Chapter 9

Recreation, Conservation and Production: the Three Strands of Landscape Perception in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries

> "Standing by was an Irishman, probably one of the waterworks' navvies."
>
> (Jordan 1959, commenting on the first Sheffield Clarion ramble in 1900)

9.1 Introduction

This last interpretative chapter in part parallels the period of the previous one by looking at the origins and early history of rambling, an important recreational use of the Upper Derwent, which has greatly influenced the way the landscape is perceived and used today. I will then continue to interpret the modern history of the Upper Derwent landscape including the organisations that manage current land-use and their role in shaping perceptions of the area. The job of completing my narrative to the present day introduces an interesting twist to the hermeneutic spiral, in asking me to discuss the place of the archaeological survey itself in modern landscape management.

The chapter begins with an imaginary bus journey to and through the Upper Derwent, following the route for a real bus service from Sheffield that is part subsidised by the National Park Authority to encourage the use of public transport in favour of cars. This bus journey will be used as a vehicle <kof> to explore the issues to be included in the following discussion. Throughout the chapter there are also a series of oral testimonies from people working and living in the Upper Derwent that are presented here as examples of the differing and complex modern perceptions and attitudes about rural landscapes as expressed by members of the local 'face-to-face' community. Testimonies were collected either by myself or by the community during a project sponsored by the Arts Council, Rural Action and Severn Trent Water with the support of the Peak District National Park Authority (Derwent Community 1998). We start with someone who travels from Sheffield to the Upper Derwent on a daily basis….

The Postman's Tale

> "I live in Sheffield. This is a real, early in the morning – just as the day is dawning, Postman Pat kind of delivery. The Derwent Valley must be one of the most picturesque deliveries in the country. The Valley is at its most beautiful when the sun is shining on it. Although it does have

its angry side, that is when it is covered in ice and snow, it can be positively dangerous. Like Postman Pat, I have made many friends around the valley. During fine days I take meal breaks by literally driving down to the Ladybower Reservoir. This is a secret place, where I can park in the shade of a cherry tree. I switch off the engine and listen to the wildlife."

(Derwent Community 1998)

9.2 Unpacking the Landscape: a Bus Journey into Today's Upper Derwent

Photograph 9.1. Travelling to Fairholmes along the A57 from Sheffield

The Derwent bus from Sheffield drops down into Ladybower Gorge along the A57, along the route of Thomas Telford's 1821 Sheffield to Glossop turnpike. To the right the

Photograph 9.2. Heather burning on Derwent moors creates a patchwork of different aged heather

broad sweep of Derwent Moor rises gently to Derwent Edge on the skyline, its surface chequered into squares by burning to improve heather for rearing grouse. Grouse have

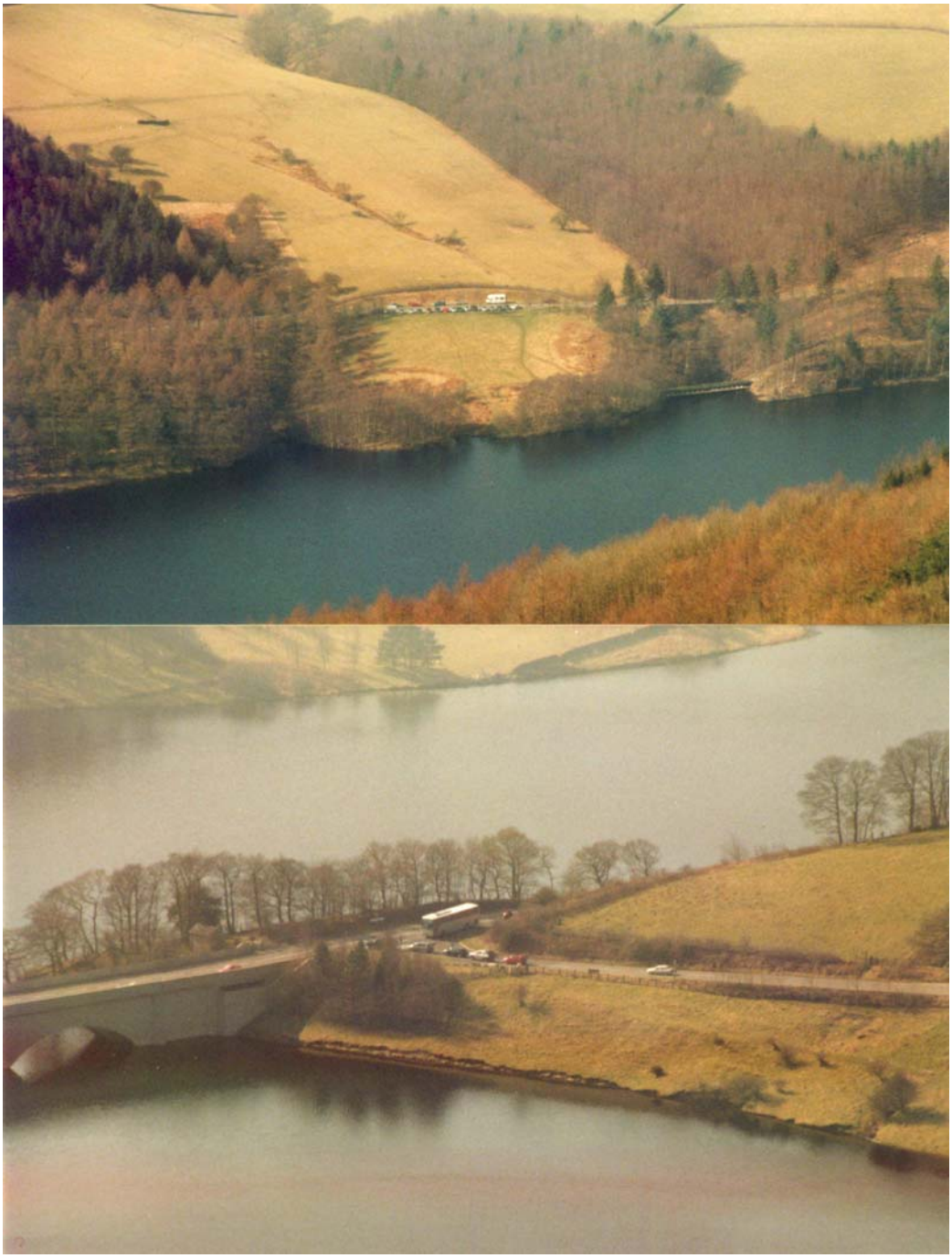
been shot on this moorland since it was bought at the end of the 19th century for that purpose. It is typical of the other moorlands of the Upper Derwent, though it is still privately owned, while the National Trust, which leases shooting rights to a company specialising in corporate hunting trips, owns the others. The grouse and the shooters do not have these moorlands to themselves; sheep are still grazed by local farmers, while walkers now have open access to all of the Upper Derwent's moors. Walkers are barred during shooting days, but today the reds, blues and greens of waterproofs are visible strung out along a public right of way that follows the line of the medieval packhorse route between Derwent and Sheffield – 'common way' and turnpike lying in parallel.

