

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUIDEBOOKS AND THE LEISURE PRACTICE OF FELLWALKING IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT FROM 1855 TO 1966

by

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Abstract

My thesis examines the relationship between guidebooks and fellwalking in the English Lake District from 1855 to 1966. It challenges the notion that fellwalking began with Alfred Wainwright's seven-volume *Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells* (1955-1966), by highlighting the long history of fellwalking guidebooks and the development of this leisure practice in the century prior to Wainwright. It addresses the central question of how fellwalking changed from a pursuit where, in 1855, hiring a guide was largely regarded as essential, to one in which the reader-walker typically orients themselves independently. Guidebooks which contained detailed walking route directions, accompanied by illustrations, enabled new communities of visitors to explore the uplands on foot, without engaging a guide, effectively a form of servant.

I adopt an interdisciplinary approach, combining methods from cultural and literary history, to study the relationship between fellwalking and the form, content and reception of selected works, chosen for close focus because they are representative of a literary genre and also move practice forward. My primary sources are over 100 English Lake District guidebooks published between 1778 and 1966, supplemented by a large body of tourist and general literature on the region. My thesis sits at the intersection of literary, print, environmental and cultural history and histories of cartography, sport, tourism, transport and travel. Studies in these fields have tended to be insufficiently specific regarding the differences between guidebooks and generic travel literature such as a companion, memoir or handbook. As a result, they have typically neglected how the promotion of autonomous fellwalking in guidebooks has contributed to the development of a practice which forms part of the cultural identity of the English Lake District.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>BTG</i>	M.J.B. Baddeley, <i>Thorough Guide, The English Lake District</i> (London: Dulau, 1880)
<i>CWAAS</i>	The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
<i>CW1, CW2, CW3</i>	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Old Series (1866-1900); New Series (1901-2000); and Third Series (2001-)
<i>JPG</i>	Henry Irwin Jenkinson, <i>Jenkinson's Practical Guide to the English Lake District with Maps</i> (London: Edward Stanford, 1872)
<i>MCG</i>	Harriet Martineau, <i>A Complete Guide to the English Lakes</i> (Windermere: J. Garnett, 1855)
<i>PLD</i>	W.T. Palmer, <i>The Penguin Guides, Lake District</i> (London: Penguin, 1939)
<i>PLP</i>	W. A. Poucher, <i>The Lakeland Peaks</i> (London: Constable, 1960)
<i>PAP</i>	Herman Ludolph Prior, <i>Ascents and Passes in the Lake District of England, Being a New Pedestrian and General Guide</i> (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co; Windermere: J. Garnett, 1865)
<i>SWLD</i>	H.H. Symonds, <i>Walking in the Lake District</i> (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1933; Pocket edn 1935)

Alfred Wainwright's *A Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells*, originally published between 1955 and 1966, comprises seven volumes divided by geographical area. The version used in this thesis is the reprint by Michael Joseph (London, 1992).

<i>WEF</i>	<i>Book One: The Eastern Fells</i> (Kentmere: Henry Marshall, 1955)
<i>WFEF</i>	<i>Book Two: The Far Eastern Fells</i> (Kentmere: Henry Marshall, 1957)
<i>WCF</i>	<i>Book Three: The Central Fells</i> (Kentmere: Henry Marshall, 1958)
<i>WSF</i>	<i>Book Four: The Southern Fells</i> (Kentmere: Henry Marshall, 1960)
<i>WNF</i>	<i>Book Five: The Northern Fells</i> (Kentmere: Henry Marshall, 1962)
<i>WNWF</i>	<i>Book Six: The North Western Fells</i> (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1964)
<i>WWF</i>	<i>Book Seven: The Western Fells</i> (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1966)

It may also be helpful here to explain my referencing of the *Pictorial Guides*. The fells are arranged in alphabetical order in each volume, with page numbers which start from one for each fell and also bear its name. For example, *WNF*, High Pike 5.

WG

William Wordsworth, *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England*, 5th edn (Kendal: Hudson and Nicholson; 1835). The version used in this thesis is William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes* edited by Saeko Yoshikawa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

Author's Declaration

This thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted, either wholly or substantially, for a degree in this university or elsewhere. Chapter Five, 'A desire to escape from the common round': Alfred Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides to the Lakeland Fells*', draws on material in my published article and forthcoming book chapter which discuss the making and distinctiveness of the *Pictorial Guides*. See Liz Woodham, "'Building a mountain on a blank sheet of paper": Alfred Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides to the Lakeland Fells*', *Publishing History* 87 (2023), 1-33. This article won the CPHC Peter Isaac Memorial Essay Prize in 2022. A forthcoming volume of CPHC conference proceedings to be published by Peter Lang, and provisionally titled *Print and Tourism*, contains my chapter "'Nothing more than my own personal notebook": the composition, design and consumption of Alfred Wainwright's *A Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells*'.

Chapter One Introduction

The fleeting hour of life of those who love the hills is quickly spent, but the hills are eternal. Always there will be the lonely ridge, the dancing beck, the silent forest; always there will be the exhilaration of the summits. These are for the seeking, and those who seek and find while there is yet time will be blessed both in mind and body.

Alfred Wainwright, *WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion

Many people today regard Alfred Wainwright as the ‘patron saint’ of fellwalking in the English Lake District.¹ This is due to the esteem in which he, his seven-volume *Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells* and the landscape he loved are held.² In contrast to the other guidebooks in this study, Wainwright integrated text and illustrations in a completely handwritten and hand-drawn analysis and exploration of the 214 fells in the *Pictorial Guides*. The widespread appeal of his guidebooks has entrenched the connection between the practice of fellwalking and the English Lake District, a landscape designated as being of national and international importance. Wainwright extolled the opportunities fellwalking offers to enjoy the solitude of the uplands, to experience the exhilaration of ascent and to

¹ Ian Herbert, ‘Wainwright society to honour the patron saint of fellwalking’, *Independent*, 19 October 2002, <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/wainwright-society-to-honour-the-patron-saint-of-fellwalking>> [accessed 16 January 2026].

This thesis adopts Wainwright’s spelling of fellwalking. See, for example, *WWF*, Great Gable 16; Alfred Wainwright, *Fellwanderer, The Story Behind the Guidebooks* (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1966), fol.11’. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, n.d.) lists alternative spellings of fell-walking or fell walking. See “fell-walking, n.”, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, n.d.) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6608253211>> [accessed 16 January 2026].

² ‘About Alfred Wainwright’, The Wainwright Society, <<https://www.wainwright.org.uk/about-aw>> [accessed 27 January 2022]; Lake District National Park, ‘Lake District Special Qualities’, <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/lake-district-special-qualities>> [accessed 27 January 2022].

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transcend the everyday. His use of 'always' signifies his belief that these opportunities would be available in perpetuity, an assumption which has become more problematic in an age of climate change. The biblical echoes implied by 'those who seek and find' being 'blessed' helps us to understand how Wainwright's encouragement of fellwalking has led many people to view him as a guide or prophet of this practice. His description, however, touches on many of the reasons why earlier guidebooks promoted fellwalking, which suggests that his *Pictorial Guides* are part of the long history of pedestrian exploration of the Lakeland fells for pleasure.

This thesis seeks to make a unique contribution to existing research by examining the relationship between guidebook literature and the development of fellwalking as a typically self-guided leisure practice in the English Lake District from 1855 to 1966. It is an interdisciplinary study of the evolution of a literary sub-genre and a cultural history of a leisure pursuit. It aims to correct the notion that fellwalking began with Wainwright, by highlighting the relationship between the long history of fellwalking guidebooks and the development of the practice of fellwalking. This relationship influenced how and to whom the 'exhilaration of the summits' was available in the century before Wainwright, and contributed to fellwalking being most closely associated with the uplands of the English Lake District. The central questions this thesis attempts to answer are: how guidebook authors encouraged their readership to explore the fells of the district on foot; how they created authority for themselves as guides; and by whom and where they intended their guidebooks to be used. In attempting to answer these questions it pays attention to the personal, cultural, historical and literary context of the works. It considers how guidebooks were shaped, for example, by authorial persona; the growth of tourism in the English Lake District and developments in transport in the region; discourses concerning the uses to which the

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natural resources of the region should be put; developments in cartography and the print trade; and fashions in writing. It examines seven texts which are representative and transformative both of the genre to which they belong and of the practice of fellwalking. It commences with Harriet Martineau's *Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855) because she was among the first guidebook writers to suggest that the pedestrian explorer could aspire to exploration of the uplands independently of engaging a local guide, as Kerri Andrews has noted.³ It looks in chronological order at Herman Ludolph Prior's *Ascents and Passes in the Lake District of England* (1865), Henry Irwin Jenkinson's *Practical Guide to the English Lake District* (1872) and M.J.B. Baddeley's *Thorough Guide, The English Lake District* (1880); H.H. Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* (1933) and W.T. Palmer's *Lake District* (1939). It concludes with the publication of the seventh and final volume of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* in 1966.

Each chapter begins by introducing the author(s), their connection with fellwalking and the English Lake District, and the prevailing historical, literary and cultural context. It compares their work to guidebook literature and the practice of fellwalking at the time. It identifies how the chosen texts diverge from the standard, and how they move the literary genre forward and inform and reflect developments in the practice of fellwalking. In addition, Chapter Five additionally contrasts Wainwright's artisanal approach to communicating information on walking routes with his contemporary W.A. Poucher's use of photography in *The Lakeland Peaks* (1960). This analysis is pertinent to a consideration of issues of beauty and utility in guidebook design which arose from the later nineteenth

³ Kerri Andrews, "'Learning the Lakes": Harriet Martineau's *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* and Pedestrian Authority', *Romanticism* 27.1 (2021), 99-108 (p.107).

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century, as these works increasingly included maps and drawings. Chapter Five also evaluates Wainwright's role in reconciling other themes and tensions, sometimes binary, which emerged as fellwalking developed into an autonomous leisure practice. These themes and tensions concern how authors created authority for themselves as guides; how, where and by whom they intended their guidebooks to be used; and how they negotiated the conflict between the promotion of fellwalking as the best way of enjoying the district and the increase in overall visitor numbers, which has resulted in the solitude of the fells prized by the writers in this study becoming ever more elusive.

Much has been written about walking in the English Lake District, but the relationship between guidebooks and fellwalking as a leisure practice linked to the region's uplands has largely gone unscrutinised and has not been the subject of rigorous historical investigation. Critical studies, notably Julia Carlson's work on William Wordsworth and Peter Crosthwaite, have largely concentrated on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and have examined the influence of the picturesque and Romanticism.⁴ Peter Bicknell's authoritative bibliography focuses on the undoubtedly important period before 1855.⁵ Guidebooks of the post Romantic period, especially those published between the 1860s and the 1880s, and including the works of Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley, have been relatively neglected in comparison. Martineau's and Wainwright's guidebooks have received the most critical attention, while Palmer's and Poucher's guidebooks have been considered

⁴ Julia S. Carlson, 'Topographical Measures: Wordsworth's and Crosthwaite's Lines on the Lake District', *Romanticism*, 16.1 (2010), 72-93; *Romantic Marks and Measures: Wordsworth's Poetry in Fields of Print* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁵ Peter Bicknell, *The Picturesque Scenery of the Lake District 1752-1855* (Winchester, Detroit, Mich: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990).

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in biographies of their authors.⁶ However, the attention paid to all of these writers remains slight compared to the critical scholarship on Wordsworth and proponents of the picturesque, notably William Gilpin.

The English Lake District has long been regarded as a place of lonely wandering. However, the importance of fellwalking and its guidebook literature have largely been sidelined in the cultural identity of the region, particularly in relation to its designation as a cultural landscape. The Lake District National Park (LDNP) 'Lake District Nomination' document contains few references to fellwalking and to Wainwright.⁷ It concentrates instead on the region's agro-pastoral traditions, its Romantic literature and artistic associations and its historic importance to landscape conservation. The LDNP has highlighted only two guidebooks, the 1835 edition of what had become known as Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* and Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides*, as being significant in its interpretation of the district's history and how it cares for the region today:

The history of tourism can be traced back to the Picturesque fascination with the Lake District landscape and its potential for aesthetic experiences. This led to the production of early guide books which included the position of "viewing stations" around the major lakes which were followed by Wordsworth's celebrated *Guide*

⁶ See for example Deborah Logan, *The Hour and the Woman: Harriet Martineau's "Somewhat Remarkable" Life* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002); Roly Smith, *A Camera in the Hills: The Life and Work of W.A. Poucher* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008); Sheila Richardson, *The Forgotten Man of Lakeland* (Workington: Mill Field, 1997); Hunter Davies, *Wainwright The Biography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1995); *The Wainwright Letters* ed. by Hunter Davies (London: Frances Lincoln, 2011).

⁷ See LDNP, 'Lake District Nomination, Volume 4, The Partnership's Plan, 2.0 Outstanding Universal Value, Special Qualities, Risks, Vision', <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/whs/lake-district-nomination>>. For example, p.20 is an infographic with a Wainwright quotation; p.68 refers to Haystacks, a fell above Buttermere, as Wainwright's favourite place; p.71 contains a reference to 'Wainwright's walking routes' and p.71 describes a 'tradition of unrestricted access to the fells' which has led to the English Lake District becoming a focus for recreational fellwalking.

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through the District of the Lakes of 1835 and in the 20th century by the guides of more recent writers including Wainwright.⁸

The LDNP's description of 'A Long Tradition of Tourism and Outdoor Activities' in the region, from which the passage above is taken, is one of the thirteen special qualities which made the Lake District a National Park in 1951.⁹ This special quality became an attribute of Outstanding Universal Value when the district was designated an UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2017.¹⁰

Wordsworth's and Wainwright's guidebooks were undoubtedly influential in shaping how visitors perceived the English Lake District. However, a focus on the influence of their guidebooks only on the district's tourism is too simplistic. It ignores how other works encouraged different ways of experiencing the region beyond the purely aesthetic, as the LDNP's acknowledgement of the significance of Wainwright implies. His *Pictorial Guides* represent what Clare Palmer and Emily Brady have described as the author's deep bodily engagement with the region's landscape, gained through the practice of fellwalking.¹¹ During the period between Wordsworth and Wainwright, the guidebooks in this thesis encouraged more, and more diverse, visitors to explore the fells of the English Lake District on foot, particularly those lacking the means or the inclination to hire a person as a guide, or

⁸ Lake District National Park, 'Lake District Special Qualities, 12. A Long Tradition of Tourism and Outdoor Activities', <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/lake-district-special-qualities>> [accessed 27 January 2022].

⁹ The Lake District was confirmed as the second National Park in England on 13 August 1951, preceded by the Peak District on 17 April 1951.

¹⁰ UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 'The English Lake District', < <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/422/>>.

¹¹ Clare Palmer & Emily Brady, 'Landscape and Value in the Work of Alfred Wainwright (1907-1991)', *Landscape Research*, 32:4 (2007), 397-421. DOI: 10.1080/01426390701449778.

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with leisure of only a day or two to spare. These works increasingly prioritised practical and pictorial walking route directions and advice over more imaginative representations of where it was safe, or not safe, for a fellwalker to be in the uplands of the region. Largely as a result, guidebooks came to replace guides as companions to the reader-walker. Before 1855, guidebooks had commonly advised pedestrians to hire a guide when ascending the heights or crossing the mountain passes of the district. This advice was based on the difficulties posed to safe and accurate self-navigation by unfamiliar, steep and rocky ground and changeable mountain weather. Such guidance suggests the prevalence of a certain class of tourist and type of tourism, a hired guide being a form of servant. An advertisement in Martineau's *Complete Guide* for the Queen's Hotel in Keswick, for example, announces that the 'experienced Guides always in attendance' are available for 'moderate charges' in the same way as the Hotel's 'full compliment [sic] of active and efficient servants' and 'careful and steady Drivers' (*MCG*, Advertisements, p.xiv). By contrast, in 1966 the fells and self-guided fellwalking formed the core of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides*. The reader-walker typically oriented themselves in the landscape autonomously, using a guidebook and/or a map as required, instead of engaging a guide.

A survey of the works which begin and end this study sets the scene for the analysis of the relationship between guidebook literature and the practice of fellwalking in the English Lake District.

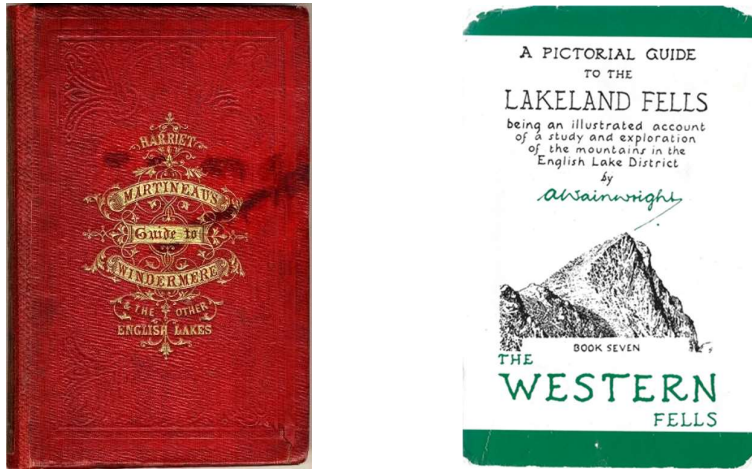


Figure 1. The front covers of Harriet Martineau’s *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855) © LakesGuides website and Alfred Wainwright’s *A Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells*, WWF © the Estate of A. Wainwright¹²

Martineau’s *Complete Guide* and Wainwright’s *Pictorial Guides* share a compact form, meaning that the reader-walker could readily consult either work while walking on the fells. Portability assisted exploration of the uplands of the region with a book instead of a guide. The pocket edition of Martineau’s *Complete Guide* shown here is 6 11/16 in. high and has 253 pages of text and advertisements. Each volume of Wainwright’s *Pictorial Guide* is 6 14/16 in. high. The largest of the seven volumes, *WSF*, has 336 pages. Here the physical similarities end. Martineau’s *Complete Guide* is a single book, published in different formats, the prices and size of which varied. The pocket edition cost 5s; *A Description of the English Lakes* (1858), illustrated with an additional forty-four woodcuts by W.J. Linton, cost 12s and is considerably less portable, measuring 11 1/4 by 9 inches.¹³ Wainwright’s *Pictorial Guide*

¹² The copy of Martineau’s *Complete Guide* in Figure 1 is the pocket or true second edition as documented by Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.175, 155.2a., despite being bound using an old cover from Martineau’s earlier *Guide to Windermere* [1854].

¹³ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.180.

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comprises seven books, first published between 1955 and 1966, in a single handwritten and hand-drawn format unchanged in his lifetime. Book One was priced at 12/6. Its green rexine cover had rounded corners to slip easily in and out of the pocket. Other differences between Martineau's and Wainwright's works arise from the contrasting scale and focus of their guidebook projects.

The titles of Martineau's and Wainwright's guidebooks indicate a shift in their contents from the general to the specific, and from the district as a whole to its mountainous core. Martineau's work claimed to be a *Complete Guide to the English Lake District*, whereas Wainwright prioritised the *Lakeland Fells*. The latter term appears in block capitals and larger print than the rest of the *Pictorial Guides'* title. By contrast, *English Lake District* appears in lower case and smaller print.

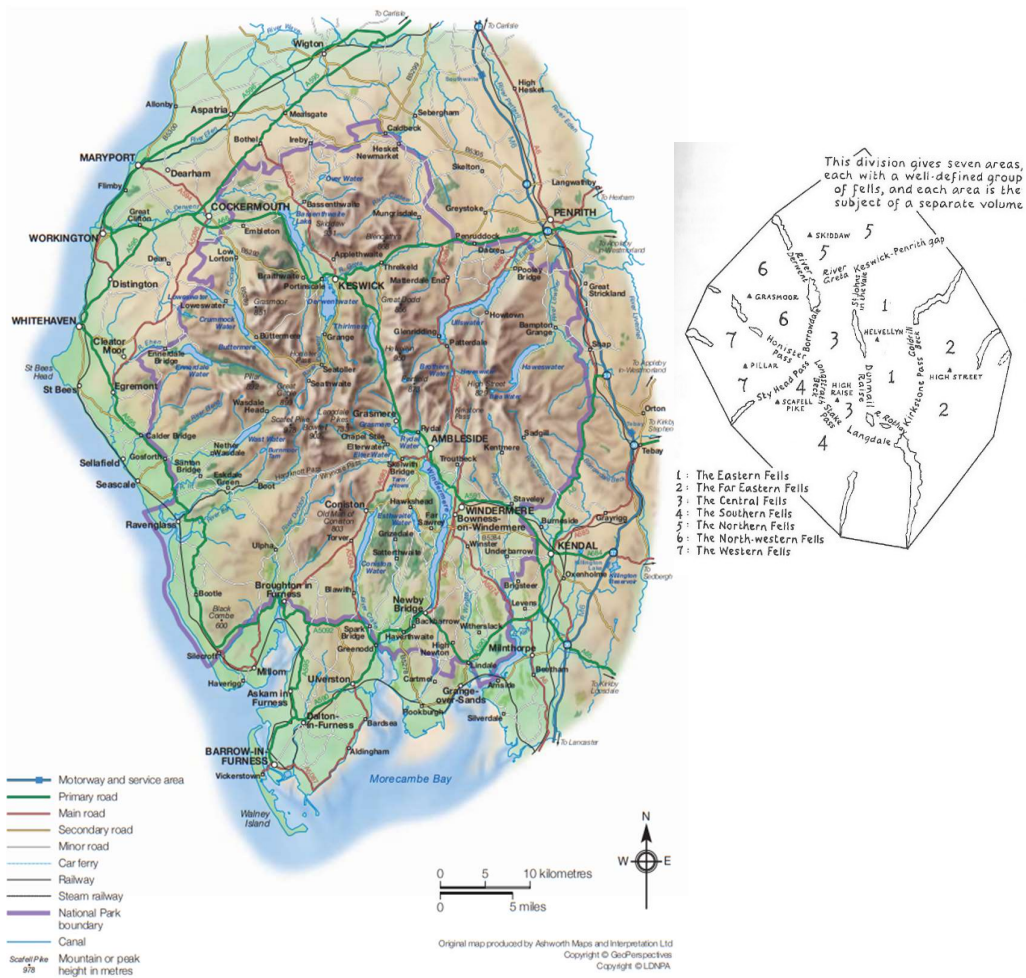


Figure 2. Lake District map in relief © LDNP and the boundary of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* © the Estate of A. Wainwright

The scope and structure of the *Pictorial Guides* further emphasises Wainwright's focus on the uplands. All 214 fells lie within the LDNP boundary and are allocated a separate chapter. By contrast, Martineau's *Complete Guide* contains a table of twenty-six named fells, two of which, Black Combe and Whinfell Beacon, are in the far south-west (near Millom) and south-east (near Kendal) respectively of today's LDNP (*MCG*, p.179). Wainwright omitted Black Combe and Whinfell Beacon from the *Pictorial Guides*, but he subsequently included Black Combe in *The Outlying Fells of Lakeland* (1974). The latter work completed his collection of the English Lake District fells in print.

The differing emphasis that Martineau and Wainwright placed on the fells correlates with how they created authority for themselves and their guidebooks. Martineau based her authority as a guide on the comprehensive and wide-ranging nature of the *Complete Guide*. Though grounded in her extensive experience of walking in the uplands of the district, the account of fellwalking in her guidebook was largely aspirational. She included information for visitors on the following: what to see and how to see it, whether by carriage tours or on foot; the history and cultural markers of the district; its geology and botany; and a directory of 'The Postal Address of the Aristocracy, Gentry and Tradespeople of the District'. Martineau claimed the latter feature was unique to her work and made it valuable to residents, just as her descriptions of the scenery were useful to visitors (*MCG*, p.ii). Her encouragement of her readers to aspire to take part in fellwalking was innovative, but the advice she offered was contradictory and her descriptions of walking routes less detailed than the subsequent guidebooks of Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley. She notably suggested that the ascent of Fairfield, a fell near Ambleside, was safe for her readers to undertake on

their own if suitably equipped and in favourable weather (*MCG*, pp.57-65). Otherwise, she recommended hiring a local guide to climb even well-known fells such as Skiddaw near Keswick (*MCG*, p.91). Her advice was drawn from personal experience. She recounted how a guide ensured her party's safety when they were caught in a storm traversing the fells near Loweswater in the west of the district (*MCG*, pp.127-29). By contrast, Wainwright derived his authority from the exhaustive character studies of the 214 fells which make up the *Pictorial Guides*, and the all-encompassing nature of the mountain routes and views he described. He placed greater emphasis on illustration than Martineau. He integrated with the text over 3,600 drawings of the fells in varying size and scale, including maps, topographical and historical features of interest, detailed ascent diagrams and summit panoramas.¹⁴ Conversely, the copy of the pocket version of Martineau's *Complete Guide* shown in Figure 1 has only eighteen illustrations. There are twelve plates, eight of which represent lakes and four, in the advertisements section at the back of the book, which depict various hotels (*MCG*, p.1).¹⁵ There are six outlines of mountains, seen at or slightly above valley level instead of from a height.

Printing for tourists encouraged fellwalking and its association with the uplands of the English Lake District. A comparison of Martineau's *Complete Guide* and Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* reveals a shift in content towards the fells, the practice of fellwalking and the increasingly important role played by illustrations in describing walking routes. Such a

¹⁴ Clive Hutchby, *The Wainwright Companion* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012), p.18. Hutchby references a talk by Ken Garland to the British Cartographic Society's Annual Technical Symposium at Reading University in 1996 entitled 'Passionate Physiographer: The Design and Execution of A. Wainwright's *Pictorial Guide to the Lakeland Fells*'.

¹⁵ Not all copies of the *Complete Guide* contain the Advertisements. Such sections were often removed in the binding or rebinding process.

significant shift cannot be understood without first mapping the relationship between guidebook literature, leisure practice and place and locating it within the wider context of English Lake District tourism. This exercise prompts a discussion of guidebooks as sources; an examination of their generic instability as a form of travel literature; an explanation of the rationale for the selection of the seven texts for close focus and the methodology used to analyse these works, which form waypoints in the journey from guided to autonomous fellwalking in the English Lake District over the period 1855 to 1966.

Guidebooks, fellwalking and place

Terms and descriptions used in print culture from the late eighteenth century onwards helped to delineate what is now known as Cumbria as a distinct region, and to associate its uplands with fellwalking. Early works, such as William Hutchinson's *An Excursion To The Lakes In Westmoreland and Cumberland, August 1773* and Leigh's *Guide To The Lakes and Mountains of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire* (1830), referred to the lakes and the separate counties in which they were located. *District of the Lakes* was first used in 1835 in the fifth edition of Wordsworth's *Guide*, titled *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (WG, p.xix). This usage helped to popularise the unifying term "Lake District", which first appeared in the title of William Ford's *A Description of Scenery in the Lake District* (1839).¹⁶ By contrast, "English Lakes", another unifying term, was used in *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook to the English Lakes* (1847) because it denoted the 'natural beauty of the area', as well as in the title of Martineau's *Complete Guide*.¹⁷ Subsequent guidebooks drew attention to the suitability of the central core of the region,

¹⁶ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.147.

¹⁷ *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook to the English Lakes* (London: Johnstone, 1902; repr. Dewsbury: Evans & Longley, 1974), p.2.

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broadly recognisable as the present-day LDNP, for pedestrian exploration. In commending it as a destination, guidebook writers singled out its compactness, the relative ease of accessing walks from town and valley starting points, (in comparison to Scotland, for example), and the lesser elevation of its heights in relation to the Alps. In 1900 Baddeley declared the district to be 'certainly the most compact tourist resort of Europe, and though so small, it offers an endless variety of pleasurable excursions, especially on foot'.¹⁸

Aspects of the region's landscape history contributed to it becoming a focal point for fellwalking by allowing the wide access to the fells implied by Baddeley's description.¹⁹ The English Lake District has a tradition of relatively unrestricted access to the uplands and an historical network of roads, tracks and footpaths. Angus Winchester has suggested that the survival of customary tenant rights in the region helped to maintain the tradition of access by enabling tenants to retain control over their land during the post-medieval period. This legal survival helped to shape a landscape which was both comparatively free of gentry and where the ability of landlords to control and improve their land during the critical period of parliamentary enclosure in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was relatively limited, in comparison to other areas of the country where many footpaths were lost or diverted.²⁰ Significantly for the development of fellwalking, the fells are predominantly open, unenclosed common land. 256 square miles or 28% of the LDNP today is shared

¹⁸ *Black's Shilling Guide to the English Lakes*, ed. by M.J.B. Baddeley, 22nd (London: Black, 1900), Preface.

¹⁹ Sheila Clark, 'Perceptions of the Boundaries of the Lake District', unpublished postgraduate dissertation, Lancaster University (1996).

²⁰ Angus J.L. Winchester, 'Regional Identity in the Lake Counties: Land Tenure and the Cumbrian Landscape', *Northern History*, 42.1 (March 2005), 29-48. <<https://doi.org/10.1179/174587005X38408> > [accessed 26 November 2024].

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common land, the largest concentration in the United Kingdom (UK), and 313 acres or 53.6% are open access land. The district is interwoven with 1,381 miles of footpaths.²¹

The LDNP Partnership has drawn attention to the connection between the fells and fellwalking in the district, noting that for centuries people have come to the region to walk and climb on the fells and ‘still do to “get away from it all” and experience a feeling of wildness’ (‘Management Plan 2020-26’, p.63). 18.14 million people visited the LDNP in 2022.²² The number of these who engaged in fellwalking is not specified but data from other sources suggest it is substantial. The British Mountaineering Council has calculated that a total of 3.58 million people regularly participate in hill and mountain walking based on the Sport England Active Lives Survey (2022).²³ Of the 2,000 visitors surveyed by Cumbria Tourism in 2022, 40% chose the district for its health and wellbeing benefits, or for walking, and because it was a familiar destination having visited before.²⁴ The popularity of the English Lake District as a destination for walkers is indicated by the Fix the Fells project, established in 2001, which repairs and maintains 344 upland paths in the district covering 410 miles. Just one of the many paths up Scafell Pike is used by over 100,000 people each

²¹ LDNP Partnership, ‘Management Plan 2020-2026’, pp.10-11
<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0035/522899/July24-update.pdf> [accessed 26 November 2024]. The measurements are given in metric (663 square kilometres of common land; 126.649 hectares of open access land and 2,223 kilometres of footpaths) and have been converted to imperial for consistency since the heights of the fells are given in feet.

²² LDNP, State of the Park 2023, ‘A long tradition of tourism and outdoor activities’
<<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state-of-the-park>> [accessed 21 January 2025].

²³ British Mountaineering Council, ‘Thousands more embrace hill walking’ 28 April 2023
<<https://www.thebmc.co.uk/en/thousands-more-embrace-hill-walking>> [accessed 22 January 2025].

²⁴ Cumbria Tourism, Cumbria Visitor Research 2022, ‘New visitor research highlights latest travel habits’ [2025]
<<https://www.cumbriatourism.org/new-visitor-research-highlights-latest-travel-habits>> [accessed 21 January 2025].

year.²⁵ Five of the ten favourite routes in Britain's one hundred most favoured walks are in the LDNP, which also has the greatest concentration of outdoor centres in the UK ('Management Plan 2020-26', pp.12; 68).

The etymology and usage of the term fell in English Lake District literature is a compelling factor which has strengthened the performative association between fellwalking and the region. Forty-four, or a fifth, of Wainwright's 214 summits have fell in their name, reinforcing the connection between place and leisure practice. Diana Whaley's work on English Lake District place names defines fell as meaning 'hill, mountain, tract of high unenclosed land, high ground'. Fell is a dialect word derived from the Old Norse fell or *fjall*, indicative of earlier Scandinavian settlement of the region. It occurs most frequently as an identifier in the district, appearing in over 180 names within the LDNP boundary.²⁶ The heights of other upland areas of England such as the Pennines, Peak District and the Yorkshire Dales are typically not known as fells. Fell only occurs occasionally in names in these areas, for example Cross Fell in the Pennines, (only just over eleven miles from the north-eastern boundary of the LDNP near Penrith) and in Scotland (notably Goat Fell on the Isle of Arran).²⁷

The practice of fellwalking has been associated with the fells of the English Lake District since the first usage of the term fellwalking in print. The *Oxford English Dictionary*

²⁵ Fix the Fells, Frequently Asked Questions, 'Why do paths need fixing?' <<https://www.fixthefells.co.uk/who-we-are/faq>> [accessed 21 January 2025].

²⁶ Diana Whaley, *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names* (Nottingham, English Place-Name Society, 2006) pp.397-8. Consistent and active usage of the word is suggested by instances dating from the twelfth century to the present day.

²⁷ The naming of Snaefell, the highest mountain on the Isle of Man, reflects Scandinavian settlement of the island.

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(*OED*) defines fellwalking as a practice of rough walking connected with a particular landscape, chiefly that of the mountainous country or fells of the north-west of England. The first two instances cited by the *OED* are from 1899 and relate to the English Lake District:

‘Fellwalking’ records. By William T. Palmer.

Morning Post 21 March 1899 (advertisement).

At the Nag's Head, the party divided... This, novel to the traditions of fellwalking, must have proved a considerable advantage to the two who carried on the climb.

Cornhill Magazine, April, 1899, 516.²⁸

The ‘fellwalking’ records documented by Palmer concern attempts to complete endurance challenges in the fells of the region. ‘Climb’ links fellwalking to ascent and the reference to the Nag’s Head (an inn which was situated opposite Wythburn Chapel on the main road between Ambleside and Keswick) also connects the practice with the district.²⁹ ‘Records’ and ‘traditions’ confirm that fellwalking was an established practice in the region in 1899. Terms other than fellwalking, notably rambling, were also used to describe walking in the uplands. For instance, the *Rambling Notes of a Rambling Tour Through Some Of The English Lake Scenery by a Volunteer Rifleman* (1861) describes an adventurous walking tour. Wainwright used fellwalking as a term to distinguish those walking purposively in the fells from undiscerning pedestrians.³⁰ A Google Ngram analysis shows the term fellwalking

²⁸ “fell-walking, n.”, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6608253211>> [accessed 16 January 2026].

²⁹ Ian Hall, *Thirlmere Before the Dam* (Keswick: Orchard House Books, 2021), p.56, states that the Nag’s Head closed in the 1930s and was subsequently demolished.

³⁰ See Chapter Five, p.240, for a discussion of the various words used by Wainwright to describe pedestrians on the fells.

appears most frequently in works from the Google Books corpus published between 1950 and 1972, a period broadly concurrent with the founding of the LDNP and the publication of the *Pictorial Guides*.³¹

Guidebooks, fellwalking and tourism

To understand the aspirations to increasing independence which Martineau was amongst the first to offer the pedestrian explorer in 1855, it is necessary to begin in the late eighteenth century and to describe the relationship between travel literature and fellwalking in the context of English Lake District tourism. Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* (1778), widely recognised as the first guidebook to the region, Ann Radcliffe's *Observations During a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland* (1795) and Wordsworth's *Guide*, the predecessor text of which was first published in 1810, were instrumental in shaping visitors' perceptions and experience of the district's landscape. West described a tour by coach or carriage in which the scenery was regarded as if it were a picture from prescribed viewing stations. Radcliffe and Wordsworth offered ways of enjoying the region which signal a shift from the purely aesthetic, as Paul Readman has highlighted in *Storied Ground, Landscape and the Shaping of English National Identity* (2018).

West's *Guide* is important because it reflects how the theory of the picturesque, propounded by Gilpin in *Observations on the River Wye* (1770), altered previous, and largely negative, ways in which mountain landscapes, such as that of the English Lake District, were

³¹ The Google Ngram analysis suggests usage peaked in 1972 and is indicative only. The results are complicated, for example, by instances of 'fell walking' used to describe workplace accidents.

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perceived in the late eighteenth century.³² Bicknell has noted that Dr Brown, tutor to Gilpin, 'set the pattern for picturesque writing about the Lake District' in his *Description of the Lake at Keswick* (1762) which 'consists of three circumstances, Beauty, Horror and Immensity united'.³³ Uvedale Price subsequently delineated three aesthetic categories in *An Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and Beautiful* (1794). As Dr Brown's account suggests, the English Lake District was particularly suited to the picturesque aesthetic because the opposites represented by the beautiful and the sublime were readily available in its lake and mountain scenery. Gilpin gave equal weight to the contrasting feelings these opposites prompted in the observer in his *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty made in the year 1772 on Several Parts of England Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786). The beautiful, represented, for example, by unruffled lakes and smooth green pastures, was held to promote feelings of calm, while the sublime, signified by sights such as high and rugged mountains, prompted feelings of awe and a pleasurable experience of terror. Picturesque scenes contained elements of wildness juxtaposed with pastoral beauty and offered the observer a painterly experience of the landscape.

The enjoyment of the landscape which West promoted was largely passive and unrelated to fellwalking. His *Guide* encouraged visitors to appreciate the fells and the lakes

³² Mark Haywood, 'Viewing the Emergence of Scenery from the English Lake District', in *Making Sense of Place*, ed. by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsene and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), pp.23-32 (p.24).

