two separate open fields, but in the lower-lying area this is not so surprising. Embleton appears first in 1194 (Feet of Fines), and under various names in the 13th-15th centuries, including in association with St Bees in 1438. Wythop appears in 1195 in the Feet of Fines, but appears to be part of Scotland in 1260. Withop Mill first appears in 1578.

**Lorton Vale**

In Lorton Vale there are vestiges of former strips, cf below. (NB Armaside = saetr of the Normans). Lorton is parcel of the manor of Derwent-Fells, belonging to the Earl of Egremont. The dean and chapter of Carlisle have a small manor here, given to the church in the reign of Richard I. by Ralph de Lyndesey. Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland. Originally published by T Cadell and W Davies, London, 1816.

**Mosser**

At Mosser (= ergh on the moss?) there is a small arable area, with Mosser Mains (the capital messuage) at the north end, perhaps within its own larger separate holding. Mosser doesn’t appear as a placename until 1575 but it is probably an earlier settlement. The township of Mosergh, Mosier, or Mosser, belonged to the Salkelds, who were lords of the manor; it has since been enfranchised. There is a chapel at Mosergh, and it appears that there was a chantry chapel there before the reformation. Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland. Originally published by T Cadell and W Davies, London, 1816.

**Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads and vaccaries**

“Former forest valleys in the uplands were also brought into agricultural use by the establishment of pastures and vaccaries in the preferred dalehead lands by the manorial lords (op cit, 42). The dalehead at the south-eastern end of the Buttermere valley (Plate 14) was established as the vaccary of Gatesgarth in the thirteenth century (Winchester 2003, 109) and, as these sites were generally founded on upland chase, it is likely that the area was not settled at this time. It is, however, difficult to establish how much of the valley had been occupied prior to the Norman conquest of the region.” (OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1:24).

There is documentary evidence for a vaccary (dairy farm) at Gatesgarth, at the head of the valley, in the mid-13th century and recent archaeological excavation.
discovered the remains of a longhouse of this period adjacent to the modern farm. Large stone walled intakes on either side of the head of the valley are also likely to date from this period.

Map

“In 1247, William de Fortibus III, earl of Albemarle, acquired the Cockermouth estate from his grandfather (William le Gros). This comprised the southern half of the Forest of Derwentfells, including Buttermere, and the castle and demesnes at Cockermouth (Winchester 2003, 111). Surveys from 1260, following the death of the earl, and 1270, after the death of his son, and surviving estate rolls, provide information relating to demesne farming in the area (ibid). These documents relate to the management of the estate while it was in the possession of Isabella de Fortibus, the widow of William (op cit, 112; PRO(L) SC6/824/6–15; PRO(L) E199/7/3; PRO(L) SC11/730, mm.9v, 13v, 14v). Although sheep pastures were maintained on the fells to the east and north of the current survey area, and arable farming was concentrated at Cockermouth, the Gatesgarth pastures at the Buttermere dalehead were utilised as a vaccary, or cattle farm, which sustained up to 60 cows and their calves (ibid). The meadows at Gatesgarth also provided hay for winter feed for stock. The vaccary included the park or wood of Gaschard, which may relate to the large walled enclosure to the north of Gatesgarth Farm, which includes Kirk Close, Lambing Knott, and Robinson Crag, and corresponds with the Forest of Gatesgarth documented in 1489 (op cit, 114). The vaccary lands are also likely to have included the flat meadowland between the lake and Warnscale Bottom and the grazing fells to the north and east of this area (ibid). The vaccary buildings may have been close to the current farm and Gatesgarth cottage (ibid) and remains relating to this period may have been encountered during recent works in the area (M Astley pers comm).” (OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1:25).

“Following a vast reduction in the scale of stock rearing throughout the Cockermouth estate in the 1270s, the remaining cattle stocks were divided between the vaccaries at Birkby and Gatesgarth in 1280–1 (op cit, 113). Records from the 1280s show that the vaccary maintained a breeding herd at this time, although the rate of breeding appears to have been slow (op cit, 115–6). Following the death of Isabella de Fortibus in 1293, the estate was escheated to the crown and demesne farming continued for a short time. By 1310, however, the Gatesgarth pasture had been let to farm and the private management of these lands by the holder of the estate ceased (op cit, 116).” (OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1:26).

“Due to a lack of records relating to the possessions of individual farmers during the medieval period, it is difficult to establish the relative reliances on arable and pastoral farming, and how extensive each of these regimes was prior to the sixteenth century, at which point probate records become available. There are several observable examples of broad ridge and furrow cultivation earthworks distributed throughout the survey area (NTSMR 29686, NTSMR 29722, NTSMR 29419, NTSMR 29462, NTSMR 29503, NTSMR 29709, NTSMR 29675), although most of these sites lie to the north of Crummock Water. There are also several areas within Buttermere where field clearance associated with arable agriculture is attested by the presence of clearance cairns, which might be associated with nearby sites of suggested medieval date, although post-medieval agricultural practices might also be
responsible. Such sites (NTSMR 29406, NTSMR 29411, NTSMR 29412, NTSMR 29415, NTSMR 29463) are present in the locale of Highpark, close to areas of broad ridge and furrow (NTSMR 29419, NTSMR 29462), and within the grounds of documented medieval tenements. There are also clearance cairns (NTSMR 29269, NTSMR 29539) adjacent to the deserted medieval settlement north of Dale How (NTSMR 24355) and in the environs of a probable medieval farmstead (NTSMR 27580) at High Nook Farm (NTSMR 29206, NTSMR 29208, NTSMR 29230).

2.4.18 Six deserted settlements that may feature phases of use dating to the medieval period are known within the survey area (Figs 8-10) (Scales, NTSMR 20380; Rannerdale, NTSMR 24355; High Nook Farm, NTSMR 27580; Peel Place, NTSMR 23020; Stockbridge, NTSMR 29457; a site east of Low Hollins, NTSMR 29513); however, three of these (High Nook Farm, NTSMR 27580; Stockbridge, NTSMR 29457; Peel Place, NTSMR 23020) were deserted during the post-medieval period (Winchester 1986, 4). The medieval settlement at Rannerdale (NTSMR 24355; Plate 15) appears to have gone out of use in the late medieval period (Winchester 1987, 48) and Scales (NTSMR 20380) and the site near Low Hollins (NTSMR 29513) may potentially have been deserted in the fourteenth century. The possibility remains, however, that previously abandoned medieval sites occupying cultivable land were reused in later periods and that subsequent buildings may have masked the presence of these sites (op cit, 47–8).”


“The farm at Gatesgarth had been let by 1310, […] but by the sixteenth century it had been sub-divided into three holdings (ibid), reflecting the continuing trend to create numerous farmsteads from former demesnes.”


Manorial Enclosure

“Much of the area now called Burtness Wood may have been enclosed at this time [1300], as suggested by a reconstruction of the enclosure extents as they may have appeared in c 1578 when the Percy Survey was undertaken (ibid; Fig 12; Plate 19). A plan of this area from 1812, however, did not depict the enclosure of Old Burtness, which lay to the south of Sourmilk Gill and was shown on an estate plan produced after the purchase of land by John Marshall in 1815–16.”

(OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1: 47-8). “In addition to the large enclosed areas that surrounded agricultural areas during the medieval period, there may also have been smaller enclosures used to subdivide land within or beyond the ring garths, or head dykes, such as stock pounds or hay meadows to be protected from summer grazing. An example of such an enclosure (NTSMR 29282) may be evident at Rannerdale”


Deer Parks

Around St Bartholomew’s Church, Loweswater ‘part of the land at this side of the survey area was also subject to enclosure for the creation of a deer park surrounding the current farm of Lowpark in the later thirteenth century (Winchester 1978, 193). This park was enclosed by Alan de Multon, the Lord
of the Manor, between 1230 and 1260 (op cit, 295). A second park was established by his son, Thomas de Lucy, prior to 1286, although this was removed due to obstructions caused to the passage of the monks of St Bees through the area (op cit, 341).”


“A deer park was originally established in Loweswater, within the manor of Balnes (Section 8.3.9), in the early part of the thirteenth century and was later extended (Fig 13), or a second separate park was established, by Thomas de Lucy in the later thirteenth century (Winchester 1978, 341). The extent of the enclosure in this area is likely to have corresponded with the current enclosed lands to the south of Park Beck and the area to the west of this park, as represented by the post-medieval head dyke, is likely to have been enclosed during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (op cit, 210). This would have established the current extents of Loweswater, as a result of the establishment of the manor of Balnes in 1230 (Section 8.3.9), which would have expanded the areas of lowland enclosure at the northern end of the Buttermere valley, and hence reduced the limits of the forest of Copeland (Winchester 1987, 20). By 1300, the extent of enclosure in this area may have corresponded with the line of the post-medieval head dyke (Winchester 1978, 210).”


“the deer park at Loweswater had been sub-divided by 1437 into tenements, which may be represented by the current hamlets of Highpark and Lowpark (ibid).”


16th-17th Centuries
Reorganisation of the medieval landscape

There does not seem to have been an enormous quantity of monastic land to be re-distributed in the 16th century. Nonetheless the landscape evolved in an idiosyncratic fashion.

Small irregular fields and individual groups of farm buildings at Buttermere and Rannerdale comprise a typical Lake District pattern of single, ancient farms and there are much more extensive areas of this in the wider part of the valley around Loweswater and into Lorton Vale.

“During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the ‘open’ (communal grazing) and ‘closed’ (private crop growth) field system met with opposition as individuals attempted to retain enclosed fields during the winter for their private use (op cit, 60–1).”


“Although much of the valley floor between the lakes of Buttermere and Crummock Water remained as an open field called Nether or Lower Field, during the sixteenth century, with every holding in the village retaining shares, the holdings peripheral to the village consisted of closes with more restricted accessibility (op cit, 140–1). The lakeside enclosure of Hassenesse and Grennesse at the northern shore of Buttermere lake (Fig 35 in Volume 2), for example, was held exclusively by Bowderbeck and the tenants at Gatesgarth in 1578 (ibid).”
The deserted medieval settlement at Rannerdale (NTSMR 24355) had been divided into seven equal shares by 1547, and does not appear to have functioned as a nucleated farmstead after this time."

“In the sixteenth century, Buttermere village comprised a cluster of farms, with individual farms scattered on the fellside above the village”

“The enclosure of High Rannerdale may have been established following the division of the land into seven holdings by 1547, and apparently superseded the sub-ovoid enclosure (NTSMR 29282).”

“wholesale enclosure of moorland occurred at Lorton Head, to the north of the survey area, in 1473 (Winchester 1987, 52). The enclosure of large areas of fellside by groups of tenants was more common in Cumbria and in 1568 part of the fellside to the north-east of Buttermere village, known as Blakerigg or Bleak Rigg, was enclosed (op cit, 143; CRO(C) D/Lec/299). The encroachment of individual holdings into the fells and forests was the most common type of enclosure at this time, with the corresponding construction of intake boundaries. The fertile valley bottom, lying between Buttermere lake and Crummock Water, was enclosed during the sixteenth century, and was divided into four fields, named Nether or Lower Field, Over Field, Scarr Field, and Drigg Garwick (Winchester1987, 141). In addition to the enclosure of land by groups of local people, attempts were also made by the landed gentry to enclose land in attempts to increase their stock-rearing capacities. Holme Wood, at the north-western end of the survey area, was formerly a piece of fellside known as ‘the Holme’ (op cit, 52) and was the subject of successive attempts of opposed enclosure by Lords of the Manor during the mid and late sixteenth century (ibid). By the end of the sixteenth century, in c 1578 (Winchester 1978, 338), the pattern of much of the enclosed lands in Buttermere (Plate 16) had reached the extent that would later be depicted in the tithe maps of 1844 and the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping of 1861-3.”

Extensive areas of fell land on the west side of Crummock Water were subject to parliamentary enclosure, but the stone walled parcels are so large that the feel of open fell is retained (PIC). The fell on the east side of the valley is largely unenclosed.
1865. The map then overstates the quantity of intake enclosure, as huge stretches are really parliamentary enclosure, extending a much earlier fossilised pattern.

“2.4.39 The enclosure of uplands in Buttermere appears to have reached its most extensive historical limits by the end of the nineteenth century. The tithe maps of Loweswater from 1839, and Buttermere and Brackenthwaite from 1844, show that most of the agricultural fields that bound the uplands had the same boundary limits as those shown on the first edition mapping of 1861–3 and on current mapping. Indeed, the extent of enclosure at the eastern side of the survey area, with the lakes of Buttermere and Crummock Water acting as a north to south divisional axis, may have changed very little from the boundaries that had been established by 1578 (Winchester 1978, 338). The only areas where enclosure appears to have expanded after this time were the fells around Melbreak, Loweswater Fell, and Hen Comb (Section 4.3.5). The large geometric enclosures in this area represent the establishment of topographically oblivious land units that were typical of the late nineteenth century (Rollinson 1989, 95–6) and were not depicted until the production of the second edition Ordnance Survey map of 1900. The establishment of such boundaries often meant the construction of walls on slopes or crags that were difficult to negotiate and some of the enclosures that were established to the west of Crummock Water and Buttermere Lake in 1865 utilised iron fencing, instead of stone walling (ibid).”

“2.4.40 Holme Wood was formerly known as ‘the Holme’ and had been subject to contested attempts at enclosure during the sixteenth century (Winchester 1987, 52). By the time of the production of the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping of 1861–3 the area had been enclosed and was wooded. The discovery of a sheepfold (NTSMR 29652) and sheep shelter (NTSMR 29649) within the woods during the survey, however, attests to the former nature of the area as pasture, although the dates of the planting of the woodland are not clear. A bothy (NTSMR 26226) is present at the eastern side of the woods that has been described as a former shepherd’s hut and is thought to have been built in the early- or mid-nineteenth century. A building was shown in this location on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1861–3, although the function of this structure is difficult to ascertain, with local understandings suggesting possible early use as a fish hatchery, followed by a stable for snicking ponies (J Lund pers comm).”


“The only areas where enclosure appears to have expanded after the production of the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping of 1861–3 was within the high fells around Melbreak, Loweswater Fell, Hen Comb, and Darling Fell, all of which comprised the commons of Loweswater. The large geometric enclosures in these areas represent the establishment of land units that were typical of the late nineteenth century (Rollinson 1989, 95–6) and are likely to have represented enclosure as an indication of land ownership, rather than land use. These enclosures parcelled the remaining fells into large blocks, with no apparent consideration of changes in the local topography or utilisation of natural features, such as becks, to define boundaries. The establishment of such boundaries often meant the construction of walls on slopes or crags that were difficult to negotiate and some of the enclosures that were established to the west of Crummock Water and Buttermere lake in 1865 utilised iron fencing, instead of stone walling in order to aid the ease of construction (ibid). None of these boundaries were depicted
cartographically until the production of the second edition Ordnance Survey map of 1900. The fells in the parishes of Brackenthwaite and Buttermere were not subject to parliamentary enclosure and remained as unenclosed common land (A Winchester pers comm).”

Farm Buildings

Surviving 16th and 17th century buildings

There are many examples of 17th century farmhouse groups in this area including a fine example at Low Hollins with an inscribed date stone over the entrance of 1687. (PIC)

“Several farmhouses remain standing within Buttermere that are likely to have been built at this time. Woodhouse Farm (NTSMR 20627), Wilkinsyke Farm (NTSMR 20628), High Nook Farm (NTSMR 26222), Watergate Farm (NTSMR 26225), Crag Farm (NTSMR 26362), and Lanthwaite Cottage (NTSMR 26446) all feature buildings that appear to have originated in the seventeenth century and also four farmsteads, that have now been demolished, at Peel Place (NTSMR 23020), Stockbridge (NTSMR 29457), to the south of Wilkinsyke Farm (NTSMR 29478) and at Loweswater Pele (NTSMR 20464), may also include phases dating to this period. There is an indication at Wilkinsyke Farm (NTSMR 20628) that the house had been divided into two units, perhaps as a result of the sub-division of the whole farm holding between siblings, or parents and children. Alternatively, this could represent a domestic division between members of a family who worked communally to farm a single land holding. Conversely, the populations of many Lake District communities declined during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, leading to the gradual reduction of the number of farm holdings and an increase in size of the remaining farms (Rollinson 1989, 91).”

Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

Industry

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

Settlements

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

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

**Halls and Pele Towers**

“The earliest historical references that might indicate the presence of a manor house in Loweswater relate to the foundation of the manor of Balnes in 1230 (Section 8.3.9), which was apportioned to Alan de Multon and his wife Alice de Lucy” (OAN 2009: Buttermere, Cumbria: Historic Landscape Survey: Volume 1:26).

**Lorton Hall**
The remains of a medieval Pele tower at Lorton Hall are incorporated into later 17\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century additions.

**Wythop Hall**
“Wythorp-hall, formerly a seat of the Lowthers, has long been a farm-house”

Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland. Originally published by T Cadell and W Davies, London, 1816

**DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

**Early Tourism**

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

“Here the rocky scenes and mountain landscapes are diversified and contrasted with all that aggrandizes the object in most sublime style, and constitutes a picture the most enchanting of any in these parts.”

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

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

**Picturesque buildings and landscape**

**Villas and ornamental landscaping**

There is only one formal designed landscape in the valley area; High Latterhead Cottage seems to be an incorrect parcel in the HLC.
Lorton Park, a classic early 19th century villa with a parkland setting, summer house and rare smokehouse for fish and hams, can be seen changing across the OS maps.

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

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

The spectacular beauty of this valley also led to early acquisitions of property by the principal conservation bodies in order to maintain its character. In 1934 one of the major private estates in Buttermere came up for sale, and a scheme was agreed between the National Trust, Lake District Farm Estates, Balliol College (Cambridge) and a number of private individuals to purchase the land for conservation purposes. Most of the estate was bought by the National Trust, with the remainder purchased by the others who then entered into restrictive covenants with the National Trust in order to control future land use. Between 1935 and 1937 over 1,600 hectares of land, including the key valley head farm of Gatesgarth, were subject to restrictive covenant agreement.

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

Description
THE BORROWDALE AND BASSENTHAITE VALLEY

INTRODUCTION

‘His own home – two rooms of a farmhouse – was in the hamlet of Watendlath, the smoke from whose chimneys he could see now lazily curling beneath him. He had indeed a fine view. On these tops you could walk for miles and scarcely be compelled to descend. Beloved names came to meet him when he looked. Towards Derwentwater, Brown Dodd and Ashness Fell and High Seat; towards Thirlmere, Armboth, and Watendlath Fell; towards the Langdales, Coldbarrow and Ullscarf and High White Stones. The ranges lay all about him in shapes more human than those of his friends, moulded and formed, now sharply with rocks and steeples and slanting cliffs of shining colour, then gently in sheets of flaming bracken lifting to smooth arms and shoulders embossed like shields of metal. Wild profusion, and yet perfect symmetry and order. One colour faded to another, purple cliff above orange sea, deeps of violet under shadow of rose, and a great and perfect stillness everywhere.’

From Rogue Herries Part IV, Hugh Walpole

The largest and perhaps the most diverse of all the valleys Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite starts in the high central fells at the impressive crags of the appropriately named Great End at the north end of the Scafell Pike ridge and runs north enclosed by steep fells east and west. It includes the major glacial features of Derwent Water and Bassenthwaite Lake, once a single body of water, opening out to the northwest to the expansive coastal plain of the Solway Firth and bounded to the northeast by the huge upland block of the Skiddaw massif.

The visual diversity is in part a result of natural factors and part human influence. The fells enclosing the head of the valley are the hard and resistant Borrowdale Volcanics series of rocks producing rugged, craggy, rocky and remote mountain scenery with a sense of primeval landscape where the passage of time has not, and
cannot, change its appearance. Further north the much softer Skiddaw Group of slates form the Derwent Fells and Skiddaw massif and produce a more rounded, smoother textured, grassy mountain landscape with a more managed appearance. On the alluvial soils in the valley the lush in-bye grazing produces flat green carpet with a strong pattern of rubble stone walls which rise onto the lower sides of the surrounding fells. Above these intakes the steep fellsides are cloaked in native oak woodland making Borrowdale one of the most wooded of the Lake District valleys exhibiting dramatic seasonal colour changes and contributing to the natural beauty of the area. The River Derwent and its many tributaries are a notable influence on the character of the valley with extensive gravel banks and beds and riverbank trees snaking along the valley requiring the building of distinctive high-arched ‘pack-horse’ bridges to cross them. In periods of high rainfall numerous spectacular waterfalls water cascade down from becks in the hanging valleys.

The point where the underlying geology changes is a well wooded narrowing of the valley between King How and Castle Crag. This visually separates and effectively divides Borrowdale into two distinct parts. Above (south of) the so-called ‘Jaws of Borrowdale’ the valley is relatively narrow with a strong sense of containment provided by the enclosing steep, rugged fells and a sense that pastoral farming is the overriding influence on land use and landscape character and there is a perceived ‘naturalness’ about the landscape. North of the ‘Jaws’ the valley widens and is dominated by the expanse of Derwent Water with Keswick at its northern shore. The influence of the 18th century Sublime movement and the Romantic Poets including Wordsworth becomes more evident in the landscape as the resulting influx of tourists and wealthy industrialists from outside the area building large villas and country houses created a fascinating and visually appealing blend of agricultural and designed landscape. Parkland and large gardens containing exotic species of trees, along with the significant houses, make visual statements and a highly significant positive contribution to the Lake District landscape.

Keswick’s present form and character reflects three main periods of growth from medieval market town, with its fossilised burgage plot pattern of parallel yards, to 18th century water-powered industrial town based on minerals mined in the surrounding fells, to the railway-induced Victorian tourist resort. The town sits comfortably in the landscape nesting by the lake with its picturesque islands within an amphitheatre of containing, but not overbearing, fells. Small wonder that there are such strong literary and cultural associations with Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth and Ruskin, who were all influential in attracting the first visitors to the area.

Beyond the north end of Derwent Water and Keswick the valley becomes wider still yet retains its sense of containment due to the steepness and height of the enclosing fells. The floor of the valley is the wide, flat alluvial plain between Derwent Water and Bassenthwaite Lake with the gently meandering River Derwent connecting them. The river is much less of a visual presence than in the narrower and more dramatic confines of its upper sections in Borrowdale. The flat valley plain provides spectacular views of the surrounding fells particularly to the east where Ullock Pike and Skiddaw tower above the valley. More on Bassenthwaite?
To the northwest of Bassenthwaite, the valley widens and the high fells are left behind the valley becomes a transitional landscape varying between intimate pastoral patterns of small fields to rolling hills with long distance views. It then enters the ‘ring’ of limestone surrounding the Lake District and the rolling topography with pavements and outcrops that typifies limestone scenery.

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

The transition between various types of underlying geology guarantees variety in the landscape of the valley. Add to this the different land uses and industries which this supports, and then the upsurge of interest in the landscape for its intrinsic beauty adding another, and in cultural terms very important, layer of historic development, then the diversity we see in the Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley is easily interpreted. But the landscape of this valley is not simply a fascinating record of society’s relationship with the landscape, the composition of its component attributes and features produces a landscape of great beauty which works at all scales from the stunning high fells and wide lakes to the detail of the bryophytes in the oak woods and the Victorian attention to detail on the streetscape of Keswick.

Notable omissions:
Mining and quarrying
Borrowdale Yews
Young Wood, Keskadale Wood and Birkrigg
Forestry around Bass Lake
Limestone in north
Blindcrake
Topographic Map of Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite - North
Topographic Map of Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite - South
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

Pre-Conquest History
“Bede mentions St Herbert’s Island in Derwentwater in his Ecclesiastical History (Colgrave 1999) as the reputed home of this seventh-century holy man” (OAN, 2007).

A church has stood on the site of present-day St Kentigern’s Church at Crosthwaite since the 6th century and the settlement of Keswick was already well established by the end of the 12th century. The placename and location of Stockley Bridge, just south of Seathwaite, further suggests that ‘native’ - as opposed to Scandinavian – clearance for agriculture was taking place long before the 9th and 10th century (OAN, 2007).

Again, “The analyses of pollen deposits from peat bogs indicates major wood clearance episodes in the interior valleys (Oldfield 1969; Pennington 1970) during the second half of the first millennium.” (OAN, 2007).

“The place-name evidence suggests that most of the same areas occupied by British and Anglian settlers were also subject to occupation by Scandinavian peoples, and this is particularly notable in the Keswick area (Whyte 1985).”

“One collapsed rectangular structure at Longthwaite (22431) has been ascribed a date of between the Early-medieval period and the Post-medieval period, but the survey description does not specifically support an early date.” (OAN, 2007)

“There is no known archaeological evidence for settlement in Borrowdale from this period. However the place-name of Seatoller, for example, derives from the seatr (ON) place-name element (Winchester 1987), which may suggest a transhumant shieling pasture in the upper remote reaches of the valley bottom before a permanent farm was set up later in the Medieval period.” (OAN, 2007).

Placenames
St Michael’s Church, Isel, dates from the 1130s, although Isel doesn’t appear until 1195, as Ysala (Pipe Rolls).

Settlements at Uzzicar, Ormthwaite and Portinscale are documented unusually early. These appear as Huseker and Husaker (possibly a compound of ON hus and ON kiarr = marsh house, perhaps instead substituting OE aker=oak for ON kiarr=marsh), Nordmanthail (meaning clearing of the Normans or Northmen?), and Porqeneschal, c. 1160, by virtue of their inclusion in the Cartulary of Fountains Abbey. The suggested origin for Ormthwaite is tantalising, especially with an ON origin for Uzzicar.

Borrowdale appears as Borgordale c1170 in Illustrative Sources appended to The Register of the Priory of St Bees, although by 1209 it appears in the Furness Coucher Book. This suggests perhaps that the Derwent valley originally looked north and west, until the Abbey of Furness flexed its considerable muscle across Cumbria;
perhaps the reference refers to Grange rather than anything higher up, or it may refer to the entire valley.

That Keswick doesn’t appear until c1240 suggests that sustained development did not occur until the middle of the 13th century; perhaps that these 12th century settlements were small and isolated, some (Portinscale) being seasonal sites that perhaps had just been colonised in the mid-12th century. There are plenty of examples of the placename element which suggests seasonal settlement: –scale (Skelgill, Portinscale, Gutherscale, Lonscale) and –saetr (High Beckside).

Threlkeld first appears as *Trellekell*’ in 1197 (Pipe Rolls). Watendlath appears first as *Wattendlane*, and Stonethwaite as *Staynethwayt* under Richard I (r 1189-1199), Watendlath and Langstrath appear first in 1195, and Stonethwaite in 1198. Braithwaite appears in the Cartulary of Fountains Abbey during the reign of John I (1199-1216). Thorndwaite appears as *Thorn(e)thwayt*, *Thorn(e)thweyt*, *Thorn(e)thwait* in 1230, in a *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland*. Perhaps these three *thwaites* had been recently cleared.

Keskadale appears as *Keskeldale* in 1260;
Swinside appears as *Swynesheued* in 1260;
Birkrigg appears as *Birkeryg’* in 1293;
Gutherscale appears as *Goderyscales* in 1293; these 4 provide a reasonably good mid-13th century date for the opening up of this side valley.

Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite have been settled from at least as early as the Neolithic period (from 4000 BC)

Northern extension of Langdale Axe factories site.

Many stone axes of this period have also been found in the area, including a hoard of unfinished implements from Portinscale. Other early monuments include the small hillforts at Castle Crag in Borrowdale and Castle How by Bassenthwaite Lake, which may date to either the later prehistoric or early medieval periods. The remains of a Roman marching camp have recently been found at Castlerigg, near the site of the stone circle.

Key sites include:
(Prehistoric)
- Carrock Fell and Green How causewayed enclosures
- Possible stone axe source in Carrock Fell
- Clearance cairnfields (Weasel Hill)
- RB Settlements and hillforts – Aughertree Fell, Castle Crag, Castle How)
- Roman fort and road at Caermote
- Roman fort, road and camps at Troutbeck
- Medieval Moat at Snittlegarth

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

Following the Norman invasion of Cumbria in 1092, the Manor of Borrowdale was established which remained intact until in 1195 when Watendlath, Langstrath and part of Stonethwaite were granted to Fountains Abbey by Alice de Rumeli, the granddaughter of the first Norman overlord. Furness Abbey bought the remainder of the Manor in 1209. Taxes formerly paid to the Norman overlord were now paid to the abbeys and from the last years of the twelfth century onwards the monks drained and cultivated the land, possibly building the first field walls. They also cleared great areas of waste for pastoral farming, converting large tracts of fell into pasture. Although the emphasis was on wool, rye, barley and oats were also produced and stored in ‘grangia’, a term which gave the name to the nearby village of Grange (on Furness Abbey land). (PIC) A thirteenth century grange is also known to have existed in Watendlath which was owned by Fountains Abbey. Pastoral farming in the form of a vaccary, a type of demesne cattle ranch, was in evidence at Stonethwaite in Fountains Abbey land by 1309.

Fine ecclesiastical and defensive architecture of the medieval period are found at Isel, on the Derwent downstream from Bassenthwaite Lake. St Michael’s church, Isel dates from the 1130’s and Isel Hall is a defended pele tower of the 14th century with later Elizabethan and 17th century additions. St Kentigern’s Church, Caldbeck is a large church with many periods of building since the 12th century. St Kentigern’s Church, Crosthwaite is the earliest true parish church in the Lake District, with evidence of 12th, 14th and 16th centuries. Canon H.D. Rawnsley (1851-1920) one of the three founders of the National Trust was vicar 1883-1917.

**Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape**

As in other valleys in the central Lake District, it is likely that in the medieval period, the land in the valley bottom was cultivated in an open, common field. However there is no surviving evidence for a ‘ring garth’ in the main Borrowdale valley or around Bassenthwaite. In contrast, the remains of two separate ‘ring garths’ can be traced in the present field system in the side valley of Watendlath. In upper Borrowdale this situation may be in part due to the high incidence of flooding of agricultural land and the subsequent need to frequently rebuild the field walls. In addition, many of the field boundaries here are hedges rather than walls. However it is clear from documentary sources that ‘townfields’ existed around the small hamlets in upper Borrowdale by the time of the Dissolution. The pattern of enclosed land visible in the valley bottom in Borrowdale today had been established by 1700, modified during the period of prosperity and rebuilding in the late 17th/early 18th centuries (the period of the Estatesmen).

With the exception of the small Watendlath valley, the pattern of small, early intakes on the fellside is not apparent in Borrowdale. Here the intakes are larger and many date from the 18th century. The substantial boundary wall separating Seatoller Common from the rest of the fellside was definitely established by the 1750s, so it is possible that the intaking of the fellsides at Seathwaite had begun by at least the early part of the eighteenth century, contemporary with that occurring between
Rosthwaite and Stonethwaite. It is therefore likely that much of the final intaking in the valley had happened piecemeal by this date.

The final phase of wall-building, comprising the large, straight walled fields on the higher fell sides resulting from planned enclosure was completed by the mid-19th century. Thus by 1850 the field pattern that we see today in Borrowdale had been established and little has changed in the intervening years. (PIC)

Although some of the early field patterns around Bassenthwaite have now been obscured by forestry plantation, the present field system surrounding the village of Bassenthwaite displays the characteristics of an enclosed former townfield. There are also traces of single ancient farms and extensive areas of parkland around Mirehouse at the southern end of Bassenthwaite Lake and Armathwaite Hall at the northern end.

**Medieval evidence**

“*The study area was within the baronial chase of the ‘honour of Cockermouth’ (consisting of five vills [parishes/manors] and the fells between the Cocker and Derwent), which was a smaller baronial estate that had been hived off from the larger Copeland Barony around 1100 AD; however, this may have been the refounding of an existing unit of pre-Conquest land tenure in the region (Winchester 1987). The baronial chase was called Derwentfells and was the upland portion of the estate that was given over to ‘free chase’ (ibid).”* (OAN, 2007).

“*at Egremont 80 acres of demesne land were sown only with spring grains and not with winter crops because of ‘the enfeeblment of the neighbourhood’; another 114 lay waste for want of tenants; and there was said to be only two working ploughs in the whole town of Egremont. In 1341 the greater part of Brigham parish was said to lie uncultivated on account of the weakness of the parishioners and the widespread sheep murrain*’ (Winchester 1987, 47).” (OAN, 2007).

“In Borrowdale a survey of the property of Fountains Abbey in 1418 records 41 farmsteads in existence (British Museum Add MSS 24764 f 6, in Elliot 1961). Given that Fountains Abbey owned roughly half of Borrowdale [...] this provides an indication of a vigorous population in the valley at that time, perhaps a reflection of being spared the worst of the violent disruption throughout the fourteenth century by way of the valleys relative isolation. It may even have been regarded as something of a safe haven attracting fugitives from the troubles elsewhere. [...] the impression is that the valley had survived this difficult period relatively well by comparison with other Lakeland areas.”

“The first documentary evidence for enclosure comes from an estate survey for Fountains Abbey in 1418 which records 41 farms each with an average of three acres of enclosed land (British Museum Add MSS 24764 f 6 in Elliott 1961).” (OAN, 2007).

**Monasteries of Fountains and Furness**

From 1209 the area was divided between Fountains Abbey and Furness Abbey.
“Langstrath, Watendlath, the surrounding fells and the delta plain between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite were now in the possession of Fountains Abbey, while Furness Abbey owned all the remaining lands south of Derwentwater (Fig 4). It was clearly important that the boundary between the two abbeys be clearly defined so in 1211 a document detailing its location was drawn up (Lancaster 1915; Collingwood 1918).”

(OAN, 2007).

“the monks drained and cultivated the land, possibly building the first field walls. They also cleared great areas of waste for pastoral farming, converting large tracts of fell into pasture. The evidence of shielings, surviving predominantly within Langstrath, potentially relate to transhumant stock management from the central valley farms to the more isolated parts of the valley. Indeed, some of the later permanent farmsteads of subsequent periods (e.g. Seatoller) may have had transhumant origins. Much of Langstrath was still probably wooded and the clearance may have dramatically altered the vegetation and animal communities, resulting in a landscape of enclosed woodlands and open pasture (Pearsall and Pennington 1973).

(OAN, 2007).

A C 13th grange at Watendlath belonged to Fountains (OAN, 2007). A vaccary is recorded at Stonethwaite in Fountains Abbey land by 1309 (but see below for a possible earlier date), and Furness has ‘grangia nostra de Boroudale’ in 1396. “A boundary wall and fence excavated from beneath a colluvial fan in Seathwaite has revealed that for part of the valley the local woodland was being cleared and that the brushwood was being coppiced around 1300-1450 cal AD (Wild et al 2001); this probably related to the opening up of the valley for Cistercian sheep farming.”

(OAN, 2007).

“The stone wall and fenceline excavated from the peat layer above the flooding layers hint at the enclosure of parts of the valley with stock boundaries in this period (LUAU 1998; Wild et al 2001).”

(OAN, 2007).

Landscape Evidence

Open Fields

“Whether the enclosure of land in Borrowdale began before monastic control is unclear, although it probably did occur in limited extent.”

“it is not certain whether the enclosed land referred to [in 1418] was in the form of small inbys close to the settlement or strips of an early townfield.”

“The most likely hypothesis for the early development of enclosure within the valley is the initial small-scale enclosure of parcels of land associated with individual tenements and which was added to with the creation of a number of townfields. Field evidence for the original small areas of enclosed land mentioned in documents is very hard to discern within the wall pattern of the valley today, as the expansion and rebuilding of the settlements has significantly distorted or removed all trace of them”

(OAN, 2007)
This suggested pattern could possibly be expanded as a hypothetical sequence across other the Lake District valleys; perhaps a sequence is an artificial construct/division and the two may have been part of a coherent system.

“the land in the valley bottom was cultivated in an open, common field. However there is no surviving evidence for a ‘ring garth’ in the main Borrowdale valley or around Bassenthwaite.”

(OAN, 2007)

“the present field system surrounding the village of Bassenthwaite displays the characteristics of an enclosed former townfield.”

(OAN, 2007)

“it is clear from documentary sources that ‘townfields’ existed around the small hamlets in upper Borrowdale by the time of the Dissolution.”

at the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to documents from elsewhere in the region (Elliot 1959), there was increasing enclosure of common land

“In Borrowdale, though, there was small-scale enclosure of land associated with specific tenements alongside the development of open fields within the valley, a pattern confirmed by Elliott (ibid) who identified Borrowdale as having small hamlets with very small open fields. These open fields, called townfields or common fields, were a familiar component of medieval agricultural systems across the Lake District valleys (shown as Phase 1 on Fig 7). [...] Townfields may have [our emphasis] developed after the establishment of the enclosed grounds around the tenements as they were not specifically mentioned until the relatively late date of 1659 (CRO DX/241/9).

At Rosthwaite there are what look like Common Strips, perhaps also at Stonethwaite although this is thought to have originated as a vaccary, which makes this interpretation less likely.

“Some of the extensive areas of ridge and furrow cultivation at Rosthwaite may define the extent of a townfield which were more ephemeral at the other valley settlements (Plates 7 and 8). The ridge and furrow cultivation was not all necessarily of an early date, indeed some of it has been incorporated into enclosures of an eighteenth century nature on the east side of the village.

(OAN, 2007)

Between Derwent Water and Bassenthwaite there are large areas of strips which are down as ancient enclosure in the HLC, especially away from the river at Millbeck and Thornthwaite/Braithwaite, where the name Hallgarth Beck is preserved – these may have been modified considerably by the railway construction and by the implementation of modern drainage in the 19th century. Ormathwaite Hall may have overseen the Millbeck open field as a (considerable) separate lord’s holding to which it was adjacent.

This complex may extent up the east side of Bassenthwaite via Mirehouse to Scarnhouse, as shown on the 1787 Clarke Map, terminating at Armathwaite Hall;
Moss Side (saetr) seems to sit separately, and the field boundaries shown in may have been colonised.

Beside the River Glenderamackin there appear to be strips enclosed from a former town field, on both sides. These appear to be part of a manor settlement with Threlkeld Hall (in the Haweswater Valley Area) at its head.

There are some strips at Whitbarrow in the far eastern corner of the valley area, part of a much larger system extending beyond the NPA boundary.

At the chapelry of Mungrisdale, which first appears as Grisedal(e) 1285 Pleas of the Forest and relatively frequently thereafter, there seems to be a former open field. It does not feature in the Fountains or Furness Abbey records and has therefore been held privately, probably as a part of the parish of Greystoke.

There is a very small area of strips immediately east of Mosedale also; this appears in ipm documents from 1285 onwards which shows that this was in private hands throughout the medieval period onwards, probably as a part of the parish of Greystoke.

There may possibly be some open fields to the south of Haltcliff Hall, with Haltcliff Hall perhaps occupying its own separate holding. As you circle round Blencathra anti-clockwise, this is the first of the lower-lying hamlets which line the River Caldew.

There are some around Calebreck, where the name Townend is a good indicator.

There are various instances of these occurring extensively around Hesket Newmarket and Caldbeck. Hesket Newmarket appears as Eskhevid in c. 1230, in the Register and Records of Holm Cultram, although after 1300 part of it at least seems to have been held privately.

There are three groups around Ireby/High Ireby; Ireby appears 1150 in connection with St Bees, from 1160 in connection with Fountains, and variously throughout the medieval period; this parish seems to have had a more fragmented history.

Bewaldeth seems to have some.

There are common fields at Blindcrake, close to Redmain (first documented in 1188 in association with the Priory of Wetheral, a Benedictine monastery founded by Ralph/Ranulf de Meschines; he also founded the Cistercian abbey at Calder, near Egremont; his son William de Meschines rebuilt the Benedictine house at St Bees, which had ‘been burnt by the Danes’ (Anon., 1868)), and at Sunderland; these may perhaps be related more to the port of Cockermouth (first appears in 1150 in association with St Bees) under Ranulf de Meschines rather than the closer settlements, or Isel Hall. (first appears in 1150 in association with St Bees).

“A charter issued in 1124 by David I, King of the Scots, to Robert I de Brus cited Ranulf's lordship of Carlisle and Cumberland as a model for Robert's new lordship in Annandale. (King, 2004) This is significant because Robert is known from other sources to have acted with semi-regal authority in this region. (King, 2004)
There is a further likely example at Riggs along the Dubwath Beck on the W shore of Bassenthwaite.

Possibly also at Wythop Hall & Old Scales, although this is a tiny system, perhaps with Wythop Hall being superior and separate to the Old Scales settlement.

On the east side of Bassenthwaite there are two possible at the north end, near Barkbeth and Bassenthwaite Village; these were possibly subsidiary to the monastic site at Armathwaite. The fields here seem to have been extensively reorganised since the 1787 Clarke map, which shows strips all along the eastern lakeside, with only Moss Side (=saetr) standing out as something perhaps earlier or otherwise distinct.

**Ring Garths**

"By contrast with valleys such as Wasdale and Great Langdale there is no documentary evidence to suggest the existence of a ring garth in the valley"

"The field evidence for such a feature is fractured and insubstantial. Some sections of wall have been identified as potential sections of a valley ring garth but are just as likely to have been part of enclosing walls for parcels of ancient coppice woodland"

"many of the field boundaries here are hedges rather than walls. “

"Evidence of this [i.e. hedges, ditches and fencing instead of walls] exists from 1667 where a document (CRO DX/241/16) refers to the use of hedges around Rosthwaite. Field and documentary evidence suggests that this style of enclosure was more common where the ground was damp or subject to flooding"

(OAN, 2007)

"despite extensive ground investigation, a definitive garth boundary enclosing lands farmed in the medieval period cannot be proved conclusively for the valley as a whole. This is in marked contrast with other Lakeland valleys (e.g. Langdale (Lund and Southwell 2002)). The flat valley floors to the north of Seathwaite (Plate 14), the east of Seatoller, west of Rosthwaite, and north and south of Stonethwaite were the original focus for farming and enclosure outside of the earlier farmsteads and small enclosures/paddocks. The problems with these areas, especially with Seathwaite, has been the destructive nature of flooding in the valley over the centuries, which has resulted in the rebuilding of enclosure boundaries on the valley floor on numerous occasions, thus obliterating any trace of earlier patterns (Millward and Robinson 1970). The pattern we see today is almost certainly the result of rebuilding at some point in the second half of the nineteenth century (Fig 12). “

(OAN, 2007)

Seathwaite

"To the east of the village is an enclosure incorporating a large curvilinear and banked boundary, extending up the lower valley side and capped at the top by a funnelled boundary leading to a sheepfold. This enclosure could relate to a stock corolling area outside of the village but looking out onto the medieval sheepwalks.”

(OAN, 2007)

Seathwaite first appears as Seuethwayt in Assizes of 1292. This appears to have been cleared then in the 13th century.
Seatoller
“the garth enclosure would have been on the east side of the settlement adjacent to the river. The tithe records the southern boundary of these fields as ‘Millbeck Garth’ and this takes in the edge of the floodplain where it falls sharply down towards the river. The other boundaries were formed by natural landscape features, the edges of flat land and the limits of river/stream courses. There is also an area of old enclosure located to the north of the hamlet where the ruinous remains of substantial drystone walls are sat upon banked boundaries. Again this enclosure would appear to relate to stock corralling outside of the hamlet and near to the sheepwalks.”
(OAN, 2007)

Seatoller is not documented until it appears as Settaller in parish registers of 1563.

Watendlath
“In contrast, the remains of two separate ‘ring garths’ can be traced in the present field system in the side valley of Watendlath.”
(OAN, 2007)

Stonethwaite
“according to documentary evidence the settlement grew out of the monastic vaccary constructed at this location by Fountains Abbey by 1302. The limits of the Phase 1 enclosure were limited by the topography on the south-eastern side of the settlement and on the west side of Seathwaite Beck; if a ring garth boundary had survived it would have followed these limits. To the north-west of the village the limits between Stonethwaite and Rosthwaite are unclear, but the topographical boundaries of Seathwaite Beck to the east and the routeway leading between Seatoller and Rosthwaite in the north-west are obvious outer boundaries.”
(OAN, 2007)
The placename appears at the close of the 12th century, and its appearance in Fountains Abbey records as early as 1211 suggests an earlier start date for this vaccary.

Rosthwaite
“evidence for townfields is a little firmer at Rosthwaite with a number of areas incorporating the fossilisation of cultivation strips, elements of the original townfield, and ridge and furrow cultivation (Plate 7 and 8). These are to the immediate north, west and southern sides of the village (not on the east, as this enclosure is later), and many of the enclosures are associated with pastoral meadows on the lower floodplain. The evidence for a ring garth associated with Rosthwaite is limited; however, the curvilinear edge of land on the west side of the River Derwent, would appear to be an obvious topographical setting for its limit here, and the confluence of the river and Seathwaite Beck, or Frith Gill may form the limit of the garth to the north. The evidence to the south is even less clear.”
“The subsequent period of enclosure in the valley (Phase 2) comprised extensions to the previous enclosure pattern, and at least some of this secondary enclosure was completed in the monastic period; however, there is no clear archaeological evidence and very little documentary evidence to back up this episode of enclosure.”
(OAN, 2007)
Rosthwaite first appears as Rasethuate in 1503. Possible strips enclosed from former open fields are shown below.

Longthwaite
“There are some similarities with Rosthwaite in that it was not mentioned until the sixteenth century in any of the documentary records, when John Fisher was recorded as the tenant to Furness Abbey in 1538 (Brownbill 1915-19). The enclosure forms a pattern of radiating fields extending out of the settlement core.” (OAN, 2007).

Deer Parks
Is Snittlegarth Hall inside its own stock enclosure on the edge of a large undocumented former deer park; or is this a vaccary?

At Armathwaite Hall on the north tip of Bassenthwaite there is a deer park, but this is not annotated until the 1898 OS edition; perhaps it was a role revived, or perhaps it was new; it does not appear on the 1787 Clarke map and deer may have been important as animating elements within the ornamental parkland.

The entire west side of Bassenthwaite is shown as a single piece of woodland belonging to the Manor of Wythop, perhaps this is a former deer park; the south- or east-facing shores of lakes seem to have been favoured for hunting preserves.

Post-medieval evidence
Former Townfields
“1659 when there is the first reference to townfields at Rosthwaite (CRO DX/241/9); the reference to townfields in the plural suggests that there were a number of these features in the valley. This was further illustrated by a document from 1711 (CRO DX/241/63), which again refers to the townfields or liberties of Rosthwaite.” (OAN, 2007).

“The location of one of these other fields is hinted at in a document from 1696 (CRO D/Law/2/4) dealing with land associated with Stonethwaite where there is a reference to a ‘commonfield’.” (OAN, 2007).

“The alteration of the earlier enclosure pattern to resemble that of today, probably occurred during the late seventeenth century, possibly at the same time as the larger intaking was occurring along the east side. The earlier boundaries that were clearly marked on William Hetherington’s map from 1759 (Plate 4 and Boon 1976) were subsequently depicted as ‘old’ on a map dated 1818 (DRO D/BKL/8C/144/7) inferring that they had fallen into disrepair by this time. This marks the transition from a previously more enclosed landscape to the more modern open appearance of the fellside. The substantial boundary wall separating Seatoller Common from the rest of the fellside was definitely established by the 1750s (Plate 4 and Boon 1976), so it is possible that the intaking of the fellsides at Seathwaite had begun by at least the early part of the eighteenth century, contemporary with that occurring between
Rosthwaite and Stonethwaite. It could, therefore, be implied that much of the final intaking in the valley had happened piecemeal by this date.” (OAN, 2007).

“The final phase of enclosure was completed by the middle period of the nineteenth century (Phase 5), when most of the intakes on the high fellsides in Borrowdale were built. This corresponds with the recorded enclosure of fell land elsewhere in the heart of the Lake District, such as those at Watermillock, by Ullswater, in 1835, Matterdale in 1882 and Hartsop in 1865 (Whyte 2003). By 1850 the enclosure pattern that we see today in Borrowdale had been established and little has changed in the intervening years, such that the present day landscape is essentially a fossilisation of that from the mid-nineteenth century.” (OAN, 2007).

New farm settlements
Former monastic granges and farms would have been sold (cf Armathwaite perhaps), and there may have been some new settlements which grew up in the aftermath of the Dissolution – Stair (Stayre) does not appear until 1565; Ullock (Uloke) in 1564.

Enfranchisement and Common Stints
“When James I became king he sold the land once held by Furness Abbey to two London entrepreneurs, William Whitmore and Jonas Verdon (Johnson 1981). They indulged in asset stripping, selling the individual farms in 1614 to 38 people (ibid; D/Ben/Crosthwaite Tithes/1/List of Tenements 1614). The next year, while retaining the graphite mines, they sold the ‘Manor of Borrowdale’ to the same thirty eight in an agreement referred to as the ‘Great Deed of Borrowdale’ (Crosthwaite 1879).”

… [which was]
“‘all the woods …wastes, commons, stinted pastures…ways and entries’. The list of these 38 people is headed by ‘Sir Wilfrid Lawson of Isel, Knight’ and followed by the names of people who mostly lived in the farmsteads of upper Borrowdale. Lawson had already obtained the lands around Stonethwaite from the Greames family in 1606, and he then bought more in the valley in 1617. In 1614, just before the Great Deed of Borrowdale, Lawson bought Seathwaite and Rosthwaite off Verdon and Whitmore.” (OAN, 2007).

“Within Borrowdale the upper valley sides and tops were enclosed in at first a piecemeal then a systematic fashion where sheep grazing lands or ‘dalts’ were enclosed with more permanent boundary walls and as time went on more extensive areas of remote land were parcelled up as ‘intakes’. The pattern of enclosure was completed by the time of the tithe mapping of the 1840s.” (OAN, 2007)

Surprising Poverty
“A description of the valley and its residents from Hutchinson’s History of Cumberland (Hutchinson 1794, 209), states that ‘the surface of the ground was very little cultivated’ and that even by the late 1760s a ‘cart or any type of wheeled
carriage was totally unknown in Borrowdale’. It continues to describe how hay was not stacked in the field but carried home in bundles by pack horse …”
(OAN, 2007)

“In 1824 Jack Cawx managed to enter Borrowdale in a chaise, the first seen in the valley, although the road was so bad it almost overturned at the Grange bridge.”
(OAN, 2007)

Dragged into the 19th century
During the 19th century the population grew, as new roads opened up the areas to tourists:
“This is further reflected by the steady growth in the population starting with 342 in 1801 and growing to 452 in 1851 and 506 in 1891 (Bulmer and Snape c 1901).”
(OAN, 2007)
Hutchinson’s description of poverty in 1796 with little ground cultivated perhaps contrasts with the tithe of 1842, in which:
“a surprising amount of land was given over to the growing of crops.”
(OAN, 2007)

Post-medieval landscape evidence

“With the exception of the small Watendlath valley, the pattern of small, early intakes on the fellside is not apparent in Borrowdale. Here [in Borrowdale] the intakes are larger and many date from the 18th century”
(OAN, 2007)

“substantial boundary wall separating Seatoller Common from the rest of the fellside was definitely established by the 1750s, so it is possible that the intaking of the fellsides at Seathwaite had begun by at least the early part of the eighteenth century, contemporary with that occurring between Rosthwaite and Stonethwaite. It is therefore likely that much of the final intaking in the valley had happened piecemeal by this date.”
(OAN, 2007)

The final phase of wall-building, comprising the large, straight walled fields on the higher fellsides resulting from planned enclosure was completed by the mid-19th century. Thus by 1850 the field pattern that we see today in Borrowdale had been established and little has changed in the intervening years. (PIC)

Across this valley area, outside the narrow dales which feed into Derwent Water, there are wide stretches of low-lying land which had probably been enclosed as inbye using some form of boundary feature – hedge, ditch, fence, wall - long before the end of the 15th century, except areas which were especially boggy. The same is probably true of the narrow valleys.

In the 16th and 17th century there was probably some reorganisation, as we see in newly-named settlement. As elsewhere, the process of churning medieval housing stock to the stone-built vernacular took place over 2-300 years and farm buildings were still thrown up in stone as late as the 18th century.
Around Borrowdale OAN area
“The general distribution of Phase 1 enclosure within the valley (Figs 7-11) should be taken as the maximum extent of enclosed lands within the valley by the time of the Dissolution and the end of monastic control. Within Phase 1 there are several subphases relating to known phases of enclosure, such as small farmstead enclosures, and townfields, which are regionally evident but cannot be proved with any great accuracy at Borrowdale with the available archaeological/documentary evidence. The villages and hamlets within Borrowdale, whether of monastic, or even earlier, foundation or not, have a longevity that would have attracted small enclosed fields/pastures in the medieval period. In some cases (e.g. Seathwaite on place-name evidence) the more isolated settlements in the valley may have grown out of more temporary transhumant habitation. 
(OAN, 2007)
“The pattern of enclosed land visible in the valley bottom in Borrowdale today had been established by 1700, modified during the period of prosperity and rebuilding in the late 17th/early 18th centuries”
“The pattern of enclosure on the valley floor and lower fellsides would have been complete by the start of the nineteenth century resembling closely the pattern existing today.”
(OAN, 2007)
“the great majority of field boundaries have remained extant since the tithe map, indicating that field enclosure was completed by the beginning of the nineteenth century.”
(OAN, 2007)
“The field systems and enclosure patterns have remained virtually unchanged since the previous century (Fig 12). Before the Second World War there were three farms at Stonethwaite and four at Rosthwaite.”
(OAN, 2007)
“One of the major impacts on the countryside to occur in the region was the planting of large areas of conifer woodland by the Forestry Commission. The first planting was on Whinlatter Pass in 1919 and Ennerdale Forest was planted in 1927. An agreement reached in 1936 between Forestry Commission and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England prevented any further afforestation of the 300 square miles of the central mountains after 13,000 people signed a petition in 1935 (Whitfield pers comm). Forestry plantation had very little impact upon Borrowdale itself, with only small [20th C] piecemeal blocks of woodland established near to Seathwaite, Seatoller and Grange, and these are very different from the large-scale Forestry Commission plantings, such as those in Ennerdale (OA North 2003).”
(OAN, 2007)

Around NW Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley area
This is home to large stretches of inbye land, with extensive modern enclosures. Intake enclosure is relatively sparse, suggesting that most of the best land had been enclosed enthusiastically before the 16th century.
NW and NE of Blencathra
To the NW the land has probably evolved as settlement expanded from Cockermouth and the coast. There are huge swathes of recently enclosed land here - on drained mossland - again with very little intake enclosure. This probably reflects the High Ireby Enclosure Award of 1816, perhaps the name Whittas Park shown on the 1898 OS is a late local name for this rather than preserving the memory of a medieval deer park.
To the NE the Calder valley and Greystoke the landscape had been well-developed by the 16th century. Recent enclosure principally involves Johnby pasture, common & Craggs (638a. in 1795) and then Greystoke, Berrier, Hutton Roof, & Lowend commons (3,688a. in 1796).

Around Keswick
Most of this area had probably been turned over to agriculture before the 16th century, as Keswick grew as a market town.

To the north of Keswick we see two areas of considerable intake. Both large areas are probably incorrect on the HLC- between Brundholme Wood and Applethwaite Lonscale (in blue) is probably connected with an 1815 enclosure award for Brundholme and Skiddaw Bank; the other area, Lonscale (in red) is probably largely an HLC mistake as - with the exception of the lead mines area along the gill - it is unenclosed until the 20th century on OS maps.

Skiddaw Forest
Skiddaw Forest is unenclosed in the HLC – this was probably enclosed in the late 18th or early 19th century, perhaps when Skiddaw House is supposed to have been built as a hunting-shooting lodge (c 1829). An 1839 Description of Scenery in the Lake District, by William Ford, published by Charles Thurnham, London, et al, reports an “abundance of grouse, which is strictly preserved by the Earl of Egremont, the lord of the manor”. The Skiddaw House hunting lodge and Skiddaw Forest enclosure walls probably date to c 1829. Hungry animals roaming the adjacent Bassenthwaite Common may be a reason why the Earl of Egremont was keen to build a wall.

Around Derwent Water
Almost all the western lakeside is shown on the 1787 Clarke map as occupied by parks – Fall Park, Brandlehow Park (Branley Park on the map) and Manesty Park; possibly these have distilled from an earlier deer park, perhaps carved out for the inheritors of the Grange estate from the mid-16th century?
The single small Crow Park on the east side is perhaps intake of pasture newly drained and emparked in the mid-late-18th century.
The extensive coppice woodland shown down the east side was probably related to Keswick’s famed pencil industry.
The walled enclosures within Manesty Park has been somewhat modified in the 19th century as part of its associated with mines and processing plants mills at Thorns.

South of Derwent: Ashness Fell, Grange Fell, Seatoller Fell
It seems as though the valleys to the south of Derwent Water were enclosed enthusiastically in the 16th/17th centuries, and there are a few records which document this (see below). Perhaps redistribution of the former Furness Abbey lands around Grange provided the first opportunity for farm holdings to grow on a large scale. Frith (Frith Wood) at the foot of Grange Fell, adjacent to Swanesty Wood, probably indicates a former stock park enclosure, although it is not possible to confidently trace a boundary for this.

The only two episodes of recent enclosure – at Seathwaite and Seatoller – probably represent bogs drained and then enclosed by private agreement; these probably both post-date the 1801 Act of Enclosure.

“in 1539 and 1537 respectively, there was a reference to enclosures in a document relating to the granting by the crown of seized land to Richard Greme ‘...12 acres of land in two enclosures called Pykerigg and Thakerigg...’

(OAN, 2007)

“Further documents from 1678 (CRO DX/241/27) refer to a number of 'closes' at Rosthwaite varying in size between 1 and 5 acres and again in 1696 there are references to a ‘close or inclosure of arable land and meadow’ (CRO DX/241/52). [...] The small acreage of these enclosures suggests they were either the small tenement closes or the start of the enclosure of strips within the townfield.”

(OAN, 2007).

“By the start of the eighteenth century most of the valley floor was enclosed and included the townfield land and the linear field pattern to the west and south-east of Rosthwaite (Phase 3). These strip fields are called New Park on the 1842 Tithe Map and a document from 1696 (CRO DX/241/52), the latter telling us that they must have been enclosed by the end of the seventeenth century, as they are referred to by name. Other enclosures of importance from Phase 3 include a thin strip of lands enclosed on the east side of Stonethwaite. Documentary references within the Manor Court books from the first half of the eighteenth century tell us that by this date the level ground running along the eastern bank of Stonethwaite Beck between Rosthwaite and Stonethwaite had been enclosed (CRO D/LAW/1/163). Alongside this, there had also been enclosure of some of the upland dalts; documentary evidence from as early as 1602-1696 has been found for enclosure of the fellside at Colts Park and Colts Side, which is located just to the south of Smithymire Island (CRO D/LAW/1/155 and CRO DX/241/52).”

“From monastic times there was increasing enclosure of the valley floor, and including the enclosure of strips of the previously open commonfields. By 1700 an enclosed field system had been established along most of the valley floor and intaking was starting to spread up the fellsides. Some areas of fellside with coppiced woodland, such as Johnny’s Wood and intakes along Eagle Crag, had probably already been enclosed for some time for their own protection from grazing animals.”

(OAN, 2007)

Other notes:
Footings of rectangular drystone huts have been recorded at Scale Close, Borrowdale.
Woodland clearance, esp Langstrath due to demand from mines Royal - NT HLS 8.3.5 p71
Wood pasture and pollards - NT HLS 8.3.7 p72
Borrowdale, Grange and Furness Abbey - Millward and Robinson p158-159

Farm Buildings

There are a number of important “Hall” farmhouses dating from the 16th or 17th century on the fringes of the Bassenthwaite and the Skiddaw massif areas, including Millbeck Hall, dated 1592 and Hewthwaite Hall, dated 1581. Hesket Hall is an intriguingly designed 17th century house built, probably as a hunting lodge or villa by Sir William Lawson, whose principal house was Isel Hall. It has a cubic centre and four gabled wings; twelve corners and four-way symmetry, enabling it to act as a sundial. Thwaite Hall, Hutton Roof was rebuilt in 1555 and “modernised” in 1876.

Again on the northern fringes there are good examples of 17th or early 18th century farmhouses or farm building groups: Orthwaite Hall is dated 1675; Wythop Hall is probably 16th century with extension dated 1678; At Todcrofts, Caldbeck, the farmhouse is probably late 17th century and the barns are dated 1832; Routenbeck cruck barn is late 17th or early 18th century, significant due to the survival of 4 full cruck trusses; Dunthwaite House is dated 1785 with accompanying late 18th century stables and barns; Middles Farm, Mosedale is dated 1722, High Brownrigg Farm, Caldbeck is dated 1722 with 17th century byres and barn.

In Borrowdale there are a number of small farming hamlets with typical clusters of vernacular farm houses, cottages, barns and byres and associated buildings, many now owned by the National Trust. At Rosthwaite Nook Farm and Yew Tree Farm are both early 18th century; Oak Cottage is late 17th/early 18th century. At Stonethwaite, Stonethwaite Farm is mid-late 17th century; Croft Farm, late 17th century; and Yew Tree Farm, late 17th/early 18th century.

Watendlath consists of three farms: Caffle House, dating from around 1700; Steps End Farm, a fine early 18th century Borrowdale House and; Fold Head Farm, with its 16th century core.

Seathwaite has continuous row of barns under one roof facing Seathwaite farmhouse, mid-17th century and mid-17th and 18th century cottages and 19th century barn. Seatoller Farm is early 17th century. A good example of an isolated valley side farm is Ashness Farm, mid-17th century.

Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

There are 97 farms with fell-going flocks in the Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 11 are Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are another 10 non fell-going Herdwick flocks (HSBA 2015). There are 9 National Trust landlord flocks in Borrowdale, Watendlath and Newlands, including very large flocks such as at Yew Tree Farm, Rosthwaite.

Borrowdale is a great stronghold of the Herdwick sheep breed and there are many important farms in the valley. These include the great dalehead farm in Seathwaite, with 500 ewes recorded in the first flock book of the Herdwick Sheep Breeders.
Association in 1920. (PIC) Seathwaite was one of the farms acquired by Herbert W. Walker of Whitehaven after the First World War to prevent afforestation.

The Edmondsons at Seathwaite and the Grave family at Low Skellgill, Newlands are two of only six families listed in the first 1920 Herdwick flock book that are still breeding Herdwick sheep on the same farm. The Graves family has farmed at Low Skellgill since 1347.

William (“Herdwick Billy”) Wilson, the first Secretary of the Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association in 1916 and long term Committee member, farmed large Herdwick flocks in Watendlath, Newlands and Bassenthwaite in the 1920s and 30s. The Wilson family were highly competitive and successful in the show ring and their tups were very influential in the breed for some time. Their flock was recorded as 800 ewes in the 1920 flock book.

The Relph family at Yew Tree Farm, Rosthwaite have won national awards for their Herdwick meat products.

There are about 14,800ha of Registered Common Land in the Barrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley, around one third of the total area, and most of the open fell. The main areas of Common Land are the large area at the southern head of Borrowdale, the fells surrounding the Newlands valley, and most of the Skiddaw massif.

**Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture**

The Keswick Herdwick Tup Fair is held on the Thursday after the third Wednesday in May on Keswick Town Field. It is one of the key meetings of the Herdwick calendar.

Skiddaw Shepherds’ Meet is held alternately at Mungrisdale, Threlkeld, Bassenthwaite, Uldale and Caldbeck on the first Monday in December. The Summer Meet is on the first Monday after the 20th July at the same Inn as the December Meet. This is for the District of Saddleback, Skiddaw, Caldbeck and Bowscale Fells.

Buttermere Shepherds’ Meet is held at The Fish Hotel, Buttermere on the last Saturday in November and with Buttermere Show at Lanthwaite Green, Brackenthwaite on third/fourth Saturday in October. This includes the District of Braithwaite, Newlands, and Borrowdale.

Borrowdale Show is on the third Sunday in September at Yew Tree Farm, Rosthwaite.

Keswick Agricultural Society’s (founded in 1860) Annual Show is traditionally held on August Bank Holiday Monday. There are classes for Herdwick and Swaledale Sheep, Cattle, Pony and Horse showing, sheep dogs, terriers and foxhounds, children’s’ classes as well as Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling, art and craft and trade stands.

References:
John Peel, the famous huntsman, is probably one of the Lake District’s most well-known local characters, chiefly because of the song written about him. Peel was born at Parkend, near Caldbeck in 1777. He maintained a pack of hounds at his own expense for 55 years. John Peel Cottage at Ruthwaite was his farm and he died there in 1854.

John Woodcock Graves, from Wigton, a Caldbeck carding mill owner, lived at Gatehouse, Caldbeck and in 1824 wrote the song “D’ye ken John Peel with his coat so grey?”. Peel’s grave is in St Kentigern’s churchyard, Caldbeck.

Industry

Geology underlying rich mineral deposits?

The earliest industry in the valley were the Neolithic axe factories on the northern slopes of the Langdale Pikes. Bloomery sites and charcoal production from the medieval period are apparent in the landscape. In the post-medieval period there was a proliferation of industry including woodland and wool industries, slate and stone quarrying, graphite, lead, iron and other mineral mining, and peat cutting, declining in the 20th century, although the last working mine in the Lake District operated at Force Crag, near Braithwaite until 1990.

In the medieval period woodlands in the valley, particularly as exemplified in the woodlands in Borrowdale, were a key industrial asset. The key product was charcoal from charcoal burning in the woods which required regular rotational coppicing of the woodland. The charcoal pitsteads or platforms are still evident in Borrowdale woodlands such as Frith Wood and Johnny’s Wood, near Rosthwaite. Charcoal was an essential energy source for the metal smelting industries in the valley.

In the medieval period it is likely that iron ore was being mined at Ore Gap on the high slopes of Bowfell and taken down to bloomeries in Langstrath for smelting, using charcoal produced in the local woods. One such bloomery site is on Smithymire Island at the confluence of Langstrath Beck and Greenup Gill.

Borrowdale was a key area for the Company of Mines Royal, set up by the English Crown in the 1568. The remains of the Mines Royal copper and lead mines can be seen at Goldscoope in the Newlands valley, and the copper mines of Long Work, St Thomas’ Work and Dalehead higher up on the fellsides of Dalehead and High Spy. (PIC) The Company established its own smelters at Brigham, near Keswick on the River Greta and at Stair in the Newlands valley. The smelter at Brigham and its associated works became the largest in Europe. “The smelting houses were so many that they looked like a little town” wrote Sir Daniel Fleming in 1671.

The Company of Mines Royal had significant mining interests in the Caldbeck fells to the northeast of Keswick. The Caldbeck fells on the North side of the Skiddaw
massif represent an extensive mining landscape of about 25km², including Potts Ghyll lead mines, Roughton Gill lead and copper mines and barytes mill buildings, Carrock Fell tungsten, lead, copper and arsenic mines and Charlton Gill, Ramps Gill and Swinburn Gill mines. The area was so rich in minerals that it inspired the proverb “Caldbeck and the Caldbeck Fells are worth all England else” (The history of the county of Cumberland. Hutchinson. 1794). The first documentary evidence of mining in the Caldbeck fells is in 1537. And the Carrock Fell Tungsten mine was the last to close in the 1980s.

The remains of a unique mining operation can be found on the slopes above Seathwaite in Borrowdale where ‘wad’ (pure graphite) was mined from the 16th century. (PIC) William Camden mentions “the famous mine of wad or black-lead” after his journey through the North of England in 1582. This extremely valuable material was used locally as a black dye for marking sheep, known as “black cawke”, but had many other uses. There is evidence that Flemish traders were supplying the Michelangelo School of Art in Italy with Cumberland graphite by about 1580. Keswick became the world centre of pencil manufacturing. The first record of a factory making pencils in Keswick is from 1832. The Keswick Pencil Museum now occupies the 1920s factory in Keswick following a new factory being built on a new site in Cumbria in 2008. Graphite was also for casting cannon balls, glazing pottery, in medicine and in smelting industries. The mines were abandoned in 1891.

The last working mine in the Lake District was Force Crag Mine in the Coledale valley, southwest of the village of Braithwaite. Lead was first mined there in 1578 through to 1865 and barytes and zinc from 1867 until 1990. This site is protected as a scheduled ancient monument and is owned and managed by the National Trust. (PIC) The monument includes Force Crag mines and barytes mill together with the in situ machinery associated with the mill, and the remains of all associated buildings, earlier mills, water management systems, settling ponds, trackways, tramways, dressing areas and an aerial ropeway.

Slate Quarrying in this valley area was centred in Borrowdale on the Borrowdale Volcanic Series geology. At Castle Crag the quarries were all mainly worked by the 1930s, although some workings continued until the 1960s. Dalt Wood Quarry closed in 1973. Rigghead Quarries are high up in Tongue Gill, west of Rosthwaite. They were worked from the 18th century and finally closed in the 1940s.

The woollen industry was also important from the medieval period with several mills in Keswick and other parts of the valley. An important group of late 18th century mill buildings can be seen at Millbeck on the slopes of Skiddaw, between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake. (PIC) Millbeck Towers was a former carding mill which finished working in 1886 and was converted to a fine house in Art Noveau style in 1903. It was gifted to the National Trust along with a number of other small buildings connected with the mill.

The Howk at Caldbeck is the best surviving example of a bobbin mill in the valley. It was purpose built for bobbin manufacture in 1857 and operated until closure in 1924. The surviving structures largely date from 1857. It had a 42 feet 5 inches (13.1m) water wheel, at the time said to be the second largest in the country. The
Mill made mainly spinning and threading bobbins for the cotton industry in Lancashire as well as more local wood products. The mill employed between forty and sixty people, including boys as young as ten years old.

Low Mill, formerly known as Priest’s Mill, is a former water-driven cornmill on the Cald Beck dating from 1702. It was operational up until the early 1960s, lastly as a sawmill.

The Keswick School of Industrial Arts was founded by Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley and his wife Edith as an evening class in woodworking and repousse (relief metalwork) at the Crosthwaite Parish Rooms, in Keswick, Cumbria. The enterprise, designed to alleviate unemployment, prospered, and within ten years more than a hundred men were attending classes. In 1894 a new building was erected for the school, nearby in Keswick. The school operated for 100 years closing in 1984.

In 1889 Marion Twelves brought her linen industry from Langdale to Keswick and connected it with the Keswick School of Industrial Arts and, with Ruskin’s agreement, named it the “Ruskin Linen Industry”. In 1892 the craftspeople of Ruskin’s Linen industry were commissioned to produce within three days the pall for Alfred Lord Tennyson’s coffin for his funeral at Westminster Abbey. Eight years later the weavers made the pall for Ruskin’s funeral. Both were designed by Edith Rawnsley. The making of Ruskin lace is still taught today with a teaching lineage that can be traced back to Marion Twelves who died in 1929 at the age of eighty six.

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Settlements

The walls and farm buildings in Borrowdale are constructed from local slate and the valley has numerous fine examples of Lake District vernacular style. Important groups of 17th century vernacular buildings can be seen at Grange, Watendlath and Rosthwaite. (PIC) Typical packhorse bridges of the period survive at Ashness and Stockley Beck south of Seathwaite, and there is a double arched bridge at Grange, rebuilt in the early 19th century. (PIC)

The settlement pattern in Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite comprises a range of small villages and hamlets and the market town of Keswick at the northern end of Derwentwater. The name Keswick comes from the two Anglian words ‘cese’ and ‘wic’ meaning ‘cheese farm’ and is first documented in a mid-13th century manuscript
from Fountains Abbey. A church has stood on the site of present-day St Kentigern’s Church at Crosthwaite since the 6th century and the settlement of Keswick was already well established by the end of the 12th century. (PIC)

Keswick is a historic market town with a market charter dating back to 1276. Furness Abbey, founded in 1127, influenced the 13th century economy of Keswick and Borrowdale through its purchase of lands into which the Cistercian monks introduced large flocks of sheep, establishing a trade in wool. (PIC) Keswick increasingly became the economic centre for the locality, based on wool, leather and farm products. In the mid-16th century, the Company of Mines Royal constructed a large smelter at Brigham, on the eastern side of Keswick, fuelled by timber from local woodland. The Moot Hall of 1813, in the centre of the marketplace, was built on the site of the counting house of the Company of Mines Royal of the 1570s. (PIC)

As is typical of this from of settlement it was (until the mid-19th century) a compact town made up of burgage plots around the market place, a pattern which can still be seen today through the thin and varied buildings fronting the market square with longer yards to the rear.

From the 16th to the 18th Century the town’s population increased due to trade, commerce, water powered industries and mining in surrounding areas, although the town itself remained compact. By the 18th Century, Keswick was the principal trading centre of the textile industry in the northern Lake District. The town developed gradually often through the infilling of the long rear yards of the burgage plots with small houses and workshops built to the rear of the buildings fronting the market. This development trend is still apparent in the numerous yards and courts off the market place.

In the late 18th century Keswick began to develop as a tourist centre for the moneymed, leisured and educated visitors who were interested in the contemplation of lake and mountain scenery attracted by guide books and poems written about the vale of Keswick in the later 18th century such as that by John Brown and Thomas Gray. The presence of key figures in Keswick including Joseph Pocklington and Peter Crosthwaite generated interest in Keswick for the early visitors and by the end of the 18th century Keswick had become the first Lakeland tourist resort. In addition to the buildings of accommodation, John Marshall, son of a Leeds linen manufacturer founded the Church of St John, constructed on green fields to the south-east of the town centre. The church, designed by the architect Anthony Salvin, was consecrated in 1838. (PIC)

The single most dramatic development of Keswick came in the 1860s with the arrival of the railway. This enable the town to develop rapidly and this process saw new housing, styles of architecture and larger cottage industries such as pencil mills, woollens, timber, corn milling and the process of tanning along the River Greta. To meet the growing demands for accommodation for both visitors and local people, public facilities were expanded and improved, and a large residential suburb was created east of the town. Between 1871 and 1901 the population of the town rose from 2,782 to 4,451. By the 1890s the town had taken on a distinctive Victorian character with substantial stone-built hotels, banks, library, post office, police station,
courts and a museum. Guest houses and residences were built to cater for the influx of rail-borne visitors and affluent incomers. Fitz Park, designated as ‘a pleasure ground and place of recreation’, was formally opened in 1887. The Keswick Hotel, built in 1869 next to the railway station, is probably the best surviving reflection of Keswick’s confidence and status as a tourist attraction in the later 19th century. (PIC) To the north of Keswick town centre by the bridge over the River Greta is the Keswick School of Industrial Arts founded by Rawnsley in 1893, designed in the Arts and Crafts style. It is now a restaurant but the inscription on the frontage is still visible, reading “The Loving Eye and Patient Hand, Shall Join Together & Bless This Land.” Greta Hamlet (1910-11), was built as a small self-contained garden suburb of 25 houses surrounding a central court, built in the spirit of the ‘garden city’ movement.