Heather burning is practised across all the moors to renew old stems with new shoots that feed grouse, sheep, mountain hare and curlew. The National Trust moorlands use this 'traditional' management, designed for grouse and sheep, to benefit wildlife. Many species live here with little conflict with other uses of the moors, though the foot and mouth restrictions on walkers in 2001 allowed their numbers to flourish due to an undisturbed breeding and nesting season in that year.

Photograph 9.3. Fisherman on Ladybower Reservoir, Ashopton (A57) viaduct and Crookhill. PDNPA Collection

Views of the moors are lost as we pass through the narrow Ladybower Gorge and exit into the Upper Derwent Valley where it meets the Woodlands Valley. The confluence of the two rivers lies metres below Ladybower Reservoir. On the surface fishermen sit in small boats, a new recreational pursuit introduced into the area only because of the reservoir. Sometimes a fisherman has a close encounter with a pike – these were not

introduced into the water, but have bred after arriving as eggs on the feet of waterfowl. The bus crosses the reservoir via the A57 viaduct, below which lie the remains of the 19th century Ashopton hamlet now submerged. At this point you can see up both valleys and down the Derwent to Ladybower Dam.



Photograph 9.4. Car parks along the Upper Derwent valley road and traffic at the junction between the valley road and the A57 Snake Pass

Immediately beyond the viaduct is the turning off this main road and onto the road that takes you along the Upper Derwent. The A57 continues along the Woodlands Valley and is busy with commuters between Manchester and Sheffield. The Derwent road is immediately slower but only a little less quiet, as it bears 2 million visitors a year. The bus is also busy, mostly with older walkers who match the routes of their rambles with the bus timetable. Entrance to the Upper Derwent is signalled by road signs that indicate the road is a clearway; this is part of the strategy to manage car-borne visitors by preventing roadside parking, much the same as the rush-hour clearways along the main artery routes in Sheffield and other towns. Car parks with historical place-names such as 'Derwent Overlook' and 'Hagg Side' have been built all along the road to take the vehicles and are fringed with trees to screen the cars from walkers on the moorlands above. Car congestion and pollution are major problems, when two million people want to access such a small area, and soon the valley will become the first rural congestion charging area in the UK. Perhaps then more people will be on the bus service that is specifically aimed at visitors and only operational through Peak Park and Derbyshire Council funding.

The left-hand side of the road as we drive north along the valley is fringed with dark green, and sometimes gloomy, conifer plantations, planted by the Derwent Valley Water Board to stabilise the ground and provide a supplementary income to water supply. The bus halts as the heavy plant of one of the forestry contractors turns off the road and into the woodland. A financial return is still important, but the depressed state of the timber industry caused by cheap Eastern European imports means the returns are small. The contractor will have been briefed on avoiding the hundreds of 18th century charcoal burning platforms dispersed throughout the woodland, these and the nesting sites of Goshawks ringed with luminous markers painted on trees. The woodlands have been inherited along with the reservoirs by Severn Trent Water, and are managed for their conservation value as well as a resource. As mature conifers are felled, more mixed planting with native deciduous species replaces them. Further upslope are smaller Forestry Commission plantations, which until recently have also been primarily financial concerns. They too are being turned more to promote conservation and recreational use, since the remote locations of the woodlands make the extraction costs too expensive to be viable. Management of woodlands, planted during the 20th century drive for self-sufficient timber resources, is changing.