³³ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.24; Christopher Donaldson, 'John Brown's Description of the Lake at Keswick: New Clues and Clarifications', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 20.4 (2019), 462-474 (p.472) <<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/743275>> [accessed 26 November 2024].

of the English Lake District as picturesque. Maps were only included in his *Guide* from the third edition (1784), for example, and depict relatively few fells.

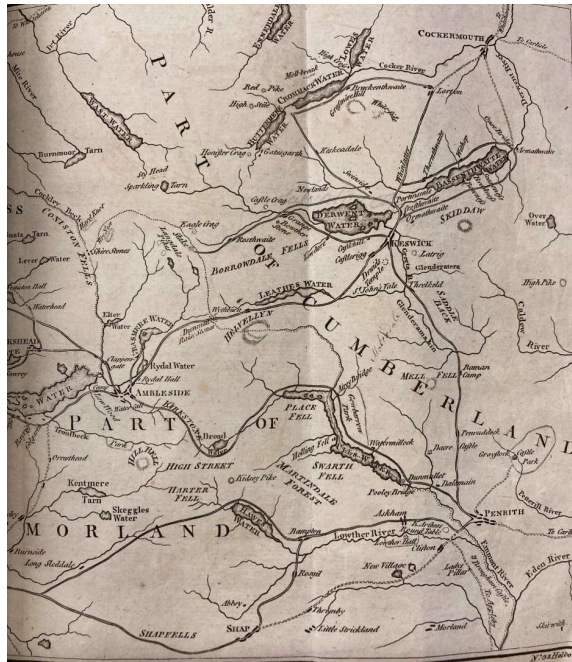


Figure 3. Extract of a map from Thomas West’s *Guide to the Lakes*, third edition (1784)

The extract of a map from West’s *Guide*, reproduced in Figure 3, shows a number of the higher fells, including Helvellyn, for example, but no walking routes are marked or directions given in the text for its ascent.³⁴ The various “stations” West recommended from which to view the landscape were typically not of significant elevation and did not require much exertion to reach them. Castle Crag in Borrowdale near Keswick is an exception (West, *Guide*, p.95). At 985 feet high its summit can only be reached on foot. Wainwright’s inclusion of Castle Crag confirms both its enduring qualities as a viewpoint and the shift to active experience of the uplands. It is the lowest of the fells in the *Pictorial Guides* and the

³⁴ Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes, In Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire*, 3rd edn (London: Law; Richardson and Urquhart; Kendal: Pennington, 1784), pp.152-53.

only one below 1,000 feet. The passive engagement with the landscape portrayed in West's *Guide* was symbolised by a fashionable aid for viewing scenery at the time he was writing. Peter Crosthwaite, the Keswick museum owner and guide, was instrumental in popularising the use in the English Lake District of the Claude glass, named after the French landscape painter Claude Lorrain.³⁵ This device typically took the form of a Plano-convex mirror on a black foil. Observers stood with their back to the view and examined its reflection in the glass, which framed the landscape as if it were a picture, emphasising the central point and suffusing the whole with a gentle light.³⁶

In contrast to the passive experience promoted by West, Radcliffe's account in her *Observations* of the ascent of Skiddaw by pony, as was customary for women at the time, points to a new and more active relationship between visitors and the uplands. Penny Bradshaw has suggested that Radcliffe's shifting perspective and embodied response to her vantage point from the summit of Skiddaw indicates a way in which the landscape of the district might be enjoyed which differs from the frame of the picturesque.³⁷ Due in part to the popularity of Radcliffe's account, which was reprinted in the Addenda to all editions from the sixth (1796) of West's *Guide*, climbing Skiddaw became such an established part of the late-eighteenth century English Lake District tourist's itinerary that it was even satirised by James Plumptre in his comic play of 1798, *The Lakers* (Radcliffe, *Observations*, pp.39-40).

³⁵ David Wilson, 'Peter Crosthwaite (1735-1808) Museum owner, mapmaker and inventor' in *Keswick Characters, Volume Two* ed. by Elizabeth Foot and Patricia Howell (Carlisle: Bookcase, 2007), pp.19-34 (p.27).

³⁶ Alex Kershaw, 'Through the Looking Glass', *MA Fine Art Journal*, March 2016, <<https://kershawmajournal.wordpress.com/tag/claude-glass>> [accessed 26 November 2024]. Kershaw includes modern photographs of Tintern Abbey viewed through a Claude glass.

³⁷ *Ann Radcliffe's Observations During a Tour to the Lakes* ed. by Penny Bradshaw (Carlisle: Bookcase, 2014), pp.150-51; 59-61.

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Wordsworth's *Guide* raised questions about ways of seeing and being in the English Lake District which suggest more active engagement with the region's landscape than that of either West or Radcliffe. This thesis considers these questions as they relate to the relationship between Wordsworth's *Guide* and English Lake District tourism. It does not examine Wordsworth's *Guide* in detail because it has been studied extensively elsewhere and, unlike the guidebooks in this study, it did not promote fellwalking by including detailed route directions intended for others to follow. Wordsworth's *Guide* is known both for inviting people to explore the region and for warning about the harm resulting from increasing numbers of visitors. The text was first written at a time when wealthy visitors took leisurely tours of the district in small groups. His statement that 'common minds' would be incapable of comprehending its natural beauty except as 'an object of disgust' suggests discernment for a certain taste and type of visitor, and that increasing visitor numbers influenced his outlook (*WG*, pp.133-34). In his objections to the construction of the Kendal and Windermere railway line, which was opened in 1847, Wordsworth perceived a threat to the local communities. He characterised the latter as a 'perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturists' and expressed concern about the effect on them of an influx of the 'common minds' brought to the district by the railway (*WG*, p.50). However, Saeko Yoshikawa has suggested that in the interests of promoting later editions of his *Guide*, Wordsworth was content for railways to disgorge visitors at the perimeter of the district, whence they could proceed less intrusively on foot or by coach and carriage (*WG*, p.xxii).

Changes in the materiality of the first five editions of Wordsworth's *Guide* (published between 1810 and 1835) assisted exploration on the move. As well as reductions in its size, two other features which encouraged pedestrianism in particular were introduced in the

third edition (1822). A folding map aided navigation and the edition culminated in Dorothy Wordsworth's account of the ascent of Scafell Pike.



Figure 4. William Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* 1810 to 1835, © romantic-circles.org

The text of Wordsworth's *Guide* was first published to accompany Joseph Wilkinson's book of engravings, *Select Views in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (1810). This volume of illustrations was never intended to be portable.³⁸ When opened and laid flat a bound copy of *Select Views*, shown on the far-left hand side of Figure 3, measures approximately 20 x 27 1/4 in. and weighs 7 lb 8 oz. The reductions in size to the River Duddon octavo (1820) and the pocket-sized duodecimo editions of 1822 and 1823 and the small octavo of 1835 meant that these editions could be consulted more easily while travelling. At 7 oz the 1835 edition weighed a full 7 lb less than bound copies of *Select Views*.

³⁸ Romantic Circles, 'Introduction to Second Edition of Romantic Circles Guide to the Lakes, V. Expanding and Revising the *Guide* (1820-1835)' <https://romantic-circles.org/editions/guide_lakes/editions.2020.guide_lakes.introduction> [accessed 22 October 2024].

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The influence of Wordsworth and Radcliffe can be traced in early to mid-nineteenth century guidebook descriptions of the English Lake District scenery and how it might be enjoyed more actively. Such descriptions complicate J.D. Marshall's and John K. Walton's portrayal of a visitor industry which at this time focused more on the intellectual and spiritual benefits of contemplating mountain scenery and less on its physical benefits.³⁹ The content of William Green's *Tourist's New Guide* (1819) reflected the author's extensive walking in the district, seeking out scenes to draw.⁴⁰ Thomas Wilkinson's *Tours to the British Mountains* (1824) dedicated 76 pages, just over a fifth of the total of 320 pages, to the English Lake District and its immediate environs, and described active walking. It was one of the first guides included in Bicknell's bibliography to feature "mountains" in its title. The others are Green's *Tourist's New Guide*, its prolix title being *Containing a Description of the Lakes, Mountains and Scenery, in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire*; Jonathan Otley's *A Concise Description of the English Lakes, and Adjacent Mountains* (1823); and Leigh's *Guide* of 1830.⁴¹ In naming both lakes and mountains, to which the title of Gilpin's *Observations* drew attention, these works indicate the continuing influence of the picturesque.

The folding map made by Otley in 1818 represented a significant step forward for navigation of the district. It was included in his guidebook from the first edition (1823).

³⁹ J.D. Marshall and John K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the Mid-Twentieth Century: A Study in Regional Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p.178.

⁴⁰ Jean and Martin Norgate, 'William Green, 1790s-1820s and Biography', (2024) <<https://www.lakesguides.co.uk/html/LakesTxt/gn00fram.htm>> [accessed 10 December 2024].

⁴¹ Thomas Wilkinson, *Tours To The British Mountains, With The Descriptive Poems of Lowther, and Emont Vale* (London: Taylor & Hessey, 1824), pp.160-236.



Figure 5. 'The District of the Lakes by J. Otley, Keswick 1818', Jonathan Otley, *A Concise Description of the English Lakes, and Adjacent Mountains* (1823)

Otley's map depicted the fells of the region in significantly more detail than the map in the third edition of West's *Guide* (1784) shown in Figure 3. The greater accuracy of Otley's map helped to acquaint tourists with 'the most eligible paths for viewing the varied scenery' of the region.⁴² The absence of marked footpaths is consistent with Otley's recommendation that pedestrians should engage a guide when venturing into the uplands. The inclusion of mountain panoramas from the fourth edition (1830) also assisted upland pedestrianism, Otley making little reference to West's stations. That said, the content of other guides suggests visitors at this time commonly navigated the district by coach or carriage instead of taking a walking tour. This is signified, for example, by the content of *Leigh's Guide* (third

⁴² Jonathan Otley, *Concise Description of the English Lakes, and Adjacent Mountains, with General Directions to Tourists*, 2nd edn (Keswick: Otley; London: Richardson; Kirkby Lonsdale: Foster, 1825), Preface.

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edition, 1835) and Allison's *Northern Tourist's Guide* (seventh edition, 1837). The latter followed West more closely in aiming to provide a 'faithful transcript of pleasing scenes', as well as aiding travel between these by giving information on inns and mail coaches.⁴³ Ten years later, Kendal publisher Thomas Atkinson's popular *Hand-Book to the English Lakes* (1847) continued the pattern of descriptions of the picturesque scenery of the district followed by an illustration.

Guidebooks of the first half of the nineteenth century typically recommended hiring a guide. The dangers of unguided pedestrian exploration of the fells were emphasised by the imaginative treatment of the death in 1805 of the artist Charles Gough in an assumed fall from Striding Edge on Helvellyn.⁴⁴ Otley, for example, does not seem to have envisaged his guidebook being used by walkers unaccompanied by a guide. He did not detail the 'numerous objects' visible from Skiddaw because 'as few ascend the mountain without a guide, they are best pointed out as they present themselves' (Otley, *Concise Description*, p.46). Ford's *Description* advised those he termed 'hardy pedestrians', with its implications of experience on foot in the mountains, to take a guide to ascend the peaks of Scafell Pike and Scafell due to their remoteness and 'the rugged ground, and the danger of being caught in mists'.⁴⁵ Ford's suggestion that it was not unusual for exploration of the fells to have

⁴³ Allison's *Northern Tourist's Guide to the Lakes, of Cumberland, Westmorland, & Lancashire*, 7th edn (Penrith: Allison, 1837), Advertisement.

⁴⁴ At 3,118 feet Helvellyn is the third highest mountain in England and in the district. Striding Edge is a rocky and precipitous ridge on Helvellyn's eastern side leading to the summit. Gough's death was dramatised in Sir Walter Scott's poem 'Helvellyn' (1806) and Wordsworth's poem 'Fidelity', published in *Poems, in Two Volumes* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807), Vol. I. Gough's dog is depicted guarding her master's body in Edwin Henry Landseer's painting *Attachment* (1829), oil on canvas, Saint Louis Art Museum.

⁴⁵ William Ford, *A Description of Scenery in the Lake District, Intended as a Guide to Strangers* (Carlisle: Thurnham, 1839), p.61.

extended to the two highest mountains in England, situated in the comparatively less accessible west of the district indicates that fellwalking had grown in popularity.

Whether with or without a guide, Romantic era ideas of climbing toil, associated with ascent and the landscape being displayed like a map from the summit, reflected a new kind of relationship between the walker and the fell. Simon Bainbridge has noted that 'For most Romantic-period climbing writers, the transformation of the landscape into this map-like form was part of the sublime experience of mountain-climbing'.⁴⁶ The views available from a height and the effort required to achieve them influenced descriptions of mountain walking in the district from the late eighteenth century onwards. Radcliffe described the landscape seen to the north from the summit of Skiddaw as being laid out 'like a map'. Ford later referred to the town of Ambleside being 'displayed as on a map' when viewed from Wansfell Pike. He suggested that the latter height could be ascended 'almost without fatigue', but that 'more enterprise and fatigue' attended the 'lengthened excursion' to the summit of Fairfield, at 2,863 feet nearly 1,000 feet higher than Wansfell Pike.⁴⁷ Martineau described in her *Autobiography* how, after moving to Ambleside, she explored the district on foot 'till it lay before me map-like as if seen from a mountain top'.⁴⁸ Jenkinson noted that the 'stiffest part of the toil is over' when reaching the southern shoulder of Lingmell, near Scafell Pike. He referred to the 'steep, toilsome climb' to Windy Gap between Green Gable and Great Gable (*JPG*, pp.277; 286). In the mid-twentieth century, Clare and Marshall

⁴⁶ Simon Bainbridge, *Mountaineering and British Romanticism: The Literary Cultures of Climbing, 1770-1836* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p.141.
ProQuest Ebook Central, <<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lancaster/detail.action?docID=6181454>> [accessed 19 January 2026].

⁴⁷ Ford, *Description*, p.29.

⁴⁸ Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography*, 2 vols (Boston, Ma: 1877), vol. I, p. 513, cited in Kerri Andrews, *Wanderers, A History of Women Walking* (London: Reaktion, 2021), pp.139-42.

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Brown's description of how 'the coastal plain is laid out before you like a relief map' from the summit of Scafell reveals that guidebook descriptions of fellwalking continued to prize a commanding view of the landscape from a height.⁴⁹

Cultural attitudes towards pedestrianism, and the development of literary tourism in particular, informed the closer relationship which developed between guidebooks and fellwalking in English Lake District print culture from the mid-nineteenth century. Cultural discourses favoured pedestrianism, as Robin Jarvis has described.⁵⁰ The popularity of endurance walking is especially relevant to the development of fellwalking. Long-distance fellwalking record attempts dating from the 1870s can be traced in part to the 'Barclay matches' named after their originator, Robert Barclay Allardice, known as Captain Barclay, who walked 1,000 miles in 1,000 hours in 1809.⁵¹ These matches and the gambling associated with them, attracted large audiences. Pedestrian endurance events remain popular to the present day.⁵² From the mid-nineteenth century British imperial exploration of the Arctic and of Africa, and the onset of what has since been viewed as the 'Golden Age' of British Alpine mountaineering, helped to inspire visitors to seek out mountainous regions of the UK.⁵³ Between Alfred Wills's ascent of the Wetterhorn in 1854 and Edward

⁴⁹ Clare and Marshall Brown, *Fell Walking From Wasdale* (London: The Saint Catherine Press) [n.d.], p.64. Subjectively dated c.1947-48 from the publisher's announcement of *The Happy Cyclist* to be published Spring 1948.

⁵⁰ Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (London: Macmillan, 1997), Chapter 1, 'The Rise of Pedestrianism' pp. 1-28.

⁵¹ W.T. Palmer, *In Lakeland Dells and Fells* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903), pp.65-72.

⁵² David Hollett, *The Pioneer Ramblers 1850-1940* (Manchester: North Wales Area of the Ramblers Association, 2002), pp.107;108-117.

⁵³ Peter H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 34:3 (1995), pp.300-24 (pp.315-16). DOI:10.1086/386080.

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Whympers ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865, British mountaineers made first ascents of thirty-one of the thirty-nine highest peaks in the Swiss Alps.⁵⁴ Fellwalking was also compatible with later nineteenth century discourses of civilising recreation and physical health.⁵⁵

The growth of a form of literary tourism associated with Wordsworth directly influenced the development of leisure pedestrianism in the English Lake District, as visitors sought out scenes from his life and works. Carlson has identified an increasing interdependence between literary fame and tourism, driven by a 'rich, new print culture' serving 'tourism and patriotism, in which tour narratives, guidebooks, aesthetic treatises, maps, and poems were brought into new relationships'.⁵⁶ Critics have described how, from the mid-nineteenth century, the repackaging of Wordsworth's poetry to form tourist itineraries for a new audience of middle-class sightseers and buyers of cheap illustrated books contributed to its wider influence on Victorian culture.⁵⁷ Wordsworthian literary tourism was not insubstantial. Martineau recorded Wordsworth as receiving an average of 500 'utter strangers' a year at Rydal Mount.⁵⁸ This form of tourism called on the tourist to

⁵⁴ Chad Bryant, 'Accidents will Happen: Risk, Climbing and Pedestrianism in the "Golden Age" of English Mountaineering, 1850 – 1865' in *Walking Histories*, ed. by Chad Bryant, Arthur Burns and Paul Readman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.168

⁵⁵ Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) pp.16-43
<<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lancaster/detail.action?docID=1069480>> [accessed 17 July 2024].

⁵⁶ Carlson, *Romantic Marks and Measures*, p.52.

⁵⁷ Stephen Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Tom Mole, *What the Victorians Made of Romanticism: Material Artifacts, Cultural Practices and Reception History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

⁵⁸ Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography*, ed. by Linda H. Peterson, revised edn (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 2006), p.494.

be a walker, since locations such as Pillar Rock (*The Brothers*) and Aira Force (*The Somnabulist*) could only be fully reached on foot. Yoshikawa has demonstrated that it remained a significant influence on descriptions of pedestrian exploration in guidebooks into the twentieth century, enabled by developments in coach, railway and later motor transport.⁵⁹ Turnbull has shown how such changes in transport in Westmorland from 1900-1939 altered the nature of tourism and the region itself.⁶⁰

The growth of English Lake District tourism and its associated infrastructure suggests more potential guidebook readers and active fellwalkers. However, the relationship between literature and practice is complicated by the lack of uniformity in this readership and its uneven distribution across the district. The type of visitor, the location and length of their stay all varied, ranging from the more leisured and socially elite to day trippers with less time and money to spend on walking in the fells. Marshall and Walton have drawn attention to the importance of transport to the growth of tourism. Towns with railways, and towns and hoteliers with stagecoach services, secured the most economic benefit from visitors. In the 1860s up to 10,000 mostly day trippers or excursionists visited Bowness-on-Windermere in Whit Week, and increasingly on Saturdays in July and August.⁶¹ Excursionism grew with the wider availability of leisure from the 1870s. Theodore Hoppen has noted that the introduction of statutory Bank Holidays and the increased formalisation of working hours made it possible for Lancashire textile workers to undertake longer absences further

⁵⁹ Saeko Yoshikawa, *William Wordsworth and Modern Travel: Railways, Motorcars and the Lake District, 1830-1940* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020) pp.222-3; *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism 1820-1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶⁰ Jean Turnbull, *The Impact of Motor Transport on Westmorland c.1900-1939* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series, 51, 2021).

⁶¹ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, pp.177-203 (p.184).

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afield, instead of being confined to day excursions in their immediate locality.⁶² Combined rail-and-steamer trips to the south of the English Lake District from the Lancashire resorts point to an infrastructure supporting this type of tourism. Ambleside, by contrast, catered for a largely middle-class clientele on longer stays (due in part to the greater availability of accommodation) and who were typically more likely than the Bowness day trippers to possess the resources to spend days on the fells. Keswick continued to attract an even more socially elite and leisured visitor population until the opening of the town's passenger station in 1865.⁶³ In that year the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway carried 75,000 third-class passengers. By 1882 this figure had risen to a quarter of a million.⁶⁴ Clifford O'Neill has demonstrated that the Lake District continued to attract both excursionists as well as more leisured visitors in the twentieth century, but not in numbers to rival the popular seaside resorts. Seasonal totals of 39,000 Sunday excursionists arrived at Windermere in 1929 and 38,000 in 1930. By contrast, Blackpool in the 1930s saw half a million visitors on a busy summer Saturday. Traditional English Lake District resorts, hotels, farmhouses and hostelries still largely catered for a relatively small and stable core market at this time. The June census of 1921 recorded 1,286 visitors in Windermere, 1,277 in Keswick and 578 in Ambleside. In comparison Blackpool had 25,807 visitors and more upmarket destinations, such as Harrogate, 4,511.⁶⁵

⁶² Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation: 1846-1886*, (Oxford: OUP, 1998) pp.357-8.

⁶³ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, pp.184; 192; 25; John K. Walton and P.R. McGloin 'The Tourist Trade in Victorian Lakeland', *Northern History*, 17:1 (1981), 152-182.

⁶⁴ Paul Readman, *Storied Ground, Landscape and the Shaping of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p.95, citing J.D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971), p.171.

⁶⁵ Clifford O'Neill "'The Most Magical Corner of England": Tourism, Preservation and the Development of the Lake District, 1919-39' in *Histories of Tourism, Representation, Identity and Conflict* ed. by John K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 228-244, (pp.228-9).

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From Martineau's *Complete Guide* onwards, guidebooks were increasingly characterised by a different orientation in the way that new and different types of visitors might interact with the English Lake District landscape. Her encouragement of active exploration of the uplands on foot widened the framework of the picturesque and represents a significant change from West's *Guide*. The composition of visitors and how they moved around and experienced the district was changing, as Bicknell's characterisation of her *Complete Guide* suggests. Bicknell has described this work as linking 'the romantic and picturesque guides of the first half of the century with the more utilitarian guides of the second half – aimed not so much at gentlemen in search of the picturesque as at middle-class tourists of the railway age'.⁶⁶ Other influential mid-nineteenth century guidebooks such as *Black's Shilling Guide To The English Lakes* (1853), *Black's Economical Guide to the English Lakes* (1856) and *Murray's Handbook for Westmoreland, Cumberland and the Lakes* (1866), also addressed the needs of the increasing number and diverse nature of tourists visiting the region, but with less emphasis than Martineau on the experience of fellwalking.⁶⁷

Developments in cartography and print technology, as well as growth in demand from potential buyers of guidebooks, facilitated the emergence of works which represented route directions for walkers more accurately. The availability of more detailed and reliable maps of the English Lake District from the late 1860s changed the apparatus guidebooks could include to direct their readers. Such maps heralded the increasing importance of

⁶⁶ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.ix.

⁶⁷ Yoshikawa, *Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism*, p.33.

illustration in the relationship between guidebooks and fellwalking. The works in this study typically embraced cartographic developments, epitomised by Wainwright's fascination with and aptitude for map-making. He made his own maps and fell ascent diagrams, accompanied by explanatory text, which are presented as being accessible to people lacking the ability to read conventional maps or use other forms of navigational equipment such as a compass. The utility of Wainwright's mapping offers another dimension to David Cooper's contention that Wainwright's 'creative cartography', while influenced by Romantic concepts, enabled him to claim the English Lake District imaginatively as his own.⁶⁸

Innovations in print technology facilitated the reproduction of maps and other illustrations for a growing readership of sightseers and fellwalkers. The invention of photomechanical printing in the nineteenth century enabled the creation of printing blocks using a photographic process, instead of carving and casting. These blocks could sit alongside the text and be printed using ink on paper.⁶⁹ The subsequent development of stereotype printing made the print process for large or repeated imprints of books or newspapers both faster and cheaper. Hand-set type was transferred to cast metal cylinders, a process which led to modern commercial printing methods. Ironically, Wainwright's insistence that his guidebooks appeared in print in exactly the hand-drawn form in which he prepared them predated modern offset printing, which made later reprints of the *Pictorial*

⁶⁸ David Cooper, 'The Problem of Precedent: Mapping the Post-Romantic Lake District' in *Romantic Cartographies: Mapping, Literature and Culture, 1789-1832* ed. by Sally Bushell, Julia S. Carlson, and Damian Walford Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.252-70.

⁶⁹ Rachel A. Mustalish, 'The Development of Photomechanical Printing Processes in the late Nineteenth Century', *Topics in Photographic Preservation*, Volume 7 (1997), pp.73-87. <https://resources.culturalheritage.org/pmgtopics/1997-volume-seven/07_10_Mustalish.pdf> [accessed 21 April 2020]. I am grateful to Emily Macaulay, Stanley James Press, for explaining aspects of print history to me. Any errors are my own.

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Guides ‘a printer’s dream’.⁷⁰ Instead, a review in *The Scouter* in 1955 described how each page of Book One of the *Pictorial Guides* was set as a line block in order to reproduce Wainwright’s design exactly as he presented it for publication.⁷¹

Detailed descriptions of walking routes and altered guidance on fellwalking suggest a deepening of the shift from passive to active engagement with the region’s landscape from the mid-nineteenth century. Guidebooks increasingly suggested that walking routes could be followed without engaging a guide. *A Guide to the English Lake District, Intended Principally for the Use of Pedestrians by A Cambridge Man* [1863] has been described as the first English Lake District guidebook to include descriptions of walking routes.⁷² In the second edition of 1867, the writer stated his aim was to provide practical but concise directions to enable the reader to ‘act as his own guide’.⁷³ Covering a smaller geographical area and in less detail than Prior’s *Ascents and Passes, A Cambridge Man’s* descriptions of walking routes nevertheless represent a shift towards self-guided walking. The mountain ascent routes and crossings of passes he outlined concentrate on the central mountainous core of the district and on valley starting points from Ambleside and Grasmere. The latter are sited on the main north-south road through the district, readily accessible by carriage

⁷⁰ Andrew Nichol, *Behind the Scenes with Wainwright, A Publisher’s Perspective of a Reluctant Celebrity* (Kendal: Kirkland, 2012), p.11.

⁷¹ Chris Butterfield, ‘The Eastern Fells Book Review’, 2023, Alfred Wainwright Books and Memorabilia, 2025, citing T.T. Macan, “‘Coloured Counties’”, *The Scouter*, July 1955, pp.189-90.
<<https://www.alfredwainwright.co.uk/the-eastern-fells-book-review/>>

⁷² Richard Else, *Wainwright Revealed* (Newtonmore: Mountain Media, 2017), p.82.

⁷³ *A Guide to the English Lake District, Intended Principally for the Use of Pedestrians by A Cambridge Man*, 2nd edn (London: Simpkin, Marshall; Windermere: J. Garnett, 1867), p.vi.

and stagecoach to visitors arriving at the railhead at Windermere. Improved accessibility influenced for whom writers sought to describe and recommend fellwalking.

Class, gender and fellwalking

Guidebooks point not only to fellwalking being an increasingly popular and autonomous leisure practice, but also to it being socially exclusive in part and typically gendered in its performance. An important enquiry in this thesis concerns how these works addressed women fellwalkers and delineated their readers by social class. The routes described in *A Cambridge Man* were likely to have been walked by the author when he was part of a university reading party, suggesting his guidebook was addressed to a traditional readership of academics and clerics, and not excursionists.⁷⁴ Entries in visitors' books from the 1860s reinforce the characterisation of fellwalking at this time as being socially and economically exclusive. Addresses were dominated by the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, University College London, Lincoln's Inn, hospitals and public schools, as well as the urban areas of Yorkshire, Lancashire and the south.⁷⁵

Guidebooks typically promoted a way of fellwalking based on the assumption that the practice was for and undertaken by a particular kind of male figure. Especially in their descriptions of fellwalking attire, late-nineteenth century guidebooks created a masculinist ethos and culture of fellwalking which led in the twentieth century to the discomfort expressed in Symonds's and Wainwright's works about certain sorts of women walking in the fells. Ian Gregory and Joanna Taylor have drawn attention to the very different spatial

⁷⁴ *A Cambridge Man* (London: Simpkin, Marshall; Windermere: Garnett) [1863], p.21.

⁷⁵ Mike Huggins and Keith Gregson, 'Sport, Tourism and Place Identity in the Lake District, 1800-1950' in Walton and Wood, *The Making of a Cultural Landscape* pp. 181-97; pp.184-6.

profiles for walkers gendered male and female in their analysis of a corpus of English Lake District writing up to 1900. Feminine pronouns were more likely to occur around towns and less likely in areas more remote from the main tourist routes.⁷⁶ However, the spatial profiles suggested by Gregory and Taylor's corpus are not wholly representative of fellwalking practice. Bainbridge has described how Green encouraged women to explore the mountainous terrain of the region in his *Tourist's New Guide*. Green remarked on 'an excess of outdoor ceremony' which prevented 'the female from acquiring the proper use of her limbs, and of learning to bound from rock to rock with the celerity of the fleecy rangers of the mountains', the native sheep.⁷⁷ Bainbridge has highlighted 'how different the methods and locations of ascent had become for men and women' ten years later in Edward Baines's *A Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; in a Descriptive Account of a Family Tour* (1829) (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.266). Skiddaw was identified as a ladies' mountain, ascended as Radcliffe did on horseback (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.218-21). Baines and his male companion showed their daring by tackling Helvellyn, gendered as masculine, via Striding Edge without a guide.⁷⁸ Martineau's *Complete Guide*, by contrast, contains accounts of adventurous upland walking by women other than herself (*MCG*, pp.116;126). Rachel Hewitt has recently recounted the history of women participating in walking, mountaineering and running in the nineteenth and

⁷⁶ Ian Gregory and Joanna Taylor, *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical Text Analysis* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2022), p.186.

⁷⁷ William Green, *The Tourist's New Guide, Containing a Description of the Lakes, Mountains, and Scenery, in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire* (Kendal: Lough and others, 1819) Vol. I, p.280.

⁷⁸ Edward Baines, *A Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; in a Descriptive Account of a Family Tour, and Excursions on Horseback and on Foot, with a New, Copious, and Correct Itinerary*, 2nd edn (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1830), pp.198-204.

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twentieth centuries.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Gregory and Taylor's analysis does confirm the paucity of women authors. Six of the eighty texts in their corpus of accounts or descriptions of the Lake District from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century are by women, two of which were written by Martineau. The rest are predominantly by white, middle-class men, a pattern reflected in the guidebooks in this study. Not one is by a global majority author.⁸⁰

In the mid-twentieth century Symonds's description of fellwalking reflects elements of the social exclusivity of the 1860s, as well as the distinctions which were drawn between discerning travellers and less well-informed tourists. The traveller's aesthetic was superior, defined by their search for authentic experiences. Jenny Holt has suggested that a reason for fellwalking in the English Lake District being seen as authentic was because it 'seemed to connect the practice of the hill farmer and the experience of the tourist'.⁸¹ Symonds's and Palmer's encouragement of exploration which was off the beaten track implies this manner of fellwalking represented a more rewarding way of experiencing the landscape of the district on foot than following the main tourist paths. James Buzard has associated the 'beaten track' with tourist locations where 'all experience is predictable and repetitive' and all cultures and objects are inauthentic.⁸² Whether real or imagined, tourists were seen from the nineteenth century to be encroaching on locations and, in the instance of fellwalking, practices which had previously been the preserve of a few. Symonds's elevation of the

⁷⁹ Rachel Hewitt, *In Her Nature, How Women Break Boundaries in the Great Outdoors* (Vintage: London, 2024).

⁸⁰ Gregory and Taylor, *Deep Mapping*, p.28.

⁸¹ Jenny Holt, 'Historical Landscape and the Moving Image', *Cultural History* 2:2 (2013), 182-198 (pp.190-92).

⁸² James Buzard, *The Beaten Track, European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993), p.4.

practice of fellwalking into an art performed by the right sort of people also reflects the discourse concerning the founding of national parks, who they should be for and how they should be enjoyed (*SWLD*, pp.viii-ix).

Aspects of print culture, landscape history and etymology not only helped to strongly associate the English Lake District with the development of fellwalking as a leisure pursuit but also to establish the region as a distinctive tourist destination. Changes in the content and materiality of guidebooks, occurring against a background of varied cultural discourses which favoured pedestrianism, offered the growing number of visitors to the region increasingly active ways of appreciating its landscape. The uneven development of tourism in the district is reflected in the socially exclusive characteristics of fellwalking and the gendered nature of guidebook descriptions of the practice. A similar lack of uniformity is seen in the varied forms taken by guidebooks and their content.

Guidebooks as sources and issues of their generic definition

Published English Lake District guidebooks are the primary source material for this thesis because they are one of the major literary forms which both represent and sought to change the practice of fellwalking in the region. Narrative accounts in local newspapers of visits to the district remained a popular literary form associated with guidebooks throughout the period of this study and are consulted for supplemental contextual information.⁸³ In his exhaustive history of the genre Nicholas T. Parsons has defined guidebooks as works which commonly inform, instruct and educate their readers, shaping their perceptions and even entering into companionship with them.⁸⁴ He has noted that

⁸³ 'A Holiday in the Lakes', *The Westmorland Gazette* 21 May 1859 is an illuminating example.

⁸⁴ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud: Sutton, 2007), xiii-xxii.

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guidebooks can function both as challengers of cultural norms, sometimes by advancing the world view of their authors, and as barometers of taste, reflecting the cultural aspirations and aesthetic assumptions of readers, as well as the wider historical context. As Parsons's description suggests, guidebooks are not complete representations of practice at the time they were written. The guidebooks in this study were, for example, influenced by precedent, which could mean standing apart from previous works, as well as by the persona adopted by an author.

An easy assumption to make is that the decision to purchase a guidebook denotes a lack of knowledge or sophistication on the part of the buyer. Linda M. Austin has suggested that people reached for guidebooks in the mid- to late-nineteenth century because they wished to avoid making an inappropriate aesthetic response to the location visited, represented by the 'great fear' of being perceived as a tourist instead of a more discerning traveller.⁸⁵ By contrast, John Vaughan has observed in his history of English guidebooks that the decision to purchase a guidebook could be and was viewed differently. Instead of denoting a lack of knowledge and sophistication, he has suggested that the purchase of such a work indicates 'a mind sufficiently alert to demand information' and 'a person with the leisure and economic power to satisfy this curiosity'.⁸⁶ Vaughan's observation points to the importance of guidebooks as sources of information about their readership, as well as their being products of the author's time and cultural situation as Parsons suggests. The significance which Vaughan and Parsons attribute to guidebooks as sources supports the

⁸⁵ Linda M. Austin, 'Aesthetic Embarrassment: The Reversion to the Picturesque in Nineteenth-Century English Tourism', *ELH*, 74:3 (2007), pp.629-653.

⁸⁶ John Vaughan, *The English Guide Book c.1780-1870* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974), p.13.

approach taken in this thesis. Fellwalking cannot be understood without its literature, of which these works are the primary form.

The literary, historical and cultural significance of the sub-genre of English Lake District guidebooks examined in this study has been considered by Bainbridge, Bradshaw, Buzard and Readman. This thesis draws on ways of looking at guidebooks and the relationship between literature and place identity suggested by their work. Bainbridge, Bradshaw and Readman have scrutinised guidebooks primarily in relation to the English Lake District and other regions of the UK; Buzard in the context of the development of European tourism in the nineteenth century. Bainbridge's *Mountaineering and British Romanticism* (2020) traces the origins of mountaineering in the Lake District, the Highlands of Scotland and Snowdonia to Romantic era literature and practice. His argument counters, for example, historian Ian Thompson's contention that mountaineering began in the Alps in the Victorian period.⁸⁷ This thesis complements Bainbridge's work by examining how, in the period following his study, English Lake District guidebooks influenced the emergence of fellwalking as a practice separate from mountaineering. It considers how the cult of ascent, associated with 'climbing toil', influenced the portrayal of the practice of fellwalking in guidebooks. It concentrates less on the imaginative 'new ways of seeing' and possibilities of 'a transformation of vision' offered by surveying the landscape from a height which Bainbridge has identified.⁸⁸ Bradshaw has paid particular attention to Romanticism and its enduring influence on Cumbrian literature in her studies of connections between landscape, literature and regional identity in the English Lake District. The focus in this thesis on

⁸⁷ Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes, A History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p.215.

⁸⁸ Simon Bainbridge, 'Romantic Writers and Mountaineering', *Romanticism* 18.1 (2012), pp.1-15.

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guidebooks from Martineau onwards represents a different timeframe, but one which supports Bradshaw's challenge to the dominance of Wordsworthian perspectives in cultural attitudes to the district.⁸⁹ The attribution of human characteristics to the fells in Jenkinson's, Baddeley's and Wainwright's guidebooks reinforces what Bradshaw has identified as a key feature of the relationship between English Lake District literature and regional identity, namely 'viewing human identity in terms of geographical determinants and seeing nature through the imaginative lens of human experience'.⁹⁰ This study reinforces the importance Bradshaw has attributed to Radcliffe's response to climbing Skiddaw by considering this ascent as a precursor to the development of fellwalking as a leisure practice.⁹¹

In regarding fellwalking as an example of an 'interrelationship with landscape and human inhabitants', this thesis complements environmental understandings of the English Lake District, which Readman has traced to Wordsworth's *Guide* (Readman, *Storied Ground*, pp.107-8; 152). Readman has drawn attention to how the shift from the narrower aesthetic considerations of earlier works, typified by West's *Guide*, influenced perceptions of the region (Readman, *Storied Ground*, pp.93-153). This thesis builds on Readman's work but focuses on the relationship between literature and practice instead of that between literature and regional and national identity. It challenges the primacy of Wordsworth's *Guide* in Readman's narrative by choosing Martineau's *Complete Guide* as its starting point because her aspirational account of fellwalking encouraged the development of the practice

⁸⁹ Penny Bradshaw, 'Romantic Poetic Identity and the English Lake District', CWAAS, *CW3*, 11 (2011), pp.65-80.