This historical development described above, over the past 800 years has resulted in Keswick’s character we can experience today, reflecting the three main periods of growth from medieval market town, with its fossilised burgage plot pattern of parallel yards, to 18th century water-powered industrial town based on minerals mined in the surrounding fells, to the railway-induced Victorian tourist resort.

Grange in Borrowdale takes its name from being the main settlement and crossing point of the River Derwent in what was the mountain estate of Furness Abbey from the 13th century.

Blindcrake village, northwest of Bassenthwaite Lake on a ridge above the north bank of the River Derwent is a unique linear settlement with a string of traditional rendered and limewashed farmhouses and stone barns lining the village street. Stretching back from the individual farms, the fossilised medieval field strip pattern, later enclosed with hedges and a few stone walls, is undoubtedly the finest example of its type in the Lake District. (PIC?) There are several well-preserved examples of vernacular longhouses meaning conjoined farmhouses and barns. For example Low Farm, High Farm, Main Farm, Croft House and barn, and Grange Farm, all dating from the 18th century. There are also good examples of 19th century provincial dwellings such as Greenbank (1832), Crabtree Cottage (1836), Meadow View (1847), Mountain View (around 1850) and Woodlands (1876).

Caldbeck is a small historic hamlet set in a sheltered location on the northeast flank of the Skiddaw massif, along the banks of the Cald Beck, with attractive architectural and historic character. Caldbeck has a distinctive air of former prosperity and confidence, reflected in the quality of buildings. The buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries use the distinctive local pale pink, purple or buff sandstones for walling and door/window surrounds. It is principally built on the southern bank of the river, where the medieval church, one of the finest in the Lake District, the rectory and tithe barn are located and a large churchyard with some notable 18th-century headstones, including those of the celebrated huntsman, John Peel. Numerous barns dating from the 17th to 19th centuries and testifying to the agricultural origins of Caldbeck. An unusually high number of 18th and 19th-century water-powered mills, representing the industrial phase of Caldbeck’s development when the hamlet was the focus of various industries including corn milling, wool spinning and carding, bobbin making, and stone quarrying and metal mining.
Hesket Newmarket is a small historic hamlet two miles southeast of Caldbeck on a terrace above the valley of the River Caldew with attractive architectural and historic character. It was formally laid out as a neat small market centre, around village greens, with well-proportioned 18th and 19th century houses in local sandstone and render. It has numerous buildings protected by listing dating mainly from the late 17th to early 19th centuries, including the Market Cross in the centre of the green and the unusual cross-shaped Hesket Hall Farmhouse. Several of these buildings are former public houses and a smithy, buildings that testify to the hamlet’s historic role as a market and meeting place for the scattered farms of this part of the Lake District.

Halls and Pele Towers
Armathwaite Hall (also deriving from Norman or Northman Thwaite; cf Ormathwaite?); William II (1087-1100) founded a Benedictine nunnery at Armathwaite, perhaps giving this site a tpg; the hall was originally built c 1500 which would accord well with redistribution of assets after the Dissolution.
Isel Hall was originally a 14th century pele tower, although the name Isel appears in 1195 as Ysala (Pipe Rolls).
Hutton Roof is sadly not the Westmorland Hutton Roof near Carnforth which appears in Domesday Book; the estate appears in 1387 as one of two (the other being Greystoke) held of Ralph Lord Greystoke.
The Georgian-period Ormathwaite Hall seems to have been built on the site of an earlier hall, but there is no information on this site; the placename's first appearance c1160 as Nordmanthwaite in the Cartulary of Fountains Abbey is perhaps a link to the family of Ranulf de Meschines, or perhaps other Northmen.
Although Threlkeld Hall is not recorded until Henry VII there was probably a pele tower here although ‘there are doubts about its actual site, the very stones having been taken away’ (CWAAS Vol 9 No 2, Art. XXII. — The Threlkelds of Thrdkcld, Yanivath, and Crosby Ravensworth. By W. Jackson, F.S.A. Communicated at Kirkby Stephen, July 7th, 1887 p313).
Snittlegarth is not recorded until it appears as Smyttlegarth in 1580, suggesting a late foundation date. This site was built on the edge of a former park or perhaps a monastic stock enclosure given its date.

PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS, LANDSCAPE AND ASSOCIATIONS

Early Tourism and Picturesque buildings and landscape

The scenic beauty of Borrowdale was one of the key attractions in the Lake District to the visitors of the 18th century who came in search of picturesque beauty. It was considered that all the elements of the picturesque were brought together around Keswick with a number of different landscape types and this was noted by Dr John Brown in 1753, who listed them as “beauty, horror and immensity”:  

“…the full perfection of Keswick, consists of three circumstances, beauty, horror, and immensity united…to give you a complete idea of these three perfections, as they are joined in Keswick, would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator,
and Poussin. The first should throw his delicate sunshine over the cultivated vales, the scattered cots, the groves, the lake, and wooded islands. The second should dash out the horror of the rugged cliffs, the steeps, the hanging woods, and foaming waterfalls; while the grand pencil of Poussin should crown the whole, with the majesty of impending mountains”.

(Dr John Brown, 1753, Description of the Vale and Lake of Keswick)

The landscape of Borrowdale reflects the three divisions noted by Dr Brown which translates from “beauty, horror and immensity” to ancient enclosed cultivated landscapes around Keswick, the islands and woods and parkland (beauty), plus Castle Crag and the rocky summits of Borrowdale (horror) and finally the fells of Swinside, Skiddaw and Castle Rigg (immensity).

Thomas Gray, having experienced the Alps, wrote about his discovery of Borrowdale in 1769. He wrote about “the most delicious view” his eyes had ever beheld on the shores of Derwent Water:

“Opposite, are the thick woods of Lord Egremont, and Newland Valley, woth green and smiling fields embosomed in the dark cliffs; to the left, the jaws of Borrowdale, with the turbulent chaos of mountain behind mountain, rolled in confusion; beneath you and stretching far away to the right, the shining purity of the lake reflecting rocks, woods, fields, and inverted tops of hills, just ruffled by the breeze, enough to shew it is alive, with the white buildings of Keswick, Crosthwaite church and Skiddaw for a background at a distance.”

However, as Gray ventured further into Borrowdale he found the experience increasingly alarming:

“…soon after we came under Gowder-crag, a hill more formidable to the eye, and the apprehension, than that of Lowdore; the rocks at the top deep-cloven perpendicularly by the rains, hanging loose and nodding forwards, seen just starting from their base in shivers. The whole way down, and the road on both sides is strewed with piles of the fragments strangely thrown across each other and of a dreadful bulk; the place reminds me of those passes in the Alps, where the guides tell you to move on with speed, and say nothing, lest the agitation of the air should loosen the snows above, and bring down a mass that would overwhelm the caravan. I took their counsel here, and hastened on in silence.”

Thomas West’s guidebook of 1778 identified a series of viewing stations around Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite from which the picturesque beauty of the landscape could be fully appreciated. West’s tour around Derwentwater started at Keswick and worked in a clockwise direction to include 8 viewing stations. A viewing station at each end of the lake (stations II and IV) provided all-encompassing views from one end to the other, taking in the islands and the fellsides which formed the amphitheatre around the lake. Station II, in Crow Park on the edge of Keswick viewed down the lake into the “rocky jaws of Borrowdale” and Station IV provided views from Borrowdale northwards to the more gentle landscape around Keswick. To the north of Keswick, Station VII was on the heights of Latrigg and provided views of the entire lake, Keswick and Borrowdale and so covered from one point all the
landscape features seen from the other 7 stations. (PICs) Station I Cockshut Hill, II Crow Park, III Stable Hills, IV Castle Crag, V Swinside, VI Foe (Fawe) Park, VII Latrigg, VIII Vicarage, Crosthwaite

West also identified a series of 4 viewing stations around Bassenthwaite Lake, at Armathwaite at the lower end, Scar Ness and Broadness promontories on the eastern shore and at Beck Wythop on the western side. (PICs)

Early tourism in the Keswick area in the 1780s had two key champions in Joseph Pocklington and Peter Crosthwaite. As well as Pocklington’s adventurous approach to buying land and building and “improving” the landscape (described in Villas and ornamental landscaping below), Pocklington and Crosthwaite teamed up to lay on regattas on Derwentwater. These were not the first, as John Spedding at Armathwaite Hall set the precedent in 1779 on Bassenthwaite Lake. But Pocklington and Crosthwaite’s events included mock invasions of Pocklington’s Island (now Derwent Isle), including a fleet of boats with muskets and cannons and musical interludes. The fields between the town and the lake were filled with stalls, sideshows and refreshment tents.

In 1789 Pocklington bought the land where the Bowder Stone, a massive glacial erratic, sat. At over eight metres high and eighteen metres long it’s the largest free-standing boulder in the Lake District. Pocklington carried out “improvement” works around the stone including building a guides hut, so that the early tourists could pay for a guide to the stone. Pocklington had no qualms about adapting nature for the sake of entertainment, which the Romantics found not only tasteless, but immoral.

Peter Crosthwaite was a farmer’s son from Thirlmere. He served with the East India Company and the Customs Service before returning to settle in the Lake District. He was the first local man to see how lucrative the tourist trade could be and to develop attractions specifically for visitors. He was an avid observer and surveyor. He offered his services as a guide and by 1783 he had mapped Derwent Water, Ullswater and Windermere and drawn a plan of Pocklington’s Island. He went on to survey Bassenthwaite Lake, Coniston Water and Buttermere. He made his maps specifically for visitors including features of interest, including Thomas West’s viewing stations. He built a museum on Keswick’s main street, which he opened to the public in 1784 and charged visitors for entry. His museum included curiosities from his time with the East India Company and with local artefacts. His family continued to run the museum until 1870. Other guides set up business in the area including Jonathan Otley and Thomas Hutton, who also opened a museum. Hutton’s museum including a model of a slave ship, donated by William Wilberforce. Wilberforce had become friends with Hutton on his regular visits to the Lake District and employed Hutton as a guide.

Coleridge wrote of Keswick in 1802 that for one-third of the year it swarmed with tourists.

Recorded ascents of Skiddaw to take in the view date from Bishop Nicholson in 1684.
As the early tourists started to arrive, their accommodation needs began being provided for. It has been claimed that the first “hotel” in the area specifically built to accommodate tourist was at Ouse Bridge at the north end of Bassenthwaite Lake, dating from the same time as the establishment of the local turnpike trusts in the 1760s. It appears to have operated for about fifty years before being converted to other use. In 1787 fourteen inns and ale houses were listed in Keswick. In 1889 the list had grown to thirty six inns and five beer houses. The George is said to be the oldest hostelry in Keswick. The earliest record was a bill dated 1733. Thomas Gray stayed at the Queens in 1769.

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Villas and ornamental landscaping

The picturesque beauty of Borrowdale soon began to attract some visitors to become permanent residents. One of these was Joseph Pocklington, the son of a Nottinghamshire banker, who bought Derwent Isle in 1778. Here he built a mansion and various follies including a stone circle. The mansion is now owned by the National Trust. (PIC) Pocklington also built a house at Portinscale (now a guesthouse) and Barrow House which is now a youth hostel. (PIC) The grounds of the latter were furnished with a picturesque waterfall, created by diverting the course of a beck. This was conceived as a rival to the falls at Lodore, which had become a popular tourist attraction. (PIC)

Other notable houses of this period include Greta Hall in Keswick, a well-proportioned Georgian mansion of the late 18th century, later occupied by the poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1800 – 1803) and Robert Southey (1803 – 43). (PIC) Mirehouse, on the eastern shore of Bassenthwaite Lake, dates from the 1666, with 18th and 19th century additions, was the home of John Spedding, who attended Hawkshead School with Wordsworth. Still occupied by the Spedding family, Mirehouse was visited by various literary friends of John’s son James (1808 – 1881) including Thomas Carlyle and Tennyson. (PIC)

The construction of mansions and large house by rich industrialists and others continued into the 19th century and included Armathwaite Hall at the lower end of Bassenthwaite Lake, a mid-19th century mansion built for the Fletcher-Vane family, and Underscar Manor, an Italianate style mansion on the lower slopes of Skiddaw, built in 1860. Overwater Hall was built in 1840 for Joseph Gillbanks from Ireby, who made his fortune in Jamaica. The gothic castellated Higham Hall was built in 1827-8 for Thomas Alison Hoskins, of the West Cumbrian industrial family, railway investor and Chairman of the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway.

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Romantic sites, buildings and associations

The Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley has many connections with the Lakes poets and other major literary and artistic figures of the late 18th and early 19th centuries with a number of surviving residences and a great number of landscape features which provided inspiration for their work.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge lived at Greta Hall in Keswick from 1800 to 1803 and the Wordsworths visited on numerous occasions. Greta Hall is now a private residence. Robert Southey took up residence at Greta Hall following Coleridge’s departure from the Lake District in 1803 and lived there with both his family and Coleridge’s until his death in 1845. Southey is buried in Crosthwaite churchyard where his memorial is inscribed with verses by Wordsworth. In 1803 Wordsworth was given land at Applethwaite, just north of Keswick, by Sir George Beaumont, who wanted to enable him to live near his friend Coleridge. Although Wordsworth never built here, he wrote the sonnet “At Applethwaite, near Keswick” to commemorate the gift and his descendants later built the slate cottage which now occupies the site.

In addition to Coleridge and Southey, the Wordsworths had other friends in Keswick including William’s benefactor, Raisley Calvert. Calvert lived at Windy Brow (now the Calvert Trust Riding Centre for the Disabled) and William and Dorothy Wordsworth stayed here in April 1794 and in early 1795 when Calvert was terminally ill. Calvert left money to William, which allowed him to live independently at Grasmere and in response to this generosity he wrote the sonnet “To the Memory of Raisley Calvert”. The Wordsworths continued to visit the woods at Windy Brow, often with Coleridge, and constructed a seat there for which both poets wrote sonnets.

The poet Shelley and his wife lived (briefly) at Shelley Cottage, Keswick, over the winter of 1811/12 and Shelley, like Coleridge, undertook solitary rambles and drew inspiration from the Lake District landscape. He wrote the poems “Mother and Son” and “The Devil’s Walk” while resident in Borrowdale. Local settings feature briefly in Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein and The Last Man.

In his Guide Through the District of the Lakes (1835), Wordsworth commented that Derwentwater was:

“distinguished from all other Lakes by being surrounded with sublimity: the fantastic mountains of Borrowdale to the south, the solitary majesty of Skiddaw to the north, the bold steeps of Wallow-crag and Lodore to the east, and to the west the clustering mountains of New-lands.”

Having settled in Keswick, Coleridge’s Notebooks are, unsurprisingly, full of references to the surrounding fells, notably Skiddaw and the sometimes dramatic cloud formations that grace its summit:
“As we turned round on our return, we see a moving pillar of clouds, flame & smoke, rising, bending, arching, and in swift motion – from what God’s chimney doth it issue?”

Skiddaw also features in a number of Wordsworth’s poems, notably the sonnet ‘Pelion and Ossa Flourish Side by Side’, in which he compares it favourably with Parnassus and the mountains of Ancient Greece.

The Falls of Lodore were celebrated in poems by Wordsworth (‘An Evening Walk’) and Southey (‘The Cataract of Lodore’). In his ‘Don Espriella’, Southey references Lodore and the nearby Bowder Stone.

In 1833, Wordsworth wrote a number of poems to commemorate a tour of Cumbria, the Isle of Man and Scotland. These included a homage to the River Greta – “Greta, what fearful listening! When huge stones / Rumble along thy bed, block after block”.

With regard to Borrowdale, Wordsworth’s poem ‘Yew Trees’ celebrates the yew that is “Pride of Lorton Vale”, but goes on to observe that:

“worthier still of note
Are those fraternal Four of Borrowdale,
Joined in one solemn and capacious grove;
Huge trunks! And each particular trunk a growth
Of intertwined fibres serpentine
Up-coiling, and inveterately convolved;
…a natural temple scattered o’er
With altars undisturbed of mossy stone”

The yews were damaged in a great storm of 1883 and one yew was lost. This event moved Canon H.D. Rawnsley to compose a melancholy “Trilogy of Sonnets on the Yews of Borrowdale”. The three remaining yews are still standing. Their age has been estimated at 1500 years.


On his 1799 walking tour, Coleridge stayed at Ouse Bridge at the head of Bassenthwaite. His Notebook records:

“from the Inn Window, the whole length of Basenthwait, a simple majesty of water & mountains - / & in the distance the Bank rising like a wedge - & in the second distance the Crags of Derwentwater / What an effect of the Shadows on the water!”

The area around the huge Skiddaw massif is rich in literary associations. Skiddaw itself is the most written about mountain in Britain. It even features in William Blake’s “Jerusalem” (1804-1820) as a sinister setting where Hand, one of the sons of Albion, is betrayed by his consort Cambel:

“Hand slept on Skiddaw’s top, drawn by the love of the beautiful
Cambel, his bright beaming Counterpart, divided from him;
And her delusive light beam’d fierce above the Mountain,
Soft, invisible, drinking his sighs in sweet intoxication.”

Ormathwaite Hall, on Skiddaw’s southern slopes was the home of Joseph Wilkinson, for whose landscape engravings Wordsworth wrote the commentary which became his Guide to the Lakes. Mirehouse’s romantic associations are listed in the “Villas” section above.

Coleridge and the Wordsworths visited the Skiddaw area a number of times. Coleridge, in 1800, and Dorothy Wordsworth, in 1803, wrote about visiting The Howk and the Fairy Kirk at Caldbeck. Coleridge and Wordsworth stayed at Dickens House, formerly the Queen’s Head Inn at Hesket Newmarket in 1803. Coleridge climbed and wrote about Carrock Fell many times. Skiddaw’s mountain neighbour Blencathra features in Wordsworth’s “Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle” and Coleridge’s “A Thought Suggested by a View”. Threlkeld Hall on Blencathra’s southern slopes features in Wordsworth’s “Benjamin the Waggoner”.

Many later famous literary figures have been inspired by the Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite area. The novelist Hugh Walpole (1884-1941) lived in Borrowdale and set his Herries Chronicles novels against local scenery and based on sites throughout Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite. Walpole lived at Brackenburn on the slopes of Catbells and is buried in St John’s churchyard in Keswick. Many famous literary figures visited Brackenburn, including J B Priestley, Arthur Ransome and W H Auden. Far Wescoe, near Threlkeld was the holiday of W H Auden’s parents in 1920s and 1930s and Auden wrote many of his well-known poems on visits there. High Ireby, north of Skiddaw, is the home of novelist and broadcaster, Melvyn Bragg whose novels include “The Maid of Buttermere”. Lingholm and Fawe Park on the western shores of Derwentwater were the summer holiday residences of Beatrix Potter and her family between 1885 and 1907. Lingholm inspired “Tales of Benjamin Bunny” and St Herbert’s Island, the island in “Squirrel Nutkin”. Fawe Park’s kitchen garden formed the basis for Mr McGregor’s garden in “The Tale of Peter Rabbit”, and Mrs Tiggy Winkle was set around Littletown, Skellgil and Catbells, nearby in the Newlands valley.

There is a strong tradition and continued presence of hostels in the Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley. The Youth Hostel Association runs Skiddaw bunkhouse, the highest Youth Hostel in Britain at 470m, Keswick YHA, Borrowdale YHA and Hawse End bunkhouse.

The Reverend Thomas Arthur Leonard (1864-1948) founded the Cooperative Holiday Association (CHA) in 1893 and the Holiday Fellowship in 1913. He wanted to offer outdoor holidays to the workers of the large industrial cities of the Midlands and the North of England. He was described following his death in 1948 as the Father of the open air holiday movement. There is a memorial tablet on the slopes of Catbells. Derwent Bank, at the northern tip of Derwentwater is still run by HFHolidays. HFHolidays ran The Old Mill House, Newlands, a renovated old graphite mill, from 1914 to 1987, which continues to be run as Newlands Adventure
Centre. HFHolidays also ran Hawes End, Derwentwater from 1927 to 1938, which is still a youth activity centre.

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DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Borrowdale has a particularly important place in the story of the early conservation movement in the Lake District which continues to the present day.

The felling of the Crow Park oaks by Greenwich Hospital in 1749-51 stimulated a public debate about the aesthetics of economic land management decisions. The land was part of the Derwentwater Estate which belonged to the last Earl of Derwentwater. He supported the Jacobite rebellion in 1715. When the rebellion failed he was executed for treason and his estate was given to the commissioners of Greenwich hospital. The commissioners sold the oaks for timber and they were cut down in 1749-51. This and other decisions about management of the Derwentwater woodlands came at a time when landscape aesthetics were just attracting a following amongst parts of society. The debate that ensued in the years and decades following the felling of the Crow Park oaks is a very early example of land management decisions becoming of more than private interest and into a more public arena with competing agendas of the economic decisions of the landowner and the aesthetic values of an increasing number of interested observers who valued the landscape for other reasons.

Wordsworth’s apparently unlikely friendship with John Marshall (1765-1845) of Leeds, the principal flax spinner in England was to have a significant impact on the ownership and management of the landscape of the Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite valley. Wordsworth and Marshall were brought together through Dorothy Wordsworth’s childhood friendship with Marshall’s wife, Jane Pollard. Marshall became interested in tree planting, particularly the use of native and non-native species for aesthetic and economic purposes, at the same time as Wordsworth began advising local landowners, such as Lowther, on his aesthetics of landscape planting. The Greenwich Hospital’s Keswick Estate was acquired for John Marshall Junior in 1832 and in 1844 Henry Cowper Marshall purchased Derwent Island. The Marshall family ownership in the valley, as in the rest of the Lake District, sought to control and manage the water, shore and fell sides at the heads of the lakes and to improve both the prospects of landscape and production by planting, conforming to the aesthetic values established in the 18th century. The Wordsworths were instrumental in advising the Marshalls on both the estate purchases and the landscape improvement and influencing the Marshalls’ aesthetic and cultural values and sensibilities. The case of the Keswick Estate in 1832 provides an early case of the transfer of a productive but iconic estate into protective rather than exploitative ownership. The Greenwich Hospital was already foregoing some economic benefit to the Hospital for the sake of aesthetic value, and had the estate not been sold, the Hospital would have cut timber in quantity.
Another early environmental battle that was fought and won in Borrowdale was the proposal in 1883 for the Buttermere and Braithwaite Railway from Buttermere to Keswick, primarily to carry slate from the Honister quarries. Canon Rawnsley, who was appointed vicar of Crosthwaite in the same year, was instrumental in organizing letters to the national press, petitions and protest meetings and he soon defeated the Parliamentary Bill that had been tabled. The Lake District Defence Society was also established in 1883 and other successful campaigns in the valley included the prevention of a proposed road over Sty Head Pass to link Keswick with Wasdale and the west coast.

In 1885 several landowners around Keswick had closed footpaths which had been used for generations. A Miss Spedding, then owner of Latrigg, closed the only access paths to the fell and planted a number of trees. In protest, The Keswick Footpath Preservation Association called for a mass trespass. On 1 October 1887, 2,000 people gathered in Keswick and marched to one of the footpaths where they found a chained gate and a "Private" sign. Spurred on by Keswick local and protest leader, Henry Irwin Jenkinson, the crowd removed the chains on the gate, took down the sign and walked up the footpath singing "Rule Britannia". Miss Spedding's gamekeeper reportedly asked them to stop singing as it would disturb the birds. Ignoring this they proceeded to the summit for speeches and a rousing rendition of "God Save the Queen". The trespass appeared in all the national papers with The Manchester Guardian reporting that "the Latrigg case will affect the right of ascent to almost every mountain in Britain". Miss Spedding issued writs for damages to the Footpath Preservation Society and the case was heard at Carlisle the following year. Witnesses described how they had used the paths for many years without hindrance. One of those, son of poet Robert Southey, said that he and friends had regularly used the footpaths as children. After two days a compromise was reached. One footpath, Spooney Green Lane, would be opened to the public while the other would remain private. When a victorious Jenkinson and his supporters returned to Keswick they were escorted into town by a crowd and a brass band. Following the court case other land owners in the Lake District who had closed footpaths opened them to the public again. Henry Irwin Jenkinson also led the fundraising to buy Fitz Park for the people of Keswick and his name appears over the main gate to the park.

Canon Rawnsley, the Crosthwaite vicar, was one of the three people behind the formation of the National Trust in 1894 and the Trust's earliest land acquisitions in the Lake District were in the valley. Borrowdale is today one of the key components of the National Trust's Lake District estate and its actions over the last century have helped to maintain the distinctive character of the valley together with preservation of archaeological and industrial monuments and securing public access.

The first act of the National Trust in the Lake District was to collect subscriptions for the erection of a memorial to John Ruskin on Friars Crag, Derwentwater in 1900 (the remainder of Friars Crag was purchased by the Trust in 1921 as a memorial to
Ruskin described the view from Friar’s Crag as “one of the three most beautiful scenes in Europe." This was followed in 1902 by the purchase of part of the Derwentwater lake shore at Brandlehow, again following a public appeal. 

Further early purchases included Manesty Park, south of Brandlehow and in 1909, from the Leconfield Estate, the right to public navigation on Derwentwater. In 1910 the Bowder Stone and Grange Fell were acquired and the Neolithic stone circle at Castlerigg in 1913.

Following the First World War, a number of significant gifts of land in and around Borrowdale were gifted to the National Trust as memorials to the fallen. These included Castle Crag in the ‘Jaws of Borrowdale’ in 1919 by Sir William and Lady Hamer, and much of the high fell land at the southern end of the valley, including Scafell Pike, Great Gable and Great End. Further significant purchases following a public appeal in 1939 increased the Trust's holdings in central Borrowdale.

During this early period the National Trust, under the strong influence of Rawnsley, also successfully opposed a number of developments that would have damaged the landscape character of the area, including the re-building of the road bridges at Portinscale and Grange.

After 1946 the National Trust concentrated on building up a farming estate in Borrowdale. Nook Farm was gifted as a war memorial in 1947 and this was followed in 1950 by Ashness Farm and three further farms at Watendlath in 1960 (Fold Head, Caffle House (1962) and Stepps End) which secured the whole of the hanging valley of Watendlath. Seatoller Farm came to the National Trust through National Land Fund procedures in 1958 and as this included the land at Honister Hause, the Trust was in a position to control road improvement over the pass.

In 1976 the farms of Longthwaite and Yew Tree came to the National Trust from the winding up of Lake District Farms Estates Ltd and in 1982 the entire holding of Seathwaite Farm was acquired by the National Trust following the gift of the Kingston Lacy Estate in Dorset. This estate included land in Seathwaite and the remains of the valuable Wad Mines.

Following the extensive addition of fell land that came with the gift of the Leconfield Commons in 1979, the 12,000ha of the National Trust's holdings in Borrowdale are now sufficiently substantial to be termed the ‘Borrowdale Estate’.

The majority of the land surrounding Bassenthwaite Lake is either in private hands or owned or leased by the Forestry Commission. Some of the extensive conifer plantations on the western shore, and particularly on the eastern side, on the Dodd, are being felled and converted to native woodland. The lake bed, navigation rights and parts of the lakeshore are owned by the Lake District National Park Authority. These were transferred to the National Park Authority by the Treasury in 1979,
following the death of the previous owner, Lord Egremont. Recent conservation activity here has achieved many benefits including improving lake water quality, including for the rare fish, vendace, increased public access and the return in 2001, after nearly two centuries of absence in England, of breeding ospreys.

The NPA became owners of the Caldbeck and Uldale Commons in 1979. The land was transferred by the treasury following the death of the previous owner, Lord Egremont. It covers 4555 ha of registered Common Land in the Caldbeck and Uldale Fells, on the North side of the Skiddaw massif.

In 1937 the Buttermere Slate Quarry entered into a contract to receive mains electricity supply to its slate quarry on Honister Pass between Borrowdale and Buttermere. The supply would be on poles up the Borrowdale valley. Friends of the Lake District, the Council, for Protection of Rural England and the National Trust all supported the supply to the quarry and hoped that Borrowdale properties could be included, but they wanted as much of the line as possible to be put underground. The company, local councils and objectors debated and disagreed over costings, routes and what could be undergrounded. Eventually the scheme was dropped. Honister quarry generated its own electricity. But the legacy was that the Borrowdale residents pressed the electricity company and the Government for an underground supply for the valley, successfully arguing the case for modern services, but sensitively delivered in a special landscape. This eventually came to pass in 1955-56.

The improvement of the A66 from Penrith to Cockermouth proved extremely controversial in the 1970s. The two most controversial elements were an engineered embankment along the west shore of Bassenthwaite Lake and the high-level bridge over the River Greta just east of Keswick. A route to the north outside the National Park was a potential alternative. A seven week public enquiry resulted in the controversial decision in December 1972 by the Secretary of State for the Environment favouring the route through the National Park. The Countryside Commission at the time called it “a permanent monument to insensitivity towards superb scenery.”
THIRLMERE

Description
The Thirlmere Valley

“...take a flight of not more than four or five miles eastward to the ridge of Helvellyn and you will look down upon Wytheburn and St. John’s Vale...”

W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

“In the mid 1870s frock-coated and silver-bearded strangers were observed picking their way around the rough landscape surrounding Thirlmere in the heart of the Lake District........Word spread that Manchester was involved, that the famous water engineer J.F. Bateman was involved. By mid-1877, the secret was out: Manchester planned to buy Thirlmere and its environs, embank the lake, and pipe its water 100 miles to the growing and thirsty city.”

From the book ‘The Dawn of Green: Manchester; Thirlmere and Modern Environmentalism, by American academic Harriet Ritvo

Thirlmere is a large-scale, steep-sided, glaciated upland valley visually dominated by a large reservoir and heavily influenced by land management policies designed to protect water quality within the catchment. The valley runs south-north from the watershed, Dunmail Raise, the physical and psychological boundary between the south and north Lake District, before reaching an abrupt end against the bulk of the Skiddaw and Blencathra massif with the town of Keswick at its foot.

Thirlmere Reservoir is a vast expanse of water framed on its east side by the imposing steep fells, crags and screes of the Helvellyn massif and on the west by the less steep but large-scale and no less imposing Armboth and Castlerigg Fells. The water has a dark and brooding quality with high altitude, orientation and steep enclosing fells funnelling the wind to create white-horses and foam-streaks on the surface when other lakes are mirror calm. The sense of enclosure felt on the lower slopes of the valley is enhanced by dense coniferous woodland though recent tree felling has opened up fine views across the lake from the A591 which hugs the eastern shore. Despite obvious human intervention this is still very much a wild,
upland valley with a sense of tranquillity away from the road, particularly on the western shore and fells where stunning views of the Helvellyn range can be seen to the east. Habitation is sparse south of the lake limited to occasional hill farms around Steel End. North of the lake the twin valleys of Naddle Beck and St Johns Beck contain extensive improved grazing enclosed by stone walls and more frequent farms. The dam is surprisingly well contained visually by landform and trees but the Grade II listed, sandstone built, straining well structure is a distinctive feature on the side of the A591. At Fisher Place and Stannah surprisingly urban looking houses were built to house the Manchester Corporation workers employed on the construction project.

The Thirlmere valley’s history tells the story of a heavily politicised landscape preservation movement where the concepts of natural beauty versus national interest were tested perhaps for the first time at this scale. Despite well organised opposition to the project, represented by the Thirlmere Defence Association formed in 1877 and including visionaries such as Ruskin and Carlyle supported by the social reformer Octavia Hill in London and many newspaper editors, the needs of a fast growing urban population in Manchester were deemed by Parliament to outweigh the modification of a recognised landscape of great natural beauty. The dam was built and the 96 miles long aqueduct delivered its first water to the city in 1894 as it still does today.

If the damming of the valley and the enlargement of two small lakes to form a large reservoir was landscape change on a large scale so was the afforestation of nearly 800 hectares of land to prevent erosion, protect water quality and profit from harvested timber and regarded by many as the greater crime. The large blocks of non-indigenous conifers and the scar left by draw-down of the reservoir in dry periods are undoubtedly elements which detract from Thirlmere’s natural beauty. However the valley still has the drama of its soaring fellsides, a large body of water and north of the reservoir the rural charm of St Johns in the Vale. It is stunning scenery and its record of the adaption of landscape to meet the needs of a changing society, and the arguments for not doing so, are fascinating and an integral part of the evolution of the Lake District.

Notable omissions:
Castlerigg stone circle
Popular route up Helvellyn

Alternative quote:
“The story of Thirlmere is a watershed in the history of Conservation. For the advocates of the reservoir it was a pyrrhic victory, since it was very important in embedding the ideas on Conservation in the minds of the late 19th century intelligentsia both in Britain and elsewhere, and that, in turn, is the basis of the Environmental Movement around the Globe.”
Lord Inglewood in his foreword to Ian Brodie’s book ‘Thirlmere: and the emergence of the landscape protection movement.)

Other suggested additions:
Use additional content from 2010 text.
Geological description underlying landscape from attribute list, see below.
Landscape description of the northern end of the valley: Glenderamackin valley
More specific examples of sites and features illustrating description; rivers, woodlands; cultural sites etc. See deleted 2010 text.
More on natural heritage. See 2010 text and attribute list.
Physical and transport connections with other valleys see 2010 text.
Key views: in attribute list and below.

**Geology:** Skiddaw slates and shales in northern section – valley of Glenderamackin; BVS in remainder of valley; Granophyre; microgranite igneous intrusions in north around Low Rigg and Threlkeld Knotts?

**Key views:**
Blencathra Centre NY303256 (view from…)
High Rigg/ Wren Crag NY318201
Castlerigg NY291237
Great How NY313186
Steel Fell ridge NY321121
High Raise ridge NY314130
Nethermost Pike area NY342141
Tewet Tarn NY304 235
Topographic Map of Thirlmere
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement
Evidence for early settlement in Thirlmere is less than in other valleys, in part due to the inundation of the better land in the valley bottom. The famous cairn on the top of Dunmail Raise is reputed to be the burial place of King Dunmail, the last monarch of the early medieval kingdom of Cumbria (PIC). While this is possible, as Dunmail Raise has formed a political boundary for a very long time (it was at one point the border between England and Scotland and more recently the boundary between the former counties of Cumberland and Westmorland) the cairn may be prehistoric in origin. There is a Bronze Age ring cairn on Armboth Fell, looking out to Helvellyn on the other side of the valley (PIC). The only other significant archaeological site in the valley is the small but heavily defended hillfort at Shoulthwaite (PIC). Radiocarbon dating has demonstrated that this site was occupied during the dark ages in the late 6th or early 7th centuries AD.

ON placename examples eg. Shoulthwaite, Legburthwaite
- Late Prehistoric agriculture – clearance cairns and enclosed settlement above Threlkeld quarry at Threlkeld Knotts;
- Shieling sites at Clough Head;
- early fragment of field system at Helvellyn Gill (NY 317 169)

Key sites:
- Castlerigg stone circle
- Good examples of Neolithic rock art at Steel End
- Shoulthwaite hillfort – already in above text.
- Threlkeld enclosed settlement and clearance cairns
- medieval shielings on Clough Fold

The hillfort at Shoulthwaite, overlooking Thirlmere from the west has produced evidence of occupation during the late 6th or early 7th centuries AD. Re-occupation of defensible sites is not uncommon.
Placenames are generally toponyms. Amongst these, Old Norse (ON) placenames are present: Brotto (previously Brattah) derives from the Norwegian bratt (steep) and -a (river); Stanah to the north of the study area derives from the Norse for stan (stony) and -a (river).
Survey of the Thirlmere estate showed that medieval exploitation of the area was initially sporadic and potentially transhumant (OAN, 2009). The earliest settlements are likely to have been seasonal shielings to take stock onto unenclosed upland pastures.
There are many small, usually-single-celled, rectangular huts which could be the remains of documented shielings; they may alternatively be shepherds huts and distinguishing the two is problematic (OAN, 2009). Shielings are found on Armboth Fell (LUAU, 1996, p. 16) and Clough Head. Some may be medieval or even early medieval. White Side, Birk Side and Whelp Side probably contain the saetr element.
Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The early agricultural landscape of Thirlmere has been largely covered by the reservoir and forestry plantations, but remnants of the pattern can be seen around the water’s edge and in other parts of the valley. Extensive areas of valley bottom land at the northern end of Thirlmere, in St John’s in the Vale and around Naddle to the northwest, are divided into the small irregular stone-walled field characteristic of small, ancient farms. This pattern extends southwards along the valley at Legburthwaite and there is a small area at Wythburn, at the southern end. Larger walled intakes can be seen surrounding the in-bye land at Legburthwaite, running along the lower slopes below Helvellyn (PIC), and also at Wythburn. Other areas of former intake have been covered by conifer plantation.

LCA ADC 17 St John's in the Vale and Naddle description:
Strong field pattern punctuated with single and pollarded trees, framed on either side by steep-sided adjacent High Fells, with stone-scattered intakes below the fell wall and small field barns;

Attribute list extract:
Little apparent evidence of early ‘organic’ intakes around enclosed open field. Even the 1st Edition OS shows lots of straight walled fields

The Medieval Period

Open Fields

Armboth is set amongst strips which possibly indicate the local of a common open field around part of the west shore of Thirlmere. That Dale Head, the manorial seat from 1577, is located on the east side of the lake, controlling access to the settlement from the road between Keswick and Grasmere, may be significant; this fits a pattern seen in each of the other valleys whereby the lords’ holdings are separate to and strategically superior to common field and village. The implication of this is that the site at least of Dale Head if not the buildings may have originated much earlier than 1577, perhaps in the 12th century.

At Wythburn, these open field strips are clearer, and straddle the Frere Beck between the church and the southern tip of Thirlmere, where the farm at Water Head was located. The fields here are exclusively on the west side of the road, on flat land similar to at Armboth. Topography on the east side, on the lower slopes of Helvellyn, probably precluded such extensive arable cultivation. These are clear on the 1787 Clarke map also.

Further north at the limit of the valley area, there are examples on the lower-lying land along the River Glenderamackin. Between Guardhouse and Doddick adjacent to Threlkeld Hall are some strips which appear to represent a former common field – the name Guardhouse contains the garth prefix indicating the presence of a ring garth of some kind. A chapel at Threlkeld is first documented in 1220 in the Cartulary of Fountains Abbey. Trellekell’ appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1197 and although this reference was not seen it probably represents the arrangement of village and hall
overlooking the common. Threlkeld was a mesne manor of the Barony of Greystoke (CWAAS Vol 9 No 2, Art. XXII. — The Threlkelds of Thrdkld, Yanivath, and Crosby Ravensworth. By W. Jackson, F.S.A. Communicated at Kirkby Stephen, July 7th, 1887 p295)

Threlkeld Hall is not recorded until Henry VII () and while there was probably a pele tower here ‘there are doubts about its actual site, the very stones having been taken away’ (CWAAS Vol 9 No 2, Art. XXII. — The Threlkelds of Thrdkld, Yanivath, and Crosby Ravensworth. By W. Jackson, F.S.A. Communicated at Kirkby Stephen, July 7th, 1887 p313).

To the west, at Townfield (also a good placename indicator) and Burns Farm the common fields of Threlkeld and Wescoe extend into the valley area.

The names Castlerigg, Fieldside and High Fieldside (both latter containing saetr) perhaps record an early open field although strips are not so evident here. Keswick is first mentioned in the Cartulary of Fountains Abbey in c 1240.

Colonisation of the upland landscape by dispersed farmsteads

Fornside is a saetr settlement, first appearing as Fornesate in 1303. This is an example of former seasonal settlements being colonised as farms, in the 13th century at the latest, in this case. Naddle first appears in 1292 in the Assize Rolls for Cumberland, and this may be of similar antiquity. Shoulthwaite first appears in the 1280 Furness Coucher Book.

The small settlements of Lowthwaite, Wanhtwaite, Legburthwaite and Smaithwaite do not appear to have evolved out of a common-field system. They also seem to have developed as colonies. Indications of clearance are contained in both placenames, and Legburthwaite first appears in an i.p.m. of 1303. These farmsteads on cleared land in St John’s in the Vale probably date from a period of population growth and settlement expansion in the 13th century, extending the reach of settlement southwards, perhaps with Fornside marking a limit of permanent settlement. It is possible that Legburthwaite and Smathwaite developed as a separate colony, however, perhaps as settlement crept south from Keswick via Naddle.

A second period of expansion can probably be extended to include the isolated farms down the east side to Thirlspot – Stanah, Stybeck, Brotto and Fisher Place – that the colonisation seems to run out of steam at Thirlspot suggests that it swept southwards from a centre further north at Threlkeld perhaps. That they were held by the Braithwaites from the Earl of Northumberland in 1640 may support this. In any case, settlement seems to have successively colonised former seasonal sites in a southerly direction from what is now the A66.

These settlements seem to have had minimal land available on the valley floor for arable, and they probably relied on the common pasture at High Rigg, Low Rigg and St John’s Common to provide a surplus of livestock and animal produce for market in Keswick. The enclosure pattern – especially to the east of Dale Head and Fisher Place - looks concentrated on the adjacent farm at Sty Beck, although this picture is
probably distorted by the numerous rivulets across the landscape from Helvellyn to the east.

**Monasteries**

At the south end of Thirlmere, Wythburn, first appears in c 1280 as *Withebotine*, in the Furness Coucher Book:

“In 1280 the owner of the land, Adam de Derwentwater, granted a right of way to Furness Abbey for travelling from Borrowdale via Ashness, Castlerigg, Shoulthwaite to Dunmail Raise along with a second route via Watendlath, Harrop and Wythburn (Brownbill 1915-9).”

(OAN, 2007)

The placename Frere Beck perhaps records Wythburn’s origins as a grange or vaccary settlement; if not it certainly records some monastic connection. Wythburn Church was built 1640 on the site of an earlier chapel, of unknown date.

“The manor of Wythburn belonged to the Brathwaites of Warcop. Sir Thomas Brathwaite, who died in 1640, was seised of the manors or hamlets of Wythburn, Armeboth, Smarthwaite, and Naddle, held of the Earl of Northumberland;”

(Lysons & Lysons, 1816)

**Deer Parks**

The area shown as ‘Deergarth’ shown to the south of Armboth may have belonged to the Dale Head residents; the name suggests a medieval origin.

An area called High Park on the east side, close to Dale Head, may have been a deer park in the medieval period, or perhaps it was carved out c 1577. This is called ‘Laithes Park’ in 1787 which supports that interpretation. The enclosure wall for the Laithes Park / High Park deerpark survives in part on the east side of Thirlmere.

**16th-17th Centuries**

Reorganisation of the medieval landscape

This period also lacks documentation. We know that Dale Head was first occupied by the Laythes family from 1577, who moved there, perhaps to an existing site. Dalehead Cottage/Dalehead Hall is late C16, partly rebuilt 1623, with late C17 and early C19 extensions.

The Clarke 1787 map shows minor extensions to the enclosed land: at Wythburn the inbye land has been extended piecemeal into adjoining areas. On the east side and at the at the north end of Thirlmere the colony farms seem not to have extended their holdings at all. There has been some enclosure around the north-western shore of the lake perhaps, between Shoulthwaite and Armboth.

There are also instances of this type of enclosure shown more clearly on the 1862 Ordnance Survey map, at Castle Rock and Fisher Place, at Stenock, and on the lower fell slopes around Wythburn.
With a broad brush view, the Historic Landscape Character (HLC) map shows intake occurring in very small pieces around Fisher Place, and around Wythburn and the crags between Shoulthwaite and Sosgill. Most of the much larger episode shown on Castlerigg Fell post-dates 1862 and should really be restricted to Dodd Cragg and Bracken Riggs; otherwise it skews the pattern.

In the north of the valley area intake is marked on the HLC at Wanthwaite, Low Rigg and Rakefoot.

18th-19th Centuries

The single biggest event in terms of landscape development is the Thirlmere Reservoir. This required re-organisation of the enclosures around the new water’s edge, on both shores. The Benn and Castlerigg Fell, for example, were clearly enclosed on a large scale between 1862 and 1898. Some enclosure, notably around Harrop Tarn, is clearly 20th century. Surviving ‘bields’ are also widespread on the historic maps; some of these are later features they can be one of many things – shelters, dens or traps (LUAU, 1996) (OAN, 2009). Some are simply natural features (i.e. Otter Bield, now submerged).

Farm Buildings

Thirlmere does not have the same wealth of vernacular architecture that many other valleys have, although it does have a number of late 17th century farmhouses in Naddle valley, St John’s in the Vale, and the Glenderamackin valley.

Some of the key farm houses are: Castlerigg Hall, a good example of an early 17th century farmhouse, known as How Place in the 1640s and the ancestral home of the Wren family; Hollin Root Old House, a late 17th century or early 18th century farmhouse that is now used as a farm outbuilding; Bram Crag in St John’s in the Vale, a late 17th century farmhouse with later alterations.

Fornside and its barns date to the late C17th which - aside from Dale Hall and Threlkeld Hall - is the earliest example of rebuilding of medieval farmsteads in stone. Wythburn Church is a Listed Building dating from 1640, a similar date to some of the earlier surviving vernacular farmhouses – themselves also probably rebuilt on earlier sites – dating to the 17th century: Brotto (late C17) and Stanah (mid C17).

The Green at Legburthwaite is Early C18, and reflects the continuing replacement of earlier buildings in stone. Fisher Place (Mid or late C18), Steel End (<1787), Stenkin (<1787), Smathwaite, Shoulthwaite and West Head are all marked as pre-1770 farms on the HLC. The farms in use during the first period of sustained building in stone survive today, with the exception of those now submerged.

References:
Listed building Descriptions
Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

Although the extent of agricultural land has been reduced in the Thirlmere, it is still the location for possibly the largest Herdwick farm in the Lake District. West Head farm is a tenanted farm owned by United Utilities, successor to the Manchester Corporation who acquired the farm in 1870. West Head is one of the major producers of quality Herdwick tups in the country (PIC), in recent years producing in excess of 40 quality tups annually. In the first Herdwick flock book in 1920 Isaac Thompson at West Head Farm had a flock of 1000 ewes, one of the largest at the time.

There are 20 farms with fell-going flocks in the Thirlmere valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 4 are registered Herdwick flocks (Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association 2015) and 3 are registered Swaledale flocks (Swaledale Sheep Breeders Association 2015). There are no National Trust landlord flocks in Thirlmere valley area.

There are about 4534ha of Registered Common Land in the Thirlmere valley, around 56% of the total area, and virtually all of the open fell. The areas of Common Land are Whelpside, Steel End, West Head, Armboth and Bleaberry Fells on the west and the south east sides of the valley, St John’s Common on the rest of the east side of the valley, and Dodd Common, High Rigg Common and Threlkeld Common at the northern end of the valley.

Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley wrote a description of the July Shepherds’ meet at Stybarrow Head in 1899 and quoted a shepherd’s description of the heafing system on the St John’s in the Vale side of the Helvellyn range.

The Dockray and Matterdale Shepherds’ meet is held alternately at Dockray and Threlkeld Cricket Club on the first Thursday after the 22 November, every year. Meets for St John’s Common, Whelpside, Steel End, West Head, Armboth and Bleaberry Fells?

References:

Industry

In addition to water abstraction, industrial activity in Thirlmere has also included mining and quarrying. Numerous trials and small workings are scattered throughout the valley, including a copper mine of the Elizabethan period on the fellside of Brown Crag above Thirlspot, the small but spectacularly located lead mine below the summit of Helvellyn, on Whelp Side, near Wythburn, which only operated between 1839 and 1882 (PIC) and the former copper mine at Birkside Gill. There are numerous small quarries dating from the period of dam construction together with larger examples including the slate quarries at Bell Crag on Armboth fell and the
extensive microgranite quarries at Bramcrag, Hilltop and Threlkeld on the east side of St John’s in the Vale (PIC).

Threlkeld station opened to passenger traffic on the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway in 1865 and closed in 1972.

The physical aspects of the water industry dominate the main valley, most obviously the Reservoir itself. The dam infrastructure itself is now considered to be of historic value, as it was the first English masonry gravity dam and one of only two arch dams in England (i.e. similar construction to the Hoover dam) (PIC). The dam curves across the northern end of the reservoir, 20m high and 264m long. It impounded 8,900 million gallons (40,000 million litres) of water uniting Leathes Water and Wythburn Water in 1894. The overflow channel takes the water to the discharge chamber and valve houses. On the eastern side of the reservoir, an aqueduct runs from north to south along the foot of the fellside collecting the water from the becks running off the fells before carrying it into the reservoir near Station Coppice. The straining well building on the east shore marks where the head of Wythburn Water once was. It is a mock castle-like tower with three wings. The well feeds the 96 mile underground aqueduct to Manchester, which heads south from Thirlmere through Dunmail Raise, with an average fall of 20 inches per mile (32cm per km). There are many other water company buildings in the valley, including houses and works buildings.

References:
Thirlmere Estate Survey. Lancaster University Archaeological Unit. 1997

Settlements

Settlement in Thirlmere is now dispersed, single farmsteads, with a small hamlet at Legburthwaite. In the past there were more substantial hamlets at The City and around Wythburn, both at the southern end of the valley, but these were inundated by the reservoir. This was also the fate of one of the most substantial houses in the valley, at Armboth.

Key vernacular buildings that have survived include Dalehead Hall, a late 16th century house owned by the Leathes family, partly rebuilt in 1623, with late 17th and 19th century extensions. In 1879 the then owner, George Stanger-Leathes sold it and the lake to the Manchester Corporation. A fine packhorse bridge of the 18th century can be seen at Sossgill, in St John’s in the Vale. (PIC)Wythburn church, at the southern end of Thirlmere, was built in 1640 on the site of an earlier chapel. (PIC) References:
Hyde and Pevsner
Listed Building descriptions
DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

The Thirlmere valley attracted attention from the guide book authors of the 18th century. Some early descriptions tend to emphasise the wildness of the place, including William Gilpin in 1772:

“No tufted verdure graces its banks, nor hanging woods throw rich reflections its surface: but every form, which it suggests, is savage, and desolate”.

Thomas West was not inspired to create a series of viewing stations in Thirlmere, but saw beyond the desolation described by Gilpin, recording that the “most picturesque point is from an eminence behind Dale Head House” and that the lake was “…increased by a variety of pastoral torrents that pour their silver streams down the mountains’ side and then, warbling, join the lake”. (Thomas West, A Guide to the Lakes, 1778).

West also noted in his writings other significant features in the valley including the unique, three stages, “Celtic” Bridge (PIC?) at the narrow neck in the centre of the lake, the wooded Great How at the northern end of the lake and Raven Crag, opposite.

Despite this, there is no obvious record of the Thirlmere valley being a hugely popular attraction for early tourists. It was a through route for the early tourists between the greater attractions in the Grasmere valley and south and Keswick and Borrowdale. The King’s Head Hotel, at Thirlspot, is a late 17th century coaching inn which would have been used by such travellers. The Inn at Wythburn was mentioned by Wordsworth in his Guide to the Lakes as a good start point form the ascent of Helvellyn. Wordsworth recommended the view north from the road at Station Coppice to the Vale of Legburthwaite and Blencathra beyond. Harriet Martineau in her “A Complete Guide to the Lakes” (1855) recommended the tourist took the road on the western shore of the lake.

Peter Crosthwaite, the Keswick museum owner and early tourism entrepreneur in the late 18th century was a farmer’s son brought up at Dale Head, Thirlmere.

References:
A Literary Guide to the Lake District. Grevel Lindop. 2005
Thirlmere and the emergence of the landscape protection movement. Ian O Brodie. 2012

Villas and ornamental landscaping

No buildings or landscapes of picturesque influence were constructed in Thirlmere. Indeed The Bishop of Carlisle in his letter to The Times in 1877 stated that “Thirlmere is absolutely free from villas and all that is villainous”. It is an irony that this absence of villas, due significantly to the resistance of the Leathes family to
offers to sell land for villa building, was one of the factors that favoured Thirlmere as a potential reservoir over other lakes such as Ullswater.

References:
Thirlmere and the emergence of the landscape protection movement. Ian O Brodie. 2012

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

Thirlmere was well-known to the Romantic poets as the Wordsworths and Coleridge often met in the valley while travelling between their respective homes in Grasmere and Keswick. The point at which they met was commemorated by a rock known as the ‘Rock Of Names’, upon which were carved the initials of Coleridge, William Wordsworth, his brother John and sister Dorothy, and Mary and Sarah Hutchinson. The original rock was blasted during construction of the reservoir, but pieces of it were rescued by Canon Rawnsley. They are now located outside the Wordsworth Museum in Grasmere. A bronze plaque by the reservoir in Thirlmere commemorates this stone (PIC), which was mentioned by Dorothy Wordsworth in her *Grasmere Journal*.

Perhaps the finest description of Thirlmere was provided by Coleridge in his notebook entry for 23 October 1803:

“O Thirlmere! – let me some how or other celebrate the world in thy mirror. – Conceive all possible varieties of Form, Fields, & Trees, and naked or ferny Crags – ravines, behaired with Birches – Cottages, smoking chimneys, dazzling wet places of small rock-precipices – dazzling castle windows in the reflection – all these, within a divine outline in a mirror of 3 miles distinct vision!”

A number of surviving buildings and features have direct associations with the poets and their writing. Wythburn Church was described by Wordsworth in the ‘The Waggoner’ as

“Wytheburn’s modest House of prayer, As lowly as the lowliest dwelling” (PIC – WW Trust image of early Wythburn)

The church, built in 1640 and restored in 1872, contains some bronze work by the Keswick School of Industrial Arts (PIC) and outside is a stone erected by Canon Rawnsley commemorating two walks inspired by the poet Matthew Arnold (PIC). The church formed the spiritual heart of the hamlet of Wythburn which was destroyed by the creation of the reservoir. On the opposite side of the road are the ruins of the Nag’s Head Inn, where Keats slept in June 1818 and which Wordsworth also describes in ‘The Waggoner’.

Wordsworth mentions Great How in “Rural Architecture” (1800), which tells the tale of three local schoolboys who climbed

“to the top of Great How… And there they built up, without mortar or lime,
A man on the peak of the crag.

**Helvellyn (PIC)**

Helvellyn was relatively near to the Wordsworth dwelling in Grasmere and they climbed it many times. Dorothy’s first known ascent was made from Legburthwaite on 25 October 1801 and she recorded

“glorious, glorious sights. The Sea at Cartmel. The Scotch mountains beyond the sea to the right. Whiteside large, and round, and very soft, and green, behind us. Mists above and below, and close to us, with the sun amongst them. They shot down to the coves.”

Wordsworth was much associated with Helvellyn. One of the great portraits of the poet, by Benjamin Robert Haydon, poses him against a backdrop of the mountain, and was painted to commemorate a sonnet that Wordsworth had written to Haydon while climbing Helvellyn in 1840, at the age of seventy.

Forty-one years earlier, on their walking tour of 1799, Wordsworth and Coleridge ascended Helvellyn. In his *Notebook*, Coleridge records the vista of lakes from the summit, including “Grasmere like a sullen tarn”, “luminous Cunneston lake” and “the glooming Shadow, Wynandermere with its Island”.

In *The Prelude*, Wordsworth opens Book VIII, subtitled “Love of Nature leading to Love of Mankind”, with this account of Grasmere Fair as seen from the summit:

“What sounds are those, Helvellyn, that are heard Up to thy summit, through the depth of air Ascending, as if distance had the power To make the sounds more audible? What crowd Covers, or sprinkles o’er, yon village green? Crowd seems it, solitary hill! to thee, Though but a little family of men, Shepherds and tillers of the ground--betimes Assembled with their children and their wives, And here and there a stranger interspersed. They hold a rustic fair”

William Hutchinson’s fanciful account of Castle Rock in his “Excursion to the Lakes” (1774) and Sir Walter Scott’s visits to the area in 1797 and with Wordsworth in 1805 inspired Scott to write the poem “The Bridal of Triermaine” (1805). It is a tale of how King Arthur comes to a deserted “castle” which comes to life, until he finally leaves.

“The monarch, breathless and amazed, Back on the fatal castle gazed – Nor tower nor donjon could he spy, Darkening against the morning sky; But, on the spot where once they frown’d, The lonely streamlet brawl’d around A tufted knoll, where dimly shone
The proposed construction of the Thirlmere reservoir in the late 19th century and the battles about whether it should be built and subsequent forest management brought to a head the appreciation of the vulnerability of the Lake District landscape, and public access to it, to threats of substantial change. These are described in more detail below and elsewhere in this document.

The YHA operated a hostel in Thirlmere at Legburthwaite from 1970 to 2001. Since then a new hostel has been built on the site and is operated by a private business.

Helvellyn is the third highest mountain in England and the Lake District and access to it is much easier than the higher peaks of Scafell Pike and Scafell and has many choices of routes from all sides. Because of this it has been and still is a hugely popular and well visited mountain for fell-walking and climbing.

References:
Thirlmere and the emergence of the landscape protection movement. Ian O Brodie. 2012
A Literary Guide to the Lake District. Grevel Lindop. 2005

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Thirlmere valley was transformed in environmental, social and economic terms in the last decade of the 19th century and into the early decades of the 20th century. This started in the 1870s with the Manchester Corporation Water Works (MCWW) desire to build a drinking water supply reservoir in the Lake District to increase the existing supply of clean water to the growing population and industry in Manchester. MCWW settled on Thirlmere as the preferred valley. A Parliamentary Act was required to construct the reservoir. The opposition to the construction of the reservoir was focussed around rapidly formed Thirlmere Defence Association and attracted a national debate and audience in the press. The Act was passed in 1879, but the process was a turning point. Prior to this, the aesthetics of landscape had largely been a matter for private landowners with money to spend on landscape “improvements”. With the Thirlmere debate, landscape had become a matter for everyone. People hundreds of miles away from Thirlmere felt that they had a share of the ownership, not of the land itself, but of the views over that land. Alongside the landscape debate was a significant concern over the potential threat to the continuation of public recreational access to the fells and lake in the valley. The battle over the establishment of the Thirlmere reservoir is a significant watershed in the history of the conservation movement and for cultural landscape protection in the UK and globally, including the formation of the National Trust, Friends of the Lake District and UK National Parks.

The changes to the valley started with the acquisition of the land by MCWW and from 1890-94 the construction of the dam, new roads and buildings and the flooding of the valley. The changes continued into the 20th century with the afforestation of the valley.
large areas of the fellsides around the valley. The physical result of this battle and subsequent negotiations and decisions over the valley’s forestry and other land management since then has resulted in the current landscape. The southern two-thirds of the Thirlmere valley area, south of St John’s in the Vale and Naddle valleys, is now a narrow steep-sided valley with the reservoir occupying the whole valley floor from side to side, flanked by predominantly coniferous forestry plantations, with no dwellings or settlements. During periods of dry weather the water level drops revealing a wide band of bare exposed rock. This landscape is distinctively different to most of the other valleys in the Lake District. The significant built structures of the water industry around the valley are described in the industry section above.

The catchment land and reservoir infrastructure is now owned and operated by United Utilities (UU), a private sector business, and the successor to MCWW and North West Water Authority. UU owns 4,700 ha of land in the Thirlmere Valley, the whole of the southern two-thirds of the valley. The reservoir supplies about 11% of the North West of England water demand. Over the past ten years most of the non-native tree cover has been removed around the lakeshore opening up wider views of the water and the valley. This has been a result of subsequent battles in the late 20th century over the interpretation and implementation of the forestry aspects of the 1879 Act. Also in recent years, large-scale re-structuring of the forestry on the fellsides has been carried out. The forest has become a designated reserve for the threatened native red squirrel. Access and Common land issues have continued to be a source of disagreement between the various interested parties over the past century, including establishment and management of fencing and forestry on Common Land. Again, over recent decades recreational use of the Thirlmere estate has been more actively encouraged by UU, including boating on the reservoir.

Over recent years UU have been implementing its Sustainable Catchment Management Programme (SCaMP) with its farming tenants, investing in land management changes and farming infrastructure in order to improve the water quality before it enters the reservoir and water treatment system.

The northern edge of the Thirlmere valley area in the Glenderamackin valley was affected by the upgrading of the A66 in the 1970s.

The National Trust have only a few small areas of freehold farmland and fell at the north western edge of the Thirlmere valley area connected to its large Borrowdale estate.

References:
Thirlmere and the emergence of the landscape protection movement. Ian O Brodie. 2012
ULLSWATER

Description
THE ULLSWATER VALLEY

“…take a flight of not more than four or five miles eastward to the ridge of Helvellyn and you will look down upon …Ullswater, stretching to the east…”
W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

‘I wandered lonely as a cloud, That floats on high o’er vales and hill, When all at once I saw a crowd, A host of golden daffodils; Beside the lake, beneath the trees, Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.’
William Wordsworth 1770-1850

Like the other spokes in Wordsworth’s figurative wheel the Ullswater valley begins in the high central fells, in this case draining the Helvellyn and High Street massifs. It carves a uniquely curved path running generally north-eastwards where the lake, second only to Windermere in size, dominates the character of the valley and connects to the River Eden in the expansive Eden Valley via the River Eamont flowing from the foot of the lake at Pooley Bridge. Unlike most of the larger valleys the character of the landscape does not change as the valley morphs from its upland beginnings into a more substantial lowland river but has a different character on its north and south sides. The south has a more enclosed, steep sided, upland feel whereas the north and west has a more open, lowland character where although the enclosing mountains are in places equally high they are set further back from the lake and valley floor with a transitional landscape of lower fells. This shoreline contains most of the settlement within the valley.

The Ullswater valley is contained to the west by the Helvellyn range providing stunning panoramic views from an irregular and jagged eastern profile including the famous arêtes of Striding Edge and Swirral Edge. Along with Red Tarn nestling in the combe below the edges the landscape is textbook glacial scenery. The substantial side valleys of Grisedale and Glenridding Beck run east from these fells to the south end of Ullswater where the main valley continues up to the fells above Hartsop and further dramatic mountain scenery. To the south-east and east the fells...
continue to visually contain the valley and appear to plunge directly into the lake from the ridges. Although the fells become less high, less craggy, more rounded and more wooded at the north end of the lake there is no significant widening of the valley until almost leaving the Lake District into the Eden Valley.

The north/west shore of the lake contains the settlements of Patterdale and the large village of Glenridding, expanded in the 19th century by the Greenside Mining Company to house workers from what was once the largest lead mine in England and whose waste dominates the approaches to Helvellyn from the east up Glenridding Beck. Lower down this valley the strong identity of a mining village contrasts with grander houses and the hotels, guest houses and shops associated with Victorian and present day tourism. Glenridding Pier is a tourist honeypot where traditional launches provide pleasure trips on the lake as they have done since Victorian times and possess a timeless quality. North of here the A592 hugs the undulating shoreline and where the fellsides are steeper and less suited to improvement there are mixed and deciduous woodlands and wood pasture on the lakeside slopes which add to the sense of enclosure. There are glimpsed views of the lake and occasionally access points where there is parking where water based recreation is popular. The woodlands gradually peter out further towards the northern end of the lake and a gentler, pastoral landscape becomes established punctuated by large Victorian houses, now mostly hotels, with the introduction of parkland and gardens containing striking non-native trees which surround them. Parkland running down to the lake and substantial boathouses are a feature of the lakeshore landscape. This contrasts with the south shore where for the greater part of the lakeshore the steep slopes preclude easy vehicular access and there is little built development. The distinctive, conical, Dunmallard Hill and the village of Pooley Bridge mark the north end of the lake and the rolling, pastoral hills run out towards the Eden Valley and the limestone fringing the Lake District.

As with many of the valleys contrasts abound in Ullswater. The fells to the south of the lake are as quiet and tranquil as any in the Lake District but Helvellyn is probably the busiest summit of them all. The large, dark, brooding expanse of the lake can appear almost menacing on a dark day when the wind is funnelling down the valley, gusting wildly due to the effects of the mountains, but on a sunny day with brightly coloured sails and steamers quietly navigating there is a genteel atmosphere. The rugged, wild fell tops with few signs of human influence and the designed landscape and businesses of the settlements and northern lakeshore provide contrast and variety on a grand scale. The experience of this landscape change is conveniently accessible in the short journey on the A592 from the Windermere or Ambleside valleys over the watershed which is the Kirkstone Pass descending to Patterdale and Glenridding at the head of the lake before hugging the lakeshore then following the River Eamont into the Eden Valley.

Notable omissions:

- Aira Force
- Matterdale plantations
- National Trust ownership
- Hartsop
Topographic Map of Ullswater
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Introduction – general character of Ullswater

The Ullswater valley contains most of the landscape ingredients which typify the essential character of the Lake District. It exemplifies the fusion of an ancient farmed landscape with picturesque landscape improvement including tree planting, villas and parkland, particularly on the western shore of Ullswater, but also on the eastern side. The landscape of Lyulph’s Tower, Aira Force and Glencoyne Park is a key example. The landscape has also been modified by industry in places. In its lower sections, Ullswater has relatively wide vistas but these quickly reduce towards the valley head where high crags surround the lake and the smaller side valleys. Ullswater is the second largest of the lakes after Windermere and has a distinctive dog-leg shape, with three distinct reaches over its 14.5 km length. (PIC) This pattern is a result of glacial scouring of the valley bottom which now forms the bed of the lake, leaving three discrete basins. The uppermost stretch of Ullswater, around Patterdale, is oriented north-south. The middle section, from Silver Point to Kailpot Crag is oriented east-north-east to west-south-west and the lower section of the lake, to its outflow into the River Eamont, is aligned north-east to south-west.

The topography of the valley is varied due to distinct differences in the underlying geology. The land surrounding the lower lake, from Howtown to Pooley Bridge and along the northern shore from Glencoyne to Watermillock comprises gentle slopes down to the lake, covered in good soils which form the basis of the rich lakeside pastures. (PIC) This is based on the more easily eroded geology of the Eycott Group and contrasts with the harder, jagged mountain scenery of the Borrowdale Volcanic Group surrounding the upper lake, including the high ridges of Helvellyn and High Street and iconic features such as Striding Edge. Here, a series of small glacially formed valleys splay out like fingers to the west (Glencoyne, Glenridding, Grisedale, Deepdale) to the south (Dovedale) and on the east (Boredale, Bannerdale, Ramps Gill and Fusedale). The small and picturesque lake of Brotherswater covers part of lower Dovedale. (PIC)

The northern end of the valley opens out into more rolling open country which also includes a number of small but prominent and shapely fells such as Dunmallard Hill, Great Mell Fell and Little Mell Fell. The latter two are formed from a localised conglomerate geology.

Ullswater provides a major route of access into the central Lake District from Pooley Bridge at its northern end. The principal road follows the northern shore to Patterdale at the head of the lake, and then rises over the heights of Kirkstone Pass to Ambleside and Troutbeck. A minor route on the eastern shore accesses the small valleys and settlements south of the lake. The main route northwards out of the valley joins the natural east-west route of communication between Penrith and Keswick. There are minor routes out of the northwest of the valley into Dacre Beck and Matterdale areas.
In the upper valley a number of large becks flow down the fell sides via the side valleys to feed Ullswater. The River Eamont exits from the northern end of Ullswater to join the River Eden east of Penrith. Other notable natural features include the waterfall at Aira Force on the north side of the lake and the various small tarns in the corries of the surrounding fells, including Angle Tarn above Hartsop, (PIC) Grisedale Tarn, Red Tarn below Helvellyn (PIC) and Hayeswater (dammed to form a small reservoir).

The Ullswater valley also has extensive areas of native woodland, much of it in former medieval parkland on the northern shore. These include the north facing slopes of Glenamara Park at the head of Ullswater, which provides a spectacular view of the lake, and the ancient parkland around Glencoyne. (PIC) There is also significant native woodland at Low Wood opposite Hartsop on the western side of Dovedale and on the southern shore, below Birk Fell, Hallinhag Wood and in Barton Park. To the northwest of the main valley lies an area of high, but more gently sloping ground, large areas of which are planted with conifers, known as Matterdale Forest. There are also areas of conifer plantation around Pooley Bridge, at Swinburn’s Park and around Patterdale Hall.

Early settlement

Prehistoric evidence of settlement is restricted to the funerary and other monuments, dating from the Neolithic and early Bronze Age periods. Settlement evidence per se appears in the later prehistoric period, and the Ullswater Valley area contains an important series of enclosed hut-circle settlements, and two Iron Age hillforts at Maiden Castle and Dunmallard Hill. That there are a relatively high number of these later prehistoric settlements around Ullswater suggests a higher density of occupation here than in the other Lake District valley areas.

Roman Period

The Romans constructed marching camps and a fort at Troutbeck, just to the northwest of Ullswater, together with roads to connect these with forts at Penrith and Ambleside. The Roman road from Ambleside, known as High Street, was probably constructed along the route of an earlier prehistoric trackway and runs along the tops of the fells on the south-eastern side of Ullswater. An enclosed farmstead at the foot of High Hartsop Dodd is thought to be Romano-British in date, and there is also a Romano-British hut circle settlement at Heck beck above the head of Upper Bannerdale. Often with several phases of occupation these sites present the possibility that there is perhaps at least some continuity in settlement or population from the prehistoric period into the Roman and subsequent periods.

Pre- Norman Conquest

Placename evidence is a mixture of influences. Hartsop probably derives from OE ‘valley of the deer’. The name Kirkstone for derives from ON ‘kirkja steinn’ meaning ‘church stone’.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 11). Ulueswater first appears 1220 (Smith, A. 1965. p17), possibly deriving from an ON proper name (Gambles, R. 1985. p17,
Smith, A. 1965. p18) or perhaps from a Celtic word ‘uille’, meaning elbow, referring to the curve of the lake (Taylor, W. 1869. p154) after (National Trust, 2000, p. 11)

The occurrence of Old English placenames may suggest that the early medieval population was connected more closely to the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, rather than with the Scandinavian settlement along the coastal areas. Archaeological evidence does seem to not support Scandinavian settlement at Hartsop or elsewhere in the Ullswater valley as a whole (National Trust, 2000, p. 11). Nor is the effect of shifting land ownership amongst various British and Anglian polities evident using the archaeological data, although the occurrence of placenames with elements of ‘British’ (Penruddock) or Scots heritage (Glencoyne, Glenridding) provide some clues.

In the early medieval period a monastery at Dacre is mentioned by Venerable Bede (as Dacore), and it is believed to have been founded as a grange by the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in Nidderdale; the grange there is thought to have been destroyed by Vikings. Archaeological investigations have found traces of timber buildings – one associated with metalworking – and a covered drain in the present churchyard. Dacre was apparently still a significant location in the early 10th century, as William of Malmesbury records that King Constantine of Scotland and King Eugenius of Cumberland paid homage to King Athelstan at Dacre in 927, although other writers prefer Eamont Bridge. Although the present Dacre church dates from the 12th century it contains fragments of carved stone crosses of 8th to 10th century date and the enigmatic ‘Dacre Bears’, an unusual group of carved stone animals.

There are also former older settlement sites which survive only as archaeological remains in the landscape. These are found at Cross Dormant, Deepdale, Deepdale Bridge, Glenamara Park, Glencoynedale, Old Kirk Watermillock, and High Hartsop Dod; although some of these were abandoned long before the conquest other similar sites (Barkers Farm next to Lancaster University, and Hayknowes Farm in Dumfrieshire) have seen long intermittent sequences where sites are occupied, abandoned and then re-occupied long after.

The remains of prehistoric settlement in Ullswater are extensive and span the period from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. The earliest evidence for human activity in the area comprises a significant example of rock art at the head of the valley near Patterdale, which date to the Neolithic or early Bronze Age. (PIC) Sites of similar date are also found on the high ground of Askham Fell, southeast of Pooley Bridge, including stone circles, a stone alignment, burial cairns and burnt mounds. (PIC)

The evidence for later prehistoric activity is even more extensive and includes an important series of enclosed hut circle settlements and two hillforts at Maiden Castle and Dunmallard Hill. (PIC) The relatively high number of later prehistoric settlements around Ullswater suggests a higher density of occupation than in other valleys in the Lake District, possibly due to the importance of Ullswater as a route of communication and the good agricultural soils around the lower lake.

The Romans constructed marching camps and a fort at Troutbeck, (PIC) just to the northwest of Ullswater, together with roads to connect these with forts at Penrith and
Ambleside. The Roman road from Ambleside, known as High Street, was probably constructed along the route of an earlier prehistoric trackway and runs along the tops of the fells on the south-eastern side of Ullswater.

There is a significant concentration of enclosed and unenclosed Romano-British settlements in the valley for example at Hartsop Hall, Glencoyne Park, and Matterdale End).

In the early medieval period (6/7th centuries AD) a monastery was built at Dacre which is mentioned in the writings of the early English historian the Venerable Bede. The site is now occupied by a church dating from the 12th century and there are fragments of carved stone crosses of 8th to 10th century date and an unusual group of carved stone animals. (PIC) There is another potentially early church site at Barton where the nave and central tower of the present church date from the 12th century but the circular form of the churchyard may indicate an ecclesiastical centre of much greater antiquity. (PIC)

Other significant medieval sites include the 14th century “pele”, or fortified, towers at Dacre Castle and Hutton John. (PIC) The castle at Dacre is perhaps the finest example of a fortified medieval site in the Lake District and has additions of the 17th century in medieval style. The stately house at Dalemain, with its Elizabethan and Georgian additions, also originated as a 15th century tower. (PIC) These pele towers are amongst the earliest surviving examples of domestic architecture in the northwest. They are outside the main Ullswater valley on the better land and close to the eastern edge of the Lake District and the Penrith-Keswick corridor. It would be here that the threats of Scottish raids were at their greatest on the route southwards from Carlisle and here that the wealthier landowners could afford to fortify their houses. In the upper Lake District valleys, including Ullswater there was neither the need nor the capital to build pele towers.