Photograph 9.5. Conifer plantations. Top – the landscape character of the valley side plantations. Middle – regimented rows of trees the same age and same species. Bottom – inside a plantation

The level of the reservoir rises and falls with demand and rainfall. Dry summers leave a sandy shore exposed, which attracts picnickers, dog walkers and sunbathers as well as the occasional fieldwalker looking for archaeological artefacts. Today the level is low enough to expose the remains of Derwent Village, which attracts visitors with its imagery of the drowned and lost village. Across the reservoir, the land rises in a series of shallow slopes to Derwent Edge. The lower valley side is still farmland, crossed by dry-stone walls that form the small, irregular fields that originated in the medieval period. Many walls are ruined or missing and their lines can sometimes still be traced as lynchets. The farmland is now all pasture, and is shared between two farms owned by the National Trust. This and the moorland above are managed to benefit the complex relationship between upland farming, recreation and conservation of heritage and wildlife. These have not always been easy bedfellows, and the demands of one may risk the security of the others. Stone needed to repair a gap in a wall is easiest obtained from ruined walls nearby, but that threatens the fabric of the historic landscape. Keeping sheep levels low to promote heather regeneration and wildlife may threaten the financial viability of the farm. The National Trust attempts to juggle all of these with recourse to traditional forms of land-use, allied to management plans, archaeological surveys and ecological assessments.

Photograph 9.6. Fairholmes Visitor Centre. PDNPA Collection

Alighting at Fairholmes Visitor Centre, I walk through the packed car park and hubbub of visitors eating, drinking, sitting, chatting, walking and feeding ducks. Many will not get far beyond the visitor centre and have little interest in walking. This is a tourist honey

pot, designed to manage the immense numbers of visitors by concentrating them here so reducing the car parking impact elsewhere in the valley. This is the nerve centre for managing the landscape and visitors in the Valley. The National Park's local base is here: Rangers, Cycle Hire and the Information Centre.

Fairholmes is also where, what are termed, the 'valley partners' regularly meet to discuss, negotiate and often cooperate on policies and actions to manage the landscape for recreation, conservation and economic productivity. Each has different objectives. The National Park Authority does not own any of the land, but oversees development control, and in 1981 designated the Upper Derwent as a Management Area, which aims to bring together landowners, parish councils and local residents to further National Park aims of conservation, recreation, sustainable development and interpretation of the landscape. The Authority's by-line is 'a living landscape', which accompanies its logo on all publications. The National Trust shares these aims and executes them through land-ownership that has resulted in its acquisition of all the farmland and moorland. This brings with it economic demands of supporting upland farming. Severn Trent Water's main aim, as any plc, is to make money from its core businesses. It has long realised the recreation potential of the area and more recently the conservation needs, with the encouragement of and negotiation with the National Park. The Forestry Commission has also taken a more conservation-minded approach to management. The largest visible evidence of the partners' presence in the valley is not the differently coloured Land Rovers, but the plethora of signs each has erected in its own distinct style to manage, inform, direct, encourage and restrict visitors. All also highlight who is responsible for the visitor's enjoyment of that piece of land, in case anyone thinks that rural landscapes are natural, wild places that manage themselves.

The Warden's Tale

"As National Trust Wardens, we are expected to live as near as possible to our own patch. This means we can build up relationships with the local people and tenant farmers. As a representative of the landowner, my job is to work with the farm tenants, gamekeepers and the public. My work is varied, with my dog Mac I help gather sheep with the farmers, I help gamekeepers with heather burning to maintain the moors, protect the environment, help to put out accidental fires and promote the National Trust. Some areas of moorland are fenced off to keep the sheep from grazing and encourage regeneration. We take fixed point photographs of the area to monitor vegetation change over a period of 20 to 30 years. I also manage woodland, none of which is

> commercially viable. We plant new trees to ensure the continuation of the woodland."
>
> (Derwent Community 1998)

9.3 Modern Landscapes: Multiple Perceptions

9.3.1 Owners, Planners, Policy Makers, Providers, Pressure Groups and Users

Landowners continued to play important roles in structuring the use and perceptions of rural landscapes. While the landed gentry and private individuals still owned large tracts of upland countryside, a new set of landowners arose in the 20th century with more specific objectives associated with *production*, such as water supply, quarrying and forestry, *recreation*, in the form of walking and touring, and *conservation* of scenic beauty, wildlife and heritage. Contemporary with this was the foundation of government bodies, pressure groups and societies of users. We have seen how a large water board came to own much of the Upper Derwent during the first half of the century in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will interpret how the Upper Derwent has become a landscape of recreation, conservation and production with reference to the various groups and organisations, which own, manage and promote the countryside for its various uses.