⁹⁰ Penny Bradshaw, 'Cumbrians and their Ancient Kingdom: Landscape, Literature and Regional Identity' in Convery, *Making Sense of Place*, pp.33-41 (pp.39-40).

⁹¹ Bradshaw, *Ann Radcliffe's Observations During a Tour to the Lakes*
— A Literary Walking Tour of Ambleside (Keswick: Inspired by Lakeland, 2021)
— A Literary Walking Tour of Carlisle (Keswick: Inspired by Lakeland, 2023).

and its association with the region. Directly relevant to the evolution of fellwalking is Readman's claim that Wordsworth's description of the English Lake District as a 'sort of national property' influenced the concept that the public had some sort of entitlement to the region, which included access to its uplands (WG, p.68; Readman, *Storied Ground*, pp.123-4). While Wordsworth's attitude to the growth of tourism problematises this claim, historians have nevertheless highlighted the importance of the idea of a nascent national landscape to the twentieth century campaign for the establishment of national parks in England, in which Symonds played a leading role.⁹² Readman's suggestion that the notion of the district as national property became 'democratised' well before this is pertinent to a consideration of Jenkinson's leadership of the Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass (Readman, *Storied Ground*, p.123).

By drawing attention to the continued significance of individual guidebook voices in informing and reflecting the development of fellwalking in the English Lake District, this thesis complicates Buzard's *The Beaten Track, European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918* (1993). Buzard's analysis of the influence of aspects of print history and guidebook content on the development of the culture of Continental tourism has identified how publishers' guides, notably the Baedeker and Murray series, increasingly supplanted individual narrative voices. He has described the standardisation, constant updating and 'diligence and thoroughness' which Baedeker and Murray brought to the guidebook, 'making it not the record of someone's tours but a description of what current tourists could

⁹² John Sheial, *Environmental History of Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); 'The Concept of National Parks in Great Britain 1900-1950', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 66 (1975), 41-56; 'John Dower, National Parks, and Town and Country Planning in Britain', *Planning Perspectives*, 10.1 (1995), 1-16; John Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District, the Early Years* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies at the University of Lancaster, 2009); F. R. Sandbach, 'The Early Campaign for a National Park in the Lake District', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 3.4 (1978), 498-514.

anticipate'.⁹³ Buzard has suggested that the influence of such works, combined with improvements in transport, particularly railways, and the itineraries organised by pioneers of travel, notably Thomas Cook, helped to establish an infrastructure supporting the expansion of tourism, and 'the tourist gaze – a way of seeing structured and sustained by institutions' (Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p.11). By contrast, the guidebooks in this study were influential because they drew on the personal, embodied experience of their authors.

Defining English Lake District guidebooks for the purpose of this study is complicated by the fluid boundaries which exist between these works and the many and varied forms of travel literature, the overarching genre to which they belong. Guidebooks emerged alongside different forms of travel literature and other genres, such as advice literature, in the print culture of the period and share qualities of these other forms while remaining distinct from them. Travel literature such as companions or memoirs can, for instance, be encompassed in Parsons's definition of guidebooks, as well as works which include detailed guidance on routes for walkers and more closely resemble manuals of instruction. Baines's *Companion* is an example of a work which straddles different forms of travel literature. Baines stated in the preface to the second edition (1830) that his aim was to 'combine the accuracy of a *Guide-Book* with the liveliness and interest of a *Personal Narrative*'.⁹⁴ The *Carlisle Journal* recommended his *Companion* as being 'indispensable' to visitors because it included objective information such as a map and an itinerary with distances clearly marked and 'teaches how the journey in this fairy region may be best performed by showing how it

⁹³ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p.65.

⁹⁴ Baines, *Companion*, 2nd edn (1830), p.iii.

has been performed by a family party'.⁹⁵ Nancy Price's *A Vagabond's Way, Haphazard Wanderings on the Fells* (1914) is a notable example of the continuing popularity of personal reminiscences of walking in the district in the twentieth century. More recent narratives have tended to focus on experiences of climbing all the 214 fells in Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides*.⁹⁶ The generic instability of guidebooks is further amplified by their similarities to other literary forms, for example advice literature.⁹⁷ The potential dependence in its readership which Dara Rossman Regaignon has noted advice literature can create suggests a connection to the instructional element of guidebooks.⁹⁸ This resemblance is noted but not pursued further because it is more tenuous than the relationship between guidebooks and travel literature.

Issues of the generic classification of guidebooks and other forms of travel literature are also raised by John Brewer's description of how, by 'feeding off one another, [guidebooks] gained weight and gravity as a genre'.⁹⁹ Bainbridge has traced how guidebooks directly 'fed off' aspects of mountaineering literature: the recycling of content from other works; the narrative of 'strangers' being guided on the fells by 'native' mountaineers, as well as the emphasis Romantic writers placed on viewing the landscape from the summit and the 'climbing toil' necessary to get there (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.38-71; 95-123;

⁹⁵ *Carlisle Journal*, 25 July 1829, quoted in Baines, *Companion* (1830), Critical Notices.

⁹⁶ See for example Andy Grigg, *Nowhere Fast, Walking the Wainwrights* (Ammanford: Sigma, 2014); Steve Larkin, *Doing the Wainwrights* (Studley, Warwickshire: Know the Score Books, 2007).

⁹⁷ I am grateful to Professor James Taylor, Lancaster University, for this insight.

⁹⁸ Dara Rossman Regaignon, 'Anxious Uptakes: Nineteenth-Century Advice Literature as a Rhetorical Genre', *College English*, 78.2 (2015), 139-61 <<https://doi.org/10.58680/ce201527548>> [accessed 26 November 2024].

⁹⁹ John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.500.

pp.150-53). Priscilla Wakefield's description of an ascent of Skiddaw in *A Family Tour Through The British Empire* (1804), for example, draws so heavily on Radcliffe's *Observations* that Bainbridge has wondered if Wakefield made the ascent herself (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.251). John Murray III, who prided himself on providing accurate information, stated that most of the facts in his first handbook were 'necessarily derived from books, modified by actual observation'.¹⁰⁰ Even an observer like Martineau reproduced the ascent of Scafell Pike from Wordsworth's *Guide* and Green's description from his *Tourist's New Guide* of his ascent of Sharp Edge on Blencathra with Otley (*MCG*, pp.94; 157).

The different but linked formats in which English Lake District guidebooks appeared in print complicates their generic definition still further. Significantly for the development of the genre, portable or pocket editions of guidebooks were published alongside and closely linked to illustrated editions. John Garnett, the Windermere printer and publisher, differentiated the pocket and illustrated editions of Martineau's *Complete Guide* by their anticipated use. He described the illustrated edition as a 'worthy *Souvenir*' of the district, comparing its 'handsome form' to other editions of what he called the 'manual', with its associations of practicality.¹⁰¹ The materiality and price of the illustrated edition reinforces the implication in Garnett's description that this work would be perused at home. It was more expensive (priced at 7s. 6d.), larger (quarto size) and consequently less likely to be used on the move than the smaller and cheaper 5s. pocket edition shown in Figure 1. Even more costly was Martineau's *A Description of the English Lakes* (1858), which contained selected text from the *Complete Guide*. Its 12s. price reflected the inclusion of six engravings

¹⁰⁰ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p.72.

¹⁰¹ Harriet Martineau, *A Description of the English Lakes Illustrated with Steel Engravings* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Windermere: J. Garnett, 1858), Publisher's Preface.

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by T.L. Aspland and forty-four woodcuts by W.J. Linton. Bicknell notes this work was a drawing-room table book, not a practical guide.¹⁰² Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* may have only been published in pocket form, but he subsequently produced books of his own drawings and sketches of the Lake District and other upland areas as well as large format, coffee table books with colour photography by Derry Brabbs.¹⁰³ Poucher compiled pocket guidebooks to the English Lake District and other areas, in which route directions were comprehensively illustrated with photographs, alongside his black and white and full colour picture books.

Further difficulties of generic definition arise from the blurred boundaries between the leisure practices of fellwalking, climbing and scrambling. All originate in what was called mountaineering.¹⁰⁴ Bainbridge has defined mountaineering as the exploration and ascent of mountains as performed by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey at the very start of the nineteenth century. This manner of mountain walking could be vigorous and pioneering in the more rugged parts of the English Lake District, but without requiring any special skill or technology, beyond the use of the feet, and occasionally the hands. It involved 'pursuing mountain-climbing not for any specific scientific or utilitarian reason, but rather for the sake of the activity itself and its own specific rewards' (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.78-79). Bainbridge has shown how mountaineering, and its literature, evolved 'primarily out of three established eighteenth century pursuits: scientific research, antiquarianism, and

¹⁰² Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.180.

¹⁰³ See for example Alfred Wainwright, *Fellwalking with Wainwright* (London: Michael Joseph, 1984); *Wainwright's Coast to Coast Walk* (London: Michael Joseph, 1987); *Wainwright on the Lakeland Mountain Passes* (London: Michael Joseph, 1989).

¹⁰⁴ 'mountaineering, n., the action or sport of climbing mountains', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* [accessed 16 July 2024] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9406835566>>

aesthetic travel' (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.39). The term mountaineer was used fluidly to describe native mountain dwellers, as well as those taking part in the activity of mountaineering. It maintained this dual meaning for Martineau and her readership in the mid-nineteenth century (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.20-21). The use of mountaineering as a general term declined in the late-nineteenth century as fellwalking, climbing and later scrambling evolved into distinct and increasingly specialist pursuits with their own equipment, techniques, language and systems of notation. Today mountaineering is commonly used to refer to larger scale expeditions to ascend peaks in high and/or remote mountain ranges. Climbing requires the use of rope and other specialist equipment. Scrambling involves ascending steep terrain or rock on foot where use of the hands is necessary to make progress. Westaway has identified a history of scrambling or walking in the English Lake District fells which evolved among locals in the Romantic era and contributed to the development of rock-climbing tourism from the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵ This study does not examine guidebooks for climbing and scrambling, nor consider the sport of fell running, which is part of traditional local culture.

The complex textual and publication history of Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* exemplifies the instability of the English Lake District guidebook genre (*WG*, pp.xiii-xxiv; 145-48). Between 1810 and 1835 five editions of the text of Wordsworth's *Guide* were published. Its first publication to accompany Wilkinson's *Select Views* heralds the future importance of illustration in guidebooks. By contrast, the second edition (1820) was intended to enhance understanding of Wordsworth's River Duddon sonnets. The third

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Westaway, 'The Origins and Development of Mountaineering and Rock-Climbing Tourism in the Lake District, c.1800-1914' in *The Making of a Cultural Landscape, The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750-2010* ed. by John K. Walton and Jason Wood (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp.155-80 (p.166).

edition (1822) was the first separate edition of the *Guide*. Titled *A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes, in the North of England* it was more compact than its predecessors. The fourth edition of 1823 was followed by the fifth and more commercially successful edition of 1835. The latter was published by local booksellers Hudson and Nicholson of Kendal instead of the London publishers of the previous four editions. Hudson subsequently published five editions from 1842-59 of a version which was titled *A Complete Guide to the Lakes*. The 1842 edition of this work was the first English Lake District guidebook to use 'complete' in its title (*WG*, p.xxi). This claim was represented by the inclusion of Adam Sedgwick's geological essays and a glossary of local place-names. The third edition of Wordsworth's *Complete Guide* (1846) devoted ten pages to approaches to the district, including new routes 'by railway and steam communication'.¹⁰⁶ An abridged and cheaper edition intended for the growing numbers of railway excursionists and called *Hudson's New Handbook for Visitors to the English Lakes with an Introduction by the late William Wordsworth* was published in 1859, concurrently with the fifth edition of *A Complete Guide*. The appendices to Wordsworth's *Guide* suggest further generic instability. Historical and topographical text from *Select Views* was, for example, published as an appendix to Wordsworth's River Duddon sonnets in the second edition of the *Guide*.

The trend towards smaller, lighter and increasingly portable guidebook formats not only represents the practical uses to which guidebooks could be put, but also makes the sub-genre of guidebooks considered in this study easier to define. Safely and accurately to direct the feet of their readership, writers had to establish their works as essential and trustworthy instruction manuals which were usable 'in the field', requiring them to be

¹⁰⁶ Wordsworth, *Complete Guide*, 3rd edn (Kendal: Hudson, 1846) pp.1-108.

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portable (to a greater or lesser extent). Bicknell does not trace portability in the same way as developments in the reproduction of printed illustrations, from copper engraving to lithography, in his account of how the print culture of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries influenced the design and production of English Lake District literature. However, his bibliographical notes reveal that the Ulverston publisher John Jackson's claim that his *Tourist's Manual; or Pocket Guide to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland* (1845) supplied a 'longstanding deficiency' in portability was overstated.¹⁰⁷ Bicknell identifies Shaw's *A Guide to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (1812) as being the first complete guide to the lakes suitable for a pocket. The titles and, like the early editions of Wordsworth's *Guide*, the sizes of the first four editions point to its increased portability. The 1812 edition was subtitled *A Companion by the Way* and measured 6 11/16 x 13 15/16 in.; the 1814 edition was called a *Pocket Companion* and the 1818 edition *A Portable Guide*. The 1826 edition, *A Tourist's Guide*, was the most portable of the four, having been reduced in size to 5 14/16 x 3 9/16 in. Its title and format suggest that it had become increasingly common for tourists to consult guidebooks on the move. *Onwhyn's Pocket Guide to the Lakes* (1841) was even smaller, measuring 5 11/16 x 3 9/16 in. Although it was called a *Concise Description*, Otley's guidebook is the work which has been most commonly received as being for the pocket and not for the bookshelf. Guidebooks published in an increasingly portable form and with content which focused on descriptions of mountain walking routes drawn from the author's

¹⁰⁷ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, pp.22-3; 60.

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personal experience enables such texts to be differentiated from other types of English Lake District travel literature.

The seven texts chosen for inclusion in this study are, on the one hand, representative of and, on the other, move forward the practice of fellwalking and its guidebook literature. These texts meet four criteria for inclusion which emerge from the preceding discussion of issues of instability in the genre of English Lake District travel literature. First, the texts chosen for close focus are all guidebooks which, to a greater or lesser degree, prioritise the needs of walkers by including detailed walking route directions for others to follow, or, in the case of Martineau's *Complete Guide*, an aspirational account of fellwalking. This criterion enables them to be separated from works which can be characterised as being general guides. The latter works are excluded from this study because they do not contain detailed information on fellwalking routes and instead typically promote ways of understanding, seeing and being in the region. Second, the authors largely derive authority and construct their personae as guides, and potentially companions, to the reader-walker from their own embodied experience of fellwalking. Third, all of the seven guidebooks included are portable or published in a pocket edition. Fourth and finally, these texts are representative of contemporary practice because they are among the most popular such works of their time and convey instructions on walking routes to others in written and published form. This criterion results in Prior's *Ascents and Passes* being included instead of *A Cambridge Man* because, based on editions published and the number of copies extant, the former was more popular. An interdisciplinary methodology which builds on these criteria is required to study the relationship between this sub-genre of English Lake District literature and the development of fellwalking as a leisure practice.

An interdisciplinary methodology

The interdisciplinary methodology used in this thesis unites and gives equal weight to the scrutiny of literary artifacts, which are integral to understanding how people were encouraged to experience the uplands of the district by fellwalking, with that of the prevailing historical, literary and cultural context. The four criteria which define the guidebooks for inclusion in this study inform and reflect the development of fellwalking as a leisure practice and the context in which this occurred. For example, guidebooks which are portable and include directions intended for others to follow indicate how, and also by whom, the uplands of the English Lake District were being explored. The incorporation of maps and/or diagrams reflects the importance of developments in cartography and print technology in communicating route directions to the reader-walker, as well as tensions between beauty and utility in guidebook design when maps and drawings are integrated with the text. Personal, boots-on-the-ground, knowledge reinforces the historically representative nature of the work and mitigates against the complications caused by guidebooks feeding off each other in the way Brewer has described. Additionally, paying attention to the reception of these works, particularly in published reviews, not only enhances scrutiny of them as literary texts, but also augments their relevance as historical sources which are central to the development of fellwalking.

The other part of the method involves critical reading of the texts to identify how these represent, influence and shape the practice of fellwalking in the English Lake District. Other studies which have drawn on evidence from guidebooks, for example Douglas Hope's history of the YHA and O'Neill's examination of the development of tourism in the English Lake District in the inter-war period, have placed guidebooks in their historical context but

not adopted the interdisciplinary approach to analysing these works which is used here.¹⁰⁸

As a result, issues of persona, agency and tone have been overlooked, as well as the relationship between this form of travel literature and the growth of a leisure practice. Since the inception of the guidebook genre, writers had sought to achieve authority for their opinions, particularly through the use of voice. Critical reading facilitates an examination of how inclusively or exclusively guidebook writers addressed their audience, with reference to gender, class and the encouragement of new communities of visitors to the English Lake District. It also prompts consideration of questions related to the themes and tensions which emerge in these works, such as to what extent did the writers attempt to guide the mind as well as the feet of the reader-walker? How was this guidance expressed in the nature, type and strength of authorial interventions, ranging from the conversational and advisory to the directive? Did writers intend for their works to be consulted on or off the fell, or both? How far did they create their own works or were these dependent on or mediated by others? Wainwright's guidebooks, for example, are representative of sole agency, while issues of co-production and the role of publishers, both local and national, are relevant to Martineau's *Complete Guide* and Palmer's *Lake District* (a volume in a series of *Penguin Guides*). The agency of readers, as expressed by the role of demand in the evolution of guidebook format and contents is harder to ascertain, given, for example, the paucity of publication data.

¹⁰⁸ Douglas Hope, 'The democratisation of tourism in the English Lake District: the role of the Co-operative Holidays Association and the Holiday Fellowship', *Journal of Tourism History*, 8:2, 105-126; O'Neill, "The Most Magical Corner of England."

Introducing the guidebooks in this thesis

Chapter Two considers Martineau's portrayal of fellwalking in her *Complete Guide*. Her main innovation is to provide an aspirational account of fellwalking rather than detailed route guidance. This account drew on her personal experience and linked the practice with the region's landscape. Martineau encouraged her readership, many of whom were visiting the English Lake District for the first time, to venture on foot into the uplands. Her description of 'A Day on the Mountains', which was safe to undertake alone, represents an important step in promoting the practice of autonomous fellwalking because it dispensed with engaging a guide, a *de facto* form of servant (*MCG*, pp.57-65). Martineau's account of fellwalking represents another aspect of the English Lake District literary identity which Alexis Easley and Andrews have suggested that she was intent on fashioning and is a new way of appreciating the *Complete Guide*.¹⁰⁹

Chapter Three argues that the improved communication of route directions in Prior's *Ascents and Passes*, Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* and Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* represents a form of specialisation in guidebook literature which assisted the growth of autonomous fellwalking in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The detailed descriptions of upland pedestrian routes in these guidebooks, accompanied increasingly by practical illustrations and accurate maps, promoted the practice of fellwalking with a guidebook instead of a person as a guide and how to do this safely. Imaginative writing about the landscape of the district notably sat alongside such advice in Baddeley's guidebook. The change in guidance in these works was influenced by the expanding and increasingly diverse nature of tourism

¹⁰⁹ Alexis Easley, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship, 1850-1914* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), pp.50-66 (p.61); Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.123-156.

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to the district and elsewhere, as well as contemporary attitudes to pedestrianism and developments in print culture and cartography. However, Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's advice, notably in the matter of equipment, was blind to the constraints placed upon women in the mountains. The chapter also traces how the growing readership for guidebooks from the late nineteenth century onwards sharpened the discernment in Wordsworth's *Guide* for a certain taste and type of visitor to the district. Such discernment was revealed in discourses concerning the difference between tourists and travellers described by Buzard and which Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks reflect.¹¹⁰

Chapter Four examines the increasing specialisation of guidebooks in the twentieth century and how Symonds and Palmer distinguished fellwalkers by their social background, experience, expertise and gender. The scope which Symonds and Palmer offered the skilled fellwalker contributed to the uplands of the district becoming increasingly well-trodden in the twentieth century. Their guidebooks encouraged fellwalking which was off the beaten track and independent of detailed guidebook directions and itineraries. Symonds's representation of fellwalking as a gendered practice is revealed in his, and later Wainwright's, remarks about some sorts of women being out of place in the uplands and his masculinist attitudes to meeting and conquering the challenges posed by the landscape of the region. This chapter argues that Symonds's and Palmer's assumptions of a particular readership and preparedness for fellwalking, signalled by the absence of practical illustrations from their guidebooks, were significant for the development of the practice and

¹¹⁰ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, pp.1-5; 58-9.

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its literature. Their works left a gap for the highly pictorial guidebooks of Wainwright and Poucher which were accessible to the non-expert.

Chapter Five identifies five characteristics of the *Pictorial Guides* which have rendered them distinctive and pre-eminent among English Lake District guidebooks for walkers. Three of these characteristics relate to illustration, confirming its importance to the communication of walking routes in print, and the appeal of the *Pictorial Guides* to many different types of reader-walker. Contrasting Wainwright's handwritten and illustrated approach with Poucher's use of photography in *The Lakeland Peaks* (1960) complements Hayden Lorimer's study of Poucher's lifelong search for beauty and Ken Garland's analysis of Wainwright's information design.¹¹¹ This contrast is pertinent to the tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design and prompts consideration of Wainwright as a reconciler of many, but not all, of the other themes and tensions emerging from this study, such as those concerning authorial persona, readership and use and the effects of increased visitor numbers on the uplands of the region.

The conclusion argues that the relationship between literature, leisure practice and place has led to fellwalking becoming associated most closely with the uplands of the English Lake District; to the 'exhilaration of the summits' becoming available to new categories of visitors; and to understandings of the region as a cultural landscape and centre for outdoor activities.¹¹² The merging of Wainwright's authorial identity with the fells

¹¹¹ Ken Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light, A User's View of the Design and Production of Illustrated Walkers' Guides', *Information Design Journal* 7:1 (1993), 47-66; Hayden Lorimer, 'Standards of Beauty: Considering the Lives of W.A. Poucher', *Geo Humanities*, 1:1 (2015) 51-79 doi10.1080/2373566X2015.1068667 [accessed 26 November 2024].

¹¹² LDNP, State of the Park 2023, 'A long tradition of tourism and outdoor activities' <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/state-of-thepark>> [accessed 21 January 2025].

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exemplifies this interrelationship, the 214 summits in his *Pictorial Guides* being known as ‘Wainwrights’ after him. However, the *Pictorial Guides* do not stand alone but are part of a long tradition of guidebook writing about fellwalking in the uplands of the region. As the guidebooks in this study became more portable, illustrated and practical in relation to walking route directions over the period 1855 to 1966, they evolved into the works we know and use today which have largely taken the place of a person as a guide. The journey from guided to autonomous fellwalking in the English Lake District begins in Chapter Two with an examination of the role played by Martineau’s *Complete Guide*.

Chapter Two 'A Day on the Mountains': Harriet Martineau's *Complete Guide*

Harriet Martineau was among the first guidebook writers to offer her readers the opportunity to go walking without a guide in the uplands of the English Lake District. Her account of fellwalking in the 'A Day on the Mountains' section of her *Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855) was aspirational. She insisted that the 'stranger' must spend 'A Day on the Mountains' before leaving Ambleside for the county of Cumberland in the north of the district (MCG, pp.57-65; p.57). 'Stranger' refers to visitors who lacked the knowledge which Martineau intended for her *Complete Guide* to supply. She chose a strenuous mountain walk of just over ten miles, known today as the Fairfield Horseshoe, because she judged it sufficiently safe to be completed alone (MCG, p.57). Her depiction of the Fairfield expedition marks an important step towards independent fellwalking because it dispensed with engaging a guide, in effect a form of servant. In 'A Day on the Mountains', as well as elsewhere in the *Complete Guide*, Martineau drew on her experience of extensive walking in the region to inspire others to follow in her footsteps. In doing so she challenged typical perceptions of those people or things that could be a guide to pedestrian exploration of the uplands of the English Lake District in the mid-nineteenth century. Her account of fellwalking in 'A Day on the Mountains' also connects the practice with place and points to another aspect of the regional literary identity which Easley and Andrews have suggested she was intent on fashioning (Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, pp.50-66 (p.61); Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.123-156).

Aspects of Martineau's treatment of fellwalking represent another way in which the *Complete Guide* can be seen as one of the first guidebooks of the railway age, catering

for the practical needs of different types of reader. Martineau wrote her guidebook on the cusp of a time of rapid change in the region. An increasing number of new and diverse visitors were arriving in the district by rail after the opening of the Kendal to Windermere line in 1847. She claimed that 'a new guidebook is wanted' because of the changes being wrought around the railhead and in the wider region (*MCG*, p.3). The aspects of change in the district which Martineau's guidebook reflects are considered here as they relate to her treatment of fellwalking, and point to its contradictory nature. Some features of her guidance move both the literary genre and the leisure practice forward but others are in common with contemporary guidebooks. Despite encouraging her readers to go fellwalking without a guide in 'A Day on the Mountains', her descriptions of walking routes were less detailed than the subsequent guidebooks of Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley. Her advice to her readership elsewhere in the *Complete Guide* to hire a local guide to avoid getting lost, or worse, when exploring the uplands of the region on foot mirrored that in other works. However, Martineau's adoption of an authorial persona which drew on her personal experience of walking in the uplands of the district indicated that a guide could be a woman, and a book, although her descriptions of her own experience of fellwalking paid little attention to that being done in a woman's body. Martineau's treatment of fellwalking in the *Complete Guide* helped to establish a connection between the practice and the uplands of the English Lake District, as well as between personal experience and authorial persona which can be traced in future guidebooks. These are new ways of appreciating the *Complete Guide*.

Martineau, fellwalking and the English Lake District

Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was already an independent and well-travelled national figure with wide-ranging interests when she moved to Ambleside in 1845. She lived

there until her death in 1876. She was an author, journalist and prominent social reformer, a pioneering sociologist and proponent of a theory of political economy based upon individual industry, thrift and responsibility.¹ She notably campaigned for the abolition of slavery and promoted greater gender equality through the education, employment and enfranchisement of women.² Many aspects of Martineau's life both before and during her residence in the English Lake District were socially non-conforming. She was born in Norwich to a prominent family of Unitarian dissenters and resided in London, Birmingham, Newcastle upon Tyne and Tynemouth. She never married. She travelled in America between 1834 and 1836, lecturing and writing in support of the abolitionist cause, and to the Middle East in 1846. Illness caused her to live as an invalid from 1839, first with her sister and brother-in-law (a doctor) in Newcastle and subsequently in Tynemouth. A period of good health offered her the opportunity to move to the English Lake District (Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.123-26). She had her own house, The Knoll, built and lived there alone (with a succession of maids, nieces and nephews).³ Martineau rejected practices endorsed by the local squirearchy which she saw as injurious to less materially well-off residents of the

¹ Ashley Nicole Nelson, 'Harriet Martineau's Political Economy', unpublished Master of History thesis, University of Oklahoma (2012), p.2.

² Logan, *The Hour*, pp.9-36; *The Martineau Society* (2024) < <https://martineausociety.co.uk/the-martineaus/harriet-martineau> > [accessed 8 November 2019].

³ R.K. Webb, 'Martineau, Harriet (1802-1876)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, rev. 2020) <[https://doi.org/10:1093/ref:odnb/18228](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18228)>

district.⁴ She was diagnosed with heart disease in the same year that the *Complete Guide* was published and began her *Autobiography* in anticipation of her imminent death.⁵

Martineau's encouragement of fellwalking in the *Complete Guide* can be traced to the elation she felt about the possibilities of exploring the English Lake District fells after her move to Ambleside. She celebrated her new home and regaining her health in a letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1845:

And here I am among the mountains; - Wordsworth's & the Arnolds' neighbour, & likely to remain so. For the first time in my life I am free to live as I please; & I please to live here. My life is now (in this season) one of wild roving, after my years of helpless sickness.⁶

'Wild roving' expresses Martineau's delight in fellwalking and the freedom she derived from it. *Wild Rover* is a Scottish folk song of the period. Bainbridge has noted that early in the Two-Part Prelude Wordsworth describes himself as 'a rover. . ./ In the high places, on the lonesome peaks, / Among the mountains and the winds' (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.22).⁷ Martineau's excitement on becoming a neighbour of Wordsworth and the Arnolds (Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School, had a house, Fox How near Ambleside, built

⁴ John Warren, 'Harriet Martineau and the Concept of Community', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13.2 (2008), 223-246 (p.231). Martineau insisted that the workers building The Knoll, under Loughrigg near Ambleside, were paid in cash weekly and not upon completion as was the custom. 'Significantly, she identified the leader of the High Church party, Benson Harrison, as the figure chiefly responsible for the system of deferring immediate payment and relying on credit which she saw as encouraging the lack of personal responsibility and intemperance which so plagued the community.'

⁵ Logan, *The Hour*, p.240; Andrews, *Wanderers*, p.154.

⁶ *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau* ed. by Deborah A. Logan, 5 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), III, 18-19, letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson 2 July 1845, pp.18-19.

⁷ William Wordsworth, *Two-Part Prelude*, 1799, I, 54-6.

for himself and his family in 1832) is matched by the freedom to ‘rove’ how and where she pleased.⁸ She also stated in her letter to Emerson:

I ride like a Borderer, – walk like a pedlar, – climb like a Mountaineer, – sometimes on excursions with kind & merry neighbours, – sometimes all alone for the day on the mountain. I cannot leave this region. London must give way.

Martineau compared her riding to that of a resident of the Border country and her walking to that of pedlars who travelled the district on foot, crossing the mountain passes to sell their goods in remote farmsteads and villages. These references suggest she deliberately adopted a regional identity as a writer and walker and were likely to have been chosen because she thought Emerson would appreciate them. *The Pedlar*, *The Borderers* and *The Excursion* are all poems by Wordsworth. ‘Climb’ makes clear that for Martineau, being a ‘Mountaineer’ was to ascend the fells of the district. This meaning reflects the convention of mountaineering literature which contrasted the experienced local mountaineers or guides with ‘strangers’ in search of a mountaineering identity, typically through ascent. By contrast, the kind of walking Martineau described, sometimes in company, often alone, was unusual, but not exceptional, for a woman at the time, and is discussed further below. Gregory and Taylor have suggested that walking like a ‘pedlar’ implies Martineau’s rejection of typically feminine walking practices, at least perhaps for women of her social class.⁹

As a well-known author, national figure and local resident for whom walking represented an important practice, Martineau was well-placed to write a guidebook and

⁸ Rugbeian Community, ‘Fox How: An Exceptional Legacy for Rugby School’, Arnold Foundation News, 21 October 2024, <<https://rugbeiancommunity.com/news/arnold-foundation-news/492/492-Fox-How-An-Exceptional-Legacy-for-Rugby-School>> [accessed 26 January 2026].

⁹ Gregory and Taylor, *Deep Mapping*, p.212.

one which encouraged pedestrianism. She possessed first-hand knowledge from almost ten years of observing, actively exploring and writing about the district before she started work on the *Complete Guide*.¹⁰ Her plan to 'learn the Lake District' by becoming acquainted with it on foot signals not only the value she placed on walking, but also her habits of personal observation and noticing change, as well as her literary self-fashioning and home-making as a resident of the district to which Deborah Logan, Andrews, Easley and Thompson have drawn attention.¹¹ Walking, and fellwalking, was not only a means for Martineau to observe and understand the district she had made her home, but a practice which she encouraged others to adopt. Her prioritisation of personal observation in gathering the information necessary to teach 'my great pupil, the public' also points to her authorial persona in the *Complete Guide* as an educator of her readers, both on fellwalking and the wider region.¹² Michael Hill has suggested that Martineau advocated pedestrianism because travellers on foot were 'wholly free from care' and thus able to observe their surroundings (Martineau, *Lake District Writings*, p.29). Andrews has drawn attention to the importance which Martineau attributed to the observer taking time to walk among 'that which they wanted to see,' whether this was people and society or nature and culture, in her 1838 treatise *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (Andrews, *Wanderers*, p.137).

The prominence Martineau gave to narratives of active pedestrianism in her earlier Lake District works rehearsed her treatment of fellwalking in the *Complete Guide*. Her essay,

¹⁰ Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.56; Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.126; 138-9.

¹¹ Andrews, "Learning the Lakes", pp.100-04; Logan, *The Hour*, pp.15-20; Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, pp.50-54; 61; Thompson, *English Lakes*, pp.192-3.

¹² Logan, *The Hour*, p.15. Letter from Martineau to an unknown recipient, 14 September 1833, University College of London Library.

'The English Lake District' [1848] was intended as a geographical summary of the district and not as a comprehensive travel guide for visitors. However, it did contain four circuits of the region which the tours in the *Complete Guide* resemble, as well as the recommendation that the region should be seen the 'best way of all - on foot'.¹³ Several of the monthly chapters of *A Year at Ambleside* include accounts of walking in all seasons (Martineau, *Lake District Writings*, pp.69; 119; 143-46; 193-95).¹⁴ Another essay, 'Frolics with the Hutchinsons', describes expeditions including a 'steep scramble' to High Close above Grasmere (Martineau, *Lake District Writings*, pp.205-216; 210). In 'Our Farm of Two Acres' Martineau suggested taking 'an extended ramble over the hills' on the days when there was only 'half an hour's occupation in the field or garden' (Martineau, *Lake District Writings*, pp.217-61; 260). Martineau further advocated pedestrianism by contrasting unfavourably the conduct of visitors seeing the district in a hired 'car', some of whom passed the noted feature of Honister Crag without looking at it, with 'those who come in third-class railway carriages, and take their way on foot' (Martineau, *Lake District Writings*, 'The English Lake District', pp.341-42).

Martineau's praise of 'a good press and a devoted printer at Windermere' points to the importance of the role of John Garnett and the expansion of the print trade to her guidebook's success.¹⁵ The *Complete Guide* became one of the best-selling guidebooks of the nineteenth century, five editions having been published by Martineau's death in 1876.¹⁶

¹³ *An Independent Woman's Lake District Writings*, Harriet Martineau ed. by Michael R. Hill (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004), 'The English Lake District', pp.277-395 (p.301; 302-95).

¹⁴ The series of articles which comprise *A Year at Ambleside* describe Martineau's life month by month and were originally published in the Philadelphia-based *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art*.

¹⁵ *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood* ed. by Elizabeth Sanders Arbuckle (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), p.132, Martineau to Fanny Wedgwood, 29 August 1855.

¹⁶ Bicknell, *Picturesque Scenery*, p.177.

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Garnett had a strong interest in the district's commercial success, being the postmaster and first station-master of the developing town of Windermere. He would have been well aware of the popularity of Atkinson's *Hand-Book*, published locally in Kendal, and keen to imitate it. The Preface to the eighth edition (1853) of Atkinson's *Hand-Book* hailed the seven editions published since 1847, the same year that the railway reached Windermere, as proof of its value to visitors.¹⁷ Another guidebook published in 1847, *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook*, aimed to meet the growing demand for 'cheap illustrated literature'.¹⁸ Garnett approached Martineau to write a guidebook in 1854 (Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.60). Martineau's *Guide to Windermere* was published later that year and was incorporated, with some revisions, in the *Complete Guide* of 1855, to which a section on Keswick and the north of the district was added. The *Pocket* or 'true second edition', the version referred to here as the *Complete Guide*, followed later in 1855. This work remained personal to Martineau and her family during her lifetime, Martineau's niece, Maria, having taken over updating it by 1860 due to the ill health of its author. Garnett also published guidebooks to the district by other well-known Victorian writers, including Prior and James Payn. Prior's significance to the relationship between English Lake District guidebooks and fellwalking is described in Chapter Three.

In writing the *Complete Guide*, Martineau expressed her love of walking, its importance to her literary practice and her excitement at moving to the region. Andrews has suggested that Martineau's use of "complete" and her near-identical title points to her positioning her guidebook as a successor to Wordsworth's *Guide* (Andrews, *Wanderers*,

¹⁷ Atkinson, *Hand-Book*, 8th edn (Atkinson: Kendal, 1853), Preface.

¹⁸ *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook*, Introduction.

pp.147-48). Martineau's stated aim was to encourage visitors to the district and thereby to induce 'those living in town or plain to know and love it as we do' (MCG, p.iii). 'We' implied her status was that of a resident and not an 'offcomer' to the region. The 'it' she defined was predominately the central part of the mountainous landscape coming to be understood as having a unified identity, expressed by the term "English Lakes" of her title, or the "English Lake District" of her earlier essay. Her claim that the anecdotes and happenings she recounted were characteristic 'of the humours of a remote region' emphasised the district's distinctness (MCG, p.6). Her suggestion that her readers should visit the region themselves if they did not believe the claims which she made about it was consistent with the value she placed on personal observation (MCG, p.iii). The *Complete Guide* informed and educated its readers on the English Lake District largely by Martineau's descriptions of how she had herself learnt it; through walking.