**Pele Towers and Fortified Houses**

The ‘capital messuage’ of Robert de Swynburn was previously burnt down by Scots raiders shortly before 1326 (Curwen, 1932); whilst this may have been Gowbarrow Hall (cf Swinburn’s Park adjacent to Gowbarrow Hall) Curwen identifies this as at neighbouring Askham. Either way such hostilities prompted the fortification of numerous sites in the Lake District, especially in areas exposed to the attention of Scots armies and cattle raiders via the road south into England from Carlisle; the towers are particularly concentrated on the north-eastern fringe of the Lake District from Skiddaw and Ullswater to the Eden Valley (Millward & Robinson, 1970, p. 174).

The 14th century Dacre Castle is probably the finest fortified medieval site in the Lake District. Importantly the less imposing pele towers are the earliest surviving examples of domestic architecture in the north-west. Other century fortified houses or ‘pele’ towers in the Ullswater Valley area include Barton Kirke (late 15th century), Hartsop Hall (see below), Patterdale Hall (unknown date, see below), Dalemain (see below) and Hutton John.
The house at Dalemain is supposed to have 12th century origins as a pele tower; in the 14th century a manor hall was added, with a second tower (Dalemain Website).

Hartsop Hall, was “presumably occupied by the Lord of the Manor from the 12th or early-13th century” (National Trust, 2000, p. 4). The present Hartsop Hall is 15th-century.

The Hutton John pele tower (LDHER 3785) was built 1461 with the west wing built c. 1525 and a north wing in the 1660s. The south side was rebuilt in 1835 and there is also a 16th century dovecote. Hudleston says there may have been an earlier tower, and the adjacent moated site (LDHER 1142) is thought to be the precursor of the present pele tower; although no documentary evidence exists this is thought to have been abandoned around the end of the 13th C when Wm de Hoton is thought to have commenced work on the present site of Hutton John.

Patterdale Hall has obscure origins, with a date of 1677 over a doorway which is an extension to the earlier middle part, which is 17th century: “The first record we have of ownership of Patterdale Hall dates back to 1624, when the Lordship of Patterdale was purchased from the Threlkeld Family by Joan Mounsey of Greystoke for her son John, a miner. The Threlkelds were said to have had a house present on the site for many hundreds of years before this, but of this we know nothing.” (Patterdale Hall.org website)

Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape

The pattern of agriculture in the Ullswater varies according to the potential afforded by the topography and this variation is reflected in the character of the field systems and enclosures throughout the valley. On a broad scale, the better soils on the gentle slopes on the north shore between Gowbarrow Park and Pooley Bridge supported the development of extensive arable fields which are now under pasture. (PIC) This contrasts markedly with the opposite lakeshore where the proximity of steep crags for much of its length reduced the opportunities for anything other than rough grazing. Exceptions to this are the small areas of flatter land at Sandwick and Howtown where fields have been created.

There is some evidence for ring garths at Hartsop and in Dovedale. Record of cattle pastures in Dovedale in 1255 (cf. NT Hartsop report). Remains of medieval hall and shieling at Hartsop Hall farm.

Late 16/17th century farms are distributed throughout the valley, some grouped in hamlets (e.g. Hartsop and Sandwyck) and others located individually. The location of the farms is generally between the inbye and intakes, on the edge of the former medieval common field.

Evidence for the enclosure of former medieval common fields can be seen in the existing pattern of walls around the villages of Hartsop, Patterdale, Pooley Bridge and around Sandwick on the eastern shore. However the pattern of medieval intakes on the fell side of the open fields, so common in other Lake District valleys, is
restricted here to the smaller side valleys such as Grisedale and Boredale. In Ullswater the visible pattern of later enclosure is a mixture of the irregular patterns that have developed around single ancient farms (seen on both sides of the lake), former medieval parkland (for example Glenamara, Glencoyne and at the head of Martindale), and the large, regular fields resulting from parliamentary enclosure around the lower lake. This is interspersed with stands of native woodland and ornamental parkland on the lake shore, particularly on the north side at Aira Point and Oldchurch.

**Medieval Documents / other evidence**

There is no written evidence for the Ullswater valley area during the 11th-12th centuries, and a handful of documentation for the 13th – 14th centuries which provides scant information on the appearance of the landscape. Approximate dates for the establishment of churches, and their values in the Crusading Tithes of the late 13th and early 14th century are the best evidence for the early centuries following the conquest (see below). Most of the Ullswater valley area lies within the barony Westmorland rather than Kendale. The parish of Patterdale was sub-divided from the much larger Barton parish, within the medieval barony of Kendale, which confirmed its boundaries in 1189 (Collingwood, W. 1928. p70). “The barony of Westmorland was confirmed soon after in 1203, and consequently took the land to the south of Ullswater, including Hartsop.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 12).

“The county to which the name "Westmaringaland" and subsequently "Westmarieland" exclusively applied was conterminous with the later Honour or Barony of Appleby. Henry II enfeoffed this county to Hugh de Morvill to hold it as a fief of the English Crown. Morvill remained in possession until Michaelmas, 1174, when he was ejected, not as has been generally supposed on account of his participation in the murder of Becket, which occurred on 29 December, 1170, but for his aiding the Scottish invasions and Northern Rising of 1173–4. Then in 1179 Henry granted the Honour to his chief justice, Ranulph de Glanvill, who took all the revenues of Westmarieland until Easter 1190, when Richard I deprived him and the Crown once again resumed possession.”

“On 31 March, 1203, Appleby and Brough and the bailiwick of Westmarieland were committed to Robert de Veteripont "to keep during the king's pleasure," but on 28 October of that year King John granted to him in fee "Appleby and Brough with all their appendages with the bailiwick and the rent of the county with the services of all tenants (not holding of the king by military service) to hold by the service of four knights.” As the late William Farrer wrote, "this undoubtedly marks the commencement of military service due from a Barony at Appleby." “

“Sometimes we find the Barony termed "Appleshire" but more commonly it was known as the "Bottom of Westmorland" by reason of it having a considerable quantity of low lying ground surrounded by fells. “

“The lordship passed down from Robert de Veteripont to his great grand-daughter, Isabella, who married Roger de Clifford in 1269; and from them it passed down
through twelve generations to Lady Anne Clifford whose daughter, Margaret, married John Tufton, 2nd Earl of Thanet in 1629.”

“With regard to the district known as the Barony of Kentdale it would appear that the lordship over it had been taken from Roger de Mowbray, at or before the accession of Henry II, and united to Westmarieland as a mesne lordship held by the service of £14. 6s. 3d. for noutgeld. So that the Williams de Lancaster, the first and the second, were ipso facto tenants of Hugh de Morvill.”

“William de Lancaster, the second, died in 1184 and left an only daughter, Helewise, who was given in marriage by Henry 11 to Gilbert, the son of his steward Roger fitz Reinfrid, with her entire inheritance. Richard 1 confirmed this marriage and, on 15 April 1190, by three charters granted practically the whole of southern Westmorland to Gilbert, together with acquittance of the noutgeld, suits of shires, etc. due to northern Westmorland. By these grants of the same date Gilbert fitz Roger fitz Reinfrid was endowed with full baronial status throughout Kentdale and the outlying members, including the manor of Morland and a considerable part of Barton. His service to the crown for the same being definitely fixed at the service of two knights. Thus the Barony of Appleby was created some thirteen years after the Barony of Kentdale.”

(Curwen, 1932)

In the Manor of Hartsop - examined in detail by NT - there is no surviving documentary evidence from the immediate post-conquest period. The earliest documentary references appear in the mid-13th century, by which time the Manor was in the hands of the de Lancaster family. It is not clear if a hall existed within the demesne before this time, although it would seem likely, given that Hartsop was recognised as a separate Manor.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 12)

Some abandoned settlements of unknown date (i.e. LDHER 16775 at Lanty Tarn, Martindale) and an obscure medieval site at Cross Dormant (Trostermod etc; LDHER 2959) suggest that a broad picture of linear development, with settlement continually expanding throughout the historic period until the 20th century when agriculture and the rural population begin to contract, simplifies more nuanced patterns which would benefit from new archaeological data.

The ecclesiastical evidence (see “Settlements” below) suggests that settlement the Ullswater valley area spread out from the north-east, first occupying Barton and the relatively level areas to the north of Pooley Bridge. This early settlement perhaps extended all the way to Barton Park and Thwaite Hill on the south of Ullswater, and to Gowbarrow Hall and Watermillock on the north side. Martindale was perhaps then settled, and perhaps the other isolated settlements along the south-east side at Sandwick and Howtown. The establishment of a church should not dictate the first date of settlement however and this is merely provides a probable taq.
Open field systems

Common fields
Former open common arable fields are relatively easy to spot in the Ullswater Valley area for reasons unknown. Perhaps that there have been fewer medieval intakes on the fellside, or perhaps because of the huge parks and yet-unenclosed fell that focus the eye on the earlier settlements. Clear strips carved from former open fields or hints of strips, placenames like Town Head, and the association of early settlements with capital messuages such as pele towers or halls are abundant and easily recognisable on modern and historic OS mapping, and on the 1787 Clarke maps of Ullswater and the road from Pooley Bridge to Penrith which quite clearly shows a later medieval pattern with scant additions in the post-medieval period. These common field settlements probably date from the 11th/12th century, although they may have earlier origins. The names Sandwick and Borwick are typically OE, and these perhaps indicate a pre-conquest origin; a deserted settlement at Watermillock may indicate a similarly early origin.

In the north of the Ullswater Valley area, around Penruddock and Hutton/Hutton John we can see what looks like a system of open fields around Penruddock, with strips enclosed from former open arable fields; the name Town Head farm suggests the location of its former extent. The pele tower at nearby Hutton John (see below) was possibly built after the Scots invasions to provide some security. Dockray and the strip of inbye north-west from Hutton are clearly also ancient with some tentative evidence of former open fields enclosed as strips.

Probable strip fields in Barton extend well beyond the NPA boundary at Stainton, where the pattern is striking. The common fields at Barton perhaps ‘belong to’ Dalemain or Winder Hall.

Watermillock and Bennethead occupy a curiously-large circular enclosure. It is suggested that Watermillock was at the centre of a medieval open-field settlement subservient to Gowbarrow Hall located at the furthest end of the enclosed area. Bennethead may represent later colonisation of the edge of the ring-garth, probably also during the medieval period.

At Patterdale there are some possible strips at the southern end of the inbye and also astride the road on the southern tip of Ullswater, with Patterdale Hall occupying a viewpoint north along Ullswater, perhaps to warn of invasion from the north. Parts of Low Hartsop are clearly former open fields (see below), and the NT has established a closely-phased sequence of development for this up to the late 18th century (see Fig 5 and Fig 9 on the Hartsop HLS).

There are what appear to be strips at higher Martindale that do not correspond to any settlement centres. There appear to be some strips at Sandwick, Bridgend and Hollinbank. Townhead at Sandwick is perhaps the capital messuage, on a medieval lakeshore colony.

The settlement at Dacre seems to have a different character, although there's clearly a separate lord's holding at the Castle with a moat. It is possible that arable inbye
here may have originated as common open field but it hasn't been enclosed in strips quite so obviously.

Extensive inbye around S and E of Pooley Bridge looks very similar to situation in Ambleside. The section closest to Pooley Mill and St Michaels Church looks like strips, and looks similarly-crazed akin to Wasdale Head.

Certainly Soulby and Sockbridge (just outside the Park Boundary) were (or were in late 18th - mid-19th C) rife with strip-fields. At Soulby the strips are larger, and Soulby seems to be a rich agricultural landscape beholden to the Mains House above Pooley Bridge (aka Demesne House on the 1787 map).

The Sockbridge complex extends just slightly into the NPA immediately north-east of High Winder. Winder Hall seems to sit in its own system, perhaps as a lord's holding. From this 1787 map Dalemain seems to be located within its own preserve, perhaps a deer park.

**Lords of the Manor**

The pattern seen elsewhere in Lake District Valleys (especially at time of writing Grasmere and Rydal) of common open field separate and subordinate to a lord's holding at the head of the valley or similarly ‘superior’ position is prevalent in the Ullswater Valley area. Each of these following examples represents an early settlement, probably dating from the 11th/12th C at the latest.

For example, the valley bottom in Hartsop is divided into two parts by Brothers Water. West of Kirkstone Beck there is a lord's holding with Hartsop Hall, “presumably occupied by the Lord of the Manor from the 12th or early-13th century given the status of Hartsop as a separate medieval manor.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 4) The common fields proper were located on the east side of the beck and to the north of Brother's Water. “This separation meant that two separate common fields developed in the medieval period, each supporting a small group of farming tenements.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 13). “A marriage agreement of 1456 mentions a 'William de Lancaster of Hartsoppe', suggesting that the Lord of the Manor was [still] resident in the demesne at that time (Owen, H. 1990. p45).” (National Trust, 2000, p. 16). “The Manor of Hartsop is frequently mentioned in connection to the de Lancaster family in the period between 1300 and 1600, although there is unfortunately little information regarding numbers of tenants or land-use (D/Lons/L5/2 Box 798).” (National Trust, 2000, p. 16).

At Patterdale there are possible strips at the southern end of the inbye and a second group astride the road on the southern tip of Ullswater adjacent to Patterdale Hall and the Vicarage. Here Patterdale Hall occupies a strategic viewpoint north along Ullswater, perhaps to warn of invasion from the north, and it may be that there is a similar division here to Hartsop. Two large parcels of land – one common open arable to the south, and one lords' holding to the north – were subdivided during the medieval period and enclosed in stone later on.
This pattern can be traced very effectively in the 1787 map, in the relationship between Gowbarrow Hall and Watermillock, Pooley Bridge/Soulby and Main House; Stockbridge Hall and Stockbridge; Dalemain and the fields at Barton perhaps. Hutton John and Penruddock, and the Dacre pattern which also seem to reflect this pattern can be seen in the 19th century OS maps.

Ring Garth

“A form of ring-garth exists in Hartsop. This boundary encloses land on the valley bottom to the north and south of Brothers Water, as well as in Dovedale.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 4)

“It is clear from field evidence that the valley bottom in Hartsop was enclosed by a single wall or ring-garth, although when this took place is not known. It is possible that the ring-garth in Hartsop was established in the immediate post-conquest period.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 13)

“Given that hay meadows are needed to provide fodder for overwintering cattle and other stock, the enclosure and management of the valley bottom land would have been a basic requirement for any early farming system. For this reason an early-twelfth century date seems most likely. Ring-garths are known to have been established in other valleys around this time as colonisation and woodland clearance on the valley bottom enabled new land to be enclosed and brought into agricultural use (Winchester, A. 1987. p42).”

“The best-preserved sections of ring-garth are located to the south of Brothers Water [see NT Figure 5 extract over]. A substantial wall can be seen running from the south-west corner of Brothers Water down into Dovedale and enclosing land on either side of Dovedale Beck. The boundary then runs around the base of High Hartsop Dodd, before moving south once more to enclose land on either side of Kirkstone Beck. The ring-garth then heads north-east, before coming to a halt at a point close to the south-east corner of Brothers Water where it is truncated by the present A592. This section of wall once ran alongside Sower Wood Lane, the original routeway linking Low and High Hartsop (WQR/I/35). Many sections of the ring-garth incorporate large orthostats, presumably gathered together during a phase of early land clearance and improvement.”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 13)

“The ring-garth [green, below right; reproduced from NT Fig 5] reappears after being truncated by the modern A592, and continues on in a north-easterly direction alongside Brothers Water towards Low or Nether Hartsop. There is no evidence for the continuation of the ring-garth in the north-west of the village. It is possible that the ring-garth has been modified, rebuilt and lost within the pattern of small irregular shaped fields that developed during the medieval and post-medieval periods. There appears to have been no attempt to enclose the valley bottom in a ring-garth along the northern edge of the Manor of Hartsop. The existence of Angle Tarn Beck appears to have cancelled out to the need for any additional obstacle. Goldrill Beck appears to have served a similar function on the western side of the valley bottom.”
Other possible ring garths exist around the inbye at Watermillock and Bennethead, although these haven’t been confirmed by field survey:

There are still others at Sandwick and Howton, with intake extensions added later along the shoreline north-east of Howton:

**Manorial Stock Farms**

“There is good documentary evidence to show that from the twelfth century many upland demesnes were farmed as cattle ranches or ‘vaccaries’ on behalf of the Lord of the Manor (Winchester, A. 1987. p42., Winchester, A. 2000. p76-79).”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 14).

In Hartsop, for example, the:

“valley head in Dovedale with its large areas of wooded fellside and well-watered hay meadow was ideal for farming as a vaccary. The wall that encloses the head of the valley in Dovedale is likely to have been set up in the twelfth or thirteenth century to enclose an area for use as a cattle pasture (ntsmr 27643). This wall enclosing the valley head abuts the ring garth, showing the enclosure of the valley head to post date the enclosure of the valley bottom.”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 14)

“Documentary evidence to support the existence of a vaccary in Dovedale appears in a complaint brought against Gilbert de Lancaster in 1255 who was ordered to prevent his cattle in the Hartsop demesne, and also cattle belonging to his tenants within the Manor, from roaming free in the surrounding forest in the possession Roger de Lancaster (Ragg, F. 1910. p403).”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 14)

“This is the only early reference to farming in the demesne [of Harstop Hall]. It is not known how the vaccary in Dovedale was organised, if the vaccary was overseen by the Lord of the Manor or if it was placed in the hands of a tenant. The early hall at Hartsop is likely to have been built in the twelfth or thirteenth century and may have functioned as the administrative centre for the vaccary (ntsmr 27199).”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 14)

“Documents show that by the fourteenth century many vaccaries in the Lake District had been let to farming tenants rather than being managed directly by the Lord of the Manor (Winchester, A. 2000. p76-79). It is not known if this was the case at Hartsop. However, the remains of a medieval longhouse within the demesne may be evidence that the vaccary was placed in the hands of a tenant at some point or that the Lord has some assistance in managing the demesne farm (ntsmr 27221).”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 14)

“An eighteenth century survey of High Hartsop shows the individual tenements clustered around a gap or gate in the ring-garth which is likely to have had medieval origins (D/Lons/L/Plans). This area was presumably used to gather stock belonging to the local farms as they were shifted between the valley bottom and the fell. The land on the valley bottom belonging to the tenants of High Hartsop was referred to
as High Hartsop Field or the Overdale. It is likely that the majority of land within the Overdale was utilised as meadow. Only in the extreme south are there signs that the ground was ever ploughed and cultivated.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 13)

**Deer Parks**

The large stretches of upland grazing may have been heavily wooded and mostly uninhabited earlier in the medieval period (hence place-names which suggest an abundance of wildlife). The forest of Inglewood, formerly so abounded in venison, that King Edward I. during a few days which he spent in Cumberland for the purpose of hunting, is said to have killed 200 bucks in it (Magna Britannia 1816). The Ullswater shoreline seems to have been a favoured location for deer parks. On 19th century maps there are three parks – two straddling Lyulph Tower and Aira Force, and a third called Swinburn’s Park adjacent to Gowbarrow Hall. The 1787 map shows a single enormous deer park belonging to the Earl of Surrey. It may be that the detail provided in the Ordnance Survey suggests that originally a deer park (later known as Swinburn’s Park) was attached to Gowbarrow Hall; this may have been accessed via a corridor which is an arrangement seen at Irton Hall, perhaps a fashion for deer parks, or perhaps the corridor was a means of storing the deer safely close at hand. The deer park was then extended twice – once to the natural boundary of the Aira Beck, when Lyulph Tower was perhaps built as a hunting-lodge folly for enjoyment whilst out hunting (the house was built c1795 for the Duke of Norfolk although the tower is ‘post-medieval’), and then the park was extended further to encompass what is now Glencoyne Park.

Barton Park was presumably was a relatively smaller park, presumably for the benefit of the lord of Barton Hall, although this is not certain; the name William Hassel on the 1787 map is associated with the lordship of the manor of Patterdale. Already the park – especially its western edge - seems to have been sub-divided and sub-enclosed, and the deer park turned over to pasture and plantation woodland.

The house at Dalemain appears to have had a deer park attached, although when this was enclosed as a deer park is not known.

A designed landscape attached to Dacre Castle is called ‘Park’; although this may be a former deer park, it may indicate that it is part of the lord’s holding.

**Monastic Stock Farms**

The Hospital of St. Nicholas next York appears to have had an interest in at least 2 bovates (usually c 30 acres). As the hospital was founded sometime between 1088 and 1112 their interest in this area must post-date this period. The placename Brothers Water at High Hartsop may indicate a monastic interest of some kind although there are other explanations, and there are no documents to support a monastic vaccary at High Hartsop.
11th-15th C intake enclosure
Some at least of the irregular patterns of early field systems seem to have begun perhaps during the 11th – 12th century. Settlements along the ring garth edge and at the limit of inbye were not necessarily so early and NT have suggested that at Hartsop at least they may post-date 1450.

The lack of documentation for most settlements or farm names other than the higher-status sites (see below) is frustrating. Longthwaite, Bennetthead, Thwaite Hill and Dowthwaite Head are place-names that seem to indicate colonies planted at the limit of clearance. Longthwaite seems to appear in a post-mortem document of Henry III so this appears to be 13th century (HMSO, 1904). Sadly we have no date for the others beyond than that they are probably medieval sites where 16th-18th farm buildings have replaced the earlier stock.

There are some few instances which seem to represent colonisation of former seasonally-occupied shieling sites during the 13th-14th century. The fields around the farms at Ravenscar and Swarthbeck do not appear to be strip fields, and the shieling site (LDHER 32771) on the east side of Swarthbeck Gill suggests that this was a later phase of settlement where upland shieling sites became permanently settled as farmsteads; a pattern seen commonly in the central, southern and western lakes. Glenridding and Grisedale (both on Patterdale Common) appear to be colony farms; these may perhaps have occupied former shieling sites. Howtown is an example of a (presumed) early settlement which appears to have no strips, instead having larger fields; perhaps the Howton settlement is 13th-14th century. Bonskill to the north-east of Howton, and Swinscales adjacent to Threlkeld Common probably represents former shieling sites (-scale).

The Hartsop valley has been examined in greater detail by the NT, with field survey supporting the non-existent medieval documentation.

“Around Low Hartsop early intaking concentrated on the low valley sides to the north and south of the village, as well as to the east along the sides of Hayeswater Gill. At High Hartsop intaking was restricted to the land adjacent to the ring-garth by the steep, scree covered fellsides to the east. Some intakes may have been cleared of stone and cultivated, while others were managed as additional cattle pastures.” (National Trust, 2000, p. 5)

“There is no sign of early intaking within the demesne [west of Kirkstone Beck]. The area appears to have witnessed little change until a new hall was established sometime in the fourteenth century” (National Trust, 2000, p. 5)” (National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“It is possible that some intaking had taken place in the Manor of Hartsop during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest intakes are likely to be those positioned alongside the ring-garth wall enclosing areas of better land on the low fellsides. The intakes to the north and south of Caudalebeck Farm are among those that are likely to have early origins (ntsmr 27639, 27640). Other early intakes are likely to have existed around Low Hartsop as the better land on the edge of the valley bottom was targeted for enclosure. It is possible that some of the intakes to the east of Low Hartsop along Hayeswater Gill may have been established before
1400, although it is more likely these intakes are fifteenth and sixteenth century additions to the landscape (ntsrmr 27634, 27635, 26636, 27637).”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“As a result of this [a problematic 14th century] the pattern of enclosure in Hartsop is likely to have remained unchanged until the rural population recovered in the century after 1450. During this time the picture of agriculture in Hartsop is one in which the valley bottom is almost entirely maintained as meadow with subsistence crops of oats and barley growing in the enclosed in-bye fields situated on the dryer and warmer south-facing slopes. Farming at this time was increasingly dominated by sheep rearing to supply the burgeoning wool trade and the right of tenants to graze animals on the common fell is likely to have increased in importance.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“In Hartsop the units of land on the common fell were known as ‘cattlegates’ or ‘fellgates’. A cattlegate or fellgate was a unit of stock; either sheep, cattle, calves or horses, that could be maintained by right on the common fell. Originally cattlegates are likely to have been distributed amongst the tenants in the valley in return for an annual rent paid to the Lord who had been deprived of his forest chase. There are no surviving documentary references to cattlegates before 1581, although it is likely that some system to allocate areas of fell land was in operation before this time (Clark, R. 1989, p12).”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“As the population expanded after 1450 additional farms would have slotted into positions alongside the ring-garth where there was available space. The lack of good land alongside the ring-garth may have encouraged the development of Low Hartsop, rather than High Hartsop, in the period between 1450 and 1600. New intakes are likely to have been established in the period between 1450 and 1600 as farms sought to enclose additional land for private use.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“The pattern of intakes on the fellsides above Low Hartsop and along Hayeswater Gill is likely to be largely a result of intaking during this period. It is noticeable that intakes along the steep valley sides are more numerous on land that is south-facing, than on the north-facing side that receives little sunlight. The majority of intake walls have large orthostats at their base, while the upper courses are built using smaller material that is likely to have been picked from the fields during cultivation.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)

“The poor quality of fellside land to the east of High Hartsop restricted new enclosure to the undulating land alongside the ring-garth. The lack of land suitable for intaking may have restricted the growth of High Hartsop during this period. The intakes on the higher fellside to the east of the present A592 are likely to have seventeenth or eighteenth century origins and are quite different in character to the medieval intakes recorded elsewhere in the survey area.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 15)
16th-17th intakes and reorganisation

A 1574 rental for Hartsop reflects the medieval feudal inheritance, and such Rental Surveys are our principal historical viewpoint for the wide and deep changes that followed in the post-medieval period.

“The tenants of the Lord are likely to have held customary rights over their tenements and land during the medieval period, in common with farming tenants throughout the Lake District. The rights of the customary tenant, including that of right of succession for the next of kin, relied on the good will of the Lord. Customary tenants paid a low rent calculated on the amount of arable, meadow and intake land they possessed together with an additional amount for cattlegates on the open fell, along with an additional fine on the death of the Lord. The earliest surviving rental for the Hartsop tenements is dated 1574 and although in a poor state, suggests that there existed around thirty rent paying tenements (D/Lons/L3).”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 16)

“During this time the picture of agriculture in Hartsop is one in which the valley bottom is almost entirely maintained as meadow with subsistence crops of oats and barley growing in the enclosed intakes situated on the dryer and warmer south-facing slopes. Farming at this time was increasingly dominated by sheep rearing to supply the burgeoning wool trade. The earliest reference to the communal management and ‘stinting’ on the fells appears in 1640, although the system of management is likely to have been long established by this time.”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 5)

Enclosure and intake of what had been common fellsides for pasture, whether to enclose stints associated with specific farms or to extend the holdings of individual farms is a process which is rarely documented, taking place as private agreement between individuals and agreed in manorial courts. Farms grow and are consolidated whilst less-preferred sites were abandoned. The former common fields were enclosed as strips which were themselves progressively consolidated into larger parcels; early onset of this or perhaps relatively rapid change may be why around Dacre there are no strip fields evident. It may be that the extremely rural mountain parishes of Ullswater were relatively slow to consolidate the open-field strips.

From the 16th-18th century, we can only see the feudal system being replaced in the available maps and field evidence, which we only have for Hartsop in the Ullswater Valley area, and thus we only have very broad dates for these. Documentary evidence is either non-existent or unhelpful.

“The first private enclosure of land on the valley bottom took place in the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century. A number of fences are shown in Brother Field to the north of Brothers Water in the survey of the Manor of Hartsop from 1764. Despite this the majority of land on the valley bottom continued to be managed as common. Some fell walls had also been established prior to 1764. The cow pasture known as ‘Hull and Side’ north of Low Hartsop was enclosed so that it could be stinted separately from the surrounding fell. During the eighteenth century more intakes appeared on the higher fellsides, often enclosing quite marginal areas that required extensive improvement.”

(National Trust, 2000, p. 5)
There was some additional enclosure which seems to date to this period (see over) and which is associated with development and consolidation of larger farm units. Enclosure of Matterdale Beck at Matterdale End may be extension of cattle enclosures associated with a single farm. North-west of Aira Beck, along Glenridding, at Boredale Head, and at upper Bannerdale Beck there are piecemeal enclosures taken from the common to supplement the meagre fields below. Very large parcels above Grisedale on Patterdale Common and around Hartsop and Martindale, as well as smaller extensions between Scrog’s Head and Rowhead near Pooley Bridge, appear to divide up common stints of pasture amongst the landowners and tenants without the need to record it for posterity in any other way than in stone.

18th/19th planned enclosures and recent enclosure

The Ullswater Valley area contains large, regular fields resulting from parliamentary enclosure in and around Watermillock and Matterdale. Watermillock, a manor within the Barony of Greycoke, belonged to absentee owners, the Howard family, Dukes of Norfolk. (Whyte, 2009). Watermillock (1829) and Matterdale (1879) had Parliamentary Awards for Enclosure. Other instances of planned enclosure without Parliamentary Awards also occur, principally on Soulby Fell, Hartsop and Martindale, with some minor episodes south-east of Pooley Bridge, and adjacent to Dalemain.

“There has been relatively little landscape change within the survey area during the twentieth century. The pattern of enclosure has changed little in the last hundred years. The only new boundaries to be erected are fences alongside collapsed walls and field drains. The twentieth century has witnessed a continued decline in the number of separate farms within the survey area. With this has come a decline in the rural labour force, with fewer farms meaning more work for those who remain. As a consequence many walls, buildings and other features in the landscape that are no longer in agricultural use have fallen into decay.”
(National Trust, 2000, p. 6)

Farm buildings

The 1669–1672 Hearth Tax Roll (Lay Subsidy 195, n. 73) shows that there were 24 households in Hartsop, 29 in Patterdale. 31 in Sockbridge and 46 in Pooley. No farm or house names are presented (other than ‘The Hall’ in Sockbridge) but it perhaps paints a picture of a community which had not fully agglomerated its farms.

Most of the surviving buildings in the Ullswater Valley area date from the ‘Statesmen’ period of the 17th and 18th centuries. In Martindale, for example, the following properties were described (RCHME 1936) as 17th century: Hebscrag, Wintercrag, Nicklethorn, Henhow, Thrangcrag, Barn, on the E. side of Boredale, Nettleslack and house adjacent, Howsteadbrow, Garth Heads, Cothow Hause Farm, Hallinbank, Highgate, Bridgend, Dawgreen, Mill How, Town Head, Bushby Cottage, Beckside, a cruck-barn adjacent to Howtown, Cote, Bonscale (1698), Dale Head (1666) and the
adjacent house, Boredalehead (originally a house but converted to a barn), Chapel in the Hause. Swarthbeck is 1712.

The house in Martindale adjacent to Cote with a reused cruck, and Bank House (date 1627) with three re-set cruck-trusses show how earlier sites were re-occupied and buildings replaced and reused opportunistically.

The lists reproduced from the RCHME survey in 1936 clearly shows that the surviving buildings date mostly from the 17th century. Some few are earlier (Barton Church Farm for example) and some later. This does not help to establish an enclosure or landscape development sequence as many if not most are likely to have re-occupied sites which were already old in the 17th century, and which may have medieval origins.

Stone built farmhouses of similar date are scattered throughout Ullswater and its side valleys, including Winter Crag, Hen How and Dalehead in Martindale, and the group of farms at the mouth of Deepdale.

Winder Hall, near Barton is a farmhouse dated 1612, but mostly later 17th century. Aira farmhouse, former house and two barns at Dowthwaitehead are probably late 17th century with later additions. Mains farmhouse and barns, near Pooley Bridge includes an early to mid-18th century house with 18th and early 19th century barns and gin gang (wheel-house for horse-powered engine or mill).

Higher status “Statesman” houses include Hartsop Hall, Glencoyne, Patterdale Hall and Watermillock House.

Hartsop Hall, dates from the 16th century and was twice extended before 1800. It was originally owned by the Lancaster family then the Lowthers. It is known for its “priest holes” designed to conceal visiting members of the catholic clergy from detection. The Hall is thought to have been converted to use as a farmhouse in the late 17th century and the associated farm buildings date from the 17th century onwards.

One of the best farmhouse groups in the valley at Glencoyne. Glencoyne dates from the early 17th century and features typical white-washed walls, slate roof with stepped gables and two massive circular chimneys. It has fine internal wooden fittings and a plaster panel dated 1629. (PIC)

Patterdale Hall was built in 1677 by John and Dorothy Mounsey. The Mounseys were known as the kings of Patterdale and the house was known as the Palace. It was much modified in the 18th and 19th centuries (see “Villas and ornamental gardens” below).

How Cottage is a mid-17th century farm on the north side of Hartsop village with many original internal features. It is a virtually unaltered example of the cross-passage and byre plan. Of note is the intact huge fireplace and stone chimney hood, a rarity of its kind. Close by is a 16th or early 17th century corn drying kiln, a small two-storey crow-stepped building built into the hillside with access to both floors. It has been heavily restored and is a good example of what would have been a
common building type that fell out of use across the Lake District in the late-17th century. The upper floor has a floor of on-edge slates over joists to form a grill. It is thought that a horse hair rug was spread on the slates and corn spread on top to a depth of 10cm for drying from a fire below. The Miller was allowed wood from Low Wood, free, to dry the grain.

Half a mile southeast of Hartsop village at the junction of Hayeswater Beck and Pasture Beck are the remains of a small corn mill. The building has a datestone inscribed 1706, although it is not clear whether this is the date of the first construction or a later phase. Two sets of grinding stones were linked to a single pit wheel driven by the waterwheel positioned against the eastern wall. A head race brought water from higher up Hayeswater Gill along an open leat or mill race and to a wooden launder to power the wheel.

Patterdale woollen mill

Other Listed Buildings
HOLLINS FARMHOUSE & ATTACHED BARN DOCKRAY  (farmhouse and barn – court cupboard dated 1736 but house probably earlier)
TOWNHEAD INC TOWNHEAD COTTAGE & BARN ATTACHED WITH GARDEN WALLS & RAILINGS, SANDWICK (2 houses and bank barn – 1720)

Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)

Herdwick farming features strongly in Ullswater and the valley contains some of the most significant Herdwick farms, including Hartsop Hall and Glencoyne. (PIC) Traditionally some of these have had the largest flocks in the area. William Green included a list of the largest Lake District Herdwick flocks in his The Tourist’s New Guide of 1819 and noted that Patterdale Hall had a flock of 1700, Glencoyne had 900, and Hartsop Hall had 800. The farm at Glencoyne is one of the largest current Herdwick farms in the Lake District due in part to its large area of enclosed land as well as open fell.

There are xx fell-going flocks in the Ullswater valley area (listed in the Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 9 are Herdwick flocks (listed in Brown 2009). There are another 4 non fell-going Herdwick flocks. There are 3 National Trust landlord flocks.

There are 6917ha of Registered Common Land in total in the Ullswater valley area, one third of the total area. The Common Land is located on the Helvellyn range north of Dovedale on the west and on the fells north of Hartsop on the east side of the valley. The following registered Commons fall wholly or partly within the Ullswater Valley: Barton Fell (693 ha), Martindale Common (1635ha) and Patterdale Common (388ha) on the east; and Deepdale Common (772ha), Grisedale Forest (912ha), Glenridding Common (1085ha), Watermillock Common (376ha) and Matterdale Common (1056ha) on the west.

Small additional areas are: Binks Moss, Mill Moor and parts of Lake Ullswater and its foreshore.
Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture

The Dockray and Matterdale Shepherds’ meet is held alternately at Dockray and Threlkeld Cricket Club on the first Thursday after the 22 November, every year.

Patterdale Dog Day is one of the longest running traditional Lakeland shows. It is held at the end of August every year, in the King George V playing field, said to have been described by Wordsworth as “the prettiest field in England”. The show includes the Matterdale and St John’s Sheep Show which has classes for Herdwick and Swaledale Sheep.

The Show started in 1901 when three local men, Joe Bowman, Joe Wilkinson and J.R.R. Allen decided to organise Sheep Dog Trials at Patterdale initially called ‘Ullswater Sheep Dog Trials’ and later, ‘Patterdale Dog Day’. In those early days, late August would see a large number of horses and traps carrying farmers’ families, shepherds and dogs, coming over Kirkstone Pass, heading for Patterdale. They would often stop at the Inn on the top to let the horses get their wind and of course for refreshment for themselves. The takings on the very first day amounted to nineteen pounds three shillings and sixpence (£19 3s 6d or £19.62) and the committee was so delighted that it bought a bottle of whisky costing three shillings and sixpence (62p) to celebrate.

The oldest programme the current committee have found dates back to 1938 and was priced at sixpence (2½p). In it Ullswater is described as ‘the English Lucerne’ after its similarity to the lake in Switzerland. The show has stayed faithful to the original format and content and, having resisted commercialisation, is proud of our claim to be a genuinely traditional Lakeland event. As well as the sheep classes the show includes sheep dog trials, a terrier show, a gundog show, a children's pets class, a show of traditional sticks and crooks, the Ullswater Foxhound show, a fell race, a children’s fell race, hound trails, and a craft tent.

Reference: [www.patterdaledogday.co.uk](http://www.patterdaledogday.co.uk) accessed 09/02/2015

Industry

Industrial production in the Ullswater valley in the past included both small scale activities and major extractive industries.

Many of the native woods in the valley were used for charcoal production and examples of charcoal pitsteads can be seen in Dovedale and Glenamara Park. As was typical for the Lake District valleys, the becks were used to power a variety of mills and the remains of a corn mill survive adjacent to Hartsop. A rather better preserved example of a corn-drying kiln also survives in the hamlet (both described in “Farm Buildings” above). (PIC)

Bobbin mill at Howtown.
The principal industries in the Ullswater valley were lead mining and slate quarrying, and some of the archaeological remains of these are of national significance. Lead mining in the valley probably dates from the medieval period, but the earliest dated feature is a lead smelting site at Hoggett Gill of the late 17th century. (PIC) Large scale lead mining began in the late 18th century and reached peaks of production in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Important remains survive at Hartsop Hall mine and Myers Head, the latter being a well-preserved example of a late 19th century mine (it was rapidly abandoned due to flooding). (PIC) However the largest lead mine in the Lake District (?) was at Greenside, west of Glenridding, which operated from the 1820s until 1961. (PIC) The impressive remains of adits, wheelpits, processing floors and spoil tips at Greenside provide testimony to a long period of sustained and innovative lead extraction. The impact of the mine on the valley was significant. The population of Patterdale Parish increased from 261 in 1801 to 686 in 1851. Between the mid 1870's and the end of the 19th century the dam network was expanded and the water was used to generate electricity for powering winding gear, fans, pumps, lights and eventually electric locos. Greenside was the first metal mine in the UK to adopt electricity for traming and winding and it adopted the best technology of the time for smelting and silver refining.. In the 111 years between 1825 and 1935 the Greenside Company produced over 106,000 tons of lead and the Basinghall Mining Syndicate produced 50,000 tons from 1936 to 1961.

The earliest documented slate working at Caudale moor appears in a series of leases between James Lowther and other parties in the mid-18th century. The leases state that all existing levels should be kept in good order indicating that underground workings had already been established. The slate at that time was taken to a jetty at the head of Ullswater for transportation northwards. Slate mining continued throughout the 19th century and into the 1930s. The mines remained unworked during the Second World War years before they were finally abandoned and all the equipment stripped and sold off in 1945.

In the late 19th and 20th centuries, the Ullswater valley was incorporated into the water supply industry network. The battles over abstraction from Ullswater are described in “Developing a model for cultural landscape protection”, below.

Hayeswater reservoir was a natural tarn but was dammed in 1908 to provide a reservoir serving the Cumbrian town of Penrith. It ceased being used for drinking water in 2005 and has now been de-commissioned, the dam removed and is being returned to a mountain tarn, once again.

Reference: [www.mineexplorer.org.uk/greenside.htm](http://www.mineexplorer.org.uk/greenside.htm) accessed 11/02/2015

Settlements

The principal settlements in the Ullswater valley are the villages of Patterdale, at the head of the lake, Glenridding, and Pooley Bridge at the northern end, none of which are particularly large.

The diaconate of Westmarieland seems to have been annexed to the diocese of York, under the charge of the archdeacon of Richmond, by William Rufus after his
conquest of the area in AD 1092 (Curwen, 1932). This annexation was confirmed by Henry I between AD 1109 and AD 1114 (Curwen, 1932). Barton (St Michael’s) was granted to Wartre Priory, in Yorkshire; itself founded AD 1132 this may provide a terminus ante quem. The principal medieval church in the Ullswater valley area was at St Michael's, Barton, north-east of Pooley Bridge: the central tower and nave were built in the 12th century and during the 13th-early 14th century the church was extended and parts were re-built. Its circular churchyard may indicate that this is a much earlier ecclesiastical site, and the adjacent site of Kirk Barrow/Church Barrow suggests that the church shares its prominent location with an earlier ritual site.

The Parish Church of St. Patrick, in Patterdale near the head of Ullswater, was formerly a chapel of Barton. Entirely re-built in 1853 to a design by the architect Anthony Salvin it retains an early 15th century bell and a font which contains 13th and 14th century fabric, alongside later elements (RCHME (Royal Commission for the Historical Monuments of England), 1936, pp. 191-195). This site is not documented until 1348 (Curwen, 1932).

The Old Parish Church of St. Martin was formerly a chapel of Barton, rebuilt in 1633 (RCHME (Royal Commission for the Historical Monuments of England), 1936). This chapel is mentioned twice during the 13th century in land grant documents - a charter dated between 1220 and 1247, and another charter, dated 1266, settling a dispute between Roger de Lancaster and Henry de Tirril about rights of common a boundary line is defined as following" a stream to the chapel of St. Martin." (Curwen, 1932).

In Patterdale, the present building of St Patrick’s Church, by Anthony Salvin for William Marshall, was consecrated in 1853 and extended in 1995 by BDP Preston (Ed Hill, with Paul Grout). The font dates from around the year 1200. For many centuries it was a chapelry of the huge Parish of St Michael’s, Barton.

Glenridding and Patterdale were both small farming settlements that were developed in the 19th century largely due to the boom associated with Greenside mine. Between the mine and Glenridding are rows of typical miners cottages, still in residential use.

Pooley Bridge was awarded a market charter in 1216. This was part close to the centre of the huge Parish of Barton that included the whole of the Ullswater valley. By the mid-19th century the only a sheep and cattle fair remained, held on the third Monday of September. The market function is evident in the clustered settlement where the main road widens into the space of the former market place. Pooley Bridge probably suffered due to its proximity to Penrith.

**POOLEY BRIDGE (THAT PART IN CP OF BARTON), B5320**
**POOLEY BRIDGE, POOLEY BRIDGE**

In addition there a number of small hamlets located at key positions around the lake, including Sandwick and Howtown on the eastern shore, Dockray and Watermillock on the northern side and Hartsop at the southern end of the valley. (PIC)
The principal medieval church for the area was at Barton, to the northeast of Pooley Bridge, and small chapels at Patterdale and Martindale (dating from the 17th century) served the further reaches of the large parish. The parish Church of St Michael, Barton, has a fine central tower of the early Norman period. The church stands on raised ground in a round churchyard. Glebe farmhouse, Barton is a 1637 house built for Rev L Dawes as a rectory. Barton Church farmhouse is late 16th and early 17th century. Kirkbarrow, Barton is a late 16th or early 17th century house. Barton Hall is dated 1710 and 1863.

At Dacre, the Parish church of St Andrew is 12th century with 13th century additions and restorations of 1810 and 1875. The four corners of the original churchyard are guarded by the four carved stone “Dacre bears”.

LIMEKILN APPROX 60M EAST OF WINDER HALL COTTAGE WINDER, CP OF BARTON
FORMER BREWHOUSE ADJOINING TO REAR OF DALEMAIN
GARDEN WALL ADJ TO REAR OF DALEMAIN, DALEMAIN
STABLES & BARN NE OF DALEMAIN, DALEMAIN
BIRKET MONUMENT APPROX 2M TO SOUTH OF ST MARTIN’S CHURCH, CP OF MARTINDALE

The valley is rich in examples of early vernacular architecture, with a particular concentration of these in the hamlet of Hartsop. Wordsworth described Hartsop as “remarkable for its cottage architecture”, however Celia Fiennes, traveling through the valley in 1698 describes coming to "villages of sad little huts made up of drye walls, only stones piled together and the roofs of same slatt;" Hartsop is a fine collection of farmsteads constructed from local slate are positioned along the western end of an ancient route from the Kirkstone-Patterdale road up on to High Street. (PIC) The hamlet developed as “Low Hartsop” in the medieval period, with the principal period of settlement growth dating from the late 16th and 17th centuries. Most of the buildings date from the ‘Statesmen’ period of the 17th and 18th centuries and are classic examples of Lake District vernacular. The village had a mixed economy of mining, quarrying and farming. The buildings are typically constructed from massive stone and slate rubble walls, often white-washed, and roofed in slate with squat chimneys. At least four originally had spinning galleries, of which two survive today, at Thorn House and Mireside. (PIC) There is some doubt that these galleries were ever used for spinning – it seems more likely that they were used for drying flax or hemp; or areas to prepare yarn for the loom; or simply to give covered access to grain stores. With the exception of a few houses which were added during the 20th century and which are clearly in the style of the period (Cherry Garth, Holt House and Townhead), the settlement still survives to look much as it was when developed during the 17th century, this despite the fact that there are 7 fairly recently built houses which are difficult to distinguish from the original ones. Otherwise the street pattern and buildings are as shown on the First Edition of the Ordnance Map of 1863. The village lacks any of the large Victorian villas, a reflection of its remote and harsh location.

PASTURE BECK BRIDGE LOW HARTSOP
BECK SIDE, LOW HARTSOP, PATTERDALE
DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

Ullswater was one of the most highly regarded Lake District valleys by lovers of picturesque scenery as its winding course gives rise to a theatrical succession of views. In addition it was easily accessible to the vast majority of visitors due to its close proximity to Penrith, yet its upper reach penetrated deep into some of the most formidable mountain scenery that the Lake District affords. From an early date, therefore, it formed an essential ingredient of a Lake District tour.

Visitors from mid-18th century – tradition of firing cannon on the lake to listen the echoes.

Early commentators regretted the poor accommodation encountered by travellers to Ullswater. Clarke’s Survey of the Lakes (1787) notes that the Sun Inn had boats for hire, but lacked a dining room fit for gentlefolk, while the little inn at Patterdale was simpler still. The accessibility of Ullswater to outsiders improved with the opening of a station at Penrith on the Lancaster to Carlisle railway in 1846, and the opening of the Kendal & Windermere Railway in 1847. Ullswater, in contrast to the other major lakes (Windermere, Derwent Water, Bassenthwaite Lake, Coniston Water), never acquired a direct rail link but coaches, often operated by hotel proprietors, offered regular services to and from the stations, and from the mid-19th century they were augmented by lake steamers, two of which, now restored, still operate on the lake between Pooley Bridge and Glenridding. The M.Y. Lady of the Lake was built in 1877 and is believed to be the oldest working passenger vessel in the world. Substantial hotels were built at Patterdale and Glenridding, both of which acquired an increasingly resort-like character despite continuing mining activity above Glenridding.

Picturesque buildings and landscape

Before the vogue for Lake District tourism arose in the second half of the 18th century, Ullswater was little frequented by outsiders. Gentry houses of long standing stood within a few miles of the lower lake at Dalemain, Dacre and Hutton John, but only Watermillock House, the seat of the Robinson family, enjoyed lake views and even here (according to Dorothy Wordsworth) only from the first-floor rooms. Dating from 1686, it is a good example of high quality architecture of the late 17th century with late 18th century addition.

Ullswater was not the subject of any formal stations in West’s Guide to the Lakes although he did recommend visiting it via a couple of different routes in order to see ‘The bold winding hills, the intersecting mountains, the pyramidal cliffs, the bulging, broken, rugged rocks, the hanging woods, and the tumbling, roaring cataracts, are
parts of the sublimer scenes presented in this surprising vale’. These dramatic views contrasted with the more cultivated areas ‘intersected by hedges, decorated with trees’. Finding the correct viewpoints was difficult for West. Too high and the lake’s lost its ‘dignity’; too low and the winding path of the lake could not be appreciated. Thomas Gray had already visited in 1769 (description?) but West felt that he had missed some of the lakes most picturesque places by not travelling to the south end of the lake which had more curved bays and rocky islands. At the north end, West recommended Dunmallard, an ancient monument, as a good viewing point. (PIC) He then recommended the middle reach of the western shore and Gowbarrow Park which he considered to be the finest part of the lake. Patterdale Hall formed his next recommendation, then Watermillock for the echo of firing canon. Early tourists were also directed to the ancient deer park at Gowbarrow, which extended along nearly half of the north-western lake shore and included the celebrated waterfall of Aira Force. (PIC) Among the houses that attracted attention were the magnificently isolated farmhouses at Glencoyne, and Patterdale Hall, home of the Mounsey family, so-called ‘Kings of Patterdale’.

Ullswater was enjoyed by visitors seeking picturesque scenery for some decade before the first villas were built along its shores. Peter Crosthwaite’s map of the lake, first published in 1783, shows Lyulph’s Tower, the Gothic hunting lodge of the Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk) in Gowbarrow Park, as well as boat houses belonging to the Robinsons of Watermillock, the Hasells of Dalemain, the Earls of Surrey and the Dukes of Portland. (PIC) Although Lyulph’s Tower perpetuated an age-old aristocratic use of the Lake District for hunting grounds (as did some of the boathouses, which were there to assist in conveying hunting parties), its form reflected the new taste for the picturesque: the elevated site and faceted front elevation were calculated to make the most of views up, down and across Ullswater, and the delights of Aira Force were only a stone’s throw away.

Villas and ornamental landscaping

Features which fall into this category in the Ullswater Valley area include those with heritage as aristocratic or gentry seats: East and West Parks at Dalemain; Lyulph Tower adjacent to Aira Force within Gowbarrow Deer Park; Winder Hall; Dacre Lodge Park; and Hutton John. Other than Gowbarrow Hall, only Watermillock House, the seat of the Robinson family, enjoyed lake views and even here (according to Dorothy Wordsworth) only from the first-floor rooms. There are also an additional category of properties which take advantage of the lake for picturesque mountain views and for recreation as a boating lake. Conventional villas begun to be constructed during the 1790s: Eusemere Hall is post-1795, but replaced an earlier site which appears on the 1783 map; Glenridding was built between 1798 and 1817. Some of the earliest villas developed from modest ‘cottages’ such as Goldrill Cottage and Gillside Cottage. Designed landscapes in the HLC occur around Gowbarrow Hall and Gowbarrow Bay, Waterfoot Hotel, Rampsbeck and the shoreline east of Horrock Wood Farm on the north shore; Ravensghyll, Sharrow Lodge and Gale Bay on the south shoreline.

Boathouses had appeared on the lake at Horrock Wood Farm and Pooley Bridge on the 1783 Crosthwaite Map; now there are at least 16.
More conventional villas followed Lyulph’s Tower in the 1790s. Among the earliest is Eusemere Hall, (PIC) built by the anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) on an estate acquired in 1795. Situated close to the lake foot, its elongated main front looks directly up the lake towards the distant mountains. At the opposite end of the lake Glenridding House, which stands almost directly on the lake shore with a long vista down the lake, was built by the Revd Askew, Rector of Greystoke, sometime between 1798 and 1817, and is associated with an attractive lakeside walk. Some of the earliest villas overlooking the upper lake were much more modest ‘cottages’ such as Goldrill Cottage and Gillside Cottage, both in Patterdale and both occupied, in the first decade of the 19th century, by friends of the Wordsworths. Dorothy Wordsworth’s Journals and the letters of the Wordsworth circle describe numerous visits to them.

In the summer of 1810 John Marshall, flax-spinner of Leeds, and his wife Jane rented Watermillock House, formerly the seat of the Robinsons, for the first of a number of summer visits. Charmed by the area, and the proximity to their friends the Wordsworths, in 1815 they built Hallsteads as a summer residence, capitalising on a point of land (Skelly Nab) benefiting from views along two of Ullswater’s three reaches. The Wordsworths were frequent visitors and a nearby house known as Old Church was also acquired to accommodate the overflow when guests were numerous.

As the century advanced the Marshall family acquired a huge presence in the Lake District landscape, with all of John Marshall’s surviving sons being settled in properties of their own. The eldest, William, purchased Patterdale Hall from the Mounseys in 1824, and in 1836 financed the building of the local school. On John Marshall’s death in 1845 his youngest son Arthur inherited Hallsteads while William embarked on a lavish rebuilding of Patterdale Hall to Italianate designs by Anthony Salvin. The retention of the Mounsey house within the new building may owe something to Salvin’s typically respectful treatment of earlier fabric, but it may also be connected with Wordsworth’s urgings: a number of other houses with which Wordsworth was associated about this date retain a vernacular core. Salvin nevertheless transformed Patterdale Hall into a palazzo befitting one of the great industrialists of the age, set in extensive gardens designed by William Andrews Nesfield and commanding the head of the lake. Although Patterdale Hall remained unsurpassed by other villa builders on Ullswater its star faded within a generation: by the 1870s the Leeds flax-spinning business was in difficulties and the family’s ambitions were increasingly circumscribed. (PIC)

Another fine house of the early 19th century, now the Outward Bound School at Watermillock, was built as a gentleman’s residence around 1815.

Leeming House is an early to mid-19th century villa with iron veranda and clock tower with bell.

Formal gardens  
1 Registered Park and Garden – Dalemain Grade II*  
Lyulph’s Tower/Aira Force arboretum
Patterdale Hall – gardens by William Andrews Nesfield for William Marshall

Picturesque treepainting
Aira Force Arboretum – planted by the Howard family (Lyulph’s Tower) in 1846;
The Marshall family of Patterdale Hall and their pioneering approach to Picturesque
tree planting. (I Brodie) – check

Patterdale Hall: The Marshalls terraced and landscaped the grounds, laying out
formal gardens and planting many exotic and newly discovered trees. Walks were
also laid out in the woodlands, including a wilderness walk. The occasional shrub
which remains is now overgrown with Portugal laurel, rhododendron, sycamore, oak
and Birch.
http://patterdalehall.org.uk/about-us/history/ accessed 13/02/2015

Hallsteads (Outward Bound) designed landscape

Romantic sites, buildings and associations

Ullswater is rich in Wordworthian associations. Most famously, Glencoyne Wood at
the southern end of the lake was the place where, in 15 April 1802, William and
Dorothy Wordsworth saw daffodils by the lakeshore. The encounter is described in
detail in a celebrated entry in Dorothy’s Grasmere Journal,

“I never saw daffodils so beautiful they grew among the mossy stones about &
about them, some rested their heads upon these stones as on a pillow for weariness
& the rest tossed & reeled & danced & seemed as if they verily laughed with the
wind that blew upon them over the lake, they looked so gay ever glancing ever
changing.”

This later inspired Wordsworth’s most famous poem. ‘I Wandered Lonely as a
Cloud’.

“Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretched in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.”

William and Dorothy made regular excursions to Ullswater to visit their friends the
Clarksons at Eusemere Hall, the Marshalls at Hallsteads and the Luffs at Side in
Patterdale.

In 1806 Wordsworth himself purchased a nearby plot of land at the southern end of
the lake with the intention of building a house, but the project was abandoned and it
was a subsequent owner who erected the present Broad How in the 1830s, shortly
after Wordsworth relinquished the land.
Ullswater is also the setting for one of the most celebrated passages in Wordsworth’s great autobiographical poem **The Prelude**. In Book I, he describes how, as a schoolboy, he stole a boat - “an act of stealth / And troubled pleasure” and rowed it out onto the lake. Although the location of the boat – a willow tree “Within a rocky cave” – no longer exists, it is suggested that Glenridding Dodd is the “huge Cliff”, which, “As if with voluntary power instinc / Upreared its head”, to seemingly admonish the young poet and trouble his dreams.

Coleridge first encountered Ullswater on a walking tour with Wordsworth in November 1799. In his **Notebook** he recorded his impressions:

“I have come suddenly upon Ullswater, running straight on the opposite Bank, till the Placefell, that noble Promontory runs into it, & gives it the winding of a majestic River, a little below Placefell a large Slice of calm silver.”

Later, in **A Guide Through the District of the Lakes**, Wordsworth recalled, from that same visit, witnessing a natural phenomenon, “deep within the bosom of the lake, a magnificent Castle, with towers and battlements”. This turns out to be a reflection of Lyulph’s Tower, which, at that moment was “altogether hidden from my view by a body of vapour stretching over it.”

Lyulph’s Tower, and Aira Force, on the western side of the lake, are celebrated in Wordsworth’s poem ‘**The Somnambulist**’. Aira Force (or more specifically the valley in which it lies) is also the subject of a delightful, late-published poem by Wordsworth, rejoicing in the tranquillity of the valley, where an ash tree makes “A soft eye-music of slow-waving boughs”. Coleridge, however, has mixed views of this celebrated waterfall, describing the chasm in his **Notebook** as “very fine”, but the waterfall as looking like “a long-waisted Lady-Giantess slipping down on her Back”.

At Grisedale Tarn, there is the Brothers’ Parting Stone, which marks the place where, in September 1800, Wordsworth (accompanied by his sister) bid farewell to his brother John. In her **Grasmere Journal**, Dorothy wrote poignantly: “poor fellow my heart was right sad – I could not help thinking we should see him again because he was only going to Penrith”. Sadly, it was indeed the last time that they saw each other, as John drowned of the Dorset coast in 1805. Following his death, Wordsworth wrote ‘**Elegiac Verses in Memory of my Brother, John Wordsworth**’, which recalled that 1800 leave-taking.

In August 1805, Wordsworth climbed Helvellyn in the company of Sir Walter Scott and Humphry Davy, and told them the story of a local artist, Charles Gough, who fell to his death from Swirral Edge in the spring of that year. His faithful dog, Foxie, remained watching over its master’s body for three months until it was discovered by a shepherd near Red Tarn. Both Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott later wrote poems about the incident, extracts from which appear on a memorial erected near the summit by Canon Rawnsley in 1890.

Wordsworth’s description in “Musings Near Aquapedante”, one of the **Memorials of a Tour of Italy, 1837**, gives a visionary sketch of the view East from Helvellyn’s summit.

“hills multitudinous, 
(Not Appenine can boast of fairer) hills
Pride of two nations, wood and lake and plains,
And prospect right below of deep coves shaped
By skeleton arms, that, from the mountain’s trunk
Extended, clasp the winds, with mutual moan
Struggling for liberty, while undismayed
The Shepherd struggles with them. Onward hence
And downward by the skirt of Greenside fell,
And by Glenridding-screes, and low Glencoign,
Places forsaken now, though loving still
The Muses, as they loved them in the days
Of the old minstrels and the border bards.”

In his Guide, Wordsworth describes in detail a walk through nearby Martindale in 1805 with Dorothy and his friend Charles Luff. This secluded valley remains little changed from Wordsworth’s day, and buildings, including the church and Dale End farm, still exist.

Kidsty Pike – WW “The Brothers”
Barton Fell – WW “Resolution and Independence”

Ullswater is the subject of paintings by JMW Turner (acquired by WT) and Joseph Wright of Derby

Ullswater’s accessibility, range of outdoor experience and wealth of buildings has led to it having many outdoor education and recreation centres. There are two hostels in the Youth Hostel Associations network: its Helvellyn hostel at Greenside and its Patterdale hostel. The Outward Bound Trust has its Ullswater Centre at Hallsteads, the Georgian Villa, built by John Marshall.

Patterdale Hall is the residential and adventure learning centre owned and managed by Bolton School. The Hall was acquired, in 1950, by Rowland Lishman, a Tyneside businessman and long serving member of the North Shields YMCA (Young Mens Christian Association). He placed the whole estate in trust of the then Tynemouth YMCA. His aim was to provide holiday accommodation at a reasonable price, with the emphasis on young people from towns and cities, to enable them to experience the unique qualities of the Lake District. In 1988 the management of the trust transferred to the North Shields YMCA, with whom it rests today.

http://patterdalehall.org.uk/about-us/history/ accessed 13/02/2015
DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Unlike some of the other major valleys in the Lake District, early tourist interest in Ullswater did not lead to the threat (as then perceived) of a railway link into the valley. However the vast potential of Ullswater to supply water for the needs of the growing cities of northwest England in the 19th century did attract attention. In the second half of the 19th century the City of Manchester began to assess the potential of the various lakes for supplying the needs of its growing population and expanding industries and Ullswater was initially considered as the principal supply. Ullswater was eventually discounted in favour of Thirlmere and the threat receded.

Other environmental successes achieved during the early 20th century, led principally by the Friends of the Lake District, were the undergrounding of the electricity line along the southern and eastern shoreline of Ullswater between Sandwick Bay and Glenridding. This was carried out by the Westmorland and District Electricity Company following negotiations. The Friends also took a lead from 1938 in the attempt to resolve the problem of the pollution of Ullswater by the effluent from Greenside lead mine. In 1942 The Friends instigated legal action and pollution had been substantially reduced by 1944. However the increasing need for water abstraction throughout the 20th century led to renewed pressure on Ullswater. In the 1960s Manchester revived its ambition to abstract water from the lake but now the environmental movement in the Lake District was organised and able to act. The Friends of the Lake District was prominent in a vocal campaign against the proposals, including petitions and important interventions in the national press. Opposition to Manchester’s Private Bill in the House of Lords was headed by Lord Birkett of Ulverston who pleaded that Ullswater should not suffer the same fate as Thirlmere and Haweswater. As a result the House of Lords rejected various key clauses in the Bill in 1962. Lord Birkett died soon afterwards, but in gratitude for his efforts, a fell was named after him. This is on the western side of the lake above Glencoyne Head. There is also a plaque to his memory on Kailpot Crag, but this is only visible from a boat. Lord Birkett is also honoured by the Lord Birkett Regatta, a sailing event on Lake Ullswater in memory of Lord Birkett. William Norman Birkett, 1st Baron Birkett of Ulverston, was born in Ulverston Cumbria in 1883. He was a devoted Cumbrian - the “Lakes Great Advocate” as some have called him. He was educated at Barrow Grammar School and after a distinguished career at the bar (including at the Nuremberg Trials) and in politics he was elevated to the house of Lords in 1958. It was in this role that he helped save Ullswater for future generations.

In 1965 Manchester returned to the issue and sought a Statutory Order to permit water abstraction at Gale Bay. The proposals were put to a Public Enquiry in Kendal at which a large number of amenity bodies with a concern for the protection of the Lake District landscape gave evidence, including the National Trust and the Council for the Protection of Rural England. This time consent for water abstraction was given, although the strong opposition managed to modify substantially the proposal in order to prevent construction of a tunnel through Longsleddale and to ensure that the lake would not be drawn down below its natural level. Although water is now abstracted from Ullswater, it is affected in a manner that does not damage the visual amenity of the lake and its surrounding cultural landscape. (PIC)
The significance of the Ullswater valley was recognised by the National Trust very soon after its establishment with one of its early and key Lake District acquisitions in 1906 being the purchase of 750 acres (300ha) of Gowbarrow Park, following a public appeal, to safeguard it from proposed housebuilding. This property included the scene of daffodils recorded by Dorothy Wordsworth and later by William in his famous poem and also included the picturesque waterfall of Aira Force. The appeal leaflet made the suggestion “Why not nationalise the English Lake District?” (PIC? of leaflet). The later planting of conifers to the east of Gowbarrow Fell by the Forestry Commission was regarded as an unacceptable infringement of the 1936 Agreement.

Stybarrow Crag bought in 1913.

The National Trust also acquired a number of farms around Ullswater, including Hartsop Hall, which was the first to be acquired by the Trust from the state under National Land Fund procedures, in 1947 (in lieu of death duties?). The major property of Glencoyne was given to the National Trust by the Scott family in 1948. Howe Green farm, Hartsop, was bought by Lake District Farm Estates in 1956 and came to the Trust when Lake Farm Estates Ltd was wound up in 1977. Caudale Farm purchased by NT in 1965 and amalgamated with Hartsop Hall Farm. Beckstones Farm purchased by NT in 1986; Grove Farm purchased in 1992 and amalgamated with Howe Green farm in 2000.

LDNPA ownership of Glenridding Common and Ullswater lake bed

Glenridding Common was acquired by the Lake District Special Planning Board in April 1977 with the object of preserving nature conservation interests and providing Access land.

De-commissioning of Hayeswater reservoir.
HAWESWATER

Description
The Haweswater Valley

“…and not far beyond to the south-east…lie the vale and lake of Haweswater…”
W. Wordsworth, Guide to the Lakes.

INTRODUCTION

‘In truth, it is all very primitive and rough….The church is picturesque enough, with its tilt weathercock now so seldom seen, but it is by no means a rustic cathedral; the royal hotel – and the only one – is a wretched wayside public-house, where you can get eggs and bacon and nothing else – except the company of a tipsy parson lying in bed with his gin-bottle by his side.’
Keswick born Victorian novelist Eliza Lynn Linton describing the village of Mardale Green, in 1864, before the dam and flooding.

Following Thirlmere, Haweswater was the second major impoundment of water to flood a Lake District valley and the farming communities within it and raised similar objections. The resulting reservoir is the easternmost of all the lakes, a 7.5km long, curving body of water running south-west to north-east that contains the flooded villages of Mardale Green and Measand. The lake is a relatively constant width along the majority of its length and occupies the entire valley floor resulting in the steep valley sides and numerous becks plunging almost directly into the water, particularly on the south side. There are no farms or in-byre grazing for the entire length of the reservoir which lends a sense of remoteness and wildness to the valley.

The head of the valley is dramatically enclosed by Branstree, Harter Fell, Mardale Ill Bell, High Street and Kidsty Pike with glacial corries containing the tarns of Blea Water (the deepest mountain tarn in the Lake District at 63m) and Small Water. These steep and rocky north-east facing crags receive little sun and can present a forbidding aspect. The expanse of deep, dark water, high enclosing fells, steep valley sides and a noticeable lack of pasture or settlement to add a humanising influence in the valley, combined with the knowledge of the two lost villages, present an eerie sense of mystery. This is added to when ruined buildings are occasionally
revealed in a particularly dry summer with low water levels. Naddle Forest on the south-east side of the reservoir forms an extensive tract of ancient semi-natural woodland with some small areas of conifer plantation around the west and south of the reservoir.

A number of historic routes lead out of the southern end of Haweswater, crossing the high mountain ridge at Gatesgarth Pass into Longsleddale and at Nan Bield Pass into Kentmere. A further route, the old corpse road, leads eastwards from Haweswater to Swindale.

The small side valley of Riggindale, at the southern end of Haweswater, is currently the only location in England where Golden Eagles nest, attesting to its wild and remote character.

Prior to the construction of the Haweswater dam, the settlement and walled fields in the Mardale valley formed a small but extremely picturesque example of a typical Lake District valley landscape. The natural lake of Hawes Water was 4 km in length and almost divided into two parts by a delta which had been formed by outwash from the Measand Beck. The two reaches of the lake were known as High Water and Low Water. However in 1919 the City of Manchester purchased the watersheds of Mardale, Swindale and Wet Sleddale for the purpose of water abstraction.

The dam was completed by Manchester Corporation and the valley flooded in 1935 raising the water level by 29 metres. Before this the natural lake of Hawes Water was the highest natural lakes in the Lake District at 211m. The Corporation also built the single road into the valley, on the south side of the lake, to compensate for the loss of the original road under the reservoir waters and the Haweswater Hotel to replace the centuries old Dun Bull Inn at Mardale Green. The dam, at the time a technically innovative and still impressive structure is surprisingly well screened from most viewpoints by woodland as is the village of Burnbank, built to house workers on the project. Originally 66 bungalows, built as a ‘model village’ and no doubt providing accommodation far superior to that which the imported ‘navvies’ were used to, it has now been redeveloped to modern standards.

The adjacent valleys of Swindale and Wet Sleddale to the south have also had their character modified by the need to supply water to Manchester. Amongst the bleak, open and remote moorland known as the Shap Fells these valleys have a remote feel and are sparsely settled with little of the bright green improved pasture to be found in other Lake District valleys. They contain characteristic concrete structures associated with the development of the water supply industry including roads, bridges and dams, in the case of Wet Sleddale a substantial dam impounding a reservoir completed as late as 1966.

These valleys run out into the broad, gentle, limestone Lowther Valley with the rugged outcrops of Knipe Scar and Burtree Scar contrasting with the smooth, green pasture and striking pattern of enclosure of irregularly shaped fields bounded by limestone walls. The extensive designed parkland of the Lowther Estate and the ruined Lowther Castle are notable landscape features and the distinct settlements
along the valley including Rosgilll, Bampton Grange, Bampton, Helton and Askham are fine examples of historic farming settlements. There are large blocks of mixed and conifer forestry amongst the farmland on the limestone to the east of the Lowther valley.

Notable omissions:
Walkers’ car park at western end of the lake
Haweswater hotel
Shap Abbey

Geology of area
- mostly Borrowdale Volcanic Series but with Carboniferous limestone on eastern side, area of granite in south east
- c/f the various quarries – Granite at Shap Pink, limestone elsewhere (mostly outside valley)
- Sharp differences between areas of limestone walling and volcanic stone; also distinctive Lowther estate walling around Askham/Helton – limestone with sandstone throughs;

Key views:
- Knipe Scar NY527192
- Swindale from above Tailbert Head NY529140
- Hugh Laithes Pike looking west along Haweswater NY504153
- Corpse Road/ Peat Huts NY483119
- Rough Crag ridge NY467113
- Harter Fell NY464097

plus
- Four Stones Hill looking west along Haweswater NY491162
- Lowther valley south eastwards from summer house in Lowther Park NY524229
- View of Wet Sleddale and Shap Fells from A6 NY561120
Topographic Map of Haweswater
CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement

The landscape of Haweswater has been changed massively by human intervention, with the flooding of the former Mardale valley by the construction of a dam in 1935. The remains of early human activity are evident in and around the valley, including Bronze Age standing stones (PIC), hill-top prehistoric burial cairns, a small hillfort with a massive stone bank at Castle Crag (PIC) and the route of the Roman Road on High Street to the west. The foundations of medieval shielings have been recorded at Whelter Beck together with the remains of a more extensive medieval settlement at Burn Banks. In the area to the east of Haweswater, in the Lowther valley, are found the ruins of Shap Abbey, a monastery of the Premonstratensian order founded in 1190, with its substantial tower and other remains. The monks bred sheep on the surrounding fells and the high quality of wool from Shap is recorded in an Italian wool buyer’s list of 1315.

Early History

There are no useful documents which set out the 11th or early 12th century landscape history for the Haweswater Valley area. Much of the area – especially the lower-lying and wider valleys – was probably settled in some fashion prior to the Norman Conquest. We have evidence for large-scale clearance around Littlewater, with the introduction of hemp and flax, in late 6th/early 7th century AD; both crops are documented throughout the medieval period in tithe payments. There are possible early settlements at Castle Crag overlooking Mardale; an Earthwork (called Fort on O.S.), 220 yards N.E. of Measand Bridge; a hut circle settlement at Bampton Towtop Kirk.; Earthworks in & near Scarside Plantation 1,650 yards N.E. of the church, forms a roughly oval enclosure (about ½ acre), with a surrounding rampart. Carhullen has likely Early Medieval heritage, and there are Early Medieval sculptural stones at Lowther Church. If Carhullen does indeed refer to a caer then this is the ‘only example in the Cumbrian region where a caer was eventually taken into English hands’ (1997, p. 22). The nearby ‘early Christian enclosure’ at Towtop Kirk is probably very significant.

Shap Abbey

Shap Abbey was founded about 1191 originally at Preston Patrick, moving to Shap in c1201. The abbey was granted land immediately around the abbey, and also towards Swindale and Shap village. Pasture at Rayside, Tailbert, Swindale and ‘Binbarh’ (unknown) and beyond Thiefstead; this pasture was specifically the upkeep of 60 cows, 20 mares and 500 sheep, 5 yoke of oxen and wood for fuel and other necessities. Further grants were made at the end of the 12th century, and the 13th and 14th centuries also – more land in Tailbert and Shap came from the Curwens; the

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44 SAM 22544; NHLE 1011591
Viteripont family gave land (in the Haweswater Valley area this was 9 acres in Shap and the vill of Reagill); and the Cliffords.

The account given by the Bishop of Carlisle soon after the Scots raids of 1322 relates that one of the two armies 'burnt nearly all the churches, houses and buildings, driven off their cattle'. That the account puts cattle in its own category, separate from other types of moveable wealth, may show just how important cattle were. It also provides a *terminus post quem* for the medieval building stock in presumably at least Shap; we don't know about the remoter valleys - Haweswater, Swindale and Sleddale – these may have been similarly razed or they may have not. Thornthwaite Manor residents were certainly excused payments of dues to Crown at some point after these raids (1997, p. 34).

The Abbey itself is surrounded by dykes which probably enclosed pasture for the Abbey's stock (1997, p. 30); these earthworks are part of the Scheduled Monument.

**Fields, walls and other attributes of the farming landscape**

Although much of the former in-bye land in the valley is now beneath the reservoir, some small areas of walled intakes survive, together with a large walled cow pasture which encloses part of the southern valley side in Riggindale. The ancient field system in the adjacent small valley of Swindale is intact and includes a core of in-bye fields and walled intakes reaching up the fellside. The valley also has extensive stands of broadleaved woodland on the valley sides. There are no straight boundaries resulting from planned or parliamentary enclosure and Swindale has some of the best examples of hay meadows surviving in the Lake District. In Wet Sleddale, the reservoir has also obscured a portion of the valley bottom land. However the upper valley contains the well preserved remains of small medieval fields with ridge and furrow cultivation together with a substantial stone walled deer pound which has medieval origins. In addition, the northern valley side is divided into walled enclosures of recent date which overlie a medieval pattern of agricultural terraces associated with the site of the monastic grange (farm) of Sleddale.