Since the late 20th century a number of different bodies have influenced the management of the Upper Derwent landscape. These bodies comprise the major landowners – the National Trust, Severn Trent Water, Forestry Commission and a private individual; statutory organisations – the Peak District National Park Authority, Countryside Agency and Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA – formerly MAFF); and special interest groups – Ramblers and Country Landowners Association. Each has its own values and its own way of perceiving the landscape, which can lead to tensions over its management. Conservation may conflict with the production of timber or livestock, while rambling and grouse shooting are not always seen as compatible uses of moorlands. At the same time there are the numerous individuals who live in, work in or visit the area, some of whom are employees or members of the above organisations and others who are not. These include walkers, farmers, fishermen, foresters, cyclists, wardens, birdwatchers, rangers, day-trippers, wallers, residents, gamekeepers, water bailiffs and shepherds. Some come to view the landscape, others work in it. To some its home, to others it is an escape from the city. From their own perspectives based on interest, role or experience, each has a way of looking at and understanding the Upper Derwent within an overall conceptual framework influenced by 20th century evaluations

and conceptions of the urban and the rural. I shall return to some personal comments on the Upper Derwent in section 9.8.

Since 1981, the National Trust, Severn Trent Water, Forestry Commission and the Peak District National Park Authority, along with parish councils, have cooperated on landscape management as partners, under the auspices of the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group, in an attempt to reduce tensions caused by differing types of land-use. This was the group that, in 1994, commissioned the archaeological survey of the area, which is now being used to guide management and interpretation to the public, from day trippers sitting in car parks in the valley bottom to hikers on the moorlands above.

9.3.2 The Urban Influence on the Countryside

The multiple uses and perceptions of the rural landscape are not unique to the modern period; since the medieval period there have been various official bodies and individuals inhabiting and legislating on the use of land. What characterises the 20th century is the prominence given to recreation and conservation, hitherto absent or restricted to the ruling classes, and the conceptualisation of rural landscapes as countryside in opposition to the urban centres of the cities. During the late 18th and 19th centuries countryside became idealised as representing a natural way of life defined by space, peace, innocence and simple virtue, while the city was seen as the busy centre of learning, manufacturing and progress (Bunce 1994; Williams 1985). Dwelling in cities represented a shift of scale and pace to much larger and denser populations, living their lives to greater time constraints with higher levels of movement. Recreation in and conservation of the countryside grew out of this idealisation and of the experiences of living in cities. City dwellers looked to the countryside as an escape from the drudgery of congested living, industrial labouring and pollution, a place where activities such as walking could prove character building (Cornish 1932). Others saw the city as a threat to scenery, either through its destruction under concrete and by quarrying, or by the countryside being overwhelmed by 'hordes' of urban tourists (Glyptis 1991). These two trends can be termed the recreationist and preservationist perceptions of rural landscapes. They are interlinked through the relationship between countryside and city, sometimes in concordance and sometimes in conflict. I will discuss both before returning to another strong perception of rural land, the continuation of the countryside as provider of resources.

Rambling, an activity not solely restricted to the author of a doctoral thesis, has been a fundamental element of countryside recreation in Britain during the 20th century. Recreational walking – whether called walking, hiking or rambling – and the movement for access to the countryside which grew around it, have been major influences on the way the modern Peak District landscape is managed and perceived. The identification of the region as the 'green lung' for the surrounding urban population has shaped how we perceive the Peak District today. The region has a population of 38,000 people, yet is surrounded by urban conurbations of over 17 million people within a 100km radius. The interest in the Peaks of this urban population has directly instigated access to moorlands privatised under Parliamentary Enclosure, the formation of the Peak District National Park and the construction of what constitutes 'appropriate' enjoyment of the countryside.

The Rambler's Tale

> "I've been walking on these moors for 20 years. I was born and bred in Sheffield and one of the advantages of living in Sheffield is having all this countryside on your doorstep. I come for the solitude, the moorlands and the fresh air. There's a spot over in Abbey Clough that I like to think of as my own, by the stream where a few hawthorns grow. There's no better feeling than lying in the sun, eyes closed and hearing nothing but the sound of the water and bird song. I feel reinvigorated."

9.4 Recreation: Enjoying the Country

9.4.1 Rambling Across the Upper Derwent

Earliest records of people walking in the countryside for recreation date to the 18th century, with guides to the Lake District published in 1778 by Thomas West and 1810 by William Wordsworth. During the 18th and much of the 19th century, rambling was largely restricted to the professional and educated middle classes. Ruskin saw the natural beauty of the countryside as a place of spiritual renewal and improvement for the working classes and influenced a nostalgic view of the countryside as a serene antidote to industrialism (Bunce 1994). The spread of railways from the mid-19th century onwards provided opportunities for more people to travel from cities to the countryside; however, they often attracted the wrath of the growing rural conservation movement who worried that the influx of the urban masses would damage the rural idyll (Stephenson 1989). They saw the countryside as requiring protection from the inhabitants of cities, as well as the houses, factories and pollution. Both Wordsworth and Ruskin joined in the criticisms of

railways, showing how contradictory views could be held by individuals. Wordsworth and Canon Rownsley, a founder of the National Trust, campaigned against proposed railway lines in the Lake District on that very point (Glyptis 1991). They took the view that a person had to be sufficiently educated to appreciate rural scenery, otherwise they would despoil it through sheer numbers and inappropriate activities. Ruskin believed that experiencing the countryside was, in itself, an educational act but still wrote a letter to criticise the construction of the Monsal Viaduct on the Midland Railway line through the Peaks for despoiling the valley:

> "There was a rocky valley, between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, as divine as the Vale of Temple; you might have seen the Gods there morning and evening - Apollo and all the sweet Muses of the light - walking in fair procession on the lawns of it, and to and fro among the pinnacles of its crags. You cared neither for Gods nor grass, but for cash (which you did not know the way to get); you thought you could get it by what *The Times* calls 'Railroad Enterprise'. You Enterprised a Railroad through the valley - you blasted its rocks away, heaped thousands of tons of shale into its lovely stream. The valley is gone and the Gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half-an-hour, and every fool in Bakewell in Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange - you Fools Everywhere."

The railway-enabled mid-19th century expansion of tourism and rambling in upland areas dates to the end of the main period of Enclosure Acts. This was contemporary with the growth of grouse shooting, and landowners used the results of Enclosure to extinguish general public access and specific rights of way in order to prevent disturbance to breeding and nesting grouse. The creation of moorland grouse shooting and the rise of recreational walking would put landowners into conflict over the uses and perceptions of the commons not only with farmers, but also eventually with ramblers. In 1826 the Manchester Society for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths was formed, and in 1831 a petition was raised in Manchester against the stopping of footpaths. By the end of the 19th century walking clubs were being founded to promote rambling. Some of the early clubs included the Sunday Tramps in 1879 in Kent and Surrey, the Manchester YMCA Rambling Club in 1880 and the London-based Forest Ramblers in 1884. Most early clubs had predominantly middle-class memberships and the first-working class rambling organisation in northern England was the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers founded in 1900. The formation of rambling clubs was contemporary with the foundation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty in 1895. The Trust's aim was to

protect the countryside from uncontrolled development and industrialisation by buying property and to act as a 'guardian for the nation in the acquisition and protection of threatened coastline, countryside and buildings' (Waterson 1994). These two aspects of landscape perception – as a place of recreation and one that required preserving from development – would have a strong bearing on the Upper Derwent throughout the 20th century.

The Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' first ramble in the Peak District took place on Sunday 2nd September 1900 and comprised 14 people who travelled by train from Sheffield to Edale (Sissons 2002). They set off on an almost circular ramble around Kinder Scout calling at Hayfield in the west and the Snake Inn in the north before continuing along Doctor's Gate down the Woodlands Valley and to Hope railway station. The ramble was organised by GHB Ward, who placed an advert in the Clarion, a weekly paper which promoted a particular brand of socialism that emphasised culture as well as economics. It had inspired a series of Clarion Clubs including Cyclists, Cafes and Glee (singers), which organised events to improve the character of the working classes in group activities. The Clarion Ramblers was founded specifically to enable urban labourers to organise themselves to escape the drudgery and pollution of the cities (ibid). As such, it was as much a self-improvement organisation as it was recreational, for people to mentally and physically develop through experiencing the open spaces and beauty of the countryside – the complete opposite to the position taken by Wordsworth and Rawnsley in the century before.

The walk around Kinder Scout was pioneering at the time, though 50 years later it had become known as the 'usual round' (ibid). The railway line had only opened to passengers between Sheffield and Edale in 1894 and the Hayfield to Snake Inn section of footpath had only been opened in 1897 after 21 years of campaigning. On reaching the Snake Inn tea for 14 people was not readily available and the proprietor baked cakes. They decided that the day should be just the start of organised rambles and undertook to organise more trips in 1901. Until its demise in 1964, the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers was one of the most prolific publicists, campaigners and organisers of walks in and public access to the Dark Peak (ibid).

Ward was born in Sheffield in 1876 into a 'little mesters' family. His father was a keen rambler and Sunday School teacher. In 1901 he was a fitter and turner in an iron works and an active trade unionist, and in 1903 he became the first secretary of the Sheffield branch of the Labour Representation Party – the precursor of the Labour Party. During this time he wrote a book about Spanish politics after befriending two Spanish non-violent, moral force anarchists. He was a founder member of numerous walking, conservation and heritage societies including the Hunter Archaeological Society. His socialism was character building and was influenced more by Ruskin, Robert Blatchford and Edward Carpenter than Marx, Weber and Engels. He believed that there was no better way to build character and self-improvement than to battle with the elements on the hills. Ward often quoted from Walt Whitman, William Wordsworth, John Ruskin, William Morris and any other author who wrote on the spiritual pleasure of walking, looking at scenic landscape and breathing fresh air. He used, in print, such slogans as 'A Rambler Man is a Man Improved' and 'The Man who never was Lost never went very Far'. In 1945 the Sheffield rambling community raised money to buy the summit of Lose Hill, which was presented to him in his honour as 'Ward's Piece', and which he immediately donated to the National Trust (Sheffield Clarion Ramblers 2000).