'The confident and joyous pedestrian is not the most teachable of human beings'

Precedents from guidebook literature, as well as incidents drawn from Martineau's personal experience, largely account for the similarities in the treatment of fellwalking in the *Complete Guide* and contemporary guidebooks. Her advice to engage a local guide when fellwalking, shaped by her belief that the 'confident and joyous pedestrian is not the most teachable of human beings', is in common with other works. It contradicts her recommendation to go alone in 'A Day on the Mountains', as well as highlighting the innovative nature of the guidance in this section. (MCG, p.90). Aspects of the materiality, structure and contents of the *Complete Guide* and the influence of Romantic era concepts on Martineau's narrative of walking in the uplands also resemble guidebooks of the time. Materially, the *Complete Guide* appears similar to other works. It is bound in cloth and

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lettered in gilt on the spine and upper board. To modern eyes it does not appear utilitarian, but its compact size meant it could readily be used on the move, whether on a coach, carriage or pedestrian tour of the district. The engraving which forms its frontispiece features the well-known and popular viewpoint, Aira Force, which had appeared regularly in guidebooks to the district since *West's Guide*.

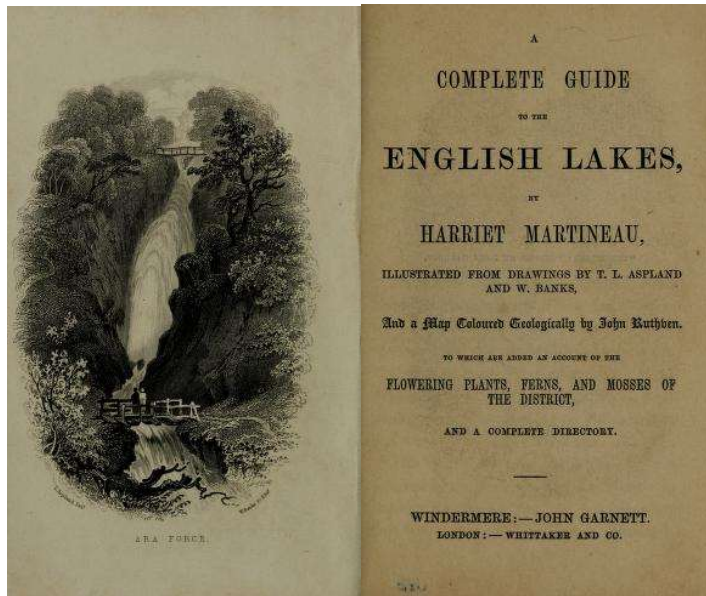


Figure 6: Frontispiece and title page, Harriet Martineau, *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855).

The illustration in Figure 6 depicts a typical picturesque scene, with two observers passively regarding Aira Force. The title page indicates the collaborative nature of the *Complete Guide*. It included a 'valuable geological map' by John Ruthven and 'beautiful illustrative views' and panoramas by T.L. Aspland. Martineau further acknowledged Garnett's role, declaring that 'my humble work is elevated to a quality of real importance' because of the 'admirable cooperation' he had secured (*MCG*, p.i). However, the cooperation which was most important to the *Complete Guide's* success was that between Martineau and Garnett.

She proclaimed in a letter of 1854 that they planned to include ‘more facts than ever before’.¹⁹ Their approach mirrors the greater objectivity and standardisation which Buzard has noted that Baedeker and Murray brought to guidebooks.²⁰ Facts were increasingly important to the favourable reception of such a work, as signalled by a review in the *Atlas* which hailed the ‘ample and minute intelligence’ contained in *Black’s Picturesque Guide*, a competitor to Martineau’s guidebook.²¹ By contrast, Martineau’s tour of the district in a covered wagonette to confirm information for her guidebook indicates a traditional way in which visitors experienced the district. Her companions also represent an established visitor demographic. She was accompanied by the poet and novelist James Payn and a party of four others, including a barrister, a clergyman and a Cambridge academic.²²

Pedestrianism is notable for its importance to the structure and contents of the first four of the six parts of the *Complete Guide*. *Part I Windermere and Bowness* and *Part II Keswick* are organised by walks, tours and excursions of varying lengths. *Part III Circuit of the Lake District* describes a longer circular tour connecting points between Keswick and Ambleside. *Part IV* details selected *Passes and Mountains*. Positioned between *Part I* and *Part II*, ‘A Day on the Mountains’ represents a similar mountain walking centrepiece in the *Complete Guide* to Dorothy Wordsworth’s account of her ascent of Scafell Pike. As a separate section, ‘A Day on the Mountains’ could be excerpted in the same way as Dorothy

¹⁹ Christopher Donaldson, “‘Lady of the Lakes’: Harriet Martineau in Ambleside”, lecture in *Negotiating a Cultural Landscape: Writers and Artists in the Lakes* lecture series (Ambleside: University of Cumbria, 2 December 2019), Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, HMM / B1312, letter 18 June 1854.

²⁰ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p.65.

²¹ Atkinson, *Hand-Book*, 8th edn (1853), advertisements.

²² James Payn, *Some Literary Recollections* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1884), p.101.

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Wordsworth's account, which was widely shared before being included in her brother's *Guide* (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.240). Surprisingly for a volume which featured walking based on her personal experience as an important activity, Martineau followed a common guidebook practice by reproducing this and another account of fellwalking, Green's report from his *Tourist's New Guide* of traversing Sharp Edge on Blencathra in the company of Otley (*MCG*, pp.158-160; 100-1). The accounts she drew on were, however, more practical than Radcliffe's description of the ascent of Skiddaw which continued to be recounted, for example, in Leigh's *Guide*.²³

Martineau's descriptions of walking in the uplands drew on other features of preceding works, as well as discourses of the Romantic era, and suggest that she was well-acquainted with the literature of the district. For example, her portrayal of the ascent of Coniston Old Man as 'a day's work' hints at the notion of 'climbing toil' identified by Bainbridge. The goal of a clear summit implies that she too valued being able to view the landscape from a height (*MCG*, p.27). In addressing the 'stranger' or novice, Martineau assumed the identity of the more experienced mountain climber or guide (*MCG*, p.57; Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.46). She detailed historical, scientific and natural associations which reflect the reasons for ascent Bainbridge has located in early mountaineering literature. She nodded to distant history by tracing the origins of dry-stone walls to the medieval past of the region. Her descriptions of birds and the 'hum of gnats' which accompanies the 'rover' on the ascent of Fairfield are also suggestive of how travellers of taste traditionally approached the heights (*MCG*, pp.60-62). Her account of being flattened by high winds on Nan Bield Pass (below High Street) recalls William Hutchinson's much

²³ Leigh's *Guide*, pp.75-77.

earlier description in his *Excursion to the Lakes* (1773) of his guide prostrating himself on the summit of Skiddaw in a violent thunderstorm (*MCG*, p.174).²⁴ Martineau's disapproval of those taking only a 'very cursory view' of the district is in sympathy with Joseph Budworth's distaste in the late eighteenth century of those visitors taking a 'flying view' as they hurried past the sights (*MCG*, p.178).²⁵ Throughout, Martineau reinforced her authority as a resident by describing cultural markers, such as local folklore and customs, as well as important houses of both the gentry and poets. She also acted as a guide to the literary history of the region, quoting Wordsworth and Professor Wilson (*MCG*, pp.57; 107; 156; 60). *Part V*, a 'Botanical Guide', enhances Martineau's claim to completeness in her guidebook in a similar way to the inclusion of the letters on the geology of the region by Adam Sedgwick in Wordsworth's *Complete Guide* from 1843 (*WG*, pp. 146-47). The information on transport and the heights and dimensions of mountains, lakes and waterfalls in the *Complete Guide* resembled that included in Hudson's, Allison's and Ford's guidebooks. By contrast, Martineau claimed that *Part VI*, the directory, was a 'new feature' which would extend the appeal of her guidebook to locals (*MCG*, p.ii).

Martineau's advice to hire a local guide when fellwalking represents another feature the *Complete Guide* shared with popular guidebooks of the time. *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook* also assumed that the 'adventurous tourist' would 'get a shepherd guide'.²⁶ Martineau stated that 'No kind of tourist should ever cross the higher passes, or ascend the mountains, without a guide' for reasons of safety (*MCG*, p.90). Her description of the effect

²⁴ Stephen Matthews, *Climbing Skiddaw - A History and an Anthology* (Carlisle: Bookcase, 2019) pp.59-60.

²⁵ Joseph Budworth, *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cumberland. By A Rambler* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1792), pp.xxvi-xxvii.

²⁶ *Sylvan's Pictorial Handbook*, p.210.

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of mountain weather on the ability to find one's way on unknown ground explained why 'the confident and joyous pedestrian' needed educating about the risks of fellwalking:

Travellers who know what mountain climbing is, among loose stones, shaking bog, and slippery rushes or grass, with the alternative of a hot sun or a strong wind, and perpetual liability to mist, will not dispute the benefit of having a guide, and novices ought to defer to their judgement (*MCG*, pp.91-92).

Martineau's portrait of the landscape, with the action of the weather upon it, as unstable and shifting confirms the need for a guide. The latter's knowledge benefited 'travellers', the term implying that these were more experienced visitors, and 'novices' alike. She drew on her own experience to emphasise the dangers of exploring the uplands of the English Lake District on foot without a guide. In a letter of 1846, Martineau rehearsed an account of being caught in a storm on Blake Fell near Loweswater. She retold this later, with a similar sense of immediacy, in the *Complete Guide* (*MCG*, pp.127-130).²⁷

The first hailstones reached the skin. They were driven in at every opening of our clothes: they cut our necks behind and filled our shoes. Our hats and bonnets were immediately soaked through and every body's [sic] hair wringing wet. The thunder seemed to roll on our very skulls. In this weather we went plunging on for four miles (*MCG* p.129).

Martineau's use of 'our' and 'we' places the reader in the position of her party and adds authenticity to her account of the unpredictability of mountain weather. 'Driven' and 'cut'

²⁷ Martineau, *Collected Letters*, III, p.64, letter to H.S. Tremenheere, 10 July 1846, cited in Andrews, *Wanderers*, p.141.

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accentuates the storm's violence and the danger to the walkers caught in it. 'Plunging on for four miles' indicates the amount of the rain, the duration of the storm and how it reduced Martineau and her party to an unthinking state of endurance. She credited the local guide whom they engaged with ensuring their safety. Her admiration of the 'uniformity and continuity of his pace' is reflected a century later in Wainwright's description of the unhurried and tidy gait of the true fellwalker (*MCG*, p.127; Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.22').²⁸

Martineau's experiences and those of others indicate that some adventurous walking was being undertaken by men and women in the period. The cautionary tales she repeated imply that enough pedestrians were venturing onto the fells as a form of recreation to make her advice to hire a guide necessary and not redundant. She recounted what would now be reported as mountain rescue incidents to reinforce her claim that 'Warning is grievously wanted'. For example, she set out the perils posed to walkers by the topography of Scafell Pike. She referred to 'fool-hardy persons who have passed Mickledore without losing their lives' and to 'strangers, almost every season, who attempt the ascent without a guide' (*MCG*, pp.157). 'These last usually pay the penalty of their rashness in hours of uneasy wandering and excessive fatigue', being stopped in their tracks by chasms and ending up benighted. Even if this fate were somehow to be avoided, Martineau pointed out that the surrounding fells were not easily recognised when looking down on them from above, and it was not always possible to use a map and compass because the summit of the mountain was usually windy (*MCG*, pp.157-58). Moreover, she noted that, in addition to the death of Gough, the lives of both locals and visitors had been lost in the uplands, without

²⁸ Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.113.

giving further details (*MCG*, p.90). She also described suffering and danger short of fatalities. For example, two sisters became separated at Esk Hause, an important crossing point between Borrowdale and Langdale. A young man unintentionally spent a day circumnavigating Kirk Fell above Wasdale in the more remote west of the district. Two men lost their way in Ennerdale trying to cross Black Sail Pass and three women from Kendal made a 'perilous descent' from the latter location to Wasdale (*MCG*, pp.165; 116; 121; 126-27). These incidents are supplemented by a rare account in Atkinson's *Hand-Book* of an early mountain rescue. A 'foreigner' became cragfast near Grasmere and six men from the valley climbed down to him using a rope.²⁹ Common to these mishaps was a failure to engage a local guide and a lack of knowledge of the fells. Martineau stated that even in the clearest weather a fell such as Skiddaw should be climbed with a guide (*MCG*, p.90). Her description of its ascent as being 'easy even for ladies' is, however, relative. Skiddaw is the fourth highest peak in the Lake District at 3,053 feet. The popular route in Martineau's time was five and a half miles from its starting point in Keswick and involved 2,850 feet of ascent according to Wainwright (*WNF*, Skiddaw 11, 12).

Martineau educated her readers on the risks of walking in the uplands without a guide, of which the 'confident and joyous pedestrian' might either be unaware or choose to disregard. The public nature of advice given in a published guidebook and her awareness of the differing degrees of familiarity with the district possessed by 'travellers' and 'novices', points to why these elements of her guidance on fellwalking followed conventions of the time. However, Martineau's personal experience of exploring the district on foot not only contributed to her reinforcing the risks of this practice to her readers, but also to her

²⁹ Atkinson, *Hand-Book*, 8th edn (1853), pp.47-48.

divergence from the standard advice by describing the circumstances in which it was safe to go fellwalking without a guide.

‘A Day on the Mountains’

‘A Day on the Mountains’ represents an important point in the development of the relationship between English Lake District guidebooks and fellwalking, as Martineau challenged perceptions of who or what could be a guide (*MCG*, pp.57-65). It encapsulates her intimacy ‘with the lesser-known spots of the Lake District; with the little-seen high ground; with sights that can be enjoyed in solitude; and with herself - a female guide’ which for Andrews makes the *Complete Guide* distinctive.³⁰ The significance of ‘A Day on the Mountains’ extends beyond Andrews’s description. Martineau’s encouragement of aspirations to go fellwalking without a guide was innovative. It not only promoted wider participation in the practice, but also a connection with place which became increasingly important in guidebook literature. Her statement that ‘The nearer the ridge, the fewer remaining walls between him and liberty’ links the freedom of lone fellwalking with the openness of the uplands of the English Lake District in a way that would be later extolled by Symonds and Wainwright (*MCG*, p.60). Martineau further reinforced the connection between fellwalking and the district by detailing features of the landscape and other sights and sounds encountered on the Fairfield expedition (*MCG*, pp.61-62). Her intent was to shape her reader’s experience, as also indicated by her use of the possessive ‘our tourist’ and her description of them as a ‘rover’ like herself (*MCG*, p.57).

Martineau asserted her authority as a guide by advocating autonomous, instead of guided, pedestrian exploration. She begins by stepping into the shoes of a local guide with

³⁰ Andrews, “Learning the Lakes”, p.105.

her insistence that after completing 'three tours' from Ambleside the stranger 'must spend a day on the Mountains: and if alone, so much the better' (*MCG*, p.57). Andrews has described how the gentle insistence implied by the pronouns 'we', 'our' and 'us' elsewhere in the *Complete Guide* is abandoned by the 'must' of this opening sentence (Andrews, *Wanderers*, p.144; 149). The strength of Martineau's insistence reinforces her recommendation to go alone. She continues:

If he knows what it is to spend a day so far above the every-day world, he is aware that it is good to be alone (unless there is danger in the case); and, if he is a novice, let him try whether it be not so (*MCG*, p.57).

Martineau suggests that going alone promotes greater freedom from everyday concerns, a freedom which, however, can only be enjoyed to its fullest extent in the absence of danger. Her description of the ascent of Skiddaw emphasises how anxiety about route finding detracts from the pleasures of solitude (*MCG*, p.91). She identifies, as an essential element of solo walking on the expedition to Fairfield, the 'profound stillness' of the fells and of being 'wholly free' after reaching the last clump of trees (*MCG*, pp.61-62). Later in this section she mentions that the 'stranger' may meet an old shepherd who knows the solitude of the hills better than anyone and who 'sees more, perhaps, than people below would imagine'. His practical mission of checking the four rain gauges on the ridges of Fairfield every month represents one way in which the local community inhabits its environment that might surprise a sophisticated tourist. Martineau continues:

When the tall old man, with his staff, passes out of sight into the cloud, or amongst the cresting rocks, it is a striking thought that science has set up a tabernacle amongst these wildernesses, and found a priest among the shepherds (*MCG*, p.62).

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The contrast Martineau establishes between science and religion, implied by 'tabernacle', suggests that the *Complete Guide* is something more than a work of practical-minded Victorian sensibility. Her characterisation of the shepherd as a lone priest in communion with the wildness of the uplands emphasises the benefits of the solitude available to the lone walker and points to a different way of being in the uplands of the region. The progress represented by science has reached the fell tops and is embraced by a representative of Wordsworth's 'perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturists' (*WG*, p.50).

Martineau's choice of Fairfield demonstrates her experience of fellwalking. She assumes the role of a guide and demonstrates that she understands the uplands sufficiently to instruct the 'stranger' on how to select a safe walk and be equipped for it properly. Andrews considers Martineau's choice of the Fairfield Horseshoe as evidence of her experience as a walker-writer rivalling that of the Lake Poets (*Andrews, Wanderers*, p.150). It includes eight summits, Fairfield being the highest at 2,864 feet, and is described as 'strenuous' by guidebook writer Mark Richards in *Great Mountain Days in the Lake District* (2008). His recommended route covers twelve and a quarter miles, with 3,443 feet of ascent and is estimated to take nine hours.³¹ Martineau selects Fairfield for reasons of safety and practicality, stating that in good weather the 'excursion is safe, not over fatiguing, practicable for a summer day, and presenting scenery as characteristic as can be found' (*MCG*, p.58). Her choice is in some ways surprising, since the summit is confusing, even dangerous, in mist which can lead to a walker descending towards St Sunday Crag and Patterdale instead of keeping to the Horseshoe route. Martineau's reasons for selecting Fairfield relate to how it was treated in contemporary literature. References in Otley's

³¹ Mark Richards, *Great Mountain Days In The Lake District* (Milnthorpe: Cicerone, 2008), p.220.

Concise Description, Green's *Tourist's New Guide*, Atkinson's *Hand-Book*, and Hudson's *Complete Guide* suggest that the ascent of the mountain was common.³² It was a known excursion for residents of Ambleside and Grasmere. Bainbridge has drawn attention to Weeton's description of a local picnic party to the summit and Dorothy Wordsworth's records of multiple ascents (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.243; 277-78; 286-87). Martineau recommends an early start and essential equipment comprising a stout stick, provisions for the day in knapsack or pocket, and a map and pocket compass (*MCG*, p.57). Her mention of the latter is unusual in nineteenth century English Lake District guidebooks. Baines's inclusion of a compass in his list of equipment for his earlier family tour by carriage is a similarly rare example.³³ The scarcity of such references suggests that the use of a compass was not widespread, likely due to the reliance on hiring local guides and to cost. Martineau notably does not refer to footwear. The recommendation to wear stout shoes in *Black's Picturesque Guide* (sixth edition, 1853) is more helpful in this respect, as well as the advice to take 'a waterproof cloak, a flask of brandy and effervescing draughts'.³⁴ By contrast, Martineau covers refreshment only briefly and as a reward for the effort of ascent. The reader 'has surely earned his meal' on reaching the summit (*MCG*, p.64).

Martineau's choice of Fairfield also emphasises the importance she placed on ways of seeing the district from a height. She rejects Wordsworth's praise for the expansive vista

³² Otley, *Concise Description*, 2nd edn (1825), p.52; Green, *Tourist's New Guide I*, p.301 an excursion to Fairfield 'is always considered a treat, even to the native dale landers, who sometimes go there in large parties'; Atkinson, *Handbook*, 8th edn (1853), p.37; Hudson, *Complete Guide*, 3rd edn (1846) p.45.

³³ Baines, *Companion*, p.19. 'We found ourselves entrenched to the teeth in cakes, sandwiches, wine, glasses, maps, fans, reticules, guide books, note-books, and lead pencils. We had also provided a pocket compass, whereby to steer our course'.

³⁴ *Black's Picturesque Guide*, 6th edn, pp.151-2; 170.

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from the summit of Blackcombe [sic] (a fell on the outskirts of the south-west of the district) because 'it is hardly what is looked for in the lake district, - the sea being the main feature'. She also dismisses Wansfell, a lower hill close to Ambleside, because the view to the north-east and around the head of the lake is 'stopped' by Nab Scar and other heights (*MCG*, p.58). She chooses the Fairfield walk in part for its extensive views and dedicates three of the eight pages of 'A Day on the Mountains' to describing these. One page details the view from the summit, another that from the ridges and a full-page panorama illustrates the mountains seen from near Rydal Mount lower on the descent (*MCG*, pp.63-4). Martineau's description of the shifting mountain scene from the summit references another way of seeing:

One ghostly peak after another seems to rise out of its shroud; and then the shroud winds itself round another. Here the mist floats over a valley: there it reeks out of a chasm: here it rests upon a green slope: there it curls up a black precipice. The sunny vales below look like a paradise, with their bright meadows and waters and shadowy woods, and little knots of villages (*MCG*, p.63).

Martineau's account suggests both the sublime and the new theatrical entertainment of phantasmagoria, identified by Bainbridge as an influence on the visual culture of mountaineering literature (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.119). She contrasts the sublime with the pastoral, but the villages only 'look like' a paradise and the metaphors of death used to describe the uplands reinforce her emphasis on educating the unwary fellwalker. Her description of a 'ghostly' peak rising from its 'shroud' suggests the influence of Radcliffe. Her assurance that it is safe to rest near 'precipices', is, however, at odds with Radcliffe's emphasis on the danger she associated with her ascent of Skiddaw (*MCG*, p.63). Martineau's

description of the view from the ridges in descent concentrates on topography, and in particular the lakes and tarns which can be seen, rather than the gothic. She draws attention to landscape features as they come into view, suggesting a perspective which is on the move with her. By contrast, the illustrated panorama (inserted between pages sixty-four and sixty-five) represents a static viewpoint:



Figure 8: Mountains seen a little beyond Rydal Mount, Harriet Martineau, *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855)

The function of this panorama is to support Martineau’s recommendation that at the end of the walk the stranger takes a ‘last complete survey’ from the descent towards (MCG, p.64). The numbered key enables the fells to be identified, guidebook in hand.

Martineau changed the relationship between herself as author, her readers and the activity of fellwalking by sensorily putting them in the same place as herself as the walk unfolds. In doing so she shaped their experience, even giving a sense of accompanying them as a companion on this walk and another to Easedale Tarn, as Andrews has suggested (MCG,

p.51; Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.151; 148-49). Martineau's descriptions additionally connect the activity of fellwalking with place. She notes paths, gaps in fences, boggy ground, dry stone walls, forests, torrents and precipices, animals, birds, insects, and the bleating of a solitary lamb (*MCG*, pp.61-62). 'A Day on the Mountains' is written from personal knowledge of what the reader will encounter, the detail in which she recounts a day which has 'gone like an hour' lending authenticity to her descriptions (*MCG*, p.64). Her account of a walking body in contact with 'springy moss' and a 'cushion of heather' echo the immediacy of the storm on Blake Fell. A passage later in the *Complete Guide* describing the gentle descent from Watendlath to Rosthwaite 'over grass and elastic heather' captures how stepping over this sort of ground can feel (*MCG*, pp.61; 77).³⁵ Martineau's two references to the 'fatigue' of the day in the conclusion of 'A Day on the Mountains' suggest the notion of climbing toil. Despite this fatigue Martineau is sure that the stranger will want to repeat the experience on Helvellyn, and 'every other mountain that comes in his way' (*MCG*, p.65).

Martineau's authorial persona as an educator derives its authenticity from her personal experience of fellwalking. She presents the practice as another way of being in the region, making the freedom of lone fellwalking, which she and other walkers such as the old shepherd enjoy, an experience to which her readers can aspire. The solitude, sights, sounds and topographical features of the fells which she describes also represent a different way of perceiving the region, and one which associates the pleasures of fellwalking with its

³⁵ Martineau's description echoes the following line from Isabella Lickbarrow's 'Introductory Address' to her *Poetical Effusions* (1814): 'Lightly I bounded o'er the elastic turf', quoted in Bradshaw, 'Romantic Poetic Identity', p.78. See *Isabella Lickbarrow: Collected Poems*, ed. by Constance Parrish (Grasmere: Wordsworth Trust, 2004), p.99.

uplands. The influence of the sense of solitude and freedom she offers her reader in 'A Day on the Mountains' can be traced in the evolution of fellwalking and its guidebook literature. Historical developments were also significant in shaping other new and different ways in which the *Complete Guide* informs the relationship between guidebooks and fellwalking in the English Lake District. Foremost among these was the arrival of the railway in Windermere in 1847.

'A new guidebook is wanted'

Martineau presented the *Complete Guide* as being stimulated by the creation of the railway hub at Windermere. The 'great many people' arriving in the district by train were its main intended readership, many of whom were new to the area. Martineau declared that 'a new guidebook is wanted' due to changes both around the rail-head, as the resort town of Windermere quickly grew from the small hamlet of Birthwaite, and in the wider district:

A few years ago there was only one meaning to the word WINDERMERE. It then meant a lake lying among mountains, and so secluded that it was some distinction even for the travelled man to have seen it. Now, there is a Windermere railway station, and a Windermere post-office and hotel; - a thriving village of Windermere and a populous locality. This implies that a great many people come to the spot; and the spot is so changed by their coming, and by other circumstances that a new guide book is wanted; for there is much more to point out than there used to be; and what used to be pointed out now requires a wholly new description (*MCG*, p.3).

Martineau reinforced her claim that a 'wholly new description' was necessary by portraying Windermere as a bustling place with numerous facilities, alive with visitors and sightseeing opportunities. The preponderance of hotels in the south of the district in the

Advertisements in the back of the *Complete Guide* emphasised the town's growing importance (*MCG*, pp.i; iv; ix; xv).³⁶ By contrast, in the late eighteenth century Keswick had been the pre-eminent destination for visitors.³⁷ However, Martineau exaggerated the importance of the railways to the centre of the region. The west coast port of Barrow had industrialised rapidly after 1840 due to its importance as a centre for slate and iron ore shipments.³⁸ In the 1850s the building of new railway lines was focused on improving connectivity to Barrow and accompanied the establishment of blast furnaces in the town in 1857.³⁹ The effect of industrialisation on Barrow's population overshadowed that of the coming of the railways upon the populations of the main tourist centres in the English Lake District, as shown in Table 1.

Resort	1841	1861	1871
Bowness & Windermere	1,479	2,987	3,478
Ambleside	1,281	1,603	1,988
Keswick	2,442	2,610	2,777

Table 1: Extract from Table 2.2, 'Urban Growth in Cumbria, 1841-1911', J.D. Marshall and John K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (1981)⁴⁰

³⁶ Three of the four plates of hotels in the advertisements are in Windermere (Riggs Hotel, Ullock's Royal Hotel and Cloudsdale's Crown Hotel), with one (Waterhead Hotel) in Coniston.

³⁷ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, pp.178-80; Walton and McGloin, 'Tourist Trade', pp. 153-82.

³⁸ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, p.181.

³⁹ J.D. Marshall, *Furness and the Industrial Revolution* (Barrow-in-Furness: Library and Museum Committee, 1958). The Ulverston and Lancaster Railway was built in 1857 to connect the Barrow ironworks eastwards with the Lancaster & Carlisle Railway at Carnforth, linking the railways around the Cumbrian coast. By 1854 nearly all of the c.360,000 tons of iron ore produced in Furness was shipped out through the port of Barrow. < <https://www.dockmuseum.org.uk/Iron-and-Steelworks> > [accessed 22 January 2024].

⁴⁰ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, p.25.

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The population of Bowness and Windermere grew by significantly less than that of Barrow, which increased six-fold from 3,135 in 1861 to 18,911 in 1871, but by more than that of Keswick, which was without a station until 1865. The importance of tourism to the economies of these towns is further complicated by variations in the sort and number of visitors and the seasonal spikes noted by Walton and P.R. McGloin.⁴¹

The fluidity of Martineau's perspective when descending Fairfield on foot permeates the *Complete Guide*. It is strikingly different from the picturesque notion of static views from "stations", promoted by West, and the curated vistas seen at one remove through a Claude glass. The 'other circumstances' Martineau mentioned suggest the state of flux she observed in the region. At the time the *Complete Guide* was written even the heights of mountains were not fixed, as the mapping and measurement of the district by the OS was ongoing. Both Amanda Adams and Christopher Donaldson have described how the *Complete Guide* reflects a narrative of change, not only in Martineau's own life as she regained the personal freedom to 'rove,' but also in the wider region.⁴² Throughout her guidebook Martineau drew attention to the constant and inexorable transformations wrought by Nature on the landscape. She noted the boundaries between land and water as always changing, new paths being trodden, houses being built, new parcels of land being cultivated and slate quarries being opened. Meanwhile, Nature 'silently rebukes and repairs the false taste of uneducated man'. Pointing to one of Wordsworth's profound dislikes, if a house was 'too glaring a white, she [Nature] tempers it with weather stains' and supplies 'a

⁴¹ Walton and McGloin, 'Tourist Trade', pp. 152-182.

⁴² Amanda Adams, "'Here, I could rove at will": Harriet Martineau, *Sartains' Union Magazine* and Freedom in the Transatlantic Periodical Press', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 51.1 (2008), 121-137 p.125; Donaldson, "'Lady of the Lakes'".

needful screen' of vegetation to bare stone walls (*MCG*, pp.136-38). Her description of Stock Ghyll as 'remarkable' even though 'it is the fashion to speak lightly of this waterfall' suggests she was also alive to changes in taste (*MCG*, p.43). Her use of 'picturesque' to describe rural dwellings, (a cottage roof in Orrest Head; woodcutters' huts on the way to Furness; houses near Coniston and the hamlet of Grange), shows, however, that the term's focus on the visual could hide or idealise poverty even for an observer like herself (*MCG*, pp.6; 22; 27; 81).⁴³

A work described as "complete" and written by a woman assuming a role as a guide represents a counterpart to a context of newness and flux. The *Complete Guide* is one of the earliest guidebooks written by an independent woman who identified publicly as such. In so doing Martineau staked a claim for her significance in the history of women's walking, which Andrews has described in *Wanderers*, as well as a place on the literary tourist's map of England alongside Wordsworth. Easley notes that the *Complete Guide* includes a drawing of The Knoll described as 'the residence of Miss H. Martineau' (*MCG*, p.55; Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.62). By contrast, Radcliffe was accompanied by her husband on her 1794 tour of the area, and Wakefield's volume of 1805 describes *A Family Tour*. A woman acting as a guide was rare at the time but not unheard of. Wilkinson described a reversal of the normal gender hierarchies as Elizabeth Smith and her sisters led him on ascents of the Langdale Pikes and Helvellyn.⁴⁴ Likewise, a young shepherdess guided him to the summit of Kidsty

⁴³ See also *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* ed. by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (London: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Copley's essay suggests that, in observing picturesque figures at work or idling in the rural landscape the leisured tourist is morally compromised.

⁴⁴ Wilkinson, *Tours*, pp.97-101; 168-9 cited in Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.228-230.

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Pike near Haweswater.⁴⁵ In assuming the role of a guide Martineau positioned herself as possessing similar knowledge of the uplands but, in contrast to the shepherdess, she shaped her readers' experience instead of serving their purpose.

The freedom Martineau enjoyed to 'rove' the fells as an independent woman and to claim authority as a guide was not commonly available to most of her female, and many of her male, contemporaries in more conventional or less materially well-off environments. It was not accessible even to her friend Charlotte Brontë. On her first visit to the Lake District in 1850 (Martineau was not at home), Brontë wrote 'I longed to slip out unseen, and to run away by myself in amongst the hills and dales.'⁴⁶ Martineau's roving may have been unusual but was not exceptional for a woman in the district during this period. Dorothy Wordsworth completed multiple ascents of English Lake District fells. Weeton worked as a governess near Ambleside and climbed mountains unaccompanied in the Lake District, the Isle of Man and Wales. She described her ascents in accounts which were unpublished at the time but reflected her awareness that her own freedom to walk was affected by others' expectations of what was appropriate behaviour for a woman (Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, pp.215-18; Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.87-106).

In the *Complete Guide*, Martineau promoted walking not only for her own independence but also for that of other women. For example, she stated that there was 'no reason why ladies should not achieve' a shorter walk to Stanley Ghyll, and they similarly should have no difficulty descending a ladder at Dungeon Ghyll. Lowfell (near Loweswater) was a 'lady's morning walk' (*MCG*, pp.106; 146; 86). Missing from her guidebook is the faux

⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *Tours*, pp.162-3.

⁴⁶ E. C. Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 2 vols, (New York: D. Appleton, 1857), II, p.144.

chivalric language such as 'Ladies in particular will learn what enterprises they may safely attempt in the mountainous region, and where they would be exposed to danger or excessive fatigue' employed by Baines in his *Companion*.⁴⁷ In describing her personal experience Martineau did not explicitly draw attention to her walking as being performed in a woman's body. She enjoyed the 'exhilaration of the mountaineer' upon reaching the open moor in an ascent of Coniston Old Man via the Walna Scar road but did not detail the sensations she felt (*MCG*, p.90). She did not overtly extol the physical or health benefits of pedestrianism, though as Easley has noted she was alive to the positive effect on her own health (Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.53). However, her account of being caught in the storm on Blake Fell reflects her physical experience and suggests a more embodied response to the extreme weather.

Martineau's guidance on fellwalking represents part of her claim for her guidebook to be "complete". Easley has suggested that the practical information Martineau gave on navigating the district catered for the needs of railway visitors, or 'strangers', who mostly lacked the knowledge and resources for a more leisurely tour (Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.61). Martineau provided information, though not step by step directions, on walking routes because visitors showed 'eagerness to find themselves under the shadow of the great central fells', in contrast to the local residents who preferred 'undulating country' and only ascended the heights occasionally (*MCG*, pp.88; 151). The walks she included ranged from short ones along the shores of Windermere to the longer and more adventurous expeditions described in *Part IV Passes and Mountains*. The continuing influence of the picturesque is evident in excursions to waterfalls and specific views and viewing stations, for

⁴⁷ Baines, *Companion*, Preface.

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example overlooking Coniston Water, but she did not offer an itinerary linking these viewpoints in the manner of earlier guidebooks.

Martineau notably drew the reader's attention to the uplands, describing her own crossings of high mountain passes (from Borrowdale to Langdale via Stake Pass, Wasdale to Borrowdale via Sty Head Pass, Scarth Gap from Buttermere to Ennerdale) and ascents of summits (Scafell, Helvellyn, Coniston Old Man, High Street and Fairfield). She also recounted ascents of Skiddaw, Blencathra and the Langdale Pikes. Andrews has located a 'love of high ground' in the slippage between Martineau's descriptions of routes and topography and more personal observations, for example, the 'shifting patterns of colour and light on the hillside' of Esk Hause (Andrews, *Wanderers*, pp.151-52). *A Table of the Height of Mountains* is reproduced here as the twenty-six fells listed form a benchmark for the peaks included in successive guidebooks (MCG, p.179).

MOUNTAINS AND PASSES. 179

A TABLE OF THE HEIGHTS OF MOUNTAINS IN THE COUNTIES OF CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND, AND LANCASHIRE.

No.	Names of Mountains.	Counties.	Height in Feet above the Sea Level.
1	Scafell Pike	Cumberland	3160
2	Scafell	"	3100
3	Hollylyn	"	3035
4	Skiddaw	"	3022
5	Fairfield	Westmorland	2950
6	Great Gable, Wastdale	Cumberland	2925
7	Bowfell	Westmorland	2914
8	Rydal Head	"	2910
9	Pillar	Cumberland	2863
10	Blencathra, Saddleback	"	2787
11	Grassmoor	"	2758
12	Red Pike, Buttermere	"	2750
13	High Street, Kentmere	Westmorland	2700
14	Grassdale Pike	Cumberland	2680
15	Conistone Old Man	Lancashire	2633
16	Hill Top	Westmorland	2500
17	Langdale Pikes	"	2400
18	Carrock Fell, Caldbeck	Cumberland	2119
19	High Pike, Caldbeck	"	2101
20	Cassry Pike	"	2040
21	Black Cumb.	"	1919
22	Leed's Seat	"	1728
23	Hemister Crag	"	1700
24	Whinfall Beacon, near Kendal	Westmorland	1500
25	Cat Bell, Newlands	Cumberland	1448
26	Lattrigg, Keswick	"	1160

	Height in Feet.
Highest English Mountain, Scafell Pike, Cumberland	3,160
Highest Welsh Mountain, Snowdon, Carnarvonshire	3,571
Highest Irish Mountain, Glencorse Tual, Kerry	3,494
Highest Scotch Mountain, Ben Nevis, Invernesshire	4,408
Highest European Mountain, Mount Blanc	15,781
Highest Mountain in the World, Dhaulagiri, Asia	26,822

PASSES.

	Heights above the Level of the Sea.
Sky Head	Cumberland ... 1350
Buttermere Hawes, Newlands	" ... 1160
Kirkstone	Westmorland ... 1200
Borrowdale Hawes, to Buttermere	Cumberland ... 1100
Dunmail Raise	West. & Cumb. ... 720

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Table 2: 'A Table of the Heights of Mountains', Harriet Martineau, *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1855).