**Inbye and early settlements**

Unusually for the Lake District valleys there are groups of medieval terracing, presumably because the shallower gradients allowed this. There are at least 17 instances of lynchets occurring in the Haweswater Valley area: Askham Hall DMV, Helton DMV, Hause End (Bampton), Naddle, High Knipe, Lowther DMV, Hullockhowe (Bampton), Ashleymoor Plantation, Lowther Castle, Newtown, Skellands Strip, Whale Plantation, and at Wet Sleddale. With the possible exception of those in Wet Sleddale these are undated (1997, p. 37). These are presented within the context of the nearest known settlements. Some (in particular Hause End) may even relate to pre-Conquest settlement.

**Carhullen**

It is possible that this area was more settled and developed than the remote valleys by the conquest. The possible early medieval heritage of Carhullen is set out about by LUAU (1997, p. 21). It is set along a ring garth-type boundary (*cf* Staingarth) which appears to be early, although this is of unknown date.
**Rosgill (not including Wet Sleddale)**

Wet Sleddale may have originated as a vaccary or monastic grange (see below). Rosgill doesn’t appear documented until 1343 or soon after, when the de Rosgill family married into the Salkeld family. There are lynchets NE of Hegdale and NW of Rosgill, covering an area of 25–28 acres. There are lynchets on Knipe Scar near High and Low Scarside (=saetr) forming a series of terraces in two groups and also a transverse series.

Rosgill has a huge number of strip fields; some presumably correspond to a former open common arable field at Rosgill itself. The strips are extensive all around the slopes of Wilson Scar and beyond the NPA boundary, up to Bampton and Bampton Grange, and Butterwick and Knipe in the north; they may be related to terrace agriculture as much as the division of former common land as strips, and it is likely that many of these strips were enclosed from former monastic land after c1540.

There are two DMVs here at Low and High Knipe, both of which may be connected to the devastation of 1322 and which provides a likely taq. Reference in 1562 to 10 tofts (over and above the 15 houses and 4 cottages) suggests a high proportion of abandonment, perhaps it relates to the presence of known former houses at these DMV sites. Shap Abbey had a tenement at Knype and at Rosgill in the 1540s, but we don’t know where these were (Abbott House in Rosgill?); and Grange House in Bampton/Knype border?).

Knipe Hall and appears to overlook the strip fields to the north at High and Low Knipe, in the manner of a manorial lord’s holding being separate and superior to the common land. Butterwick (OE derivation) suggests a pre-Conquest origin but it isn’t documented until the 16th century.

**Bampton**

Bampton lies within the parish of Bampton and the parish church of St Patrick’s is located in the nearby village of Bampton Grange. A church on the site of St Patrick’s is first mentioned in 1170 when it was attached to Shap Abbey [in Preston Patrick form?]. Bampton Bridge was built before the 14th century (1362 John de Askeby legacy). There are two sets of possible former open fields here – at Butterwick and these possibly extend south towards Bampton.

**Hettondale Beck**

This area looks as though it is irregular early enclosure dating from the medieval period, although the placenames (Scales, Scalegate) which suggest this was marginal at the start of the medieval period. That the area is relatively unchanged from the 1st edition map suggests that this particular side valley has always been marginal pasture, with Dalehead and Keldhead originating as manorial settlements in the 14th century moved the growing population was forced up onto higher ground and occupying former shieling sites. While the pattern of farms is likely to be medieval and earlier, the surviving field wall pattern may perhaps reflect reorganisation and consolidation during the 16th/17th century; there is no strong evidence for an open common arable field. Keld is mentioned as part of the Shap Abbey lands in 1540, adding further elements to the valley’s landscape development.
Helton Flecket
There is a group of strips around this settlement which probably relate to a former open common arable field, enclosed as strips from the medieval period into the 16th century and onwards. The epithet ‘Flecket’ may derive (similar to Flake Howe) from ON ‘flaki’ (=hurdle) (1997, p. 24), suggesting that the inbye land was originally a timber encircling fence.

Askham
There are narrow strips and larger strips which probably indicate open fields; these extend north-west from Askham towards Winder in the Ullswater Valley area, and north into Yanwath, beyond the NPA boundary. Askham contains two possible DMVs and lynchets, which presumably have a taq of 1322.

Mardale
Traditionally an oratory was believed to have been founded in the 14th century although a chapel is not recorded until 1586 (1997, p. 38), and the dead had to be taken to Shap Church along a ‘Corpse Road’.
This valley was quite similar to Hartsop in character. The tithe map of 1842 shows that there were town fields; the common field was called the Mardale field, on both sides of the river at the head of Haweswater (1997, p. 39). Parts of the early colony may have had inbye land surrounded by a fence (Flakehow probably contains the ON flaki (=hurdles) rather than stone.
Riggindale may perhaps have been the separate lord’s or steward’s holding, overlooking the open fields. Bouderthwaite (indicating further clearance to the south/southwest) was apparently the oldest standing farmhouse in Mardale in 1904 – the 14 others were 17th/18th century (wealth which perhaps like Hartsop derived from the rich wool trade of that period).

There appears to be older inbye around Measandbecks and Hall, extending all around north side of Haweswater up into Mardale. Although this doesn’t necessarily equate to common fields, perhaps rather reflect topography, it is possible that there is another small open field represented to the south-west of Colby, with Measandbecke comprising a separate holding for the manorial lord or their agent.

In Mardale 13 tenants appear in the earliest documents (1660 indenture). Mardale was on a - probably - major packhorse route between Kendal and Penrith (1997, p. 38), and the 17th century bridges at Arnold Bridge and Chapel Bridge provide a taq for this route. The farm at Greenhead – later rebuilt as the Dun Bull Inn – was probably the only packhorse hotel or inn in Keld, Hardendale, Wasdale, Rosgill and Swindale in the late 19th century, suggesting an important relationship between this trade and Mardale (1997, p. 38).
Otherwise the strong sheep-rearing heritage of this side-valley is key to its development – Mardale Common on the south-east side was extensive, whilst the settlements on the north side around Measandbecks presumably enjoyed rights to Bampton Common.

Lowther
This parish includes the Manors of Whale, Hackthorpe and Melkinthorpe. We are reliant on the foundation of churches in stone; the earliest surviving fabric of Parish
Church of St. Michael at Lowther dates to c1170, although there are 3 hog-back coffin lids and a cross shaft pre-Conquest suggesting perhaps a timber pre-cursor. The church is not mentioned until 1280. The rectory of the church of Lowther is described in 1535 as a mansion within the glebe lands and 3 cottages, probably all at Glebe House at NY 533 241.

A William de Louthere is recorded in the 1184 Pipe Rolls of Westmorland (Reaney, 1991, p. 2009). Lowther Hall probably originated as a motte and bailey before 1287 (Curwen, 1932). About the middle of the 14th century a pele tower was erected but there is no record of a crenellation licence. The hall and second tower date from the 15th century.

There are lynches SE of Rowlandfield Plantation and more SSE of the church comprising three terraces about 0.25 miles long along a slope. There is also a deserted settlement at Lowther. As well as the DMV, the ancient village of Lowther was bought up in 1682 and pulled down to enlarge his land and improve its prospect; the 17 tenements had until then stood just in front of it (Curwen, 1932). Hackthorpe Hall, now a farm house, was erected by Sir Christopher Lowther in the reign of James I and here his son Sir John was born; the manor was held by the Strickland family from the time of Edward III and continued in their possession until the purchase by the Lowthers in 1535.

Monastic Vaccaries/Granges

Wet Sleddale

Large parts of Wet Sleddale (Sleddale Hall and Sleddale Grange) were granted to Shap Abbey 1249 (1997, p. 32). Littleseat, Seat Robert and Ulset Rigg, all in Wet Sleddale, suggest that this was predominantly seasonal pasture (saetr) until colonised by the Shap Abbey monks in 1249. The Lord Patrick kept rights in Wet Sleddale for beast of chase, and a forester with bow to serve him and heirs (hence a division of this manor between Hall and Grange?). The limits of the common pasture for abbey are set out in the same document.

Sleddale Grange is close by surviving medieval landscape features around Sleddale Hall (1997, p. 30); including lynches on a SE slope NE of Sleddale Hall. A 1257 confirmation of the 1249 grant describes the enlargement of the meadow land of abbot and convent; this mentions walls and dykes (1997, p. 30). This two-stage process may possibly be reflected in the 1st edition map below, which shows a central group of enclosures with an outer layer around it.

Sleddale Hall perhaps occupies its own particular parcel at the head of the valley adjacent to the hunting grounds (see below). The farms in Wet Sleddale presumably each post-date the Dissolution when the abbey had the farm of the ‘whole township’. Perhaps these lie over the sites of medieval buildings belonging to the monastery; there are no further clues to when the houses were built, although ‘Bowfield’ may pre-date 1562 when a ‘Bowhouse’ is referred to (1997, p. 41). T(1997, p. 41).

The Hearth Tax for 1670 shows 11 households with one hearth each and 5 households exempted from poverty. This is a reasonable match for the 11 isolated farms shown below on the 1st edition; perhaps this is an effective terminus ante quem for these; possibly the 5 exempted households were subordinate units attached to the 11 main farmhouses. The reorganisation of the landscape in the 16th and 17th centuries may have blurred the earlier lines between monastic land and
land belonging to the Salkelds, but the number of farms seems to have remained stable until the 20th century.

**Bampton Grange**
By 1535 the vicarage of Bampton paid a tithe of calves (Curwen, 1932) which indicates cattle-rearing, but this may have a long heritage. Other than by the occurrence of its name the grange is otherwise undocumented and it is difficult to make out obvious candidates for its boundaries.

**Swindale**
At Swindale Head the earliest farm settlement is shown by a group of radial field enclosures (1997, p. 30). This potentially dates to the Abbey’s acquisition of pasture in 1191 however (1997, p. 30). The Abbey exchanged a tithe of hay from Swindale in 1257, indicating that they were using this at least for meadow. Perhaps Swindale Foot was also originally settled in 1191.

**Tailbert**
At Tailbert there is a group of radial field patterns similar to Swindale, and an Abbey farm may have been established here although we have no documentary evidence for this (1997, p. 31).
That Tailbert lies to the south of Rayside (saetr) – this placename indicates a shieling of probable 11th/12th century date settled later as a permanent farm on the edge or beyond of permanent settlement – perhaps lends this interpretation some weight.

**Deer Parks**

**Naddle Forest and Thornthwaite Park**
Apart from Mardale Common and Bampton Common the shores of Haweswater seem to have been exclusively for deer parks, retained by the Curwen family outside of their land grants to Shap Abbey. Although the forests/chase of Thornthwaite included Mardale and Measand the precise boundaries of the chase are not well-attested on the ground.
From the names alone, Naddle Forest and Thornthwaite Park seem to have originated amongst these hunting preserves. Around Thornthwaite Park itself a wall boundary continues to the NE bank of the old Haweswater Lake; this may define the northern boundary of Shap Abbey land in the 16th century, and this may have fossilised out of an earlier boundary (1997, p. 31).

**Possible Later Deer Parks at Thornthwaite Hall**
Around Littlewater Tarn a park is referred to in documents (1997, p. 31). The Thornthwaite Parks join a long wall boundary which continues towards Haweswater, enclosing Lowpark and Highpark buildings; this seems to have been extended towards Thornthwaite Hall [?], and both these later (?) parks were the Curwen’s hunting parks (1997, p. 31). Thornthwaite Manor House is Elizabethan, and these parks are likely to be 16th/17th century.

Curwen considers these to be related to the Court of Requests petition (25 May, 1576) as follows:—
“Thomas Langhorne and others showing that whereas they and their ancestors time out of memory of man have quietly had and enjoyed possession of certain tenements according to ancient custom, in consideration of their service to be in readiness with horse, harness and other furniture to serve her majesty the Queen at their own cost and charges in defense of the realm against the Scots; but so it is that Sir Henry Curwen, lord of the lordship of Thornthwaite hath expelled twelve tenants and taken their land from them and hath enclosed it into his demesne and hath surrendered over the same lordship to Nicholas Curwen his son and heir." (Curwen, 1932).

This may be the first record of Thornthwaite Hall, as Sir Henry provided an estate for his son whereon he could build for himself a home in imitation of a Border Pele, etc. (Curwen, 1932).

**Lowther Park**

Lowther Hall/Castle probably had a Deer Park. Reorganisation and agricultural improvement has probably masked some of the earlier nuances although the surviving southern extent of this park likely matches the boundary of the former deer park (see HLC). This is a reasonably good match for the 1770 Jeffery’s Map of Westmorland illustration; the 1st edition map shows Lowther Park to the north of Lowther Castle also, suggesting considerable extension in the late 18th/early 19th century, perhaps around 1806.

**Setterah Park**

This looks like a deer park too, but is undocumented. The moated site within it may have been a former lord’s holding overlooking the settlement to the north at Helton Flecket. It is described in the HER as “A medieval park containing Setterah Park House and remains of a moated manor house. The park is bounded to the north by Ignes Lane, the west by Helton-Bampton road, the south by Heltondale Beck and the east by the River Lowther. This site was included in an archaeological appraisal and walk-over survey conducted by OAN in 2002 (S102).”

**Buck Park**

One of Shap Abbey’s boundaries include Buck Stone or ‘Lestablie’ which suggests a deer trap (1997, p. 31) - above Sleddale Hall is referred to by Whiteside. This appears to be what Sleddale Hall is situated at the low end of; the intake recorded here on the HLC seems to be reorganisation/rebuilding of this large irregular enclosure park in the post-medieval period. Mike Davies-Shiel reported an article of 1851 (Westmorland Gazette saying that Lord Lonsdale had the whole enclosure rebuilt for renewed interest in large game; deer were last put in the enclosure in the 1860s (after LUAU 1997).

**Intake and 16th -17th century reorganisation**

To judge from the HLC map there is a huge amount of fell enclosure adjacent to Wet Sleddale (Mosedale and Wasdale) - this is incorrectly allocated and probably represents the 1820 Shap Enclosure.

Intake of this date is more correctly described as much smaller episodes, around the Mardale terminus (undocumented) and in Swindale. Elsewhere in the valley area it
barely registers. The reasons for this are unclear. Along the River Lowther the land is gentler, and perhaps the useful land had already all been enclosed during the medieval period (hence the lynchets).

At Swindale, there is specific reference to enclosure called ‘the New Close and Hoghouse Garth’, and also ‘inclosure called the waistes with one dale of meadow adjoining called the Prye’ (1703/4, perhaps echoing a tenement mortaged in 1697/8) (1997, p. 43). Hoghouse field is at NY 5220 1400 (blue circle below), and unless Pry was called Pow Garth at NY 5210 1370 (red circle below) by 1860 then this was not located (1997, p. 43).

Despite this reasonably good evidence, the 1842 tithe map shows only 8 fields in Swindale which indicates that there was considerable enclosure between 1842 and 1863; perhaps the amount of intake enclosure in the Haweswater Valley area is very much overstated in the HLC, or untithed land was simply not recorded on the map.

The settlement at Mosedale Cottage may have added a large enclosure in the early 19th century, although it is possible that this relates somehow to the quarry.

18th / 19th C planned enclosure and reorganisation
There has been minimal recent, planned enclosure in the Haweswater Valley Area. “The 1836 Tithe Map did not allocate ownership of Bampton commons to any named individuals since no tithes were due. The map showed a number of individual enclosures on Bampton and Knipe Commons used both for pasture and for plantations. Parliamentary enclosure had a minimal effect in the parish. Records detail only one enclosure award (1846) affecting Sackwath common field close to the River Lowther’s west bank between Bampton and Butterwick.”

[Bampton Commons Community History Project 2012-2013 for ‘Commons Stories’, University of Lancaster, Katharine Cooke, Patricia Garside and Bernard Kirkbride, Bampton and District Local History Society p4]

The only other major group of this type of enclosure is at Whitbystead (undated). There are some minor episodes of improvement by drainage (Heltondale) adjacent to Askham.

Shap Enclosure of 1820 is the big red area at the south end incorrectly put down as intake. The area around Wet Sleddale is part of this enclosure map.

The area around Lowther Castle is related to 1941 enclosure of common land on Knipe Scar.

“The limestone escarpment at Knipe was an important resource for commoners. It provided grazing, turf, bracken and limestone, an important manure as well as a building material. ‘From time immemorial’ it was claimed, commoners had the right to gather limestone without limit to the area where they gathered it and it was thought that they had probably set up the limekiln on the scar to burn the stone for subsequent use. Efforts to change this situation were said to have been unsuccessful in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after ‘stout resistance’ from commoners. In 1941, a limeworks company approached the Lowther Estate with a view to opening lime quarries on Knipe Scar. As Lord of the Manor, Lowther had mineral rights on common land but in this case the extent of commoners’ rights to the stone appeared to limit this. Since the proposal involved
not only quarrying but also largescale lime burning in kilns, the proposals were very unpopular. Knipe Scar, some 300m in height, dominated the village of Bampton and was thought ‘...to mark the edge of the Lake District’. The fear was that ‘Lowther is of course out to make money’ and with the unsightly lime works ‘would spoil the look of the valley’. Since the Rural District Council had not prepared any planning schemes, it was feared that ‘Lowther estates can make any mess they like and get away with it’. Efforts were made by parishioners, in collaboration with the Friends of the Lake District, to divert the interest of the Lowther estate to other possible sites, notably at Orton or nearer Shap. These efforts were successful and the cutting of the skyline on Knipe Scar was avoided. The principle that ‘We do not raise cash by damaging the beauty of the countryside’ was said to have been vindicated. In 1942, it was agreed that the kilns would be constructed close to the Shap-Penrith road ‘miles away from Bampton’ and not affecting Knipe commoners ‘in the slightest’. This outcome was welcomed by protestors because of its aesthetic and legal impact and also for practical reasons – it was noted that new works would provide local employment after the War at a time when Manchester Corporation’s Haweswater scheme was ending. The Knipe Scar incident showed again the preference of many parishioners for behind the scenes diplomacy while permitting more public pressure to be applied by Friends of the Lake District through letters to the press.”

[Bampton Commons Community History Project 2012-2013 for ‘Commons Stories’, University of Lancaster, Katharine Cooke, Patricia Garside and Bernard Kirkbride, Bampton and District Local History Society p8-9]

**Contraction at the end of the 19th Century**
The settlements in this area don’t seem to have contracted properly until the end of the 19th century, although there had perhaps been some decline in the more wool-reliant communities since the 17th/18th century boom, similar to that Wordsworth describes in Hartsop. CWAAS state that round Mardale, ‘both farmhouses and farm buildings had been very numerous a century ago [i.e. 1942]. Within living memory there had been several small farms independently worked, which more recently were worked together as one holding.’ (1997, p. 37). In 1885 the population in the chapelry of Mardale was 44. The effect of the reservoir is well-documented. The contraction of farms is difficult to trace, but there are examples of fields being reorganised still in the 19th century; strips are consolidated to the south of Butterwick between the 1860 and 1899 OS maps, and some of this is associated with improved drainage.

In Wet Sleddale, in 1936, only Dale End (on 1st Edn) is described by RCHME as ruined. Mosedale Cottage is now a bothy.

**Farm Buildings**
Important examples of farm buildings include the following:
Thornthwaite Hall is a late 16th century hall with a tower and later additions and alterations, including part conversion to a bank barn with the addition of a ramp. Widewath farmhouse, near Askham, was built in 1671-74, with attached barn, byre and hennery and piggery. Askham Gate Farm, in Askham village, is a late 18th century farmhouse and barn.
Stanegarth farmhouse, near Bampton, has a 1679 datestone, with an attached
cottage and barn. A fine bank barn, probably 18\textsuperscript{th} century, with crow-stepped gables
lies opposite the farmhouse,
Grange Farm, Bampton Grange, is a mid-17\textsuperscript{th} century farmhouse with late 18\textsuperscript{th}
century additions and early 19\textsuperscript{th} century alterations with attached outbuildings and a
separate late 17\textsuperscript{th} century or early 18\textsuperscript{th} century byre.
School Bank Cottage and Barn, in Askham is an early 18\textsuperscript{th} farmhouse and barn with
19\textsuperscript{th} century alterations. The barn has a high arched cart entrance.
Eastward, near Bampton, is a late 17\textsuperscript{th} or early 18\textsuperscript{th} century farmhouse and attached
outbuilding with later additions.

References:
Hyde and Pevsner 2010.

\textbf{Continuity of farming culture and practice (map)}

Although the extent of agricultural land has been reduced in the Haweswater valley,
the valley area as a whole is still the location for many fell flock farms located along
the eastern edge of the high fells. 9965 ha, two-thirds, of the valley area is owned by
United Utilities, successor to the Manchester Corporation including the Haweswater,
Swindale and Wet Sleddale valleys and all of the high fells. Many of the fell edge
farms are tenanted from United Utilities.

There are 34 farms with fell-going flocks in the Haweswater valley area (listed in the
Lakeland Shepherds’ Guide 2005), of which 7 are registered Swaledale flocks
(Swaledale Sheep Breeders Association 2015). There are no registered Herdwick
flocks (Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association 2015) in the valley area. There are no
National Trust landlord flocks in valley area.

There are about 6551ha of Registered Common Land in the valley, around 45% of
the total area, and all of the open fell. The areas of Common Land are Bampton
Common, Helton Fell and Askham Fell to the north and west of Haweswater
reservoir, Mardale Common and Rafland Forest and Rosgill Moor to the south and
east of Haweswater reservoir, Knipe Moor and Knipescar Common on the east side
of the Lowther valley and other small areas of Registered Common Land.

\textbf{Agricultural shows and other attributes of farming culture}

Many farms and walled in-bye land were lost beneath the surface of the Haweswater
reservoir but the biggest loss was the small hamlet of Mardale with its church and
famous Dun Bull Inn. The Inn was famous for its autumnal shepherds’ meet held on
the third Saturday in November at which stray sheep were brought from the
surrounding fells to be given back to their owners. Up until 1830 the meet had been
held at Racecourse Hill, on High Street, where in addition to the claiming of stray
sheep there was a horse race and other local sports such as wrestling.
Rawnsley wrote about the Mardale Shepherd’s Meet in 1906. He reported that the shepherds had given up a week to “raking” the fells and bringing about 200 stray sheep to the Dun Bull Inn.

In 1927 over 700 people attended the meet, participating in the hunt with the Ullswater Foxhounds, watching the stray sheep being brought down from the fells, taking part in clay pigeon shooting and joining in the festivities of the evening.

The last meet at the Dun Bull Inn was held in 1935. The Mardale Shepherds meet is now held just outside the valley, at St Patrick’s Well Hotel, Bampton, on the Saturday nearest the 20th November.

References:

Industry

Apart from the 20th century water industry, industrial impact in the Haweswater valley area has not been as great as in other valley areas.

There are a few remains of industry in the valley that pre-date the creation of the reservoir. These include the small, 19th century, Birkhouse copper mine on the north side of Haweswater, below Four Stones Hill, between Burnbanks, and the Measand Beck, and opposite, the remains of charcoal burning platforms in Guerness Wood on the south side of the valley. There are also remains of a slate quarry at Mosedale. The Shap Blue andesite quarry sits on the boundary at the south-east corner of the valley area.

The physical aspects of the water industry dominate the valleys of Haweswater and Wet Sleddale, most obviously the two reservoirs themselves. After the passing of the Haweswater Act in 1919, Manchester Corporation acquired about 9000ha of land, mainly from the estates of the Lonsdale family. Construction of the dam at Haweswater began in 1929 and was completed by 1935. The dam itself was the first hollow buttress dam in the world and is therefore of historic interest in its own right (PIC). The Haweswater dam is 29m high and 472m long. The reservoir capacity is 84,500 million litres (18,600 million gallons), covering three times the surface area of the natural lake it replaced. It supplies about 25% of North West England’s water supply. Some of the stone for the dam and road was quarried from two quarries deliberately set below the reservoir’s high water mark. Tunneled supplies are brought into the reservoir close to the dam from Heltondale and Swindale. The water is drawn off through the draw-off tower on the east shore about 1km south of the Haweswater Hotel. Its windows and most of its stone came from the demolished Holy Trinity Church in Mardale. The water is taken by tunnel under Branstree and along Longsleddale to Watchgate water treatment works.

Burnbanks was built at the start of construction as a “model village” to house four hundred men, many unemployed from Manchester, and their families. Manchester Corporation wanted to provide a model village for its reservoir workers and their families recognising that it would provide a more stable and contented workforce.
rather than having hundreds of men in poor housing in a strange environment. The Corporation chose to build using the cast iron Newton Chambers system, a cheap, sturdy and quickly assembled system of housing. Most of the village was built between September and December 1929: Large hostels, one and two bedroom bungalows as well as a dispensary and a mission hall. A shop and large recreation hall were also part of the settlement. Compared to the housing conditions in Manchester, these bungalows were a huge improvement with their own front door, a garden, electric light, hot and cold water, a bath and an indoor toilet. Much of the original Burnbanks village was demolished following completion of the reservoir, but that which remained was re-developed in the 2000s.

The new public road on the east shore was built to replace the drowned valley road on the west shore of the lake. A private concrete road was also built across the fells to bring materials from the Shap granite works to the dam and is still in use today. The Haweswater Hotel is now the only habitation in the Haweswater valley above the dam. The Wet Sleddale dam was completed in 1966.

References:

Settlements

There are no large settlements in the Haweswater valley area. The main settlements are Askham, Lowther, Helton, Bampton, Bampton Grange, Burnbanks and Rosgill.

Askham
Askham has medieval origins and a distinctive linear settlement pattern with near continuous frontages of 17th, 18th and 19th century farmhouses, barns and cottages facing each other across the series of informal wide grassy greens rising uphill from the River Lowther to the foot of Askham Fell. Askham Hall is the earliest structure still in occupation in the village and was the family seat of the Lowthers since leaving Lowther castle in 1935 up to 2006. At its core is a 14th century stone defensive structure or ‘pele tower’, possibly built by Edmund de Sandford, who came into possession of the manor in 1375. Askham Hall is grade I listed and its grounds are listed in the English Heritage ‘Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest’. Askham village appears to be a planned medieval settlement contemporary with the 14th century tower. Records show that a church dedicated to St Kentigern existed in 1240. St Peter’s Church was designed by Sir Robert Smirke (1781-1867) who also designed nearby Lowther Castle and went on to design the British Museum. The majority of buildings have architectural and historic interest. The 44 listed buildings and many other unlisted historic buildings make a positive contribution to the area’s special character and appearance. The inter-relationship of the dwellings, farms and barns along the street frontages points to the village’s agricultural heritage. There are many well-preserved examples of local Cumbrian stone-built vernacular architecture, both domestic (usually rendered) and agricultural (usually stonework exposed). There is prevalent use of local limestone and red sandstone as a walling material, under greenslate roofs, reflecting the underlying geology of the area.
Croft House

Lowther Castle
Lowther Castle is the historic seat of the Lowthers, Earls of Lonsdale, the dominant family of Westmorland. It sits within 600ha of grounds and deer park laid out by the Lowther family in the 16th and 17th century. This was subsequently remodelled by Capability Brown, Richardson and Webb in the 18th and early 19th centuries for the first and second Earls of Lonsdale. This castle stands on a site occupied by the Lowther family for over 800 years. Being the third home on the site in that time, the current castle was completed in 1806 and a beautiful sculpture gallery with decorative plaster ceiling added in 1814; this is the only remaining room of the castle, subsequently restored.

Lowther Castle (listed grade II*) was designed by Robert Smirke (1780-1867) and built 1807-14 at a cost of £77,000. The building was closed in 1935 and was stripped of its roofs and gutted in 1956-7 when the walls were capped. Attached on the east side is a stable block (listed grade II*), also by Smirke. The present building replaced a medieval pele tower which, following successive C17 improvements, was largely destroyed by fire in 1718. It was not rebuilt until William, first Earl of Lonsdale (second creation) engaged Smirke. Successive schemes for the rebuilding of the seat at Lowther were commissioned by the owners from the late C17 to the early C19 and the collection of architectural drawings from Lowther Castle, which is one of the largest and most important of its kind, is summarised with illustrations in Colvin, Mordaunt Crook & Friedman (1980). The collection is deposited on loan to Cumbria County Council Archive Department in Carlisle.

The last family resident was the Yellow Earl, the fifth Earl, who left the castle on New Year’s Day 1936. The castle was then requisitioned by the army during the Second World War for secret tank weapon testing in the gardens. The sixth Earl sold the castle contents in 1947. After four years of trying to find alternative ways of saving the architectural heritage of the site, the late seventh Earl decided to remove the roof and all the interior structure of the building in 1957, the best solution in the circumstances to keep the building in some form within its landscape; as well as protecting the rest of the estate from a £25 million death duty bill. The gardens were then used to house a large chicken farm and commercial forestry business, who used the military concreting over of the lawns, with timber planted close up to the castle ruins. The remaining gardens and castle ruin were left to run wild and decay for subsequent decades.

A partnership was established between the Lowther Estate and English Heritage in 1999, resulting in extensive work to prepare the site for the ensuing project, which included vital repairs to the staircase tower and clearance of most of the army concrete over the lawns.

In 2010 the Lowther Estate granted a lease to the new independent charity, the Lowther Castle & Gardens Trust, and £8.9m of funds secured from the North West Development Agency and European Regional Development Fund to develop the castle and gardens into a major visitor attraction, with additional support from the
Architectural Heritage Fund and Lowther Estate Trust. Work to reverse 70 years of deterioration of the castle, gardens and stable courtyard started in April 2011, and a veritable army of craftsmen have been busy stabilising architectural features, restoring the Stables Courtyard, removing hundreds of tonnes of army concrete, and sympathetically installing modern services. The stable courtyard offers café, shop, heritage toilets, meeting room and a display area where visitors can find out more about the process of restoration.

The latest repair work to the castle ruins, funded by English Heritage and Lowther Estate Trust, will open up the ruins and complete nine years’ work of stabilising the important central staircase tower, the key to preserving the grand silhouette of Robert Smirke’s masterpiece, his first and arguably finest architectural commission. Thus preserving this landmark for the future.

St Michael’s Church, just north of the Castle, was almost totally rebuilt in 1686 by Sir John Lowther, later 1st Viscount Lonsdale, after he had relocated the village. It has a 12th century arcade, and in the west porch two and a half 10th century hogback tombstones and a broken cross shaft.

References:
http://www.lowthercastle.org/castle-restoration accessed 21/04/15
http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1000668 accessed 21/04/15
Conservation Area Descriptions
Hyde and Pevsner

Lowther village
Lowther village is an historic planned model village was built in the 1770s for Sir James Lowther. It was inspired by the drawings and design of Robert Adam (1728-1792), the renowned Georgian architect and designed as a single entity with a common architectural theme which creates an exceptional sense of place. It includes a fragment of a grandiose scheme that features the plan-form of an incomplete circus and half of a Greek cross. It is one of the earliest examples of the circus form, best exemplified by John Wood’s Circus in Bath (1754). It is an example of an 18th century urban plan in an incongruous remote rural setting. The village has a unity of building materials, such as local limestone and sandstone walls under graduated Lake District slate roofs. All of the historic buildings, including the 18th century pump and trough, are listed grade II*.

Sir John Lowther of Lowther, the 1st Viscount Lonsdale, was the founder of the Lowther dynasty in the late 17th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Lowther family dominated the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland.

Lowther Village was the second attempt of the Lowther family to set up a model community on their estates. The first attempt was called Lowther Newtown. Confusingly, this Lowther Newtown pre-dates Lowther Village by almost 100 years. Lowther Newtown dates from the 1680s; Lowther Village (the subject of the Lowther Conservation Area) dates from the 1770s.
Lowther Newtown (sometimes known simply as Newtown) was initiated by Sir John Lowther c.1683 following the demolition of the old village of Lowther in 1682. The old village, consisting of hall, church, parsonage house and seventeen cottages, was deliberately pulled down by Sir John Lowther to open up the prospect of Lowther Hall, the site of the present castle, which he wanted to enlarge. The ‘replacement’ planned settlement was aimed at establishing a successful carpet manufacturing centre. It did not succeed.

When, some generations later in 1751, Sir Henry Lowther, 3rd Earl of Lonsdale, died without heir, the estate was inherited by his cousin, Sir James Lowther (1736-1802). He was created 1st Earl of Lonsdale and, through inheriting three fortunes in succession, became one of the richest men in 18th century England. He was not popular, became known as ‘wicked Jimmy’ and was described by Alexander Carlyle as “a madman too influential to lock up”. It was Sir James Lowther who initiated the building of Lowther Village.

Sir James Lowther married the daughter of the Earl of Bute in 1761. The Earl of Bute was one of the earliest patrons of Robert Adam (1728-1792), the renowned Georgian architect who was one of the leaders of the classical revival in architecture in England in the 18th century. It is likely that Lord Bute introduced Robert Adam to his wealthy son-in-law for in 1766 Robert Adam began a series of drawings for a new court-house and gaol intended for Appleby, for Whitehaven Castle and, significantly, for a new residence at Lowther Hall. Bound with the drawings for Lowther Castle is a Plan of the Village for Sir James Lowther, dated 1766.

The 1766 Plan of the Village for Sir James Lowther, held at Sir John Soane’s Museum in Lincoln’s Inn Fields in London, is illustrated in diagrammatic form in Professor Brunskill’s research paper and shows a strong resemblance to the form and layout of Lowther Village. Lowther is less than half the size of the grandiose village projected by Robert Adam but both are based on a combination of circus and Greek cross imposed on a square.

Helton

Small historic hamlet set on the Askham to Bampton road, which developed as a ‘spring line’ settlement, probably during the Anglo-Saxon period, on the western side of the Lowther Valley, surrounded by open fields to the east and with the fell fringe to the west;

Tightly clustered linear settlement of farms and houses arranged around a triangular village green, with a pattern of ‘toft’ development and back lanes and driftways. Evidence of strip field farming survives, forming an important part of the landscape setting of the hamlet. Many of the buildings have architectural and historic quality, six of which are grade II listed buildings, and many others which make a positive contribution to the area’s historic character and appearance. The buildings predominantly date from the 17th and 18th centuries and are good examples of the vernacular tradition. The palette of building materials reflects the underlying geology, carboniferous limestone, limestone rubble, typically with a render coat, used for domestic buildings. Farm buildings and boundary walls of exposed limestone, with many examples of structural ‘throughstones’. Surviving stretches of traditional
cobbled street surfaces. Central village green, wide grass verges and fields enhance the relationship between Helton and the surrounding landscape;

**Bampton and Bampton Grange**

The villages of Bampton and Bampton Grange lie to the north east of the Haweswater valley, alongside the River Lowther. Bampton, ‘the place by the beam’, probably refers to a footbridge over a river, which could be the River Lowther, Howes Beck, or Haweswater Beck, all of which pass within or adjacent to the settlement. Certainly, Bampton Bridge has been in existence since the 14th century; in 1362 John de Askeby, the vicar of Bampton bequeathed a legacy for the fabric of the bridge. The current bridge dates from 1866 and was widened in 1885. Howes Beck passes through the settlement and has been utilised as a power source for mills; the First Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1863 marks a corn mill, which by the subsequent edition of 1899 had become a saw mill.

Dovecote at Bampton Hall

Bampton lies within the parish of Bampton and the parish church of St Patrick’s is located in the nearby village of Bampton Grange. A church on the site of St Patrick’s is first mentioned in 1170 when it was attached to Shap Abbey. The Abbey was founded in the 12th century and the canons were granted the right to conduct services in Bampton Grange and to add the tithes to the coffers of the Abbey. The historic footpath between the Abbey and Bampton Grange still runs along the east bank of the River Lowther.

The presence of Shap Abbey in the Lowther Valley generated wealth within the area through successful sheep farming and wool production. By the 18th century there were approximately 80 farms in the parish, predominantly focused on sheep farming. Bampton has been well-connected historically, lying on the packhorse route from Penrith to Kendal over Nan Bield and the Gatesgarth Pass. In 1846 the Carlisle to Preston railway line arrived in the area, passing through Shap, and this opened up new markets for import and export.

Bampton lies at the junction of two historic routes between Askham and Shap and to Haweswater, at the crossing of the Howes Beck. It is comprised of domestic and agricultural buildings, together with surviving structures such as the smithy, corn mill/saw mill, post office and a limekiln. These date predominantly from the 17th and 18th centuries, although the dovecote at Bampton Hall dates from the 16th century.

Bampton Grange developed as a farming settlement, but also as a centre for the parish and the wider area, containing an important river crossing, a large church and, from 1623, a Grammar School. Church Bridge dates from the late 18th or early 19th century and replaced an older structure; the bridge was declared a public crossing belonging to the County in 1685. The school was founded using money collected in London by the Reverend Thomas Sutton from his parish of St Saviour’s in Southwark and attracted boarders from a wide area, while being free to children of the parish. It was renowned for providing students for the Church of England ministry. The school house occupied the building immediately to the east of the church during the 19th century.
DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism

Haweswater was not a valley that featured strongly in early tourism or the Picturesque experience of the Lake District, although it was considered to have admirable qualities. West described it as a “sweet but unfrequented lake”. The approach to the valley from the east was considered to be picturesque, and the lower part “most pleasantly elegant”. In contrast, West’s comment on the upper reaches of Haweswater was that “above the chapel, all is hopeless waste and desolate”, with the “precipitated ruins of mouldering mountains and the destruction of perpetual waterfalls” – features which would soon be considered in a very different and contrastingly favourable light. No buildings or designed landscapes of this period are to be found in the upland valleys of Haweswater, Swinside and Wet Sleddale. West described Bampton vale as “a beautifully secreted valley”.

Picturesque buildings and landscape

There are no Picturesque buildings or landscaped areas in the Haweswater valley area.

Villas and ornamental landscaping

Askham Hall gardens

The manor of Askham was acquired in 1280 by Sir Thomas de Helbeck, and remained in the de Helbeck family until the early C14 when it passed by marriage to the Swynburn family. An inquisition of 1326 refers to a dwelling on the site being partially burnt by the Scots. Edmund de Sandford and his wife Idonea, co-heiress of Sir Thomas English, came into possession of Askham in 1375, and it remained in the family for c 350 years. In 1680 it was sold to the Lowther family. In 1828 the Hall was in use as a rectory and is so described on the 1st edition OS map surveyed 1859. Following the abandonment of nearby Lowther Castle in the mid C20, it became the country seat of Lord Lonsdale.

Askham Hall (listed grade I) originated as a pele tower, probably in the C14. It has three irregular wings around a rectangular courtyard. The tower forms the south front and was remodelled 1685-90, although medieval tunnel vaulting survives at ground floor level. The north wing retains some medieval work and the remainder of the building is of C16 and C17 date with later alterations and additions.

The gardens are on the south, west and east sides of the Hall. Immediately south of the Hall a sloping lawn is divided by a central path and there are signs of terracing, probably on the line of that shown on the 1859 OS map c 20m south of the Hall. South of this, and c 50m south of the Hall, there are two formal terraces (walls and steps listed grade II). The first terrace has an ashlar retaining wall with a cornice and a central gate which leads to steps down to the second terrace. This is also supported by a retaining wall and has central steps leading down to a lawn below.
The terraces are c 22m long and are possibly of late C17 or C18 date. In the centre of the lawn below the terraces there is a mid C20 swimming pool.

On the north-east side of the Hall there is a rectangular formal garden with geometrical beds, enclosed on the north and south sides by yew hedges.

On the west side of the Hall there is a c 1ha area of woodland, with a central clearing. The large-scale OS map surveyed 1857-60 shows this area divided from the terraces by a boundary, possibly a fence or wall. An avenue is shown running north alongside the terraces on the east side of this division and the area now covered by trees is open land, with a possible vestigial avenue running from east to west across the area.

The gardens are shown extending eastwards down to the river on Greenwood's county map of 1824. A building is shown south of the Hall, fronting the road, on Jeffreys' county map of 1770, indicating a post 1770 expansion of the grounds down to the roadside.

**Lowther Castle grounds** (557ha)

The north front of Lowther Castle overlooks a terrace and forecourt by Robert Smirke. A lodge with square battlemented turrets flanking a central arched opening (listed grade II*) is situated c 70m to the north and is aligned with the front of the Castle. On each side canted battlemented stone walls (listed grade II*) form an enclosure around the north side of the Castle and stables, and there are rectangular turrets at the angles. Central stone steps flanked by ramps lead up to a terrace (all listed grade II*) in front of the Castle. There are views from the terrace over parkland to the north and of an avenue aligned with the lodge and centre of the Castle which continues into the far distance. The terrace and forecourt are on the site of a forecourt with radial paths and formal gardens shown on an engraving of c 1700 by Knyff & Kip and on a survey plan of the Castle made after the 1718 fire. This map also shows other areas illustrated by Knyff & Kip, including an enclosed garden with a fountain marked 'Fountain Yard' and, on the west side, an area marked 'The Old Garden'.

Pleasure grounds and gardens were situated to the south of the Castle in an area enclosed on the west side by a wall attached to the canted forecourt wall which turns and runs southwards, continuing as the retaining wall of a terrace for a distance of c 1km. The area is planted with conifers, replacing lawns and formal gardens laid out during the late C19 and early C20 which were destroyed during army occupation in the mid C20. Some of the forestry tracks appear to follow garden paths as shown on the 1898 OS map. The gardens were the subject of a series of photographs in 1911 which correspond with areas shown on a plan in a pre-war guide book. The remains of a summerhouse shown on the 1898 OS map are situated c 300m south-west of the Castle, overlooking the terraced walk which extends southwards from the north end of the garden for a distance of c 1km. The terrace is on the line of a natural scarp called Burtree Scar which continues through parkland for a distance of c 500m. The terrace is suggested on Jeffreys' county map of 1770 and is on the line of a walk shown on the engraving of c 1700 by Knyff & Kip. This engraving shows
elaborate formal gardens south and south-west of the Castle, and estate papers record Sir John Lowther spending £1500 on planting by 1697.

The Castle is situated north of the centre of an elongated, sub-rectangular area of parkland. An avenue extends from the Castle's north forecourt up rising land on the western edge of Yanwath Wood for a distance of c 1.8km. It is shown in a painting of c 1725 by Matthias Read (Harris 1979). There are three other avenues in the northern part of the park; one follows the line of Buckholme Drive and was planted during the C20 and another of similar date runs along the public road between Newtown and Askham. The third avenue, which is shown on the 1859 OS map, ran parallel to and c 300m to the east of Buckholme Drive, extending c 600m north of the public road. An avenue shown on an estate map of 1732 and the 1770 county map ran parallel to and south of the public road.

The River Lowther runs along the western side of the northern part of the park and then curves east at a point c 800m north-west of the Castle in an area called Low Gardens, where a natural amphitheatre is formed by the fall of the land to the riverbank. Some 200m north of this there is an Iron Age earthwork called Castletsteads (scheduled ancient monument) in Yanwath Wood. The river turns north-eastwards through woodland called Mitchell Holme and Horseholme Wood. Thomas Wilkinson (1751-1836) laid out paths along the riverbanks in Yanwath Woods in 1804 and subsequent years. The area to the north of the Castle was not imparked until the late C18 or early C19; the main avenue is shown on the estate map of 1732 running through enclosed land. Greenwood's county map of 1824 shows parkland extending north as far as the river and the 1859 OS map shows it extending north to Buckholme Lodge and along each side of the river.

The southern part of the park is a mixture of open land with scattered trees and areas of woodland and plantations. A pond called Decoy Pond, c 1.5km south-east of the Castle, is overlooked from its eastern bank by a hunting lodge called Decoy House, which is possibly of C18 or earlier origin. This is immediately west of an area of woodland called Decoy Hag, and the pond and Decoy Hag are within a roughly oval area shown on an estate map of 1685 as a park. Earthworks and ditches within woodland in this area probably relate to the boundaries of the earlier medieval park. The 1685 park boundary survives in various places in the form of wall footings. At the southern tip of the park there is an area called Rowlandfield Plantation which is walled on the south and north-east side. This is shown on the 1685 map and is mentioned by the second Sir John Lowther in a memoir of 1640 (quoted in Capsticks 1995) in which he states that his father walled Rowlandfield as well as repairing the walls around areas described as the Old and New Parks. Lancelot Brown (1716-83) visited Lowther on two occasions, in 1763 and 1771 and produced plans similar to those for Croome Court in Worcestershire (qv), which were not executed. In 1807 John Webb (c 1754-1828) also prepared a design which may have been partially executed, but it is not possible to relate the features of the park and the pattern of planting as shown on the 1859 OS map to his design with any confidence. It seems likely that landscaping was undertaken when the parkland was extended to the north which happened sometime between 1770 and 1824. A painting by J M W Turner of 1809 (Harris 1979) does not show the principal avenue, perhaps as a result of artistic licence, but if it was removed as proposed by both Webb and Brown, it had
been replanted on the same line by the time Jan De Wint painted the scene c 1835 (ibid).

The kitchen garden is situated c 800m south-east of the Castle and is reached from a drive running south from the public road to Lowther village. This leads into a walled enclosure with glasshouses along the north wall and a single-storey cottage at the west end. There is an arched opening in the north wall west of the glasshouses. The south wall has a range of bothies and other ancillary buildings now (1997) used as a cafe and as exhibition space. An arched opening leads into a second walled enclosure with a glasshouse along the western part of the north wall. There are opposed arched entrances at the northern ends of the east and west walls. The southern wall has been demolished, and the garden is divided by an east/west brick wall with a central opening which has been reduced in height on both sides and is topped by ball finials. The east and west walls continue beyond this but the area has been fenced along the line of the dividing wall and the area to the south is in use as pasture land. The 1859 OS map shows that the garden extended to the west as an orchard.

Lowther Park only. The ancient village of Lowther was bought up in 1682 and pulled down to enlarge his land and improve its prospect; the 17 tenements had until then stood just in front of it (Curwen, 1932). This is another instance of landlords beginning to improve their manors and estates on aesthetic principles before the end of the 17th century (cf also Rydal Hall).

**Romantic sites, buildings and associations**

William and Dorothy Wordsworth’s father, John Wordsworth, was a steward for Sir James Lowther, later to become the first Earl of Lonsdale. On the death of the first Earl, William Lowther, his successor, who became second Earl of Lonsdale, settled all of the first Earl’s debts, including £4,000 owed to Wordsworth’s father in unpaid wages. William Lowther became one of Wordsworth’s principal patrons.


Compared with the other Lake District valleys, Haweswater and the surrounding area attracted a lot less attention from the Romantic Movement.

Wordsworth and Coleridge stayed at Bampton, the village at the foot of Haweswater, in early November 1799 at the beginning of their walking tour. Haweswater was then known as Mardale, and both men walked along the shore of the old lake and over the passes into Longsleddale and then Kentmere. Mardale is below Kidsty Pike, the mountain which figures in *The Brothers*:

> ‘On that tall pike  
> (It is the loneliest place of all these hills)  
> There were two springs which bubbled side by side  
> As if they had been made that they might be
Companions for each other: the huge crag
Was rent with lightning – one hath disappeared;
The other, left behind, is flowing still.’ (139-45)

Not far from Haweswater is Barton Fell Moor which Wordsworth reported was the setting for the beginning of his poem Resolution and Independence (1802):

‘I was a Traveller then upon the moor;
I saw the hare that raced about with joy;
I heard the woods and distant waters roar;
Or heard them not, as happy as a boy:
The pleasant season did my heart employ;
My old remembrances went from me wholly;
And all the ways of men, so vain and melancholy’.
(15-21)

As Wordsworth said: ‘I was in the state of feeling described in the beginning of the poem, while crossing over Barton Fell.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

In 1811 John Marshall, the wealthy Leeds industrialist, purchased Low Whelter at the head of High Water, Haweswater. Marshall had become a close friend of Wordsworth through the friendship between his wife Jane and Dorothy Wordsworth. The purchase of Low Whelter is significant as it was Marshall’s first purchase in the English Lake District and was a guide to his intentions driving his future purchases of lake head estates in other valleys. The purchase appears too poor and small, 36 acres, to be an economic investment, and too minor and remote for a country seat. It would seem Marshall purchased Low Whelter for its scenic beauty and to control the management of the woodland. Haweswater had a particular appeal for Wordsworth. He wrote in his 1810 Guide, “From Pooley Bridge, at the foot of the lake (Ullswater), Haweswater may be conveniently visited. Haweswater is a lesser Ullswater, with this advantage, that it remains undefiled by the intrusion of bad taste”. Low Whelter was sold out of the Marshall family in 1861


The 1919 Haweswater Act under gave the Manchester Corporation powers to acquire the lake in Mardale and the large surrounding catchment area for a major reservoir and allowed for similar work in the adjacent small valleys of Swindale and Wet Sleddale. In the event only Wet Sleddale was dammed, in 1966, and Swindale has remained as it was.

The Mardale residents from the four farms and other houses moved to nearby villages. Although the exact number is not known, the population of Mardale was about 40 in 1916. Most of the buildings were demolished by Royal Engineers, using it as demolition practice. The Old School was dismantled and rebuilt at Walmgate
Head at the expense of a private well-wisher. The church was dismantled and the stones and windows were used to build the draw-off tower. About one hundred coffins from the church graveyard were exhumed and re-buried at Shap. Most of the contents of the church were moved to what was then the new St Barnabas Church in Carlisle.

In the original Bill it was proposed to extinguish the traditional rights of access over the purchased land, but the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, established in 1865, managed to have a clause inserted in the Act through which the public were given full right of access on all the common and unenclosed land purchased by Manchester. A footpath was provided on the west shore, a link in Alfred Wainwright’s famous “Coast to Coast” route.

By the time the dam construction was completed in 1935, Friends of the Lake District was officially established and it was able to participate in the debate over the landscaping and other subsequent construction and design details from then. There was vigorous debate over the associated works including the routing and design of the new main valley road along the eastern shore and the location and design of the new Haweswater Hotel.

In the earliest days of the Haweswater scheme extensive afforestation of the catchment area was contemplated. Undertakings were given that there would not be panting around Blea Tan and Small Water. Nothing came of the potential afforestation scheme.

In 1972, following a national study of water resources, a further expansion of the Haweswater reservoir was proposed by raising the height of the dam by a further 35 metres. Additional damage to the valley would also have been caused through the reservoir becoming a ‘regulating reservoir’, with a consequent seasonal variation in level. These proposals were not implemented.

The extent to which recreation should be encouraged and catered for at Haweswater has been much discussed by successive water authorities and companies, the National Park Authority and other statutory and voluntary bodies. In the mid-seventies there were proposals for boating on the lake from a centre near Measand, which would have required a new road along the western shore, buildings and slipways. The scheme was not pursued being seen at the time as being inconsistent with the quiet and underdeveloped nature of the western shore.

The Haweswater valley area is the only valley area in the Lake District with no National Trust land ownership.

United Utilities (UU), the private water company, which has inherited the Manchester Corporation estate, is assisted in its management of the estate by the RSPB (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds). In recent years, UU has introduced the Sustainable Catchment Management Programme through which it is working with its farming tenants and investing its funds, alongside national agri-environment scheme funds, into land management changes to improve raw water quality.
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SECTION 2B

History and Development
2.b History and Development

ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY

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

Prehistory (10,000 BC – 100 AD)

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

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

By 2,500 BC, the beginning of the Bronze Age, the climate had warmed sufficiently to allow settlement and agriculture on the lower fells up to around 300 meters above sea level. The land was cleared of stone in order to improve it for agriculture...
resulting in clearance cairns and rudimentary field walls. Extensive Bronze Age settlement remains survive in the southwestern fells, for example Town Bank and in the north east, in Glencoyne Park. In the Early Bronze Age settlements remained small and temporary, but by the later Bronze Age (after c. 1000 BC) the pollen record indicates that woodland clearance was becoming more extensive and agriculture more intensive. Limited evidence from excavation indicates that houses were constructed of timber and by the end of the Bronze Age some settlements were contained within stone-walled enclosures.

The construction of stone circles appears to have continued into the Bronze Age, for example on Burnmoor, and related monuments such as ring cairns were constructed in the high fells. Large fell-top burial cairns were also raised, often using stone from field clearance on lower ground.

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

**Romano-British (100 AD – 400 AD)**

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

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

**Early Medieval (400 AD – 1100 AD)**

Land use in the immediate post-Roman period is uncertain, but there is clear evidence of woodland clearance and intensified agricultural activity from the late 6th /early 7th centuries AD. This includes radiocarbon dates for field clearance at Devoke Water and for a major clearance horizon in a pollen core at Little Water, the latter associated with the introduction of hemp.
The nature of settlement at this time is unclear, but there are indications that there was a need for defence. A radiocarbon date for material from the bottom of a rock-cut ditch of a small hillfort at Shoulthwaite, above Thirlmere, also falls in the late 6th early 7th centuries AD. Although there is little evidence, there were almost certainly established settlements in the Lake District valleys at this time. There is more evidence for activity in the uplands, where for example excavations at Bryant’s Gill in Kentmere have revealed evidence for a shieling or summer settlement dating to the seventh century AD. It is also known from the writing of the Venerable Bede, and from archaeological excavation in the 1980s, that an Anglian monastery was established at Dacre, between Keswick and Penrith.

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

The Norse also left an impressive legacy of ecclesiastical sculpture, including hog-back tombstones and crosses with intricately carved designs. The most impressive of these is the Gosforth cross, which combines both pagan and Christian imagery. The continuing use to the present day of a farming dialect including Scandinavian elements, and the similarities between some Lake District and Norwegian folk traditions, also indicate the importance of Anglo-Scandinavian influence on the creation of Lakeland’s traditional farming society and landscape. Between the eighth and tenth centuries AD it seems likely that the Lake District’s farming system and settlement pattern underwent significant and lasting modifications and that the process of primary upland clearance and colonisation which started in prehistory, may have reached its peak at this time.

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

**Medieval (1100 AD – 1500)**

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

The baronial estates were based on seats on the Lakeland fringe including Greystoke, Kendal, Millom, Egremont and Cockermouth. Their lands included large sections of the Lake District which by the thirteenth century were described as private ‘forest’. This term referred to a legal status for the preservation of game animals rather than afforested land, and is retained in modern place names such as Skiddaw Forest. By the later thirteenth century the ‘forests’ were being used less for hunting and more as upland pastures for stock grazing. Peasant colonists were
tolerated, and settlement pushed beyond previous limits due to an increase in population in this period. Some former *shiellings* also became permanent tenanted farms. These developments laid the foundation for the characteristic Lake District settlement pattern of dispersed farms and small hamlets along the valley sides. The central Lake District was surrounded by a ring of market towns which originated as medieval boroughs, including Cockermouth, Penrith and Kendal. In addition there are a few nucleated villages which acted as local market centres such as Keswick, Hawkshead and Ambleside.
Monasteries

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

Medieval agriculture

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

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

The extensive oak woodlands of the Lake District were used to support herds of pigs, a practice reflected in place names such as Swindale and Grisedale. However by the early fourteenth century the woods were in decline, partly through clearance but also because of a lack of regeneration due to pressure of grazing animals. The population increase of the previous century was halted by Scottish invasions and the Black Death during the fourteenth century during which there was also a marked deterioration in climate. The agricultural depression lasted until about 1450, after which the Lake District’s economy revived and additional land was taken into cultivation. It was during this period that sheep began to replace cattle as the principle grazing stock in the Lake District. The woollen industry centred on Kendal and in High Furness stimulated the demand for wool and the need for improved land was satisfied by the creation of intakes on the upslope side of the ring garth in the central valleys.
Medieval industry

The plentiful resources of minerals, woodland and running water in the Lake District formed the basis for a series of small scale industries from the medieval period and probably earlier. Recent radiocarbon dates for a wooden shovel from a lead mine at Silver Gill in the Caldbeck Fells and a nearby lead smelting site fall in the period 1000 – 1200 AD. A series of medieval iron smelting sites (bloomeries) and charcoal pits have also been radiocarbon dated to the period 1250 – 1450 AD. Wool production was also a major part of the medieval economy, and was exported widely. The monastery at Shap - Ciappi in Vestrebellanda - is recorded in an Italian wool-buyer’s list of 1315 as a source of fleeces.

THE LAKE DISTRICT’S AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Yeoman farmers in the Lake District

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

William Wordsworth ‘Guide to the Lakes’

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

In the centuries before the Union of the crowns of Scotland and England, one of the principle obligations of tenant-right had been the requirement to provide military service in defence of the Border. In the more peaceful times following the accession of James I in 1603, both the Crown and landlords disputed this requirement and challenged the terms of tenant-right. A long legal battle followed but eventually the rights of the yeomen farmers were secured by legal judgment in 1625.

This legal judgment established a unique form of land control and management in the Lake District by the tenant farmers which had profound implications for the
development of local society. The yeomen subsequently had the confidence to make substantial financial investments in their farms which led to the great rebuilding of 1660 to 1740, when the majority of farm houses and agricultural buildings in the Lake District were rebuilt in stone.

This did not mean that all farming tenants within the Lake District had the same social and economic status. There were distinctions of wealth and status that had existed since the 16th century. Some more prominent yeoman families, with larger farm holdings, came close to the status of gentlemen and acted as leaders within local communities. Below these were smaller farmers, craftsmen and labourers.

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

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

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

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

The character of farming at the end of the 18th century.

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

A functional local vernacular architecture developed to accommodate the needs of this way of life – substantial stone houses to protect against the harsh winters, shelter for cows, sheep and pigs; storage for grain and hay from the fields; and storage for charcoal, peat and bracken.

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

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

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

One clear change within the landscape, but not visible from maps, was in the nature of housing. Houses were replaced, though the property forming their context may have remained relatively unchanged. At Stephenson Scale the most recent rectangular farmhouse was occupied during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, with a semi-circular animal enclosure on one side. During the seventeenth century an increasingly independent and wealthy yeomanry invested in new buildings throughout the Lake District, often providing date stones for major phases of rebuilding. Other evidence of the expression of a more powerful and acquisitive farming class is shown in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries when individual farmers or small groups of farmers made fellside intakes throughout the Lake
District. In the Lake District from the seventeenth century farms amalgamated into fewer, larger units and this is a process that is continuing through to the present day. Four processes produced landscape characteristics which overlie locally the essentially medieval nature of the Lake District’s rural landscape. These were industrialisation, enclosure, tourism and forestry. Industrial activity only began to have a significant impact on the Lake District’s landscape in the post-medieval period. It was only then that its scale was sufficient to have anything other than a localised impact. This increase in scale came through an intensification of mining and quarrying, and the application of water power to traditional mineral processing.

The area experienced a late flowering of bloomery production with the application of water power at bloomery forges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Excavations at sites such as Stoney Hazel forge and more recently Cunsey forge are helping to elucidate the complex technological relationship between late water-powered bloomeries and the finery forges of the blast furnace industry. The most significant landscape impact of the intensification of iron manufacturing in the area, however, was the increased exploitation of coppiced woodland. In some instances, the greater value this conferred on woodland led to new areas of woodland replacing former enclosed farmland, as at Haverthwaite Heights near Backbarrow.

The Lake District is a nationally important centre for post-medieval metal ore mining. The sixteenth century copper mines opened by the Mines Royal Company in the Caldbeck Fells are especially significant as the first well-documented large-scale copper mining operation in the UK and the first to employ the advanced technological expertise of German miners. The landscape impacts of mining and quarrying intensification include larger extraction complexes, and widespread spoilheaps, with one of the most dramatic spoil-affected landscapes being the Copper Mines Valley, near Coniston.

The greatest post-medieval change in the rural landscape came with the enclosure of large areas of upland common in the nineteenth century as a result primarily of the general enclosure acts. Associated with the contemporary processes of wetland reclamation and enclosure, these upland enclosures were responsible for the considerable difference in the mapped landscape of the fells as shown on the late eighteenth century county maps and the first edition Ordnance Survey coverage.

In the eighteenth century the combination of powerful natural landscape elements, picturesque scenery, an ancient rural farming pattern and the local, but often dramatic, visual impact of industries was regarded as inspiring and moving. With the unavailability of southern Europe to most travellers, the Lake District became the destination of choice for tourists and aesthetes seeking landscapes suitable for Picturesque and Romantic appreciation. The attraction of the environment encouraged its appreciators to attempt to enhance it with ornamental plantings and landscaping. The advent of the railway in the mid-nineteenth century brought increasing numbers of visitors and led to the development of new urban centres, with the development of settlements like Keswick, Ambleside and Bowness, and the creation of the resort of Windermere.
During the post medieval period woodland cover within the Lake District National Park increased as a result of its value to industry, as a provider of fuel, and its ornamental value, for enhancing Picturesque landscapes. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this increase continued with the development of commercial forestry. The advocates of landscape protection and appreciation, such as Wordsworth, opposed afforestation. Landscape conservation, appreciation, and woodland expansion continue to be contested aspects of landscape development and management in the Lake District National Park, with proposals for the area to become a World Heritage Site and for rewilding its more isolated parts, as at Ennerdale. Throughout its history, environmental and socioeconomic factors have influenced the development of the landscape, and will continue to do so.

Case study: development of the field system in Great Langdale

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

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

The first documentary evidence for land use in Great Langdale dates from 1216 when William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal, granted to Connishead Priory the ‘land of Basebrun’, which then came a separate manor from the Manor of Great Langdale. The course of the boundary wall of first new manor is described in detail in the grant document and can still be identified on the ground today. It was partly rebuilt in the 19th century but some sections that are agriculturally redundant may still comprise the original medieval wall or an early post-medieval rebuild. The grant of 1216 also records a hay meadow somewhere between Wall End farm and Great Langdale Beck, hedges, and the stocking of cattle on the Baysbrown farmland. The existence of a meadow would have necessitated the clearance of stone for cultivation in or before 1216. This therefore suggests that agriculture was well organized in the valley and that cattle farming at Baysbrown had continued from the 10th century.

The grant of 1260 also includes a reference to the ‘inclosed land of Great Langden’, which suggests the existence of a wall built to enclose the valley floor. Such walls have been recorded in Scotland and elsewhere in Cumbria and were an important component of medieval upland agriculture. They were known by a variety of names, including Head Dyke, Fell Dyke, Ring Fence and Ring Garth, as in Great Langdale. The Ring Garth separated the tenanted farmland on the valley floor, which was cultivated in strips as an open field, from the manorial waste on the fellsides. It served as both a legal boundary and a physical boundary to prevent stock trampling the crops growing in the valley bottom. There is evidence that the Ring Garth was still fulfilling its function in 1738 when
rental was collected from ‘... the several persons who put cattle on the common
on the outside of the Ring Garth...’. It is likely that in some form at least, the Ring
Garth pre-dated the manor boundary of Baysbrown.

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

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

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

Fig. # ‘Medieval intakes – NT survey

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

Fig. # Tudor Age intakes – NT survey

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

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

A distinctive feature of the walled landscape are the routeways leading from the
farmsteads to the pasture on the fellside, known as ‘outgangs’. These exist as
walled lanes through the enclosed land, most of which funnel out as they reach the open fell. This funnel helps to direct the flock down into the outgang when sheep are being gathered. The earliest reference to an outgang in Great Langdale dates from 1654. Each farm had its own outgang leading to its sheep ‘heaf’. If another farm used the outrake it would encroach on that heaf and reduce the pasture available to the farm. Use of outrakes was therefore jealously guarded.

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

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

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

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

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

Comparison of the present day landscape of Great Langdale with the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of 1862 indicates that there have been a few changes in the last 150 years. The farm buildings still exist and many continue in agricultural use. Those that do not still retain their distinctive vernacular character. The Lake District HLC has demonstrated that 60% of field boundaries depicted on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map are much as they were in 1862. Those changes occurred have been largely the result of amalgamations within the field pattern that has evolved since the medieval period. There is also been a slight reduction in trees in the valley but the general character of Great Langdale, and much of its detail, remains much as it was at the time of Wordsworth.

LAKE DISTRICT FARM HOUSES FROM THE LATE 16TH CENTURY

In the Lake District, prior to the 17th century, only buildings of high social status, defensive tower houses and churches were significant landscape features. The typical farmhouse comprise a basic single storey, timber cruck framed dwelling with
cobble, rubble or sod walls and a bracken thatch roof. None of these primitive dwellings survive, but their successors in the mid to late 17th century today are probably one of the most recognisable, distinctive and appreciated farmhouses in Britain. They make a major contribution to the character and unique personality of the Lake District.

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

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

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

It is not only the use of indigenous materials that anchors these buildings to the landscape, but it is the careful way that they are sited. Of prime importance was shelter, so windy exposed positions were avoided, and a group of trees were usually planted on the windward side. The dwellings tend to nestle into the valley sides, above the flood plain or frost pockets. Aspect was also vital. Ideally, the dwelling would be aligned to face the morning sun to obtain maximum solar gain for the living rooms, whereas the stairs, buttery and stores would be located at the cooler north facing rear. The unique physical nature of every valley made it difficult to always achieve this ideal alignment. A major consideration was a reliable water supply and every 17th century dwelling was built close to a spring, well or water course. In addition a dwelling needed good access to the arable valley bottom land, the wooded valley sides and the upper sheep pastures and commons. The combination of all these elements has produced an unmistakable impression, so admired, valued
and cherished by writers, poets, artists and photographers including Wordsworth and Ruskin.

Between the mid 18\textsuperscript{th} and mid 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries many changes were taking place in the local economy including improvements in agriculture and better transport networks (especially the railway) and this was accompanied by a quest for better standards of living. More formally designed buildings were built by the gentry and soon these Georgian styles filtered down the social scale. Lake District buildings from the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century reflected a more standardised design and approach, especially the fashion for formal symmetrical frontages. Quarried stone became more available, as well as imported softwood timber from the Baltic, instead of relying on the dwindling supplies of local oak. The change in fuel from peat to coal had an effect on architecture. People now required their house to have more space, privacy and heating with specific, functional rooms, rather than a general purpose living room or “firehouse” of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. As well as new dwellings, some farmhouses were re-fronted, extended, or “improved” in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century in an elegant “pattern book” style. However, in the majority of the older farmhouses, the overall plan layout of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century core has remained unaltered.

**LAKE DISTRICT FARM BUILDINGS**

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

During the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century the wool trade was a key element in the rising prosperity of Lakeland farmers, but the building legacy of this period has nothing to do with sheep. The dominant early buildings were the large threshing barns, set into sloping ground with animal housing and storage below, creating the characteristic “Bank Barns” of Lakeland. Today, we see a green pastoral landscape, but back in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries most of the valley bottoms and lower valley sides were ploughed by oxen for oats, barley and root crops. Changes in land use and farming practices had a direct effect on the need for a range of farm buildings, including crop storage and processing, together with a variety of animals and housing for their fodder.

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

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

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

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

a) **Bank Barn built down the slope:** A long barn with a large top floor and very limited under housing for animals and storage. Double doors into threshing floor at ground level, with small canopy (pentice) above and on opposite side a single narrow winnowing door. Associated with important landowners and built in the late 17th to mid18th centuries, this type is found mainly in the southern Lake District.

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

**Cow Houses (Byres or Shippons):** The original small cow house( for cows and oxen) was attached to the 17th century farmhouse forming an integral part of the characteristic longhouse. Externally the building had a hay loft above, with a pitching door to toss up the hay fodder from a cart. Inside the building was subdivided into stalls with divisions known a “boskins”, made from oak, pine, slate, sandstone, and latterly concrete. These single purpose buildings were superseded when the ubiquitous bank barns provided much better accommodation for cattle.

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

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

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

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

**FARMING IN THE LAKE DISTRICT TODAY**

Although the methods and techniques of farming in the Lake District have followed general transformational developments of 20th century, the ancient landscape of vernacular buildings, walled fields and open fell still characterises what is distinctive about the Lake District landscape. Even more importantly there is still continuity and survival of farming tradition and practice, dialect and family lineage.

In the 19th century it was common for fell farms to have up to 20% of their land in cultivation, to provide cereals for domestic consumption and animal feed including for horses. One of the key changes in Lake District farming has been the reduction of arable farming beginning in the mid-19th century with the improvement of communications and the wider transport of foodstuffs. Arable agriculture
experienced a revival during WWII and arable production on Lake District farms remained common into the 1960s. However it has subsequently receded again and is now limited to more productive fields on the fringes of the area. Another has been the introduction of mechanisation and easier access to the fells using vehicles such as quad bikes. Other key changes include the use of big bale silage and the strengthening of relationships between lowland farmers and hill farmers for winter grazing which has become more prevalent since the outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease in 2001. Although the Swaledale has increased in popularity in recent years, the Herdwick sheep is still the principal breed over much of the mountainous centre of the Lake District and there are between 120 and 150 fell going flocks.

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

THE CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAKE DISTRICT PASTORAL FARMING SYSTEM

The Lake District agricultural landscape is an outstanding example of an upland pastoral system which incorporates both private and communal management and which has evolved over a long period of time. Its cultural elements, including farming methods and built infrastructure, are a direct response to the harsh climatic conditions of this Northern European upland landscape. The persistence and continuity of the essential elements of Lake District farming culture from the early medieval period into the present contribute to its global significance. It is an important survival of a farming system that pre-dates industrial and modern practices that swept over much of the UK, Europe and the rest of the World from the early 20th century.

Key elements of the Lake District farming system include the system of land tenure that has evolved over time, providing a basis for self-sufficiency, and the distinctive local shepherding culture, including communal stock management and breeding practices. A Lake District farmer from 500 years ago would recognise many of the practices of a present day Lake District farm. He would even understand many of the local dialect words used to describe objects and activities. The key factor is the ‘persistence’ of the unique cultural elements of Lake District farming practice. The Lake District is a hand-made landscape which has evolved through centuries of gradual construction and repair by individual farmers and is an ‘ancient countryside’ par excellence.
The Lake District Pastoral system is distinguished from other national and international farming systems by a number of key elements existing in a unified whole with extreme time-depth:

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Common land and the hefting system**
The Lake District has the largest area of unenclosed commons, or unenclosed land, of any farming landscape in Western Europe. A Lake District hill farm typically combines a number of valley bottom fields owned or rented with the farm with grazing rights for a number of sheep (or sometimes horses or cattle) on the common land. The areas of common land that go with the farm are known as ‘heafs’. The practical complexities of multiple shepherds managing so many sheep on such large mountain areas of land are extremely challenging – and the cultural response from the indigenous communities was to develop systems of management that were binding on all, and policed by communal authorities and social norms.

To avoid the possibility of individuals pursuing their own interests at the expense of the community, a system evolved whereby the numbers of sheep each grazier can put on the commons is set by tradition and linked to the grazing capacity of the in-bye, or privately farmed land. These grazing rights are tied to the farm holding not the farmer, and are inherited through generations.
To gather sheep from across extensive areas of fell and moorland a system of communal fell gathering was developed which exists to this day, with the farmers of any common coordinating their flock gathering with neighbours so that the whole common is gathered simultaneously for shearing, clipping, lambing, and tupping (see section on the Herdwick Year below).

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

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

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

Managing common land in this way required the building of a vast infrastructure across the landscape, including dry-stone-walls and gathering pens where sheep from the commons can be gathered, or sorted, and 'penfolds' or 'hospitals', where strays can be placed for collection by the rightful owners. In order to sustain this system of communal efforts and collective endeavor, a system of shepherds 'meets' and valley shows evolved which are partly functional and partly social and which are an extremely important vehicle for the continuation of Lake District farming heritage, and these have continued into the present.

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

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The returns were made at spring fairs, including the Keswick Tup Fair, which is held for this purpose on the Thursday after the third Wednesday each May.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**October - December**
“I’m going to start you on 15th October and I’m going to talk about the ewes. At the end of October we gather to get the ewes in; we’ve already drafted what we don’t want off (drafted means sold out, got rid of the ones that have to go to kill because they’re old, and the ones that we are selling on to breed off). We give them a fluke drench (we’ve just been to the ram sales and purchased any rams for replacement), we clip the tails out so that this does not impede the ram while he’s working. We also give them a blue tongue vaccination. All our best ewes are bred to the pure Swaledale tups and our poorer quality ewes are bred to the blue faced Leicester tup. The tups run for about a month, the raddles change colours about once every 5-6 days (the raddle is the colour marking we put on the tup (it’s orange yellow, green, blue, red) so that we can sort the ewes into what is going to lamb every 4/5 days. After about a month we remove the Swale tups, the ewes are turned back to the fell and we send half a dozen cheviot tups with them; they are what we call chasers, and they are just to catch any sheep that return in season.”

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

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

April and May
“We lamb a lot of the twins inside the sheep sheds, and the singles outside. The ones that lamb inside, they get their navels dipped; they also get a rubber ring on their tails and are castrated within 24 hours. Then they are put outside onto the lower ground. The singles lamb outside; they are castrated and tailed as the shepherds go around. Then the singles are back to the fell within 10 days because we need to clear inbye land and they run on the fell just alongside the pasture land, then the twins will run in the pastures where the singles lambed. It’s the same system up at Borrowdale Head, except that the only difference up there is that we record the pure Swaledales and when the tups are loused, we mark each ewe as to which tup that she has been served by; when she lambs we put an ear tag into her female lamb with a number which we record alongside her mother’s number and that goes in our flock records. We can then trace back the parentage of our sheep like a family tree, and we know the breeding, and so, when we sell, we know exactly how they are bred. We have the sheep split into eight different ear tag colours and they are kept in those colours, if a ewe is pink its gimmer lamb is pink; if its blue, it stays blue, so we can keep a close track on the breeding and what we’re doing and that’s another job at lambing time. Before everything goes back to the fell, there’s a mark out to get the farm mark on and then there’s a scratch for orf; ‘orf’ is a nasty contagious disease which humans can get. If sheep get it they are in an awful mess; there are scabs all over their faces, and so we use a vaccine for that.”