Ward campaigned against the loss of public access to the moors through Parliamentary Enclosure and for the formation of National Parks by writing in the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Handbook*. He researched the history of areas, including archival documents, archaeological sites and place-names, with the aims of educating *Handbook* readers about the moorlands and valleys and of establishing historical rights of access. Ward published walking guides to many routes and moorlands in the *Clarion Handbook*. Of relevance to the Upper Derwent is a guide to the Duke of Norfolk's Road which crossed the Don-Derwent watershed from Bar Dyke above Sheffield to Abbey Brook in the Upper Derwent, published in 1925 (Ward 1925. Illustration 9.1). The road was not considered a public right of way by the Duke himself and his gamekeepers attempted to deter ramblers from using it. The guide is typical of Ward's writing and contains all the elements he thought were important to a rambler walking on the moors to build his character and educate the mind and soul through nature.

Ward describes the road as the wildest Yorkshire moorland walk south of Wharfedale. It begins with backward views of Walkley and other suburbs of Sheffield – the beloved city

of smoke. He begins by reviewing the history of Enclosure, which he calls the 'legalised filching of moorland common pastures – deprived the unorganised public of many old bridleways and paths'. He states that the Duke of Norfolk's Road is a public road 'legalised for ever (save the word!) by the Ecclesfield Tithes (or Enclosure) Act of 1811 which…closed the commons to the freehold farmers and labourers of the wide Ecclesfield parish'. It was one of two 'ancient' rights of way preserved in the Act, possibly as a 'sop to make the Act less hateful to the inhabitants'. He brings in further history by referring to Welbeck Abbey's likely ownership of Howden, and admonishes the lowering of food production in favour of grouse shooting.