The fells mentioned span the entire district and include seven of the ten highest summits, which were frequently referred to in tourist literature and accounts. Rydal Head (between Fairfield and Hart Crag at the top of the Rydal valley) is not known as a separate summit today. Its importance at the time reflects its association with Wordsworth, whose residence, Rydal Mount, was at the foot of the valley. Whinfall Beacon in the far south of today's LDNP had been a fire beacon since the fifteenth century, seen prominently when entering the district on the road from Lancaster to Kendal.⁴⁸ Martineau's list resembled that in other

⁴⁸ < https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/roads-transport/public-transport-road-safety/countryside-access/openaccess/Open_Access_Walks/Whinfall_Beacon.asp > [accessed 20 January 2024].

contemporary guidebooks, closely matching, for example, the *Mountains* section of the sixth edition of *Black's Picturesque Guide* (1853), but with the addition of Wansfell.⁴⁹

Martineau's descriptions of fellwalking enhance the functioning of the *Complete Guide* as a practical manual, as well as representing a new way in which it can be defined as being "complete". She characterised walks not only by their length but by the varied terms she used to describe walkers, which denoted the sort of walk that might suit them best. Stalwart or 'stout pedestrians' were capable of longer walks than the 'majority of tourists' (*MCG*, p.103). Red Pike near Buttermere was 'a pretty good day's scramble for a stout student' (*MCG*, p.86). 'Nimble youths' could climb Castle Crag in Borrowdale (*MCG*, p.81). She associated 'rovers' with her own fellwalking practice in *A Day on the Mountains* (*MCG*, pp.59; 63). She anticipated that 'energetic tourists' would smile at the terrifying way in which a fell walk to Scales Tarn was described 60 years previously (*MCG*, p.100). Easley's observation that Martineau 'sometimes locates the reader and the reading process outdoors' represents another way in which the *Complete Guide* functions as a practical guidebook (Easley, *Literary Celebrity*, p.61). When reproducing Wordsworth's description of the ascent of Scafell Pike, Martineau pictured a tourist reading her guidebook on the summit (*MCG*, p.160). She also referred to the 'pedestrian' taking a guidebook to ascend Skiddaw (*MCG*, p.90). The six 'Outlines of Mountains' in the *Complete Guide* suggest use outdoors, whether in a carriage or on foot. Two of the latter could be unfolded to show the fells on the west side of Windermere viewed from a point at or above the road level on the eastern shore and at the head of Borrowdale from Applethwaite under Skiddaw (*MCG*, pp.7,

⁴⁹ *Black's Picturesque Guide*, 6th edn (1853), pp.150-176.

93). Additionally, Martineau's suggestion that pedestrians wishing to linger in the bleak air on the summit of Skiddaw take a 'railway wrapper' represents commonsense advice (*MCG*, p.93). In these ways her guidance on fellwalking far exceeded that, for example, in Atkinson's *Handbook* which nodded to ascents of the Langdale Pikes, Helvellyn, Skiddaw and Blencathra, 'delightful walks and excursions from Patterdale' and 'interesting rambles' from Coniston.⁵⁰ However, Martineau was aware that her guidance on walking routes in the *Complete Guide* was insufficient by itself. She recommended that the "stranger" take a map, the one by Ruthven in her guidebook being a geological one (*MCG*, p.57). Her advice to consult the outline sketches exhibited every summer by her contributor Aspland, those indicating mountain passes being especially useful, prefigures the increasing importance of illustration in communicating route information (*MCG*, pp.10-11).

Martineau's portrayal of the local population, as well as her guidance on fellwalking, sets the *Complete Guide* apart from Wordsworth's *Guide*. Her description of the negative effects of ignorance and seclusion on the condition of the poor of the district are unusual in the English Lake District guidebook genre. The 'confidence in her own voice and audience' which Yoshikawa has located in these accounts is also suggested by Martineau's descriptions of her own mountain climbing and her limited quotations from Wordsworth's poetry. As a result, Yoshikawa has observed that the *Complete Guide* did not necessarily rival Wordsworth's *Guide*.⁵¹ Martineau perceived neither the synchronicity between the landscape and its inhabitants noted by Wordsworth, nor the 'sturdily independent' dalesfolk 'whose roots go deep into their own soil' of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* (*WNF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion). In a letter to Fanny Wedgwood, Martineau claimed that

⁵⁰ Atkinson, *Hand-Book*, 8th edn (1853), pp.31-2; 68; 49; 65.

⁵¹ Yoshikawa, *Invention of Tourism*, p.83.

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'there is no hoggish sensuality, no devilish malice, no low trickery' which could not be found in the hamlet of Armathwaite near Carlisle, 'where poor Wordsworth would have concluded all sorts of innocence to abound'.⁵² Martineau established a further point of difference with Wordsworth by linking the previous seclusion of Windermere with exclusiveness. Wordsworth had previously highlighted 'its beauty and its character of retirement' as being essential qualities of the district (*WG*, p.137, 'Letter To the Editor of the Morning Post Kendal and Windermere Railway', 9 December 1844).

Martineau was 'scathing about notions of a virtuous and abstemious peasantry'.⁵³ She described the dwindling of old 'statesmen' families into poverty and drink. Drunkenness was a 'prevalent and a desperate curse' (*MCG*, pp.139-141). She noted the ill effects of 'excessive seclusion' upon women in the isolated hamlet of Watendlath, and how the resulting general ignorance impaired the 'material comfort' of many of the residents through poor farming practices (*MCG*, pp.76; 142). Her opinions reflected those of contemporary agricultural writers. David Uttley has described how the latter regarded Cumbrian yeomen as 'an increasingly irksome anomaly from 1800 onward' due to their devotion to outdated agricultural practices and working of 'small, inefficient properties'.⁵⁴ However, Marshall's work on Cumbrian social history redresses Martineau's emphasis on misguided local superstitions, such as the practice in Wasdale of not washing the children's hands and arms before they were six months old lest they become thieves (*MCG*, pp.120-

⁵² Martineau, *Letters to Fanny Wedgwood*, 114, Letter 33, 15 May 1851.

⁵³ John K. Walton 'Landscape and Society: The Industrial Revolution and Beyond' in Walton and Wood, *The Making of a Cultural Landscape*, pp.69-86 (p.75).

⁵⁴ David Uttley, 'The Decline of the Cumbrian "Yeomen" Revisited,' *CWAAS, CW3*, 8 (2008), 127-146 (p.141). DOI 10.5284/1064269

21). Marshall has shown that wages and basic education in Cumberland and Westmorland around the time Martineau was writing were above the national average. The region also experienced relatively little serious crime for several decades prior to 1851, but relatively high illegitimacy rates.⁵⁵

Martineau carved out space for the *Complete Guide* against a background of newness and flux in the district. Her guidance on fellwalking forms a significant part of the information which she offered in her guidebook in response to the changes she observed. Her readers' lack of knowledge of the practice is a counterpart to the ignorance she described in the local population. She emphasised her personal experience of exploring the uplands on foot because it confirmed that she, and her guidebook, could be relied on instead of engaging a guide. Her advice was practical, matching the walk to the walker, and visualised the *Complete Guide* being used outdoors. Despite the contradictory nature of her advice regarding whether or not to engage a guide, Martineau's aspirational account of fellwalking helped to shape the practice and its literature, and represents a new and compelling way in which the *Complete Guide* can be received as one of the first guidebooks of the railway age.

'A guide always in readiness'

The entry for the Kings Head Inn, Legberthwaite advertises 'a guide always in readiness' (*MCG*, Advertisements, p.xv). The same claim could equally be applied to the *Complete Guide*. From this work onwards, guidebooks were increasingly characterised by a

⁵⁵ J.D. Marshall, 'Some Aspects of the Social History of Nineteenth Century Cumbria (I): Migration and Literacy', *CWAAS*, *CW2*, 69 (1969), 280-307 (p.286); (II) Crime, Police, Morals and The Countryman', *CWAAS*, *CW2*, 70 (1970), 221- 246 (pp.230; 236); Lydia Gray, *The Illegitimate Thread, A study of illegitimacy in the parish of Addingham, Cumberland, 1820-1939*, *CWAAS Extra Series*, 52 (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 2024), p.18.

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different orientation in the way that new and diverse types of visitors might interact with the region. Whilst Martineau's walking route directions lack the detail of subsequent guidebooks, her descriptions of fellwalking expand the framework of the picturesque and represent a particularly notable change from West's *Guide*. The fluidity of her perspective, gained from moving through the district on foot, not only set her guidebook apart from the static viewpoint of West's guidebook but also help to associate fellwalking with the sights and sounds of the uplands of the English Lake District. Her depiction of upland pedestrianism continues the shift towards the environmental perspective Readman has identified in Wordsworth's *Guide*.⁵⁶ Martineau's perspective additionally highlights a disjunction between this new way of enjoying the English Lake District landscape and those who inhabit it, represented, on the one hand, by the shepherd monitoring the rain gauge on Fairfield and, on the other, by the rural poor.

Martineau's advice on how to explore the uplands alone and on foot in 'A Day on the Mountains' points to the process through which books began to replace a person as a guide, as well as nurturing the connection between guidebook literature, leisure practice and place. Martineau inserted herself distinctively into the largely male-written tradition of English Lake District guidebooks through her own extensive walking and authorial persona. She showed that the role of a guide could be fulfilled by a woman, and by a book instead of a person. The *Complete Guide* provided strangers to the region with sufficient information to enable them to visit the valley centres or tour the district, in whole or in part, on foot or

⁵⁶ Readman, *Storied Ground*, pp.107-08.

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by other means, and to aspire to walking in the uplands without engaging a local person as a guide when it was safe to do so.

The *Complete Guide* was written not only on the cusp of the transition from guided to autonomous fellwalking but also on changes in the transport and tourist infrastructure of the English Lake District. The composition of visitors and how they moved around and experienced the region was altering. Martineau emphasised walking in the practical and up-to-date information for visitors on what to do, how to do it and what it would cost she included in her guidebook. The emergence of a new kind of tourist who is a walker assumes greater significance in the following chapter with the further expansion of the railway system and the rise of excursionism. As change due to the growth of tourism and transport accelerated, the influence of the practical content on fellwalking in Martineau's *Complete Guide* can be traced in the later Victorian guidebooks of Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley. The importance Martineau attributed to the railways in the centre of the district at the time she was writing was exaggerated, but nevertheless significant for the evolution of fellwalking. She did not exhibit the connoisseurship of the right sort of visitor expressed by Wordsworth, and later by Prior and Symonds. Instead she encouraged the 'stranger', who was likely to have arrived in the district by train, to experience the 'exhilaration of the mountaineer'. The latter represents a link between a nineteenth century guidebook discourse and Wainwright's descriptions of fellwalking in the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter Three ‘With the excursionist came the guide-book’: Herman Ludolph Prior’s *Ascents and Passes*, Henry Irwin Jenkinson’s *Practical Guide* and M.J.B. Baddeley’s *Thorough Guide*

It was not until after the full development of the railway system, that the excursionist became a person of importance, and a class to be conciliated. With the excursionist came the guide-book; but whether the former was instrumental in the appearance of the latter, or whether improved guide-books helped to create the excursionist, is immaterial; no doubt the one influenced the other.¹

G.P. Bevan, ‘The English Traveller’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1868.

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century Herman Ludolph Prior’s *Ascents and Passes* (1865), Henry Irwin Jenkinson’s *Practical Guide* (1872), and M.J.B. Baddeley’s *Thorough Guide* (1880) were instrumental in shaping fellwalking into a distinct, popular and increasingly self-guided leisure practice associated with the uplands of the English Lake District. The detailed walking route directions included in Prior’s, Jenkinson’s and Baddeley’s guidebooks represent a practical way in which these works can be said to have improved, as G.P. Bevan observed.² His claim that it was immaterial which came first, the ‘excursionist’ or ‘improved guide-books’, highlights the strong and direct influence which literature and practice exerted upon each other at that time. Bevan accorded the railways the level of

¹ G.P. Bevan, ‘The English Traveller’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Part I (1868), 639-46 (p.640); Jean and Martin Norgate, *Lakes Guides*, 2022
< <https://www.lakesguides.co.uk/html/LakesTxt/gmagfram.htm> > [accessed 31 January 2024].

² W.B.C. Lister, *A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of Murray’s Handbooks for Travellers*, p.xxxiii, ProQuest Static Content Database [accessed 15 March 2024]. George Phillips Bevan (1836-1889) wrote a series of *Tourist’s Guides* for Stanfords including *the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1877); *Warwickshire* (1882); *The Channel Islands* (1884); and early editions of *Murray’s Handbooks* including Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Shropshire, Cheshire and Lancashire.

importance in this interrelationship that Martineau had earlier claimed. He attributed the growth of domestic tourism, represented by the emergence of excursionists as a 'class to be conciliated', to the maturation of the railway network. The latter was signified in the English Lake District by the opening of the branch line to Keswick in 1865, in addition to Windermere in 1847. The influence of Continental, and particularly Alpine, tourism on Prior's *Ascents and Passes* signals that the needs of excursionists for 'improved guide-books' were shared by other types of English Lake District visitor.

This chapter argues that the improved communication of upland walking routes in Prior's *Ascents and Passes*, Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* and Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* represents a form of specialisation in guidebook literature which encouraged the growth of autonomous fellwalking in the English Lake District. Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's detailed route directions, accompanied by practical illustrations and accurate maps, promoted the practice of fellwalking with a guidebook instead of with a person as a guide. By contrast, guidebooks which aspired to completeness tended typically to retain the advice to hire a guide for upland walking. The chapter also traces how the expanding and increasingly diverse readership for guidebooks from the late nineteenth century led to further sharpening of the discernment evident in Wordsworth's *Guide* for a certain taste and type of visitor to the district. Such discernment, apparent in discourses concerning the difference between tourists and travellers, is reflected in *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide*. It took different forms according to the influence of Alpine or domestic tourism on these works, which in turn affected the readership of fellwalkers, or those aspiring to be, which these guidebooks addressed. Particularly in the matter of equipment and dress for fellwalking, Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's advice was blind to the constraints placed upon women in the mountains at the time they were writing. Their

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guidance, despite opening the uplands of the English Lake District to pedestrian exploration, left issues of readership and practice to future guidebooks to resolve.

The first half of the chapter places Prior's, Jenkinson's, and Baddeley's associations with the English Lake District in the context of developments in tourism and leisure. Their guidebooks shared features with contemporary works, namely an approach to fellwalking which was not only gendered and placed increasing emphasis on the physical benefits of the practice, but also demonstrated the continuing influence of aspects of preceding literature and contemporary attitudes to pedestrianism. Prior's, Jenkinson's, and Baddeley's guidebooks informed and reflected another form of specialisation in the distinction which they made between the leisure practice of fellwalking and the nascent sport of rock climbing. Baddeley's descriptions of the approaches to Scafell which he considered safe for walkers, and the routes that he cautioned were for climbers only, exemplify both the growing separation between these pursuits and a shift from imaginative to practical engagement with matters of safety in guidebooks.

The second half of the chapter demonstrates how the specialisation represented by Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's detailed and extensive walking route directions assisted the growth of self-guided fellwalking. Communication of walking route information was facilitated by developments in cartography, print technology and the role of publishers, notably John Garnett of Windermere, who published Martineau's *Complete Guide*. The incorporation of maps and other practical illustrations in *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* enabled directions to be conveyed more accurately. The increasing use of illustrations also points to a tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design which was again left to guidebook writers in the twentieth century to

resolve. A still further form of specialisation, namely the differing influences of Alpine and domestic tourism, caused Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's treatment of fellwalking and their authorial personae to diverge from each other. Whereas Prior's *Ascents and Passes* was shaped by his drawing on elements of the Alpine guidebook, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* belong much more to the tradition of domestic tourism. Jenkinson's and Baddeley's involvement in issues concerning pedestrian access to and the amenity value of the landscape of the district additionally reflects the value they placed on fellwalking. The focus on practical route directions in all three works was central to autonomous fellwalking becoming an established way of experiencing the district, and an established part of English Lake District guidebook literature at the close of the nineteenth century.

Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley, fellwalking and the English Lake District

Herman Ludolph Prior (1818-1903) was an Oxford-educated lawyer, his academic credentials as a scholar being blazoned on the title page of *Ascents and Passes*, and an author.³ He wrote a legal text and four novels between 1870 and 1876 in addition to *Ascents and Passes* and *A Sail on Winandermere* [1874], both of which were published by Garnett. Prior identified himself as a 'practised Alpine traveller', a man of the mountains whether of the English Lake District, Scotland, Wales or the Alps. He described how he had shared pedestrian routes or 'Lake walks' with friends before collecting and expanding on them in *Ascents and Passes* (PAP, p.vi). He did not draw attention to having lived in the region in his Lake District works. However, his dedication of *Ascents and Passes* to Isabella Cookson of

³ Joseph Foster, *Men-at-the-Bar*, 2nd edn (Foster: London, 1885); Herman L. Prior, *A Complete Manual of Short Conveyancing* (London: Wildy, 1857); Troy J. Bassett, 'Author: Herman Ludolph Prior', *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837-1901*. Victorian Research Web, 2025. <https://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_author.php> [accessed 2 February 2024].

Dale End, Grasmere, who died on 7th April 1862 aged twelve years, implies a more than passing connection with the district and certain local people, as well as other fellwalkers.⁴ Dale End is also mentioned in *An Adventure on Scafell, 1865*, as the place where the joint author, Sarah Elisabeth Sabine, was staying. A young Baddeley was a member of the same walking party.⁵ The publication history of *Ascents and Passes* is complex. Garnett published editions which were frequently undated and appeared under different titles. The core of route directions, however, remain recognisable from the first edition. For example, a second edition, revised by Charles William Dymond, in a private library is called a *Pedestrian and General Guide to the Lake District of England*, but more demotically *Prior's English Lakes* [1881] on the cover.⁶ The third, fourth, fifth and seventh and final (1890) editions are titled *Guide to the Lake District of England*. By contrast, Jenkinson and Baddeley each revised their guidebook in their lifetime, suggesting that their connection with their work, as well as with the district, was stronger than Prior's.

In contrast to Prior, Henry Irwin Jenkinson (1838-1891) and Mountford John Byrde Baddeley (1843-1906) both had clear, adopted homes in the region which influenced the domestic perspective of their guidebooks. Jenkinson and Baddeley each moved to the district to live and took leading roles in civic affairs of the town in which he resided, as well

⁴ Dale End may refer to Dale End Farm, located on the Red Bank road from Grasmere to Langdale.

⁵ Sarah Elisabeth Sabine and John Bennett, *An Adventure on Scafell, 1865* (London: Dean, [n.d.]), p.1. A copy of in a private library has been dated to 1885, or possibly earlier, by Maurice Dodd Rare Books, Carlisle. Tom Fletcher Buntin, *Life in Langdale, The Memoirs of a Lakeland Farmer* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1993), p.101, notes that the *Shepherd's Guide* of 1879 records John Bennett, a well-known guide, as running an inn called Middlefell Place, Langdale. It was named as Middlefell Inn in the rate book of 1885, still run by Bennett. Middlefell Place subsequently became known as the Old Dungeon Ghyll Hotel.

⁶ C.W. Dymond (1832-1915) was an archaeologist and civil engineer. He is noted for his careful and accurate surveys of ancient settlements. He was connected with the English Lake District by marriage. Dictionary of Cumbrian Biography, 2025, <<https://www.cumbrianlives.org.uk/lives-index> > [accessed 18 March 2025].

as in wider regional causes. Jenkinson was born in Brotherton, West Yorkshire. He attended the York Institute of Popular Science and Literature for two years, graduating in 1858. He had moved to Leeds by 1864 and is recorded as working as a clerk at the goods depot of the North Eastern Railway (NER). The NER ran the mineral traffic over the Cocker mouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway line, an association which may have led to Jenkinson becoming the second master of Keswick station in 1865 after it opened to passenger traffic that year. He was still in post in 1867 but was reported as being a previous station master in 1869. The Post Office directory of Cumberland and Westmorland records him as being a commission agent in Keswick in 1873. This occupation remained unchanged for the rest of his life.⁷

Jenkinson met the London map and guidebook publisher, Sir Edward Stanford, while curating an exhibition of Joseph Flintoft's relief model of the English Lake District at Keswick Moot Hall in 1871. Jenkinson was a prodigious walker and Stanford encouraged him in his desire to write a guidebook. Stanford published Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* in 1872. It ran to nine editions. The last was published posthumously in 1893 and was revised and edited by Canon Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley and Thomas Bakewell of Keswick.⁸ Jenkinson was well-acquainted with Rawnsley. He was secretary and treasurer, and Rawnsley the president, of the Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association (KFPA).⁹ Rawnsley helped to revive this association in 1886 from the original Keswick Footpath Society, which

⁷ I am grateful to Sheila Wiggins and her website <<https://www.retroitaint.com>> for the biographical and publication information on Henry Irwin Jenkinson. Jenkinson was her great-great uncle.

⁸ Rosalind Rawnsley, 'Bibliography of Publications by Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley 1892-1896', Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley (1851-1920), 2025 <<https://hdrawnsley.com/index.php/bibliography-hdr-publications/bibliography-of-hdr-publications/1892-1896/5-1892-1896>>[accessed 18 March 2024].

⁹ <<https://hdrawnsley.com/index.php/conservation/keswick-footpaths-disputes>> [accessed 18 March 2024].

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was founded in 1856 but had become defunct. Thomas Bakewell is likely to be the Keswick printer of that name who published numerous sermons and religious writings by Rawnsley from 1891 to 1901. Bakewell's involvement emphasises Jenkinson's close connections with the town of Keswick.¹⁰ Jenkinson led the Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass of 1887 in Rawnsley's absence at another engagement. Its aim was to maintain the right of pedestrian access to this popular, but modest, fell of 1,203 feet which sits at the foot of Skiddaw overlooking the town.¹¹ Jenkinson also instigated a number of initiatives to benefit the people of Keswick, including establishing an Old Folks Dinner in 1872 and securing Fitz Park as a recreation ground in 1882. Meanwhile, the *Practical Guide's* success enabled Jenkinson to write other guidebooks to the region, namely an *Eighteen Penny Guide to the English Lake District* (1873); *Jenkinson's Practical Guide to Carlisle, Gilsland, Roman Wall and Neighbourhood* (1875); and the abridged *Tourists' Guide to the English Lake District* (1879). Lighter and more portable than the *Practical Guide*, the latter was intended for those 'obliged to hasten over the ground'.¹² Jenkinson also composed guidebooks to locations further afield, such as the Isle of Man, the Isle of Wight and North Wales, which were all published by Stanford.¹³

The greater notice paid to Baddeley, in comparison to Jenkinson and Prior, highlights their relative obscurity, as well as the popularity of the *Thorough Guides* series. Baddeley's *Thorough Guide to the English Lake District* became one of the most widely read, influential

¹⁰ <<https://www.hdrawnsley.com/index.php/bibliography-and-resources/books-by-hdr>> [accessed 18 March 2024].

¹¹ Readman, *Storied Ground*, pp.121-22.

¹² Henry Irwin Jenkinson, *Tourists' Guide to the English Lake District* (London: Stanford, 1879), p.viii.

¹³ Sheila Wiggins, 'Henry Irwin Jenkinson, 1838-1901', May 15 2021, lists Jenkinson's other works: *Epitome of Lockhart's Life of Scott* (Edinburgh: Black, 1873); under the pseudonym of "The Political Key", *European Politics: a Series of Letters* (Keswick: Visitor and Guardian Office, 1879). <<https://www.retroitaint.com/post/henry-irwin-jenkinson-1838-1891>> 2025, [accessed 19 March 2025]

and long-lived guidebooks to the region. It was in print for nearly a century and represents what fellwalking meant to many late-Victorian and early to mid-twentieth century visitors.¹⁴ The *Thorough Guide* was first published in 1880 during the heyday of late-Victorian leisure travel, characterised by the railway day trip and charabanc excursion.¹⁵ The twenty-sixth and final edition was published in 1978. Ten editions were issued before Baddeley's death in 1906 by Dulau, the London publishers of *Baedeker's Guides*. The involvement of Dulau suggests that Baddeley aspired for his *Thorough Guides* series to be held in similar regard.¹⁶ The *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald* obliged by hailing Baddeley as 'the Baedeker of Britain' in 1884.¹⁷

Baddeley's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* states that he graduated in classics from Cambridge in 1868. He joined Somersetshire College, a school for boys in Bath, as an assistant master in 1869 and subsequently became a housemaster. He was assistant master at Sheffield Grammar School from 1880 to 1884. He retired to Windermere that year.¹⁸ His *Thorough Guides* to the Lake District, Scotland's Highlands, Oban, and Orkney and Shetland had already been published and were presumably compiled during his vacations. He was a keen walker and observer of nature for much of his life and

¹⁴ I am indebted to Barry McKay's unpublished paper 'Thoroughly Baddeley: A Near Century of a Guidebook to the English Lake District' delivered to the Wordsworth Trust in 2015, and to his personal collection of Baddeley's *Thorough Guide to the English Lake District*.

¹⁵ Christopher Donaldson, 'Authorial Effects at Work in the English Lakes: The Curious Case of Tarn Hows', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 42.4 (2020), 433-48 (p.441) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/08905495.2020.1782013>>.

¹⁶ Don Morris, 'Desperately Seeking Baddeley', *Staveley and District History Society*, 46 (2019), 7-10 (p.9) <<https://www.sdhs.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Journal-46-Final.pdf>> [accessed 7 February 2024].

¹⁷ *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, 11 October 1884, p.5.

¹⁸ G.S. Woods, 'Baddeley, Mountford John Byrde (1843-1906), compiler of guidebooks', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, rev. 2020) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30518>>.

devoted himself to writing guidebooks once resident in Windermere. The *Thorough Guides* series soon extended to fifteen titles, covering northern and western England, Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Baddeley also edited the 1896 and later editions of *Black's Shilling Guide to the Lake District* and, in collaboration with Ernest Daniel Jordan, compiled *Black's Shilling Guide to the Isle of Man* (1896 and later editions).¹⁹

Baddeley's purchase of Garnett's copyright in December 1896, after the latter's death earlier that year, deepened his connection with English Lake District guidebook literature, as did his support for movements for preserving footpaths and the landscape for tourism in relation to the wider district.²⁰ Baddeley was active in the English Lake District Association (ELDA), which was founded in 1877 to promote tourism. Its members were principally involved in associated trades and businesses. Jenkinson was recorded as a committee member in 1887.²¹ Like Jenkinson, Baddeley was involved in civic affairs, acting as chairman of the Bowness local board until its dissolution in 1894.²² Baddeley's opposition to infrastructure developments which he termed '*inconsiderate*', also linked him with Rawnsley (*BTG*, p.xvii). Both men are listed in a four-page insert at the front of the third edition of the *Thorough Guide* (1884) as Honorary Secretaries of the Lake District Defence Society (LDDS). This organisation vociferously and successfully opposed proposed developments such as the Braithwaite and Buttermere railway, a mine railway in Ennerdale

¹⁹ McKay, 'Thoroughly Baddeley'.

²⁰ Christopher Donaldson, 'John Garnett 1825-1896', Dictionary of Cumbrian Biography, 2025 <<https://cumbrianlives.org.uk/lives/john-garnett.html>> [accessed 18 March 2025].

²¹ *The Lake District of England, What to See & How To See It* (Windermere: Garnett, 1887), inside front cover.

²² Woods, 'Baddeley', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

and the extension of the Windermere line to Ambleside, as well as the establishment of Thirlmere as a reservoir.²³

Well-received and successful in their day, *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* have largely been overlooked by scholars. This relative neglect is significant because the practice of fellwalking was not fully formed at the time they were writing, and also on account of Wainwright's opinion of Jenkinson and Baddeley.

Wainwright considered the *Practical Guide* the 'best guidebook to the district yet written'.²⁴ He described knowing Baddeley 'by heart'.²⁵ Whether inspired by the mountainous landscape of the English Lake District or further afield, *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* were popular works which encouraged people to visit the region for pleasure in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Participation in fellwalking was prominent amongst the reasons, some of which were traditional and others new, for exploring the region described in these and other English Lake District guidebooks.

'Let those who can take a holiday, and rush off to the land of beauty and of poetry, of health, of strength'

In common with contemporary guidebooks, Prior's, Jenkinson's, and Baddeley's treatment of fellwalking was influenced by changes in Victorian attitudes to leisure and to the English Lake District itself. A review of the *Practical Guide* in *The Times* of 27 June 1873 listed the many and varied reasons for visiting the region (*JPG*, eighth edition, 1885, Advertisements, p.32). It described the established, aesthetic purposes which continued to

²³ <<https://hdrawnsley.com/index.php/conservation/lake-district-defence-society>>

²⁴ Alfred Wainwright, *Wainwright's Favourite Lakeland Mountains* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991), p.1.

²⁵ Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 4v.

draw visitors to the district. These included the appeal of the beauty and picturesque nature of the landscape, represented by its 'pastoral peace', as well as its associations with poetry. Alongside the historic, *The Times* highlighted new reasons 'of health, of strength' for visiting the region. These favoured the development of fellwalking as a leisure pursuit, as well as reflecting contemporary discourses concerning physical recreation. In his portrait of 'The English Traveller', Bevan contended that 'With most Englishmen of the present day, a holiday is relaxation, but not repose', and required 'the stimulant of change and active exertion'.²⁶ The increased availability of leisure described by the historian Theodore Hoppen and the expansion of the district's transport infrastructure enabled increasing numbers of visitors to follow this advice.²⁷ To recap a notable statistic, the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway carried 75,000 third-class passengers in 1865, but by 1882 this figure had jumped to a quarter of a million.²⁸

Landscapes such as the English Lake District were seen as increasingly vital to the well-being of ordinary people, particularly since England had become a majority urban nation in 1851. Middle-class philanthropists, for example, promoted civilising leisure schemes for working-class men in the 1850s and the 1860s.²⁹ The ideology of "Muscular Christianity" developed at this time as a means of building Christian values and manliness in men and boys. It emphasised the importance of bodily development through physical exercise to counteract the perceived emasculating effects of industrialisation and the shift

²⁶ Bevan, 'The English Traveller', p.639. <<https://www.lakesguides.co.uk/html/gentsmag/g868a639.htm>> [accessed 26 January 2026].

²⁷ Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, pp.357-58.

²⁸ Marshall, *Old Lakeland*, p.171.

²⁹ Beaven, *Leisure*, pp.19-27.

away from traditionally masculine occupations, defined by hard labour, to office jobs and cities.³⁰ Westaway has described how by the 1880s ‘physical culturalists and life reformers had embraced the outdoors as a significant new domain for individual and societal reform.’ Discourses of racial fitness and national efficiency were translated into regimes for strength, health and fitness.³¹ By the end of the nineteenth century the wider appeal of pedestrianism had become increasingly formalised through the establishment of clubs, societies and holiday organisations.³² The Congregational minister, Thomas Arthur Leonard, was a pioneer of organised walking holidays for British working people. The Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA) originated in 1891 when Leonard took a small party from his congregation in Colne, Lancashire, to Ambleside on a three-night walking holiday in 1891 as an alternative to the increasingly popular way of spending ‘Wakes Week’, when all factories closed, in the seaside resorts of Blackpool or Morecambe.³³

The growth of fellwalking endurance challenges in the English Lake District exemplifies changing attitudes to recreation in the region. The popularity of long-distance walking competitions was represented in the English Lake District by attempts on “Fell-walking Records” by Alpinists and locals alike.³⁴ The Alpine mountaineer Reverend T.M.

³⁰ Gavin Brown, ‘How “muscular Christianity strove to bring men back to religion – and what it can teach us today’, *The Conversation*, 28 February 2025
<<https://theconversation.com/how-muscular-christianity-strove-to-bring-men-back-to-religion-and-what-it-can-teach-us-today-249485>> [accessed 24 June 2025].

³¹ Jonathan Westaway, “‘Men Who Can Last’: Mountaineering Endurance, the Lake District Fell Records and the Campaign for Everest, 1919 -1924’, *Sport in History*, 33:3 (2013), 303-32 (pp.307-08).

³² Hollett, *Pioneer Ramblers*, pp.84-96.

³³ Records of the Co-operative Holidays Association and Holiday Fellowship,
<<http://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb1499-cha>> [accessed 18 March 2025].

³⁴ Hollett, *Pioneer Ramblers*, pp. 108-12.

Elliott of Cambridge, a pioneer of “record walking”, made a circuit of the high fells surrounding Wasdale in the 1860s.³⁵ Looking back in 1903, W.T. Palmer recorded how Bowfell, Scafell Pike, Skiddaw and Helvellyn were climbed in twenty-four hours in the 1870s by a well-known Alpine club member. Charles Pilkington, President of the Alpine Club, also completed a sixty-mile mountain circuit of the district in just over twenty-four hours, with 13,792 feet of ascent.³⁶ Jenkinson personally embodied the physical appeal of the district by participating in endurance walking challenges. In 1876 he completed a fifty-three-mile round, known locally as ‘Jenkinson’s Six Mountains’, in twenty-five hours with 12,249 feet of ascent. What Westaway has called ‘a probationary Lake District Fell Record’ was in place by the end of the 1870s. This typically involved a circuit of the four summits of Bowfell, Scafell Pike, Skiddaw and Helvellyn, returning to the starting point inside twenty-four hours.³⁷ It inspired what is known today as the Bob Graham Round, after the eponymous Keswick guest-house owner who in June 1932 traversed forty-two fells within the allotted time.

The emphasis placed by Jenkinson and Baddeley on physical exercise and health in their representation of fellwalking contrasts with Marshall’s and Walton’s contention that ‘the intellectual, moral, and spiritual benefits to be derived from the contemplation of Nature’ were more important in accounting for Victorian attitudes to the English Lake District.³⁸ Jenkinson gave the active, physical benefits of visiting the region equal prominence with the more passive ones of rest and enjoyment of its landscape:

³⁵ Westaway, “Men Who Can Last”, p.311.

³⁶ Palmer, *Dells and Fells*, pp.65-72.

³⁷ Westaway, “Men Who Can Last”, p.314.

³⁸ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, p.178.

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The tourist who comes here for rest and change to enjoy the beauties of nature, and to be braced for work by mountain air and exercise, will, it is hoped, find this book a useful and practical guide (*JPG*, pp.xiii-xiv).

As well the physical benefits of being 'braced for work by mountain air and exercise', Jenkinson extolled the sensations fellwalking might inspire:

A ramble along the top of this mountain will always be an especial favourite with mountaineers. Besides the great contrasts in the views - all being on one side dark and wild, and on the other bright and beautiful - there is the feeling of adventure and danger, with sufficient of security to take away fear; and this, combined with the great height and healthy breeze, imparts to the tourist a joyous and exhilarating feeling (*JPG*, p.234).

Jenkinson's description of the ridge from Whiteside to Hopegill Head drew on theories of the picturesque, the sublime and the beautiful to place fellwalking in a context of scenic and emotional opposites. He contrasted the 'dark and wild' aspect of one side of the ridge with the 'bright and beautiful' of the other in the manner of the picturesque. The latter phrase nods to the words of the hymn *All Things Bright and Beautiful* (1848). His suggestion that such scenery provoked strong emotions of 'adventure and danger' in the walker, and a fear which was nevertheless pleasurable, reflects Edmund Burke's definition of the sublime in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757).

Jenkinson's reference to the 'joyous and exhilarating feeling' imparted by 'the great height and healthy breeze' expanded upon the 'exhilaration of the mountaineer' which Martineau had noted. Like her, Jenkinson offered the tourist the opportunity to enjoy the physical and

emotional sensations of fellwalking. His description of the experience of fellwalking is imaginative but also quantifies the danger to the walker.

Baddeley too associated fellwalking with the physical benefits of visiting the English Lake District but additionally articulated the possibility of experiencing transcendence in pursuing this practice. The leisure activity of walking was central to his aim of writing a guidebook 'entirely for the benefit of those who visit the Lakes for the purposes of recreation' (*BTG*, p.xviii). He described how perceptions of upland pedestrianism in the district had altered from the early guidebooks:

Since the days when Borrowdale was regarded as an 'inextricable maze' with no outlet except the narrow defile at its lower end, and climbers of Saddleback were so 'astonished' as to be obliged to stop and 'let blood' during the ascent, public opinion has greatly changed on the subject of mountaineering, and it is now generally admitted that in the English Lake District it is not only a healthful and invigorating, but also a perfectly safe recreation for people of sound constitutions and vigour (*BTG*, p.156).

Baddeley's claim that fellwalking was safe mirrored Jenkinson's description of the traverse of the ridge from Whiteside to Hopegill Head as a 'ramble'. Baddeley's description of fellwalking, or mountaineering, as 'healthful and invigorating' for those who were ordinarily fit, discerned his readership by their physical capability, as well as reflecting contemporary discourses concerning recreation and health. He additionally, and presciently, drew attention to the benefits to mental health of physical activity, such as the ascent of Scafell Pike:

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It has so much rugged grandeur about it - it is such a perfect example of the wildest workings of Nature - that no one who ascends it can fail to acknowledge that he has obtained one of the genuine mountaineer's first objects - the farthest possible removal from the associations of his every-day life (*BTG*, p.183).