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

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

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

**June- September**

“So the next big thing on the horizon is clipping time. We clip the hogs first about the end of June, so we gather these in, and then clip the ewes two weeks later, clipped by ourselves or by contractors. Once they’ve been clipped, they all have to be re-marked again and the wool needs to be packed up. If we use the contractors we are losing money; that’s a cost we can’t get back, because of the low price for wool. As soon as we have done with clipping, we have our silage and hay on the in-bye land, and we watch the weather with a beady eye because we mustn’t miss any dry days, and we are into August. At the beginning of August, we gather in all the ewes with the blue faced and the mule lambs on and wean these lambs off the ewe. The gimmers are going to breed and the wethers will go to fatten and we check all ewes and anything we don’t want – past it, old, or something wrong with it – they’re out and have to be sold, then everything else goes back on the fells. The ewe lambs which we sell down south to our customer are sprayed with a drug called vetrozin which to keep the blow fly off. We used to dip but we don’t dip anymore. Vetrozin is a drug which stops a maggot developing; the fly can lay its eggs but they don’t hatch. The lambs stay on the inside ground, and the sheep go back to the fell and the fell sheep at Borrowdale Head are a fortnight/three weeks behind. In September we are selling sheep all the time. The mule ewes are going to be used for breeding; we sold a lot of the mule wethers into Northumberland last year to fatten, and the Swale wethers went down into Lincolnshire to be fattened. So by the beginning of October we are basically left with the ewes out on the fell, plus our 500 ewe lambs – pure Swaledale- which we are keeping to maintain our flock. We also sell 150 of our best three crop ewes (the ewes which have had three lambs off our pure flock), and they go on for further breeding in other farms; they are auctioned and that’s when the quality of the breeding really matters. We are then about to send off our 500 gimmer lambs to winter; they have to have 2 injections of heptovac P a month apart, to get them onto the chlostridial system, and somewhere in there they have to have a blue tongue vaccination, and they go away to winter about the middle of October, to Southport, below Kendal, up at Carlisle, anywhere I can find wintering. Then in December we go to look at them and all the ewe lambs are vaccinated against enzioptic abortion and we’ll watch them for flukes and worms”.

*Why has Forest Hall got Swales?*
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PICTURESQUE

Early visitors to the Lake District

Britain’s protracted and frequent wars with France in the late 18th and early 19th centuries made overseas travel extra hazardous, particularly to Europe. Travellers from the more affluent sections of British society had been accustomed to visiting the Alps, Pyrenees and Apennines in search of ‘picturesque’ mountainous landscapes. They now turned their attention to upland areas of Britain, and the Lake District in particular.

The Lake District can lay claim to one of the earliest picturesque landscapes anywhere in Britain. The little viewing pavilion or belvedere at Rydal Falls, within the grounds of Rydal Hall, dates from the late 1660s and demonstrates a taste for picturesque scenery long before the term itself was coined. Equally, the Phillipsons’ late 17th-century house on Belle Isle, the largest of Windermere’s islands, seems to demonstrate an appreciation of the beauties of its situation. A taste for the picturesque cannot be said to have been widespread at this date, however, nor did it attract visitors to the Lake District in significant numbers. Daniel Defoe was more in

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

‘Yes they do, but it also relates to which sheep were making the most money. The Swale became very popular because of the North of England mule - that’s the Swale ewe by the blue-faced Leicester tup- and these were in big demand to go down south to breed fat lambs. They are a very good mother, the north of England mule ewe and they became very popular down south. Breeds change with popularity; this is usually tied in with how much money a breed is making; is it fit for purpose? You can’t run a Herdwick ewe in the south of England and expect two fantastic texel lambs out of it; it just doesn’t happen; you can’t run North of England mule yews up on the top of Coniston Old Man, it just doesn’t work; the sheep isn’t designed for that; that’s back to the constraints issue that we started out with; we are doing a variation what our predecessors have done, and the next man that follows me or whoever will do a variation of what we are doing; he will only alter little things. The only big thing he can do is alter his breed, but then he has to be careful because of his altitude, weather, his farm, the amount of grass it grows; it’s a well-proven thing all this lot and if we’re not careful it will all unravel …’
tune with majority opinion when, writing in the 1720s, he described the ‘unhospitable terror’ that the mountainous scenery inspired.

From the 1750s onwards perceptions changed progressively. A steady stream of visitors to the Lake District, many with literary or artistic leanings influenced by aesthetic theories of the beautiful and the sublime, recorded their impressions in journals, poetry and landscape views and these in turn popularised the area to a wider audience. Among the earliest expressions of this new way of regarding scenery were the engraved lake views of William Bellers (1752-3), John Brown’s *Description of the Lake at Keswick*, published in the *London Chronicle* in 1766 but describing a visit circa 1753 and Dalton’s *A Descriptive Poem, addressed to Two Ladies, at their return from viewing the Mines at Whitehaven* (1755). The poet Thomas Gray’s letters to Thomas Wharton in 1769, subsequently published as his *Journal in the Lakes* (1775), constituted the first response by a literary figure of national stature, and exerted a decisive influence over the young William Wordsworth. Arthur Young’s *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, also based on travels in 1769 but published in 1770, was ostensibly a sober account of farming practices and agricultural potential, but incorporated a scenic tour of the Lake District in the form of a series of long footnotes. William Gilpin’s *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, first published in 1786, though based on a tour made in 1772 and circulated in manuscript form prior to publication, popularised the notion of the picturesque, which was to have far-reaching effects in art and architecture and to a large degree eclipsed the older categories of the beautiful and the sublime.

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

**Guidebooks and viewing stations**

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

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

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

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

Villas

The villa came to prominence as an English building type in the early 18th century as an aristocratic retreat from the social whirl of London. It drew its architectural inspiration from the villas of the 16th-century Italian architect, Andrea Palladio, while at the same time evoking the Roman farm estates celebrated by Virgil and others as repositories of virtue and the simple life in contrast to the vice and intrigue of Rome. The villas built in the Lake District in the late 18th century were among the first genuinely rural villas in Britain.
Wordsworth pronounced Belle Isle, begun 1773-4 on the largest of Windermere’s islands, to be ‘The first house that was built in the Lake district for the sake of the beauty of the country, and this judgement has been generally accepted’. Belle Isle was built for a London merchant, Thomas English, to the designs of a metropolitan architect, John Plaw; its unusual circular plan, with views radiating in all directions, attracted considerable notice. Belmount, near Hawkshead, is a much more conventional Palladian villa with a view over Esthwaite Water. Built for local clergyman Revd Reginald Braithwaite in 1774, it went almost unnoticed by contemporaries. In 1778 Joseph Pocklington, wealthy son of a Newark banker, built a house (now Derwent Isle) on Derwent Water’s principal island – the first of three houses which he built within a mile or two of Keswick. Pocklington professed to be his own architect, and he embellished his island estate with gimcrack ornamental buildings and a stone circle, creating a whimsical backdrop to the regattas and mock sea-battles which he helped to promote, and which became a staple of villa society in the Lakes.

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

A handful of villas followed in the 1780s, but during the 1790s, as British tourists found themselves barred from the Continent, the pace of building quickened. In time this distribution broadened. Before 1800 the first villas had appeared in the Vale of Grasmere, and in the first twenty years of the 19th century they proliferated on Ullswater, Esthwaite Water and Coniston Water. By 1914 only the western lakes, which were more remote, and whose scenery was considered austere and forbidding, remained largely untouched by villas.

The majority of villa builders were outsiders (‘off-comers’) drawn to the Lake District by its increasingly celebrated natural scenery. They were socially varied, though all, of course, relatively well off. A few had aristocratic origins and a handful were built by wealthy churchmen, but many builders were prosperous merchants and professional men, especially from Liverpool and other sea-ports of Lancashire and Cumbria. As the 19th century progressed their numbers were swollen by industrialists, especially from Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some of the less well-off villa builders or occupants (many villas were let, either seasonally or for long periods) were writers, artists and dilettantes; by the mid-19th century they formed a substantial community, centred notably on Ambleside. Not all villa builders were off-comers. Some were home-grown industrialists such as Michael Knott, whose wealth derived from the Furness iron industry, and who remodelled Monk Coniston Hall as a Gothic villa circa 1820.
Quite apart from scale and form, the villa stands apart from its vernacular neighbours by virtue of its relationship to the landscape. All villas respond to the available views, favouring lakes and distant mountains in their outlook, and seeking a moderately elevated site to secure them. Most were approached by a carriage drive and formed the centrepiece of a small estate comprising a mixture of garden and woodland threaded by paths, and – to support a milk cow – an area of pasture, a cow byre and a hay-barn. Some had more extensive parkland and a few (such as Wray Castle) were further augmented by farmholdings. A stable and coach-house, usually placed at a discreet distance, were a necessity, as was, in most cases, a walled kitchen garden. Where the grounds included lake shore, a boat-house was obligatory. The total impact of the villa on the landscape of the central Lakes is immense, and in the most favoured areas – between Bowness and Grasmere for example – villa estates formed a nearly continuous sequence.

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

In the 1840s there was a marked shift away from the rendered villas of earlier years in favour of a celebration of the rugged local slate. Wray Castle, built 1840-47 in the Gothic style, is one of the first indicators of the change; by the end of the decade even the suave Italianate style was being combined with exposed rubble. Wordsworth actively promoted his ideas, advising acquaintances such as Thomas Arnold and Harriet Martineau on the building of a number of villas and the setting out of their gardens. When Elizabeth Fletcher acquired Lancrigg, in Easedale, the existing vernacular building was retained and extended under his guidance to create a small villa rooted in the vernacular past. The traditional circular chimney of the Lake District, praised by Wordsworth and Ruskin, became a popular motif on new villas. Their critique of the early villas, prolonged over a generation, had revolutionised taste and made vernacular forms and materials attractive; so much so that in the ensuing decades some of the older rendered villas (including Belle Isle) were stripped of their offending covering.

With the opening of railways into the Lake District from the mid 19th century, in 1847 it became possible to commute to Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford and Leeds on a weekly or even daily basis. Year-round occupation of villas became a possibility for more than just the retired or those of independent means, and Lakes holidays lasting a week or a fortnight became a realistic proposition for less wealthy echelons of the
middle class, encouraging a proliferation of hotels and boarding houses as well as villas.

From about 1890 a new set of architectural influences, rooted in vernacular forms (though not always those of the Lake District) can be detected in the Lake District villa. The most celebrated examples are the work of C F A Voysey and M H Baillie-Scott on the shores of Windermere, but there are also notable works by Dan Gibson, a Windermere architect and briefly partner of Thomas Mawson, who designed gardens for a number of villas.

After the First World War the market for Lake District villas declined sharply, but very few were demolished. Some, such as Wray Castle, Allan Bank (briefly Wordsworth’s, and later Canon Rawnsley’s home) and the isolated Wasdale Hall, were acquired by the National Trust, albeit usually to safeguard the landscape value of their estates rather than their own architectural merits or historic significance, which were then not adequately appreciated. Some were converted into hotels but many were acquired or leased by institutions associated with the burgeoning outdoor movement: the Youth Hostel Association, the Outward Bound Association, the Holiday Fellowship Trust and a variety of educational and diocesan authorities have all, in various ways, aimed to make the Lake District accessible to the widest possible community. Through such owners and occupiers the villas have continued to play a role in defining the Lake District as a pioneer of evolving attitudes to landscape and society.

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

History of the Lakes Poets and artists
Romanticism, a term applied posthumously to a disparate group of writers, artists and thinkers living between 1760 and 1850, was part of an intellectual continuum nurtured by the picturesque and the age of sensibility, and a reaction against the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on science and rational thought. As an artistic movement, Romanticism valued strong emotion, asserted the primacy of the imagination and the rights of the individual, and saw historical and natural inevitability in the major crises of the day, principally the French Revolution. It also recognised the importance of childhood experience and our complex relationship with the natural world.

In this regard, it can be said that Romantic ideas are the bedrock of the world today, from the expectation of basic rights to the general acceptance of individualism and the media’s obsession with celebrity. Obviously such a movement is not confined to one country or one place. In Britain, however, the Romantic influence, ideas and legacy are very prominent and come disproportionately from the Lake District, which can justifiably be considered the cradle of Romanticism. The particular importance of the Lake District was as an inspiration for the most significant of the British Romantic poets, and in particular William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Modern historians of the environmental movement have traced the origins of the idea of human ecology to the writings of these two authors and William’s sister, Dorothy. This intellectual development led directly to the concerns for the landscape and environment that were played our in the Lake District in the 18th and 19th centuries and have international significance as the foundation of the modern environmental movement.

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

KEY WRITERS

William Wordsworth (1770-1850)

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

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

**Dorothy Wordsworth (1771 – 1885)**

Wordsworth’s sister Dorothy is most famous for her Grasmere Journals, written between 1800 and 1803. Remarkable in their own right, recent research has revealed them to be a frequent source of inspiration for Wordsworth’s poetry, most famously “I wandered lonely as a cloud”, which echoes Dorothy’s vivid description of seeing daffodils on the shores of Ullswater. As Wordsworth wrote of his sister, “She gave me eyes, she gave me ears”. The Grasmere Journals demonstrate Dorothy’s many skills as a writer: her descriptive power, her poetic sensibility and her acute observation of the natural world. Her Journals mix the poetic with the mundane, capturing fleeting thoughts, impressions and emotions. They also provide an important record of the social history of Grasmere in the early 1800s.

**Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834)**

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

**Robert Southey (1774-1843)**

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

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

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

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

**KEY ARTISTS**

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

Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes (1810)

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

The Guide is imbued with Wordsworth’s concern for the relationship between man and nature. What he stresses throughout is the need for balance, for harmony. Buildings in the landscape are not to be condemned as long as they are in harmony with their surroundings, such that they appear “to have arisen, by an instinct of their own, out of the native rock”. Their scale should be appropriate (Wordsworth repeatedly uses the word ‘humble’) and their colouring “clothed in part with a vegetable garb” so that they “appear to be received into the bosom of the living principle of things”. Wordsworth even goes so far as to advocate the use of local soil in colouring the walls of houses.

As well as harmony, continuity is important. Wordsworth defends the ‘statesman’ farmer celebrated in his poem “Michael”, because he takes only what he needs from the land, for himself, his family and his neighbours, and understands the continuity of nature, and man’s relationship to it over succeeding generations. Wordsworth is not opposed to change, but prefers change wrought by natural forces: “Wind and waves work with a careless and graceful hand”.

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

To Wordsworth, the Lake District stands comparison with other spectacular natural landscapes, notably the Alps (which he first visited in 1790). Whilst recognising that the Lake District’s lakes and mountains cannot compete in terms of sheer scale, he finds them much superior in terms of their proportion and propensity to the ‘sublime’. He also asserts the superiority of the Lake District in terms of the variety of its landscape, compared to other parts of the British Isles:
“I do not indeed know any tract of country in which, within so narrow a compass, 
may be found an equal variety in the influences of light and shadow upon the 
sublime or beautiful features of landscape... this concentration of interest gives to 
the country a decided superiority over the most attractive districts of Scotland and 
Wales, especially for the pedestrian traveller.”

References in Writing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ORIGIN OF ECOLOGICAL THOUGHT - WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE

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

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

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

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

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

Wordworth’s choice of home at Dove Cottage in Grasmere reflects a commitment to a distinctive and defined place – ‘Within the bounds of this high concave; here/Should be my home, this valley be my world’. Wrapped up in this decision is his pre-existing appreciation of these valley communities - ‘They who are dwellers in this holy place/Must needs themselves be hallowed’ (Home at Grasmere)
In 1800 Wordsworth began to write the poem Michael, and a specific local environment – Greenhead Gill (and its ruined sheepfold) - helped him pattern his narrative and was the place where he composed much of the poem and then recited it to Coleridge. This place has a time-depth and a resonance which acts as a magnet for poet:

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

These are the original seed experiences of what we have come to appreciate as a pioneering ecological perspective. It may well be that Wordsworth was not the first to have such experiences but Wordsworth was the first to express them in a way which encouraged a shift from the local and specific to the cosmopolitan and the global.

William Wordsworth’s sister Dorothy was also crucial to this development. The fluidity of her responses to the natural world was matched in her Grasmere Journals by spontaneity uninhibited by any intention to publish. Exploring the places and landscapes of the region was shared and celebrated together and Wordsworth said of Dorothy that ‘she gave me eyes, she gave me ears’. Perhaps the most famous example is her description of the daffodils in her journal on 15th April 1802 and its conversion into Wordsworth’s well-known poem Daffodils.

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

Around these early formations of a deepening ecology, the word spread that something was happening in the Lake District; here was a group which was loosely called ‘The Lake Poets’. This journalistic short-hand gave the revolution in consciousness taking place in this region a safe and domesticated ‘brand’ which helped it travel throughout mainstream British culture and then, in later decades, into the United States.

The poems Wordsworth wrote in the first five years of his return to his native region are driven by an intensity of encounter with places and landscapes. However Wordsworth also knew that these places and landscapes were hand-made and managed by a community of hill farmers and shepherds. At first there is an enthusiastic idealization but this is rapidly followed by deeper exploration and
celebration in some remarkable poems. This groundbreaking phase of poetry mutated, from about 1808 onwards, into the prose analysis of his Guide through the District of the Lakes which is threaded together through a ‘protect and serve’ advocacy of a pastoral culture as a guarantor of a vibrant and sustainable cultural landscape. As Wordsworth takes his readers into this cultural landscape, he seeds a human ecology out of a broadly non-literary hill farming way of life, and sets a course for the wider communication of this culture which, until his arrival back home, had been place-specific and regionally circumscribed. Wordsworth had a special gift of empathy with individuals and aboriginal communities who and which were not included within mainstream British and European culture.

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

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

Home at Grasmere

In re-discovering his native community, Wordsworth was able to ground powerful, classical pastoral precedents, in a new ‘real-world’ pastoral; Cumbrian, Lake District, specific, valley by valley, farming family by farming family; shepherd by shepherd. He engaged, especially closely with two farming families – the Ewbanks of Ennerdale (The Brothers, 1800) and Michael, Isabel and Luke of Grasmere (Michael, 1800) and as he does so, he takes on the challenges and crises of the Lake District’s hill farming culture. For Wordsworth, this pastoral life offered a model and a source of place-making knowledge which was more valuable because of the threats to its existence. It is worked through in Michael, a story of one shepherd and his family. The events in the poem date from the 1720’s or 1730’s, which suggests a birth date for Michael of around 1650. Wordsworth emphasizes that he is not drawn to shepherds and hill farmers ‘For their own sakes’ (25), but more for the landscape which they had cultured: ‘...for the fields and hills/Where was their occupation and abode’ (25-6). This culture was rooted in everyday work and intimate knowledge of terrain and climate:

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

(46-9, 56-60)
The poem is imbued with insight about the character of human hefting which is the foundation for this distinctive culture. This insight is inflamed with the knowledge that such foundations had begun to fracture at the beginning of the 18th century, and that the impossibility of succession projected an absolute end to this culture. Wordsworth picks up the story after the tragedy has happened for this family. Poignantly, the location and remnant which holds the poem together and is the story’s evidence is an incomplete heart-shaped sheepfold which Michael began to build and which would have been completed if the worst had not happened. This sheepfold still survives in Greenhead Gill.

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

‘How exquisitely the individual Mind  
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less  
Of the whole species) to the external world  
Is fitted; and how exquisitely too-  
Theme this but little heard of among men-  
The external world is fitted to the mind…’ 

Home at Grasmere

This is directly dependent upon an intricate and multi-layered knowledge of place held by generations of shepherds. To look closely at this culture is to access a profound cross-generational intimacy (in contemporary terms ‘effective succession’) with the terrain and its livestock which is most telling in the practice of hefting both for shepherds and their sheep. Wordsworth’s vision, like the shepherd’s way of life, is resilient and hard edged. There is a political and policy dimension to his advocacy of the Lake District as a bulwark against destructive processes veering into the region which influences the formation of national parks in the United States and the United Kingdom through the assertion that ecology and culture are twinned. It is this conviction which drove Wordsworth to write his famous letter of 14th January 1801, to the then leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Charles James Fox, making a plea for the support of this special Lake District community against the forces of social disintegration:

‘They are small independent proprietors of land here called statesmen, men of respectable education who daily labour on their own little properties. The domestic affections will always be strong amongst men who live in a country not crowded with population, if these men are placed above poverty. But if they are proprietors of small estates, which have descended to them from their ancestors, the power which these affections will acquire amongst such men is inconceivable by those who have only had an opportunity of observing hired labourers, farmers, and the manufacturing Poor. Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings, as a tablet upon which they are written which makes them objects of memory in a thousand instances when they would otherwise be forgotten…This class of men is rapidly disappearing.’
This letter to Fox (an early example of conservation campaigning falling on deaf ears) formed a foundation stone for all Wordsworth’s subsequent promotion and advocacy, that land and landownership was the absolute guarantee of social stability and ecological continuity. Wordsworth’s recollection of the ‘Staveley Revolt’ of 1610 in which the tenant farmers of the Lake District successfully defended their customary tenure called up, for him, the memory of ‘the confederacy of Peasants that gave birth to the Swiss Republic, or the Magna Charta-Barons assembled at Runnymede.

It is in the first drafts of his Guide that Wordsworth demonstrates most directly that the Lake District cultural landscape was founded upon a system of land-management which achieved a legal security and evolved over the succeeding 150 years (from 1610), before once again coming under threat during his lifetime. For Wordsworth, the commitment to land and land-ownership was more fundamental than circumstantial and electoral allegiances. In 1817 he had also argued that Thomas Spence’s radical scheme for land nationalization deserved support as a solution to the conflict between the landed and the landless (Letters, The Middle Years, Part I, p.387). In 1824 he opposed proposals by the agents of Lady le Fleming to enclose Rydal Commons in defence of shepherds and hill farmers.

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

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

A Guide through the District of the Lakes, 1469-73, 76-81, 89-92

Wordsworth’s role and impact within British culture was consolidated and mainstreamed after his death most notably by Matthew Arnold. Its influence in subsequent decades has strengthened and expanded through its perennial presence in school and university curricula and, more recently, within the growth of cultural tourism and heritage. The mix of ‘nature worship’ and spiritual insight in his work has been especially attractive in India and Japan. Wordsworth’s international status was driven most dramatically within the United States from the 1830’s onwards. Here writers and thinkers were discovering the ‘wilder’ nature of the continent and were challenged to reflecting on the spiritual and cultural implications of this discovery. Wordsworth’s work became a guide to some of this exploration. Ralph Waldo Emerson met Wordsworth and Coleridge in Europe in 1832 and the American literary revolution of that time was fuelled in part by several Wordsworthian works. Henry David Thoreau was a strong presence in the circle around Emerson,
and began to put Wordsworthian insights into daily practice, as recorded in **Walden, or Life in the Woods**. John Muir annotated his own copy of **The Prelude**, and spliced Wordsworth’s deep ecological perspective into his conservation campaigning as founder and president of The Sierra Club. This led to establishment of the world’s first national park at Yellowstone. These developments in the United States were then re-imported, with added value, back into British conservation campaigning from the 1880’s onwards, leading to the eventual formation of the Lake District as one of the United Kingdom’s first National Park in 1949. More recently, from the 1960’s onwards, there has been another renaissance in cultural-ecological thinking and creativity enforced by global environmental challenges, and this, in turn, has been informed by Wordsworth’s commitment to place and indigenous cultures worked out so profoundly in the Lake District.

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

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

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

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

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

A potent, if controversial, international legacy of the Romantics in general is nationalism. From their focus on the development of national languages and the seeking of spiritual values in tradition and folklore can be traced movements that would redraw the map of Europe and lead to calls for the ‘self-determination’ of nationalities. The concept still provokes debate, and Romantic nationalism as a
Leading Romantics were prominent in the movement to abolish slavery. The renowned abolitionists William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson (who lived at Eusemere on Ullswater) corresponded with Wordsworth and Coleridge, and when Clarkson’s *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, was published, it was Coleridge who put his reputation on the line to promote it in the Conservative *Edinburgh Review*. In the *Morning Post* of 3 May 1803 we find a sonnet by Wordsworth dedicated to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a slave who fought against slavery and Napoleon and ended imprisoned: “Alone in some deep dungeon’s earless den”. Both Wordsworth and Coleridge would live to see the Great Emancipation act of 1833.

**THE EMERGENCE OF AN EARLY CONSERVATION MOVEMENT**

**The influence of William Wordsworth**

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

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

Further significant protests were mounted against other railway schemes in the Lake District, including proposals in 1883 for railways in Ennerdale and from Keswick to the top of Honister Pass. These were proposed in order to transport iron ore and slate from mines and quarries and both Bills were eventually withdrawn from Parliament for financial reasons. However the improved organization of the protestors also had significant effect and was crucial in persuading the proponents of the railways that opposition to the Parliamentary Bills would significantly reduce the chance of them succeeding.
The other unpopular development in the Lake District in the early 19th century was
the closure by landowners of various footpaths and tracks that had been used by the
public since time immemorial. Although opposition to these closures did not reach
the heights of publicity of later environmental protests in the Lake District, they were
an important element in the development of the popular movement to protect the
Lake District landscape from unwelcome change and to allow visitors to access and
enjoy it.

In 1886 the Contemporary Review recorded no less than 22 footpaths being closed
against tourists. The most notable cases were near Keswick and the protest against
closures at Fawe Park and Latrigg were fought by the Keswick and District Footpath
Preservation Association, formed in 1865 and one of the earliest such organisations
in the country. A letter to the Manchester Guardian published on 7 October 1887
noted that the landowners had erected

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

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

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

Other footpath battles occurred in Ambleside in respect of access to a waterfall
where to gain access the public broke down barriers which had been erected in
order to charge them for admittance and an early footpath preservation society was
formed in Kendal. Wordsworth himself was involved in a case by Ullswater where,
on his way to dine with the landowner, he found a wall across his path which he
kicked down. He subsequently informed the landowner that

‘I broke down your wall, Sir John, it was obstructing an ancient right of way,
and I will do it again. I am a Tory, but scratch me on the back deep enough
and you will find the Whig in me yet’.

Another controversial landscape development, again opposed by Wordsworth, was
the large-scale planting of non-endemic trees in the Lake District. This began in the
late 18th century with a fashion for planting larch. Wordsworth argued that trees and
woodland should be appropriate for the Lake District landscape and while
acknowledging that a few exotic trees within parks or gardens might be acceptable,
he condemned the introduction of conifers and larch, describing the larch plantations
as ‘vegetable manufactories’. Wordsworth argued strongly for the protection of
ancient woodlands and this concern has been at the forefront of arguments over
land management in the Lake District over the last 150 years.
Wordsworth also opposed the enclosure and further reduction of the Lake District’s unenclosed common grazing lands. These were the remnants of the extensive areas of medieval common waste that until the later 18th century extended across much of Cumbria. Even today Cumbria still has a third of all of England’s common land and much of it is within the Lake District. The protection of these common grazings that continue to be farmed in a traditional manner with stinted sheep flocks, has long been an aim of the conservation movement (see below).

The battle over Thirlmere

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

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

When the news broke of Manchester Corporation’s plans, a protest meeting was hastily summoned in Grasmere which led to the formation of the Thirlmere Defence Association (TDA). This was the very first national landscape protection society and comprised members who, in the main, had an interest in the beauty of the Lake District landscape. These included tourism operators and local landowners affected by the proposals, including those along the route of the aqueduct that would be constructed through the Lake District. The TDA was also successful in attracting membership amongst prominent national figure and also received support from abroad.

Many of those who supported and learned from their experience with the TDA had been strongly influenced by the example and teachings of John Ruskin. Ruskin in turn was a disciple of Wordsworth. His influential thought on landscape protection developed from the writings of the Romantic poets of the previous generation who through poetry and literature had advocated a new relationship with Nature and championed the aesthetic and inspirational values of ‘natural’ landscapes and their importance for human spirituality.

Although Wordsworth was viewed at the time as the chief prophet of the conservation movement, his arguments against developments such as railways did not gain widespread acceptance until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when Ruskin added his own considerable moral weight to the campaign against forces his predecessor had feared.
Robert Somervell, who was apparently the youngest present at the first meeting of the TDA, offered to write a campaign pamphlet setting out the objections to Manchester's proposal. The arguments against the damming of Thirlmere which were advanced by the TDA, largely through Somervell's pamphlet but also by its members who spoke publicly, captured the imagination of the public and the wider national press.

**The legacy of Thirlmere**

Although the battle for Thirlmere was lost, the campaign mounted by the TDA was itself of lasting importance as it gave rise to a number of legacies of both national and international significance.

First, and perhaps most importantly, the Thirlmere case established the moral principle that legitimate interest in the transformation of landscapes extended not only to those who had legally documented claims but also to those whose claims were based on other interests including aesthetic values and beliefs and recreational desires.

Second, the innovative style and methods for campaigning that were developed by the TDA, using the national press, pamphlets, public meetings and lobbying of Parliament, set a precedent not only for further campaigns in the Lake District but for all modern environmental campaigns. Protests against developments affecting landscape prior to the Thirlmere case had been mounted by individual landowners and had attracted relatively little attention outside the immediately area that was affected. The TDA, although constituted to fight a specific Lake District battle, had a national membership. These included Robert Hunter, a London barrister, the social reformer Octavia Hill, academics from the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, William Morris and the author Thomas Carlyle. These national figures were crucial in bringing the Thirlmere case to national and international notice and transforming it from a local campaign to one of much wider significance. Through the work of the TDA, almost all the elements of a modern environmental campaign were in place and the battle for Thirlmere was therefore effectively the first national amenity campaign.

Third, the campaign led directly to the development of two separate but crucially important paths towards environmental conservation. One of these began with the formation of the Lake District Defence Society (LDDS) in ####, to counter further threats to Lake District from discordant development. The LDDS evolved into the Friends of the Lake District in 1934. The formation of the LDDS took place against a wider call for a more established national approach to landscape protection. This in turn led to the formation of the Council for the Protection of Rural England in 192##, the formation of a standing conference on National Parks, and eventually to national park designation for the Lake District (see below). Thirlmere, of all amenity battles, made possible the realisation of Wordsworth’s notion of the Lake District being ‘a kind of national property’.
The other path towards environmental conservation that stemmed directly from the Thirlmere campaign was the foundation of the National Trust for England (see below).

The fight for public access and an open countryside

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

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

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND INFLUENCE OF JOHN RUSKIN

Background

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

Ruskin’s eyes were opened to the Lake District landscape through a succession of family visits during which he systematically studied the picturesque stations (especially those of Thomas West) and drew extensively from nature. As an early
student of art, Ruskin studied the work of the English landscape painters and particularly the work of J M W Turner. These visual experiences, many of them of Lakeland scenes, were enriched from the start by the reading of works by the Romantic poets, and Wordsworth in particular. Ruskin briefly met Wordsworth in the Lakes in 1826 but more significantly in 1839 when Ruskin was awarded the Newdigate Prize for Poetry at Oxford he shared the platform with Wordsworth. Ruskin’s early writings took the form of romantically influenced poetry, but soon graduated to prose. When Ruskin published the first volume of his monumental work on landscape painting *Modern Painters* in 1843, he dedicated it to Wordsworth, who was among the first to read it and who included it in his lending library at Rydal. Ruskin not only invoked a direct line of descent from the Romantics, but succeeded in positioning himself as a torch bearer for the continuation of the Romantic flame in an increasingly materialistic world.

**Ruskin’s intellectual development**

From the start of his writings about architecture Ruskin studied and commented on notions of ideal landscape as evoked in the relationship of vernacular dwellings to their environment. In particular, *The Poetry of Architecture* (1837) sets out to explore the ‘association of architecture with natural scenery and national character’. It draws heavily on Ruskin’s early Lake District journeys, and the topographical work by artists such as Samuel Prout. Ruskin established a range of aesthetic principles regarding scale, location, form, colour and decoration which have had enduring influence. From this foundation he went on to develop his particular interpretation of Gothic architecture in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and the ground-breaking *Stones of Venice* (1851-53), which explores the relationship of architecture to the life of its inhabitants and the character of the society which creates it. This social dimension was to become an increasingly powerful feature of Ruskin’s response to landscape as well as architecture and both trace their roots directly to Ruskin’s early exposure to the Lake District’s cultural identity, both on the ground and through his reading of Wordsworth’s poetry and his *Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1835).

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

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

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

Indigenous rural crafts

Ruskin’s influence on the growth of the international Arts and Crafts Movement dates to his early writings on architecture, influenced, as we have already noted, by a study of the Lakeland vernacular. It reached its height in The Nature of Gothic chapter of The Stones of Venice (1853), hailed by William Morris as ‘one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century’. It propelled Ruskin over the remaining decades of the century to a degree of celebrity which was capable of exerting a powerful influence despite his failing health. With his move to the Lake District in 1872, Ruskin began to affect social influence on a local scale through the medium of craft work and small scale industry in the surrounding towns and villages. In the village of Coniston Ruskin encouraged the Coniston School of Woodcarving and introduced innovative ideas in to the school’s curriculum. Ruskin was particularly interested in the industries of the home. The Ruskin Linen Industry was a cottage industry originally established in 1884, through the interest of Ruskin and two friends, Albert Fleming from Skelwith Bridge and his housekeeper Marian Twelves. Ruskin introduced Marian and her community of linen makers to designs of continental lace, challenging a primitive flax industry to transform itself. The resulting Ruskin Lace, as it became officially known in 1894, is a unique form of drawn thread and needle lace which is made in the Lakes and Furness area to this day. In its heyday it provided a number of entrepreneurial women with the livelihood to run shops in Ambleside and Keswick, selling the wares of makers from isolated farms and hamlets in and around the Langdales in the central Lakes. In Keswick it became aligned with the newly established Keswick School of Industrial Arts.

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

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

Writings on natural history and ecology

Ruskin himself drew on the evidence of his own projects to inform and inspire his students and readers. At Brantwood he authored some of his most significant series of environmental writings, drawing closely on aspects of the Lake District landscape. From lectures delivered at Oxford (the first attracted an attendance of over 2,000) and the Royal Institution in London he compiled four volumes of natural history: geology (Deucalion), ornithology (Love’s Meinie), botany (Proserpina) and meteorology (Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century). In this last, he examined the impact of industrial atmospheric pollution upon the Cumbrian skies, as witnessed by daily readings of the weather at Brantwood. From 1871 to 1884 Ruskin penned a series of open letters to the working men of England, Fors Clavigera, which weave together the elements of Ruskin’s experience during the Brantwood years with a critique of contemporary events in the world at large and his own meditation upon the principles he had laid forward for a fair and just society. All these letters drew upon local landscape, people and their lives in ways which rendered them as parables. The very wide dissemination of Ruskin’s work at this time, through the efforts of his publisher George Allen and the ‘pirated’ editions flooding North America, ensured that the ‘local’ nature of Ruskin’s Brantwood years, was also one which achieved ‘global’ significance. The ‘Sage of Brantwood’ became a brand in himself, Brantwood becoming a tourist destination even before his death in 1900, and lending considerably to the perceived authority of his ideas.

Support for environmental campaigns

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

In the battle for Thirlmere resistance was less successful. Ruskin’s objections were more profoundly based upon the relationship of loss to gain. Would the gain to the lives of those labouring in the factories of Manchester outweigh the cost to the environment in the Lakes? In the event, the threat to the aesthetic pleasures of visitors and the rural livelihoods of small Lakeland communities were no match for the commercial and social pressures of Manchester. However Thirlmere served to frame many of the major issues on the environment which are with us today. Ruskin’s contribution, which runs throughout his writings, was to insist that the aesthetic enjoyment of our environment has a moral value that is reflected also in its husbandry. Put simply, we not only get the landscape we deserve, but the landscape we get will shape our future. The critical environmental debate is, therefore, not about saving pristine wilderness for aesthetic purposes (though in *Modern Painters* he advocates saving such areas), but rather one of establishing a right-livelihood for mankind in relation to nature. That such a thought seems sensible (if still challenging) to us now is a measure of how influential on the environmental debate Ruskin and Wordsworth’s ideas continue to be. For more than a hundred years the Lake District has been physically shaped by the endurance of such ideas. At the same time the Lake District has helped to shape the perspective of many millions from around the world of the value of landscape.

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

**Ruskin’s legacy**

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

Both Collingwood and Rawnsley also set out to establish lasting institutional tributes
to Ruskin in the locality. In 1901 Collingwood mounted an exhibition of Lakes artists
in honour of Ruskin and from this grew the idea to create a museum which followed
Ruskin’s educational ideas, with an emphasis on Ruskin’s own life and interests and
on local history. It also led to the formation in 1904 of the Lake Artists Society, a
society which has championed many fine landscape painters and which continues to
thrive and hold regular exhibitions. The Ruskin Museum in Coniston has been
continually open since its foundation. It has recently undergone modernisation and
expansion in the last ten years so that its significant collection of Ruskin material can
be conserved and better displayed and the local history exhibits have been
expanded. In particular, it is currently engaged in a process to accommodate the
remains of Donald Campbell’s Bluebird K7 which sank on Coniston Water in 1967
during an attempt at the world water speed record.

Rawnsley’s championship of Ruskin’s ideas took many forms, the most important of
which was in his pioneering role in the National Trust. More locally and specific to
Ruskin’s legacy in the Lakes was his founding of the Keswick School of Industrial
Arts, which moved into purpose built accommodation on High Hill in 1893. The
building still stands. Rawnsley was closely involved in the parallel development of
the Keswick Museum, a museum which, in 1898 moved into purpose built buildings
in Fitz Park, and which it still occupies. The museum was laid out according to
Ruskin’s model teaching displays with a mixture of local geology, natural history and
art. Rawnsley was responsible in particular for the opening in 1905 of the picture
galleries, which were a venue for exhibitions of the Lake Artists Society.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL TRUST

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

Founders and early development

Octavia Hill, Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley and Robert Hunter are acknowledged as
the founders of The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty
(abbreviated to National Trust). The National Trust was formed in 1895 as a
charitable organisation registered under the Charities Act. Its formal purpose is:
“The preservation for the benefit of the Nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest and, as regards lands, for the preservation of their natural aspect, features and animal and plant life. Also the preservation of furniture, pictures and chattels of any description having national and historic or artistic interest”

The National Trust was originally founded in 1894 and was later re-incorporated by a private Act of Parliament (the National Trust Act, 1907). Further Acts of Parliament between 1919 and 1978 extended the Trust's powers. Under the National Trust Acts the Trust enjoys a unique statutory power to declare land inalienable, thus preventing its property from being sold or mortgaged against its wishes without special parliamentary procedure. The National Trust also has the power to make bylaws to regulate activities on its land.

The National Trust is governed by a Board of Trustees which is appointed and overseen by a Council of elected members and representatives from other conservation organizations.

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

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

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

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

John Ruskin died in January 1900 and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley was instrumental in using this event to appeal for money in order to purchase properties in the Lake District for the National Trust. His first act was to raise funds for a memorial to John Ruskin which was erected on Friar’s Crag on Derwentwater on the viewpoint that had influence Ruskin in his early years. This was technically the National Trust’s first property in the Lake District and Friars Crag was later purchased for the National Trust as a memorial to Rawnsley.

This first major purchase of land in Lake District came with the acquisition of Brandlehow by Derwentwater in 1902 (the 40 hectares costing £6,500 raised by public subscription). This appeal received nation-wide support and contributions came from Princess Louise (the daughter of Queen Victoria) and factory workers in the industrial Midlands. One donor wrote from Sheffield that "All my life I have longed to see the Lakes"; and added, with his contribution of 2s 6d, "I shall never see them now, but I should like to help keep them for others."

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

There was a marked contrast between the types of landscapes that were of interest to 19th century conservationists in Britain and other countries such as the USA and Canada. Here, the early national parks comprised large areas of land which were largely depopulated and considered to be wilderness. The mechanism for preservation in these cases was state ownership. In England, landscapes such as the Lake District that were the focus of conservation efforts were inhabited and worked, both for agriculture and industry. Ownership lay in the hands of gentry and small farmers and the concept that the public might have a say in what happened to privately owned land was both innovative and controversial. Although this issue had come to the fore in the battle over Thirlemere, it had not yet found general acceptance. The English view of property therefore led to an alternative solution to preserving significant landscapes through their purchase by a body established specifically for conservation purposes.

**Canon Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley**

Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley was born in Shiplake, Oxfordshire, to a clergyman and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford where he was influenced by the teachings of John Ruskin. He gained his degree in 1874 and was ordained in the Church of England in the same year. He became a chaplain and worked with the poor in London and Bristol and following breakdown and convalescence in the Lake District, he was appointed as the vicar of Wray, Windermere in 1878. In January 1878, he married a local woman, Edith Fletcher, and the couple had one child, a son, Noel.
In 1882, the young Beatrix Potter holidayed at Wray Castle with her parents and met Rawnsley. Potter was heavily influenced by Rawnsley’s views on preserving the landscape and heritage of the Lake District and he later encouraged her to publish her first book, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit.*

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

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

In 1888 Rawnsley was elected as a member of the new Cumberland County Council and became chairman of its Highways Committee. This gave him a platform to oppose the construction of roads over mountain passes, to secure controls on mining pollution and to promoted adequate signposting of footpaths.

To further protect the countryside from damaging development, Rawnsley conceived the idea of a National, building on an idea proposed by his mentor, John Ruskin Trust, that could acquire and preserve places of natural beauty and historic interest for the nation. Rawnsley’s co-founders in this ground-breaking conservation movement were Octavia Hill and Sir Robert Hunter. The National Trust held it’s inaugural meeting in 1895. Beatrix Potter’s father was the Trust’s first life member and Rawnsley acted as Honorary Secretary for the next 26 years. He was responsible for the campaign to raise money for the Ruskin memorial at Friars Crag, Derwentwater and to buy Brandlehow Wood, the National Trust's first purchase in the Lake District.

Rawnsley published more than forty books, mostly non-fiction and many on Lake District subjects. These included a memoir of Ruskin and also a great deal of poetry. In 1915, after 34 years at Crosthwaite Rawnsley retired to Allen Bank in Grasmere, the house in which William Wordsworth had lived between 1807 and 1813.

Rawnsley died at his home in Grasmere and is buried in the churchyard of his former parish, St. Kentigern’s, Crosthwaite. He bequeathed Allen Bank to the National Trust.
Beatrix Potter-Heelis

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

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

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

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

G M Trevlyan

Dr G M Trevlyan, Regius Professor of Modern History and Master of Trinity College Cambridge, spent holidays in Great Langdale in the interwar period and became convinced that he should help to preserve the unique farming character of the valley through the purchase of farms for their protection. In his English Social History he
wrote that in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century “the beauty of Wordsworth’s homeland attained the moment of rightful balance between nature and man”. In 1928 he purchased Stool End, Wall End farms and the Dungeon Ghyll Hotel in order to donate them to the National Trust. In 1944 he added Harry Place and Mill Beck farms. Between 1928 and 1949 Trevelyan was chairman of the National Trust Estates Committee and he encouraged others to follow his example. It was due to his influence that the majority of both Great and Little Langdale ended up in National Trust ownership.

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

The present day significance of the National Trust in the Lake District

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

Much of the Lake District fell land owned by the National Trust is Common Land and thus the role of the Commons Preservation Society (now the Open Spaces Society) in the formation of the National Trust is still relevant. Over 30% of England’s registered common land is in Cumbria.

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

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

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

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

England and Wales 1895
Scotland 1931
Australia 1945
Ireland 1948
USA 1949
Malta 1965
Bermuda 1970
Fiji 1970
Canada 1973
Italy 1975
Malaysia 1983
India 1984
Slovakia 1996
British Columbia 1997
Korea 2000
Romania 2000
Indonesia 2004

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

The Lake District and the establishment of English National Parks

The history of the Lake District as a national park can be dated to Wordsworth’s writing and his oft-quoted reference to the area as a “sort of national property” for the enjoyment of persons of pure taste (Guide to the Lakes, 1810). Although the term
“national park” had its origins in the US, there was much transatlantic sharing of ideas in this period. This is evidenced in John Muir’s annotated copies of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Wordsworth’s great American disciple Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Ruskin.

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

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

“Protected areas (that) are large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area, which also provide a foundation for environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities” (Dudley 2008).

While this powerful idea has taken root in many countries, it is not suitable for universal application. It is not always possible to find large enough natural or near natural areas to create Category II protected areas (and it is becoming ever less easy to do so). Moreover, there are values other than pristine nature, such as those associated with the interaction between people and nature, that are also worthy of protection. For these and other reasons, IUCN advocates a range of protected area types or categories, of which it recognises six in all. One of these - ‘Category V Protected Areas (Protected Landscapes/ Seascapes)’ - owes its origins in part to the UK national park system and to the Lake District in particular. Category V protected areas are defined by IUCN thus:

“A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value; and where safeguarding the integrity of that interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values” (Dudley, 2008).

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

The Addison report was followed by reports by Dower (1945) and Hobhouse (1947) which resulted in the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949. This later studies made little reference to other national parks and the kind of national park that was enshrined in the 1949 Act in the UK was the first of its kind, and for which there was no model elsewhere.

This model, with its emphasis on conserving beautiful landscapes that people lived in and worked, owes much to the influence of the Lake District. It was not, of course, the only special landscape that led to the establishment of the UK national parks movement. Other areas of the UK such as Snowdonia inspired some of the same responses as did the Lake District. The national park movement also was driven by a parallel concern with access, which was partly focussed on the Peak District. But the Lake District was always at the forefront of the debate on national parks and their protection, for example over the establishment of reservoirs in place of lakes, or aggressive commercial forestry in mountain landscapes. It was images of the Lake District that were most widely used in the period between the wars and during and after the Second World War to generate support for the protection of Britain’s most beautiful landscapes. Lake District scenery was seen as iconic: at its best, it represented the essence of the British national park ideal. The position of the Lake District as primus inter pares among the national park candidate areas is evident in the report of John Dower (1945) and the Hobhouse Committee (1947), in both of which it figures as the first and far the largest of their proposed new national parks. It can be said with confidence that, while it was not the only place about which passions could be raised and political energies harnessed, the Lake District had more influence in shaping the British national parks movement than any other area.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Type of Category V protected area in national law(^{45})</th>
<th>Network of Category V protected landscapes</th>
<th>Dates when Category V protected areas were established (IUCN/WCMC, 1997)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Protected Landscapes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1970 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Nature Parks</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1985 and 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>Protected Landscape Areas</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1963 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Protected by Conservation Order</td>
<td>Yes, in recent years</td>
<td>A few small areas date from 1930s and 1940s; most more recently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>Protected Landscapes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1971 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Regional Nature Parks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1969 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Nature Parks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1958 onwards(^{46})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Several types of protected areas</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1974 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Landscape Protected Areas</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>one small area 1952; then 1965 onwards(^{47})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Regional/Provincial Nature Parks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1967 onwards(^{48})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>Nature Parks; and Protected Landscapes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>In two sets: 1957 onwards; and 1977 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>Regional Parks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Landscape Protection Areas</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1967 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Landscape Parks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1976 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Nature Parks; and Protected Landscapes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1976 onwards; and 1980 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>Protected Landscape Areas</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1973 onwards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{45}\) Using the terminology in the UN List 1997

\(^{46}\) In Germany, there are a few, very small Category V protected areas whose origins predate the war, and the beginning of a national system of protected landscapes in the late 1950s.

\(^{47}\) Hungary has also a number of small Nature Conservation Areas classified as Category V.

\(^{48}\) Two national parks in Italy, Calabria and Stelvio, have been classified as Category V, and first date from the 1920s.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Start date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>Landscape Parks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>one from 1966, then 1987 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Nature Parks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1978 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Nature Conservation Areas</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1978 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Landscape Protected Areas</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1977 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>National Parks; and AONBs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1951 onwards; and 1958 onwards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

The influence of the Lake District on the World Heritage Convention

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

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

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

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

The arrival of Cultural Landscapes represented a maturing of the World Heritage Convention. While the text of the 1972 convention embraces nature and culture, it had until 1992 treated them separately. Thus a site might be recognised as being a cultural, natural or mixed (i.e. both cultural and natural) site, but not having qualities of OUV that arose specifically from the way that nature and culture related to each other. The innovative idea that Cultural Landscapes introduced was that the qualities of OUV might lie in the interaction between people and nature rather than in the cultural or natural qualities in isolation. The Lake District was felt by many to display this interaction but the convention pre-1992 was unable to consider whether the area displayed such qualities of OUV. That this had now been resolved through the debate initiated by the Lake District’s nomination is, in itself, an indication of the area’s importance and influence in relation to international ideas.
SECTION 3.0

Justification for inscription
SECTION 3.1

Justification for Inscription and Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
Note on further editing expected before final submission

S3.1 – Justification for Inscription and Statement of OUV

This chapter was in a late stage of completion, and that version is included here. However, significant comments have been received and significant edits will be required to this chapter as a result. They do not change the themes under which the case for World Heritage is being made, and largely the content is already captured in this version. The changes anticipated relate to the World Heritage criteria which the bid is being submitted under. The version of section 3 included here describes the Lake District under criteria (ii), (iii), (v) and (vi), whereas this will be changed to criteria (ii), (v) and (vi).

An additional note has therefore been included at the start which further detail the changes to follow shortly in section 3.

Section 3.1.e Protection and management requirements is essentially an abstract of Chapter 5 of the Nomination Document. A draft version of section 3.1.e has therefore been included at this stage, but expect it to alter when Chapter 5 has been through its final edit.

Note on the changes to criteria in section 3

Criteria (ii), (v) and (vi) will be used and a preamble will be included at the start of 3.1 to explain the difficulty of fitting the agreed themes of OUV to criteria.

Preamble

An introductory paragraph will state how it has been difficult to fit the OUV to the wording of UNESCO’s criteria which are included in the Operation Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.. This will be placed in section 3.1 rather than the two page statement of OUV. It will also reinforce the idea of the Lake District as one landscape with one intertwined OUV which is expressed through the three identified themes.

Criterion (ii) will cover the following:

The international influence bringing in ideas of the Picturesque and the development and dissemination of the ideas which developed from the Romantic engagement with the Lake District landscape. These are based on the recognised harmonious beauty of the Lake District.. The initial response was to enhance its beauty through the addition of picturesque villas and designed landscapes.. The beauty of the landscape was also celebrated in paintings and literature by Romantic artists and writers. This was hugely successful and led directly to development of a conservation movement to protect the Lake District, which was then successful in translating important conservation ideas to other parts of the world.
The response to making the Lake District more beautiful triggered a change to what happens in the Lake District – in the examples of viewing stations, villas and the things that didn’t happen (e.g. railway) and those that did happen but which stimulated more conservation.

Ideas are also captured under (ii) because they lead to conservation.

In greater detail -

(ii) – the justification for this is based on the interchange first of all between the farmed landscape and the Picturesque additions and later with the conservation movement. This has an international dimension with the importation and application of Picturesque ideas from Europe; the interchange of these with Romanticism; the development of ideas of the importance of landscape and the need to conserve it; the interchange between proposals for development and the new conservation ethos against the wider background of industrialisation; the transmission of ideas about the value of landscape and conservation out from the Lake District to other places, which led to a further interchange of values in other local contexts (in some cases in different directions eg. ‘wilderness’ national parks of the North American type).

Emphasis on the harmonious beauty of the agro-pastoral landscape as recognised in the 18th century, how this led to the overlay of villas and formal landscape on the agro-pastoral, to ideas of value and conservation and the success of the conservation movement in maintaining this harmonious beauty.

The evidence for this in the landscape includes agro-pastoral features, villas and picturesque improvements, the absence of proposed developments (eg. railways) and landscape that is maintained by the NT, NPA and other conservation bodies.

**Criterion (v) will cover the following:**

Land use; agro-pastoral; designed landscape; villas; conservation – all characterised through land use.

Emphasis on the the dynamics of landscape, partly agro-pastoral and partly other things too: the processes that form the landscape and those that still exist. The exact words for use are in the definition of criterion (v): partly land use and partly the reaction to make the landscape less vulnerable to change. The text should recognise the power of the beauty of the Lake District.

In greater detail –

(v) – this will focus on integrated land use including agro-pastoral farming, villa and Picturesque additions and management for conservation purposes. Emphasis will be on the functioning of agro-pastoral farming, explanation of the villa/landscape improvements (choice of location etc) and the intention and practice of conservation management in the Lake District.

The evidence for this in the landscape includes agro-pastoral features and their current operation, the function and form of villas and picturesque
improvements, the practice of landscape conservation as demonstrated in the
landscape by NT, NPA and other conservation bodies. Includes the
conscious maintenance of harmonious beauty and ways to appreciate it
(paths, viewpoints etc).

Criterion (vi) will cover the following:

The Romantic redefinition of the relationship between humans and landscape
leading to the conservation movement – rather than the conservation movement
alone. The conservation movement would not have stemmed from the Lake District
without the previous influence of the Picturesque, Romantic etc. That created the
territory from which the conservation movement emerged.
The conservation movement is the emphasis in this criterion, but link back to where
it sprang from. This makes it an integrated OUV – some criteria emphasise some
elements more than others but end up promoting that there is a single landscape
and a single OUV throughout.

In greater detail –
(vi) – A number of important ideas are associated with the Lake District
landscape: harmonious beauty as recognised in the Picturesque; the new
relationship between people and landscape built around an emotional
response to it, derived initially from Romantic engagement; the idea that
landscape has a value and everyone has a right to appreciate and enjoy it;
the need to protect and manage landscape; and three conservation models of
international relevance.
These various ideas relate one to another. All emerged from a human
response to the Lake District landscape and many have left their mark upon
that landscape.
Evidence is found in: the harmonious beauty of the natural landscape as
modified by farming and industry; the long survival of a functioning agro-
pastoral landscape (supported in many cases by conservation initiatives);
Picturesque and later landscape improvements; the extent of, and quality of
land management within, the NT property; and the success of the
conservation movement (seen in the absence of railways and other modern
industrial developments, the survival of the farmed landscape, and the
presence of villas and formal landscapes).

On repetition

There is acceptance that with cultural criteria there is a likelihood that there will be
overlap between them, the same attributes being referred to in more than one place.
What will be different is the emphasis within each criterion. You start with an entity
and look at different aspects of it – so that “X, y and z are of OUV as ideas and the
landscape reflects these in this way”. Those elements have built the whole. Each
criteria emphasises the main elements of that message. The format means that
there will be repetition.
3.1.a Brief synthesis

The English Lake District is a self-contained mountain area in North West England of some 2292 square kilometres in extent, whose narrow, radiating glaciated valleys, steep hillsides and slender lakes exhibit an extraordinary beauty and harmony. This landscape has been shaped by an agro-pastoral system of unrivalled significance that has persisted unbroken for at least a millennium together with industries based on its abundant natural resources. It has provided inspiration for outstanding works of art and literature, for universally influential ideas about the relationship between humans and landscape and for models of landscape protection which have had global impact. The English Lake District is thus one of the world’s defining cultural landscapes.

Lake District agro-pastoral agriculture, based on local breeds of sheep including the Herdwick, has evolved under the influence of the physical constraints of its mountain setting. The stone walled fields and rugged farm buildings built from local materials, set against their spectacular natural background, form a harmonious beauty that has attracted visitors from the 18th century onwards. Picturesque and Romantic interest stimulated globally significant social and cultural forces concerned with appreciating and protecting scenic landscapes which acted on and were influenced by the Lake District. This included the addition to the landscape of villas, gardens and formal landscapes in order to further augment its picturesque beauty. Later, threats to the Lake District led to a concern for its protection and inspired the Lake District Romantic poet William Wordsworth to propose in 1810, that the Lake District should be deemed “a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy”. The development in the Lake District of the idea of the universal value of scenic landscape, both intrinsic and in its capacity to nurture and uplift imagination, creativity and spirit led directly to the development of a conservation movement which has had global impact. This has included the origin of the concept of legally protected cultural landscapes including national parks, the establishment of the international National Trust movement and the creation of the World Heritage cultural landscape category.

In this respect the Lake District gave birth to and still expresses the idea of the cultural landscape and this is evident in the existing fabric and traditions of the area. No other agro-pastoral landscape has engendered such significant ideas about the value and desirability of preserving landscape. In this way it has become a globally influential model of landscape conservation.

The Lake District today manifests the success of the conservation movement that it inspired, a movement based on the idea of landscape as a human response to our environment; a cultural force which has had world-wide ramifications.

There has been human occupation of the Lake District for at least 10,000 years and evidence of this survives throughout the landscape. The roots of the current agro-pastoral system, the primary factor affecting the present character of the landscape, go back at least one thousand years to the beginning of the medieval period. It is
characterised by enclosed farmland on the valley floors (inbye) and lower valley sides (intakes), with open grazing on the uplands. The key physical and social elements of this system are still in use and active today and it is still the primary activity which shapes the Lake District landscape. The Lake District has also provided raw materials which have formed the basis for local industries. These have also shaped the landscape and there is evidence in the landscape for both past and continuing industrial production.

From the 18th century the beauty of this landscape shaped by farming and industry attracted the interest of the Picturesque and Romantic movements, which in their turn have left evidence of their engagement in the landscape. This initially took the form of villas and designed landscapes intended to augment the innate beauty of the area (Picturesque) and secondly a move to preserve the natural and cultural features native to the Lake District landscape through influence on landscape conservation and management (Romantic).

Recognition in the late 18th and early 19th centuries of the special character of the Lake District landscape through the engagement of these two aesthetic and artistic approaches led to moves to protect it. This process has been a major stimulus for three different approaches to conservation:

1. Preservation through ownership by public/charitable bodies (The National Trust model);

2. Preservation by designation and national or local government regulation e.g. UK National Parks (The Protected Landscapes model of a protected area);


This combination of attributes is the basis of the special qualities of the Lake District, defined as three intertwining and interdependent strands:

- A landscape of extraordinary beauty, shaped by a highly distinctive and significant agro-pastoral tradition and local industry;

- A rich cultural landscape reflecting artistic and literary interest over almost three hundred years which has also left its physical mark;

- A landscape both stimulating and demonstrating the development of awareness of landscape significance and systems for its protection – evidenced in the landscape by protective public ownership (e.g. National Trust ownership), and the effectiveness of a governmental regime of protection and management (National Park designation).
1. A landscape of spectacular natural features, shaped by agro pastoral tradition and local industry which give it special character.

Traditional Lake District farming is an unrivalled example of a northern European upland agro-pastoral farming system based on the rearing of cattle and native breeds of sheep, which for over 1,000 years has adapted to and shaped its spectacular mountain landscape setting. This has created a cultural landscape characterised by a distinctive pattern of stone walled fields for grain and hay in the valley bottoms (in-byde), stock enclosures on the fell sides (intake) and open fell grazing; customary tenure of farms which has provided a high degree of independence for farmers; a system of communal stock management which is underpinned by continuing customs and traditions; hardy breeds of sheep, native to the Lake District, which are hefted to their own areas of fell; and distinctive types of farm buildings. The combination of the physical elements of farming and local industry within a compact and spectacular natural setting have produced a landscape acknowledged to be of extraordinary beauty.

The attributes of the Lake District farming system derive in part from its response to a marginal upland landscape of fells, lakes, valleys and extensive broadleaved woodland. The native Lake District sheep breeds, including Herdwick, Rough Fell and Dalesbred, are derived from ancient stock which have adapted to the harsh conditions of the Lake District mountains. Herdwick sheep are sufficiently rugged to survive winter on the fells although the younger sheep are overwintered on lower ground. Recent DNA analysis has demonstrated that the origin of the Herdwick and Rough Fell breeds lies in the area of Texel Island, off the coast of the Netherlands. In addition, the Herdwick’s DNA indicates that it originates from a common ancestral founder flock which was also the origin for breeds in Sweden (Rya, Gotland, Gute), Finland (Finnsheep, Kainuu Grey Sheep, Aland) and Iceland (Icelandic, Leader sheep). It is therefore highly likely that the ancestors of modern Herdwicks and Rough Fells were introduced to the Lake District by Norse immigrants in the 10th century AD.

Lake District farm buildings are functional and constructed using local materials including stone and slate. Distinctive types of buildings include the stone-walled, slate-roofed farmhouses, which from the 17th century began to replace longhouses constructed from wood and thatch. The physical integration of houses with other farm buildings is particularly characteristic of the Lake District and they display a number of distinctly local architectural features such as large cylindrical chimneys, ‘crow-step’ gables (to help shed the copious rain), spinning galleries and decorated interior wooden fittings. Other distinctive Lake District farm buildings include hog houses (small field barns used for sheltering young sheep on the ground floor with hayloft above); bank barns (structures built into a slope with ground floor accommodation for cattle and an upper floor for threshing); and peat-scales (small stone buildings for storing cut peat which was used in the past as domestic fuel). In England the true bank barn and its variants are confined largely to Cumbria and the Lake District and have parallels in Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries.

Industry in the Lake District derived from the raw materials and opportunities provided by the landscape – minerals and stone, woodland, and water power. These have contributed to the special character of the Lake District through the production of local building materials and as a result of the physical traces of their operation that are visible in the landscape. Some industries such as slate quarrying survive, although not on the same scale as in the past, and others, for example
those based on woodland products, are being encouraged to develop again in order to maintain local cultural traditions and for the beneficial management of local woodland.

The Lake District settlement pattern of individual farms and small farming hamlets is complemented by larger villages, some of which expanded as a result of local industries including mining and quarrying (eg. Coniston and Chapel Stile), and market towns including Keswick and Ambleside. Some of these towns underwent substantial expansion and transformation from the early 19th century to include hotels and other infrastructure to accommodate the tourists who flocked to the area as a result of its reputation as a Picturesque landscape of exceptional beauty and the literary fame of the Romantic poets (see below).

The continuing vitality of the Lake District’s farming culture is also a key part of its significance. This includes: the pattern of family farm tenure with relatively high owner-occupancy; the transfer of knowledge and skills over generations; a ‘hefted’ grazing system which allows communal shepherding without fences and walls on the largest area of common grazing in Europe; shepherds’ guides and breed societies; shepherds’ meets at which stray sheep are returned to owners; agricultural shows; and the survival of local dialect, remnant language, family names, local place-knowledge and traditions. The totality of these surviving attributes forms a distinctive cultural landscape which is outstanding in its quality, integrity and on-going utility.

2. A rich cultural landscape reflecting and shaped by artistic and literary interest over several centuries.

The engagement of artists and writers of international standing who visited, lived and worked in the Lake District with both the landscape and the traditions that maintained it, gave universal currency to the defining elements and value of cultural landscapes and ultimately to the need to conserve them. The spectacular natural lake and mountain scenery and traditional farming landscape of the Lake District was ‘discovered’ as a place of sublime and picturesque beauty in the mid-18th century and quickly became the focus for visits by the English educated classes. Tours of the area were informed by guidebooks such as those by Thomas Gray (1775), Thomas West (1778) and William Gilpin (1786) which identified ‘viewing stations’ from which to enjoy the scenery to best advantage along with prescriptions about how to view the landscape. This was quickly followed by a desire on the part of some to establish villa residences and formal landscapes, which in addition to providing accommodation in this ‘Arcadian’ landscape would augment and enhance its innate beauty.

The initial Picturesque interest in the Lake District landscape derived from the influence of the Italian classical landscape tradition (as exemplified by Claude Lorrain), the more ‘naturalistic’ Northern European style of the 17th and 18th centuries (for example Jacob van Ruisdael and Rembrandt van Rijn) and a vivid engagement with the Swiss Alps. Knowledge of the Picturesque and appreciation of mountain scenery were brought back to Britain from continental Europe by wealthy Englishmen undertaking the ‘Grand Tour’, designed to enrich their cultural education. However, this was no longer possible after 1792 because of the French Revolutionary Wars and later conflicts. Instead, English guidebooks of the time stimulated an alternative domestic focus for seekers of mountain scenery – in Scotland, Wales and above all the Lake District.
Such writers during the 18th century identified similar aspects of beauty in the Lake District. In particular, William Gilpin and others developed the concept of the Picturesque in a way which was ultimately more influential in the Lake District than anywhere else. Gilpin elaborated a self-conscious idea of landscape which challenged visitors to 'appreciate it' in particular ways which were different to the aesthetics of the Grand Tour.

The Picturesque ‘discovery’ of the Lake District stimulated the deliberate addition of features designed to improve, or better appreciate, its acknowledged beauty. These include villas, formal gardens, Picturesque tree planting, modified waterfalls and viewing stations. Many of these survive today and have combined with the underlying agricultural landscape to form a complex cultural landscape of great depth and interest. Key early villas include the circular house on Belle Isle, Windermere (1774) and the gothic hunting lodge of Lyulph’s Tower, Ullswater (c. 1795) with its contemporary Picturesque plantations around the adjacent Aira Force waterfalls. The earliest villas were located in order to have a lake view. They concentrated in those parts of the Lake District which were the focus of visitors from the beginning of interest in the picturesque and sublime and which were more easily accessible by coach – the head of Windermere, Ambleside, Rydal and Grasmere, Derwentwater and around Ullswater. However with the possible exception of the head of Windermere and parts of the vale of Grasmere, the villas and their designed landscapes were integrated with the pre-existing farming landscape to the extent that in the majority of valleys in the Lake District, the overall character remains one of traditional agro-pastoral agriculture. Thus the centuries old landscape pattern of stone-walled inbye fields in the valley bottom, intakes on the lower fellsides, native woodland and stone-built farmsteads, which has its own intrinsic beauty, is often augmented by elegant villas and eye-catching picturesque landscape features which combine to produce a landscape of even greater exquisite quality.

By the end of the 18th century, the first stirrings of the artistic, literary and intellectual movement, which we now call the Romantic Movement, were becoming evident across Europe. The Lake District was at the heart of the English version of this, taking inspiration both from the area’s scenic landscape beauty and its farming culture. This followed the return of William Wordsworth to his native Lake District in 1799. The development of Romantic thought, principally through the writings of William Wordsworth and other ‘Lakes Poets’ produced a new and influential view of the relationship between humanity and landscape.

Romanticism elevated emotion as an authentic source of aesthetic experience, placing new emphasis on such feelings as apprehension, horror and terror, and awe — especially when confronted by the sublime beauty of nature. It also placed the individual’s artistic imagination at the centre of the creative act, rather than "artificial" rules dictating what a work should consist of. So at the heart of the Romantic Movement was a strong belief and interest in the importance of nature and the human response to it: through the landscape, individuals could discover their sense of self. This cultural shift was even perhaps a precursor to recognition of the worth of individual freedom of action, thought and speech and thus the emergence of democracies in Europe and beyond.

William Wordsworth above all gave voice to this view of landscape, and of the virtuous lives - as he saw it - of the people who worked the landscape. His view was
of nature and people living alongside each other in harmony rather than admiration for nature in its wild and unaltered state.

Wordsworth’s views on the aesthetics of landscape and its management were outlined in his Guide to the Lakes (1810) and were linked to the emerging idea of the legitimacy of wider public interest and participation in the Lake District. He hoped that the “new proprietors” who were able to purchase land in the Lake District as a result of the economic difficulties of farming “in order to erect new mansions out of the ruins of the ancient cottages, whose little enclosures, with all the wild graces that grew out of them, disappear” would have “better taste” and “…that skill and knowledge should prevent unnecessary deviations from that path of simplicity and beauty along which, without design and unconsciously, their humble predecessors have moved. In this wish the author will be joined by persons of pure taste throughout the whole island, who, by their visits (often repeated) to the Lakes in the North of England, testify that they deem the district a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy”

Wordsworth’s ideas on landscape found physical expression during his lifetime through his designs for gardens at his various residences including Dove Cottage, Allan Bank and Rydal Mount together with those of friends such as Harriet Martineau (at the Knoll, Ambleside). He also influenced the design of houses, including those of Thomas Arnold at Fox How, Grasmere, in all cases emphasising the importance of local vernacular style over polite villa architecture. These gardens and houses survive today and still reflect the essence of the ideas that Wordsworth advocated. Wordsworth’s relationship with the industrialist John Marshall afforded him even greater influence in the management of the Lake District landscape through Marshall’s purchase of key Lake District estates (see below). In addition, his campaigns against development such as the railway were also crucial for the origins of the conservation movement, further nurtured by the Lake District resident John Ruskin and his followers, that developed to protect the Lake District in the later 19th century and which has been instrumental in protecting the character of the Lake District landscape (see below).

Wordsworth’s poems and descriptions of the Lake District landscape added greatly to tourist interest in the area and also attracted other writers and artists to visit and take up residence. This important cultural legacy is now associated with and expressed through places and landscapes associated with works of art together with writers’ and artists’ houses, burial places and an internationally important collection of original manuscripts and works of art curated by the Wordsworth Trust at Grasmere. Key examples include the various Wordsworth residences in and around Grasmere (Dove Cottage, Allan Bank, Rydal Mount) along with their associated gardens; the Wordsworth burial plot in Grasmere church yard; and Greta Hall in Keswick, the home at various times of Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The collection of the Wordsworth Trust includes Dorothy Wordsworth’s Journal, which in 2012 was included on the UK Memory of the World Register by the UK National Commission for UNESCO as a work of literature of international significance. It also includes all of the known manuscripts of Wordsworth’s masterpiece, The Prelude, the only surviving manuscript of Thomas De Quincey’s Confessions of an English Opium Eater, published in 1821, and an extensive
collection of fine art relating to the Lake District including *Ullswater, Cumberland*, by J.M.W. Turner, a watercolour described by Ruskin as “the great central work of Turner’s life”.

Like Wordsworth, John Ruskin, another influential Lakeland voice from later in the 19th century, also drew inspiration from the landscape. A pioneer environmentalist, geologist and naturalist, as well as a writer on art and architecture and a social commentator, Ruskin discovered his 'ruling passion', a love of landscape, in this region. Indeed the writings of Wordsworth, Ruskin and others exemplify the key ideas of outstanding universal value which derived from the Romantic engagement with the Lake District, including the possibility of a sustainable relationship between humans and nature, the value of landscape for restoring the human spirit and the universal, intrinsic value of scenic and cultural landscape.

During the 19th century, the Lake District landscape was not just the subject of admiration by poets, philosophers and aesthetes, it also of became the focus of a popular tourist industry, which brought viewing stations, hotels, museums and recreational activities designed to enhance experience of the picturesque beauty of the area. The latter included boat trips on Ullswater and Derwentwater during which canons were fired so that the echoes of the explosion would crash like thunder, providing contrast with the inherent quiet of the landscape and enhancing appreciation of the size and looming bulk of the surrounding mountains.

Tourism in the Lake District expanded greatly following the arrival of the railway at Windermere in 1847 and Keswick in 1865, enabling larger numbers of visitors to access the area from the industrial towns of North West England. The legacy of this can be seen in the form and design of the larger Lake District settlements, principally Windermere, Ambleside and Keswick, which developed and expanded to accommodate the visitors.

3. **A highly valued landscape demonstrating the developments of awareness of landscape significance and systems for its protection, including the purchase and holding of property in perpetuity, as exemplified by extensive National Trust ownership and the effectiveness of the regulatory regime afforded by National Park designation.**

The extraordinary beauty of the rich cultural landscape of the English Lake District and early concerns over its protection and management led in the later 19th century to the development of a conservation movement that has had global impact.

The Picturesque interest in the English Lake District from the mid-18th century was accompanied by a recognition by a small number of new landowners and guidebook writers that the innate natural beauty of the Lake District could be damaged by inappropriate development and that this could be prevented by direct action in terms of ownership and management. A key example of this is the case of the oak woods at the northern end of Derwentwater which were inherited by Greenwich Hospital in 1735 following the confiscation of the Derwentwater estate from the Jacobite Earl of Derwentwater, who had been executed for rebellion in 1716. In 1751, as part of its management of the estate and in order to realise assets that would contribute
financially to the charitable foundation, Greenwich Hospital arranged for the sale and felling of the mature oak trees in Crow Park. This occurred at the time that Derwentwater was becoming increasingly valued for its sublime and Picturesque scenery and as a result the felling of the Crow Park oaks, recorded for a wide audience in a well-known print of Derwentwater by Thomas Smith of Derby in 1761, attracted much local criticism (PIC). The Hospital’s actions were also criticised by Thomas West in his Guide to the Lakes of 1778, who in describing the location of his Viewing Station II at Crow Park, bemoaned the earlier felling of the oaks by Greenwich Hospital.

The Greenwich Hospital estate on Derwentwater was subsequently purchased by Lord William Gordon, in 1781, in part because of the controversy over the tree felling and his desire to maintain the land as a picturesque park managed along lines suggested by William Gilpin for Derwentwater in his Observations of 1776. Although Gordon’s primary motivation was promotion of his reputation within society and at court, this is perhaps the earliest example in the Lake District of private intervention in order to protect valued landscape from changes that were deemed inappropriate. The highly valued wooded character of the shore of Derwentwater was thus maintained and this continued when the estate was subsequently purchased by John Marshall, with William Wordsworth’s encouragement, for similar reasons.

Wordsworth’s friendship with John Marshall resulted from a close relationship between his sister Dorothy and Marshall’s wife Jane. Marshall’s wealth derived from the flax spinning industry, and from 1810 he purchased various extensive estates in the Lake District, in many cases at Wordsworth’s suggestion, at Patterdale, Derwentwater, Coniston and Loweswater-Buttermere-Crummock. He eventually owned key areas of land around the heads of six of the lakes. The main purpose behind these purchases was primarily to protect the scenic landscape value of the area rather than economic considerations. Marshall shared with Wordsworth an interest in trees and woodland management and both had a preference for mixed planting of native species as opposed to imported larches; for naturalistic planting rather than regular plantations; and for successive cropping rather than clear felling. Many of these ideas were expressed in Wordsworth’s Guide.

In 1832 John Marshall purchased the former Greenwich Hospital’s Derwentwater Estate, including land at the head of the lake, as a direct result of Wordsworth’s fear that is would be otherwise be subdivided and sold for villa development. As described above, the principle of purchasing scenic landscape for its protection had been established in the case of the Dewentwater Estate by Lord William Gordon in 1781. John Marshall was continuing this process but with a view to protecting the aesthetic value of the landscape as characterised by Wordsworth rather than the strictly Picturesque values of Gilpin. Gordon and Marshall’s purchases of land in order to protect its aesthetic and scenic landscape value comprised private interventions that would be superseded in the late 19th century by the model of public intervention represented by the National Trust. This was assisted enormously by the Romantic tradition in the Lake District and its development of aesthetic value to focus on the traditional, farmed landscape and the society which produced it. The legacy of Wordsworth’s views on the intrinsic value and importance of the local Lake District agro-pastoral farming culture and its landscape thus underpinned the purchase of farms by Beatrix Potter (Mrs Heelis),
GM Trevelyan and others in order to preserve the system of agro-pastoralism which maintained the much-valued form of the Lake District landscape. The eventual gift of many of these farms to the National Trust formed the basis of the Trust’s extensive land holding in the Lake District and has been added to and expanded during the 20th century. This has had a major role in preserving and maintaining the practice of traditional agro-pastoralism in the Lake District and thus the character of the landscape.