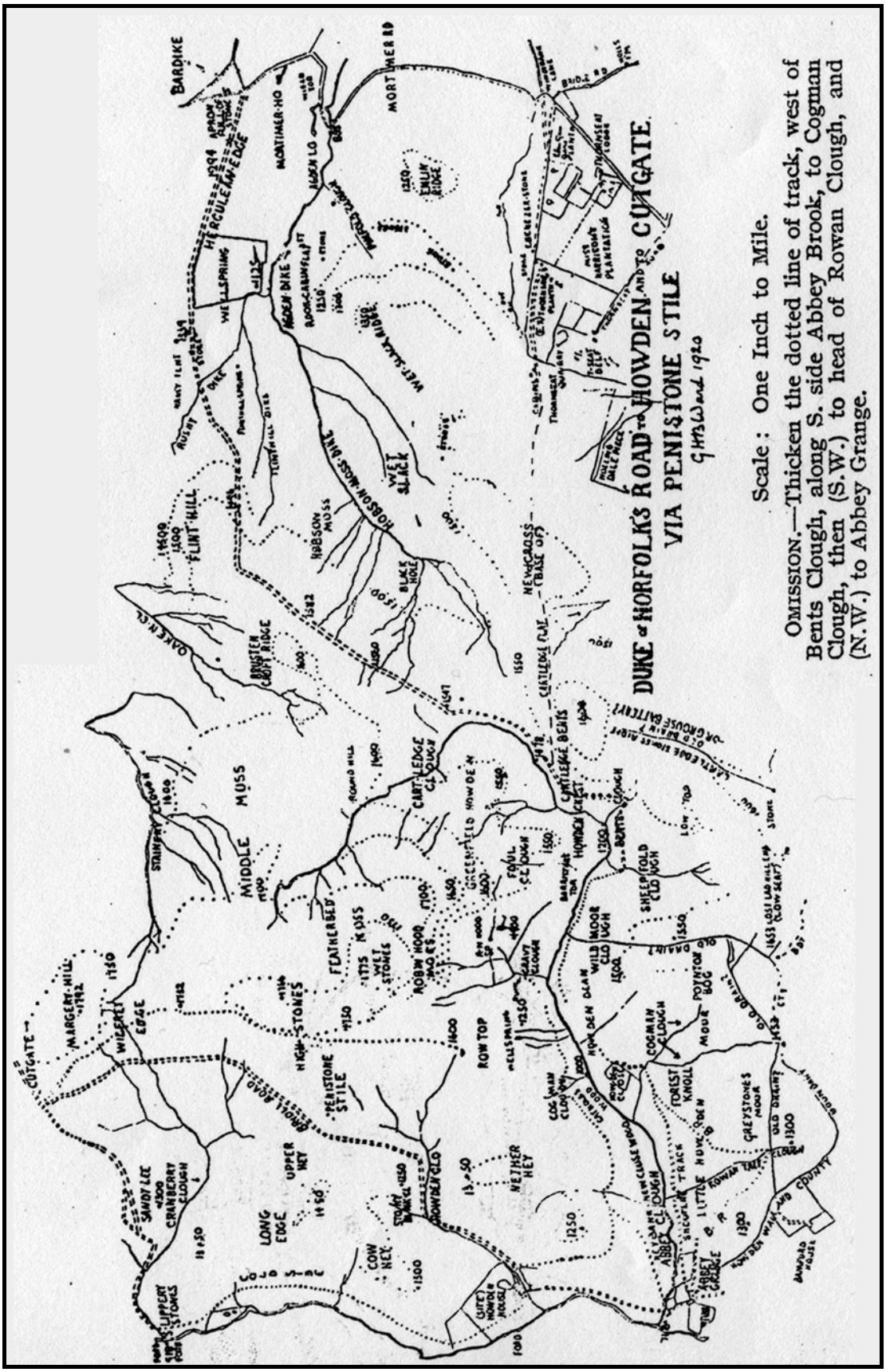


Illustration 9.1. Ward's map of the Duke of Norfolk's Road, first published in Ward 1925

Ward gives an experiential description of the route in terms of topography, historical features, views and place-names. The route is accompanied by one of his hand-drawn maps which depicts the minimum of features to navigate with. He describes quarry holes, ditches, buildings, walls, barrows, edges, cloughs and tors as waymarking features. A story is often attached to each feature, for example 'To the right of the boundary stone and track is a ruined hut, once called 'Nancy Tent'.' Archaeological features and historical notes were important to Ward's understanding of the landscape, and article titles included 'The Story of Baslow's Big Moor', 'History Upon Sheffield Corporation's Moorlands' and 'Facts and Records of Blackamoor and Monastic Strawberry Lee Grange'. Views are described in relation to the act of rambling, usually to the direction of movement, 'the rearward beauties and views of Agden' or 'before descending Forest Knoll we sit and take the view of our moorland temple'. This last sentence encapsulates the ideology of Ward, which was heavily influenced by Ruskin and Wordsworth, combining walking with looking at the beauty of nature, conceived to be there to spiritually uplift the working man.

Between the wars, increasing leisure time and motor vehicle ownership increased access to the countryside, and rambling, day-tripping and charabanc touring became increasingly popular. Many more rambling clubs and regional federations of local clubs were founded in the 1930s (Stephenson 1989). As well as the likes of the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Handbook*, numerous books were published on the benefits of rambling, and how to equip and conduct yourself in the countryside (see Batsford 1945; Joad 1934; Stephenson 1946). Art of the 1920s and 1930s depicted healthy walkers with uniforms and backpacks, often using a map symbolising an open-air ethos. Maps were central to the ordering of recreational use of the countryside, and the Ordnance Survey began issuing series of popular and tourist maps aimed at drivers and walkers. The map was a document of guidance, situation, discovery and revelation - unfolding the map unfolded the world (Matless 1990). The covers of the 1920s Ordnance Survey tourist editions depicted a walker using a map against a background of rolling countryside. The importance of maps to the perception of recreational landscapes is highlighted by a number of mid-20th century authors:

> "With an Inch Ordnance sheet of your selected area you are the master of the countryside: it lies symbolically before you, depicted in the most accurate detail."
>
> (Batsford 1945).

The expansion of leisure was becoming more inter-linked with the conservation movement than in the previous century, as preservationists believed rambling improved moral spirit, good health and a culture of citizenship developing internal order, discipline and the 'art of right living' (Joad 1934). Many national societies were founded, or amalgamated out of earlier regional clubs, for touring the countryside with rules of conduct for respecting the landscape. The Youth Hostel Association and the Ramblers Association were two of the most well known societies founded in the 1930s. They promoted the ideal that the countryside was to be preserved from encroaching development and decrees were made as to what was appropriate enjoyment of the countryside – quiet and litter-free tenets which would later be enshrined in National Park policies. Open-air enjoyment was seen as a 'movement' and part of the modernist field of art and architecture. Hobnail boots, backpack and map defined the walker's identity (Stephenson 1946).

Photograph 9.7. Contrasting signs aimed at ramblers in the 1920s. A landowner's stop notice (left) and a waymarker of the Peak District and Northern Counties Footpath Society (right)

As rambling associations became more numerous, so did societies dedicated to preserving or maintaining public rights of way in the countryside. The Peak District and Northern Counties Footpath Society was one of the most active of these. The society was founded in the 1920s, and was involved in two main aspects of rambling. It worked with rambling groups to campaign for better access along footpaths and discussed individual routes with landowners, but appears to have baulked at lobbying Parliament for an access Bill. On a more direct, practical level, and one which has left a mark in the landscape, it

signposted rights of way so that they could be used by walkers (Photograph 9.7). Thirteen of these signs survive in the Upper Derwent dating from the 1920s to 1950s, some of which were re-erected in the 1980s and 1990s, and can be found at Doctor's Gate, Ashop Clough, Alport Dale, Moscar House, Westend and at the bottom of Cart Gate to Penistone. All are made in the same format of plain text on a dark green background. The signs not only give directions, distances, and requests to not leave litter and to keep dogs on leads, but in some cases justify the use of a right of way by reference to its antiquity. For example, two of the signs erected along Doctor's Gate were placed at its junctions with the Snake Pass road in 1924 and 1938. The latter reads:

PEAK DISTRICT & NORTHERN COUNTIES
FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY
No 58 1938
←
DOCTOR'S GATE
ROMAN ROAD
TO GLOSSOP
LEAVE NO LITTER

The signs were some of the earliest recreational noticeboards in the Peak District, a 20th century development designed to direct visitors to suitable locations and to appropriate ways of enjoying the countryside. The Society's boards acted on two levels; they were practical guides to rights of way and were physical symbols of the increasingly popular use of the countryside for rambling, helping to legitimise this particular, urban-based, perception of the landscape. They also acted as a counterpoint to the numerous stop notices of landowners that warned walkers to keep off private moorlands (Photograph 9.7).

During the 1930s the campaign for freedom to roam on moorland for the urban population and calls for National Parks to help preserve countryside were intensified and drew people from all parts of the political spectrum, including socialists, anarchists and conservatives. Vaughan Cornish was one of the most vocal campaigners, again influenced by Ruskin; he wrote a series of books in which he equated nature with divine immanence and rambling with a sort of pilgrimage. He felt the need for parks was as places where 'the urban population, the majority of our people, can recover that close touch with Nature which is needful for the spiritual welfare of a nation' (Cornish 1932). Concerns about the impact of masses of uneducated, working people were still prevalent, and Cornish countered by stating that

> "the National Parks…will…endure as such for centuries. The present careless indifference of the town tripper in his charabanc will, I believe, be replaced by a different mood in the succeeding generations… Within a time…we shall see an educated people, the leaders of thought will lead all classes, not merely an educated minority, and signs are not wanting that the aesthetic contemplation of nature will shortly attain the status of cult".
>
> (Cornish 1930)

The Kinder Trespass was organised on 24th April 1932 by the Manchester branch of the British Workers Sports Federation (BWSF), a communist-affiliated sports and rambling organisation (Photograph 9.8). The Federation actively promoted outdoor activities for the working classes, including walking, cycling and camping, at a time when the Depression created high numbers of unemployed (R. Smith 2002). The prime mover behind the Trespass was Benny Rothman, who was born in Manchester in 1911 and from the age of 14 worked in a garage on Deansgate, in the city centre (Perrin 1990).

Photograph 9.8. Kinder Mass Trespassers, 1932. PDNPA Collection

He had developed an interest in politics at YMCA night classes where he met members of the Communist Party. It was after being turned off Bleaklow by gamekeepers, during a BWSF camp, that Rothman and friends in the Federation planned the Trespass for the following weekend (Perrin 2002). They had decided to take such action because other bodies, such as the Council for the Protection of Rural England and various footpath preservation bodies, were not prepared to lobby for a Parliamentary bill enabling free access to open moorland.

The protest comprised hundreds of Manchester and Sheffield ramblers trespassing part-way on to the Kinder grouse moors which Ward had circumnavigated in 1900. Police and gamekeepers armed with pit props confronted them and, after a melee caused by the gamekeepers, a number of ramblers were arrested, including Rothman (Hill 1980). They were tried and convicted in Derby and during the hearing Rothman summed up their aims as:

> "We ramblers, after a hard week's work and life in smoky towns and cities go out rambling for relaxation, a breath of fresh air, a little sunshine. We find, when we go out, that the finest rambling country is closed to us, because certain individuals wish to shoot for about ten days a year. For twenty-five years the Ramblers' Federation has carried on a campaign that has been futile. It was united action on the part of the ramblers that the well-known path, Doctor's Gate was opened."

This was not the first trespass as hinted at by Rothman's defence and indicates that part if not all of the Doctor's Gate packhorse route had been closed, as indicated by the barring of the way with field walls in the Woodlands Valley. Both prior and subsequently to this, the Peak District and Northern Counties Preservation Society erected their signposts along Doctor's Gate.

The Sheffield Clarion Ramblers had also organised night-time mass trespasses, known as 'Rakes' Rambles', over private grouse-shooting moors, the first in 1907 on Bleaklow (Sissons 2002). Though not greatly involved in the 1932 Kinder Mass Trespass, the Clarion club helped to organise the Abbey Brook Trespass along the Duke of Norfolk's Road in the same year, which was undertaken by a group of Sheffield clubs including the Woodcraft Folk, Brightside Independent Labour Party and Spartacus (set up by the Sheffield Young Communist League). The trespassers walked the 3-mile length of the Duke of Norfolk's Road from Bar Dike to the source of Abbey Brook, where they were met by a large force of gamekeepers and a smaller number of police. The police were concerned enough about the threat of violence to advise the keepers to aim their pick handles at the ramblers' legs. On being confronted, the ramblers sat down for a picnic then followed the police orders to leave the moorland by turning around and walking back along the full length of the road to the fury of the keepers. This was followed by the first annual Winnat's Pass Access Rally in 1933, where Ward spoke.