Baddeley's suggestion that the 'genuine mountaineer' might experience transcendence amongst the rugged rock landscape of Scafell Pike supports Westaway's claim that visitors in the late Victorian era still sought awe in mountainous landscapes.³⁹

Other contemporary English Lake District travel literature similarly promoted the physical and metaphysical benefits of fellwalking. In *Rambles in the Lake District July 1857* by Harry Hardknot, the author, Hugh Shimmin, urged his readers to go on foot 'If you want health, strength and useful limbs'. He claimed that 'Early rising, plain food, and abundant exercise' would cure any 'office malaise'.⁴⁰ Reminiscences such as the *Rambling Notes of a Rambling Tour Through Some Of The English Lake Scenery by a Volunteer Rifleman* (1861) vividly portrayed the physicality, as well as the awe, experienced through fellwalking. The "Rifleman" described how 'puffing, blowing, panting, and palpitating, I sit me down again to rest' and 'wringing wet I reached my goal'. He believed that 'God had endowed me with powers to appreciate the lofty grandeur of those towering hills'.⁴¹ Jenkinson's assertion that

³⁹ Westaway, 'Origins', p.163.

⁴⁰ Harry Hardknot (pseud. of Hugh Shimmin), *Rambles in the Lake District, July 1857* (London: Whittaker; Liverpool: The Albion, Young, 1857), pp.59; 20-22. Shimmin (1820-1879), with friends, founded the *Porcupine*, a Liverpool satirical newspaper. He was credited with securing sanitary reforms and improved treatment of sick and orphaned children in the city. A.W. Moore, *Manx Worthies* (Douglas: Broadbent, 1901), pp.107-8. <<http://isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/worthies/p107b.htm>>

⁴¹ *Rambling Notes of a Rambling Tour Through Some Of The English Lake Scenery By A Volunteer Rifleman* (Sunderland: Hills; Windermere: Garnett, 1861), pp.34; 63-64.

everyone visiting this 'beautiful mountainous country' was drawn to think about the origin of its 'towering masses' had similarly religious overtones (*JPG*, p.xxxv).

Ascents and Passes, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* not only represented fellwalking as a physically rewarding but also as a gendered practice, in common with other guidebooks of the period. Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley appear indifferent to the constraints that gender codes and behaviours placed upon women in the mountains. They used terms such as 'he', 'tourist' and 'traveller, which conventionally included men and women, but their guidance on equipment was received as being addressed to the male reader-walker. The *Birmingham Daily Post's* description of Jenkinson's *Tourist's Guide To The English Lake District* as being 'not too large to carry with comfort in a breast pocket' uses a word specific to male tailoring that does not account for the needs of women pedestrians.⁴² Similarly, the recommendation in John Bradbury's *The English Lakes* (1872) to wear a 'Tourist's suit of mixed tweed' would appear to be directed more towards male than female walkers.⁴³

Women fellwalkers and climbers actively explored the English Lake District fells at this time in dress which to modern eyes was excessively restrictive. Long skirts were not only an encumbrance to upland pedestrianism but could be dangerous, as Naomi Walker has highlighted. Felicité Carrel's attempt to climb the Matterhorn in 1867 was thwarted by high winds which caused her skirt to balloon, making it hazardous for her to proceed. Joanna Taylor of the University of Manchester told Walker how she encountered a similar

⁴² H. I. Jenkinson, *Tourist's Guide To The English Lake District*, 5th edn (London: Stanford, 1884), Advertisements.

⁴³ John Bradbury, *The English Lakes: How to See Them for Five and a Half Guineas* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, [1872]), p.15.

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problem re-enacting Dorothy Wordsworth's ascent of Scafell Pike in 2018, 200 years after Dorothy. In 1890 the skirts of walking outfits still measured three and a half yards wide and hung to the ankle. Ease of motion remained impeded throughout the century not only by long skirts but also by sleeves which restricted arm movement. Women mountaineers such as Lizzie Le Blond (1860-1934), first President of the Ladies' Alpine Club formed in 1907, adopted the compromise of wearing a skirt or dress to the base of the mountain. Le Blond removed it and proceeded to climb in trousers.⁴⁴

Accounts in other travel literature draw more attention to women fellwalkers in the English Lake District than Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks. *Excursion to Loweswater* (1865) is a record of a visit by a mixed group of forty-four Quakers from Manchester, comprising seventeen women and twenty-seven men. It was both a spiritual pilgrimage to sites where George Fox had preached and a walking tour, taking in the lower fells around Loweswater and a longer expedition by some of the party from Honister via Sty Head and the Langdales to Ambleside.⁴⁵ Baddeley was a 'comparative youth' when he formed one of the group of seven or eight friends of 'both sexes and a good many ages' who underwent *An Adventure on Scafell*. The group became separated when climbing the fell in poor visibility and two women, whom Baddeley described as experienced mountaineers, mistakenly descended into the wrong valley.⁴⁶ The Old Sidcot scholars formed a larger, but

⁴⁴ Naomi Walker, "'These Boots were made for Walking': What Women Wore to Walk', Textile Stories.blogspot.com, 21 May 2020. <https://dwtextilestories.blogspot.com/2020/05/these-boots-were-made-for-walking-what_21> [accessed 19 March 2024].

⁴⁵ Mary Hodgson and Lydia Lunt, *Excursion to Loweswater A Lakeland Visit 1865*, Introduction by Christopher Newsom (London: MacDonald, 1987), pp.25; 70-71.

⁴⁶ *An Adventure on Scafell*, 2nd edn (Windermere: Johnson, 1904), pp.6; 12.

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similarly mixed, party for a twelve-day visit to Keswick in 1889 which was centered on walking. They crossed passes (to Ullswater via Sticks Pass, Buttermere via Honister) and ascended Helvellyn, Bowfell and Scafell Pike.⁴⁷ Despite the constraints imposed by dress, women were actively walking in the uplands of the English Lake District in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

Descriptions of equipment and advice on fell craft in the *Thorough Guide* suggest that by 1880 more people were participating in fellwalking. Baddeley recommended that walkers supply themselves with a compass and a stout pair of boots, implying increased availability and/or demand for these items, as well as sufficient provisions (solid food and a flask of spirits) to cope with changeable mountain weather and the risk of delay and exposure at height (*BTG*, p.157). Specialist footwear first became available during this period. Bradbury's *English Lakes* (1872) contains an early advertisement for Waukenphast's 'Celebrated Tour Boots' which claimed to make easy a pace of five miles an hour. Baddeley additionally gave practical advice on fell craft, suggesting such guidance was necessary for some at least of his readers and that more, but less experienced, people were exploring the uplands on foot. He stated that 'The danger of mountain climbing begins and ends with crags', which represented a particular hazard when descending the fells in fog. In poor visibility he suggested laying a stick down in the direction of travel to prevent reversing one's steps (*BTG*, p.158). By contrast, early editions of *Ascents and Passes* and the *Practical Guide* reflected the convention of wearing everyday clothes and shoes. Prior mentioned

⁴⁷ *Our Diary A True and Faithful Account Of The Doings And Adventures Of A Party Of Old Sidcot Scholars and their Friends In The English Lake District From July 27 To August 8, 1889, By Some Of The Party* (Leominster: The Orphans' Printing Press, 1889), pp. 15-19; 27; 45-47; 24; 32. Viewed in a private book collection on the History and Topography of Cumbria and the Lake District, (The Dacre Library).

ropes, but as specialist equipment necessary for a rock climb, and Jenkinson knapsacks, but without itemising their contents (*PAP*, p.259; *JPG*, p.143). Unlike Baddeley, neither Prior nor Jenkinson recommended compasses, suggesting that their use was not standard, or commonly recorded. The “Rifleman” included one in the equipment for his tour of the district in 1861, as well as a 'good guide book'.⁴⁸

Fellwalking became more established as a tourist practice in the English Lake District as descriptions of the region’s attractions to visitors increasingly embraced active pedestrianism. Prior’s, Jenkinson’s and Baddeley’s encouragement of fellwalking was influenced by changing attitudes to the district, to recreation and discourses which placed greater emphasis on the physical. Praise for the *Thorough Guide* from the *Saturday Review* suggested that by 1899 its guidance on routes and equipment, for male walkers at least, had opened the region to exploration on foot: ‘With these descriptions and maps the well-girt man of reasonable intelligence may go almost anywhere, and do almost anything’ (*BTG*, eighth edition, opposite title page). Changing attitudes to the district challenged aspirations to completeness and influenced the inclusion of increasingly specialised content on fellwalking and other leisure pursuits in its guidebook literature.

Specialisation in late-nineteenth century guidebooks

Guidebooks of the mid- to late-nineteenth century grew more specialised as it became harder for such works to cater for all of the needs of a growing and diverse readership. In his history of the English guidebook genre, Vaughan has attributed the gradual abandoning of claims to completeness to heightened awareness of other publications. He has pointed out, for instance, that *Bradshaw’s Railway Guide* contained all

⁴⁸ *Volunteer Rifleman*, p.7.

necessary information on trains and fares.⁴⁹ Vaughan does not consider how the inclusion of detailed and illustrated walking route directions in the sub-genre of English Lake District guidebooks represents another form of specialisation. This process, influenced by the agency of publishers, Garnett in particular, helped to change the practice of fellwalking.

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century a new relationship developed between guides and those guidebooks which contained more detailed descriptions of fellwalking. Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's most frequent use of the term "guide" to describe the custodians of attractions such as waterfalls marks a shift from conventional advice to hire a guide when crossing the passes and ascending the peaks of the English Lake District. The circumstances in which these writers advised engaging a mountain guide were limited to poor weather, winter conditions or traversing complicated or dangerous ground. For example, Jenkinson stated that a guide was necessary to explore Scafell Pike in poor weather and the highest fells in winter conditions (*JPG*, pp.279; 200). He advised that Broad Stand, the series of rock steps and slabs which link Scafell and Scafell Pike, with moves of rock-climbing difficulty above large drops and a potentially fatal landing, required not only a guide but a 'good cragsman' since the first move involved 'a long, dangerous step' (*JPG*, p.279). His description seems to understate the difficulty, 'step' suggesting that the move upwards can be done while standing upright, whereas both hands are needed (*JPG*, p.279).

Hugh Shimmin, writing as Harry Hardknot, even satirised both those hiring guides in the English Lake District and the guides themselves:

Put on spectacles, wear a moustache, and let your beard grow, and in such guise

⁴⁹ Vaughan, *English Guide Book*, pp.72-73.

allow yourself to fall into the hands of a guide, and you will hear things that would afford excellent matter for Mr. Albert Smith, in one of his patter-songs.⁵⁰

Shimmin was confident the less leisured readership he addressed would be amused by his portrait of traditional English Lake District visitors and recognise his reference to Smith. The latter's show at the Egyptian Hall in London, based on his 1851 climb of Mont Blanc, ran for 2,000 performances between 1852 and 1858. It was seen by 200,000 people in its first two seasons.⁵¹ A patter-song is fast-paced with comic and often tongue-twisting lyrics. It attempts to fit as many words as possible to the smallest number of notes, emphasised by a simple melody. By 1889, the Old Sidcot scholars' description 'On reaching the top guide-books were produced and an animated discussion ensued as to which peak was which' implied that instead of hiring a local guide it was becoming customary to consult a guidebook, perhaps with mountain panorama sketches, as a reliable source of information.⁵²

Garnett exemplifies the role played by publishers in the shift from completeness to specialisation in English Lake District guidebooks. He helped to popularise fellwalking by publishing Martineau's *Complete Guide, A Cambridge Man* and *Prior's Ascents and Passes*, the first guidebooks which contained instructions for exploring the district on foot unaccompanied by a hired guide. The different forms of, and addenda to, these works also aided independent pedestrian exploration. For example, Garnett supplemented Martineau's *Complete Guide* with her *Tourist Atlas of the Lake District* (1875), which included nineteen

⁵⁰ *Hardknot*, p.61.

⁵¹ Hansen, 'Albert Smith', pp.322-23; 305.

⁵² *Our Diary*, p.10.

maps, town plans and mountain outlines.⁵³ The map of Helvellyn shows multiple paths to the summit from the east and the west. His miniaturisation of Prior's guidebook increased its portability. Garnett published a fourth edition of Prior's *Guide* in nonpariel form, reduced to waistcoat pocket size and containing pedestrian mountain routes only. A.W. Rumney recounted in *Sprogues on the Fells* [1899], and with gendered implications, how 'Mr. Prior's waistcoat pocket guide book encourages us to make our way to the Pikes *via* the Lord's Rake'.⁵⁴ Rumney described himself and a companion walking with a watch in one hand and the duodecimo printing of Prior's *Guide* in the other because the latter contained timings to the minute between significant features, as well as total and intermediate distances.

Both the increasing popularity of fellwalking as a leisure pursuit and the role of Garnett in promoting it are suggested by the "Rifleman's" description of the publisher's shop in Windermere:

The tourist may amuse himself for a good hour in Mr. Garnett's shop, next door to the post office, where almost every book and map and picture relating to the lake district may be had, and every information obtained that may be useful to him in his intended wanderings.⁵⁵

In this portrait Garnett's shop resembles a modern Tourist Information Centre, known to visitors as the place to go to obtain guidebooks and other information on the district. This description not only points to the variety of tourist literature available but also to the

⁵³ Harriet Martineau, *The Tourist's Atlas of the Lake District Being an Addenda to and Uniform with Harriet Martineau's Complete Guide* (Windermere: Garnett [1875]).

⁵⁴ A W Rumney, *Sprogues on the Fells* (London: Iliffe Sons & Sturmeay, [1899], p.15.

⁵⁵ *Volunteer Rifleman*, p.15.

popularity of exploration of the region on foot. The use of the term 'wanderings' to characterise the tourist's journeys from place to place in the English Lake District connotes pedestrianism. This description also reads as an advertisement of sorts, since Garnett published the "Rifleman's" *Rambling Notes of a Rambling Tour*.

The increasing diversity of tourism and leisure and developments in transport in the English Lake District are reflected in further specialist guidebooks published towards the end of the nineteenth century. Garnett's own titles reinforce his role in the process of specialisation. *Garnett's Penny Guide* series includes a title called *A Day from 'Midland' to Winandermere, A Guide for Excursionists*, which was aimed at day trippers coming from areas served by the Midland Railway. *Windermere With An Excursion to Grasmere* (1884) by Baddeley and T.M. Thompson, and published in London by Dulau, also addressed visitors who could only spend one or two days in the district.⁵⁶ Other local publishers issued specialised guidebooks. The series of three *Penny Coach-Road Guides* published in 1893 by Middleton's of Ambleside were slim pamphlets, (c. twenty page), with paper covers describing sights, and their Wordsworthian associations, seen from carriage trips between Ambleside and Keswick, Ullswater and the Langdales. This series of guides suggested walks but did not describe them in detail.⁵⁷ *Middleton's Escort Guide to Ambleside and District* (1898) drew attention to new 'camera tourists' and 'crazy cyclists' exploring the district.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ M.J.B. Baddeley and T.M. Thompson, *Thorough Guides, Windermere With An Excursion to Grasmere* (London: Dulau, 1884), p.2. Thompson was the author of a guidebook on Ullswater.

⁵⁷ *Middleton's Penny Coach-Road Guide, Ambleside to Keswick* (Ambleside: Middleton, 1893); *Middleton's Penny Coach-Road Guide Ambleside to the Langdales* (Ambleside: Middleton, 1893); *Middleton's Penny Coach-Road Guide, Ambleside to Ullswater* (Ambleside: Middleton, 1893).

⁵⁸ *Middleton's Illustrated Escort Guide to Ambleside and District*, 2nd edn (Ambleside: Middleton, 1898), pp.64; 27.

Rumney's *The Way About the English Lake District* contained advertisements addressed to cyclists and photographers. The coaches run during the summer by the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway, from Troutbeck to Patterdale, and from Penrith to Pooley Bridge to connect in each case with the Ullswater Steam Navigation Company's launches point to the development of an increasingly integrated transport infrastructure supporting tourism within the English Lake District.⁵⁹

The trend towards specialisation in guidebooks developed alongside continuing demand for complete works. The latter tended to treat fellwalking differently. Works described as complete typically made space for more general information on the district by retaining the advice to engage a local guide. As a result, their walking route directions were considerably less detailed than those given by Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley. James Payn's *Hand-Book* (1859), recommended that the 'hardy pedestrian' hire a guide for the trackless hill excursion from Ambleside to Haweswater:

But as for directing the tourist what exact line to take, or what particular precipice to avoid tumbling over, we must decline all such responsibility, and recommend him to take a human guide, as well as this little book.⁶⁰

The relationship Payn expressed between his guidebook and the practice of fellwalking was simultaneously encouraging and discouraging. He made fellwalking approachable by holding open to his readers the possibility of exploring the fells on foot but sensationalised its dangers in the phrase 'tumbling over' precipices. Nelson's *Hand-Book for Tourists, The*

⁵⁹ Geoffrey Berry and Geoffrey Beard, *The Lake District, A Century of Conservation* (Edinburgh: Bartholomew, 1980), p.2; Rumney, *Way About*, Advertisements.

⁶⁰ Payn, *Hand-Book*, p.43.

English Lakes (1859) also omitted detailed route directions and recommended engaging a guide to ascend, for example, Skiddaw and Scafell Pike, though Coniston Old Man could be climbed without one.⁶¹ The second edition of Murray's *Handbook for Westmorland, Cumberland and the Lakes* (1869) advised that guides should be hired to cross the pass from Kentmere to Mardale, as well as to ascend Skiddaw, Bowfell and Scafell.⁶² Murray's series of handbooks to the British Isles were popular at the time, Bevan singling out their 'consistency and value' to tourists.⁶³ However, Murray's *Handbook for the English Lake District* did not open the region to independent fellwalking in the same way as other, more specialised works.

Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks retained elements of completeness alongside increasing specialisation. Garnett published *Ascents and Passes* as both a complete and specialised guidebook, presumably to make its appeal as broad as possible. In a prefatory note he referred to the seventh edition of Prior's *Guide* (1890) as a 'complete guide'. It had 448 pages, compared to the 255 pages of the third edition.⁶⁴ Alongside the seventh edition, Garnett published a separate edition of Prior's 'incomparable Mountain-work'. Jenkinson and Baddeley described tours of the district that were intellectually, as well as physically, enriching but were nevertheless influenced by pedestrianism. Arthur Burns, Chad Bryant and Readman have noted that guidebooks like Jenkinson's reflected

⁶¹ *Nelsons' Hand-Books For Tourists, The English Lakes* (London: Nelson, 1859), pp.78-79; 260-61; 250-51.

⁶² *Murray's Handbook for Westmorland, Cumberland and the Lakes with Map*, 2nd edn (London: Murray, 1869) pp.31; 62; 39; 91.

⁶³ Bevan, 'The English Traveller', p.640. <<https://www.lakesguides.co.uk/html/gentsmag/g868a640.htm>> [accessed 26 January 2026].

⁶⁴ The seventh edition included sections on towns, villages and walks, carriage roads, pedestrian routes, mountains and botany' mineralogy, geology and antiquities, and railway approaches to the district.

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Wordsworth's insistence that the best way of appreciating the unique attractions of the area as a living landscape was on foot.⁶⁵ Jenkinson drew attention to the 'constellation of poets' who had lived in the region and directed his readers to scenes from Wordsworth's poetry (*JPG*, p.xiii). Locations such as Pillar Rock (*The Brothers*), Bowscale Tarn (*The Feast of Brougham Castle*), and Aira Force (*The Somnambulist*) could only be reached fully on foot (*JPG*, pp.164; 225; 30). Jenkinson further enhanced his reader's experience, and the district's distinctness, by referring to its geology, archaeology and history (*JPG*, pp.56; 291; 168; 223; 48-9; 54). Likewise, Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* contained a wealth of historical information on the lakes and their environs, as well as geology, botany and a glossary of local geographical terms. By contrast, Prior referred readers of the first edition of *Ascents and Passes* to other guidebooks such as Black's for what he termed 'the more usual staple' of anecdotes and antiquities (*PAP*, pp.v; 127).

Jenkinson and Baddeley drew on other precedents from guidebooks and mountaineering literature as well as the literary, cultural and historical associations of the region. For example, Jenkinson, like Martineau, repeated Green's account of the ascent of Sharp Edge with Otley (*JPG*, pp.187-88). Jenkinson's description of the ascent of Fairfield as 'the best mountain excursion' from Ambleside reflected Martineau's advice (*JPG*, p.43). His description, of how from Walna Scar near Coniston 'The Furness and other fells to the S.E., and portions of the sea, are stretched out before the eye like a map', points to the continuing influence of the Romantic era practice of viewing the landscape from a height (*JPG*, p.292). By the late 1870s, the importance of ascent and the practice of fellwalking

⁶⁵ Chad Bryant, Arthur Burns and Paul Readman, 'Introduction: Modern Walks', *Walking Histories*, pp.1-32 (pp.21-22).

were sufficiently well-known to be satirised in J. Priestman Atkinson's cartoon, *A Week at the Lakes or the adventures of Mr. Dobbs and his friend Mr. Potts and what came of it* (1878). Like Shimmin's satire of guides and the guided in the 1850s, Atkinson was confident that his readership would recognise as amusing the proclamations by Dobbs and Potts such as: "'Behold yonder frowning mountain! Let us scale its frowning side!'"⁶⁶ The visual satire represented by Atkinson's work mirrors Plumptre's caricatures of earlier tourists in *The Lakers* (1798).⁶⁷

Increased specialisation heralded a new relationship between guidebooks, guides and the leisure practice of fellwalking in the English Lake District. Its effect upon the treatment of fellwalking was two-fold. First, there was simply insufficient room to add detailed walking route directions to guidebooks which aspired to be complete and still render them portable. Works which included such directions as a substantial part of their content had to compromise on completeness to remain of a size to be usable outdoors. Secondly, guidebooks which aspired to completeness tended to retain the advice to engage a local guide instead of communicating detailed information on walking routes. Developments in portability, alongside increasing specialisation, resulted in works whose accurate and practical content offered their readers the chance to improve their skills and venture into the uplands of the region independently of a guide. The distinction made by guidebooks in the mid- to late-nineteenth century between fellwalking and another upland

⁶⁶ J. Priestman Atkinson, *A Week at the Lakes or the Adventures of Mr. Dobbs and His Friend Mr. Potts and What Came Of It* (London: Macmillan, 1878), Plate V.

⁶⁷ James Plumptre, *The Lakers, a Comic Opera in Three Acts* (London: Clarke, 1798).

leisure pursuit, the nascent sport of rock climbing, represents a further form of specialisation.

‘This very exaggerated warning is intended for the waggonette-tourist, and not for the cragsman’

Two distinct groups were exploring the fells on foot in the late 1870s according to C.N. Williamson in *The Climbs of the English Lake District* (1884):

Mr. H. I. Jenkinson, indeed, in his excellent *Guide to the English Lakes* (6th edition, 1879), says: "The rock has been scaled by very few, and it is exceedingly hazardous and foolhardy to attempt it"; but it must be presumed that this very exaggerated warning is intended for the waggonette-tourist, and not for the cragsman.⁶⁸

The ‘rock’ refers to Pillar Rock, thrillingly described by Wainwright as ‘an independent column of rock thrust out of the fellside in a near-vertical leap of 600 feet’. Its parent fell is Pillar, measuring 2,927 feet.⁶⁹ Williamson’s differentiation of the ‘cragsman’ from the ‘waggonette-tourist’ indicates that climbing and fellwalking were becoming increasingly separate. The origins of this separation lie in the Matterhorn tragedy of 1865, which led to sharper distinctions being made between climbing and other forms of upland pedestrianism. Usually seen as marking the end of the ‘Golden Age’ of Alpine mountaineering, the death of four climbers and guides in Whymper’s party became a subject of national debate. Burns has described how climbing was viewed as being part of leisure pedestrianism before this accident, and as being accessible and beneficial to any

⁶⁸ C.N Williamson ‘*The Climbs of the English Lake District*’ in *The Journal of The Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District*, ed. by G.F. Woodhouse and Edward Scantlebury Vol. I, 1, 1907, pp.27-53 (p.37) <<https://www.frcc.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Journals/Journal-1907.pdf>> [accessed 19 March 2024].

⁶⁹ Wainwright, *Favourite Lakeland Mountains*, p.163.

able-bodied or professional gentlemen so inclined and with the resources to participate. Afterwards the climber began to be set apart from others on foot in the hills. Alpine Club journals reveal a greater focus on risk, and the skill, training and equipment which was increasingly needed to climb safely.⁷⁰

Prior's and Jenkinson's treatment of Pillar Rock, Broad Stand and Mickledore (the ridge at the foot of Broad Stand which connects Scafell and Scafell Pike) helped to shape the separation of fellwalking and climbing from what had previously been known as mountaineering. Prior had an audience of alpinists in mind for his remark on Pillar Rock, who would doubtless appreciate its gallows humour: 'The attempt obviously requires a finished cragsman. At any rate, it is likely enough to make one' (*PAP*, p.239). He assessed Broad Stand as 'a face of bare rock which even the Alpine Club would decline to attack without ropes' (*PAP*, p.259). Jenkinson described Mickledore as 'the most difficult bit of mountaineering work in the Lake Country' after the 'dangerous ascent' of Pillar Rock (*JPG*, p.192). The second edition of Murray's *Handbook for Westmorland, Cumberland and the Lakes* issued a similar caution concerning Mickledore. It stated that it should only be attempted by 'experienced cragsmen or members of the Alpine Club'.⁷¹

The codification of climbing as a separate sport with its own equipment, guides, guidebooks and route notations was an extended process. Like the shift from completeness to specialisation in guidebooks, the boundaries between fellwalking and rock climbing were blurred. Practitioners such as Sir Leslie Stephen (Alpine Club President 1865-68) and James Bryce MP (first chairman of the Cairngorm Club 1887) combined vigorous mountain walking

⁷⁰ Arthur Burns, 'Accidents Will Happen': Risk, Climbing and Pedestrianism in the "Golden Age" of English Mountaineering, 1850-1865', *Walking Histories*, pp.165-94 (pp.176-82); Hansen, 'Albert Smith', pp.319-20.

⁷¹ Murray's *Handbook*, pp.31, 62, 39, 91.

and climbing in the 1860s and 1870s.⁷² However, by the end of the century fellwalkers and rock climbers were seen as increasingly distinct. The main text of A. W. Rumney's *The Way About the English Lake District* [1898] addressed the "'fell" climber'. It included an Appendix on Crag Climbing by J. Wilson Robinson of Lorton.⁷³ Baddeley's guidance on routes for pedestrians on Scafell, and those he cautioned as being for rock climbers or 'cragmen', sharpened the distinction between fellwalking and rock climbing in the English Lake District. His advice forms a case study on where it was considered safe for fellwalkers to be in the uplands of the region at the close of the nineteenth century.

'From the ordinary tourist's point of view': a Scafell case study

Baddeley's descriptions of the routes he considered to be safe for walkers on Scafell and those which were for climbers only exemplify how guidance in relation to safety represents a shift from imaginative to practical engagement with the landscape in his guidebook. His treatment of Scafell also demonstrates the growing popularity of fellwalking with a guidebook instead of a guide, as well as the increasingly expert nature of rock climbing in the English Lake District. He did not include Scafell in the first four editions of the *Thorough Guide*. It was first mentioned in the index of *The Fells* section in the revised fifth edition (1889). It is not described in the accompanying text until the eighth edition (1899), when Baddeley admitted to having previously treated it with 'scant courtesy' because it was lower than Scafell Pike and more inaccessible (except from Wasdale and Eskdale). His main reason for portraying Scafell now was because its crags had increasingly become the object of the 'Alpine aspirations' of 'practised climbers' who based themselves at Wasdale Head at

⁷² Paul Readman, 'Walking and Environmentalism in the Career of James Bryce: Mountaineer, Scholar, Statesman, 1838-1922', *Walking Histories*, pp.287-318 (pp.291-92).

⁷³ A.W. Rumney, *The Way About the English Lake District* (London: Iliffe & Son, [1898]), pp.11; 95-110.

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Christmas and Easter. The Wasdale Head Inn is referred to today as the home of British rock climbing. Baddeley called Scafell's crags 'unquestionably the grandest height of Lakeland', continuing:

The writer of an ordinary guidebook is bound to use discrimination in describing the ascents. Everyone who wants to do difficult things here and elsewhere in the district will arm himself with Haskett Smith's 'Climbing in England' [sic] (*BTG*, eighth edition, p.227).

W.P. Haskett Smith was a pioneering rock climber who made the first ascent of Napes Needle on Great Gable in 1886 and wrote *Climbing in the British Isles*. Volume I was England (1894) and Volume II was Wales and Ireland (1895). The 'difficult things' to which Baddeley referred were the climber's ascents of Scafell. These were Broad Stand, Moss Gill and Steep Gill. He noted that the 'chimney' route currently 'rests under the ban of two terrible accidents' (*BTG*, eighth edition, p.228).

Nevertheless, Baddeley described some adventurous walking routes, such as that from Scafell Pike via the Mickledore ridge including Lord's Rake which was 'toilsome' but 'no difficulty', and the ascent from Eskdale via Cam Spout. He cautioned against the 'short but dangerous' cut of Broad Stand (*BTG*, eighth edition, pp.227-8; 224). By contrast, the route from Wasdale Head by Burnmoor was 'tedious and uninteresting'. Baddeley concluded the section on Scafell with strong words of warning against the climbers' routes:

To attempt any of these climbs is sheer fool-hardiness for any but the most practised climbers – sure of hand, head, and foot: besides which, any misadventure involves in its consequences not only the direct sufferer from it, but the dalesmen and the district itself (*BTG*, eighth edition, p.228).

Baddeley's desire to prevent climbing accidents from occasioning reputational harm to local people and the wider district highlights the danger associated with the sport at the end of the nineteenth century.

Whether participating in fellwalking or rock-climbing, Baddeley's treatment of Scafell confirms that growing numbers of people were able, inspired by guidebooks, to explore the uplands of the English Lake District on foot in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He linked the popularity of the region as a tourist destination with preserving its reputation from harm caused by climbing accidents. Baddeley stated that 'We shall only deal with safe ascents' for walkers and implicitly excluded rock climbers by writing 'from the ordinary tourist's point of view' (*BTG*, eighth edition, p.227). The influence of Prior's detailed and practical route directions can be traced in the *Thorough Guide*. These directions represent an important development in the history of guidebooks which encouraged self-guided fellwalking in the English Lake District.

'Maps not pictures': the communication of walking route directions

Prior's bold claim that his route descriptions formed '*maps not pictures*' emphasised a practical, rather than a picturesque, representation of the landscape for the reader-walker (*PAP*, p.viii).⁷⁴ The number of walking routes he included and how he described them stands in contrast to other works and influenced both the *Practical Guide* and *Thorough Guide*. The accuracy and comprehensiveness of his walking route directions assisted safe route-finding unaccompanied by a person as a guide. Prior distinguished between guidebooks that were

⁷⁴ Prior may have used the phrase '*maps not pictures*' to contrast with this statement by William Gilpin: 'It is certainly an error in landscape-painting, to comprehend too much. It turns a picture into a map'. William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes, of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, 2nd edn (London: Blamire, 1788), Vol. I, p.154.

of value in the field and those which were more useful to read before venturing out. His suggestion that the competing works of Martineau, Payn and Black were best suited to contemplation indoors implied that these addressed a less experienced and active audience (*PAP*, pp.v-vi). Martineau's route directions were not as detailed as Prior's. *Ascents and Passes* included seventy upland routes, twenty-two of which were ascents and the remainder crossings by valleys, passes or lower heights. In a prefatory note to the third edition of what was now known as his *Guide to the Lake District of England* [1880], Prior pointed out that his work preceded 'by some years' the guidebooks of Jenkinson and Baddeley. The shift in title from *Ascents and Passes* to a self-declared guide emphasises usage on the fell over home reading.

Three aspects of Prior's textual communication of walking routes are significant to the relationship between guidebook literature and the practice of fellwalking. First, Prior drew on his personal experience of fellwalking, and not repetition of content from preceding works, to enable the reader-walker to explore the uplands independently and safely, guidebook in hand. Secondly, he paid particular attention to areas where it was easy to go wrong, but important not to. Thirdly, he presented himself as a companion to his readership. Prior expressed his object as being to 'put a stranger to the district in the same position as if he had a companion by his side thoroughly acquainted with it' through descriptions which were based on 'personal observation throughout' (*PAP*, p.vii). As a result he was confident that the reader-walker could orientate himself in relation to notable landscape features by referring to his guidebook as if it were a map:

To the tourist on the spot, and with the book in his hand, it is hoped they may supply just the land-mark, - the notched rock, or cairn, or sheep-pen, which is not without its value amid the desolation of a peat-moor, with dusk approaching, and the

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weather showing its usual proclivity under the circumstances for a steady night's rain
(*PAP*, p.viii).

The references to desolation, rain and approaching darkness place the reader in an uncomfortable and potentially dangerous situation, from which Prior suggests the advice in his guidebook may deliver them. His descriptions possessed an advantage over maps since he could direct the reader-walker's attention to places (Esk Hause; Greenup Edge) where it was easy to mistake the route, and to explain in detail how to avoid trouble (*PAP*, pp.92, 201, 86). Prior's confidence in his directions is notably expressed in the statement elsewhere in *Ascents and Passes* that 'it is better now to disregard all paths' and follow a stream towards the head of Easedale (*PAP*, p.85).

Prior kept the reader-walker on the correct path by textually mapping the landscape and internally cross-referencing his route directions. He emphasised his intention that his guidebook be used in the field by describing the start of a walk in 'tedious minuteness' because 'it is confused with artificial features; on the open fell there is comparatively no difficulty' (*PAP*, p.viii). His reference to 'artificial features' points to the issue of locating the right path from a starting point in a town, village or other settlement. It also hints at the importance of locating the start of a particular rock climb from among other routes, of significance to him as a 'practised Alpine traveller'. Prior's guidance on the route from Haweswater to Windermere illustrates his approach:

Here for Applethwaite Common (a), instead of keeping along the upper edge of this patch of ground, as directed on page 142 for Troutbeck, make for the corner of the wall on the left of the patch, and then cross the latter slantways to a gate in its opposite lower corner, leading to a cottage with a yew tree in its garden. Keep under the yew tree, and make for a gap in the wall on the left of the barn opposite. From

this, a field-path leads down to Kentmere Hall, (see page 21), and enters the farm-yard of the latter by a wicket, leaving it by a large gate immediately afterwards. You then skirt the lower wall of the farmyard; on leaving which, and crossing a small-stream, you are joined by a road from Kentmere Church. This forms the junction of Route 39, from Haweswater to Windermere BY SLEDDALE; see page 150 (*PAP*, p.147).

The three cross references to other pages suggest that consulting *Ascents and Passes* whilst on a walk would not have been seamless. However, Prior's provision of detailed directions indicates that his routes were more likely to be followed successfully. By contrast, works such as *A Descriptive Tour or Guide to the English Lakes of Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire* (1872) assumed the reader-walker had substantially more knowledge of the ground and route finding. Descriptions such as 'Coming to Glaramara on your right, you ascend Esk Hause; you turn southerly, leaving Great End, the Great Gable, Sprinkling Tarn, &c., on your right' point to the abbreviated nature of the directions in this guidebook.⁷⁵ The familiarity implied by Prior's use of the pronoun 'you' reinforces his aspiration to be a companion to the reader-walker. The authorial persona he constructed is discussed further when considering how and why his guidebook and treatment of fellwalking diverged from Jenkinson's and Baddeley's.

Jenkinson built on Prior's approach and additionally demonstrated a thoroughness in making his guidebook and an affinity for the landscape of the district which suggests why Wainwright held the *Practical Guide* in such high regard. Jenkinson 'made memoranda on the spot' and wrote each tour 'whilst the subject was fresh in the memory'. He walked

⁷⁵ *A Descriptive Tour or Guide to the English Lakes of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancashire* (Barrow-in-Furness: J. Richardson [1872]), p.66.

‘thousands of miles, revisiting every location to ensure his information was correct, and checking the best ascent routes (*JPG*, pp.iii-iv). He acquired such expert knowledge of the uplands that he was called on to assist with a mountain rescue. He helped in the search for Edward Barnard, a London silversmith, who died of heat exhaustion in Ennerdale in 1876.⁷⁶ Writing in the *Graphic* on 31 August 1872, William White described meeting Jenkinson in Keswick earlier in the year and discussing how the *Practical Guide* had been made over the previous winter. Jenkinson began on 15 October 1871 and set himself a deadline to finish the book by summer 1872. An account in the *West Cumberland Times* of 5 June 1875 describes how he ascended Great Gable four times, covering ninety-six miles and more than 10,000 feet of ascent, to ensure that his information was accurate.⁷⁷

The importance Jenkinson placed on naming the fells implies his close affinity with the landscape of the district. His route directions are distinctive for listing the panorama of hills visible to his readership as their walks and carriage excursions unfolded. He acknowledged that this risked making his work ‘dull’ but did so because the ‘true mountaineer’ delighted in being able to recognise and name an ‘old friend’ (*JPG*, p.iv). His description of the ascent of Yoke, near Troutbeck in the south of the LDNP, provides an example:

During the ascent Red Screes and Wansfell Pike are the near heights on the left, and in the distance gradually appear Langdale Pikes, Scawfell Pikes, Bow Fell, Crinkle

⁷⁶ ‘The disappearance of Edward Barnard in The Lakes’, 18 December 2015, *Lakeland Tales and Histories*, <<https://scafellhike.blogspot.com/2015/12/the-disappearance-of-edward-barnard-in>> [accessed 17 July 2024].