In the later 19th century the awareness of the significance of landscape that came from Wordsworth and John Ruskin was infused with an appreciation of the vulnerability of the Lake District landscape and its farming culture. As threats – notably railways, reservoirs and commercial afforestation - increased during the 19th and 20th centuries, the response was a series of hard fought conservation battles in the Lake District. Ultimately the ideas that Wordsworth and other pioneers of conservation had sown in the early part of the 19th century inspired the protection of landscape as we know it now through the designation of national parks and other protected areas as one model of protection; through inalienable ownership represented by the National Trust movement as another; and indeed some aspects of the Cultural Landscape category of the World Heritage Convention as a third.

The protective measures that have been taken as a result, notably by the Lake District National Park and the National Trust along with the watchful eye of the Friends of the Lake District, and the traditional open access to the extensive common land of the fells, make the Lake District a splendid area for walking and climbing. As well as being a place of great beauty with a strong, living farming tradition, the Lake District today has also become a globally acknowledged and genuinely inclusive site for outdoor recreation, personal development and spiritual refreshment.

The Lake District thus directly inspired the idea of the universal value of scenic and cultural landscape, transcending traditional property rights. As probably the single most influential place in developing thinking about the value of lived-in, working landscapes – and their conservation – the Lake District demonstrates outstanding universal value.

The growing awareness of the vulnerability of landscape to the forces of change which developed in in parallel with aesthetic appreciation of the Lake District, had a wider context of the emerging industrialisation of parts of Britain in the 18th century, along with tree-felling and the enclosure for modern forms of agriculture of what were formerly open fields. From this emerged the idea that valued landscapes should be nurtured and protected. This became of course a universally important idea: for example in the United States it influenced American thinkers such Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and John Muir (who regarded Wordsworth as the prophet of nature for the modern age and was also strongly influenced by Ruskin), and also led to the creation of the first national parks. However, the focus in the USA and elsewhere outside Europe was on places that were seen as pristine wilderness, whereas the ideal represented by the Lake District was a lived-in landscape whose people and way of life were to be valued alongside the natural beauty of the area.
The early conservation battles to protect the Lake District, although sometimes unsuccessful, began a chain of events which established the Lake District as the birth-place of an innovative conservation movement committed to the defence of its landscape and community. Successes included the prevention of several attempts to extend the railway from Windermere to Grasmere and beyond (in 1846, 1876, 1886 and 1899), and the agreement with the Forestry Commission to exclude commercial conifer planting from the majority of the Lake District in 1936. A failure at the time was the battle over construction of the Thirlmere reservoir in 1890 but ultimately this proved to be possibly the most important catalyst for the further development of the conservation movement.

One strand of this movement led directly to the creation of the National Trust in 1895 and protection of the Lake District agro-pastoral landscape through the acquisition of key farms (the National Trust is responsible for 94 hill farms in 2015, and owns over 20% of the whole area) fell land and historic houses. The National Trust model of conservation through responsible and inalienable public or charitable land ownership has been applied in many other countries. Another strand of conservation action to emerge from experience in the Lake District was the formal designation and protection of lived-in, working landscapes at both national and international levels; the Lake District was at the origin of UK national parks, and strongly influenced the idea of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Category V Protected Landscapes. A third strand is the part played by the Lake District in the creation of the World Heritage cultural landscape category in 1992.

3.1.b Criteria under which inscription is proposed (and justification for inscription under these criteria)

The criteria which are proposed for inscribing the English Lake District reflect the three qualities which have been identified for the site which comprise: a) a landscape shaped by a continuing system of agro-pastoralism and local industry which has existed for over 1000 years. This has shaped the compact, glaciated mountain and lake scenery of the site to produce a landscape of extraordinary beauty and quality; b) the Lake District landscape stimulated exceptional artistic and literary works and landscape design through the Picturesque and Romantic movements which also developed ideas which have had a global impact on the way that scenic landscapes are valued and protected today; c) The early movement to protect the English Lake District from threats to its landscape led directly to the development of three distinct elements of modern global landscape conservation i.e. protective public ownership (the model of the National Trust), governmental regimes of protection and management (National Park designation for lived-in areas) and development of the World Heritage Cultural Landscape category under the World Heritage Convention.

The candidate site is therefore proposed as a cultural landscape of outstanding universal value under Criteria (ii), (iii), (v) and (vi).

Criterion (ii)
The English Lake District is proposed under Criterion (ii) as exhibiting an important interchange of human values, over a span of time and within a cultural area of the world, on developments in landscape design.

For almost 300 years the exceptional beauty of the Lake District’s distinctive agro-pastoral landscape has inspired globally important literary and artistic works alongside ideas about the value and appreciation of scenic landscape. Initial interest in the Picturesque qualities of the Lake District, stimulated by European artistic tradition, quickly led to the addition of villas and designed landscapes which have added further significance and value to the cultural landscape. The Picturesque interest was then transformed by Romantic philosophy into a deeper and more balanced appreciation of the significance of landscape, local society and place. The ideas that developed from the Romantic interaction with the Lake District have had global impact and include the idea of the universal value of scenic and cultural landscape which transcends traditional property rights. This formed the origin of the concept of protected landscapes and stimulated an early conservation movement to protect the Lake District which has also had global impact.

The English Lake District is a compact area of mountains, narrow, glaciated valleys, steep hillsides and slender lakes with a complex geological foundation composed of many periods of volcanic and sedimentary rocks and rich mineralisation. The area is almost circular in form and the valleys are arranged in a radial pattern from the centre, likened by William Wordsworth in his Guide to the spokes of a wheel. The distances between the valleys are small but the steep slopes of the surrounding fells make travel between them difficult and each valley has its own distinct character based on a combination of underlying geology, vegetation and human interaction with the landscape. The Lake District thus displays both unity and diversity and its compact dimensions are of a human scale which contrasts strongly with more massive mountain ranges such as the Alps.

The combination of compact mountain and lake scenery with physical elements of agro-pastoral agriculture in the Lake District has produced a landscape of great harmonious beauty which attracted early proponents of the Picturesque movement in the 18th century. Their high esteem for the landscape was influenced by an aesthetic derived from both the Italian classical landscape tradition exemplified by the paintings of Claude Lorrain and the more ‘naturalistic’ Northern European style of the 18th century (represented for example by the landscape paintings of Jacob van Ruisdael and Rembrandt van Rijn). This led initially to physical additions and improvements to the Lake District landscape according to the prevailing Picturesque aesthetic which have added further significance and value to the cultural landscape. This can be traced as early as 1668 to the building by Sir Daniel Fleming of a summerhouse in the grounds of Rydal Hall to frame a view of a waterfall on the Rydal Beck. This was followed in the 18th and 19th centuries by the building of villas and the creation of designed gardens and landscapes. Picturesque interest also stimulated an early tourism industry in the Lake District which expanded greatly following the arrival of the railway in the mid-19th century. This has influenced the development and design of the larger towns, which expanded to accommodate the new visitors.
The Picturesque notion of scenic landscape beauty was rapidly assimilated in the Lake District by the development of new and revolutionary Romantic ideas about the relationship between humans and nature. The key ideas of outstanding universal value which derived from this Romantic engagement with the Lake District included the possibility of a sustainable relationship between humans and landscape, the value of landscape for restoring the human spirit and the universal, intrinsic value of scenic and cultural landscape. These key ideas were infused with an appreciation of the vulnerability of the Lake District landscape and its farming culture. Their initial impact on the Lake District landscape was relatively limited in extent but of high significance and included William Wordsworth’s encouragement of the purchase of land by private owners in order to protect the qualities of the area.

As threats to the Lake District increased during the 19th century the ideas that developed through Romantic engagement were taken up by a later generation of campaigners, including John Ruskin and his followers, which underpinned the later conservation battles in the Lake District. This led directly to development of a conservation movement rooted in understanding and appreciation of Lake District landscape and farming culture which has had global influence as the basis for the concept of cultural landscape at an international level and for the development of the globally important conservation initiatives as described under Criterion (vi).

**Criterion (iii)**
The English Lake District is proposed under Criterion (iii) as bearing a unique testimony to a cultural tradition which is living.

The Lake District cultural landscape has been shaped by a combination of a long tradition of agro-pastoral agriculture and local industry, influenced by its compact mountain setting, together with later overlays of picturesque villas and designed landscapes and the influence of the conservation movement which it inspired. These elements are interdependent, each stimulating the next and the sequential addition of each over time has added to the richness and value of the Lake District’s cultural landscape. Although all these elements are of individual outstanding universal value in their own right, together they are underpinned by a unique, intertwined and vibrant cultural tradition of farming, industry, artistic creativity, tourism, outdoor recreation and landscape conservation which continues to shape the landscape and is unparalleled elsewhere.

The living cultural landscape of the Lake District is an outstanding example of the “combined works of man and nature” that has survived for hundreds of years, adapting to social and economic pressures. At its root this exceptional landscape has been shaped by a tradition of agro-pastoral farming and local industry which has developed for over a millennium to work within the limits imposed by the marginal upland environment. The attributes which demonstrate the outstanding universal value of this agro-pastoral system are outlined under Criterion (v) below.

The tradition of agro-pastoral farming and local industry in the Lake District was an integral element of the extraordinarily beautiful landscape that was ‘discovered’ in
the mid-18\textsuperscript{th} century as a result of Sublime and Picturesque interest. The augmentation of this landscape with villas, gardens and picturesque improvements from the mid-18\textsuperscript{th} century added further value and significance to an already rich cultural landscape as indicated under Criterion (ii) and the construction of significant villas continued into the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, with several key examples built in the Arts and Crafts style. Although the majority of the Lake District still presents a dominant character of agro-pastoral farming, the elegant buildings and formal landscapes of the villa tradition have become an integral part of Lake District cultural tradition and are as much the focus of conservation efforts by the National Trust and others as the farming landscape.

The traditional farming society which had produced and maintained the Lake District landscape was a central focus of the Romantic engagement with the Lake District and was celebrated and (in part) romanticised through the writings of Wordsworth and his fellow Lakes poets:

‘Towards the head of these Dales was found a perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturists’...this pure Commonwealth; the members of which existed in the midst of a powerful empire, like an ideal society or an organized community whose constitution had been imposed and regulated by the mountains which protected it... many of these humble sons of the hills had a consciousness that the land, which they walked over and tilled, had for more than five hundred years been possessed by men of their name and blood...’

W. Wordsworth, \textit{A Guide through the District of the Lakes} (1810)

As a result of the Picturesque interest, the wide publicity that resulted from early guidebooks and prints, and the international political context of the mid-18\textsuperscript{th} century with its emphasis on nationalism, the English Lake District rapidly became celebrated as a ‘landscape of nation’ – both for its scenic beauty and the character of its traditional society. Actions which were seen to damage the qualities of this celebrated landscape, for example the felling of the oaks at Crow Park, Derwentwater, received a critical reception and this resulted in limited but significant initiatives by private purchasers to protect the character of the landscape (see above). These initiatives continued on a wider scale through Wordsworth’s influence and in pursuit of the landscape ideals that he promoted. Wordsworth’s more famous pronouncements on the Lake District as “a kind of national property” and his opposition to railway development were also accompanied by direct actions to support the traditional way of life, including his successful opposition to proposals to enclose the Rydal Commons.

The ideas regarding landscape protection which originated from the Romantic engagement with the Lake District led directly through the activities of John Ruskin and his followers to the emergence of the early conservation movement including the National Trust, which in turn has had global impact (see Criteria (ii and vi)). In addition to its significance for conservation, this intertwined relationship between farming and artistic inspiration is also now part of the wider Lake District cultural tradition as evidenced in the continued focus of artistic work on local agro-pastoral farming and its relationship with the landscape. Examples include the sheepfold
sculptures by Andy Goldsworthy and recent exhibitions on sheep farming (Pic eg. Landkeepers Exhibition/Ian Lawson).

A further result of the increasing reputation of the Lake District was the development of a tourist industry from the second half of the 18th century. Early visitors to the Lake District were restricted to the moneyed and educated classes but the arrival of the railway at Windermere in 1847 afforded easy access to the Lake District for workers from towns and cities in North West England and resulted in a ‘democratisation’ of the Lake District. Towns in the Lake District including Ambleside and Keswick expanded to accommodate the new visitors and the physical evidence of this includes hotel buildings dating from the late 18th century and the survival of brick-built structures in Keswick and elsewhere constructed from materials imported by rail.

From the late 19th century the Lake District became a destination for walking holidays for the working classes, often stimulated by Wordsworth’s poetry, facilitated through organisations including the Cooperative Holidays Association and the Holiday Fellowship. This was followed by the Youth Hostel Association from 1930 and the Lake District still has the greatest concentration of Youth Hostels in Britain. Today the Lake District receives over 15.5 million visitors each year, including many from outside the UK.

The tradition of walking holidays which developed in the Lake District was made possible in part because of the traditional open nature of the Lake District fells as opposed to the physical restrictions in areas such as the Peak District. Walking and the value of outdoor experience for spiritual refreshment was also an integral practical element of the Romantic tradition, following the practice of Wordsworth and Coleridge. The origin of sport climbing can also be traced to the Lake District in the late 19th century, and together with wider outdoor activities has now become an important part of the Lake District cultural tradition.

In an international context, the Lake District landscape and cultural tradition demonstrates fully the attributes of IUCN Category V landscapes as “A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values” (https://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/gpap_home/gpap_quality/gpap_pacategories/gpap_category5/). The international significance of this category of protected cultural landscape as represented by the Lake District was underlined through the adoption by IUCN of the Lake District Declaration in 1987(see Criterion (vi) below).

Criterion (v)
The English Lake District is proposed under Criterion (v) as an outstanding example of a traditional human land-use which is representative of a culture and human interaction with the environment which is vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.
Traditional Lake District farming is an unrivalled example of a northern European upland agro-pastoral farming system based on the rearing of cattle and native breeds of sheep, which for over 1,000 years has adapted to and shaped its spectacular mountain landscape setting. This has created a cultural landscape characterised by a distinctive pattern of stone walled fields for grain and hay in the valley bottoms (in-bye), stock enclosures on the fell sides (intake) and open fell grazing; customary tenure of farms which has provided a high degree of independence for farmers; a ‘hefted’ grazing system which allows communal shepherding without fences and walls on the largest area of common grazing in Europe; hardy breeds of sheep, native to the Lake District; and distinctive types of farm buildings.

The continuing vitality of the Lake District’s farming culture is also a key part of its significance. This includes: the pattern of family farm tenure with relatively high owner-occupancy; the transfer of knowledge and skills over generations; shepherds’ guides and breed societies; shepherds’ meets at which stray sheep are returned to owners; agricultural shows; and the survival of local dialect, remnant language, family names, local place-knowledge and traditions. The totality of these surviving attributes forms a distinctive cultural landscape which is outstanding in its quality, integrity and on-going utility.

The attributes of the Lake District farming system derive in part from its response to the limits imposed by its marginal upland landscape context. Native Lake District sheep have been bred over centuries to cope with the harsh conditions of their mountain setting. These include the Rough Fell and Herdwick breeds, which recent DNA evidence indicates were introduced from northern Europe, possibly by Norse immigrants in the 10th century AD.

Lake District farm buildings are constructed in a distinctive local functional, vernacular style which incorporates features such as massive cylindrical chimneys and ‘crow-step’ gables, both of which are designed to cope with strong wind and rain. Distinctive local farm buildings include hog houses, (small field barns used for sheltering young sheep on the ground floor with hayloft above); bank barns (structures built into a slope with ground floor accommodation for cattle and an upper floor for threshing); and peat-scales (small stone buildings for storing cut peat which was used in the past as domestic fuel). In addition to individual farms and small farming hamlets, the Lake District settlement pattern also includes larger villages, some developing as a result of local industry, and market towns.

Local industries developed alongside agro-pastoral farming based on the minerals and stone, woodland, water power which were available. Some industries such as slate quarrying still survive, and others, for example those based on woodland products, are being encouraged to develop again in order to maintain local cultural traditions and for the beneficial management of local woodland.

The traditional knowledge and skills required for maintaining this agro-pastoral landscape have been transferred over generation and their survival today contributes to the very high authenticity, integrity and significance of the Lake District landscape.
Criterion (vi)
The English Lake District is proposed under Criterion (vi) as being directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

The Lake District has had a unique and globally significant role in shaping ideas about the relationship between people and landscape. An initial fascination by early visitors with the harmonious beauty of the Lake District’s scenic agro-pastoral landscape was quickly followed by its stimulation of revolutionary Romantic ideas of a new relationship between humans and landscape based on emotional engagement and more balanced participation. The development in the Lake District of the idea of the universal value of scenic landscape, both intrinsic and in its capacity to nurture and uplift imagination, creativity and spirit led directly to the development of a conservation movement which has had a global impact. This has included the origin of the concept of legally protected cultural landscapes including national parks, the establishment of the international National Trust movement and the creation of the World Heritage cultural landscape category. On this basis the Lake District has given birth to the idea, and is in some respects the archetypal example of the cultural landscape. The Lake District manifests the physical evidence of this long and changing interaction between humans and landscape.

The increased profile of the Lake District landscape that developed from the mid-18th century as a result of sublime and Picturesque interest was quickly followed by concerns over developments that might harm its special qualities. These were first expressed over the issue of the felling of trees but then extended to general issues of tree planting and woodland management and the development of villas and surrounding formal grounds. This led to a small-scale but significant intervention by private purchasers to secure and protect landscape that was considered scenically important.

The focus on appropriate landscape management in the Lake District intensified through the Romantic engagement with the area and in particular through the views on landscape expressed by William Wordsworth in his Guide of 1810. Wordsworth’s direct influence led to further significant private initiatives to purchase landscape for protection of its scenic landscape value and also to the application of local Lake District vernacular style to the design of new houses in the area. As an example, the history of the management and ownership of the land around the head of Derwentwater demonstrates the way that this process affected landscape. This included the area of Crow Park where the felling of mature oak trees in 1751 had attracted local criticism because of the effect on the scenic landscape value of the area. The surrounding estate was subsequently purchased by Lord William Gordon and then by John Marshall (with Wordsworth’s encouragement), in both cases in order to protect its scenic landscape value. In the 20th century this estate was purchased by the National Trust and is now held for the public as inalienable land.
The highly valued wooded character of the shore of Derwentwater, the ‘Queen of the Lakes’, has thus been protected for almost 300 years.

Concerns over developments such as the extension of the railway into the Lake District increased in the later 19th century and the early campaigning of Wordsworth was taken up by John Ruskin and his followers. Objections by Wordsworth, Ruskin and others to a number of proposals to extend the railway through the central Lake District between 1846 and 1899 were successful and they were never implemented.

The Romantic engagement with the Lake District produced innovative and revolutionary ideas of a new relationship between humans and landscape based on emotional engagement and more balanced participation. This led to the development in the Lake District of the idea of the universal value of scenic landscape, both intrinsic and in its capacity to nurture and uplift imagination, creativity and spirit and prompted Wordsworth to propose that the Lake District should be deemed “a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy” (Guide, 1810).

This philosophy underpinned the widespread objections to the new reservoir that was proposed by the Manchester Corporation at Thirlmere in the 1870s. Although this key conservation battle was unsuccessful in achieving its objective, it proved to be of crucial importance as the direct stimulus for further successful campaigns, by the Lake District Defence Society (later the Friends of the Lake District) including the prevention of a railway from Derwentwater to the Honister slate quarries in and the founding of the National Trust, which has had global impact. In the 20th century the successful prevention of the spread of conifer plantations into the Lake District through a historic agreement with the government’s Forestry Commission was another key conservation milestone.

There is a direct line from the early private interventions for conservation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries through the Romantic ideas of the universal value of landscape, the conservation concerns of Wordsworth and then John Ruskin and his followers, to public conservation initiatives which continue today. Three globally significant models of landscape protection emerged from the early conservation initiatives in the Lake District, all which had their roots in the fight to protect the Lake District’s cultural landscape:

1. The National Trust model
The main feature of this approach is the acquisition of key properties and landscapes in order to hold them in perpetuity for the benefit of the nation. The Massachusetts Trustees of Public Reservations, founded in 1891, had pioneered the approach. This, along with Ruskin’s advocacy for the protection of the Lake District and the work of early conservation bodies elsewhere in the UK, inspired and influenced the group of campaigners who came together to create the National Trust in 1895 as a body to acquire and protect places of natural beauty and historic interest. In 1907 the UK parliament passed the National Trust Act which granted the Trust the unique statutory power to declare land ‘inalienable’. Inalienable land or property cannot be sold or mortgaged. Where inalienable land is threatened by compulsory purchase order, the National Trust may invoke a special parliamentary...
procedure involving a joint select committee of both Houses of Parliament. The National Trust has gone on to be the leading landscape and heritage conservation body in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and has also been the model that has inspired the establishment of National Trusts or similar non-government organisations in over seventy countries. This growing worldwide network of similar trusts has found a global voice through the establishment of the International National Trusts Organisation in 2007.

2. The Protected Landscapes model of a protected area
This model involves the formal designation of lived-in, working landscapes for protection. Following Wordsworth’s proposal of the Lake District as “a sort of national property” (1810), the Lake District became central to the movement to create national parks in the UK; indeed, it represented the UK national park ideal. This became reality through the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, and the designation of the Lake District as a national park in 1951. Although there are of course earlier examples of national parks internationally, the UK parks were the first to comprise complex, inhabited cultural landscapes, and the national system of protected landscapes established through the 1949 Act in the UK was the first such system to be developed to give them recognition and protection. The international significance of the category of protected cultural landscape represented by the Lake District was underlined through the adoption by IUCN of the Lake District Declaration (1987) which reinforced the importance within IUCN of its Category V Protected Area (known as Protected Landscapes or Seascapes). This approach to conservation is now widely promoted by IUCN and adopted in many parts of the world, both complementing other more strict forms of nature protection and recognising the importance of cultural influences in landscapes that are rich in natural values. In recent months, IUCN has reconfirmed that the Lake District, along with other national parks in England, Wales and Scotland, meets the international definition of a “protected area”.

3. The World Heritage Cultural Landscape model
It was the nominations of the Lake District as a World Heritage Site in 1986 and 1989, both of which were deferred, which led directly to a debate within the committee about how to recognise cultural landscapes with outstanding universal value. From this review eventually emerged the adoption by the World Heritage Committee in 1992 of the World Heritage Cultural Landscape category of cultural sites. The World Heritage Convention is now the only international legal instrument which recognises and protects cultural landscapes. Again there is a direct link back to the Lake District.

Cultural Landscape categories
In addition to the Criteria listed above, the English Lake District is being also submitted as a candidate World Heritage site under the cultural landscape categories as outlined in the UNESCO Operation Guidelines (Annex 3).

The cultural landscape categories that are relevant in this case are:
(i) Landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This includes the landscape of villas and designed gardens which are addressed under Criterion (ii);

(ii)b Organically evolved landscape which is continuing. This includes the traditional culture of agro-pastoralism addressed under Criterion (v) and the intertwined cultural Lake District cultural tradition of farming, artistic inspiration, tourism and recreation and conservation, addressed under Criterion (iii), which continues shape the Lake District landscape;

(iii) The associative landscape. This includes the ideas which derived from the Romantic engagement with the Lake District landscape which underpinned the conservation movement that emerged as a result of threats to the Lake District. These are addressed under Criterion (vi).

(DIAGRAM TO BE INCLUDED TO DEMONSTRATE LINKS BETWEEN CRITERIA AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CATEGORIES)

3.1. c Statement of Integrity

Each valley in the Lake District has a distinctive character which is derived from its particular landscape history and is reflected in the varied distribution and character of the evidence for the attributes of outstanding universal value. These include: the physical arrangements of agro-pastoral farming; the villages and market towns which serviced the wider landscape initially for agriculture and later also for tourism; the presence or absence of villas and designed landscape elements; and the successes of the landscape conservation movement. However the thirteen Lake District valleys combine to form a coherent and whole cultural landscape linked through physical attributes such as common fell grazing, the bloodlines of the indigenous Herdwick and Rough Fell sheep, the distinctive vernacular architecture of farm buildings, villages and towns and intangible attributes such as the longstanding customs and traditions of Lake District upland farming together with the continuing notion of the ‘English Lake District’ as a sublime and Picturesque landscape and the Lake District as the object of an early and universally significant conservation movement. This last attribute has resulted in the protection of the Lake District as a national park and the 1951 national park boundary includes sufficient evidence of all the tangible and intangible attributes which demonstrate the outstanding universal value of the English Lake District cultural landscape

Does the Lake District include all the elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value?
The proposed English Lake District World Heritage site represents a coherent and complete whole, containing all the OUV attributes needed to demonstrate the processes that make this a unique and globally significant property. These include:

- The tangible and intangible elements of the agro-pastoral farming system based on the local breeds of sheep, including the Herdwick (distinctive buildings, walls, land use comprising in-byre, intake and open fell grazing,
communal management of grazing and other social organisation and traditions that underpin the functioning of the system).

- The character and function of the villages and towns in the Lake District. The traditional settlement pattern included large villages, often reflecting the needs of local industry, and market towns which provided wider services for the agro-pastoral farming system. The Lake District towns and villages have developed over many centuries and in the 19th century some towns expanded and adapted to provide accommodation and services for tourism. This is evident today and Lake District towns are busy places that continue to serve the needs of the 47,000 residents and the almost 16 million visitors who come each year. Towns and villages were and continue to be an integral part of the cultural landscape and are therefore one of the attributes which demonstrate OUV.

- The elements of the Picturesque overlay of landscape augmentation (villas, gardens and formal landscapes);

- The residences of the Lakes poets, places associated with their works and their burial plots. Also the residences of John Ruskin at Brantwood and Beatrix Potter (Mrs Heelis) at Hill Top, together with places associated with Potter’s literary and conservation work;

- ideas that led from an appreciation of the harmonious beauty of the Lake District landscape to the concept of cultural landscape, its value and the need to protect it (the conservation management of the Lake District).

- The existing manifestations of the conservation movement that developed to protect the Lake District (farms, villas and formal landscapes owned and managed by the National Trust, the work of the Friends of the Lake District and the establishment and operation of the National Park Partnership).

The proposed area for the World Heritage Site is coterminous with the National Park boundary and is of adequate size to ensure the complete presentation of the processes and features which convey its significance. It demonstrates all of the elements of a unique fusion of traditional agro-pastoralism, later landscape augmentation, a tradition of tourism and outdoor activity, artistic activities and the manifestations of the conservation movement that developed to protect the Lake District. The relevant tangible and intangible attributes demonstrating OUV are demonstrably whole and complete with regard to nomination under Criteria (ii) (iii) (v) and (vi).
Are the attributes of OUV sufficiently intact to convey the OUV?

The attributes that define the OUV of the Lake District display a remarkable intactness across this unique landscape. The physical features of the agro-pastoral farming system have developed and survived for over 1,000 years. Some of the field walls in use today can be traced back to the 13th century and the majority were constructed by the end of the 17th century. They have been maintained through continued use and the practice of traditional skills such as dry stone walling. Many of the farmhouses date from the 17th century and have been maintained with their original features intact through a combination of tradition and practice, National Trust ownership and planning controls applied by the National Park Authority. More recently agri-environment grant schemes have provided funds for maintenance of traditional and historic landscape features. For example between 1994 and 2004, 650 agricultural buildings were conserved under the Lake District Environmentally Sensitive Area scheme at a cost of over £10 million.

Most of the villas, gardens and formal landscapes of the Lake District are intact and in good condition either as a result of private ownership and investment or ownership by the National Trust and National Park Authority. Major schemes of conservation and restoration have been funded, often through the Heritage Lottery Fund, including those at Monk Coniston, Allan Bank and Lowther Castle.

The essence of the harmonious beauty of the Lake District landscape, combining natural and agro-pastoral features and later designed landscape has also been maintained through traditional management, conservation initiatives and planning control. The Lake District Landscape Characterisation Assessment (LCA) and Guidelines (2008) inform and underpin management planning and development control. The LCA defines the individual characteristics of the different areas of the Lake District and assists with making judgements about the inherent sensitivities of the different landscape character units, their capacity to accommodate change and future management needs.

The Lake District is managed by the National Park Authority in partnership with a wide range of other organisations (the Lake District National Park Partnership) which include the National Trust (which owns and manages over 20% of the Lake District National Park) and other major landowners such as United Utilities and the Forestry Commission. All these are party to a Partnership Plan which aims to maintain the special qualities and OUV attributes of the Lake District. The Lake District, like other landscapes, has certainly changed over the last two hundred years. However here, more than in most other places, a special effort has been made to protect the key characteristics of the landscape and to resist unwelcome intrusions.

3.1. d Statement of authenticity

As an evolving cultural landscape, the Lake District conveys its OUV not only through individual attributes but also the ways in which these are distributed amongst the thirteen constituent valleys and combine to produce an over-arching pattern and system of land use. The key attributes relate to a unique fusion of a natural landscape which has been shaped by a distinctive system of agro-pastoral
agriculture and local industry with the later overlay of villas, gardens and formal landscapes influenced by the Picturesque movements; the resulting harmonious beauty of the landscape; the stimulus of the Lake District for artistic creativity and globally influential ideas about landscape; the early origins and ongoing influence of the tourist industry and outdoor movement; and the physical legacy of the conservation movement that developed to protect the Lake District.

**Agro-pastoral system**

High authenticity in agricultural traditions, techniques and management systems is maintained in the Lake District because the physical agro-pastoral system is underpinned by unique social and cultural processes which survive largely intact. The ongoing Lake District pattern of agro-pastoral farming, which has developed for over a millennium utilising the three-tiered system of in-by, intake and open fell grazing still operates in each of the Lake District’s thirteen principal valleys.

Such a survival of a tradition of farming and managing the land is rare in Northern Europe in terms of its quality, density and on-going utility. The extent of common grazing land in the Lake District is one of the largest in northern Europe and is managed through a system of commoners associations which regulate traditional rights and ways of farming. Lake District farms have a distinct historic form of land and stock tenure that gave small farmers greater independence and security than in most other Northern European landscapes. ‘Landlord flocks’ of ‘hefted’ sheep are tied to the farms and are part of the tenure, providing continuity which is rare elsewhere.

There is also a high degree of continuity of both people and sheep in this landscape and some farming families can trace their tenure over 400 years. Recent DNA research on the genetic origins of local Herdwick and Rough Fell sheep has demonstrated that the breeds are likely to have originated on the island of Texel off the coast of the Netherlands and was therefore probably introduced to the Lake District by Norse settlers in the 10th century. The authenticity and health of the bloodlines of Herdwick and Rough Fell and other local breeds of sheep are protected and managed by the various breed associations and through the system of local shows and swapping of rams between flocks in different valleys.

The landscape pattern and key elements of the socio-cultural-economic system that Wordsworth observed in the early 19th century in his *Guide to the Lakes* therefore still exists in remarkably good condition today in a way that is rare in an international context. These tangible OUV attributes of agro-pastoral farming are the physical manifestation of an intangible culture of shepherds’ meets, shepherds’ guides, smit and lug marks (ways of distinguishing ownership), and collective gathering practices that remain very much alive. Cumbrian dialect is strong in the Lake District, particularly amongst farming families and includes remnants of extinct language, for example in the terms used for counting sheep.

The continuity and consistency of traditional farming practices and land management methods as a form of local knowledge has effectively maintained the landscape the same way for at least 400 years. The survival and authenticity of this agro-pastoral landscape has been facilitated in large measure by the sympathetic management of
farms and land owned by the National Trust together with the statutory function of the National Park Authority to preserve the special qualities of the area, and the existence of EU agri-environmental schemes.

The physical elements of this system, including the buildings (in a distinctive local vernacular form and style), walls and pattern of in-by, intake and open fell grazing, survive in a clearly defined and easily recognisable pattern that still operates today. In many of the narrow valleys the remains of the medieval ring garth – the wall separating the common grazing of the valley bottom from the open fell – can still be traced. The valleys also display the pattern of irregular walled intakes on the fell sides which were constructed from the medieval period up to the 17th century, and which were followed by the straight-walled enclosures deriving from local agreement or, very occasionally, parliamentary statute.

The continuing distinctive system of agro-pastoral agriculture is therefore wholly authentic in terms of form and design, materials and substance, use and function, and its traditions, techniques and management systems.

**Farm houses, agricultural buildings and stone walls**
The farm houses, barns and other agricultural buildings constructed in a distinctive local style constitutes a key element of the Lake District cultural landscape. Many farm houses dating from the late 17th and early 18th centuries survive in good condition and are still in use today. This has been assisted by various factors including transmission over the generations of knowledge and skills in the use of local building styles and materials; ownership and sympathetic management of key historic farms by the National Trust; and control of development since the designation of the National Park in 1951. The construction and maintenance of stone walls is a prized skill amongst the Lake District farming community and is supported by competitions organised by the Friends of the Lake District and at agricultural shows. In recent years agri-environment grant schemes have also provided substantial funds for the repair and maintenance of farm buildings and walls, and which are arguably in a better state now than for many years.
The farm buildings and stone walls of the Lake District therefore display a high degree of authenticity in terms of form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems.

**Local industries**
Industries in the Lake District were based on locally available raw materials and power – wood products, stone and mineral and water power. Many industries which were important in the past, including metal ore mining and iron smelting, have now ceased, albeit as recently as 1990 in the case of mining. The production of charcoal and other woodland products still survives on a small scale and is being encouraged through grant schemes and training in relevant skills in order to maintain cultural traditions and to continue the practice of coppice management of woodland in order to maintain biodiversity. The archaeological remains of past industries constitute an important physical element of the landscape and considerable investment is being made in recording and conserving them.
However slate quarrying is still an active industry in the Lake District and there are currently around five active quarries along with a limited number where stone is being re-worked from spoil tips. The availability of local slate is important for the maintaining the character and authenticity of local vernacular buildings. There is therefore relatively good authenticity in terms of form and design, materials and substance, use and function, and its traditions, techniques and management systems of past and present industry in the Lake District.

**Towns and settlements**
In the past the farming settlement pattern of individual farmsteads and small hamlets was complemented by larger villages, often reflecting the employment needs of local industry, and market towns which provided services for the area. The arrival of the railway at Windermere and Keswick in the 19th century and the advent of mass tourism led to an expansion of key towns to provide the requisite accommodation and facilities. These include Windermere (which after 1847 developed from the village of Birthwaite), Keswick, Ambleside, Bowness and Grasmere. The 19th century development was generally achieved as an addition to the existing settlements and thus the medieval street patterns of Keswick and Ambleside survive alongside the many earlier buildings of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Towns and other settlements in the Lake District retain their historic character and are authentic in terms of form and design, materials and substance, and use and function.

**Early tourism**
Hotel architecture in the Lake District has its own distinctive style, involving the use of local materials such as stone and slate and incorporating features such as Italianate towers. This has become an important element of the historic character of Lake District towns and settlements and as with earlier buildings, these are afforded protected through statutory designation, planning policy and Conservation Areas designation. The majority of hotels are still performing the function for which they were constructed.

Other tourist services which maintain traditional style and equipment, at least from the 19th century, include the various pleasure boat services on the lakes which followed soon after the arrival of the railway. The Lake District also remains an important location for the ongoing development of the outdoor movement and has the highest concentration of youth hostels in the UK together with many school and college outdoor centres and climbing huts.

**Villas, gardens and formal landscapes**
Many of the key 18th and 19th century villas, designed landscapes and gardens survive in the Lake District both in private ownership and through ownership by the National Trust or other charitable or arts trusts. Their character and authenticity is preserved through statutory designation as well as good management and application of planning controls by the National Park Authority. Examples include the repairs to the house on Belle Isle which was damaged by fire in the 1996 and restored using authentic materials and traditional techniques according to the original design. Those houses in which are privately owned still fulfil the use and function for which they were constructed. Those in the ownership of the National
Trust also demonstrate continuity of use through their management for maintenance and appreciation of the harmonious beauty of the Lake District landscape, in this case by visitors.

Sites and collections associated with the Picturesque and Romantic movements

Many of the views of scenic landscape beauty which were identified in the 18th and 19th centuries and captured in paintings or prints or described in literature survive as a result of traditional land management or conservation actions by responsible organisations. The landscape has clearly changed in detail but the overall feel has been retained or could be restored in some cases through vegetation management. Examples include the spectacular panorama of lake and fells viewed from the head of Derwentwater; the prospect of the vale of Grasmere from Loughrigg Terrace; the view of Glencoyne Park and the head of Ullswater from Gowbarrow; and the outlook over Tarn Hows with the backdrop of the Coniston Fells. The survival of all these attributes is assisted by the policies and management of the National Park Authority working with other key organisations in the Lake District National Park Partnership, including the National Trust and Friends of the Lake District.

Many residences of the key Lake District poets survive. Dove Cottage is owned and managed by the Wordsworth Trust, which also curates an archive containing the most important collection of Wordsworth manuscripts anywhere in the world. In 2005 the Jerwood Centre was built to house the Trust’ collections which includes Dorothy Wordsworth’ s Journal, which was included in 2012 on the UK Memory of the World Register by the UK National Commission for UNESCO as a work of literature of international significance. The National Trust owns Wordsworth’s former residence at Allan Bank and the Wordsworth family still owns and manages his last home at Rydal Mount.

The views of the Lake District landscape which provided artistic inspiration are still authentic in their principle characteristics and this is evidence in their continuing inspiration for artists today.

The conservation movement

The conservation movement which developed over the last two centuries to protect the Lake District has also helped to ensure its survival and authenticity. The results of the early conservation battles are evident in the landscape in the absence of rail infrastructure in the central Lake District, the restriction of conifer plantations in the majority of the Lake District and in the survival of agro-pastoral agriculture in its traditional form.

The farms and land purchased by concerned conservationists, including GM Trevelyan and Beatrix Potter (Mrs Heelis), in order to preserve the traditional agro-pastoral system, still survive in authentic operation as part of the wider National Trust estate in the Lake District. The conservation ethic enshrined in public policy in the Lake District and embodied in the establishment of the National Park Authority to preserve the special qualities of the area, has underpinned the survival and authenticity of the landscape. This has been achieved through the protection of craft skills, the use of local materials and the encouragement of traditional techniques of
land management including local agro-pastoral agriculture and woodland management. It has ensured that there is a high degree of authenticity across the whole of the landscape. Without intervention from the pioneers of the conservation movement, without the embodiment of a conservation ethic into public policy, and without the active preservation of local skills and indigenous knowledge, the authenticity of the Lake District would have been seriously compromised.

**Spirit and feeling of the Lake District cultural landscape**

The Lake District maintains a tradition of using local materials and traditional techniques of building and maintenance of the landscape. High authenticity is demonstrated through the ongoing use of local stone and slate in the construction of farm buildings and walls. This varies from valley to valley according to the local geology and there are still a small number of active quarries in the Lake District. Important traditional skills, such as riving slate to produce the traditional roofing materials for local housing, are still practised.

There is clear evidence from the thousands of visitors who flock to the Lake District each year that its harmonious beauty continues to inspire the human spirit. The Lake District has a strong sense of place and the distinctive local system of agro-pastoralism is underpinned by a robust sense of local identity and pride which is necessary for the operation and maintenance of a hand-built landscape in a marginal setting. The Lake District landscape has inspired visitors from the 18th century until the present and its authenticity of spirit and feeling is intimately bound to the Romantic ideas of self-discovery, inner response and the inspiration of cultural landscape that developed in the Lake District. This has resulted in the Lake District becoming a globally acknowledged and genuinely inclusive site for outdoor recreation, personal development and spiritual refreshment.

**Does the area suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.**

Potential threats to the integrity of the Lake District’s OUV attributes can be identified at different levels. Local threats to the physical attributes and landscape beauty include inappropriate development (for example unsympathetic alteration to historic buildings, wind turbines) which can be influenced through planning policy and control. Other potential threats such as extensive conifer plantation have now receded, partly through strategies and agreements between the National Park Authority and its partners. Integrity of the agro-pastoral system rests in large measure on the continuity of generational succession which can be affected by economic factors such as the cost of local housing. The National Park Authority is working with partners through policy development and other mechanisms to identify sites for local needs housing.

Economic depression affecting the local economy and particularly the farming sector is a larger scale threat to maintenance of the physical attributes of the Lake District cultural landscape which is more difficult to counter. However, the success of the Lake District National Park Partnership, with its emphasis on development of the local economy as part of the means of protecting the special qualities of the area, is a major step forward. Other potential large scale threats include disease (Herdwick flocks were badly affected by Foot and Mouth disease in 2001) and the effects of climate change, including flooding. The latter is being tackled locally through a major effort to reduce carbon consumption in the Lake District. This may lead to conflicts
between polices for carbon capture and water retention and the need to sustain the cultural landscape and traditional uses but these will be managed in keeping with the tradition of innovative conservation that is a key part of the Lake District’s case for OUV.
Change in towns and villages is inevitable but development proposals are carefully managed in order to maintain their historic significance and value.

3.1.e Protection and management requirements

The nominated Site is well protected by international standards. The English Lake District is protected by international and national laws. In particular the Site is a formally designated UK National Park under The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 so benefits from robust UK and local legislation and land use planning protection. There is also a strong and effective wider system of legal protection afforded to a range of specific natural and cultural features, a number of which convey attributes of outstanding universal value. This includes the protection of Sites of Special Scientific Interest, Scheduled Monuments, Listed Buildings, and Special Areas of Conservation.

The production of a National Park Management Plan is required for national parks in England under the Environment Act 1995. Formerly, the National Park Authority took sole responsibility for the preparation of Management Plans for the Lake District, which are reviewed and updated every five years. Since 2010, the statutory management plan (now known as the ‘Partnership Plan’) has been prepared by the Lake District National Park Partnership, which currently consists of 25 key stakeholders committed to the protection and management of the Lake District. This multi-agency approach maximises the effectiveness of the Plan and its delivery. The Partnership can therefore demonstrate a successful track record of preparing and delivering Management Plans across the nominated Site, including monitoring its condition. The current arrangements for developing and implementing the Management Plan provide a high degree of confidence for the effectiveness of established management systems.

The Lake District National Park Partnership has formally adopted the nomination of the Lake District for World Heritage inscription and has decided to combine the Partnership Plan with the Management Plan for the candidate World Heritage site. A Management Plan has been therefore been developed as part of the nomination dossier which covers the period 2015-2020. This includes the requirements for managing both the World Heritage site and the National Park. It describes an integrated management concept incorporating the aims and measures necessary to realise the protection and conservation of attributes and special qualities, as well as the use and sustainable development of the Site. The requirement to protect the attributes of the cultural landscape which define its outstanding universal value, based on consistent implementation of internationally and nationally binding legal standards, is central to management of the nominated Site.

The Lake District National Park Partnership was established in 2006 to deliver a shared vision for the Lake District. The Partnership’s 25 component organisations own approximately 40 percent of the nominated Site, and fulfil a number of statutory functions. These 25 organisations have made a long term commitment to protect and manage the nominated Site, including ensuring the long term sustainability of
agro-pastoralism, through all the relevant legislative and regulatory instruments available to them. The Partnership approach to management ensures there are adequate staff and financial resources available to manage and protect the nominated Site.
SECTION 3.2

Comparative Analysis
3.2 Comparative Analysis

The Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District – see Section 4; Criteria for Outstanding Universal Value - is a weave of three strands each of which is an integral and inseparable part of the whole. Firstly the Lake District is a working, functional agro-pastoral landscape that has evolved a unique identity over a thousand years. Secondly this particular blend of people and place has inspired writers and poets of both the Picturesque and the Romantic movements who have recognised and successfully communicated an appreciation of the beauty, harmony and social value of the Lake District as a cultural landscape. Thirdly the public appreciation of the value of the Lake District as a cultural landscape has given rise to a conservation movement that has not only influenced the Lake District as an evolving landscape but has promulgated a universal understanding of the need to conserve the value of working cultural landscapes.

This comparative analysis therefore looks to compare the Lake District with other sites – World Heritage Sites (WHS), Tentative List Sites (TLS) and other sites (OS) - within a comparable geo-cultural region that equally displays a fusion of ideas and place that have had an equivalent influence on the conservation of cultural landscapes. Europe has been selected as a comparable geo-cultural region with similar geo-physical conditions out of which comparative functional, working cultural traditions could evolve and be associated with the development of ideas, beliefs and artistic and literary works.

Since fundamental to this fusion of ideas and landscape is the Lake District’s roots as an agro-pastoral landscape - the first strand - this comparative study begins with an examination of upland agro-landscapes in Europe. Within Europe’s four physiographic regions of the Alpine System, the Central Plateaus, the North Western Uplands and the North European Lowlands, the first three contain upland landscapes.
Agro-pastoral comparison

The Alpine System occupies a vast area of Europe, stretching eastward for nearly 800 miles (1290 km) across the southern part of Europe from the Pyrenees through the Alps and the Dolomites – which rise to 4000m - and on to the Carpathians, the Dinaric Alps, the Balkan Peninsula, the Apennines of Italy and the Pindus Mountains of Greece. The historic working landscapes that embraced the Alpine pastures and which had evolved a close working relationship with the villages on the lower plateaus, are now lost. They were pastoral landscapes, exemplified in the landscape of the Haute Maurienne (OS), where the communities moved in annual local migrations called remues. The flocks and herds of today, bells round their necks, range the lower alpine pastures in an adaptation of the traditional working landscapes made to accommodate the present principal industry of the Alpine region of skiing and tourism.

As Alpine Europe stretches down the Balkan Peninsula, the Apennines of Italy and the Pindus Mountains of Greece it is increasingly affected by the Mediterranean climate which influences the nature of the working landscape that evolved in these areas. The result is a distinctive natural landscape of dry terrain which makes agriculture a challenge. The crops that prosper best include olives, figs, almonds, vines, oranges, lemons, wheat, and barley. Animal husbandry is a component of these mixed farming regimes but the poor quality of pastureland necessitates vast untilled areas being left for flocks of sheep and herds of goats that travel nomadically and precludes the form of pastoralism found in the Lake District, dependent as it is on high rain fall and a temperate climate favouring grass growth.

Between the Alpine System and the North-Western Uplands are the landscapes of the Central Plateaus and the North European Lowlands. These landscapes are characterised by rolling hills, steep slopes and dipping vales, and deeply carved river valleys. Working landscapes developed that reflected the distinct combination of climate, geology, relief, landforms, soils and vegetation. In the south in the summer these high plateaus saw the arrival of large flocks of sheep. In the hot, dry summers of the south the grass in the low lying lands was soon exhausted. Consequently shepherds drove sheep from their winter pastures in the plains to summer pastures, alpages, in the Massif Central, the Pyrénées and the Alps and up to the Meseta of Spain. This ancient practice of transhumance, often meaning journeys of some 300 miles (480Km), carved a pattern of drove roads into these landscapes. Modern road systems and the growth of traffic have largely made transhumance a thing of the past and this has changed the character of the working landscapes that had been shaped by this centuries old practice. Some remnants of the system are still to be found in the Causses and Cévennes (WHS) and the Volcans d’Auverge (OS) in the Massif Central and in Madru-Perafita (WHS) and Monte Perdu (WHS) in the Pyrénées an in the Italian Alps -The Transhumance; The Royal Shepherd’s Tracks (TLS). These Mediterranean influenced agro-pastoral systems, now largely lost, were a response to physical conditions very different from those experienced in the Lake District.

To the north of this Central Plateau, the Black Forest presents a mass of fir forests while to the southwest, near the River Rhine, there are small fields and meadows
with prosperous farms at the edge of white fir forests and market towns nestling in tributary valleys. The Rhine has cut deep, scenic gorges through the higher plateau lands – the Upper Middle Rhine Valley (WHS) here recognised as a cultural landscape - but for over its course across the central plateaus it flows quietly through gentler slopes covered with vines and where agro-pastoral systems play only a minor role in the traditional farming systems that had evolved.

Further north and west the North-Western Uplands is covered by forests. In the far north the forest gives way to an open landscape of tundra and to the most northerly working cultural landscape in Europe inhabited by the Sami (OS) people noted for their semi-nomadic pastoral system of reindeer herding. In the less mountainous parts of Scandinavia, as in much of Baltic Europe, with their short growing season and cold, acid soils, agriculture supports only a low density of settlements. Working landscape hug the coast or occupy the many islands which enabled a mixed farming system, including fishing and animal husbandry, to develop; landscapes typified by that of the Swedish island of South Oland (Sodra Oland WHS) in the Baltic Sea where human beings have uniquely adapted their way of life to the physical constraints of the island for over five thousand years. These are agro-pastoral and silvi-pastoral systems quite distinct from that operated in the Lake District.

**Comparison of the Lake District with other UK upland landscapes**

In the United Kingdom and Ireland more comparable upland agro-pastoral systems have evolved developing particular breeds of sheep, cattle, deer and indeed ponies – New Forest (OS), Exmoor (OS), Dartmoor (OS), Connemara (OS) - adept at coping with their particular physical conditions. Most are afforded legislative protection as Category V (1994 IUCN Guidelines) protected landscapes/seascapes, having been occupied by humans since at least the Stone Age. All are otherwise distinct from one another displaying particular physiographic characteristics of geology, relief, landforms, soils and vegetation overlaid by differences in climate which when manipulated by people of differing traditions, skills and life styles has resulted over time in highly individual working landscapes with distinct vernacular styles of building and farming.

The distinctiveness of the Lake District as an upland agro-pastoral landscape lies firstly in the fact that its is a mountainous area: a characteristic it shares with the Snowdonia, Brecon Beacons, Cairngorms and Loch Lomond, Trossacks and Conmemara national parks (OS) and with the Mountains of Mourne (OS) in Northern Ireland – an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. However within this context the Lake District is distinct in being a mountainous agro-pastoral landscape that held communities within the mountains; within its thirteen radiating valleys. This gave a character and a form of self sufficient agro-pastoralism – including the breeding of the Herdwick sheep hefted to the fells for over 600 years - not found in other the mountain ranges of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. This and the other unique characteristics of the Lake District are well set out in this document. However the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the Lake District doesn’t lie solely in its unique identity as a working, functional agro-pastoral landscape that has evolved over a thousand years, but in the fusion of this strand with the second and third strands of its OUV; the blend of ideas and place that instigated the movement towards the recognition and protection of cultural landscapes.
Artistic and conservation inspiration in the UK

The particular uniqueness of the Lake District lies in the fact that its managed human quality as an agro-pastoral landscape was valued by writers and poets of the Picturesque and Romantic movements of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Lake District was not the only upland landscape recognised and valued by artists and poets in the United Kingdom over this period. Exmoor (OS) was equally a source of inspiration for William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and the Wye Valley (OS) on the English/Welsh border and the Derwent Valley in the Peak District (OS) were also described as sources of the Picturesque by William Gilpin (1724-1804). Among many other examples Snowdonia (OS) inspired the painter Richard Wilson (1714–1782) and the Surrey Hills (OS) drew the artist George Lambert (1700-1765). But they and other artists of the period saw British landscape from the perspective of a European classical tradition of landscape painting. Uniquely the Lake District was valued by writers and poets for itself; for its inherent qualities of beauty and harmony as a working landscape that was the physical expression of the interaction between man and nature developed over a thousand years. The Lake District led the way in turning that appreciation into a desire to conserve cultural landscapes which had a universal resonance. The Lake District was rightly among that first of four English landscapes designated as national parks.

Artistic and conservation inspiration in mainland Europe

In contrast, the Romantic Movement in mainland Europe of the same period valued untamed nature and their cultural associations with myths, legends and folklore – Watzmann (OS); Naturpark-Harz (OS) – associated with Goethe’s Faust – Naturpark-Siebengebirge (OS) in Germany, or later with painters – Montagne Sainte-Victoire et Sites Cézannien (TLS) in France. The working landscapes of mainland Europe were not threatened with radical change in the 18th and 19th centuries as they had been in Britain with the enclosure movement between 1750 and 1850 and the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Indeed the working cultural landscapes of mainland Europe remained largely unchanged until after the First World War. Therefore no movements grew up to regret loss – there was no William Wordsworth (1770-1850), to oppose change and to seek the protection of these landscapes. There is no comparative landscape to the Lake District in mainland Europe of which it can be said, as it can be said of the Lake District, that it stimulated – not least through writers, poets and painters - both a concern for cultural working landscapes and a movement for their conservation.

The travellers and artists that between 1660 and the advent of the wars with France in 1889 undertook the Grand Tour in the belief that it would expose them to the cultural legacy of classical antiquity and the Renaissance, equally took no interest in the agro-pastoral landscapes of the Alps or in any other working landscapes through which they passed as they travelled from one cultural city to another on their way to Rome - with the exception of the Roman Campagna (OS) – which is now largely lost to the urban expansion of Rome, but which was an essential part of the Grand Tour because of its associations with Roman antiquity. The artists they collected – and which strongly influenced the development of the designed landscapes in rural
estates in Britain – represented the two aspects to landscape they admired; the classical aspect as painted by Claude Lorrain (1600-1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and the sublime as painted by Salvatore Rosa (1615-1673). The landscape ideals of writers, painters and poets were essentially given expression in the designed landscapes created in the 18th and 19th centuries, mostly estate sized landscapes such as Muskaur Park (WHS) in Germany/Poland and Blenheim (WHS), Stowe (OS) and Hawkstone (OS) among others in England, but occasionally larger scale landscapes such as the Val d’Orcia (WHS) in Italy, a construct of the State of Sienna, or designed parks and gardens within a landscape such as Lake Maggiore D’Orta (TLS) and the Loire Valley (WHS).

This fundamental difference between the Romantic Movement in Britain and the Romantic Movement in mainland Europe, which had developed during the long period of separation brought about by the wars with France between 1789 and 1815, meant that in mainland Europe the concern was to conserve their remaining natural sites where the hand of man was least evident, including forested land in northern Europe, especially where such land could provide opportunities for recreation and for coming face to face with nature for an increasingly urban population. During the first decades of the 20th century a number of European countries, notably Sweden (1909), Spain, Switzerland, and Italy followed this approach – one pioneered in the United States with the designation of National Parks –Yosemite (WHS) in 1864, Yellowstone (WHS) in 1872 – in safeguarding ecosystems that were seen as completely natural. This approach eventually led, in West Germany (and the Netherlands) to the protection of the wooded settings to cities and spa towns and eventually in 1956 to the establishment of 25 Nature Parks (Naturpark).

The international influence of the Lake District

The Romantic Movement that developed in the Lake District radically changed the perception of landscape. At a time when mainland Europe was recognising the value of natural sites untouched by man, the Lake District led the way in developing the means – the National Trust, the designation of national parks and protected areas – of recognising and protecting the value of functional, working, cultural landscapes.

With the opening up of Europe following the end of the Napoleonic war in 1815, this concept, which valued working cultural landscapes, crossed the channel and over the rest of the century successfully gathered strength in Europe – in parallel with Europe’s concern to protect natural sites - promoted by men like John Ruskin (1819-1900), the leading English art critic and prominent social thinker of the Victorian era - admired by Tolstoy (1828-1920) and translated by Proust (1871-1927) - and by artists and writers including John Constable (1776-1837), William Morris (1834-1896) and Walter Scott (1771-1832) and was readily adopted by the emerging style of Realism led by France with Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) and Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) in literature and Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) in painting.

This successful promulgation of an English concept whose origins can be traced to the Lake District in the 18th century bore fruit in the 20th century with the recognition
of cultural landscapes as Category V National Parks; as World Heritage Sites and as the basic fabric of nations by the European Landscape Convention.

**Conclusion**

The Lake District is incomparable. As an upland agro-pastoral, working landscape it has forged a highly distinctive relationship between man and nature. As a landscape that nurtured writers and poets who didn’t just take from but also gave to the landscape and who could communicate their emotional engagement - and change perceptions of landscape - it is unique. As a landscape that 'democratised' tourism and stimulated a public concern to protect cultural landscapes from damaging change and development, it is unique. As a landscape that led the way to the international recognition and protection of cultural landscapes, it stands alone. But as a landscape that is the living embodiment and fusion of all these attributes, it is incomparable.
SECTION 3.3

Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
Note on further editing expected before final submission

Section 3.3 – Proposed Statement of OUV

This chapter is essentially a summary of that included in section 3.1 and is a fundamental ‘abstract’ of the Lake District’s case for World Heritage Status. Therefore it is fitting that this is finalised towards the end of the editing process. The version included here therefore pulls the key points from 3.1 as a short summary, but the intention is to re-edit the text in light of the whole document at the end.

The Note at Section 3.1 should also be considered regarding further changes expected as a result of gaining final agreement on the recent revisions to this section.

3.3 Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value

Brief Synthesis

The English Lake District is a self-contained mountain area in North West England of some 2292 square kilometres in extent, whose narrow, radiating glaciated valleys, steep hillsides and slender lakes exhibit an extraordinary beauty and harmony. This landscape has been shaped by an agro-pastoral system of unrivalled significance that has persisted unbroken for at least a millennium together with industries based on its abundant natural resources. It has provided inspiration for outstanding works of art and literature, for universally influential ideas about the relationship between humans and landscape and for models of landscape protection which have had global impact. The English Lake District is thus one of the world’s defining cultural landscapes.

Lake District agro-pastoral agriculture, based on local breeds of sheep including the Herdwick, has evolved under the influence of the physical constraints of its mountain setting. The stone walled fields and rugged farm buildings built from local materials, set against their spectacular natural background, form a harmonious beauty that has attracted visitors from the 18th century onwards. Picturesque and Romantic interest stimulated globally significant social and cultural forces concerned with appreciating and protecting scenic landscapes which acted on and were influenced by the Lake District. This included the addition to the landscape of villas, gardens and formal landscapes in order to further augment its picturesque beauty. Later, threats to the Lake District led to a concern for its protection and inspired the Lake District Romantic poet William Wordsworth to propose in 1810, that the Lake District should be deemed “a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy”. The development in the Lake District of the idea of the universal value of scenic landscape, both intrinsic and in its capacity to nurture and uplift imagination, creativity and spirit led directly to the development of a conservation movement which has had global impact. This has included the origin of the concept of legally protected cultural landscapes including
national parks, the establishment of the international National Trust movement and the creation of the World Heritage cultural landscape category.

In this respect the Lake District gave birth to and still expresses the idea of the cultural landscape and this is evident in the existing fabric and traditions of the area. No other agro-pastoral landscape has engendered such significant ideas about the value and desirability of preserving landscape. In this way it has become a globally influential model of landscape conservation.

The Lake District today manifests the success of the conservation movement that it inspired, a movement based on the idea of landscape as a human response to our environment; a cultural force which has had world-wide ramifications.

Justification of criteria

Criterion (ii) ...an important interchange of human values on developments in landscape design.
For almost 300 years the exceptional beauty of the Lake District’s distinctive agro-pastoral landscape has inspired globally important literary and artistic works alongside ideas about the value and appreciation of scenic landscape. Initial interest in the Picturesque qualities of the Lake District, stimulated by European artistic tradition, quickly led to the addition of villas and designed landscapes which have added further significance and value to the cultural landscape. The Picturesque interest was then transformed by Romantic philosophy into a deeper and more balanced appreciation of the significance of landscape, local society and place. The ideas that developed from the Romantic interaction with the Lake District have had global impact and include the idea of the universal value of scenic and cultural landscape which transcends traditional property rights. This formed the origin of the concept of protected landscapes and stimulated an early conservation movement to protect the Lake District which has also had global impact.

Criterion (iii) ...a unique testimony to a cultural tradition which is living.
The Lake District cultural landscape has been shaped by a combination of a long tradition of agro-pastoral agriculture and local industry, influenced by its compact mountain setting, together with later overlays of picturesque villas and designed landscapes and the influence of the conservation movement which it inspired. These elements are interdependent, each stimulating the next and the sequential addition of each over time has added to the richness and value of the Lake District’s cultural landscape. Although all these elements are of individual outstanding universal value in their own right, together they are underpinned by a unique, intertwined and vibrant cultural tradition of farming, industry, artistic creativity, tourism, outdoor recreation and landscape conservation which continues to shape the landscape and is unparalleled elsewhere.

Criterion (v) ... an outstanding example of a traditional human land-use which is representative of a culture and human interaction with the environment which is vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.
Traditional Lake District farming is an unrivalled example of a northern European upland agro-pastoral farming system based on the rearing of cattle and native breeds of sheep, which for over 1,000 years has adapted to and shaped its spectacular mountain landscape setting. This has created a cultural landscape characterised by a distinctive pattern of stone walled fields for grain and hay in the valley bottoms (in-bye), stock enclosures on the fell sides (intake) and open fell grazing; customary tenure of farms which has provided a high degree of independence for farmers; a ‘hefted’ grazing system which allows communal shepherding without fences and walls on the largest area of common grazing in Europe; hardy breeds of sheep, native to the Lake District; and distinctive types of farm buildings.

The continuing vitality of the Lake District’s farming culture is also a key part of its significance. This includes: the pattern of family farm tenure with relatively high owner-occupancy; the transfer of knowledge and skills over generations; shepherds’ guides and breed societies; shepherds’ meets at which stray sheep are returned to owners; agricultural shows; and the survival of local dialect, remnant language, family names, local place-knowledge and traditions. The totality of these surviving attributes forms a distinctive cultural landscape which is outstanding in its quality, integrity and on-going utility.

Criterion (vi) …directly associated with ideas of outstanding universal significance.

The Lake District has had a unique and globally significant role in shaping ideas about the relationship between people and landscape. An initial fascination by early visitors with the harmonious beauty of the Lake District’s scenic agro-pastoral landscape was quickly followed by its stimulation of revolutionary Romantic ideas of a new relationship between humans and landscape based on emotional engagement and more balanced participation. The development in the Lake District of the idea of the universal value of scenic landscape, both intrinsic and in its capacity to nurture and uplift imagination, creativity and spirit led directly to the development of a conservation movement which has had a global impact. This has included the origin of the concept of legally protected cultural landscapes including national parks, the establishment of the international National Trust movement and the creation of the World Heritage cultural landscape category. On this basis the Lake District has given birth to the idea, and is in some respects the archetypal example of the cultural landscape. The Lake District manifests the physical evidence of this long and changing interaction between humans and landscape.

Authenticity

As an evolving cultural landscape, the Lake District conveys its OUV not only through individual attributes but also the ways in which these are distributed amongst the thirteen constituent valleys and combine to produce an over-arching pattern and system of land use. The key attributes relate to a unique fusion of a natural landscape which has been shaped by a distinctive system of agro-pastoral agriculture and local industry with the later overlay of villas, gardens and formal landscapes influenced by the Picturesque movements; the resulting harmonious
beauty of the landscape; the stimulus of the Lake District for artistic creativity and globally influential ideas about landscape; the early origins and ongoing influence of the tourist industry and outdoor movement; and the physical legacy of the conservation movement that developed to protect the Lake District.

**Integrity**

The site represents a coherent and complete whole, containing all the attributes needed to demonstrate the processes that make this a unique and globally significant property. These include the tangible and intangible elements of the unique fusion of agro-pastoral farming, local industry, towns and settlements, Picturesque and Romantic landscape overlay, and existing manifestations of the conservation movement that developed to protect the Lake District. The proposed area for the World Heritage Site (WHS) is of adequate size to ensure the complete presentation of the processes and features which convey its significance.

**Protection and management**

The site is well protected by international standards, with robust existing UK and local legislative and planning protections in place, large areas of sympathetic land ownership and significant protective land management schemes. The most significant of these is the existing designation of the site as the Lake District National Park (LDNP) and the ownership and management of over 20% of the site by the National Trust. There is a mature and well-developed management planning system in the National Park based on statutory requirements. In recent years this has been developed further through the Lake District National Park Partnership (LDNPP), comprising 24 key organisations, which has formally adopted the World Heritage nomination and is committed to protection and management of the site.
SECTION 4.0

State of Conservation
and factors affecting the Property
SECTION 4: STATE OF CONSERVATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY

4.a Present State of Conservation

The physical character of the Lake District landscape is the product of millions of years of geomorphological processes. However, the landscape also bears the imprint of successive periods of human settlement and land use dating from as early as 12,000 BC. The Lake District has been, is and always will be a gradually evolving cultural landscape and this is part of its richness and interest.

It is distinct from other UK cultural landscapes in terms of remoteness, a marginal economy, its land use pattern, and its scenic attractiveness. An important proactive approach to conservation of the Lake District has taken place since its designation as a National Park in 1951. The nominated Site covers an area of 2292 square kilometres, it has a resident population of 40,800, attracts approximately 15.5 million visitors each year, and the majority of the site is owned by private individuals. The nominated Site is diverse, containing many attributes that help to demonstrate the Outstanding Universal Value of the Site.

Overall, the physical condition of the nominated Site is generally good but there are specific issues and threats associated with certain attributes, for example stone walls in some valleys are in a poor state of repair, a number of listed buildings and Scheduled Monuments are classified as at risk, and in some locations the condition of Sites of Special Scientific Interest are in ‘unfavourable recovering’ condition. A series of key indicators have been used to indicate the physical condition of the site and previous monitoring of the nominated Site, as required by existing regulation relating to National Park status, provides a baseline to monitor its condition in the future.

The present state of conservation of the nominated Site has been considered under the following themes:

- Landscape
- Built environment and cultural heritage
- Agro-pastoralism
- Biodiversity and woodland
- Water
- Visitation and artistic inspiration
Condition of the landscape

A Landscape Characterisation Assessment was published for the nominated Site in 2008. This study not only provides a framework for developing a shared understanding of the current character of the Lake District’s landscape and its future management needs, but also describes the current condition of each of the Lake District’s character types, as described in Table X. This is therefore used as a key baseline indicator to describe the current physical condition of the landscape of the nominated Site. Overall, the condition of the landscape based on the condition summary of the character types is considered to be moderate to good, recognising that volcanic and slate high fell character types which cover a significant proportion of the nominated Site are in poor to moderate condition. The landscape is continually changing, whether through natural processes or human interventions. Through Agri-environment schemes areas of important landscape features such as hedgerow, woodland, moorland, heathland and grassland that is restored, managed and created is recorded. This helps to indicate how interventions are sustaining the landscape to ensure its favourable condition. Figure XX outlines where the different character types are found in the nominated Site.

(Map fig 3.3 LCA to be inserted)

Table X: Condition of Lake District character types (Landscape Characterisation Assessment 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character type</th>
<th>Overall condition</th>
<th>Summary of condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A - Estuary and Marsh Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>The condition of the Estuary and Marsh Landscape Character Type is generally good. The closely grazed fine sward saltmarshes, mudflats, remnant hedges and other habitats enrich the ecological condition of this landscape. There are some elements showing signs of decline in places, including the loss of some hedgerows, set back from the coastline.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B - Coastal Margins Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Coastal Margins Landscape Character Type is considered to be moderate. The semi-natural vegetation within this landscape is occasionally grazed or mown, contributing to ecological diversity. There is, however, evidence of decline within this landscape, where cobble stone banks have been replaced by wire fences, leading to a loss of traditional vernacular landscape pattern. Run</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
down industrial buildings or dilapidated agricultural buildings are also detractors. Decline in the condition and extent of hedgerows within this landscape is also evident, particularly on the coastal mosses, where they are tending to become overgrown or with a number of gaps. There is also evidence that the edges of some of the mosses are drying out due to drainage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character Type</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C - Coastal Limestone Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Coastal Limestone Landscape Character Type is considered to be good. The historic pattern of fields bounded by stone walls is generally intact, although in places, neglect and loss of field boundaries is evident. The patchwork of semi-improved pasture, semi-natural woodland (with pockets of limestone heath and juniper scrub) and limestone pavements contribute to good ecological condition overall, though some species rich pastures are declining owing to lack of mixed grazing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D - Lowland Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Lowland Landscape Character Type is considered to be good. Most landscape features are generally well managed. Patches of unmanaged woodland are, however, visible and there is also evidence of neglected stone walls and loss of hedgerows, which have been replaced by fences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E - Coastal Sandstone Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Moderate to good</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Coastal Sandstone Landscape Character Type is considered to be moderate to good. The rolling pasture fields are generally in moderate ecological condition, however, there is evidence of the loss of traditional hedgebanks that delineate field boundaries. This has led to a weakened landscape pattern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F - Rugged/ Craggy Volcanic High Fell</td>
<td>Poor to moderate</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Rugged/ Craggy Volcanic High Fell Landscape Character Type is considered to be poor to moderate, due mainly to historic overgrazing of montane heathland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Habitat and Composition</td>
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<td>habitats and blanket bogs. The condition, composition and structure of these habitats is, however, beginning to change with lower stocking rates and grazing levels increasing natural scrub and woodland regeneration. Much of the remaining semi-natural woodland has a poor age structure and suffers from grazing, preventing regeneration. Scrub is starting to develop in some areas of fell where grazing pressure has been reduced within this Landscape Character Type. In places, lack of stone wall management and replacement with fences is a visual detractor. Upland path erosion is also increasingly a visual detractor despite efforts to restore the worst affected areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| G - Rugged/ Angular Slate High Fell Character Type | Poor to moderate | The overall condition of the Rugged/ Angular Slate High Fell is considered to be poor to moderate, though improving. As a result of historic overgrazing, the condition of acid grassland, blanket bog and rough grassland is generally poor though recovery is beginning as a result of recent reductions in grazing. The condition, composition and structure of these habitats is, however, beginning to change with lower stocking rates and grazing levels leading to improved mosaics of upland vegetation. In places, lack of stone wall management, and replacement with fences is a visual detractor. Upland path erosion is also a visual detractor. There is generally good survival of historic and archaeological features. |

<p>| H - Upland Valley Landscape Character Type | Good | The overall condition of the Upland Valley Landscape Character Type is considered to be good, with high water quality within most lakes, rivers and waterbodies, rich biodiversity in the largely intact hedgerow network and patchwork of woodlands, and a strong archaeological record. There are, however, some elements of declining condition: some hedgerows, hay meadows, walls, pollards, mature trees and vernacular buildings are in poor condition and evidence of a gradual loss of traditional management is apparent. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character Type</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Condition Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I - Upland Limestone Farmland Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good to moderate</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Upland Limestone Farmland Landscape Character Type is considered to be good to moderate, resulting from the rich ecological condition of herb-rich calcareous grassland and woodland habitats, becks, rivers and mires and the survival of historic estate features. Woodland and clumps of trees are generally well managed, and there is an intact hedgerow and wall network. There are some elements showing signs of decline in places, particularly the loss and poor maintenance of occasional hedgerows and replanting of historic parkland with conifers. Much of the remaining parkland is in moderate condition with key features lacking maintenance and a lack of replanting of parkland trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J - High Fell Fringe Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>The overall condition of the High Fell Fringe Landscape Character Type is considered to be generally good. There are relatively few sites important for their ecological habitats in this type as it is predominantly improved agricultural land, but there are numerous sites of historic and archaeological interest, including prehistoric funerary cairns, field systems, hut circles, stone circles and Roman forts. The stone walls and hedgerow network are generally well maintained. However, there is some evidence of the loss and poor maintenance of some hedgerows and loss of field boundary trees. The limited areas of parkland and designed landscapes in this type are generally in good condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K - Low Fell Landscape Character Type</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>The overall condition of the Low Fell Landscape Character Type is considered to be good. There is rich biodiversity within the large areas of semi-natural and coniferous woodland (much of which is on ancient woodland sites) and patchwork of rough grassland, semi-improved pasture, small broadleaved and coniferous copses, rock outcrops, heathland, tarns and becks, small wetlands, mires and bracken. The landscape pattern of dry stone walls (with a predominance of local limestone and slate) is strong. Parkland and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
designed landscapes are generally in good condition though there is a need to plan for long term replacement of trees. In places, there is evidence of decline of stone walls and occasional loss of hedgerow field boundaries.

| L - Low Fell Fringe Landscape Character Type | Good | The overall condition of the Low Fell Fringe Landscape Character Type is considered to be good. Full hedgerows or intact stone walls often frame fields, and pockets of woodland, scrub and mosses enrich the ecology and visual interest of this Landscape Character Type. There are some elements showing signs of decline in some places, particularly the loss or poor maintenance of stone wall and hedgerow field boundaries. Overall, however, there is a predominantly intact landscape pattern throughout this Landscape Character Type. |
| M - Lowland Valley Landscape Character Type | Good | The overall condition of the Lowland Valley Landscape Character Type is considered to be good, with its high water quality (within numerous rivers, streams and lakes) and rich biodiversity in woodland and other habitats. The largely intact, strong pattern of hedgerows and stone walls delineating field boundaries and mature, well maintained parkland landscapes further contribute to the predominantly good condition of landscapes within this Landscape Character Type. Occasionally there is evidence of decline in the management of stone walls and hedgerows. |

**Condition of built environment and cultural heritage**

The nominated Site contains more than 15,500 archaeological sites and monuments, 281 Scheduled Monuments, 23 Conservation Areas, and more than 1,771 Listed Buildings. Many of these Listed Buildings and Scheduled Monuments are attributes of Outstanding Universal Value. All but one of the Conservation Areas have up to date character appraisals and management plans, and 100 per cent of developments triggering the planning policy for local settlement character were granted planning permission in accordance with planning policy. Table X indicates the number of heritage features classified as ‘at risk’.
The physical condition of the built environment and cultural heritage is generally very good, with the notable exception of Scheduled Monuments due to the significant proportion which are classified as ‘at risk’. Since 2010, the number of Scheduled Monuments has reduced from 149 to 118 as a result of targeted action through volunteer work parties and through Environmental Land Management schemes.

Table X: Heritage features classified as ‘at risk’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Total number of features</th>
<th>Number and proportion of features ‘at risk’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Areas</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listed buildings</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>87 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Monuments</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>118 (42%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Condition of agro-pastoralism**

A series of indicators are used to assess the condition of agro-pastoralism. The Government department responsible for agriculture in England, the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra), provide statistics every three years relating to agro-pastoralism in the nominated Site as a result of its Agriculture and Horticulture survey.

Key indicators from Defra Farm Statistics in tables xx-xx provide information on livestock numbers, number of commercial holdings and use of land. Comparable trend data goes back to 2009 and suggests agro-pastoralism is changing. These indicators together with other data such as net farm income (£9,594 in 2012) and the average age of farmers (55 years) suggest that the condition of agro-pastoralism is moderate. The average age and net income may affect the ability of the industry to maintain attributes of Outstanding Universal Value in the future.

Sheep numbers in England rose throughout the 1980s as livestock head-based subsidy payments encouraged producers to increase numbers of breeding sheep. National quota limits forced a ceiling on sheep numbers during the 1990s, before changes to subsidy eligibility rules in 2000 and Foot and Mouth Disease in 2001 resulted in a sharp decline in sheep numbers. Agri-environment agreements are also likely to have resulted in a reduction in the number of moorland and fell sheep up until 2009, but recent data shows that breeding sheep numbers across the nominated Site increased from 310,000 in 2009 to 340,000 in 2013. The changes in sheep numbers influence the nature of farming practices and farmland including the open nature of the fells, and can lead to issues such as overgrazing, requiring proposals to temporarily enclose areas of high fell to allow biodiversity to recover.
### Table X: Livestock and agricultural workers in the Lake District (Defra June Survey of Agriculture & Horticulture, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock and labourers</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of dairy cattle</td>
<td>9,747</td>
<td>9,610</td>
<td>9,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of beef cattle</td>
<td>17,088</td>
<td>17,191</td>
<td>15,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of calves under 1 year</td>
<td>21,872</td>
<td>18,399</td>
<td>19,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cattle</td>
<td>19,739</td>
<td>22,850</td>
<td>18,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of cattle</td>
<td>68,446</td>
<td>68,049</td>
<td>63,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breeding ewes</td>
<td>310,033</td>
<td>318,973</td>
<td>340,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambs under 1 year</td>
<td>312,963</td>
<td>306,725</td>
<td>308,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sheep</td>
<td>35,900</td>
<td>35,830</td>
<td>20,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of sheep</td>
<td>658,896</td>
<td>661,527</td>
<td>669,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of pigs</td>
<td>5,635</td>
<td>3,220</td>
<td>4,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of poultry</td>
<td>134,033</td>
<td>343,671</td>
<td>295,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of horses</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>1,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of agro-pastoral labourers</td>
<td>2,382</td>
<td>2,387</td>
<td>2,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table X: Number and size of commercial holdings (Defra June Survey of Agriculture & Horticulture, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holding size</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 hectare</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;20 hectare</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land use</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops and fallow (hectares)</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>2,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary grass (hectares)</td>
<td>4,853</td>
<td>3,912</td>
<td>3,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permeant grass (hectares)</td>
<td>71,185</td>
<td>72,789</td>
<td>77,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sole right rough grazing (hectares)</td>
<td>44,607</td>
<td>42,323</td>
<td>42,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodland (hectares)</td>
<td>3,694</td>
<td>3,298</td>
<td>3,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other land (hectares)</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table X: types of land use of agro-pastoral land (Defra June Survey of Agriculture & Horticulture, 2013)

The geographic spread and number of fell-going sheep flocks have been mapped, as shown in [figure X](#). At present there is a reasonable coverage and number of fell going flocks, and this will provide a useful baseline for future monitoring. In 2012 there were 155 sheep flocks of the local native Herdwick breed, which again provides an important baseline for future monitoring. The Herdwick Breed Society also reported there were 61,359 Herdwick sheep in 2012.

**Figure X:** Geographical spread and number of fell going flocks to be inserted

**Condition of Biodiversity and woodland**
Biodiversity is of vital importance to the nominated Site; however, nationally and locally is evidence of ongoing pressures and a decline in biodiversity there has been a reported decline in the condition of biodiversity both nationally and locally. There are 856 square kilometres of Priority Habitats, and 422 square kilometres of Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) designated in the nominated Site. The physical condition of biodiversity in the nominated Site is considered against a series of proxy indicators outlined in table xx. From the available data the indicators suggests the general condition of biodiversity can be judged to be moderate, but with signs of recovery.

Table X: Condition of biodiversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of SSSI</th>
<th>Favourable</th>
<th>Unfavourable recovering</th>
<th>Unfavourable no change</th>
<th>Unfavourable declining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Priority Habitats</th>
<th>Favourable</th>
<th>Unfavourable recovering</th>
<th>Unfavourable no change</th>
<th>Unfavourable declining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Woodland provides important habitats for many species, and is an important primary resource in its own right. There is 10,000 hectares of semi-natural woodland in nominated Site. It is not possible to determine the condition of semi-natural woodland from the indicators, but only eight per cent of all woodland within the nominated site falls within a Forestry Commission Woodland Management Scheme suggesting that the condition could be improved with increased management.

Condition of water

Within the nominated Site there are 133 designated waterbodies. The ecological status of these waterbodies, using the Water Framework Directive classification system, is used to give an indication of the condition of water in the nominated Site. The general condition of water within the nominated Site is considered to be moderate, but improving.

Table X: Ecological condition of designated waterbodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of waterbody</th>
<th>Total number of waterbodies</th>
<th>Number and percentage in at least ‘good’ ecological status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Visitation and artistic inspiration

People have been visiting the Lake District for centuries, meaning that visitor management programmes and policies are important for protecting and conserving the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site. Visitor numbers have remained relatively constant for a number of years as indicated by Table X. Pressure from visitors has an impact on the overall condition of the site, but this can be mitigated through appropriate visitor management.

Table X: Number of visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Visitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>15.59 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>14.84 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>15.5 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table X: Proportion of visitors undertaking activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cultural Activities</th>
<th>Adventure Activities</th>
<th>Landscape and Environment Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high fells, valleys, lakes and tarns offer many visitors opportunities to escape the pressures of modern day life, giving a sense of space and freedom. The vast majority of the Lake District is recognised as containing some of the most tranquil areas in the country, as shown by figure X. As such, the overall condition of the Site relating to tranquillity resulting from the impacts of visual intrusion and noise pollution is in good condition, other than for a few pockets associated with larger settlements and busier highways.

Tranquillity map to be added
Conservation measures to maintain and improve the Site’s condition

The nominated Site’s generally good physical condition is as a result of a range of conservation management practices and measures, designed to ensure the physical condition is maintained. Not all of the practices and measures are recent – the formation of the National Trust who through a legacy of land purchase, donation, lease or covenant now own approximately 21% of the nominated Site. Their upland estate covers about 51,000 hectares of land and includes 90 separate farms, 198 houses and some 22,500 hectares of common land. This makes the National Trust the main landowner in several valleys including Langdale, Wasdale and Ullswater.

Designation of the nominated Site in 1951 as a National Park was significant to ensure conservation of the Site, as the first purpose of National Parks is to “conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage”. The formation of Friends of the Lake District as a registered charity in 1934 to promote and conserve the Lake District’s landscape and natural beauty is also an important factor in ensuring the Site’s good physical condition through lobbying decision makers, research, and delivering practical events such as hedging and walling competitions, and conservation days including walling, woodland work, and Balsam bashing.

A range of conservation management practices have been and continue to be delivered through ‘agri-environment’ schemes providing farmers and land managers financial rewards to deliver environmental benefits which include supporting biodiversity, enhancing the landscape, and improving the quality of water, air and soil. A new ‘agri-environment’ scheme called ‘Countryside Stewardship’ is being delivered as part of the new Common Agricultural Policy environmental land management scheme, and it will begin providing funding in 2015 to conserve agro-pastoralism in the nominated Site.

The Heritage Lottery Fund has been and to continues to be an important source of funding to support conservation management projects in the Lake District. In the past these have included a Fix the Fells project – a footpath restoration project which has repaired 207 path sections on the fells, developing a strong volunteering programme; a Fell Futures project – a project which offers a unique chance for young people to learn traditional rural heritage skills while working as apprentices in the Lake District National Park; a Windermere Reflections project - a project to protect and enhance the natural heritage of the Windermere catchment and its landscape, together with a range of programmes and activities to engage people with the landscape; and redevelopment of the Windermere Steamboat Museum – a major development of a revitalised museum at the Steamboat Museum.

The Management Plan for the nominated Site provides a strong basis for ensuring ongoing the conservation and evolution within the nominated Site.

4.b Factors affecting the property
The Site is a cultural living landscape and one in which measures for protection need to go hand in hand with considerations for the economic, social, cultural, physical and environmental needs of the communities. It is important to note that these cultural landscapes such as the Lake District are subject to multiple evolutionary factors that may indeed cause the disappearance of certain elements changing the site’s appearance. Local development plans have been devised for land use policies to control and promote development to help satisfy these needs, and the National Park and World Heritage Site management plan guides factors not involving development planning.

Given the sheer size and diversity of this Site a wide range of factors may affect it. These are considered under the following headings.

(i) Development Pressures

New development

Changes in the Lake District landscape have varied in scale and impact from reservoirs and road schemes to relatively small-scale development. But small changes in sensitive locations, such as single telecommunications masts, can easily spoil the landscape character. Poor design can introduce a suburban element that is inappropriate in a rural setting. Cumulative impacts can be equally damaging, for example, excessive lighting can deny views of the night sky.

With a population of 40,800 it is inevitable that people want to construct, extend, and modify places whether this is houses, business premises, tourist attractions or infrastructure. The Lake District remains a predominantly rural area with a population density of 18.4 people per square kilometre making it one of the UK’s less populated areas. New development is managed and this ensures that the majority of development takes place in existing settlements as guided by planning policies prepared by the Lake District National Park Authority – the Local Planning Authority. Planning policies ensure the nominated Site’s Outstanding Universal Value is protected and conserved.

A Lake District Landscape Characterisation Assessment forms a key piece of evidence to inform development decisions. The assessment and maps and describe the different landscape character types, and areas of distinctive character within the Lake District. As well as guiding and informing development decisions the landscape characterisation assessment informs land management decisions and plans, and targets delivery of agri-environment schemes, amongst other uses.

Housing pressures

The provision of a sufficient range, diversity, affordability and accessibility of housing within a balanced housing market is a core component of a sustainable community. Housing in the Lake District is subject to a wide range of demands such as:

- Inward migration (from people of working age and the retired)
• Second home ownership
• Indigenous purchasers
• Holiday letting

This has resulted in the percentage of properties not in permanent residential occupation in some settlements exceeding 50 percent.

Earnings in the Lake District are lower than in neighbouring urban areas, making it difficult for people reliant on local wages to compete for housing in an open market. As a consequence, there is an inflated ratio between lower quartile earnings and house prices, which means the affordability ratio of the Lake District is 12:3 in comparison to 7:3 for the UK. In some areas of the Lake District this is having a detrimental effect on the vibrancy of local communities.

Many areas of the Lake District are characterised by a relatively limited supply of available housing. Environmental constraints and too few affordable houses in rural locations have contributed towards a relatively large affordable housing need. The stock of social housing in rural areas has been eroded by Right to Buy schemes, and those houses have not been replaced by new provision. As a result, there has been an outward migration of young people and young families because they cannot access the local housing market.

The economic feasibility, requirement of higher building standards, and Government policy relating to the provision of affordable housing can affect the design and size of these development proposals. These factors may result in larger schemes being proposed where there has been limited development in the past, in order to secure their financial viability. The Lake District Local Plan undertook an extensive investigation to identify suitable sites for affordable housing development, allocating provision for in the region of 440 units.

Tourism development pressures

Changes in visitor expectations and their requirements create development pressures for new and alterations to existing visitor facilities. These pressures for change are reinforced by competition from other UK destinations and international destinations. If development is not managed sensitively it can affect the landscape; the key reason for many people’s visit. The Lake District Local Plan is used to manage development proposals to ensure development for visitor facilities does not harm the nominated Site and its attributes.

Changing agricultural practices

Farming has a key role to play now and in the future in maintaining the Lake District’s landscape and its Outstanding Universal Value. The development of the present cultural landscape owes a great deal to agriculture involving mainly small farms. Forestry also plays a part in maintaining features that add variety, colour and texture to the landscape.
Agricultural practices within the nominated Site have evolved since the industrial revolution with new technologies and equipment changing the way farms work, for example, reducing the number of farm workers and increasing farm sizes. Traditional stone and slate barns are often incompatible with changing farming practices so are surplus to requirements. These form a liability to the business unless suitable alternative uses can be found, such as conversion for holiday letting or residential use. Where alternative uses do not transpire these buildings often fall into a state of disrepair. Modern styles of agricultural buildings that accommodate changing practices and equipment can alter the character of farms, as they are often not constructed in traditional materials such as stone and slate due to the costs of these materials.

Changing consumer demands for food and the profitability of rearing some livestock has changed the market for some farmers. This has changed the type and number of livestock reared on Lake District farms and fells. Farming in the Lake District is still characterised by sheep and beef production, and is likely to continue to do so, but recent data shows that breeding sheep numbers have increased from 31,000 in 2009 to 340,000 in 2013, but beef cattle numbers have fallen from 17,000 to 15,860 over the same period suggesting farming in the nominated Site is focussing further towards sheep. These changes may affect the nature of farming and farmland including the open nature of the fells, as it may lead to issues such as overgrazing and proposals to fence off areas of fell to allow biodiversity and habitats to recover.

Economic factors related to national and international circumstances and the changing aspirations of the young rural population are putting the agro-pastoral system under increasing strain. Farm diversification and Environmental Land Management Schemes can support farm enterprises helping to alleviate pressures on their incomes and help to sustain businesses in the long term. Diversification is now an important element in trying to make farming profitable, but an increase in employment development on farms could have an impact on the character nominated Site.

The economic factors and fewer young people entering the agriculture industry are also influencing the size and tenures of farms. Current trends indicates fewer tenancy successions from one generation to the next and a polarisation in farm sizes, with the number of larger farms increasing, and an increase in the number of smaller, non-commercial lifestyle units. Further decline of the agricultural sector could have significant impacts on the ability to maintain the cultural landscape and lead to harm the Outstanding Universal Value.

**Community culture and identity**

Strongly influenced by housing pressures and changes in agricultural practices, the change in local community dynamics can result in the loss of community integrity. There is a danger that if local traditions, events and local dialects may be lost or weakened if community structures change considerably resulting in the gradual erosion of those elements that make areas distinctive.

**Minerals extraction**
The geology which forms the bedrock of the Lake District is of great significance. Traditionally, development within the Lake District has been able use building materials from local sources. This is in line with principles of sustainable development. There are currently nine active building stone and slate quarries and three active crushed rock quarries in the Lake District.

The character and appearance of the Lake District’s built environment is a central part of its cultural heritage and Outstanding Universal Value. Many areas of the Lake District have their own distinctive character complemented by the local building styles and settlement form. The availability of materials and locally quarried building stone and slate has played an important part in the creation of this local vernacular. These distinctive characteristics need to be protected and enhanced and to do this there needs to be a ready source of appropriate material which is currently provided by these existing quarries.

Geology also needs protection from over-exploitation and from the loss of an accessible educational resource.

**New nuclear power stations and associated infrastructure**

A new nuclear power station is proposed adjacent to an existing nuclear site, known as Sellafield, outside the nominated Site in West Cumbria. The site is currently being investigated to establish its suitability prior to a planning application being submitted. There are unlikely to be any significant effects from siting the power station on the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District itself, given its location adjacent to an existing nuclear site. However infrastructure improvements associated with electricity pylons could affect the nominated Site as they may pass through or adjacent to it. The Management Plan and Local Plan provide the framework for decision making on such proposals, informed by the landscape characterisation assessment.

**Renewable energy development pressures**

The nominated Site and its surrounding area offer significant potential for generating energy from renewable sources, including through wind turbines, hydro-power schemes, biomass generation, and solar panels. Potential impacts on the nominated Site will vary according to proposals, their location, and the scale of development. Where a renewable energy development, or indeed any development, is proposed outside the nominated Site the neighbouring public bodies and relevant authorities have a duty to take account of National Park purposes when they make their decisions, as outlined in the Environment Act 1995. This requirement ensures unacceptable developments are unlikely to be granted planning permission, so should not affect the nominated Site or its setting.

**Highway design**

Much of the nominated Site’s highway network is characterised by narrow country lanes, however there are highways which pass through the nominated Site that form
part of the UK’s Strategic Road Network. Highway design can affect the character of the nominated Site, both new and existing highways. The county-based 2005 report ‘Rural roads at risk – saving the character of country roads’ highlights how in recent decades the character of many rural roads has incrementally changed. Master plans for Keswick, and Windermere / Bowness have helped address this incremental change in town centres in a holistic and sympathetic manner, delivering localised traffic management issues and public realm improvement. Further proposals planned in settlements such as Ambleside and Grasmere will help to further redress this incremental change.

Pressures for improvements to the main highway routes such A590, A591, A66, and A595 (map?) has the potential to affect the character of the nominated Site, particularly landscape character and tranquillity.

**Lack of maintenance and neglect of historic fabric**

The historic environment is a fragile resource. Many features are visible, but others are hidden under peat or pasture, and sites both above and below ground are susceptible to loss and damage. Lack of maintenance and neglect of historic structures, especially those that have no economic use, means that buildings can become susceptible to the elements and decay can be rapid.

**Conversion and adaptive re-use of historic buildings**

Inappropriate conversion of historic buildings, resulting in loss of character, poses a threat to the Outstanding Universal Value that needs to be balanced with the benefits of losing historic buildings altogether through neglect. The survival of local skills, for example dry-stone walling, is often dependent on factors such as out-migration of young people that are outside our direct control. But such skills are important to the conservation of the historic environment.

**Water supply**

The nominated Site has an abundance of water, with 16 main ‘lakes’ located within its boundary. Lake District reservoirs supply water to England’s North West region including the major city of Manchester. As a result of climate change and other factors, there are pressures for change, including for new pipelines to supply water. Other factors that may affect the nominated Site come from seeking to improve water quality and its colouration by seeking to reduce sediment through reducing erosion and slowing water run-off. Measures that seek to achieve these improvements include tree planting on the open fell, and fencing areas off from livestock to allow ground to recover, both of which can change the open nature of the fells and traditional agricultural practices, such as hefting.
(ii) Environmental Pressures

Climate change

Climate change is the greatest environmental challenge facing the world today. The Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site may be affected as a result of a wide range of factors influenced by climate change including:

- Sea level change which may result in coastal erosion and storm surges, changing coastal features and its landscape. It has the potential to affect coastal rights of way, sea defences and coastal communities generally. Shoreline Management Plans set out the management objectives and the strategic coastal defences for the management of the coastal region.

- Extreme weather events including storms, winds, floods have the potential to have a significant effect on the nominated Site. This includes potential damage to public access such as footpaths, transport infrastructure, damage to buildings, particularly in towns and villages, causing disruption to businesses and community life, and damage to the structure and fabric of historic buildings from increased rainfall. There are potential impacts on the landscape as extreme weather events may result in landslips, gully erosion and river re-naturalisation, and loss of veteran trees. Extreme weather events affect agricultural practices as saturated soil and flooded land result in loss of grazing land, need for longer housing period of livestock, supplementary feeding and associated costs of provision of livestock shelter. More rainfall increases risk of effluent entering water courses and removal of topsoil and nutrients. The recovery time needed after flooding events can cause accelerated soil erosion, and deposition of silt and gravel.

The management of extreme weather events and its effects are wide ranging. The nominated Site’s Management Plan provides strategies for management, alongside other statutory plans such as flood risk management plans. Detailed projects such as “Paths for the Public” and “Fix the Fells” restore and repair paths and bridges, and increase their future flood resilience to events. Flood emergency plans, regular formal inspection and maintenance of listed features, and working with business sector to raise awareness of risks and adaptive options help to reduce the impact on the historic environment, individual buildings and settlements.

- Changes in mean temperature, can lead to warmer wetter winters leading to less accessible areas due to wetter ground, higher lake and river levels, and greater vegetation growth. Increases in average annual temperate may result in the increased length of visitor season due to warmer weather. Agriculture is particularly vulnerable to periods of drought as this can affect growth rates, lower crop yields and their quality, it may also increase the stress on livestock, in particular hill breeds. This may affect timing of agricultural
practices, increasing the need to buy-in feed, impact market prices, and lead to the need for supplementary water supply and creation of additional shade.

- Changes in distribution and balance of flora and fauna, lead to changes in habitat composition and condition due to higher year-round average temperatures and more extreme rainfall patterns. It poses risks to some species extinctions (such as montane heath and arctic alpines), peat drying out, and species immigration which may bring opportunities or risks of invasive species. This may affect landscape character and the open nature of the fells for example as it may result in the tree line increasing up fells.

- As well as being affected by extreme weather events, historic buildings may be affected by climate change in a number of ways. For example, increased dampness and condensation in historic buildings results in increasing damage, costs of maintenance and repair, pressure for intrusive changes risking historic character, and potential health risk for occupants. Soil erosion can increase the likelihood of subsidence, and higher temperatures may increase growth rates of vegetation.

Pollution including mining waste pollution

Pollution is a factor that has the potential to affect the nominated Site in a variety of ways. Lower river flows and low lake and tarn levels will result in concentration of pollutants and combined with higher water temperatures in summer leading to impacts on species such as salmon, arctic charr and vendace.

One of the chemicals that impacts on the nominated Site is Phosphorus which forms compounds called phosphates. Phosphates enrich the water, with the most visible result being blooms of algae, including the blue-green variety that creates a toxic scum at the edge of the lake. The major sources of phosphates come from the land and agricultural practices, and from sewerage works. Farmers put fertiliser on their fields, and some of that will wash into the lake. Humans use detergents and dishwasher tablets, and human waste too will feed into the lake. Projects such as catchment sensitive farming whereby buildings are often constructed to store manure undercover help to prevent runoff which carry phosphates, and investments into sewerage works which strip phosphates from the water help to reduce phosphates leaving the treatment works.

The history of mining within the nominated Site has left a legacy of risk of pollution which includes spoil heaps, wash out from ponds, and metal pollution entering the watercourse. Mine waste such as spoil heaps, is a source of sediment, and erosion makes mine waste less stable over time. Climate change could bring more intense rainfall in the future which would also increase erosion of sediment. This leads to higher sedimentation and pollution inputs into rivers and lakes affecting species.
Metal pollution entering watercourse is a point source issue. Pioneering projects are being delivered within the nominated Site in collaboration with University researchers to deliver remediation schemes that will reduce metals entering watercourses.

**Invasive species**

Invasive non-native species spread causing damage to the environment, economy and health. The Lake District’s unique freshwater environment is increasingly under threat from these invasive non-native species, but invasive species threats are not confined to freshwater. Species can affect human health, for example, giant hogweed contains a photosynthetic venom which when touched burns the skin, Japanese knotweed and Himalayan balsam can also increase the possibility of flooding. Japanese knotweed can also cause damage to the built and historic environment. Invasive non-native species threaten the survival of rare native species such as the white clawed crayfish and damage sensitive ecosystems and habitats like freshwaters and wet woodlands. A number of projects seek to remove and manage these invasive species to prevent their spread and damage to the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site.

(iii) **Natural Disasters and risk preparedness**

**Flood risk**

Flooding threatens life and causes substantial damage to property. While it cannot always be prevented, its impacts can be reduced through good planning and management, implemented through the Management Plan for the nominated Site, and Local Plan which covers planning issues.

Development, in general and unless mitigated, reduces the permeability by sealing the ground which results in increasing run-off that can lead to problems of localised flooding and water pollution. These effects need to be mitigated, and sustainable drainage systems can provide a solution. The Local Plan seeks to ensure adequate mitigation systems are provided, and avoid inappropriate development in areas at greatest risk of flooding. Where new development is necessary in areas at risk of flooding, the aim is to make it safe without increasing flood risk elsewhere.

The nominated Site’s coastline is protected, in part, against wave erosion by walls, gabions and embankments whilst long sections consist of dunes which also play a role in protection. In other areas erosion is a significant problem with the potential loss of good agricultural land, coastal paths and buildings. Defending the coast against the impact of flooding and erosion will have implications and engineered defence solutions are expensive, can be visually intrusive and may not be suitable in the long term.

**Diseases and pests (plant and animal)**

Pests and diseases affecting flora and fauna species and habitat condition pose significant risks to the nominated Site’s Outstanding Universal Value.
A range of factors may be responsible for increases in different pests and species including from increases in wet ground and lack of prolonged cold temperatures from warmer wetter winters which lead to an increase in new and existing pests and diseases for plants, trees and livestock.

A number of organisation that comprise of the Lake District National Park Partnership have responsibilities to manage risks from diseases and pests, and they are involved in action groups to help protect flora and fauna. For example, the Forestry Commission monitor phytophthora ramorum (on larch); phytophthora austrocedrae (on juniper) and chalara fraxinea (on ash) and agree a partnership approach (Cumbria Tree Health Group) to disease management for larch, juniper and ash in the Lake District.

The Cumbria Freshwater Invasive Non-Native Species Initiative provide coordination and a strategic approach to a number of groups to control and manage existing established invasive species, monitor, map and report infestations, eradicate existing species where possible and control the spread where eradication is not possible, and raise awareness and educate people on the risk and measures which help to reduce the risk. An example of this education and awareness raising is the ‘check-clean-dry’ campaign which asks users of water bodies to inspect equipment for living organisms, clean and wash all equipment, and dry all equipment off. The Lake District Local Access Forum promotes this campaign as well as the various river trusts, often attending events to deliver this message by providing biosecurity cleaning.

The Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association estimates that 99% of all Herdwick sheep are kept in commercial flocks in the nominated Site. Disease in agricultural livestock can affect the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site. This was witnessed in 2001 during the Foot and Mouth disease outbreak where it is estimated approximately 25% of all Herdwick’s were lost to the disease and control measures. Diseases can affect the movement of livestock and this subsequently affects agricultural practices and their profitability. Government bodies monitor and collect data from disease surveillance and research, and specific national protocols are in place for active diseases. These include restricting animal movements and swiftly examining and testing stock, slaughter and safe disposal of infected animals, work to identify the source of the disease, and establishing surveillance zones to look for further disease. Legislation also requires farmers have a duty to inform Government bodies of notifiable diseases.

**Wildfires on fells**

Closely linked to effects of climate change, there is an increased likelihood of the frequency of wildfires on the fells during prolonged dry periods. This may affect the productivity of the fell, threaten livestock and therefore affect farm businesses. The Cumbria Wildfire Group assists others to create fire plans for certain vulnerable sites, procure firefighting equipment and train partner staff.

**Man-Made Disasters**
The terrorist events of September 11th 2001 and more recent threats have caused all agencies to review emergency planning arrangements. Cumbria Local Resilience Forum consists of all organisations and agencies involved with emergency response in our communities. The Forum have a register of risks which guides, if an emergency occurs, information they publish about what is happening, how the incident is being dealt with and by whom, and how you can help to protect yourself.

There are no major high-risk industrial operations within the nominated Site. However, a nuclear site, known as Sellafield, is located approximately two kilometres from the boundary of the nominated Site. Sellafield Ltd maintains a robust and multi-faceted emergency response programme to ensure risk preparedness.

(iv) Visitor / tourism pressures

Status of visitation to the nominated Site
The Lake District is a popular tourist destination. Last year approximately 15.5 million people visited the nominated Site accounting for 22.65 million visitor days. The number of visitors to the nominated Site has been relatively consistent for the past five years (figure X).

Figure X: Visitor numbers to the Lake District (STEAM report 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visitor numbers (millions)</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>15.22</td>
<td>15.59</td>
<td>14.84</td>
<td>15.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominated Site’s popularity primarily comes from the cultural landscape, so it is unsurprising that the area has traditionally had higher visitor numbers and increased tourism revenue from April to October (see chart X). Visitor numbers also reflect school holiday periods as more families visit during these breaks. Winter is a quieter season but this is changing with the tourism season extending as people are increasingly taking short breaks at any time.

Chart X: Distribution of visitors to the Lake District by month (STEAM report 2013)
As a result of significant numbers of visitor each year tourism makes a significant contribution to the Lake District economy. The value to the nominated Site’s visitor economy passed £1 billion pounds for the first time in 2013 (see Chart X). As well as the economic value of the visitor economy, the tourist industry supports in the region of 15,500 full time equivalent jobs.

**Chart X:** The economic value of tourism in the Lake District (STEAM report 2013)
There is a good understanding of headline tourist data within the nominated Site, with data being collected annually using a consistent methodology to enable comparisons to be made over time.

**Table X:** Visitor expenditure by sector of the visitor economy (STEAM report 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTOR / YEAR</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>180.62</td>
<td>166.49</td>
<td>168.90</td>
<td>192.81</td>
<td>208.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Drink</td>
<td>202.74</td>
<td>195.16</td>
<td>203.70</td>
<td>192.09</td>
<td>203.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>53.37</td>
<td>51.56</td>
<td>53.72</td>
<td>56.85</td>
<td>63.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>73.06</td>
<td>69.55</td>
<td>72.22</td>
<td>71.14</td>
<td>76.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>110.23</td>
<td>107.03</td>
<td>111.71</td>
<td>99.05</td>
<td>102.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Revenue from sectors</td>
<td>620.02</td>
<td>589.79</td>
<td>610.25</td>
<td>611.93</td>
<td>653.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>93.00</td>
<td>103.21</td>
<td>122.05</td>
<td>122.39</td>
<td>130.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Expenditure</td>
<td>713.03</td>
<td>693.01</td>
<td>732.30</td>
<td>734.32</td>
<td>784.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Expenditure</td>
<td>240.14</td>
<td>233.91</td>
<td>247.04</td>
<td>248.35</td>
<td>265.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL £Million</td>
<td>953.17</td>
<td>926.92</td>
<td>979.34</td>
<td>982.67</td>
<td>1,050.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is good knowledge of the distribution of visitors across the nominated Site, although the available data extends beyond the boundary of the nominated Site. Clearly, the data in Table X demonstrates the concentration in tourist activity is focused in the South Lakeland area which comprises of Lake Windermere, Coniston Water, and settlements including Windermere, Bowness, Ambleside, Grasmere, Coniston, and Hawkshead.

**Table X:** Concentrations of activity in the nominated Site by District Authority areas (Tourism in Cumbria 2013: Key facts and trends)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Allerdale</th>
<th>Copeland</th>
<th>Eden</th>
<th>South Lakeland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Days (million)</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td>21.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist numbers (million)</td>
<td>6.64</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Revenue (£ million)</td>
<td>380.2</td>
<td>149.1</td>
<td>251.8</td>
<td>1008.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Map of districts (boundaries)**

The South Lakeland Area accounts for more visitor days than the other District Authority areas that form part of the Lake District combined (see Chart X).
Data is collected annually through a survey of tourist attractions to establish the number of visitors at attractions within and around the nominated Site. Whilst not every attraction provides data to this survey it provides a good proxy for the patterns of use and concentration of activity within the nominated Site. In the absence of data for the number of visitors on the streets of the main settlements, the occupancy levels and capacity of visitor accommodation due to its commercial sensitivity the visitor attraction data is currently the ‘best available’ data to assess the concentration of activity in collaboration with the concentration of activity by District Authority area.

Map of location of top 20 visitor attractions

Table X: The most visited attractions in the Lake District in 2013 (Cumbria Tourism Visitor Volume Survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Number of visitors in 2013</th>
<th>Number of visitors in 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windermere Lake Cruises</td>
<td>1,411,995</td>
<td>1,469,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheged*</td>
<td>399,318</td>
<td>409,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ullswater Steamers</td>
<td>337,667</td>
<td>361,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brockhole Visitor Centre</td>
<td>223,768</td>
<td>230,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attraction</td>
<td>2011 Visits</td>
<td>2012 Visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway</td>
<td>190,714</td>
<td>200,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whinlatter Forest and Visitor Centre</td>
<td>159,732</td>
<td>184,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World of Beatrix Potter</td>
<td>147,991</td>
<td>152,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grizedale Forest Park</td>
<td>145,406</td>
<td>179,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre by the Lake</td>
<td>126,056</td>
<td>113,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honister Slate Mine</td>
<td>118,365</td>
<td>125,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilltop Farm (home of Beatrix Potter)</td>
<td>103,314</td>
<td>95,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sizergh Castle*</td>
<td>84,065</td>
<td>102,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wray Castle</td>
<td>71,982</td>
<td>78,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakeland Motor Museum</td>
<td>71,642</td>
<td>79,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muncaster Castle</td>
<td>65,109 (2012 figure)</td>
<td>78,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove Cottage (Wordsworth's)</td>
<td>50,028 (2012 figure)</td>
<td>50,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatrix Potter Gallery</td>
<td>37,572</td>
<td>33,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackwell Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>30,053</td>
<td>37,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen Bank</td>
<td>26,745</td>
<td>31,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowther Castle and Gardens</td>
<td>22,435</td>
<td>52,911</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Denotes attractions that are close to but outside the nominated Site’s boundary*
Chart X: Trends of the number of visits to the five currently most visited attractions in the Lake District (Cumbria Tourism Visitor Volume Survey)

Table X: Top reasons given for visiting Cumbria (Cumbria Visitor Survey, November 2012, QA Research)
To undertake a specific activity | 16% | 33% | 34% | 27%
To visit specific places | 9% | 14% | 13% | 25%
Visit friends, relatives, second home, free accommodation | 14% | 12% | 11% | 21%
Because of a specific event or show | 6% | 8% | 9% | 1%

The 2012 Cumbria Visitor Survey also explored the activities undertaken by visitors during their visit, as outlined in Table X. This survey question allowed for multiples responses to be given.

**Table X:** Top activities undertaken by visitors to Cumbria (Cumbria Visitor Survey, November 2012, QA Research)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity undertaken</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>UK visitor</th>
<th>Overseas visitor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting the countryside</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting towns / villages</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short walks – up to 2 miles</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting restaurants</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting heritage attractions</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting pubs</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long walks – more than 2 miles</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touring around / sightseeing by car</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxing - doing nothing</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting art galleries, artistic / cultural exhibits, museums</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake cruises / motor boat cruising</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting other types of visitor attractions</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting beaches / the coast</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird watching / field study / nature study / wildlife watching</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Projected levels of visitation resulting from inscription**

The projected levels of visitation resulting from inscription is not expected to increase significantly. The trend data in Table X highlights annual visitor numbers have not changed significantly in the past five years, averaging approximately 15.40 million visitors annually.

Research undertaken for the Department for Media Sport and Culture by Pricewaterhouse Coopers LLP in 2007 suggested that World Heritage Site status provides “a promotional advantage and a ‘branding effect’ which encourages additional visitors. The evidence indicates that this is likely to have a marginal effect (c.0-3%) and this will be stronger for less ‘famous’ sites.” (The Costs and Benefits of World Heritage Site Status in the UK, Pricewaterhouse Coopers LLP, December 2007)

As such for an established tourism destination like the nominated Site it might expect a negligible impact on overall visitor numbers as a result of becoming a World Heritage Site.
Table X: Scenarios for projected levels of visitation resulting from inscription
Annual visitor numbers at the nominated Site have been at a similar level as the 3% increase scenario within the last five years, demonstrating that inscription of the English Lake District will not exceed the carrying capacity of the site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No growth (0%)</th>
<th>1% increase</th>
<th>2% increase</th>
<th>3% increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.40 million</td>
<td>15.55 million</td>
<td>15.71 million</td>
<td>15.86 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visitor pressures and possible deterioration of the nominated Site
There are established pressures on the nominated Site particularly from visitors given the annual numbers visiting each year. These pressures can be wide ranging, falling into a number of categories:

- Visitor pressure on local communities
  Large numbers of visitors bring many benefits to local communities, including local service provision and infrastructure, but they can also have adverse implications which need to be actively managed. Demand on services and infrastructure can cause congestion and prevent local communities being able to access services. There can also be tensions in the type of goods and services available as in some settlements these are often aimed at a visitor audience at the expense of everyday needs for local communities. Local communities experience pressures relating to the availability of housing as described in section X (i) - Development Pressures, due to high numbers of holiday homes and second homes in some settlements. These visitor pressures can affect local culture and reinforce the decline of rural communities and rural isolation.

- Visitor pressure on the landscape
  Visitor pressure is apparent in erosion of some sensitive landscapes including upland paths and lakeshores. There are a series of well-developed partnerships within the nominated Site which seek to manage these impacts, such as ‘Fix the Fells’ project relating to upland path repair, and the Landscape Characterisation Assessment provides a framework for making decisions.

- Traffic and transport
  Traffic and transport is a major issue in the nominated Site. The majority of visitors have historically arrived to and moved around the nominated Site by private vehicle such as cars or motorbikes and continue to do so, as shown by Tables X and X. This data serves as a useful proxy for the nominated Site.
### Table X: Main mode of transport to get to Cumbria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car, van, motorbike, motor home</td>
<td>90 %</td>
<td>83 %</td>
<td>85 %</td>
<td>84 %</td>
<td>82 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus, coach service</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach tour</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walked</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeroplane</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat, ferry</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table X: Main mode of transport used to get around Cumbria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car, van, motorbike, motor home</td>
<td>86 %</td>
<td>77 %</td>
<td>80 %</td>
<td>77 %</td>
<td>73 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus, coach service</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach tour</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walked</td>
<td>24 %</td>
<td>11 %</td>
<td>11 %</td>
<td>13 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat, ferry</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The large numbers of visitors travelling to and around the Lake District by car, and the popularity of car-based sightseeing, particularly during the summer season creates difficulties for local communities travelling around the nominated Site which adds to rural isolation.

Public transport services for local communities are limited due to the size of the local resident population and rural nature of the nominated Site. Where public transport services do exist they tend to be focussed towards visitor needs given the larger number of visitors in comparison to local residents. For example, lake-based transport provides a crucial link in the sustainable transport network for visitors and also as a means of travel to work and for transport of goods.

There is a significant amount of road-based freight transport both within and on the boundaries of the nominated Site, which has the potential to lead to adverse impacts and could compromise some of the Lake District’s attributes of Outstanding Universal Value.

- **Car parking**
  Parking provision in the nominated Site comprises of a mix of pay and display, honesty box and free parking space, owned and operated by public and private bodies. There are over 100 car parks across the site, some with provision for
larger vehicles such as camper vans and coaches and facilities including toilets. There is also on-street parking, and road-side parking, formal or otherwise, both in and out of settlements.

This mix means there is a fragmented approach to parking across the nominated Site, for example in parking charges and enforcement, and significant differences in the quality of parking provision and ancillary facilities. The influx of tourists, especially in school holidays, means that demand for parking sometimes outstrips supply. The geography of the Lake District also means that, at peak periods, some areas experience levels of road-side parking that can disrupt the day-to-day lives of residents and local businesses.

The availability of parking influences people’s choices about destinations and is, therefore, an essential tool in traffic management. Parking provision also provides a sense of arrival at a destination.

- Visitor pressure on wildlife and habitats
  The effects of tourism and recreation on wildlife are many and varied. In general, recreational impacts on wildlife can consist of: trampling, which causes floristic changes, vegetation loss, soil compaction and erosion; eutrophication, which leads to localised proliferation of weeds and alters the soil; and disturbance, which causes animal ‘fight or flight’ behaviours, worrying, and site abandonment.

The approach to the management of visitors and visitor pressures within the nominated Site forms part of the Management Plan, and this is supported by planning policies of the Lake District Local Plan. The Management Plan does not seek to increase the number of visitors to the nominated Site, but it does seek to change the visitor profile by encouraging more overnight stays so visitors stay longer, and to encourage visitors throughout the year. The Plan seeks to influence visitor’s behaviours by encouraging responsible visiting to ensure their visit isn’t causing harm to the environment or local community.
SECTION 5.0
Protection and Management of the Property
This section of the nomination provides a clear picture of the legislative and regulatory measures, including the planning framework and management plan in place to protect and manage effectively the English Lake District as required by the World Heritage Convention.

Here policy aspects, legal status and the wide-ranging protective measures are identified, and the practicalities of day-to-day administration and management and its effectiveness is also explained. It is important to remember that, as a cultural landscape of some size demonstrating the interaction of humanity and nature, the range of attributes contributing to Outstanding Universal Value is unusually wide.

5.a Ownership
The English Lake District World Heritage Nominated Site extends across 2,292 square kilometres (229,200 hectares) and with it a range of both public and private ownerships, large and small scale. There are also other mechanisms which affect the ability of private and public owners to do as they will with their land. These are discussed further below.

Table 5.1: land ownership of the nominated Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landowner</th>
<th>Area owned</th>
<th>Proportion of Lake District owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private/other ownership</td>
<td>142,837 hectares</td>
<td>62.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>44,567 hectares land owned</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Utilities</td>
<td>15,708 hectares owned</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Commission</td>
<td>11,867 hectares owned and 1,939 hectares leasehold</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>8769 hectares owned</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note on further editing expected before final submission

Section 5 – Protection and Management

This chapter has been finalised and has also had some ‘re-authoring’ to ensure the document has one voice and style throughout and to double check key linkages between sections and remove repetition where avoidable. Some further final amendments may be necessary.
Almost 40\% of the nominated Site is owned by members of the Lake District Partnership, and a significant proportion of the land that is held in private/other ownership is owned by estates and trusts.

Significantly, over 20\% of the Site is owned by the National Trust, including many of the most important properties and pieces of land in the Lake District. The majority of this land is declared ‘inalienable’ under the National Trust Act 1907 which means that once the Trust has declared a piece of land inalienable, the Trust cannot sell, give away or mortgage that land. The Trust also holds 18,000 hectares of registered Common Land, and their land is in large part managed through approximately 90 farm tenancies with whole farmsteads being leased to tenants. In addition to the farms in its ownership, the National Trust’s Lake District estate includes approximately 271 houses and cottages, ranging in size and prestige from large mansions and lakeside villas to small 1 bedroom cottages.

The Trust also owns many other vernacular buildings including public houses, hotels and boathouses, and natural features including England’s highest mountain (Scafell) and deepest lake (Wastwater) as well as 24 other lakes and tarns. Many of the Trust’s holdings have been purchased and bequeathed and ensures that attributes of Outstanding Universal Value can be conserved and protected through sympathetic ownership in addition to legislative requirements. In addition to the lands owned outright by the National Trust, it also holds legal covenants in perpetuity over a further xxxxxx hectares owned by third parties. These covenants restrict the owners’ abilities to change their holdings without the Trust’s consent.

Similarly to the National Trust model of land purchases, a number of other attributes that contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value, such as Brantwood, Dove Cottage, and the Wordsworth archive have been purchased by and are owned by Trusts, such as the Brantwood Trust, the Wordsworth Trust, in order to preserve these properties and features in perpetuity. Other land is owned or leased by conservation bodies, such as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds reserve at Haweswater, for conservation purposes which will directly or indirectly benefit the attributes of Outstanding Universal Value.

The Lake District is unusual for its high proportion of Common Land. Common Land can be privately or publicly owned and its use is subject to the rights over of it of commoners. Its primary purpose is to be used as communal grazing. This common land is an important attribute of the Lake District’s Outstanding Universal Value and is critical to the upland agro-pastoral farming system, its protection has been ensured against encroachment and development within UK statutes since the
nineteenth century. Farmers are given rights to graze their livestock (usually sheep) on individual sections.

The Management Plan will need to ensure that all owners within the proposed World Heritage Site have access to information to understand the requirements for management of the site so they can participate and benefit. Public bodies and Partnership members should set exemplary standards and a commitment to conservation, sustainable development and public access.

5.b Protective designation
All necessary measures for the protection of the English Lake District and its setting are in place. An established framework of legislation and planning policy exists within which management of the World Heritage Site will take place. This framework stems from the European Union, and United Kingdom national and local government. The United Kingdom is party to the World Heritage Convention, and a wide range of statutory legislation, supported by conventions, codes of practice and guidance provides protective measures and designations for the Site, outlined in Table X.

This Table lists first protection through ownership by an appropriate conservation body, and then protection by designation. In the latter section, it has been divided to give first international designations, and then national ones.

Table 5.2 List of relevant protective designations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protective designations</th>
<th>Legislative act under which protective status is provided</th>
<th>Additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROTECTION THROUGH OWNERSHIP OR MANAGEMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Trust ownership – inalienable and covenants</td>
<td>The National Trust Act 1907 (The 1907 Act)</td>
<td>Legislation gives National Trust powers to make their land ‘inalienable’; also gives them power to enter into covenants to protect land owned by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common land</td>
<td>Commons Act 2006 Commons Registration Act 1965</td>
<td>Approximately 17% of the Lake District is designated as Common Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardianship</td>
<td>Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979</td>
<td>Five sites placed in perpetual management by state via English Heritage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### National Nature Reserves
The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 (The 1949 Act)
Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981

There are 9 National Nature Reserves in the nominated Site

### PROTECTION THROUGH DESIGNATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Candidate World Heritage property</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ramsar sites</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landscape</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Special Areas of Conservation (SAC)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Special Protection Areas</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

536
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National</th>
<th>The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 (The 1949 Act)</th>
<th>The Lake District National Park was the second of 10 English and Welsh National Parks to be designated, in 1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Park</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Monuments</td>
<td>Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979</td>
<td>280 Scheduled Monuments have been designated within the nominated Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listed Buildings</td>
<td>Planning (Listed Building and Conservation Areas) Act 1990</td>
<td>1757 Listed Buildings have been designated within the nominated Site. They include 31 Grade I, 121 Grade II*, and 1605 Grade II buildings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Areas</td>
<td>Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990</td>
<td>23 Conservation Areas have been designated within the nominated Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered Parks and Gardens</td>
<td>National Heritage Act 1983</td>
<td>There are 9 sites within the nominated Site listed on the national ‘Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in England’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedgerow designations</td>
<td>The Hedgerow Regulations 1997</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree designations</td>
<td>Town and Country Planning Act 1990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Town and Country Planning (Tree Preservation Order) Regulations 2012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI)</td>
<td>Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981</td>
<td>There are 194 SSSIs designated within or partly within the nominated Site which encompass both nationally important</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marine Conservation Zones

| Marine Conservation Zones | Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009 | The Cumbria Marine Conservation Zone includes 1.7 square kilometres of the Lake District |

Local Sites
Local Geological Sites (Regionally Important Geological and Geomorphological Sites) and Local Wildlife Sites

| Local Sites | Local Geological Sites (Regionally Important Geological and Geomorphological Sites) and Local Wildlife Sites | Local Sites are sites of local importance for nature conservation but are not legally protected | There are 140 Local Geological Sites within the nominated Site, and approximately 14,000 hectares of Local Wildlife Sites within the nominated Site. |

Public Rights of Way


The Operational Guidelines (para 103 – 106) say that wherever necessary for the proper protection of the property, an adequate buffer zone should be provided. It should contribute to the protection, management, integrity, authenticity and sustainability of the OUV of the property. If it is not intended to create a buffer zone, the reason for this should be explained here. It is not proposed to create a buffer zone around the nominated property for two main reasons.

Firstly, like many other IUCN Category V Protected Areas, the nominated property is in itself of sufficient size to act as its own buffer. Because the nominated property follows the boundaries of the National Park, it will itself be big enough to prevent development that will have an adverse impact on the attributes of its proposed Outstanding Universal Value.

Secondly, National Parks are the highest level of landscape protection within the UK planning system and this is recognised in national spatial planning policy (see section 5.c). Legislation (the 1995 Environment Act) requires all relevant authorities (including adjoining local planning authorities) to have regard to the purposes of National Park designation when excercising or performing and functions in relation to, or so as to affect, land in the National Park.

This means that the neighbouring planning authorities must take into account, inter alia, the need to conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the National Park when considering development proposals outside the
Park boundaries. If such proposals are likely to have a significant adverse impact on the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the National Park, together encompassing the attributes of proposed Outstanding Universal Value, then they should be refused. In the six decades since the creation of the Lake District National Park, these arrangements have worked well and there is no need to change them by introducing a buffer zone as well.
Figure 5.1: Extent of the Lake District National Park designation and the nominated Site
Figure 5.2: Extent of Registered Common Land within the nominated Site
Figure 5.3: Extent of National Trust ownership and covenanted land –

TO BE INSERTED
**Figure 5.4:** Extent of heritage assets within the nominated Site
Figure 5.5: Extent of other legal designations in the nominated Site
5.c Means of implementing protective measures

Conservation and protection is achieved by proactive measures alongside steps to manage change in both cultural and natural heritage spheres. In a cultural landscape it is particularly important to manage both cultural and natural heritage together in an holistic way, because cultural landscapes represent the interaction of humanity and nature. As identified in Section 5.b there are in fact two parallel and complementary approaches to the protection and conservation of the Lake District. Large parts of the nominated property are owned by public or charitable bodies for conservation purposes; linked to this is also the effectiveness of traditional means of land management through the extensive Common Lands of the Lake District. Alongside this is the protection and sustainable management of change through the spatial planning system, including the use of a wide variety of designations.

This section first examines the implementation of the international and European designations applying to the Lake District and then outlines the nature of the English spatial planning system which is fundamental to most protective measures in the candidate World Heritage property. The role of the National Park is then described since it is fundamental to the future well-being of the proposed property. The section concludes with more detailed description of how protection through ownership and management and designation works on the ground.

The implementation of international and European designations

World Heritage Convention
Adopted by UNESCO in 1972, and ratified by the United Kingdom in 1984, the Convention provides for the identification, protection, conservation, and presentation of cultural and natural sites of Outstanding Universal Value, and requires a World Heritage List to be established under the management of an inter-governmental World Heritage Committee. Implementation of the World Heritage Convention is also overseen by UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee.

Historic England, as Government’s lead advisory body for the historic environment, provides advice on World Heritage in England, as 16 of the 17 existing properties are inscribed on the basis of their cultural Outstanding Universal Value, and if inscribed will act as Government’s lead advisory body for the English Lake District. The Convention is implemented through existing designations and the spatial planning system. Policy guidance is provided within the government’s National Planning Policy Framework and Planning Practice Guidance.

Ramsar sites
Ramsar sites are wetlands of international importance designated under the Ramsar Convention. The initial emphasis of Ramsar sites was on selecting sites of importance to waterbirds within the UK, and consequently many Ramsar sites are also Special Protection Areas (SPAs) classified under the Birds Directive. They are protected through national natural heritage designation systems under the aegis of Natural England.
European Landscape Convention

Also known as the Florence Convention, it was ratified by the United Kingdom in November 2006. The Convention recognises that the landscape is a basic component of European natural and cultural heritage and requires States who are party to it to protect, manage and plan for their rural, urban and maritime landscapes, therefore this convention helps to protect the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site. States Parties should incorporate landscape into spatial planning and other relevant policies. The government’s lead advisor on the Convention is Natural England [CHECK] and Historic England are also involved in its implementation.

Special Area of Conservation (SAC) and Special Areas of Protection (SPAs)

Under the European Council Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC)), 364 square kilometres (16%) of the Lake District are designated as Special Areas of Conservation within the nominated Site. They are selected for a number of habitats and species, both terrestrial and marine, which are listed in the Habitats Directive. Under the EC Directive on the conservation of wild birds (79/409/EEC), two sites are designated as Special Protection Areas. The Conservation of Habitats and Species Regulations 2010 provide in England and Wales for the designation and protection of 'European sites', the protection of 'European protected species', and the adaptation of planning and other controls for the protection of European Sites. Special Areas of Conservation and Special Protection Areas form a network of protected sites called Natura 2000.

Natural England is responsible for ensuring that Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), Special Areas of Protection (SPA), Special Areas of Conservation (SACs), and Ramsar sites are managed appropriately under the provisions of the legislation that govern them including the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981, the Ramsar Convention, the European Council Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC), and Birds Directive (79/409/EEC). The organisation is also responsible for the designation of new sites, and for assessing and monitoring their condition. Where proposed developments may affect protected sites such as SSSI’s, SPA’s, SAC’s the local planning authority should take advice from Natural England on planning applications. Standing advice is also issued by Natural England to explain what developers must do to stay within the law, for example relating to bats, wild birds or great crested newts. Where harm is caused to a protected site such as a SSSI, Natural England has the power to prosecute and take action against those responsible for causing damage.

Water Framework Directive

Water is a key feature in or shaping many of the Lake District’s attributes, therefore protection of water is of critical importance. Adopted in December 2000, the purpose of the Water Framework Directive is to establish a framework for the protection of inland surface waters (rivers and lakes), transitional waters (estuaries), coastal waters and groundwater. It will ensure that all aquatic ecosystems and, with regard to their water needs, terrestrial ecosystems and wetlands do not deteriorate and
meet ‘good status’ by 2015. Where this is not possible, and subject to the criteria set out in the Directive, the aim is to achieve good status by 2021 or 2027. In England, the Water Environment (Water Framework Directive) Regulations 2003 transposed this directive into national law. The directive requires management of the water environment at the river basin scale, and these River Basin Management Plans focus on the protection, improvement and sustainable use of the water environment. The Lake District National Park is within the Northwest River Basin District.

**The planning system**

Town and country planning in the United Kingdom concerns land use planning and implements the controls required for many designations of heritage assets, as well as controlling spatial development in general. The main legislation relevant today to the planning system is:

- Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004;
- Planning Act 2008;
- Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009;

Under this legislation most forms of significant development and changes in land use in open countryside, towns and villages requires a planning application to be made to the local planning authority – of which the Lake District National Park Authority is one. Decisions are made against national guidance, and local guidance and planning policies in the form of Local Plans such as the *Lake District Local Plan*, supplementary guidance, and relevant material considerations.

A large part of the legal basis of the planning system is in fact contained within national planning policy and guidance, consolidated in the last few years mainly into two key documents, the National Planning Policy Framework (2012) and Planning Practice Guidance (2014). Relevant planning policy documents include:

**Table 5.3 National Policy Documents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Responsible body</th>
<th>Summary of plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English National Parks and the Broads UK Government Vision and Circular 2010</td>
<td>Department for Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs</td>
<td>The purpose is to provide policy guidance on the English National Parks and the Broads. It is relevant to those bodies with appropriate statutory functions and will be of interest to all those who have a key role in contributing to the success of the Parks, including landowners and land managers, private companies and voluntary bodies. This is relevant to the nominated Site given the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marine Policy Statement 2011</strong></td>
<td><strong>Department for Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs</strong></td>
<td>Provides the high level policy context within which national and sub-national Marine Plans will be developed, implemented, monitored, and amended. It helps to inform planning decisions that affect marine areas, part of which includes the nominated Site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Planning Policy Framework, 2012 and National Planning Practice Guidance (2014)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Department for Communities and Local Government</strong></td>
<td>The framework acts as guidance for local planning authorities and decision-takers, both in drawing up plans and making decisions about planning applications. This includes guarding the weight that should be attached to heritage assets such as World Heritage Sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Heritage at Risk Register, 2014</strong></td>
<td><strong>Historic England</strong></td>
<td>The register highlights where priority action is required to preserve and enhance the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District through direct maintenance action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mineral Extraction and the Historic Environment, 2008 updated 2012</strong></td>
<td><strong>Historic England</strong></td>
<td>This sets out Historic England’s position on mineral extraction and the high-level policies that will form the basis for responses and views put forward by Historic England on any matter relating to the winning, working and safeguarding of minerals. Minerals extraction is important to maintain supplies of materials required to maintain and repair heritage assets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Heritage Protection Plan 2011-2015 (last updated 2013)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Historic England</strong></td>
<td>The Plan sets out how Historic England together with partners in the heritage sector, will prioritise and deliver heritage protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UK Forestry</strong></td>
<td><strong>Forestry</strong></td>
<td>Sets out the approach of the UK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Standards, 2011 Commission
governments to sustainable forest management, defines standards and requirements, and provides a basis for regulation and monitoring. These standards, together with the Management Plan for the Lake District help to ensure the Outstanding Universal Value is protected.

Planning Policies

UK Government provides Planning Practice Guidance to support the National Planning Policy Framework. In respect of World Heritage Sites the guidance outlines: “In line with the National Planning Policy Framework, policy frameworks at all levels should conserve the Outstanding Universal Value, integrity and authenticity (where relevant for cultural or ‘mixed’ sites) of each World Heritage Site and its setting, including any buffer zone or equivalent.

Appropriate policies for the protection and sustainable use of World Heritage Sites, including enhancement where appropriate, should be included in relevant plans. These policies should take account of international and national requirements as well as specific local circumstances.

When developing Local Plan policies to protect and enhance World Heritage Sites and their Outstanding Universal Value, local planning authorities, should aim to satisfy the following principles:
- protecting the World Heritage Site and its setting, including any buffer zone, from inappropriate development
- striking a balance between the needs of conservation, biodiversity, access, the interests of the local community, the public benefits of a development and the sustainable economic use of the World Heritage Site in its setting, including any buffer zone
- protecting a World Heritage Site from the effect of changes which are relatively minor but which, on a cumulative basis, could have a significant effect
- enhancing the World Heritage Site and its setting where appropriate and possible through positive management
- protecting the World Heritage Site from climate change but ensuring that mitigation and adaptation is not at the expense of integrity or authenticity

Planning authorities need to take these principles and the resultant policies into account when making decisions.

Applicants proposing change that might affect the Outstanding Universal Value, integrity and, where applicable, authenticity of a World Heritage Site through development within the Site or affecting its setting or buffer zone (or equivalent)
need to submit sufficient information with their applications to enable assessment of impact on Outstanding Universal Value. This may include visual impact assessments, archaeological data or historical information. In many cases this will form part of an Environment Statement.

World Heritage Sites are ‘sensitive areas’ for the purposes of determining if an Environmental Impact Assessment is required for a particular development proposal. Lower development size thresholds apply to the requirement for Design and Access Statements within World Heritage Sites as compared with the norm.”

The Planning Act 2008 Act makes National Park Authorities statutory consultees for Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects, and also for National Policy Statements prepared by Government. This ensures that where these proposals, for example, may affect the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site or its attributes, the Lake District National Park Authority is able to make representations on the large scale developments judged to be of national importance, that are determined by the Planning Inspectorate.

Further provisions of the UK planning system require that certain developments must have Environmental Impact Assessments before they are granted development consent, under the provisions of the Town and Country Planning (Environmental Impact Assessment) Regulations 1999, and Environmental Impact Assessment Regulations 2011, in accordance with the European Directive requiring developers to compile an Environmental Statement describing the likely significant effects of development on the environment and proposed mitigation measures. Aspects of the environment which might be significantly affected by a project include population, fauna, flora, soil, water, air, climatic factors, material assets including the architectural and archaeological heritage, landscape and the inter-relationship between the factors. As such this is an important mechanism to ensure the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site is considered for certain developments.

The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 made provision for the preparation of local development documents setting out development and land use policies for the area of the National Park. Every local planning authority must prepare and maintain a local development scheme which outlines a schedule of what documents authorities plan to create. The Local Plan sets out a Local Planning Authority’s policies to tackle local issues and outlines constraints to control development within their local area to preserve the quality of the built environment and its characteristics.

The Localism Act 2011 made provision for communities to draw up a Neighbourhood Plan giving members of a community an opportunity to influence the places where they live. These Neighbourhood Plans form part of the Local Plan, giving a locally distinctive interpretation to the planning policies contained in the Lake District Local Plan.

Both national and local planning policies and guidance provide significant protection to the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District, and require that sufficient
information is provided in order for any application to be adequately considered through the development management process.

- Development management

Planning applications within the nominated Site are assessed by a team of professionally qualified planners who oversee the process of plan production and all aspects of development management where planning applications are considered. To back up these powers of development management, the local planning authority is empowered to take enforcement action against development that proceeds without planning permission. Enforcement action can be initiated against unauthorised development through legal proceedings with financial penalties against offenders where enforcement notices are upheld.

The planning process affords significant protection to heritage assets, especially where these are recognised through formal designation, in line with National Park statutory purposes. As such, if the nominated Site is inscribed as a World Heritage Site attributes that contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value will be afforded greater weight in the decision making process to ensure they are protected and not harmed.

When the Local Planning Authority receives a planning application, it must determine the application, either granting or refusing planning permission, within a specified time limit. The Lake District National Park Authority offers a pre-application advice service for planners to discuss ideas with developers and land owners, with the intention of securing an acceptable proposal when a planning application is submitted. Once the planning application is submitted, statutory consultees (which may include the Environment Agency, Local Highway Authority, Natural England, Historic England, or local Parish Councils) are given the opportunity to comment on the proposal. Their comments, together with any others that may be received are taken into consideration when a planning officer assesses the merits of the application in light of planning policies, guidance, and material planning considerations such as impact on attributes of Outstanding Universal Value.

Planning policies and published guidance, both local and national, are the starting point in the consideration of proposals, and proposals must be in accordance with these policies and guidance unless other material considerations indicate otherwise.

Material considerations may include information submitted by the applicant including heritage statements – these are required as part of the information submitted with planning related applications when the proposed development might affect an archaeological site or historic building. The requirement for Heritage Statements is included in the National Planning Policy Framework. This application assessment process ensures the Authority’s protective measures described through planning policies are applied to new development within the nominated Site. Conditions may be attached to planning permissions to enhance the quality of development. If a development is judged to cause harm to the Outstanding Universal Value then it is
likely that planning permission would be refused, given the strong planning policy presumption against harm to the Outstanding Universal Value.

National Park designation

The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 provided for the creation of National Parks and the establishment of a National Parks Commission (subsequently becoming the Countryside Commission, then the Countryside Agency before being subsumed into Natural England). Natural England has a duty to consider which areas in England meet the criteria for designation as a National Park, and designate accordingly at a time of choosing. The Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 also empowers Natural England to make orders varying the boundary of the National Park. In 2012 Natural England made an order extending the Lake District National Park boundary, and a final decision on this is awaited from the Secretary of State.

Government regards National Park designation as conferring the highest status of protection as far as landscape and natural beauty is concerned. This is taken into account in the National Planning Policy Framework and local planning policy.

The Lake District National Park was the second of 10 English and Welsh National Parks to be designated in 1951, and covers 2292 square kilometres. The 1949 Act defined the statutory purposes of as:

- Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage
- Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of National Parks by the Public

and their duty as:

- Seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities within the National Park for which they are responsible

The Environment Act 1995 made fundamental changes to the system of care and control of National Parks. Since April 1997, each National Park has been managed by its own National Park Authority. The 1995 Act gives statutory force to the recognition that the statutory purposes can conflict and in such cases, under the “Sandford Principle”, conservation comes first:

"Where irreconcilable conflicts exist between conservation and public enjoyment, then conservation interest should take priority"

This principle was updated in the 1995 Environment Act, to say:

"If it appears that there is a conflict between those purposes, [the National Park Authority] shall attach greater weight to the purpose of conserving and enhancing the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the area"
The 1995 Act also creates a new statutory duty on National Park Authorities and other ‘relevant authorities’ (which for the purpose of this provision means any Minister of the Crown; any public body; any statutory undertaker; or any person holding public office) to have regard to the purposes of National Park designation when exercising or performing any functions in relation to, or so as to affect, land in the National Park.

These pieces of legislation demonstrate the level of protection afforded to National Parks and this provides one of the key means by which the Outstanding Universal Value of the Site will continue to be maintained and protected – with the legislation applying not only to the National Park Authority itself but other relevant authorities, many of which are members of the Lake District National Park Partnership.

Much of the control provided to National Park Authorities to ensure the statutory purposes and duties relates to the Authority discharging its function as a Local Planning Authority.

The National Park designation is primarily protected through its Management Plan and implementation of planning system. Within the UK planning system, the Lake District National Park Authority has statutory responsibility for land use planning, including preparing planning policies, determining planning applications for development proposals, and for minerals workings including mining and quarrying. It is also a statutory consultee for nationally significant infrastructure projects where these are within or may affect the setting of the National Park. The Lake District National Park Authority also produces a National Park Management Plan outlining how non-land use planning issues will be managed over a specific time period.

The Lake District National Park Authority prepares the Lake District Local Plan which contains the local planning policies for the nominated Site. The Local Plan is made up of a suite of documents and guidance including the Core Strategy describing the overarching planning policies including those relating to minerals planning, the Allocations of Land Plan which outlines those sites that have been professionally assessed to accommodate future development, the Minerals Safeguarding Areas which identifies where important mineral resources exist, and Saved Planning Policies which contain more detailed policies relating to specific issues.

The Local Plan also includes Supplementary Planning Documents which currently provide more detailed guidance on Wind Energy, Landscape Character, and Housing Provision. The Landscape Character Assessment Supplementary Planning Document is an important piece of evidence in decision-making as it identifies features that give an area a ‘sense of place’, and describes places in a systematic way. This enables informed and evidenced based decisions to be made on planning applications to ensure any change can respect local character or add to it.

The planning policies contained in the Lake District Local Plan cover a wide range of issues designed to protect and manage the evolution of the cultural landscape of the nominated Site, and recognise the highest regard national Government holds for National Park landscapes. The Local Plan is provided in Appendix X, and includes policies on:
National significance and distinctive nature of the Lake District

Achieving vibrant and sustainable settlements

Settlement form

Protecting the spectacular landscape

Geodiversity and biodiversity

The acclaimed historic environment

Lakeshore development

Mineral extraction

Sustainable development principles

Delivering sustainable tourism

National Park Management Plan

The *English National Parks and the Broads UK Government Vision and Circular 2010* requires production of a plan outlining how the National Park will be managed. The Management Plan is reviewed every five years and a new one produced. The 2010-15 Management Plan evolved a new partnership approach to management planning within the Lake District, as it was produced by the Lake District National Park Partnership and then adopted by the National Park Authority.

The current Management Plan covers the period 2015-2020 and outlines the strategies, actions and monitoring process required to deliver effective management and protection to deliver the Lake District’s agreed 2030 Vision (this is the Lake District Partnership’s Plan 2015-2020 – a joint National Park and World Heritage Site Management Plan as described in section 5.e). The 2010-2015 Management Plan evolved the approach to the way Management Plans are produced in the Lake District,

The Management Plan sets out the National Park Authority’s policy for managing and carrying out its functions in relation to its National Park designation, reflecting the statutory purposes and duties, and how local authorities, statutory agencies, and a wide range of partners, stakeholders and communities engage with each other. In order to monitor progress of the Management Plan, a State of the Park report is published every five years, in addition to annual monitoring to support the Management Plan.

Resources are aligned to deliver the Lake District National Park Authority’s contribution to the shared Management Plan. This includes for example maintaining rights of way, developing planning policy, and improving understanding of the National Park by providing information and advice at information and visitor centres.

Because the National Park designation provides the significant means of protecting the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District, the Management Plan is important for guiding decisions that do not affect land use planning decisions which are dealt with through development management. For example, the Management Plan may guide management and restoration of the historic environment, visitor...
interpretation and presentation of the Site, improving biodiversity, and providing strategies to support maintenance of traditional skills and farming practices.

**Protection through ownership**

Ownership and management are one of the two means by which attributes of OUV are protected in the candidate World Heritage property. This includes ownership by charitable trusts, ownership/management by national heritage agencies. Common Land is also an important means of protecting the farming traditions and practices of the Lake District.

**National Trust ownership**

The National Trust Act 1907 sets out National Trust’s charitable purpose and guides all of their activities. It states that ‘The National Trust shall be established for the purposes of promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty and historic interest and as regards lands for the preservation (so far as is practicable) of their natural aspect, features and animal and plant life.’ The National Trust does this for the ‘everlasting delight’ of the people.

The National Trust has the power under the National Trust Acts to declare land which it owns “inalienable”. Once the Trust has declared a piece of land inalienable, the Trust cannot sell, give away or mortgage that land. Nor can the land be compulsorily acquired from the Trust against its will without a special procedure involving both Houses of Parliament. As such, land in National Trust ownership, especially where it is declared inalienable, is afforded significant protection from harm. National Trust ownership therefore offers significant protection to attributes of Outstanding Universal Value resulting from the Trust’s significant land holdings.

In addition to owning around one-fifth of the Lake District National Park, the National Trust holds restrictive covenants on some 3927 hectares of third party land and property. Through these covenants the Trust holds rights relating to land it does not own which can be exercised to oppose unsympathetic development or usage. Under its acts The National Trust is unique in England in being able to hold covenants on land to which they do not own adjoining land or property.

The National Trust also owns approximately 21,000 sheep in the Lake District, the vast majority of them the native Herdwick breed. These sheep form Landlord’s Flocks and form part of the tenancy agreement on about 54 farms. As part of their agreement the tenant is obliged to return these sheep to the landlord at the end of their tenancy at the same number, quality, and age classes they took on at the start of their tenancy. This is a fundamental part of maintaining the unique hefting and acclimatisation of the region’s common-grazed, fell-going sheep, ensuring continuity of sheep flocks and shepherding management beyond the span of individual farm tenures. This helps to ensure these attributes of Outstanding Universal Value are maintained.
The National Trust is the most prominent of several landowners with conservation as a principal aim, and demonstrates that the pattern of ownership is critical to future management because the tenancies of these properties place obligations on tenants to manage this landscape and its Outstanding Universal Value attributes through farming and land management of a traditional kind. The National Trust produces regional business plans, valley plans, and whole farm plans to ensure conservation of its sites is maintained.

The Trust’s current strategy document ‘Playing Our Part’ presents its aspirations within a broader geographical context. These aspirations, which will remain fixed for the period 2015 to 2025, include ‘looking after the national special places’, restoring a ‘healthy, more beautiful environment’, providing ‘experiences that move, teach and inspire’ and ‘helping to look after the places where people live’. A number of regional and sub-regional plans exist which aim to deliver this strategy. These include the regional business plans, sub-regional strategies and property business plans.

Sustainable land management planning is being developed in collaboration with other land owners and stakeholders to express the significance and future management vision for distinctive valley areas in the Lake District, ensuring the management and protection of the Outstanding Universal Value at a local level. A new sustainable land management toolkit is being developed to assess the inherent value of land, the benefits it delivers to the nation, and the priorities for its management. This approach will provide a GIS-based approach to produce catchment-scale evidence packs that are robust, informative and science-based, to allow pro-active and prioritised action planning to deliver careful and considered management of change. This toolkit is a key aspect of monitoring the Outstanding Universal Value to ensure its ongoing future protection.

Future development of sustainable land management planning will draw upon work undertaken in recent decades on topics such as whole farm planning. This involved the National Trust and its farm tenants working to develop a plan for future management of each of its farms linked to conservation needs and a business case for farming. In some areas, valley plans were written to address broader scale issues which were often common across many farms in one locality, and to provide a different scale of analysis for measuring and planning change affecting particular rural environments.

Other ownership by charitable trusts

Management by national heritage bodies

Guardianship Sites
Landowners can place ancient in state ownership or placing it under guardianship, under the terms of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 (as amended). Under the latter, the owner retains possession, while the appropriate national heritage body maintains it and often opens it to the public. The five sites classified as Guardianship Monuments in the Lake District are examples of attributes.
of Outstanding Universal Value, so this designation is valuable in ensuring their protection and access to enable people to learn about the features.

**Common Land**

Sheep and cattle have grazed Cumbria’s fellsides and pastures for hundreds of years. Above the valley bottoms vast tracts of unenclosed land provide a communal grazing resource, known as common land. This common land is an important attribute of the Lake District’s Outstanding Universal Value and is critical to the upland agro-pastoral farming system, and its protection has been ensured against encroachment and development within UK statutes since the nineteenth century, embedding this traditional management system in national legislation. Farmers are given rights to graze their livestock (usually sheep) on individual sections. There are 121,046 hectares of unenclosed land in the Lake District that makes up 53% of the total area which is protected by legislation and custom from irreversible change to ownership or changes in management. 64,539 hectares (28% of the Lake District area) of this is registered as ‘Common Land’. The Commons Act 2006 aims to protect areas of Common Land in a sustainable manner delivering benefits for farming, public access, and biodiversity:

- the Act enables commons to be managed more sustainably by commoners and landowners working together through commons councils with powers to regulate grazing and other agricultural activities;
- it provides better protection for Common Land and greens;
- the Act prohibits the severance of common rights, preventing commoners from selling, leasing or letting their rights away from the property to which rights are attached.

Rights attached to individual common land holdings are registered with Cumbria County Council under the provisions of the Commons Registration Act 1965. Individual commons or groups of commons are currently managed through local commons associations, and the Federation of Cumbrian Commoners is an important membership organisation that represents commoners. The continuation of protection for Common Land ensures the unique attributes of the Lake District farming system will be maintained, thus assisting in the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site.

**Protection by Designation**

**Scheduled Monuments**

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 provides the statutory framework under which a schedule of archaeological and historical monuments deemed to be of national importance is established and maintained. The 280 Scheduled Monuments in the Lake District, which are attributes of Outstanding Universal Value, are protected since all works to them require Scheduled Monument Consent from the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, who is advised on applications by Historic England.
Historic England also provides advice on the protection and management of historic assets and works in partnership with other authorities, including National Park Authorities, and owners, to achieve conservation projects. For the last five years Historic England has been working with the Lake District National Park Authority and its volunteers to conserve Scheduled Monuments to remove them from risk. This practical work ensures that these monuments continue to contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value.

**Listed Buildings**

Under the provisions of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, the UK Government through Historic England, has designated 1757 Listed Buildings within the nominated Site including examples such as Wray Castle, Dove Cottage, and Brantwood. Any persons wishing to modify a Listed Building must apply to the Local Planning Authority (the Lake District National Park Authority) for Listed Building Consent. Historic England is a statutory consultee on applications for listed building consent, and the Authority’s in-house specialist also advises on proposals.

This consent process controls the works that may affect buildings to ensure the continued protection of the special interest and integrity of these important features. In addition to the Listed Building consent, a development proposal affecting a Listed Building may also require preparation of a Heritage Statement so that planning officers can consider any potential impacts on its significance.

Listed Building designation ensures that these features, which contribute to the Site’s Outstanding Universal Value, have an established mechanism to protect them and secure their enhancement. Historic England hold a register of Listed Buildings at risk and works with owners and other interested parties to ensure their long term protection through maintenance and repair.