⁷⁷ <<https://www.retroitaint.com/post/henry-irwin-jenkinson-1838-1891>>. William White, pseud. “‘An Old Man’” was principal doorman of the House of Commons.

Crags, Wetherlam, Coniston Old Man, and Black Combe. Windermere is a beautiful object at the foot of Troutbeck Valley (*JPG*, p.49).⁷⁸

Jenkinson's approach assumed that those using his guidebook outdoors could orient themselves by recognising at least one hill, or another fixed point in his list. He named the fells repeatedly from different points throughout his descriptions of walks and coach or carriage drives. This practice resembles railway guides and the earlier road books which arranged 'material to suit the traveller as he goes along' as Vaughan has described. Such works typically instructed the reader to observe places of interest to the right and left while in motion.⁷⁹ For Jenkinson, these places of interest were primarily the fells.

The utility of Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* was applauded in the *Graphic's* review of the first edition which stated that 'No one who wants to see the Lakes properly will go without the "Thorough Guide" in his pocket'.⁸⁰ Information on the district, approaches and timetables preceded the main text, which was arranged alphabetically by place and then in order of carriage, pony, and valley and upland walking routes. Two sections in particular assisted fellwalking without a guide by presenting certain fells or routes in the manner of walk selections in modern guidebooks. In an embryonic form of the structure of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides*, *The Fells* section of the *Thorough Guide* outlined routes of ascent, views from the summits and routes of descent for twelve of the highest and most

⁷⁸ Guy Richardson, "'Scafell" or "Scawfell"? New book delves into the old debate about famous Lake District peak', *Keswick Reminder*, 8 July 2023. Richardson, author of *The Scafells: A Grand Tour* (Keswick: Lakeland Views Publishing, 2023) describes how National Archive records reveal that the OS accepted the spelling "Scafell", provided by farmers to their field surveyors in the 1850s, and not that of "Scawfell" proffered by 'prominent guidebook writers'.
<<https://keswickreminder.co.uk/2023/07/08/scafell-or-scawfell-new-book-delves-into-the-old-debate-about-famous-lake-district-peak>>

⁷⁹ Vaughan, *English Guide Book*, pp.63-4.

⁸⁰ 'The Reader', *Graphic*, Issue 557, July 1880.

popular of the forty-nine summits listed (*BTG*, pp.156-191). Another section, *Days on the Fells* described six linear or circular walks. For example, Walk Four is thirteen mile or six-and-a-half-hour round from Keswick to Buttermere. Walk Six is a twelve mile and five-hour circuit from Patterdale over Hart Crag, Fairfield and St Sunday Crag (*BTG*, pp.192-207; 201-4; 205-7). Estimates in modern guidebooks and walking websites confirm the hardness of the late-Victorian fellwalker, since Baddeley's suggested timings are challenging for days which are lengthy and strenuous. Later editions of the *Thorough Guide* suggest a tension between usability and thoroughness. Progressively more rounded corners of the cover made it easier to extract from a pocket. In contrast, a desire for thoroughness, and for income, resulted in the text and the number of advertisements expanding, which impaired its portability. The first substantial revision made the fifth edition (1889) thirty-five pages longer, due to the inclusion of more route directions and other information. Set in smaller font within the main text, this design suggests a compromise between completeness, specialisation and utility.⁸¹

The specialisation represented by the communication of walking route directions in *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* represents a significant change from the aspirations to completeness of Martineau's *Complete Guide*. Exploration of the uplands on foot with a guidebook, instead of with a person as a guide, was assisted by detailed and thorough directions based on Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's personal experience; their focus on the fells; Jenkinson's particular affinity for the landscape of the district; and the selection of the 'best' fells and routes which Baddeley presented to the

⁸¹ Revisions to previous editions mainly comprised inserts such as the section on the Lake District Defence Society in the fourth edition. An extra map of Ullswater was introduced in the second edition, as well as a few pages of supplementary information suggesting an excursion to Tilberthwaite Gill and routes for the ascents of Place Fell and St Sunday Crag, presumably omissions from the first edition.

reader-walker. Innovations in illustrations in their guidebooks further enabled autonomous fellwalking by describing routes more accurately.

‘Amplly supplied with beautiful maps’: innovations in cartography and illustration

The cartography in Baddeley’s *Thorough Guide* set it apart in the print history of English Lake District tourism. Maps were presented innovatively and integrated with the text instead of being positioned as imported accessories (as illustrations had tended to be in preceding works). Their depiction of the fells and footpaths was sufficiently detailed to facilitate confident pedestrian exploration of the uplands of the English Lake District with a guidebook instead of a guide. The *Birmingham Daily Post* praised the *Thorough Guides* series for having ‘every virtue of a guidebook’: ‘They are small, compact, concisely written, comprehensive, admirably arranged, trustworthy, practical, and amplly supplied with beautiful maps’ (*BTG*, eighth edition, opposite title page). Accurate mapping represented a watershed moment in the development of fellwalking and the history of printing for tourists in the English Lake District in the mid-Victorian period. The OS surveyed Westmorland in the six-inch-to-one mile scale between 1856 and 1860 and Cumberland between 1859 and 1865.⁸² More detailed and readily available maps which accurately showed the complex landscape of the English Lake District, including contours, changed the information guidebooks could include to assist non-experts in taking to the fells independently.

The cartography in the *Thorough Guide* was particularly innovative because it represented the first use of printed layer colouring in the maps produced by John

⁸² William D. Shannon, *Cumbria: 1000 Years of Maps* (Loughrigg: Jake Island, 2024), p.200; National Library of Scotland, ‘Survey and revision dates for County series mapping – England and Wales 1842-1952’, 2025 <<https://maps.nls.uk/os/county-series/dates-england-and-wales>> [accessed 11 June 2025]

Bartholomew & Son, the Edinburgh firm of map engravers, printers and publishers.⁸³ The map in Figure 8, reduced in scale from the OS, is an example. Different colours delineate a succession of contours, rising in increments of 500 feet, up to 2,500 feet. All of the land above this height is shaded in mid-brown.



Figure 8: Section Map VII, *The Thorough Guide, The English Lake District* (1880) from the private collection of Barry McKay

⁸³ 'Highlights from the Bartholomew Archive', National Library of Scotland <<https://digital.nls.uk/bartholomew/highlights/half-inch-series>> [accessed 19 March 2024].

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The almost three-dimensional effect introduced by printed layer colouring drew the attention of the reader-walker to the ascent profile of routes and their potential difficulty. The integration of such maps with the text made for easier and user-friendly reference whilst walking. Twelve fold-out maps in the scale of one-inch to the mile were positioned at the beginning of each section of the first edition, rising to eighteen maps and panoramas in the eighth, with a folding pocket map of the district inside the front cover. In contrast to guides such as that of West, which only depicted two hills (High Street and Helvellyn) east of the road between Ambleside and Grasmere, the maps in the *Thorough Guide* included a vastly expanded level of topographical detail on the fells and on footpaths for the pedestrian.

The inclusion of practical panoramas, line drawings and hand-drawn sketch maps in the *Practical Guide*, the *Thorough Guide* and *Ascents and Passes* supports their increasingly practical route descriptions and confirms that these works were intended to be used outdoors. The fourth edition of Jenkinson's guidebook (1875) included lithograph views of mountains visible from a height. Figure 9 is an example.

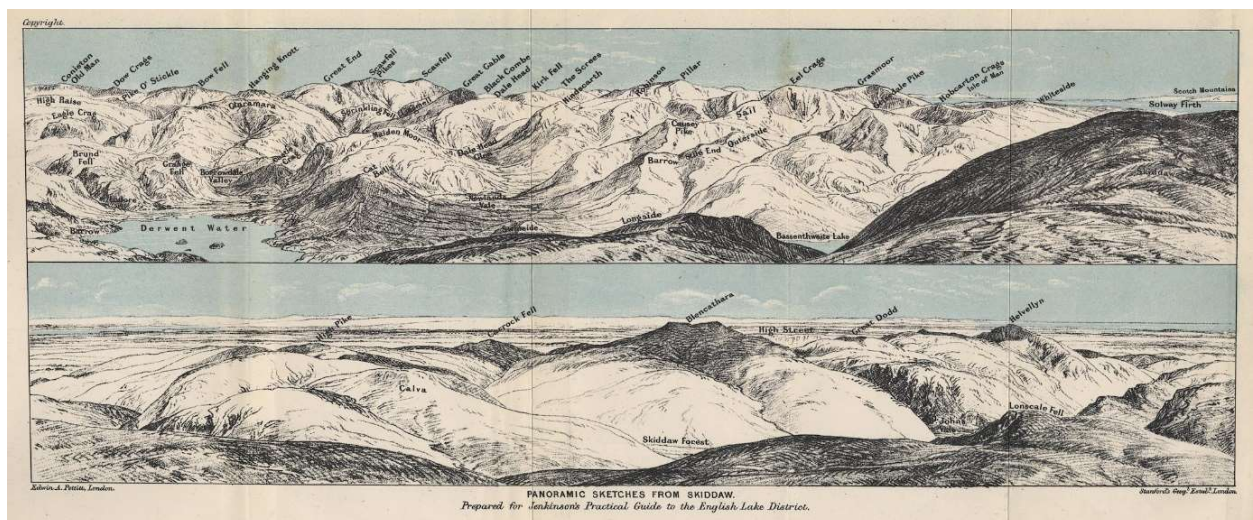


Figure 9: Panoramic sketches from Skiddaw, lithograph prepared for *Jenkinson's Practical Guide to the English Lake District*, fourth edition, 1875.

The detail of the panorama and its clear naming of the fells renders them more easily recognisable than in the outline sketches which had been included, for example, in Otley's *Concise Description* since its fourth edition (1830). Such lithographs could be consulted both during a walk and its planning. The sketch map in the *Thorough Guide* which shows the complicated intersecting paths and valley systems at Esk Hause clearly points to this dual use (*BTG*, p.137). The second edition of Prior's guidebook, titled *Prior's English Lakes* [1881], includes another practical innovation in illustration which Stephen Reid has described as the first printed climbing diagram. It depicts the 'Easy Way' version of the 'Slab and Notch' route on Pillar Rock.⁸⁴ Reid notes that the guidebook's editor, C. W. Dymond, had climbed Pillar Rock and wrote the first route description in 1866.

A shift towards pictorial, as well as practical content, in Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks encouraged self-guided fellwalking. The incorporation of more, and more innovative and pedestrian-friendly illustrations influenced the design of guidebooks and facilitated participation in fellwalking from the later nineteenth century. For example, the modern maps for walkers by Harvey with graduated shading of contours resemble those which use printed layer colouring in Baddeley's *Thorough Guide*. The editions of the *Pictorial Guides* revised by Chris Jesty and published between 2005 and 2009 highlight footpaths in

⁸⁴ Herman Prior, *Pedestrian and General Guide to the Lake District of England*, 2nd edn (Windermere, Garnett, [1881]), p.181. Stephen Reid, 'A History of Lake District Climbing Guidebooks (Part 2)', *The Fell and Rock Journal*, 88 (2022), pp.109-44 (p.122) [accessed 20 March 2024]. Reid describes the 'Slab and Notch' diagram from the 3rd edition [1882] and reproduces it from the undated Nonpareil 5th edition of Prior's *Guide to The Lake District of England*. <<https://www.frcc.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/simple-file-list/Journals/Journal-2022.pdf>> [accessed 6 November 2023].

red for ease of reference, as did the seventh edition of *Prior's Guide to the Lake District of England* (1890). However, Garnett's claim that 'the constant use of the Map is expected to economise the use of many words' in *The Lake District of England What to See and How to See It* (1887) did not necessarily prove to be correct.⁸⁵ The dialogue between text and image, occasioned by the incorporation of illustrations, prompted a tension to develop between beauty and utility in guidebook design which was left to guidebooks in the twentieth century to resolve. Differences in the intended readership of Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks set up a further tension. Alpine and domestic tourism represents a form of specialisation, the influence of which helped to identify those for whom Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley sought to describe and recommend fellwalking.

'To all who wish thoroughly to become members of the Alpine Club'

The first edition of *Ascents and Passes* reflected the contemporary popularity of the Alps and Alpine literature in a way that Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* and Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* did not. The *Reader* recommended Prior's guidebook 'To all who wish thoroughly to qualify themselves to become members of the Alpine Club'. His descriptions of the Lake District 'practice-grounds' were held to be superior to other guidebooks and particularly helpful to 'mountain climbers'.⁸⁶ *Ascents and Passes* was primarily a guidebook for walkers, despite its address to a readership of existing or aspiring Alpinists who might wish to engage in fellwalking in the English Lake District to build up endurance for an Alpine season, and the inclusion in the second edition of the description and diagram of the climb of Pillar Rock.

⁸⁵ *The Lake District of England, What to See and How To See It*, p.3.

⁸⁶ *Reader*, 26 August 1865, Vol. VI, No.139, pp. 223-44 (pp.231-32)
<<https://www.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/historical-periodicals/ascents-passes-lake-district-england-being-new/docview/4855013/sem-2?accountid=11979>>

Alpinists were active in rock-climbing in the English Lake District, as well as in endurance challenges and fellwalking when Prior was writing. First climbed by a local 'youth named Atkinson' in 1826, and other local climbers in 1848 and 1850, an ascent of Pillar Rock in 1850 by C.A.O. Baumgartner, a future Alpine Club member, was recorded by George Seatree in his preface to Williamson's *The Climbs of the English Lake District*.⁸⁷ Pillar Rock was climbed increasingly frequently in the 1860s and the 1870s by Alpinists such as Stephen and Professor John Tyndall, as well as by local climbers.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, Alpine Club member Frances William Bourdillon compared the ascent of Helvellyn with greater Alpine heights in his illustrated poem, *The Mountain's Brow* (1883):

Oh Mighty is the Matterhorn
And fair the famed Jung-frau;
But on their heights we think with scorn,
Who've climbed Helvellyn's brow.⁸⁹

Bourdillon's description of this adventure is ironic and also of limited influence. The few copies of *The Mountain's Brow* in existence suggest a limited print run for the climbing party and their friends. Nevertheless, it confirms the participation of Alpinists in fellwalking in the English Lake District.

Interest in the Alps from the mid-nineteenth century was expressed in changing cultural attitudes to mountain landscapes and touristic practices, which in turn influenced

⁸⁷ Geoge Seatree, Preface to Williamson, *Climbs*, in *FRCC Journal*, 1907, ed. by Woodhouse and Scantlebury, 7, pp.27-28.

⁸⁸ Williamson, *Climbs*, in *FRCC Journal*, 1907, ed. by Woodhouse and Scantlebury, pp.38-39.

⁸⁹ Frances William Bourdillon, *The Mountain's Brow: A Lay of the climbing of Helvellyn Sept 4th 1883*, p.11, in The Dacre Library. The only documented publicly held copy is in the Yale Archives.

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the development of fellwalking. Peter Hansen has highlighted how Albert Smith's popular entertainment, based on his 1851 climb of Mont Blanc, was instrumental in undermining cultural associations which had limited previous leisure patterns in the Alps to a narrow range of participants and aesthetic responses.⁹⁰ Thomas Cook offered the first Alpine tours to tradesmen as well as to the more leisured in the mid-1860s. Ann Colley has claimed that by the late nineteenth century British Alpine tourism was characterised by mountains, which had previously been seen as unapproachable, being measured, 'conquered' and 'institutionalised through maps, guidebooks and even board games'.⁹¹ David Robertson, by contrast, has found limited evidence in the *Alpine Journal* of writers using the language of conquest.⁹²

Of direct significance to the development of fellwalking as a leisure practice was how Alpinists increasingly defined themselves as distinct from other groups of tourists and excursionists, informing and reflecting a discourse in contemporary literature which concerned who belonged in the mountains and who did not. Such distinctions were partly drawn for social reasons. Membership of the Alpine Club was predominantly upper middle-class. Thompson has noted that of the '281 members in 1863, there were 57 barristers, 23 solicitors, 34 clergymen, 15 dons and 19 landed gentry'. There were no women, despite their active participation in Alpine climbing.⁹³ Westaway has described how Alpine

⁹⁰ Hansen, 'Albert Smith', pp.322-23; 305.

⁹¹ Ann C. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp.22-23; 2.

⁹² David Robertson, 'Mid-Victorians Amongst the Alps' in U.C. Knoepfelmacher and G.B. Tennyson (eds), *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp.113-36 (p.133).

⁹³ Thompson, *English Lakes*, p.216.

mountains prompted reflection on the position of self in the universe and suggested aspects of deity even for the agnostic Stephen.⁹⁴ Contemporary literature reinforced the contrast, between such high ideals and the majority of typical ascents, by mocking those termed tourists. *Punch* suggested in 1854 the “Good News for Cockney Travellers” was that Mont Blanc was to be carpeted, and in 1856 described a ‘crowd of cockney tourists’ on the summit of Snowdon.⁹⁵ Cockney connoted a Londoner who was insular and vulgar instead of educated and genteel.⁹⁶

Prior’s depiction of fellwalking in the English Lake District and the intended readership of *Ascents and Passes* drew on distinctions between Alpinists and other forms of tourism. Its title echoed *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* (1859) edited by John Ball, the first President of the Alpine Club, which described first ascents of Alpine summits by Club members and ran to a second edition within six weeks.⁹⁷ Prior compared the English Lake District favourably to the Alps and other mountainous areas of Great Britain. He implied that ascending the highest mountains of the district and the passage from ‘the deep indentation of the Borrowdale valley’ to Wasdale passing ‘the cliffs of Scawfell and Glaramara’ were akin to Alpine expeditions. Such comparisons were not new. Preceding English Lake District guidebooks had made similar analogies to the cliff of Saddleback (Blencathra) being ‘Alpine-looking’ (*PAP*, p.154). However, Prior’s comment that, unlike ‘Mr. Ball’s magnificent Swiss guide’, all walks could be accomplished ‘between breakfast and sun-down’ drew attention

⁹⁴ Westaway, ‘Origins’, p.163.

⁹⁵ Colley, *Victorians*, pp.3; 27.

⁹⁶ Hansen, ‘Albert Smith’, p.308.

⁹⁷ John Ball, *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers, A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club*, 2nd edn (London, Longman, 1859), p.vii.

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to the region's compactness and its suitability for pedestrian exploration, qualities which Baddeley subsequently highlighted (*PAP*, p.ix). Prior contrasted the English Lake District landscape to that of Scotland and Wales. Compared to Scotland, 'dull bits' of scenery were avoided: 'Twenty miles of moor with an ugly mountain on the horizon, may have their merits, but, as the Scotch tourist well knows, they are not very cheerful walking' (*PAP*, pp.4-5). Prior preferred the town of Ambleside over that of Beddgelert in today's Eryri National Park (formerly Snowdonia), except for the lack of a picturesque object such as Pont Aberglaslyn (*PAP*, p.36).

Prior encouraged the practice of fellwalking with a guidebook instead of a guide by reinforcing his credentials as a mountain man and implying an intimate and equal relationship with the reader. He described *Ascents and Passes* as having originated in 'an expansion of memoranda', which he had already successfully supplied to friends, to include 'the entire mountain work of the district' (*PAP*, p.vi). Such content would be of interest to a reader preparing for a season in the Alps by walking in the English Lake District. Prior addressed his reader as a 'friend in need', though his reference to the need represented by his friend's lack of knowledge of fellwalking in the region suggests a loss of status as an equal (*PAP*, p.vi). Prior made it clear that he did not address the types of tourists and excursionists from whom Alpinists typically tended to distance themselves. His description of the main road to Ambleside from Windermere as 'reeking at all times with the abominations of car-traffic, bad cigars, and cockneyism' exemplifies this distinction (*PAP*, p.19). The implication was that such visitors were not interested in, or could not appreciate, the upland pedestrianism he espoused.

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Prior aspired to the authorial persona not only of a friend but of a clubbable companion to a reader of a similar background and level of intelligence, as suggested by the pronoun 'you' and the informal style of the following passage:

The companion may be uninteresting, or prolix, or you may like your way the best, or think you could have hit upon his just as well in his absence. Still, on the whole, you will be glad to have him. In fact, there seems no reason why a tourist on his first visit should not be put in possession of the results by which one guides oneself after having got up the subject...There seems no reason why the tourist should not be similarly supplied, in the first instance, with a *vade mecum* of directions, wherever the map will not avail him (*PAP*, p.vii).

Prior's description conflated a person and a guidebook in his authorial persona as a companion. His use of the Latin *vade mecum*, ("go with me", meaning a handbook or guide kept constantly at hand), and other Latin and Greek references, suggests a well-educated audience. Indeed, he expected that his readers possessed at least 'an average amount of intelligence' and would study the maps he included (*PAP*, p.viii). Similar discernment is seen in a review of Baddeley's guidebook in the *Graphic* in 1887 which claimed that it would be 'impossible for any person of common intelligence to lose his way, even in the most remote mountain districts' if carrying the *Thorough Guide*.⁹⁸

Prior's descriptions of routes which comprised 'all that is "worth doing" in the district: at any rate, as much of it as will supply the tourist with a month or two's good occupation' confirms his readership was not only intelligent and well-educated but leisured

⁹⁸ *Graphic*, 24 September 1887.

(*PAP*, vii). A 'month or two' represented, for example, a university long summer vacation. Prior's use of 'tourist' suggests that the term had not fully acquired the pejorative meaning later associated with it. The reporting of English Lake District fellwalking accidents at the time implies that certain visitors belonged in the mountains in a way that others did not. Newspaper accounts of the fatal accidents of Charles Lennox Butler in 1865, son of the Hon. Charles Lennox Butler, killed by a fall in snow on Great Gable, and Edward Barnard, the London silversmith who died while walking in Ennerdale, were influenced by their reasons for visiting the district as well as the respective social status of the victims. Butler's death was described as melancholy because he had been drawn to the region by the sublime winter views. The reporting of Barnard's death instead attracted a hint of blame. On holiday with his family, he 'did not seem a good walker' and was perhaps not the equal implied by Prior's authorial persona.⁹⁹

The renaming of *Ascents and Passes* to *Prior's English Lakes* and *A Guide to the Lake District of England*, and the paucity of other English Lake District guidebooks with an Alpine flavour, suggests that whilst the influence of Alpine tourism on the English Lake District guidebook genre was important, it was ultimately limited. The Alpine reference, represented by the nod to *Ascents and Passes* on the cover of *Richardson's Shilling Guide to the Lakes, Peaks and Passes of Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire* was unusual. However, the demotic nature of a *Shilling Guide* suggests an attempt to appeal to a diverse readership for whom cost was more important than Prior's.¹⁰⁰ Richardson claimed that

⁹⁹ *Westmorland Gazette*, 25 February 1865 Volume 48, Issue 3262, p.6; *Lakes Chronicle and Reporter*, 20 September 1876; Bob Orrell and Margaret Vincent, *Lakeland Monuments, Book 1 North* (Bob Orrell Publications, 1998) pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁰ By contrast, the title page, *A Descriptive Tour or Guide to the English Lakes of Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire*, combines the old-style *Descriptive Tour* with a new-style *Guide*.

‘every facility is now afforded for travelling at a cheap rate’ by improvements in rail and coach travel.¹⁰¹ The audience of tourists and excursionists for whom this guidebook was intended indicates the importance of English Lake District tourism to the relationship between guidebooks and fellwalking.

‘Of real service to the tourist’

Jenkinson and Baddeley located the appeal of the English Lake District in its landscape, literature, history and culture, and not by invoking the Alps. This indicates another reason why Wainwright admired the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide*. The *Morning Post*’s review of the sixth edition of the *Practical Guide* suggests Jenkinson had met his aim to be of ‘real service to the tourist’ (*JPG*, p.iii). It recommended his guidebook as providing all the necessary practical information and neglecting ‘none of the questions that can increase the traveller’s interest in this picturesque region’.¹⁰² Baddeley’s aspirations for the *Thorough Guide* further strengthens the contrast with Prior’s guidebook. Baddeley’s aim was ‘faithfully guiding such as have already arrived in the district’, as well as inducing those who ‘gratify their taste for the picturesque in foreign lands only’, to appreciate beauties closer to home (*BTG*, p.x).

Jenkinson’s aim to be of service to the tourist implied an appeal to a wider readership and a more impersonal authorial persona than Prior’s. Jenkinson referred to his readers in the third person and not as a friend. ‘Numerous visitors’ had prevailed upon him to write a guidebook ‘which should be as exhaustive and practical as possible, and the result of personal observation’. He was well-placed to do this, being intimately acquainted with

¹⁰¹ *Richardson’s Shilling Guide*, p.5.

¹⁰² ‘Guide Books for the Season’, *Morning Post*, 15 August 1884, p.6.

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almost every mountain and vale, every nook and corner' (*JPG*, p.iii). He addressed a less leisured readership than Prior. The longest visit mentioned in the *Practical Guide* was fourteen days, with a 'flying visit' estimated at nine days (*JPG*, pp.xv-xvi). Jenkinson's text made clear the constraints imposed by shorter stays. For example, 'those who have time' should ascend Gatescarth Pass (between Harter Fell and Branstree in the far east of the district) from Longsleddale (*JPG*, p.35).

Jenkinson's and Baddeley's readership typically not only had more limited resources than Prior's, but were less familiar with the district and less experienced in exploring its uplands, as Jenkinson's guidance regarding the carriage trip from Keswick to Buttermere suggests:

A cold luncheon is usually in readiness at both hotels when the conveyances arrive.

Tourists are recommended to partake of this at once, and then walk a few hundred yards past the Fish Hotel to the boat-landings on Crummock Lake. A row of ten or fifteen minutes will take them to the landing-place for Scale Force (*JPG*, p.148).

Buttermere had accrued its own visitor infrastructure of conveyances, cold luncheons and rowing boats partly because of its proximity to Scale Force, the highest waterfall in the English Lake District, with a single drop of 170 feet. The latter is a well-known viewpoint, from which the lakes of Crummock Water and Buttermere are visible, surrounded by mountains. Jenkinson's advice enabled his readers to make the most of this excursion. Baddeley also detailed the footpath and lake approaches to Scale Force, but his description of the coach excursion from Keswick to Buttermere is characteristic of the influence of the picturesque aesthetic on his descriptions of the landscape of the district. The route exemplified 'an exquisite regard for proportion'. Baddeley's reference to 'a succession of scenes which are not only thoroughly beautiful, but fall little, if at all, short of being sublime'

points to Brown's earlier description of the vale of Keswick as uniting beauty, horror and immensity (*BTG*, pp.105-6).

The *Practical Guide* manifested a form of domestic tourism so local that the work can be received as promotional material for visiting the north of the district. Jenkinson described more ascents than Prior, sixty-one in total excluding other upland routes, due largely to his concentration on pedestrian tours from Keswick. The latter suggests an attempt to secure benefits from tourism for the town and, by implication, the broadening of a visitor demographic which had traditionally been more socially elite than Ambleside or Windermere.¹⁰³ The Keswick section of the book is the longest at 124 pages, over double the next largest on Windermere, which numbers fifty-nine pages. Jenkinson favoured excursions and walks accessible from his adopted home, 'one of the most delightful' being a walk from Keswick over Grisedale Pike, Grasmoor and Causey Pike (*JPG*, p.208). This route was much less well-known than the popular ascent of Skiddaw. Its inclusion demonstrates not only Jenkinson's knowledge of the fells but also the *Practical Guide's* focus on the attractions of Keswick and its environs.

The form of specialisation represented by Alpine and domestic tourism influenced Prior's, Jenkinson's, and Baddeley's treatment of fellwalking. The differing authorial personae they adopted and the readership they addressed reflects their experiences of exploring the fells of the English Lake District, and further afield. Jenkinson's and Baddeley's representation of fellwalking was further informed by their involvement in local issues of access to and preservation of the landscape of the district. Jenkinson led the Latrigg Fell Mass Protest of 1887 as secretary of the KFPA. Baddeley opposed the multiplication of

¹⁰³ Marshall and Walton, *Lake Counties*, pp.184-88; Walton and McGloin, 'Tourist Trade', pp.160-63.

railways and local industries as an Honorary Secretary of the LDDS. For both men, wider principles were at stake which influenced their more inclusive approach to fellwalking and tourism in the English Lake District compared to Prior.

Jenkinson, Baddeley, and access to and preservation of the English Lake District

The Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass manifested Jenkinson's personal belief that the fells should be open to all, as well as local opposition to footpath closures. Contemporary discourses which favoured pedestrianism formed the background to national and local support for footpath and access preservation. The Open Spaces Society (OSS) was founded in 1865, and the Commons Preservation Society in 1866. The initial purpose of the latter was to prevent enclosure of the metropolitan commons. Bryce was an early supporter of the OSS and introduced the first Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill (1884), which attempted to establish a legal right of access 'for recreation or scientific or artistic study', pointing to the early reasons for ascending mountains Bainbridge has described.¹⁰⁴

Rawnsley revived the KFPA in 1886 to oppose footpath closures in the Keswick area, most contentiously at Fawe Park on the western shore of Derwentwater and Latrigg (a subsidiary fell of Skiddaw).¹⁰⁵ The *Pall Mall Gazette* claimed that 'The right of way over the ancient roads and footpaths, therefore, becomes not a local but a national question' since such actions barred the way to visitors.¹⁰⁶ The implication was that the district had not only

¹⁰⁴ Hollett, *Pioneer Ramblers*, pp.49-60 (p.55); Bainbridge, *Mountaineering*, p.16.

¹⁰⁵ <<https://hdrawnsley.com/index.php/conservation/keswick-footpaths-disputes>> [accessed 19 March 2024].

¹⁰⁶ "'Rights of View' in Lakeland", *Pall Mall Gazette*, Issue 6705, 11 September 1886, pp.4-5.

become democratised as a national property in the way that Readman has described, but also that fellwalking was an increasingly popular leisure pursuit associated with it.

Jenkinson opposed the Latrigg footpath closure and led the Mass Trespass because he was an active fellwalker who believed in the principle of access to the fells for all:

Come what may, the question must not be allowed to rest until, by reason of ancient usage, by moral right, or by Act of Parliament, all are allowed to visit our mountain summits, and gaze on some of the most magnificent and beautiful scenes that this land affords.¹⁰⁷

He told the 2,000 people attending the protest that Latrigg ‘must be the watchword’:

The question of access to our mountain tops having been disputed we must not rest satisfied until the ancient rights have been conceded (applause) or the question is discussed and settled on the broadest principles (Hear Hear). If we have no right of access to the summit of Latrigg we have no right to ascend other similar mountains in Great Britain.¹⁰⁸

A report in *The Lancashire Evening Post* upheld Jenkinson’s argument. If right of access were stopped from valley level, the higher fells would be out of reach.¹⁰⁹

Baddeley, moreover, advocated legislation for the ‘preservation of the scenery’ (*BTG*, p.xviii). His statement that ‘If the English Lake District is worth having as a national recreation ground, it is worth preserving as such’ reflects Wordsworth’s description of the

¹⁰⁷ Sheila Wiggins, ‘The Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass of 1887’ citing *English Lakes Visitor*, 22 October 1887 <<https://www.retroitaint.com/post/the-latrigg-fell-mass-trespass-of-1887>> [accessed 19 March 2024].

¹⁰⁸ *West Cumberland Times*, 5 October 1887. <<https://www.retroitaint.com/post/the-latrigg-fell-mass-trespass-of-1887>> [accessed 19 March 2024].

¹⁰⁹ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 1 July 1887, p.4.

region as 'a sort of national property' (*BTG*, p.xvii). He undertook initiatives to enhance access to the scenery of the district and its enjoyment by fellwalkers. He was in favour of developments which he believed would enhance visitors' experience and opposed ones that he termed '*inconsiderate*', and which would detract from their enjoyment (*BTG*, p.xvii). His influence in promoting access to the district's landscape in the cause of tourism was substantial. For example, he advocated making a new road from Skelwith Bridge to Langdale and supported a drive along the west side of Thirlmere, originally proposed by the Manchester Corporation when the Thirlmere water extraction scheme was first discussed.¹¹⁰ Baddeley described this new drive, completed in 1894, as 'one of the most beautiful drives or walks in the District'. Unusually, given the determined opposition to the scheme headed by the Thirlmere Defence Association and the LDDS which he served at one time as an honorary secretary, he praised the reservoir dam as 'a grand piece of engineering work'. By implication, the dam had become a visitor attraction of sorts (*BTG*, eighth edition, p.58).

A memoir of a walking tour in 1889 suggests Baddeley's activities to improve the experience of fellwalkers were both well-known and necessary, but not entirely successful. The writer noted that 'although Baddeley has taken the trouble to mark a path over this ground, I feel sure that no such path exists'.¹¹¹ On Baddeley's initiative the ELDA placed signposts on popular mountain paths, and a 'flying squad of young members was organised to report periodically on the condition of the passes'.¹¹² The eighth edition of the *Thorough*

¹¹⁰ James Mansergh, *The Thirlmere Water Scheme of the Manchester Corporation* (London: Spon, 1878), p.35.

¹¹¹ *Our Diary*, p.47.

¹¹² Woods, 'Baddeley', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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Guide notes other ELDA marks on the landscape: indicators and posts showing the way over Wansfell to Troutbeck, the placing of a footbridge in Ennerdale, and a shelter at Esk Hause (*BTG*, eighth edition, pp.69; 165; 170). Jenkinson's suggestion that a walk to Grisedale Pike could be improved in places 'if a man were employed for one or two days in making a path' indicates a common cause with Baddeley (*JPG*, p.208).

Jenkinson's and Baddeley's involvement in issues of access to and preservation of the landscape of the English Lake District points to the increasing popularity of fellwalking in the mid- to late-nineteenth century and its connection to the region. Emerging fellwalking customs support this connection. The "Rifleman" recorded his name and the date he climbed the Wastwater Screes 'on the top board of the staff' on the fell and suggested all tourists should add a stone to summit cairns.¹¹³ A previous owner of a copy of the second edition of the *Thorough Guide* (1882) in a private library has ticked off in red ink the fells climbed, an early form of what has become known as "peak-bagging". Issues arising from the popularity of the region as a destination for pedestrians also confirm fellwalking was an established leisure practice. Baddeley deemed it necessary to reinforce the responsibilities which came with the rights of access to and the enjoyment of the landscape of the district. He reminded readers in the addenda to the fourth edition of the *Thorough Guide* (1886) to shut gates and not damage walls or fences and to consider the farmers, because there was no 'touring ground in the country in which the hills are freer'. His request confirms that such problems accompanied the growth of fellwalking as a distinct leisure practice from its beginnings. Further developments in tourism and transport in the twentieth century would

¹¹³ *Volunteer Rifleman*, pp.82, 61.

throw into sharper focus the rights and responsibilities of those walking in the fells of the English Lake District for pleasure.

‘Pilgrim folk, fellmen and walkers like ourselves’

Rumney’s portrayal of the smoking room of the Wasdale Head Inn indicates the variety of English Lake District pedestrians and tourists as the nineteenth century drew to a close:

Pilgrim folk, fellmen and walkers like ourselves, an Oxford fellow in charge of a reading party, two Manchester businessmen, a curate with a camera, a possible American citizen.¹¹⁴

This assortment of individuals aids our understanding of the popularity and spread of fellwalking, climbing and English Lake District tourism. The archetypes Rumney described encompass traditional and new explorers of the region’s uplands. The ‘pilgrim’ to whom the mountains are sacred stands in contrast to the gendered term ‘fellmen’, implying a more practical type of walker. The ‘Oxford fellow in charge of a reading party’ represents traditional university visitors, while the ‘Manchester businessmen’ suggests a shift in the class of tourists drawn to the district. The curate signifies the preponderance of clerics who took part in climbing and fellwalking, his camera suggesting a technological age. The American citizen indicates the transatlantic nature of tourism, and possibly its increasingly democratic nature.¹¹⁵ Women are missing. Rumney’s snapshot captures how developments

¹¹⁴ Rumney, *Sprogues*, p.11.