**Conservation Areas**

As a Local Planning Authority the Lake District National Park Authority can designate Conservation Areas, and it has designated 23 such areas within the nominated Site. They are designated because they demonstrate special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance. Their special character relates to the quality and interest of an area as a whole rather than just an individual building, and this character is managed through an appraisal and management plan. Each Conservation Area in the Lake District (with the exception of Keswick currently) has a Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan to identify features that should be preserved or enhanced, and setting out how this can be done. By defining what contributes to the character of the Conservation Area, the appraisal and management plan can help manage future development and enhancement, and ensure that it is of good quality and sensitively designed. They also provide invaluable guidance for property owners and potential developers.

Conservation Area designation helps to protect the cultural landscape and Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District as certain development proposals
require Conservation Area Consent in addition to planning permission. Conservation Area Consent prevents landowners demolishing certain buildings, gates, fences, walls, railings, or trees without first seeking consent. This enables the Local Planning Authority to protect features and attributes that may contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site, which would not otherwise be protected.

Registered parks and gardens

The national ‘Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in England’ provides a listing and classification system for historic parks and gardens similar to that used for listed buildings. The register is managed by Historic England under the provisions of the National Heritage Act 1983.

It is intended that registration should increase awareness of the value of such places and encourage those who own them, or who have a part to play in their protection, to treat the sites with due care, whether through appropriate maintenance or making changes to the site. Their registration is a material consideration in the planning process so, following a planning application for development which would affect a registered park or garden, local planning authorities must take into account the historic interest of the site when deciding whether or not to grant permission for any changes.

Hedgerow designations

The Hedgerow Regulations 1997 give the Local Planning Authority protection over ‘important hedgerows’ helping to prevent them being removed (uprooted or destroyed). Hedgerows are protected if they are at least 30 years old and meet certain criteria including archaeology and history, or wildlife and landscape. Among those hedges that are protected are those located on or next to land used for agriculture or forestry, land used for keeping horses, ponies or donkeys, common land, a village green, a site of special scientific interest, and a local nature reserve.

With respect to archaeology and history, hedgerows benefit from this Act if the hedgerow:

- marks the boundary, or part of the boundary, of at least one historic parish or township; and for this purpose “historic” means existing before 1850.
- incorporates an archaeological feature which is either included in the schedule of monuments compiled or recorded at the relevant date in a Sites and Monuments Record.
- is situated wholly or partly within an archaeological site included or on land adjacent to and associated with such a site; and is associated with any monument or feature on that site.
- marks the boundary of a pre-1600 AD estate or manor recorded at the relevant date in a Sites and Monuments Record or in a document held at that date at a Record Office, or is visibly related to any building or other feature of such an estate or manor.
• is recorded in a document held as an integral part of a field system pre-dating the Enclosure Acts, or is part of, or visibly related to, any building or other feature associated with such a system, and that system is substantially complete, or is of a pattern which is recorded in a document prepared before the relevant date by a local planning authority, within the meaning of the 1990 Act, for the purposes of development control within the authority’s area, as a key landscape characteristic.

The process of application to remove hedgerows ensures that an assessment of the importance of the hedgerow can be made and whether its loss would be acceptable, helping to manage the character of the landscape and maintain attributes of Outstanding Universal Value that contribute to traditional agro-pastoralism, and character of the cultural landscape.

**Tree designations**

Tree Preservation Orders can be served on individual trees, groups of trees or woodlands. They are used to protect trees and woodlands if their removal would have a significant impact on the local environment and its enjoyment by the public. These important trees can make a significant contribution to the rich cultural landscape. A Tree Preservation Order’s principal effect is to prohibit the cutting down, uprooting, topping, lopping, wilful damage, or destruction of trees without appropriate consent. If deemed to cause harm then the Local Planning Authority can refuse to grant consent, or require replacement trees to be planted if removal is justified.

The Forestry Act 1967 also gives responsibilities and powers to the Forestry Commissioners to **prevent loss of tree cover and ensure that new forests and related operations do not harm the environment**. The Forestry Commission are responsible for protecting, improving and expanding England’s woodland; this includes protecting trees and woodland from threats such as pests, diseases and climate change using regulation and working with woodland owners and managers to deliver responses. The Forestry Commission provide grants for the creation and management of new and existing woodland, putting in place management plans. Any woodland creation must ensure that the Lake District’s Outstanding Universal Value is not harmed as a result of new planting proposals, and these will be guided in part using the World Heritage Site Management Plan (The Lake District National Park Partnership’s Plan). A felling license is required to fell trees if certain criteria cannot be met, and penalties can be imposed where felling takes place without a license. A felling license will normally include conditions that the felled area must be restocked and the trees maintained for a period of time.

**Water**

The Water Resources Act 1991 regulates water resources, water quality and pollution, and flood defence. The Act provides the general structure for the management of water resources, explains the standards expected for controlled...
waters; and what is considered as water pollution. It also provides information on mitigation through flood defence.

The Environment Agency has a central role in the protection of water environment including the ecology of rivers and wetlands, and the maintaining and improving the quality of surface waters and ground waters, with responsibility for the provisions outlined in the Water Framework Directive. The use and conservation of water is managed through the issue of abstraction licenses for activities such as drinking water supply, irrigation, and hydro-electricity.

Through the Environment Agency’s regulatory role in respect of air, water and land, and its environmental permit process the Agency can prosecute those who fail to comply with consents or permits through the justice system.

**Sites of Special Scientific Interest**

Sites of Special Scientific Interest conserve and protect the best of England’s wildlife, geological and physiographical heritage for the benefit of present and future generations. SSSIs give legal protection to the best sites for wildlife and geology in England under the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981. In total this accounts for 419 square kilometres (18%) of the nominated Site – a significant proportion of the nominated Site.

The Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 whilst also widening the protection for Sites of Special Scientific Interest, provided protection to native species, especially those under threat, and placed control on the release of non-native species.

Natural England is responsible for ensuring that Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), Special Areas of Protection (SPA), Special Areas of Conservation (SACs), and Ramsar sites are managed appropriately under the provisions of the legislation that govern them including the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981, the Ramsar Convention, the European Council Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC), and Birds Directive (79/409/EEC). The organisation is also responsible for the designation of new sites, and for assessing and monitoring their condition. Permission is required from Natural England for certain activities on SSSI land to ensure activities do not damage the sites’ special features. This ensures additional protection for elements of the natural environment covered by designation. Where proposed developments may affect protected sites such as SSSI’s, SPA’s, SAC’s the local planning authority should take advice from Natural England on planning applications. Standing advice is also issued by Natural England to explain what developers must do to stay within the law, for example relating to bats, wild birds or great crested newts. Where harm is caused to a protected site such as a SSSI, Natural England has the power to prosecute and take action against those responsible for causing damage.

**Marine Conservation Zones**

Marine Conservation Zones are like the nature reserves of the sea - spaces to protect our most precious sea life. Natural England work with Marine Management Organisation’s to create and manage the Marine Conservation Zones, including the
Cumbrian Marine Conservation Zone under the provisions of the Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009. This is a result of Natural England’s responsibility to protect marine species that are protected by European and UK wildlife legislation.

Local Sites

Local Geological Sites (Regionally Important Geological and Geomorphological Sites)
Local Geological Sites are sites of geological or geomorphological interest (excluding sites of national importance designated SSSI) that are considered worthy of protection for their education, research, historical or aesthetic importance.

They are selected by voluntary geoconservation groups, and are protected through the Lake District Local Plan.

Local Wildlife Site

Local Wildlife Sites are areas which are locally important for the conservation of wildlife. They are identified and selected for the significant habitats and species that they contain. Whilst the designation of Local Wildlife Site is non-statutory and as such they are not directly protected by law they are vital in maintaining the full range of wildlife across the nominated Site. They are afforded protection through the Lake District National Park Authority Local Plan.

Public Rights of Way

The Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000 (CRoW Act 2000) provides for public access on foot to certain types of land, amends the law relating to public rights of way, further increases protection for Sites of Special Scientific Interest and strengthens wildlife enforcement legislation.

Cumbria County Council has a significant role in countryside access as it is the statutory highway authority required to assert, protect, map, record and manage the public rights of way network in Cumbria. Access to many areas of the Lake District is often enjoyed from public rights of way, and these have helped to engage artists, writers and many others with the landscape over centuries. The public rights of way contribute to the Lake District’s attributes, so their maintenance and improvement is important. Cumbria County Council manages public rights of way in partnership with other bodies including the Lake District National Park Authority – delivering the Cumbria Countryside Access Strategy.

5.d Existing plans related to the site and region

A wide range of existing plans are relevant to the management of the Lake District, ranging from strategic plans covering the whole of the nominated Site through to plans related to specific locations and attributes of Outstanding Universal Value. The table below summarises the plans that are relevant to the nominated Site, highlighting which Lake District Partnership body is responsible for delivery of the each plan.
### Table 5.4X: Plans relating to the Lake District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Responsible body</th>
<th>Summary of plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Trust Strategy, 2015-2025</strong></td>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>A 10 year plan for whole of the National Trust that sets direction and targets for the organisation in line with its charitable purpose. Given the extent of the Trust’s ownership within the nominated Site the strategy influences how significant areas of land will be managed to ensure the Outstanding Universal Value is protected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diffuse Water Pollution Plans</strong></td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>The Environment Agency, Natural England and Catchment Sensitive Farming advisers work together to prioritise farms that require measures to be delivered via Diffuse Water Pollution Plans to deliver benefits to N2K sites and SSSIs, helping to protect attributes of Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natura 2000 Site Improvement Plans, 2012</strong></td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>Site Improvement Plans (SIPs) have been developed for each Natura 2000 (SAC and SPA) site in England as part of the Improvement Programme for England’s Natura 2000 Sites (IPENS). The plan provides a high level overview of the issues (both current and predicted) affecting the condition of the Natura 2000 features on the site(s) and outlines the priority measures required to improve the condition of the features, helping to protect and enhance these aspects of the natural environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North West River Basin Management Plan (Kent/Leven, Derwent NW, South West Lakes) and Solway Tweed</strong></td>
<td>Environment Agency (and Scottish Environment Protection Agency)</td>
<td>Led by the Environment Agency, and involving Natural England these plans that set out measures to improve water in rivers, lakes, estuaries, coasts and in groundwater as a requirement of the Water Framework Directive which requires all countries throughout the European Union to manage the water environment to consistent standards. The Water Framework Directive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
River Basin Management Plan introduces a formal series of six year cycles. The first cycle will end in 2015 when, following further planning and consultation, RBMPs will be updated and reissued. These Plans help to protect and enhance attributes of Outstanding Universal Value associated with the natural environment.

Public Forest Estates Forest Design Plans

There are 27 Forest Design Plans relating to sites in the Lake District. These Forest Design Plans are used by the Forestry Commission to demonstrate sustainable forest management on the public estate in the long-term and to define a 10-year programme of approved work. A Forest Design Plan is produced in co-operation with internal and external stakeholders, and they help to ensure forests in the nominated Site do not harm the Outstanding Universal Value.

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<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Responsible body</th>
<th>Summary of plan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lake District National Park Partnership/Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>The Management Plan outlines the Partnership’s approach and strategies to proactively manage the Lake District to deliver the 2030 Vision, and conserve, protect, present and transmit the nominated Site. See section 5.e for full description</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Lake District National Park Authority          | A Statutory planning document which outlines planning policies required to deliver the 2030 Vision and purposes of the National Park. It sets out what type of development is acceptable and the broad locations where this should take place. It also outlines policies that seek to protect the Outstanding Universal Value:  
  o National significance and distinctive |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of the Lake District</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achieving vibrant and sustainable settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement form</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protecting the spectacular landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geodiversity and biodiversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The acclaimed historic environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lakeshore development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral extraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable development principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivering sustainable tourism</td>
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</table>

| National Trust  | This provides an overarching plan for the visitor offer in the Lakes, including audiences and experiences, helping to present the nominated Site including sites such as Hilltop and Wray Castle.  |

| National Trust  | A 3 year plan for each Lake District property setting out priorities, activities and targets. These also include a Statement of Significance for the property. A Spirit of Place statement will also be introduced for each property. These help the trust to understand the contribution these attributes make to the Outstanding Universal Value, and inform how these properties can be presented.  |

| National Trust  | A 3 year plan setting priorities for the region, including projects, targets and resources.  |

| Cumbria County Council  | The CROW Act introduced the requirement for Rights of Way Improvement Plans. These plans are designed to provide the strategic overview of access and recreation, and includes goals and priority areas. The County Council provides funding to parishes and community groups to develop and enhance the rights of way network in their areas. This assists in enhancing access and presentation of the Site.  |
### United Utilities

**Drought Plans**

Drought Plans are produced when certain trigger levels in water resources are reached to set out how United Utilities will manage the drought, including at Thirlmere and Haweswater Reservoirs.

### United Utilities

**Sustainable Catchment Management Plans**

Sustainable Catchment Management Plans are designed to improve raw water quality, diversity of habitats and carbon sequestration of specific sites whilst maintaining viable farm businesses for its tenants particularly in the Thirlmere and Haweswater catchments.

### Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

**RSPB Haweswater Management Plan – 2015-2020**

A site specific plan, this sets out the long term management vision and provides detail on the objectives and actions needed to work towards the vision over a 5 year period for the area covered. Actions include monitoring and evaluating delivery of objectives.

The 2015-2020 plan seeks to protect upland agro-pastoralism through new approaches to management.

### The Lake District National Park Partnership

**X.e Property management plan and system**

**The Lake District National Park Partnership**

The management approach for National Park designation that has been adopted in the Lake District far exceeds the statutory requirements for the National Park Authority to produce a Management Plan, and public bodies to have regard to the National Park purposes. In 2006, to strengthen working relationships and to improve management of the Lake District, the National Park Authority established the ground-breaking Lake District National Park Partnership. This Partnership is the first in the English family of National Parks to come together in this way and remains unique in its approach. The breadth and diversity of its membership is a key strength. This Partnership approach to management is integral to the management and protection of the nominated Site’s Outstanding Universal Value, as the twenty five bodies from public, private, community, and voluntary sectors, represent all interests in the Lake District (see table X), and almost 40 per cent of its ownership. The Partnership operates under a Memorandum of Understanding that has been agreed by all members of the Partnership.

The Partnership shares an agreed Vision of what the Lake District will look like in 2030:
“An inspirational example of sustainable development in action.

A place where its prosperous economy, world class visitor experiences and vibrant communities come together to sustain the spectacular landscape, its wildlife and cultural heritage”

Local people, visitors, and the many organisations working in the Lake District or making a contribution to it, must be united in achieving this.

The Partnership aims to rise to the challenge of managing the whole of the Lake District as a World Heritage Site and a coherent entity, and to a consistently high standard through a shared and agreed Management Plan for 2015-2020 (known as the Partnership Plan). The Lake District National Park Partnership will be the World Heritage Site Steering Group and has the advantage of a decade’s experience of joint working.

Table 5.5: Members of the Lake District National Park Partnership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lake District National Park Partnership members</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action with Communities Cumbria</td>
<td>Lake District Local Access Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allerdale Borough Council</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copeland Borough Council</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Partnership’s Business Task Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>Country Land and Business Association</td>
<td>Local Enterprise Partnership, Cumbria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumbria Association of Local Councils</td>
<td>National Farmers Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumbria County Council</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumbria Tourism</td>
<td>Natural England</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumbria Wildlife Trust</td>
<td>Nurture Lakeland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eden District Council</td>
<td>Royal Society for the Protection of Birds</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historic England</td>
<td>South Lakeland District Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>Environment Agency</td>
<td>United Utilities</td>
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</table>
This multi-agency and organisation approach is used to provide an effective means of implementing protective measures through the statutory and discretionary responsibilities of these bodies. The key partners with statutory responsibilities are the National Trust, Lake District National Park Authority Natural England, Environment Agency, Forestry Commission, Historic England, United Utilities, Cumbria County Council, and four District Councils covering the nominated Site. This provides assurances to the future and on-going management of the Site.

The 2015-2020 Management Plan establishes a single management approach for an area that is a National Park designation and potentially will be a World Heritage Site, both of which are highly significant conservation and management tools, and which normally require management plans in their own right. However, many of the objectives and purposes of the preservation of the nominated Site are similar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>World Heritage Site purposes</th>
<th>National Park purposes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Each State Party to the Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation, and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage belongs primarily to that State</td>
<td>• Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage (of the National Parks); and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• That effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage.&quot;</td>
<td>• Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities (of the National Parks) by the public.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In pursuing the statutory purposes, National Park Authorities have a duty to:• Seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities.”

Integrating these dual Management Plan requirements into this single Plan makes planning simpler for stakeholders, residents and businesses, and ensures all Partnership members look at the Lake District holistically and that the strategic approach taken is consistent and appropriate for inscription and National Park designation. The Management Plan titled The Lake District National Park Partnership’s Plan for 2015-2020: The Management Plan for the English Lake
District – a National Park and prospective World Heritage Site is appended in Appendix X. This dual purpose Plan outlines the Outstanding Universal Values of the Site, and identifies the National Park’s ‘Special Qualities’ (listed in Table X). The National Park ‘Special Qualities’ are the characteristics that distinguish National Parks from each other and from other parts of the country. There are thirteen Special Qualities identified in the Lake District, and within these ‘Special Qualities’ many of the attributes of Outstanding Universal Value are demonstrated.

Table 5.6: List of Lake District Special Qualities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lake District Special Qualities</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A world class cultural landscape</td>
<td>Extensive semi-natural woodlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex geology and geomorphology</td>
<td>Distinctive buildings and settlement character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich archaeology and historic landscape</td>
<td>A source of artistic inspiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique farming heritage and concentration of common land</td>
<td>A model for protecting cultural landscapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The high fells</td>
<td>A long tradition of tourism and outdoor activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth of habitats and wildlife</td>
<td>Opportunities for quiet enjoyment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosaic of lakes, tarns, rivers and coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The integration of the World Heritage Site Management Plan and National Park Management Plan reduces potential conflicts between plans and purposes. The greatest cause for conflict between the purposes comes from the National Park’s duty to foster socio-economic well-being of its local communities. However, conflicts often present themselves between National Park purposes. The English National Park designation statutorily requires the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage to be given greater weight in decision making where there is conflict with other interests. The most important aspects of natural beauty, wildlife, and cultural heritage are reflected by specific Special Qualities; the protection of those Special Qualities is therefore given great weight in decision making. The attributes of Outstanding Universal Value are specific components of these Special Qualities, and consequently benefit from the same decision making principle (the ‘Sandford Principle’) which is outlined in the Environment Act 1995. The Lake District National Park Authority recognises that tensions between purposes do occur, and is able to

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demonstrate through its plans, policies, and decision making that it is able to manage conflicts when they arise.

The Management Plan describes the nominated Site, and summarises the Outstanding Universal Value of the Site and the Special Qualities of the National Park. The attributes of Outstanding Universal Value are specific components of some of the Special Qualities of the National Park, and these are described in the Plan. The Plan describes the Vision that the Plan is seeking to achieve through its strategy and management approach. This Vision is also outlined in the Lake District Local Plan to ensure both these Plan’s seek to deliver the same, shared outcomes.

The Plan identifies management and governance arrangements of the nominated Site, and the risks and issues affecting it. The risks identified will be managed through implementation of strategies and actions contained within the Plan. To ensure these risks are managed effectively they will be monitored. The Plan outlines 34 strategies required to deliver the Vision and provides positioning to protect, conserve, present, and transmit the Outstanding Universal Value and Special Qualities of the nominated Site. The strategies for example, seek to support agro-pastoralism, sustain the living cultural landscape, the built and historic environment, and ensure the continuation of the Lake District as a source of artistic and cultural inspiration.

The Plan is implemented through a series of agreed activities and actions. A vast amount of activity is already being undertaken by members of the Lake District National Park Partnership to deliver the Management Plan in addition to activity planned for the next five years. The Partnership has also identified a small number of new breakthrough actions that require collective Partnership input to achieve the outcomes sought to help protect the Outstanding Universal Value and deliver the Vision. These actions have a lead partner that is responsible for taking the action forward. **The key actions are:**

- Spectacular landscape, cultural heritage and wildlife
- Prosperous economy
- A world class visitor experience
- Vibrant communities

The progress and ultimate success of the strategies and actions of the Management Plan, and ultimately whether the Outstanding Universal Value is being conserved and protected, is assessed through a monitoring and research framework. This monitoring framework establishes a series of key indicators that are used to assess the condition of the Site, as described in Section 4 and 6 of the nomination.

The Lake District National Park Partnership has prepared the Management Plan for the nominated Site and leads on its implementation. The 25 organisations that are
members of the Partnership abide by a shared Memorandum of Understanding and share collective responsibility and ownership for the Management Plan. Each member is a key stakeholder in the Lake District and all the main interests are represented. The Partnership is made up of representatives from the public, private, community and voluntary sectors, and includes bodies with statutory responsibilities.

**Timetable for the implementation of the Management Plan**

The Vision for the nominated Site extends to 2030. The current Management Plan covers a five year period from 2015-2020; the actions and activities identified are those that we expect will be delivered during this time period. Actions and activities vary from shorter term to longer term actions — as specifically detailed in the Management Plan, and some will even extend beyond the timeframe of the plan period, but these are recognised as contributing to the 2030 Vision. A great deal of activity is also continuing from the 2010-2015 management plan for the National Park designation, and this ongoing, resourced activity provides an excellent starting point to continue progress to deliver the Vison.

5.f **Sources and levels of finance**

In a property as large as the Lake District it is not possible to say exactly what level of resources are being invested, it is very clear that partners and stakeholders are able to meet the resource requirements of managing the nominated Site.

**Table 5.7: sources and levels of finance available from members of the Lake District National Park Partnership**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Resources available (e.g staff…)</th>
<th>Planned investments (to land, buildings, repairs, maintenance, marketing etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eden District Council</td>
<td>£65,000</td>
<td>Officer and member time is committed to the Lake District Partnership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Commission</td>
<td>In the region of £1 million</td>
<td>£567,000 grant spend</td>
<td>35 FTEs</td>
<td>£130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Budget 2014</td>
<td>Budget 2015</td>
<td>Budget 2016</td>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends of the Lake District</td>
<td>£250,000</td>
<td>£20,000</td>
<td>£180,000</td>
<td>£31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>£1.69 million</td>
<td>£9.0 million</td>
<td>138 FTEs</td>
<td>400 volunteers, £1.29 million capital investments next year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Trust</td>
<td>£2.8 million</td>
<td>£2.7 million</td>
<td>£3.6 million</td>
<td>In the North West the National Trust has approximately 600 staff and 5,000 volunteers. In the Lake District there are 868 volunteers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There were 1101 existing Entry and Higher Stewardship Agreements in the Lake District during the last Rural Development Programme for England covering 145,000 ha, at a total cost of £135 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurture Lakeland</td>
<td>£87,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Approx. £136,000</td>
<td>Around £20,000 on publications, banners, maps, photos, brochures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raised and dispensed on conservation projects, and £190,000 from grant funding for campaign work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Approximately £90,000 for conservation projects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| South Lakeland District Council | Circa £2 – 3 million | Circa £800,000 on Ferry Nab, Steamboat Museum, Waterhead, Affordable Housing schemes | Staff and contracts which:  
- manage Parks, open spaces and grounds maintenance,  
- undertake street cleansing, litter removal  
- manage Car Parks  
- manage the Lake service on Windermere  
- work on events, economic development, licensing etc.  
- Housing advisers, affordable housing officers | Circa £300,000 – 400,000 on The Glebe (Bowness), other recreation sites, affordable housing contributions |
| United Utilities | Significant investment in the Cumbrian region - over the last 12 months in excess of £76m of capital was invested in all parts of the business including conservation and management. | An annual revenue budget in Cumbria of over £30m which makes a contribution to a better environment. | The company employs over 200 people across the Cumbrian region who are involved in maintaining and ensuring our assets are fit for purpose and comply with relevant legislations, this includes supporting the environment of the Lake District. | The figure for the next financial year is likely to be approximately £55m in the region. |

In addition to the levels of finance available manage the nominated Site, significant levels of staff and volunteers support the adequate management of the nominated Site. For example, the National Trust has 860 volunteers, Lake District National Park Authority has 400 volunteers including the Archaeology Volunteer Network, and Friends of the Lake District has 200 volunteers in the Lake District undertaking
activities that conserve and enhance specific attributes of Outstanding Universal Value.

While the amount of funding available to public bodies has decreased over the past few years, there is significant revenue and capital funding available to managing the nominated Site. Under Section 33 of the VAT Act 1994 the Lake District National Park Authority is considered to be the same as District Councils and County Councils meaning it must set a balanced budget which ensures it will continue to operate as a going concern and ensure the ongoing management of the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated Site.

Further to this, the Partnership approach to management and maintenance of the nominated Site ensures the levels of funding are adequate for this on-going management. Additional funding will be sought by a range of partners for projects defined in the Management Plan. This funding cannot be guaranteed, but previous successes and the inclusion of the Site on the World Heritage list increases the likelihood of successful outcomes. Successful delivery of capital investments by public bodies encourages and stimulates investment by private owners thereby levering further capital investment into the nominated Site.

Examples of Heritage Lottery Funded projects in the Lake District

The Heritage Lottery Fund has become a significant source of funding for conservation and outreach projects in recent years and the Lake District has been successful in securing substantial grants for a range of work. Projects have been arranged both by individual organisations and by groups of partner organisations working together with local communities. These have included the major landscape schemes of Bassenthwaite Reflections (£1.9 million) and Windermere Reflections (£1 million), both of which included significant work on recording and protecting the cultural landscape, and thereby supporting the aspirations of World Heritage management. These projects were led by the Environment Agency in partnership with the Lake District National Park Authority, National Trust and others.

The Fix the Fells project, organised jointly by the National Park Authority and National Trust secured £2 million for repairs to eroded footpaths in the Lake District fells. It now continues with substantial input from volunteers. Smaller projects have included Ring Caim to Reservoirs (£50,000 - a community survey of the archaeology and cultural landscape of the Duddon Valley) and Romans in Ravenglass (£130,000 - community excavation of Ravenglass Roman settlement).

Current projects (in 2015) include the landscape scheme of Rusland Horizons: Working a Lakeland landscape, which is being run by the local community of the Rusland Valley in partnership with the Lake District National Park Authority, Natural England and other organisations to celebrate and secure the future of local woodland and traditional woodland industries; redevelopment of the Windermere Steamboat Museum, and Coniston Copper which will protect the historic industrial landscape of copper mining in the Coniston and Tilberthwaite areas.
It is anticipated that the constituent organisations in the Lake District National Park Partnership will continue to develop projects with local communities for submission to the Heritage lottery Fund.

*Windermere Reflections* photographic examples of projects on:
- The industrial heritage of Windermere
- Restoration of Claife Station
- Conservation of Ambleside Roman fort

**Agri-environment schemes**

Natural England administers Environmental Stewardship which is a land management scheme providing funding to farmers and land managers to deliver effective environmental land management on areas of land, and ensure the ongoing protection of attributes of Outstanding Universal Value. Land managers have signed up to these schemes for five or ten years depending on the type of agreement. This successful scheme closed in Dec 2014, with 1078 Environmental Stewardship agreements in the Lake District covering 145,689.2 ha or 63.6% of the total area of the Lake District, many of them with some years to run. A new land management scheme, called Countryside Stewardship, is now being delivered by Natural England and the Forestry Commission with first agreements starting on 1st January 2016 to deliver further environmental land management benefits.

**World Heritage Potential**

Rebanks Consulting Ltd undertook a study in 2008 into the potential social and economic benefits to the Lake District from WHS inscription. The findings suggest there is potential for World Heritage status to contribute to the economic sustainability of the Site through appropriate tourism development, changes in visitor profile, and the possibility of greater conservation payback through visitor giving mechanisms such as those delivered by Nurture Lakeland.

**5.g Sources of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques**

The English Lake District is well provided with trained staff in conservation and management techniques required to ensure its long term protection to benefit the Outstanding Universal Value. Through the nomination process staff from Partnership organisations are being aligned to protect, conserve and transmit the Outstanding Universal Value of the Lake District, and this will continue to happen if inscribed. This will include training schemes to ensure that those working within the site now and in the future, are provided with the necessary new and traditional skills to conserve and protect the Outstanding Universal Value. The Lake District National Park Authority hosts the World Heritage Site bid team within the Strategy and Partnerships Team. The team has access to and includes in-house specialists providing a range of skills and experience across the bid partnership.
The University of Cumbria has the largest School of Outdoor Studies in Europe, is home to the National School of Forestry, and the Institute for leadership and Sustainability courses. The University of Cumbria is part of a collection of organisations that have, for decades, been influencing leadership for sustainable development worldwide, in ways that also generate useful knowledge transfer for the region to continue to conserve its landscape.

The National Centre for the Uplands is located within the nominated Site, provides specialist education and training for the uplands, and seeks to demonstrate and disseminate best practice and research. The centre recognises the need to pass on traditional skills and develop new skills appropriate to entrepreneurial growth in the uplands.

Breed societies, such as the Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association, provide and retain specialist knowledge of the breeds in the Lake District including the specifications of the sheep, register rams and sheep, and provide Flock Books listing the flocks of recognised and pure bred livestock.

Training schemes

A range of training schemes are provided by the members of the Partnership to develop skills and knowledge in conservation and management. Examples of programmes and schemes include:

- **Fell Futures Apprentices Scheme** - This scheme trains young people in skills essential to the sympathetic management of somewhere as special as the Lake District National Park. It was set up to fill an identified gap in the rural and heritage skills sector.

- **University Of Cumbria’s Institute for Leadership and Sustainability (IFLAS) courses** - The University of Cumbria is involved in knowledge transfer in and out of the Lake District in ways that leverage its heritage:
  - IFLAS brings internationally known leaders in sustainable enterprise to its open lecture series (20 speakers over 3 years);
  - IFLAS has, over 3 years, brought over 600 senior executives to the area to engage with the region on week-long residential programmes;
  - the eastern part of the Lake District is already a world leading hub for leadership development using the outdoors, with a number of firms headquartered in the area, and the Ambleside Campus of the University of Cumbria has expertise in this field.
  - The IFLAS programmes Post Graduate Certificate in Sustainable Leadership and MA in Sustainable Leadership Development provide the mechanism through which the heritage of the region will further inspire learning for people from around the world;
  - IFLAS hosts workshops for the local community, on matters of sustainable economics;
  - The University has academics and ongoing undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in Event Management, Performing Arts, Fine Art (including museum curation), English Literature (including the Romantic poets, and courses on contemporary utilisation by popular
culture and visitor attractions), Conservation Biology, Forest Management, Marine and Freshwater Conservation, Outdoor Adventure and Environment, Transcultural European Outdoor Studies, and Sustainable Leadership Development.

- **The National Centre for the Uplands and Newton Rigg College** – provide education and training courses in a wide range of land based courses including Agriculture with Land Management, Animal Management, Countryside Management, and Gamekeeping and Wildlife Management.

- **Fix the Fells** – This upland footpath repair project delivers formal technical skills and mountain skills through a partnership between the National Trust and Lake District National Park Authority.

- **National Trust Working holidays** – These working holidays teach a broad range of conservation skills depending on interests, such as hedge laying, stone walling, and gardening.

- **National Trust volunteer management and leadership training** - Many of the National Trusts volunteers are also volunteer managers therefore the Trust provides this training to ensure the successful operation of its visitor sites and houses. National Trust staff and volunteers are also trained in conservation techniques.

- **Friends of the Lake District Volunteers** – A volunteer programme every year that includes training in techniques such as dry stone walling, and competitions relating to dry stone walling and hedge laying. There are over 300 volunteer days a year in countryside conservation work.

- **Friends of the Lake District fell care days** – there are two fell care days organised each year that bring together local communities, schools and volunteers to deliver on the ground conservation work in the Lake District.

- **RSPB volunteering** - at Haweswater, Bassenthwaite Ospreys, and wider volunteering opportunities

- **Lake District Volunteers** – The Lake District volunteers share their knowledge and passion for the Lakes by leading Guided Walks and other special interest events, helping to train other volunteers to survey sites for archaeological importance, providing a regular presence on the water as Volunteer Lake Rangers and supporting lake users by providing information and safety advice where necessary, and helping young people understand and appreciate the Special Qualities of the National Park through activities and workshops.

- **Flora of the Fells leaders landscape training** – Friends of the Lake District hold six flora of the fells training events each year that are aimed at outdoor practitioners to help deepen their understanding of the variety and importance of Cumbria’s upland ecology, and to have a clearer understanding of some of the issues and pressures of outdoor users on the Lake District landscape, wildlife and habitats.

- **Nurture Lakeland business support and advice** – support and advice to the tourism sector to help it reduce its environmental impact. For example, running the Love Your Lakes campaign to encourage businesses to use phosphate free cleaning products.

- **Nurture Lakeland visitor giving** – support and train businesses in their application of visitor giving, helping them to market the scheme online and
face to face. The funds raised go to practical conservation projects in the Lake District.

- **Natural England supports the North Lakes 2020 labour scheme** – This scheme supports young people to gain experience in farm management and administration. The scheme currently supports 3 farm workers and 1 farm administrator.

The university of Cumbria is also developing a new Master of Arts course in Cultural Enterprise, in partnership with leading British conservation and heritage organisations, which would provide a way for the fast-growing heritage sectors to learn about effective and sustainable development and management of cultural heritage in rural locations, from arguably one of the world’s first nature and heritage tourism regions. This proposal combines two areas of unusual excellence: knowledge of conservation and heritage, and knowledge of management development.

**5.1 Visitor facilities and infrastructure**

Key trends illustrated by the figures show that total visitor numbers have remained relatively even for the past five years averaging between 15 and 15.5 million. The proportion of overnight visitors is increasing relative to the total number of visitors, and these overnight visitors contribute more to the total visitor spend than day visitors. Relative to the rest of the UK there has not been a significant increase in international visitors, but there is evidence of a growth in out-of-season markets, including short breaks and activity based holidays. In this context it is considered that World Heritage Site status might assist the promotion of sustainable out-of-season visiting particularly by special interest tourists, including international visitors, which helps to sustain local employment opportunities throughout the year – in line with policies of the Management Plan. The Rebanks Consulting study – *World Heritage Status: is there opportunity for economic gain?* suggests that some World Heritage Site visitors have a different profile and therefore stay longer and spend more during their visit.

The nominated Site is a long-established destination for visitors, since the origins of the Picturesque fascination with the Lake District landscape and its potential for aesthetic experiences in the 18th century. There is a tradition of unrestricted access to the fells together with a historical network of roads, tracks and footpaths which has resulted in the Lake District becoming a focal point for recreational walking. The coming of the railway in the mid-19th century extended the opportunity to visit the area to a much wider part of society and was the catalyst for a tradition of tourism that continues today. Given this long history of visitation to the nominated Site it is therefore well provided for with the necessary infrastructure required for visitors.

Today, the majority of visitors arrive during the summer season. This can create some pressures especially during peak holidays periods, but the nominated Site is well served by a well-developed and professionally managed infrastructure of visitor information centres, museums and other attractions, accommodation, public amenities and facilities, roads and public transport. The tourist industry, together
with members of the Lake District National Park Partnership has made significant strides to make the industry more sustainable. For example, a travel initiative, called GoLakes Travel sought to encourage more visitors to travel around the Site without their private motor vehicle, encouraging visitors to arrive by public transport, and use various modes to travel around the nominated Site including steamers and cycles.

Some of the visitor facilities already provided in the Lake District include:
- Lake cruises on Windermere, Coniston Water, Ullswater, and Derwentwater
- Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway and Haverthwaite to Lakeside railway
- Aira force waterfall walk and facilities
- Brockhole, the Lake District Visitor Centre
- Dove Cottage and the Wordsworth museum
- Wray Castle
- Allen Bank, Gramsere
- Townend, Troutbeck
- Blackwell, the Arts and Craft house
- Brantwood (Ruskin’s residence)
- Coniston Ruskin Museum
- Keswick Museum
- Hilltop, Beatrix Potter’s cottage
- The Beatrix Potter Gallery
- Tarn Hows walks and facilities
- Claife Viewing Station
- Lowther Castle and Gardens
- Extensive Rights of Way network comprising of 2,170 kilometres of public footpaths and 882 kilometres of public bridleway
- 40 ‘Miles without stiles’ routes providing access for all
- Honister slate mine tours
- Whinlatter and Grizedale forests and visitor centres
- Many outdoor adventure and education centres
- Coniston Boating Centre
- Row boats on Ullswater, Derwentwater, and Buttermere
- Fell Foot Park
- 815 serviced accommodation establishments
- 2,887 non-services accommodation outlets
- A large and varied selection of cafes, restaurants, public houses and inns

The Lake District is also well served by a wide range of visitor services including:
- Public transport and sustainable travel
  - Rail services from the West Coast Main Line and branch line from Kendal to Windermere
  - Bus services serving the Lake District, including within, to and from the nominated Site
  - Lake cruises
  - Cycle routes and cycle hire
- Public toilets
o Approximately 45 locations of public toilets distributed across the nominated Site, plus many more available for customers to the many cafes, restaurants and public houses, and visitor attractions.

- Visitor information centres
  o Lake District National Park Authority Visitor Centres at Bowness, Keswick and Ullswater (Glenridding)
  o Eight other information centres located in Ambleside, Broughton-in-Furness, Coniston, Grasmere, Hawkshead, Pooley Bridge, Ravenglass, and Windermere

- A range of guided walks provided by volunteers, rangers, and private companies

- The Lake District National Park and Cumbria Tourism websites provide online information and guides to attractions, places to stay, ways to travel around using public transport, the locations of visitor services like information centres and toilets, and maps.

- The Lake District Events Guide provides visitors with information of events taking place throughout the year. This is also available online in an interactive version on the “golakes” website.

- The Lake District Search and Mountain Rescue Association comprises of 12 teams across Cumbria and the Lake District who provide support to the police to locate and evacuate injured and/or lost persons in upland environments.

- The Lake District is well served by car parking sites which are available throughout the nominated Site, ranging from public car parks in towns and villages, on street parking, to car parks at visitor attractions and accommodation.

5.i Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property

Overview

The sheer diversity and number of stakeholders with an interest in the nominated Site means there are numerous projects and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the nominated Site. Cumbria Tourism, as the official tourist board for the area, lead various promotion campaigns relating to the nominated Site including:

Activities to promote the nominated Site:

World Heritage campaign: An Evolving Masterpiece

We have developed an engagement campaign to inform, inspire, engage and ultimately extend the value of the Lake District’s bid for World Heritage status. The initial campaign will run to January 2017 and centres around three components:

1. Extensive customer research: creative packs were sent to people from across the region and various sectors, including 20 schools, interviews and workshops to test out key themes and capture content from them to use in the campaign
2. Authentic voice: the campaign must be owned by local people, telling their own story rather than messages being pushed out through a broadcast style approach. This will add authenticity, ownership, and it will extend the reach and longevity of the campaign.

3. Breadth and partnership: the campaign has been specifically designed to integrate with existing activity to help utilise as many outlets for engagement as possible.

From the initial insight a key message framework was developed for partners to use in their own communications, an engagement website, a PR and social content plan incorporating activity and events from partners, communities, visitors and businesses.

Exhibitions

The National Trust have a range of events and exhibitions at their places within the site that present the story of those special places within the context of the Lakes. The best example is perhaps that of Hill Top, the Home of Beatrix Potter, the world famous author who lived in the Lakes from 1913 to 1943 and was a great supporter of the National Trust. As well as our places, there are a range of other activities such as changing exhibitions at the Beatrix Potter Gallery and Wray Castle and events at Allan Bank and Townend.

In 2016, the focus for National Trust activities will be around celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Beatrix Potter; telling her whole story from artist to conservationist, scientist to farmer, landowner and donor to the National Trust.

A number of special exhibitions take place in the Lake District from time to time supported by the Lake District National Park Authority and other members of the Partnership. The ‘Land Keepers’ exhibition has been touring the Lake District, and been at the Royal Geographical Society. This exhibition throws the spotlight on Cumbria’s upland farmers highlighting what really goes on in the lives of the people who are most closely connected to the land.

A special fine art photography exhibition ‘Herdwick: A portrait of Lakeland Lake District’ recently took place which provides a year round look at the Lake District landscape, the fell farmers who care for it and its much loved native inhabitant, the Herdwick Sheep.

The Wordsworth Trust curates a changing programme of exhibitions and events at the Wordsworth Museum and the Jerwood Centre, Grasmere, including the following which are planned for 2015:

- Wordworth, War & Waterloo - this is the first-ever exhibition to explore the impact of William Wordsworth and other writers of the Romantic period as ‘war poets’.
• Power of the Hills: 250 years of guides to the Lakes - This event will trace their development through generations, beginning with Thomas Gray’s account from 1769 and running through to the present day.
• Grasmere Township 1859: Before and After - an exhibition curated by the Grasmere History Group, which explores the development of Grasmere from the mid nineteenth century onwards.

Brantwood Trust runs a programme of exhibitions at John Ruskin’s home, Brantwood, in its studio and gallery. Exhibitions planned for 2015 include Turrets and Towers: Watercolours and drawings by John Ruskin, One-to-One: New Work by Martin Greenland, and Glen Fender Meadows: A celebration of diversity with John Ford.

Special events

There are over 500 events and activities taking place each year in the Lake District to suit a wide range of tastes and interests. These events range from agricultural shows, cultural and music events, traditional sporting events and craft fairs. Some of the larger events include:

Ambleside Sports – dating back to 1886, this event is packed with traditional Lakeland sports including Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, hound trailing, and fell racing.

Grasmere Sports and Show – dating back to 1868, it is now one of the most popular traditional events in the English Lake District, with visitors coming to watch participants compete in a variety of sports, including Cumberland Wrestling, Fell Running and Hound Trails.

Grasmere gallop – National Trust trail runs in the setting of Grasmere and Rydal. A variety of races for all abilities, with the entry fee being invested right back into looking after this world-famous landscape.

Agricultural shows, and shepherds meets including:
• Eskdale Show – A classic county show set against the backdrop of the stunning Eskdale Fells, it is the premier show for Herdicks in the country. It also boasts hound trails, local handicrafts, and fell races.
• Gosforth show – including sheep, cattle, horses, goat, and poultry shows, Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, and traditional crafts.
• Borrowdale Shepherds Meet and Show – including Herdwick and Swaledale sheep show, traditional crafts, sheep dog trials, shepherds crook and stick show, hand clipping, and fell races
• Wasdale Head Shepherds Meet and Show – There has been a “Shepherds Meet” at Wasdale Head for over 100 years. It is believed that the “Shepherds Meet” started off with farmers from Wasdale meeting the farmers from the adjoining valleys of Ennerdale, Buttermere, Borrowdale, Eskdale and possibly Langdale, who walked their Tups (Rams) over to Wasdale Head to trade
them, swap them or hire them. This is why the show is held so late in the year, as farmers let the rams loose with the ewes in the valleys in November so lambs being born in April.

- Rydal Show – includes sheepdog trials and hound show, shepherds crook and stick show, and gun dog demonstration
- Hawkshead Show – including the showing of cattle, horses, sheep, traditional crafts and horticulture
- Keswick Agricultural Show – including the showing of fell ponies, heavy horses, cattle, sheep, sheepdog and gun dog trials, Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling, traditional crafts,
- Loweswater Show - dating back to 1876, this show includes sheep, poultry, goat and horse judging, sheep dog trials, traditional crafts, fell races, Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling, and hound trailing.

Friends of the Lake District fell care days – they bring together local communities, schools and volunteers from many different walks of life to understand and learn about the value and importance of our unique upland landscapes through taking part in practical action to protect them.

Friends of the Lake District hedging and walling competition – these are annual events which promote and present traditional land management skills to the general public.

Keswick Mountain Festival – is a weekend event with a huge programme of activities, world-class speakers, sporting events, camping and live music in the evening. The Keswick Mountain Festival strives to inspire visitors to get out into the great outdoors and offers a varied range of activities for beginners who are looking to try something new to enthusiasts who are looking for their next challenge.

Kendal Mountain Film Festival - is an award winning weekend event; the most diverse event of its type in the world. Their vision is to inspire more people to explore, enjoy, and represent mountains, wilderness, and their cultures. At the heart of Kendal’s programme is the mountain film competition, attracting film premières from around the world. Over 50 films are screened (from 200+ entries) with ten coveted prizes up for grabs. Together with the photography events, numerous competitions, specialist sports nights (Bike, Snowsports, Free-Flight, Underground, and Endurance Sports) and the Schools programme it is an important event to help people appreciate and understand mountain environments and their cultures, like the Lake District.

Lakes Alive – is a website where all the Lakes Alive events that take place in the spectacular landscapes of Cumbria can be found. These events include Mintfest – an event of street performances from across the world.
Strategies and campaigns

The Lake District was one of 10 destinations chosen as part of VisitEngland’s ‘Cultural Destinations’ programmes designed to support and develop cultural tourism, and the World Heritage bid was part of the case for securing funding. A Cultural Tourism Strategy has been developed for the Lake District to promote the Site as destination for cultural tourists. The strategy recognises that if the Lake District is going to become a cultural destination the public agencies and those working in the tourism and cultural sectors need a single-minded collaborative focus on:

- Attracting visitors – spending more – motivated by cultural experiences
- Understanding and committing to cultural tourism
- Working effectively together
- Strengthening the cultural offer to meet the needs of visitors

The strategy seeks to tell the shared story of the Lake District:
*In the Lake District, familiar things are made extraordinary by the landscape. There’s international film shown halfway up a mountain, rock bands in a deer park with a backdrop of the fells, a perfect arts and crafts house beside the country’s longest lake … and high in the hills are the Sheepfolds sculptures, made from Lakeland stone.*

*It’s not just England’s best-known, best-loved landscape: the Lake District has a creative spirit that puts it in a class of its own, with an abundance of cultural experiences to rival many cities.*

*Big names, now known across the world, have long found inspiration here such as the radical thinkers and artist pioneers of their time: William Wordsworth, Beatrix Potter, JMW Turner, John Ruskin, Kurt Schwitters, and Andy Goldsworthy.*

*Today, a rich creative life builds on that exceptional heritage. You can see it and feel it within a few short miles: the artworks in mountains and forests, the scores of galleries and artists’ studios, the packed programme of festivals – not just music and comedy but wool, print, ceramics – and the intimate venues and outdoor stages in stunning settings.*

*For more than 200 years, tourists have been coming to the Lakes. They come for a new perspective: to see life afresh, through a different lens. For adventures for the body and soul, the mind and spirit.*

As part of the Cultural Tourism Strategy a special event ‘Spring awakening’ – is in development. The event will be curated by a celebrity with Cumbrian links, and will involve the commissioning of new work, as well as selecting from the best of the current programme.

An Adventure Capital Strategy has been developed to promote and present the Lake District’s outdoor and activity offer. Adventure activities such as hiking, biking, canoeing or climbing can change forever the way people experience and think about
Lake District - this will have a profound effect on the future of Cumbria as a younger, more active destination.

The GREAT Britain campaign showcases the very best of what Britain has to offer, including its National Parks. Since 2011 VisitBritain have been running an ambitious four-year £100 million match funded marketing programme, and a multi-million pound GREAT image campaign, working with Government and a vast range of partners to boost Britain’s image overseas, increase the aspiration to travel here, and turn that aspiration into bookings.

Place to be campaign
Cumbria Tourism recently undertook a major promotional campaign for The Lake District, in the next phase of a joint campaign with VisitEngland as part of the Government’s Regional Growth Fund marketing project: ‘Growing Tourism Locally’. The campaign fully integrates Cumbria Toursim’s web, PR and print with a high impact national press and poster campaign.

The Taste Cumbria campaign seeks to promote Cumbria and the Lake District’s food and drink history. Rich in self-sufficiency, dramatic landscapes are farmed, the sea and the rivers and Lakes are fished, family businesses thrive and new producers and ideas continue to find space and support. Cumbria’s landscape is rich in produce and the campaign shows off the best. The campaign tells you where and when to find it, eat it, drink it, and celebrate it.

In addition to various marketing campaigns and strategies, a series of other methods of presentation and transmission are utilised including:

Conferences

Lake District Archaeology Conference. This annual conference showcases the research that takes place within this rich cultural landscape of the Lake District, providing opportunities to learn about recent projects.

In 2008 the Lake District launched the Low Carbon Lake District Initiative at a conference. This successful conference was followed up with another in 2010 to bring together all those who have been working with on this initiative. It took stock of the achievements and planned for the future.

Publications

A large range of material is published to promote the Lake District every year. The tourist board coordinates a significant amount of visitor material including magazines and guides. Individual businesses and attractions also undertake significant promotions given the competition in the market within the Lake District. Examples of publications include the:

- Food & Drink Guide
- Attractions Guide
- Lake District and Cumbria Holiday Guide
• Lake District Events Guide
• Friends of the Lake District magazine for their members
• Annual Eden Visitor Guide and associated media campaign includes Ullswater area
• ‘Your Guide to Sustainable Outdoor Recreational Events’
• National Trust newsletter for the NW which goes to all National Trust members in the region and a magazine which goes to 4 million national members

Online content

The English Lake District World Heritage Site website www.lakesworldheritage.co.uk celebrates the identity, inspiration and conservation of the Lake District. The site provides platform on which communities, visitors and businesses can share their Lake District stories. These unique perspectives, told through real words and pictures, offers an authentic voice on what life is like in the Lake District.

The website has been created using innovative content curation software which pulls social media posts through from a range of publicly available accounts and hashtag subjects, such as #lakedistrictbid. These are moderated by relevance to the three campaign themes of identity, inspiration and conservation. The posts are then shared via the newsfeed on the home page of the website, meaning people with similar interests in the Lake District can view a stream of content in one place.

Lake District National Park Authority website http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk provides visitor information relating to all aspects of visiting including walks, public amenities, maps, and attractions.

National Trust use their website http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk to market their properties, and attractions.

The official tourist board website http://www.golakes.co.uk showcases the visitor offer in the Lake District.

Eden District Council’s www.visiteden.co.uk website includes Ullswater area information on accommodation, attractions, events, eateries, walking, cycling, conference venues etc.

South Lakeland District Council deliver two online programmes:
‘Explore South Lakeland’ http://www.exploresouthlakeland.co.uk
This programme provides a comprehensive listing of events, attractions and services in South Lakeland.

‘Invest in South Lakeland’ http://www.investinsouthlakeland.co.uk
The programme includes business to business events, promoting investment opportunities to national and international audiences.
The **See More Lake District** mobile app – provides information and suggestions for car free days out and things to do in the Lake District.

Almost all members of the Lake District National Park Partnership use social media to present and promote their organisation and the Lake District through twitter, facebook and youtube. Twitter and Facebook used by various Partner organisations promote the Lake District includes Cumbria Tourism @golakes, Nurture Lakeland @nurturelakeland, Lake District National Park @lakedistrictnpa, and National Trust @nationaltrust. Notable groups on facebook include ‘I ♥ Lake District’, the ‘Lake District Osprey Project’, and ‘the Lake District’.

A number of attractions, including Brockhole the Lake District Visitor Centre, post videos which promote the Lake District’s attractions on You Tube. A series of videos is also available on the Lake District National Park’s website ([http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/visiting/webcams-videos-and-photos/video](http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/visiting/webcams-videos-and-photos/video)) showing:

- A fly over the lakes - Windermere, Crummock Water, Grasmere, Rydal Water, Tarn Hows and Coniston Water
- The ever changing skyscape as clouds scud over Ullswater, Langdale Pikes and Great Gable.
- The yachts and steamers making their way along Windermere and Coniston Water
- The breath-taking ridges and summits of Helvellyn and Scafell Pike, following walkers taking in the view.
- Ospreys eye view swooping over Buttermere, Hardknott Roman fort and Saint John’s in the Vale.
- Bowness by Windermere, Keswick by Derwentwater and some stunning and historic houses in between.

The examples of presentational and promotional activity fit with the Management Plan’s strategies for the nominated Site. These selected strategies are outlined below:

### VE 1 - Opportunity for experiences in a unique landscape

Our strategy is to:

a. Ensure that every visitor has the best experience that we can offer.
b. Offer a breadth of experiences for visitors that benefit their health and wellbeing, and enhance understanding and appreciation of the Special Qualities. We will, use the inspiration of the cultural landscape to realise future opportunities, by focussing on the experiences offered by:

- **Landscape and environment**
  i. Promote and sustain the Lake District as a place to experience a unique landscape and environment in a variety of ways, offering opportunities for
tranquillity, peacefulness and dark night skies.

ii. Re-establish existing viewing stations and explore the potential for new locations from where the spectacular landscape and environment can be fully appreciated.

iii. Implement the Cumbria Countryside Access Strategy to make it easier to experience the spectacular landscape on land and water.

- **Culture and heritage**
  
  i. Use the Cultural Tourism Strategy to showcase the Lake District as a prospective World Heritage Site.
  
  ii. Secure World Heritage Site status to recognise the Lake District’s internationally unique cultural landscape, and use this designation as a means of increasing awareness and appeal of the Lake District to a wider audience.

- **Adventure**
  
  i. Promote and create new and existing opportunities for outdoor adventure on foot, bicycles, and ropes, in and on water, and through events - all sensitive to the unique landscape. We will do this by delivering the AdCap Strategy and Action Plan, and Cumbria Countryside Access Strategy.
  
  ii. Promote responsible tourism. We will support organisers to ensure their events are sensitively managed by encouraging them to undertake community engagement and consultation, and develop event management plans.

- **Hospitality, food and drink**
  
  i. Achieve a consistently high standard of hospitality through providing appropriate incentives and support for businesses in the visitor industry to continuously improve.
  
  ii. Showcase and market local produce available in the Lake District to raise the profile, and celebrate the provenance and quality of Cumbria’s food and drink. This will include establishing and organising with others a programme of events to promote the use of local produce within the Lake District visitor and hospitality industries.

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**VE 2 - Responsible visiting**

Our strategy is to:

a. Ensure a range of learning opportunities are provided and tailored to the needs of different audiences to embed understanding and appreciation of the Special Qualities. This will be done using visitor information sources, events and other more formal learning methods to identify and communicate how and where these Special
Qualities can be seen, appreciated and experienced. We will work with others to maintain and implement an up-to-date learning strategy.

b. Provide opportunities for people to give, to significantly increase the amount of voluntary contributions given by visitors. These will be used to sustain, maintain and improve the Lake District’s environment and the landscape. We will do this by identifying and implementing appropriate opportunities to secure contributions.

c. Bring together relevant organisations, including voluntary groups and charities, to identify where help is needed, and to develop and implement appropriate ways of coordinating these contributions accordingly.

VE 5 - Available and accessible information for visitors

Our strategy is to:

a. Ensure visitors are able to easily access relevant information in a variety of ways and languages, with particular focus on developing an official visitor website and mobile application (an “app”), and through visitor information centres and businesses providing information.

b. Ensure visitors have access to superfast broadband, mobile telephone and mobile internet coverage in every valley through identification, implementation and support for appropriate proposals, such as open WiFi networks and mast sharing (Also see strategy PE1 – Digital infrastructure).

The Lake District National Park Partnership comprises of a range of partners with different interests and potential audiences. This ensures that there is great variety in the way the Lake District is presented.

5.j Staffing levels and expertise

The majority of staff resources required to manage the nominated Site will come from the members of the Lake District National Park Partnership. However, it is not possible to give precise numbers of staffing levels and areas of expertise for all partners due to the wider geographical remit of many of the Partner organisations. Examples of staffing levels and expertise from some of the Lake District National Park Partnership is provided in table 5.8.
Table 5.8: Staffing levels and areas of expertise available in the Lake District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Staffing levels (for the Lake District/ region)</th>
<th>Areas of expertise (professional, technical and maintenance)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Commission</td>
<td>35 full time equivalents</td>
<td>Specialist woodland and forestry advisors. Also manage deer populations on Forestry Commission estate, manage the Red Squirrel reserve areas including Grizedale and Whinlatter, are a key partner in the Lake District Osprey and Bassenthwaite Lake Reflection Projects and led on the Red Kite re-introduction programme. Forestry Commission is responsible for the management of several SSSI’s its estate and other valuable habitats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends of the Lake District</td>
<td>10 staff providing 7.5 full time equivalents 200 volunteers</td>
<td>A range of professional expertise in planning issues, nature, wildlife and landscape conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>138 full time equivalents 400 volunteers</td>
<td>A wide range of staff dedicated to the good management of the Lake District, providing expertise in: World Heritage Site Coordinator – to coordinate and facilitate the preparation and delivery of the World Heritage Site Management Plan and coordinate the World heritage Site Steering group. Lake District National Park Partnership Manager and Partnership Facilitator – to ensure the effective operation of the lake District National Park Partnership and ensure outcomes are being delivered. Planning – development of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Staff and Volunteers</td>
<td>Responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Trust</strong></td>
<td>Approximately 600 staff and 5,000 volunteers. In the Lake District and has 868 volunteers.</td>
<td>Planning policies and undertaking development management processes. Park management – delivering projects and programmes relating to land management, open access and rights of way, and common land management. Specialist advice – covering biodiversity, landscape character, recreation, tourism, climate change, access, archaeology and historic built environment. Communications – presentation of Site using a variety of medium. A team of information advisors supporting the Information Centres. Park maintenance – A team of field rangers and apprentices with specialist and traditional skills in landscape maintenance such as drystone walling, footpath repair and creation, hedge laying, bridge building, and river bank stabilisation. A wide range of staff with considerable experience at a whole Lake District level, for example through ranger work, and at a site specific level, for example through curators deliver a range of expertise in the Lake District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural England</strong></td>
<td>36 Full time equivalent staff focussed on the Lake District</td>
<td>Staff contribute to Natural England’s delivery within the National Park, across a range of specialisms including conservation and land management, freshwater, marine, NNR management and access and engagement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nurture Lakeland</strong></td>
<td>4.2 full time equivalents</td>
<td>Providing expertise and technical advice relating to responsible tourism including visitor giving, nurture tourism, and carbon reduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Royal Society for the Protection of Birds** | In the Lake District the RSPB provides dedicated staff:  
Three full time site wardens with managerial support  
One people engagement officer plus casual support when required  
A part time Futurescapes project officer  
A variable number of farmers and agricultural and land management contractors to support the 800 ha of farmland managed by the RSPB | The RSPB provide expertise in land management on the two farms they manage, as well as expertise in nature conservation and wildlife protection, and improving water quality.  
The North Lakes Futurescapes Project seeks to inspire a landscape that combines the Lake District's dramatic scenery with wildlife-rich areas. RSPB work to help improve the water quality of lakes, tarns and rivers, restore lost hay meadows, rewet dried-up upland bogs and reverse the historical loss of native woodland and heather moorland.  
Aiming for a landscape that: supports wildlife; provides livelihoods for future generations of farmers; supports tourism and local communities; and can adapt to climate change; as well as provide high-quality drinking water. |
| **South Lakeland District Council** | | Staff cover a wide range of areas providing expertise, and technical and maintenance staff in:  
- managing Parks, open spaces and grounds maintenance  
- undertaking street cleansing, litter removal, litter bins  
- managing Car Parks |
- managing the Lake service on Windermere
- work on events, economic development, licensing etc.
- Housing advice, including affordable housing officers

| United Utilities | Over 200 staff employed across the Cumbria region | A wide range of areas of expertise associated with operating, maintaining and ensuring our assets are fit for purpose and comply with relevant legislation. There are also a number of roles which have an impact on Conservation and Management in the Lake District, particularly on its Thirlmere and Haweswater estates. |
SECTION 6.0

Monitoring
SECTION 6: MONITORING
6.a Key indicators for measuring the state of conservation

A series of indicators for measuring the state of conservation of the nominated Site have been agreed in the Site’s Management Plan. These key indicators are listed in table x. One of the key breakthrough actions of the Management Plan is to identify and develop evidence and tools required for effective and coordinated cultural landscape management and monitoring. This will form a key piece of evidence to monitor the state of conservation and change of the landscape. The last time an assessment of the landscape character and condition was undertaken was in 2008, so the new data will allow comparisons to be made.
Table X: Key indicators for measuring the state of conservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes of Outstanding Universal Value</th>
<th>Indicator Reference</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Ideal Status</th>
<th>Baseline</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Frequency of data gathering</th>
<th>Frequency of data reporting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extraordinary beauty and harmony...</td>
<td>SQ1</td>
<td>Qualitative assessment of the condition of the landscape</td>
<td>No deterioration of condition</td>
<td>See Landscape Character Assessment 2008</td>
<td>Landscape Character Assessment</td>
<td>Every 10 years</td>
<td>Every 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusion between a natural landscape and farming system...</td>
<td>SQ2</td>
<td>Qualitative assessment of landscape change from a fixed point</td>
<td>No negative change</td>
<td>This indicator is currently being established. See Breakthrough Action 1.</td>
<td>Natural Environment Agency</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area of Protected Landscape features managed, restored and created under Agri-environment schemes</td>
<td>SQ3</td>
<td>Area of Protected Landscape features managed, restored and created under Agri-environment schemes</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Zero (new land management scheme being implemented from January 2015 – not comparable with previous scheme)</td>
<td>Natural Environment Agency</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich mining and quarrying system...</td>
<td>SQ4</td>
<td>The number of active stone and slate quarries</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
<td>9 (2012)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local natural resources have strongly influenced the built environment and the wider landscape...</td>
<td>SQ5</td>
<td>Number of listed Buildings at risk</td>
<td>Decreasing</td>
<td>87 (2015)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape that reflects a long history of settlement, agriculture and industry...</td>
<td>SQ6</td>
<td>Number of scheduled monuments at risk</td>
<td>Decreasing</td>
<td>118 (2015)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hefted grazing and collective management
Pastoral system that has evolved in the Lake District for over a thousand years and its continuation by today’s farmers maintains a unique farming legacy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SQ7</th>
<th>Total area of common land</th>
<th>No decrease</th>
<th>645 km² (2015)</th>
<th>Lake District National Park Authority</th>
<th>Annual</th>
<th>Biennial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SQ8</td>
<td>Total number of Herdwick flocks</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
<td>155 (2012)</td>
<td>Herdwick Breeders Association</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ9</td>
<td>Number and geographic spread of farms with fell going flocks</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
<td>See map xx</td>
<td>Lakeland Shepherds Guide</td>
<td>To be confirmed</td>
<td>To be confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ10</td>
<td>Total number of commercial holdings</td>
<td>Further research required</td>
<td>1083</td>
<td>Agricultural Survey, Defra</td>
<td>Triennial</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ11</td>
<td>Number of holdings by total area size groups</td>
<td>Further research required</td>
<td>&lt;5ha - 79 5 &lt;20ha - 193 20 &lt; 50ha - 200 50 &lt; 100ha - 237 &gt;=100ha – 374 (2013)</td>
<td>Agricultural Survey, Defra</td>
<td>Triennial</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| SQ12 | Sustainable use of agricultural land | Further research required | Crops and fallow - 2,067  
Temporary grass – 3,488  
Permanent grass – 77,142  
Sole right rough grazing - 42,409  
Woodland -3,247  
Other land - 535  
(2013) | Agricultural Survey, Defra | Triennial | Every 5 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SQ13 | Sustainable balance of livestock, including local and traditional breeds | Further research required | Cattle – 63,714  
Including:  
Dairy cattle – 9,404  
Beef cattle – 15,863  
Calves under 1 year – 19,550  
Other cattle – 18,898  
Sheep – 669,279  
Including:  
Breeding ewes – 340,338  
Lambs under 1 year – 308,321  
Other sheep – 20,620  
Poultry – 295,720  
Pigs- 4,901  
Horses – 1,066  
(2013) | Agricultural Survey, Defra | Triennial | Every 5 years |
| SQ14 | The net change in permeant fencing on high fells | Decreasing | Further research required to establish baseline | Natural England | Biennial | Biennial |

- Open, common land and an integral part of hill farming system. For centuries people have come to walk and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SQ15</th>
<th>The net change in redundant fencing on the high fells</th>
<th>Decreasing</th>
<th>Baseline currently being established</th>
<th>Natural England</th>
<th>Biennial</th>
<th>Biennial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Unique assemblage of wildlife and habitats</td>
<td>SQ16</td>
<td>Condition of priority habitats</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>32.5% (2014)</td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ17</td>
<td>Extent of priority habitats</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>85681.89ha (2014)</td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ18</td>
<td>Condition of SSSI's</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>26.97% in favourable condition 64.50% in unfavourable recovering condition (2014)</td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ19</td>
<td>Status of priority species</td>
<td>Further research required</td>
<td>This indicator is currently being established by Cumbria Local Nature Partnership. See Breakthrough Action 3.</td>
<td>Natural England</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ20</td>
<td>Amount of peatland restored</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>0 (2015)</td>
<td>Cumbria Peat Partnership (Cumbria Wildlife Trust)</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Collectively contribute to the high quality scenery and natural resource which is so distinctly ‘the Lake District’ and unique in England</td>
<td>SQ21</td>
<td>Condition of waterbodies (lakes, tarns, rivers)</td>
<td>Improving</td>
<td>39% ‘good’ or better status</td>
<td>Environment Agency</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Semi-natural woodlands add texture, colour and variety to the landscape…</td>
<td>SQ22</td>
<td>Extent of semi-natural woodland</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>10,000 ha (2013)</td>
<td>Forestry Commission</td>
<td>Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ23</td>
<td>Woodland in Forestry Commission Woodland Management and</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Biennial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The local architecture varies from the traditional vernacular buildings with related characteristics to the more formal “polite” architectural styles…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SQ</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SQ24</td>
<td>Conservation Areas with character appraisals and management plans</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>96% (2014)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ25</td>
<td>Conservation Areas at risk</td>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ26</td>
<td>Number of listed buildings</td>
<td>No decrease</td>
<td>1771 (2015)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ27</td>
<td>Development sympathetic to local character by settlement</td>
<td>100% of permissions in line with Local Plan policy CS03</td>
<td>100% (23) (2013/14)</td>
<td>Annual Monitoring Report, Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ28</td>
<td>Proportion of visits that are to cultural attractions</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>32% (2014)</td>
<td>Attractions Survey, Cumbria Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ29</td>
<td>Extent of National Trust land ownership</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
<td>44,567 hectares</td>
<td>National Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ30</td>
<td>Number of National Infrastructure Projects approved contrary to the policies of the adopted Lake District Local Plan</td>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>Zero (2015)</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ31</td>
<td>Number of visitors</td>
<td>No significant</td>
<td>15.5 million (2013)</td>
<td>STEAM Report, Cumbria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unique beauty of the Lake District’s pastoral landscape has inspired generations of artists and writers...

...there also developed an understanding of its vulnerability to forces of change...

Birthplace of an innovative Conservation Movement committed to the defence of its landscape and communities...

History of tourism can be traced back to Picturesque
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SQ32</th>
<th>Visitors partaking in activities which involve experiencing the landscape and environment</th>
<th>Increasing proportion of total number of visitors</th>
<th>38% (2012)</th>
<th>Visitor Survey, Cumbria Tourism</th>
<th>Triennial</th>
<th>Every 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SQ33</td>
<td>Visitors partaking in cultural activities</td>
<td>Increasing proportion of total number of visitors</td>
<td>32% (2012)</td>
<td>Visitor Survey, Cumbria Tourism</td>
<td>Triennial</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ34</td>
<td>Visitors partaking in adventure activities</td>
<td>Increasing proportion of total number of visitors</td>
<td>11% (2012)</td>
<td>Visitor Survey, Cumbria Tourism</td>
<td>Triennial</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ35</td>
<td>The percentage of total length of footpaths and other rights of way that were easy to use by the general public</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ36</td>
<td>Status of tranquillity</td>
<td>No decrease</td>
<td>See map on page xxx</td>
<td>Campaign to Protect Rural England</td>
<td>Every 10 years</td>
<td>Every 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ37</td>
<td>Visitors who feel health and well-being benefits</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Baseline to be established in 2015 Visitor Survey</td>
<td>Visitor Survey, Cumbria Tourism</td>
<td>Triennial</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fascination with the Lake District**
- Tradition of unrestricted access to the fells…

**Tranquillity of the fells, valleys and lakes gives a sense of space and freedom…**

| SQ36  | Status of tranquillity                                                                        | No decrease                                         | See map on page xxx | Campaign to Protect Rural England | Every 10 years | Every 10 years |
| SQ37  | Visitors who feel health and well-being benefits                                              | Increasing                                           | Baseline to be established in 2015 Visitor Survey | Visitor Survey, Cumbria Tourism | Triennial | Every 5 years |
6.b Administrative arrangements for monitoring property

The responsibility for coordinating the monitoring of the nominated Site will be undertaken by the Lake District National Park Partnership. The frequency of monitoring the various indicators and the responsibility for doing so is indicated in table X.

The Partnership’s contact details are:

Lake District National Park Partnership
c/o Partnership Manager
Lake District National Park Authority
Murley Moss
Oxenholme Road
Kendal
LA9 7RL

01539 724555
hq@lakedistrict.gov.uk

6.c Results of previous reporting exercises

The Lake District National Park Partnership has experience of monitoring the state of condition of the Site, as it is required to produce a State of the Park report to comply with National Park legislation. This means that some of the key indicators have been recording the state of conservation of the Site for a number of years. For example, Natural England monitors and reports on the condition of Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) that cover some of the Site. This ongoing monitoring programme involves assessment of site condition against specified conservation objectives and is reported in the State of Park reports as well as being published by Natural England.
### Table X: summary of previous reporting exercises

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of report</th>
<th>Brief summary</th>
<th>Reference to published source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lake District State of Park Report, June 2013</td>
<td>As a National Park it is important to monitor the condition of the Lake District over time. The State of the Park report's purpose is to provide as good a picture as possible of the Lake District, particularly in relation to the Special Qualities of the National Park. It contains information from a range of sources.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state_of_the_park">http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state_of_the_park</a></td>
</tr>
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<td>Lake District State of Park Report, 2012</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake District State of Park Report, 2005</td>
<td>As a National Park it is important to monitor the condition of the Lake District over time. The State of the Park report's purpose is to provide as good a picture as possible of the Lake District, particularly in relation to the Special Qualities of the National Park. It contains information from a range of sources.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state_of_the_park">http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state_of_the_park</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake District Landscape Character Assessment, 2008</td>
<td>A Landscape Characterisation Assessment was published for the Lake District in 2008. This study not only provides a framework for developing a shared understanding of the current character of the Lake District's landscapes and its future management needs, but also describes the current condition of each of the Lake District’s character types.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/policies/lca">http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/policies/lca</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note on further editing expected before final submission

Section 7 –  Documentation

This chapter contains the appendices. It is our current intention to separate the Nomination Document into more than one volume. There are a number of appendices required by UNESCO (some other examples have appendices of over 1000 pages). Those which can be separated into a separate volume will be. It is intended to keep the following in the main Nomination Document volume, as you see it here:

- Glossary
- Bibliography
- Photo credits and Acknowledgements
- The lengthier detail of valley chapters (see note in Grasmere valley chapter Section 2A Grasmere.

The Bibliography included here is a historic one and will be updated to include many more key texts.

SECTION 7: TEXTS RELATING TO PROTECTIVE DESIGNATION......

7.a Photographs and audiovisual image inventory and authorization form

7.b Texts relating to protective designation, copies of property management plans or documented management systems and extracts of other plans relevant to the property

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Heritage Act 1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commons Act 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation of Habitats and Species Regulations 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment Act 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Impact Assessment Regulations 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Act 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Hedgerows Regulations 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Localism Act 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Marine and Coastal Access Act 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b National Trust Act 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Planning Act 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b Town and Country Planning (EIA) Regulations 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 7.c | Form and date of most recent records or inventory of property |
| 7.d | Address where inventory, records and archives are held |
Note on further editing expected before final submission

The Bibliography included here is a historic one and will be updated to include many more key texts.

GENERAL


**VALLEYS**

**Langdale**


**Windermere**

**Duddon**


**Eskdale**

**Wasdale**
Ennerdale

**Borrowdale and Bassenthwaite**


**Coniston**


**Thirlmere**

**Ullswater**


**Haweswater**

**Grasmere/Rydal/Ambleside**


**CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORALISM AND LOCAL INDUSTRY IN A SPECTACULAR MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE**

**Geology**


Lake District National Park Authority, undated, *Geology Factsheet.*


**Archaeology**


**Farming system**


**Vernacular Buildings**


**Industry**


Settlements

DISCOVERY AND APPRECIATION OF A RICH CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Early Tourism


Picturesque


Villas and designed landscapes


Romanticism


The Lake District and the Outdoor Movement
Hope, D. G. n.d. The legacy of Thomas Arthur Leonard, founder of co-operative and communal holidays and Father of the open-air holiday movement.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR PROTECTING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
Early environmental battles


http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/61596/1/DenmanThesisEprint.pdf


Ruskin, J, 1877. Fors Clavigera Letter LXXIX


**The National Trust**


**Origins of the Lake District National Park**

**Later Conservation developments**


Photographic and image credits

Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside chapter – Farms table

Brimmer Head Farm: John Hodgson.
Town Head Farm: John Hodgson.
High Skelghyll: © National Trust/Building Surveyors.
Low Score Crag: © National Trust/Building Surveyors.

Grasmere, Rydal and Ambleside chapter – Villas and Ornamental Landscaping table

Scale How: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
Croft Lodge: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
Wansfell Holme: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
The Knoll: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
Fox Ghyll: John Hodgson.
Fox How: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
Rydal Mount: ©Cumbria Tourist Board/Dave Willis.
The Hollins: © National Trust/Tom Slater
Allan Bank: © National Trust/Paul Harris
Lancrigg: Lake District National Park/Buildings at Risk Survey.
SECTION 8: CONTACT INFORMATION OF RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES

8.a Preparer

Name
Title
Address: Lake District National Park Authority, Murley Moss, Oxenholme Road, Kendal, City, Province/State, Country: Cumbria, UK
Tel
Fax
Email

8.b Official Local Institution/Agency

The Lake District National Park Partnership is the locally responsible for the management of the property.

8.c Other Local Institutions

8.d Official Web address

http://lakesworldheritage.co.uk/
Contact name:
Email:

9. SIGNATURE ON BEHALF OF THE STATE PARTY

To be added prior to submission in Jan 2016