¹¹⁵ The future American President Woodrow Wilson was visiting the English Lake District around this time. He took two cycle tours to the region in 1869 and 1899, though he may have had greater cause to do so as his mother was a Cumbrian. See Andrew Wilson, *A President’s Love Affair with the Lake District* (Windermere: Lakeland Press Agency, 1996), pp.6-15.

in tourism and leisure influenced the specialised and practical nature of guidebooks and their relationship with fellwalking in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

Guidebook literature in the later nineteenth century became increasingly specialised in response to contemporary attitudes to pedestrianism and developments in print culture and cartography, as well as the expanding and increasingly diverse nature of tourism to the district and elsewhere. Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley were influential in shaping the development of fellwalking because they offered practical guidance at a time when the leisure pursuit was becoming more popular but was not yet fully formed. Their focus on practical content represented a form of specialisation in English Lake District guidebooks which assisted the replacement of guides by books. These writers deepened the shift from vicarious to increasingly independent, physical enjoyment of the landscape of the district, which Martineau had earlier suggested as being a practice to which her readers should aspire. *Ascents and Passes*, the *Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* contained detailed directions based on travelling, as Jenkinson described, 'On foot over almost every inch of ground' (*JPG*, p.iii). In detailing where it was safe and not safe for walkers to go, Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley informed and reflected another form of specialisation, namely the separation of climbing from fellwalking and the 'cragman' from the 'ordinary' or 'waggonette-tourist'. Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's communication of routes based on their personal knowledge and their descriptions of its physical and mental health benefits made self-guided fellwalking available to more people, though not to all. Discernment is evident in these works in relation to gender and class, as well as of readers who were ordinarily fit and of 'common' or 'average' intelligence. The increasing importance of illustration, combined with developments in mapping and equipment, accelerated the transition from guides to guidebooks and promoted the development of autonomous

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fellwalking as a leisure pursuit in the English Lake District. The enhanced utility of Baddeley's maps, and the closer alliance of image and text, heralds both the importance of illustration and a tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design, which was left to the works of Poucher and Wainwright to attempt to resolve.

The interdependent relationship between guidebooks and increased leisure travel coincided with changing ideas about access to the landscape and its benefits as more people came to enjoy the English Lake District on foot in ways they had not before. Issues of landscape access and preservation, as well as discernment for a certain taste and type of visitor were revealed in the guidebooks and lives of Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley. Despite opening the uplands of the English Lake District to self-guided pedestrian exploration, the differing influences of Alpine and domestic tourism on *Ascents and Passes*, *the Practical Guide* and the *Thorough Guide* prompted questions concerning who fellwalking was for and how it should be practiced. These questions assume greater prominence in the guidebooks of W.T. Palmer and H.H. Symonds, which are examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Four 'It is the common way but I will take you a better one': H. H. Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* and W.T. Palmer's *The Lake District*

At Knott (2423) on no account drop down left, to the foot of Hayeswater; it is the common way, but I will take you a better one. Your friendly wall comes from Rest Dod (map): use it now as a guide, though not as master.

H.H. Symonds, *SWLD*, p.16.

Reverend H.H. Symonds's preference for an alternative, and 'better', high-level path to the 'common' one between the valleys of Mardale and Patterdale in the far east of the English Lake District signals the further specialisation of fellwalking and its guidebook literature in the early to mid-twentieth century. The qualitative distinctions implicit in 'better' and 'common' point both to Symonds's assumption of a commitment to fellwalking by his readership and to the contradictions in his guidebook. His reference to using the wall 'as a guide, though not as master' presumed that his readers were ready and able to navigate the uplands by exercising their own judgement and by consulting a separate map alongside his guidebook. Symonds's route directions relied heavily on these assumptions, as shown by the references in brackets to '(map)' and to '(2423)', the contour height of Knott in feet. His description of the wall as 'friendly' suggests his affection for the region. His actions to preserve its landscape occupied much of his life, and lent *Walking in the Lake District* the character of a campaigning guidebook. Symonds encouraged walking as the best way to experience the district but addressed his guidebook to people he deemed to be the right kind, as well as those who possessed the necessary skills and expertise to follow his route directions. William T. Palmer similarly demanded a keen involvement in fellwalking by his readership, but the preparedness he presupposed was more inclusive socially than that of

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Symonds. It did not rely on the reader-walker identifying with the social and attitudinal groupings whom Symonds addressed, but instead related to practical skills, primarily the ability to read a map, which could be acquired.

This chapter examines the increased specialisation of guidebooks in the twentieth century and how Symonds and Palmer distinguished fellwalkers by their social background, experience, expertise and gender. Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* (1933) and Palmer's *The Lake District* (1939) promoted the leisure practice of autonomous fellwalking in the uplands of the English Lake District by encouraging exploration which was off the beaten track and increasingly independent of guidebook itineraries. The promotion of this type of fellwalking reflects the shift from imaginative to practical engagement with the landscape in matters of safety. Since the turn of the century guidebooks had proliferated and specialised further, informing and reflecting changes in the use of region for tourism. The scope which Symonds and Palmer offered the skilled fellwalker contributed to the fells becoming increasingly well-trodden. Symonds's representation of fellwalking as a gendered practice is revealed in his, and later Wainwright's, remarks about some sorts of women being out of place in the uplands and his masculinist attitudes to meeting and conquering the challenges posed by the landscape of the region. This chapter argues that Symonds's and Palmer's assumptions of a particular readership and preparedness for fellwalking, signalled by the absence of practical illustrations from their guidebooks, was significant for the development of the practice and its literature. Their works left a gap for the highly pictorial guidebooks of Wainwright and Poucher which were accessible to the non-expert.

While *Walking in the Lake District* and *The Lake District* have much in common with other contemporary guidebooks, they differ from them in two significant ways. First, by offering more scope to the skilled fell walker, Symonds's and Palmer's descriptions of

walking routes represent a more adventurous way of exploring the district on foot. Such exploration was facilitated by developments in tourism and travel, in particular the growth of affordable accommodation and motor transport, and improvements in equipment. Second, Symonds's and Palmer's differing involvement in discourses concerning landscape preservation and access and the outdoors movement reflect divergent trends in the philosophy and practice of fellwalking and its guidebook literature.

Symonds was an educationalist, an Anglican priest and a campaigner for the preservation of the British landscape. His preference for the 'better' way instead of the 'common' one points not only to how he addressed his guidebook to a certain type of reader-walker, but also to the contradictions which arose between his promotion of fellwalking as the best way to experience the English Lake District and his own values and opinions. His beliefs concerning how and by whom the region should be used and cared for as God's creation were not necessarily demotic. As well as the philosophical, Symonds's portrayal of fellwalking reflects masculinist and class-related aspects of the practice. By contrast, Palmer was a journalist and active outdoorsman, a participant and proponent of the outdoors movement, not one of its leaders, and a professional journalist and writer of guidebooks and other travel literature. His involvement in national discourses took a very different form to Symonds's, and his guidebook reflects a more typical use of such works. His assumed readership for *The Lake District* was more inclusive, particularly of new categories of visitors. Palmer presumed his readers either possessed or were able and ready to develop fellwalking skills and experience, which he had learnt as a young boy born and brought up in the district. However, the value Palmer placed on recording the life and customs of his native region linked to an aspect of the preservationist cause. It also aligned him with the wider shift Readman has traced in accounts of the English Lake District from

the purely scenic to a more environmentally based understanding, informed by past and present human interactions with the landscape (Readman, *Storied Ground*, p.152). The importance Palmer attributed to agro-pastoral traditions is reflected in the designation of the English Lake District as a UNESCO World Heritage Site under the cultural landscape category, and in the LDNP's 'Management Plan' for how it cares for the region today.¹

Symonds and Palmer, fellwalking and the English Lake District

The possibilities that Symonds (1885-1958) and Palmer (1877-1954) offered the reader-walker for increasingly independent exploration of the fells were founded in their shared love of the English Lake District. The different ways in which they expressed this love influenced their treatment of fellwalking, and in particular who they suggested should participate in and would benefit from this leisure practice. Symonds called the 'Lake country' a 'loved object' (*SWLD*, p.vii). He demonstrated this affection by campaigning to preserve the region's landscape and representing pedestrian exploration as the right way of enjoying its uplands. Towards the end of his life Palmer claimed to 'have continued to express my love of my native district and its people, particularly those of remote places.'² He portrayed fellwalking as a pleasurable way of getting to know and enjoy the landscape and life of the district. While Symonds and Palmer were close contemporaries, the differences in their backgrounds materially influenced the character of their guidebooks. Symonds wrote from the perspective of an "offcomer" or outsider, Palmer from that of a local.

¹ UNESCO World Heritage Site, 'A Cultural Landscape of Global Significance', <<https://thelakedistrict.com/world-heritage-site>> [accessed 26 January 2026]

² W.T. Palmer, *More Odd Corners in English Lakeland*, 4th edn (London: Skeffington, 1946), p.7.

Symonds's leading role in advocating for the establishment of national parks in Great Britain shaped his exposition of the right way of experiencing the region in the narrative journey through the district from east to west he described in *Walking in the Lake District*.

He stated that:

For yourself, reader, my hope is that the book may stir, or else maintain, your interest in the greatest of our future national parks, and that you will do something to create these. Many now preach the gospel "Preserve the countryside". Let us then preserve it in the best possible way, by teaching as many as we can to use and value it (*SWLD*, p.vii).

Symonds's references to preaching the gospel, preserving the countryside and teaching reveal a great deal about his background, character and interests, as well as his assumed readership and the aims of his guidebook. He took a First at Oxford in Greats (classics) and became a Church of England minister during a career teaching in secondary education at public and selective boys' schools. Taking a similar life path to Baddeley over fifty years before, Symonds retired early from his post as headmaster of Liverpool Institute in 1935, at the age of fifty-one, and moved to the Lake District. He subsequently devoted himself to the preservation of the landscape of the region. He listed his recreation as 'rescuing scraps of natural beauty.'³ Symonds's attachment to preserving the English Lake District landscape caused him to assume leading roles in various amenity groups, placing him at the centre of the movement to establish national parks in England. In 1934, the year after his guidebook

³ 'Symonds, Rev. Henry Herbert, (1885–28 Dec. 1958), Vice-Pres. Friends of Lake District; lately Drafting Sec., Standing Committee on National Parks and member of Lake District Planning Board; and of National Parks Commission; Chairman, North Wales (Hydro-Electricity) Protection Committee; Vice-President Ramblers' Association and Merseyside Youth Hostels Association', *Who Was Who*, Oxford University Press, 2007. <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.lancs.ac.uk/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U243528>> [accessed 1 May 2024]

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was first published, Symonds advocated the formation of ‘some thoroughly national group of Friends of the Lake District (FLD) to supply the emotional impetus without which skill and knowledge win no victories’ (Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District*, pp. 285-86). The FLD was launched in the same year at a public rally in Fitz Park, Keswick, the open space Jenkinson had been instrumental in saving for the town (Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District*, pp.82-83). Its initial purpose was to campaign for the creation of a national park to protect the English Lake District landscape.

Symonds’s appointment as a member of the first Lake District Planning Board was emblematic of the success of the campaign to establish national parks (Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District*, pp.43; 58). Whether or not to designate the English Lake District, among other areas, as a national park had been the subject of debate since the nineteenth century. This debate was influenced by the region’s literary associations, as well as disputes concerning access to the fells and the exploitation of its natural resources. In their preface to John Cousins’s study of the FLD, Alan Crosby and Angus Winchester have described how in the twentieth century this dialogue broadened to address fundamental questions concerning the ownership, management and administration of areas of cultural and economic value for the greater benefit of the nation (Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District*, pp.xv-xvi). Moreover, John Sheail has identified the emergence of a ‘Third Force’ in the countryside representing the stewardship of rural and coastal landscapes for amenity, wildlife and outdoor recreation alongside farming and forestry. The Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) was formed in 1928 in response to concerns over the impact on the countryside of the unregulated building boom of the 1920s. The latter was triggered by the rapid population growth in towns and cities and increased awareness of the effect of poor living conditions on health (Sheial, *Environmental History*, pp.12-14). These

discourses coalesced around the campaign for national parks (Sheial, *Environmental History*, p.115). The FLD's origins lay in the Lake District National Reserve Committee, one of a number formed at the CPRE conference in 1929 based on potential national park areas.⁴ The national parks campaign encountered significant obstacles over funding, responsibility for planning in the proposed areas and land ownership. The CPRE attempted to build consensus between opposing interests, while Symonds adopted a more aggressive approach through the FLD (Sheial, *Environmental History*, p.106).⁵ Ultimately, ideas about post-war reconstruction resulted in the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, which paved the way for the creation of National Parks in England and Wales (Sheial, *Environmental History*, pp.116-18; 122).

Symonds's presence on the web of amenity groups which campaigned for landscape preservation and access was reflected in the exclusive nature of his address to the readership of *Walking in the Lake District*. His involvement not only placed him, but also implicitly the readers of his guidebook, at the centre of a comparatively small, interconnected group of people with similar social backgrounds, professions and beliefs concerning for whom and for what the proposed national parks should be established. Symonds was vice-president (1935-1952) and then president (1953-1956) of the Ramblers' Association.⁶ He helped to establish the first Youth Hostels in Snowdonia and served as the first President of the Merseyside Youth Hostels Association. Symonds's involvement was typical of others in this circle. The historian G. M. Trevelyan was the first president of the

⁴ Sandbach, 'Early Campaign', pp.500-04.

⁵ An overarching and particularly contentious issue was the degree of independence of national parks from local authority control.

⁶ 'Symonds', *Who Was Who* [accessed 1May 2024].

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Youth Hostels Association (YHA) and spoke at the CPRE's national conference on the *Use and Enjoyment of the Countryside* in 1930. Trevelyan's Seatoller House in the Borrowdale Valley near Keswick and Kenneth Spence's house in Near Sawrey in the south of the English Lake District were meeting places for the like-minded. Spence was a founder member of the CPRE, secretary and principal founder of the FLD, and is credited with involving Symonds in that organisation (*Cousins, Friends of the Lake District*, p.25). Symonds presumed that his readers knew of Seatoller House as the home of the 'Lakes Hunt' founded by Trevelyan when 'men *ran* upon the fells', chasing each other in a game of hare and hounds. Those who had stayed there included 'Cabinet Ministers, undergraduates, professors, publicists, walkers, lawyers, runners' and 'All King's and Trinity that could walk' (*SWLD*, pp.115-16). Such a demographic is representative of traditional visitors to the district, as well as early members of the Alpine Club. The architects and town planners, John Dower and Patrick Abercrombie were also highly influential in the campaign for national parks. Dower's 1945 report 'National Parks in England and Wales' set the scope for the 1947 Hobhouse National Parks Committee and the subsequent 1949 Act.⁷ He was president of the Ramblers' Association in 1946.⁸ Dower's wife, Pauline, was G.M. Trevelyan's niece. Abercrombie instigated the formation of the CPRE and was its first chairman. He became a vice-president of the YHA in 1931 and served on the executive committee of the FLD.

⁷ David Wilkinson, *Fight for it Now: John Dower and the Struggle for National Parks in Britain* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2019). Dower worked with Abercrombie and Kenneth Spence on an attempt to get the three Lakeland county councils to establish a joint planning committee with the CPRE's Lake District National Reserve Committee in 1931.

⁸ David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, 2nd edn (London: Reaktion, 2016), p.339.

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Aspects of *Walking in the Lake District* and its publication history indicate that it was not only a campaigning guidebook, but a work whose individuality limited its longevity and appeal to a wider audience. It was first published in 1933, with a second impression in August of that year and another reprint in 1947. A pocket edition with rounded corners was issued in 1935. A new edition was published posthumously in 1962 and reprinted in 1965. Its classical and Biblical references reflected Symonds's vocation, education and career, and reinforced the sense that his guidebook was addressed to a like-minded and educated readership which had been coming to the region in numbers since the late eighteenth century. He notably used classical dialogues to dramatise the relationship between *Auctor* (author) and *Ambulator* (walker) and *Auctor* and *Lector* (one who reads), introduce important ideas, voice criticisms in the persona of *Auctor* and entertain and educate his readership. Elements of his discursive and essayistic style, as well as his landscape aesthetics and the value he placed on walking as the best way to experience the district can be traced to Wordsworth's *Guide*.

Palmer demonstrated his love for the English Lake District not through national campaigns but by recording aspects of the life and customs of his native area, as well as his enjoyment of its outdoor pursuits. He was born in a village near Kendal and left the local school at the age of fifteen, initially to work as a shepherd and then in printing for a Kendal newspaper. He became a reporter and then a journalist. His biographer Sheila Richardson has noted that the publisher A & C Black commissioned his first guidebook, *The English Lakes* (1905), which was illustrated by the Grasmere artist Alfred Heaton Cooper (Richardson, *Forgotten Man*, pp.9-11; 24-25). Further guidebooks and other works on the Lake District, Scotland, Wales, Derbyshire and Yorkshire followed, based on his personal research and experience. Richardson has suggested that Palmer may have been revising

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Ward Lock guidebooks when he lived in London from 1946 until his death (Richardson, *Forgotten Man*, pp.178-181; 135-36). Unusually he gave Lake District natives a voice in his books by reproducing conversations with shepherds, farmers, anglers, poachers, hunters, peat diggers, reed collectors and drovers.⁹ He took part in traditional dalesmen's pursuits such as fox hunting and fishing and remained a keen outdoorsman, enjoying cycling, camping, walking and climbing, frequently in the English Lake District, throughout his life (Richardson, *Forgotten Man*, pp.107-122; 45-57; 73-74; 81; 90).

Palmer's *The Lake District* addressed a broader readership and was less idiosyncratic than *Walking in the Lake District*. It also lacked the latter's campaigning agenda. Instead, Palmer's leisure interests informed his support of younger and less affluent visitors to the region. He described himself as a 'pioneer member' of the YHA.¹⁰ He contributed articles to *Cumbria* magazine during its first incarnation, from March/ April 1947 to Spring 1950, as the journal of the Sub-Regional Lakeland Groups of the YHA.¹¹ He also belonged to the Wayfarers' Club (founded in Liverpool in 1906 to promote walking and climbing) and the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District (FRCC), editing its Journal between 1910 and 1918. Aspects of the design of *The Lake District* followed a set format because it was a publisher's guidebook, being one of the first six volumes in a Penguin Guides series. For example, it included eight pages of Bartholomew's touring maps which were intended to meet the needs of cyclists and motorists as well as walkers. However, Palmer had sufficient

⁹ See, for example, W.T. Palmer, *Lake Country Rambles* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1902); *Wanderings in Lakeland* (London: Skeffington, [n.d.]).

¹⁰ W.T. Palmer, *Tramping in Lakeland* (London: Country Life, 1934), pp.62-63.

¹¹ See, for example, W.T. Palmer, 'John Peel's Country', *Cumbria*, 1:3 (1947), pp.49-52; 'Heroes of the Hills', *Cumbria*, 2:1 (1948), pp.4-6; 'Hampshire Surprise', *Cumbria*, 2:3 (1949), pp.44-46.

free rein to recommend that the reader-walker consult the separate maps of the OS alongside his route directions. He communicated the latter concisely and practically, without the digressions and classical references which pepper Symonds's guidebook.

Symonds and Palmer had much in common. Both were advocates for the English Lake District, and the possibilities offered by fellwalking and the YHA to enjoy the outdoors. However, the differing ways in which they expressed their love for the region in their guidebooks point to the diverse understandings of the English Lake District and its tourism at the time they were writing. Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* addressed a more exclusive readership, representing the views of a particular interest group concerning the true value of the countryside and the best way of preserving it. Palmer's *The Lake District* was more inclusive and his promotion of the use of the region for leisure more straightforward.

'Some of the loveliest and most exciting country England has to offer'

The expansion and diversification of the tourist infrastructure of the English Lake District in the early twentieth century favoured increasing participation in fellwalking, as well as influencing further specialisation of its guidebook literature. Palmer's description of the region as possessing 'Some of the loveliest and most exciting country England has to offer' highlights the traditional, aesthetic reasons for visiting, as well as emphasising the possibilities its landscape offered to experience exhilaration in the pursuit of leisure (*PLD*, p.7). The appeal of the district is underlined by Palmer's claim that rock climbing guides 'avoid the tourist season for teaching, when practically every ridge and cove is threaded by hill walkers and ramblers' (*PLD*, p.19). The growth of the outdoors movement and improvements in mapping and equipment, as well as in the tourist infrastructure, formed the foundation for Palmer's portrait of the uplands being alive with fellwalkers at the end of

the decade. Symonds's references to mountain etiquette, (taking care not to dislodge stones in case they hit unseen walkers below and avoiding damage to walls and to gates by climbing them at the sides, their strongest point), also point to the popularity of fellwalking at this time (*SWLD*, pp.277-80).

Affordable accommodation helped to make fellwalking among the more, and different, leisure possibilities available to new and existing types of English Lake District visitors. The rapid growth of the YHA after its establishment in 1931 played a pivotal role in opening pedestrian tourism in the region to visitors participating in the 1930s hiking boom.¹² The affordability of YHA accommodation rendered the organisation's promotion of hiking and cycling particularly significant. A policy, later known as Rule 1, reserved places for members travelling to hostels under their own steam.¹³ O'Neill has identified that the total number of bed nights spent in hostels in the area increased from 12,000 in 1932 to 72,640 in 1938.¹⁴ The popularity of youth hostelling meant that overcrowding arose at some hostels.¹⁵ Before the YHA was formed, the pioneering accommodation offered by the CHA, and the Holiday Fellowship (HF), set up in 1913, helped their founder, Thomas Arthur Leonard, to realise the aim of enabling working-class participation in countryside holidays. Douglas Hope has contended that the 'promotion of recreative and educational holidays' by

¹² O'Neill, "The Most Magical Corner of England", pp.228-244.

¹³ Cunningham, Michael "Two wheels bad?": the status of cycling in the Youth Hostels Association of England and Wales in the 1930s', *Transfers*, 8 (2018), pp.1-22.

¹⁴ O'Neill, "The Most Magical Corner of England", p.232.

¹⁵ *Independent Hostels in Lakeland and Northumbria* (Youth Hostels Association, 1939), p.19. Black Sail Youth Hostel formed a bottleneck on popular walking routes with only eighteen beds. See also J.H. Palmer, *On Foot in Lakeland* (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, [1938]), p.25. Palmer recommended Grasmere as a rambling centre, indicated by the popularity of the Thorneythwaite Youth Hostel, which was one of the most visited in Lakeland, being booked months in advance.

these organisations 'assisted in the democratisation of the English Lake District.' In the inter-war period, at its peak in 1938, CHA guest houses accommodated almost 29,000 guests; the equivalent figure for HF was 40,000 guests in 1936.¹⁶ Cuthbert Wilkinson's *Lakeless Lakeland* (1939) enticingly described a collection of wooden huts near Wall End Farm in Langdale as the HF's 'mountain centre'.¹⁷ John B. Barber's and George Atkinson's *Lakeland Passes* (1927) noted the conversion of an old factory near the hamlet of Stair, a few miles from Keswick, into a guest house of 'one of the many holiday clubs which have recently come into being'.¹⁸ Camping also became increasingly popular at this time. *On Foot in Lakeland* [1938] by J.H. Palmer recommended it as an ideal way to spend a weekend, suggesting a readership with limited resources.¹⁹ Hope has also drawn attention to the contribution made to widening access to the district by rambling clubs with a predominantly lower middle-class or skilled worker membership, as well as the establishment of the Ramblers' Association in 1935 with Leonard as its President and supported by the CHA and HF.²⁰

Further expansion of the transport network enhanced access to the fells and valleys for walkers. The London, Midland and Scottish Railway laid on special ramblers trains to the English Lake District from Lancashire towns. Motor coaches criss-crossed the area bringing

¹⁶ Hope, 'Democratisation of tourism', pp.110-11.

¹⁷ Cuthbert Wilkinson, *Lakeless Lakeland, The Country between Wastwater and Coniston*, 2nd edn (London: St Catherine Press: 1946), p.40. The first edition was published in 1939 and was planned as the first in a series of 16 footpath guides.

¹⁸ *Lakeland Passes including some charming Walks though the District. Taken and described by John B. Barber and George Atkinson with twelve illustrations* (Ulverston: James Atkinson, 1927), pp.34;36;24.

¹⁹ J.H. Palmer, *On Foot in Lakeland*, pp.8; 25. Increasing numbers of permanent and temporary campsites were established after the passing of the Public Health Act 1936.

²⁰ Hope, 'Democratisation of tourism', pp.106; 111; 118; 109.

day trippers from the north and further afield. Travellers who were more independent either used buses or they motor-cycled, cycled or hitched lifts to the district. Turnbull has described an extensive motor-bus network in 1920s Westmorland, facilitated by road improvements earlier in the century.²¹ Numerous motor-coach tours were offered by transport operators and hotels in both Westmorland and Cumberland in the 1920s and 1930s.²² Meanwhile, visitors affluent enough to own motorcars could design touring holidays free from the constraints imposed by public transport. Yoshikawa has suggested that the motorcar reinvigorated Wordsworthian literary tourism. For example, a quarter of W.T. Palmer's *The English Lakes: Their Topographical, Historical and Literary Landmarks* (1930) described how to use a car to locate scenes from the poet's life and work.²³

Improvements in cartography and leisure equipment influenced the changing nature of tourism in the region and helped to make fellwalking more enjoyable. The publication of the new OS Popular Tourist Edition maps in the one-inch-to-one-mile scale aided the 1930s hiking boom. The covers of these maps typically showed walkers dressed to stride out in the countryside. Palmer praised the OS 'whose Lakeland maps are never wrong; their accuracy is the backbone of the modern guidebooks, general and local' (*PLD*, p.17). George Atkinson's *Rambles and Scrambles in Lakeland* (1933) also endorsed the one-inch OS map.²⁴ *Lakeless Lakeland* stated that 'A first-class map is necessary and either the OS or Bartholomew's is

²¹ Turnbull, *Motor Transport*, pp. 46-50; 76-83.

²² See, for example, *Motor Coach Tours Through the Lake District*, undated, which describes Boow's Motor Tours from Bowness-on-Windermere and the *Keswick Hotel, Keswick on Derwentwater, England's Lakeland Centre Souvenir and Tariff* (Carlisle: Charles Thurnam, [n.d.]).

²³ Yoshikawa, *William Wordsworth and Modern Travel*, pp.222-23.

²⁴ George Atkinson, *Rambles and Scrambles in Lakeland*, with photographs by E.H. Atkinson (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1933), pp.11-12.

recommended' (Wilkinson, *Lakeless Lakeland*, p.xx). Symonds, by contrast, specified the version of Bartholomew's one-inch map of the Lake District with coloured contours to denote height. He called this map a 'boon companion' for 'more serious guidance, in the detail of walking' (*SWLD*, p.ix). Bartholomew's maps were central to the ongoing usefulness of the *Thorough Guide*. In 1935 the *Derby Daily Telegraph* described the maps in all Baddeley's guidebooks as being 'beyond reproach'.²⁵ Later, Clare and Marshall Brown's *Fell Walking From Wasdale*, subjectively dated to 1948, stated that a good map was essential for fellwalking - either 'the sectional maps in Baddeley' or one produced by the OS or Bartholomew (Brown, *Fell Walking*, Foreword). The Browns also pointed to the utility of Bartholomew's maps for the walker because 'the contours are clearer and there is less detail to confuse the eye' (Brown, *Fell Walking*, pp.43). Associated developments made map-reading much easier. The Kjellström brothers invented the first liquid-filled compass in 1933. The liquid stabilised the needle, whilst the protractor baseplate meant that users could take more accurate bearings. By the late 1940s compasses had become such an essential aid to navigation that Hint XI for fell walkers at the end of the Brown's guidebook, 'Carry a compass and learn how to use it,' was akin to a command (Brown, *Fell Walking*, p.103).

Evidence from guidebooks and accommodation providers suggests that during this period the fells were open to women in the same way as men. More working people, male or female, than ever before were able to experience the uplands on foot, as the foreword to *Lakeland Passes* indicates:

²⁵ 'A Derby Man's Diary', *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 25 July 1935, p.4.

Chapter 4

In these days of quick and easy travel the mountains of Cumberland are becoming increasingly accessible to the town dweller. Thousands of young men and women who knew the Lake District merely as a lesson in geography are to-day discovering its intrinsic delights themselves.

The ability of women to experience the district and its uplands is supported by Hope's suggestion that the CHA was notable for its 'acceptance of women on a basis of equality'. In 1937, 34% of guests at CHA centres were men and 66% were women.²⁶ Walking clubs were, however, not open to women in the same way. The Equal Franchise Act of 1928 may have granted men and women equal voting rights, but the Wayfarers' Club only formally abandoned its men-only membership rule in 2018.²⁷ The FRCC had admitted women members as well as men since it was established in 1906, although women were a minority: in 1907 there were four women and 100 men.²⁸ Symonds's and Palmer's recommendations concerning fellwalking equipment made no mention of specific items for women, largely because attire for walking had gradually become less restrictive since the late nineteenth century. The growing participation of middle-class women in sports such as tennis, swimming, golf and hockey influenced the design of sportswear. The British firm Jaeger first advertised women's knickerbockers in the 1890s. By the 1930s, breeches, shorts and long socks were normal wear for all on the fells.²⁹ Symonds recommended taking a whistle to summon help in case of an accident ('it makes more noise than a brandy flask, the

²⁶ Hope, 'Democratisation of tourism', p.122.

²⁷ <www.wayfarersclub.org.uk>, 2022 [accessed 18 July 2024].

²⁸ Fiona Cox, 'One On Her Own', *Cumbria Life*, 89 (2003), pp.110-11.

²⁹ Mike C. Parsons and Mary B. Rose, *Invisible on Everest* (Philadelphia: Northern Liberties Press, 2002), pp.86-87; 106-09.

precaution affected by many'); wearing too many clothes not too few ('Cold is the greatest enemy'); nailing boots for the best grip on uneven and slippery ground; and carrying a stick in such a way that it could not be tripped over. Palmer emphasised that the items on his list (strong nailed boots, a first-class map, the ability to travel by compass, reserves of food and clothing) were necessary because it might be a very long time before a mistake or mishap could be remedied on what were the wildest fells in Britain.³⁰

As the number of visitors and leisure opportunities open to them in the region grew, English Lake District guidebooks proliferated and specialised further. A wide range of authors, interest groups and organisations, and local and national publishers all produced works not only for walkers and climbers but also for motorists, cyclists and anglers. However, the *Thorough Guide* remained both a dominant guidebook to the region and to exploring its uplands on foot. Named 'that excellent authority' in 1900 by the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, maintaining a reputation for reliability and accuracy over the extended period during which it was in print was no mean feat.³¹ Its ubiquity was such that subsequent writers expected the reader-walker to possess more than one guidebook - Baddeley's, and, a writer might hope, their own. Barber and Atkinson stated that in their foreword that *Lakeland Passes* 'does not pretend to be a guide in the Baddeley sense'. They appealed to the authority and utility of the *Thorough Guide* by reaching for a copy of it in the field. 'Thanks to Baddeley and some common sense' they

³⁰ Palmer, *Lake District*, rev edn (London: Penguin, 1947, repr. 1949), p.151.

³¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 30 May 1900, p. 9. An illuminating counterpoint to the *Thorough Guide* is provided by F.G. Brabant, *The English Lakes*, 2nd edn, (London: Methuen, 1920), p.v. The eighteen-year gap between the first and second editions may partly be accounted for by mistakes in the first edition acknowledged by Brabant (maps not overlapping, incorrect description of the position of the Wordsworth family graves and some ambiguity concerning directions).

were able to resolve their difficulties in finding the right path near Burnmoor Tarn (Barber and Atkinson, *Lakeland Passes*, p.16). Wilkinson described the *Thorough Guide* as 'incomparably the best' and 'outstanding' alongside the works of Symonds and W.G. Collingwood (Wilkinson, *Lakeless Lakeland*, p.xiii). Wilkinson did not mention Prior and Jenkinson. On this evidence their guidebooks seem largely to have been consigned to history by the 1930s.

In common with other contemporary guidebooks, Symonds and Palmer defined their works, and their approach to fellwalking, in relation to Baddeley's *Thorough Guide*. Palmer's instruction manual, *The Complete Hill Walker, Rock Climber & Cave Explorer* (1934), predated *The Lake District* and broadly praised the *Thorough Guide*:

On guidebooks it is rather difficult to be definite and conclusive. There are some little-known local publications, quite out of print and forgotten, which have had the details required by the hill walker. The "Thorough Guides " series have probably the most detailed information on tourist paths, and their maps of favourite areas are detailed enough to enable the hill walker to pick out and cross the extra unmarked routes which are needed.³²

Palmer's difficulty in making a definitive recommendation and his qualification of Baddeley's information on 'tourist paths' with 'probably' implied some reservations. A future guidebook of his own might cover more than the 'favourite areas' included in the *Thorough Guide* and exploration of 'extra unmarked routes' not indicated on maps.

³² W.T. Palmer, *The Complete Hill Walker Rock Climber and Cave Explorer* (London: Pitman, 1934), p.18.

Chapter 4

Symonds's criticisms of the *Thorough Guide* challenged Baddeley's celebrated thoroughness by drawing attention to the latter's infrequent errors. An occasional mistake or omission was unsurprising in a guidebook as comprehensive as the *Thorough Guide* aimed to be, but one which Symonds seized on. Symonds regarded it as mainly useful for popular localities, but of less help to those who wished to venture off the beaten track and explore more adventurous routes. Like Palmer's reference to 'favourite areas', Symonds's description of the *Thorough Guide* as the 'best workaday guide' for the walker implied coverage of the usual routes only (*SWLD*, p.58). Baddeley's thoroughness did not extend, for example, to the western side of Ennerdale and the wilder parts of Eskdale. Symonds voiced the criticism that if a reader of the *Thorough Guide* walked from Crag Fell to Pillar above Ennerdale 'you will beat Baddeley - a rare conquest: this walk missed him', and that Baddeley did not know Ennerdale properly because he mistook Scoat Fell for Steeple (*SWLD*, pp.72-74).

Symonds further devalued Baddeley's thoroughness by referring to the latter's brevity, supposed nerves and apprehensiveness in describing the wild landscape at the head of Eskdale. The high and rugged ground under Esk Pike 'seems to have shocked the nerves, or wet the feet, of the far-stepping Baddeley: for he is brief here, and apprehensive, and inadequate' (*SWLD*, p.172). Baddeley may have been 'far-stepping' but 'wet the feet' opened him to ridicule and implied that Symonds disdained such physical discomforts. Writing after the publication of *Walking in the Lake District*, Symonds's criticisms may have emboldened Wilkinson to describe as incorrect Baddeley's dismissal of the Terrace Route as a means of ascending Scafell from Wha House, Eskdale. Wilkinson also suggested that Baddeley's walk timings ('it would seem that Baddeley was writing for the very slow') were over-cautious (Wilkinson, *Lakeless Lakeland*, pp.xi-xiii; 48).

Symonds's criticisms originate in a form of mountain snobbery. Using Scafell as an example, he contended that 'Baddeley has persuaded too many people that the ways are few and rare and esoteric, only to be attempted with bated breath. But those who walk with their heads as well as with their feet, will find plenty of liberty' (*SWLD*, p.161). Symonds suggested that the physical skill and mental calculation possessed by his readers exceeded that of the 'too many people' whom Baddeley had dissuaded by the distinctions he drew between routes suitable for fellwalkers and rock climbers. The liberty to which Symonds drew attention was an important concept which is discussed further below. Its use here suggests route finding which was unfettered by the usual tourist paths and itineraries. *Lakeland Passes* similarly suggested that the English Lake District was ideally suited to the practical pursuit of the 'post-war passion for liberty' possessed by anyone of a 'roving commission' since 'there is probably no part of Great Britain where so few restrictions are imposed upon the rambler. No gamekeeper or watcher dogs his steps, and many of the mountain heights and their approaches are national possessions' (Barber and Atkinson, *Lakeland Passes*, Foreword). Then recent endowments, such as the purchase of Great Gable and eleven surrounding fells in 1923 by the FRCC enhanced the relatively unrestricted access to the uplands of the district. Such access, originating in historic forms of land holding, was strengthened by Victorian footpath disputes, represented by the Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass. It contrasts with the privately-owned grouse moors of the Peak District, the location of the Kinder Scout trespass of 1932 which symbolised contemporary grass-roots activism for access to open spaces in the twentieth century.³³ Additionally, Symonds claimed

³³ Sheail, 'Concept of National Parks', pp. 41–56; 'John Dower, National Parks, and Town and Country Planning' pp. 1–16.

that Baddeley omitted adventurous routes and some of the best scrambles because he 'came from a generation a bit too nervous or respectful of climbers' (SWLD, p.59). Symonds reinforced this distinction and lessened perceptions of the dangers of fellwalking by describing six additional routes on Scafell. He also drew attention to other notable omissions by Baddeley: the high-level route on Pillar, which Baddeley described as being 'only for mountaineers'; the Napes ridge on Great Gable; and the ridge route of Crinkle Crag (SWLD, pp.59;185).

Whether defined in relation to Baddeley or not, the promotion of fellwalking in guidebooks indicates its increasing popularity. Some writers made space for their works on the shelf and in the field alongside Baddeley by selecting certain walks or areas. *On Foot in Lakeland* and *Lakeland Passes* offered a curated choice of routes. *Fell Walking from Wasdale* concentrated on the high mountain ranges accessible from the Wasdale valley. *Lakeless Lakeland* described walks in what Wilkinson termed the less well-known ground between Wastwater and Coniston (Wilkinson, *Lakeless Lakeland*, p.x). Holiday clubs and associations produced their own guidebooks which detailed walks for their residents and members. The HF's *Summer Holidays In The Lake District (Newlands Vale) Programme & Songs* of 1915 set out a 'programme and timetable' for holiday weeks throughout the season which was structured around walking. Walks were scheduled for every day except the Saturday of arrival and departure, with a rest day on Wednesdays. Modern guidebooks would classify the ascents it described of nearby fells, such as Skiddaw, Robinson, Dale Head and Hindscarth, as moderate or strenuous. The CHA's booklet of *Summer Holidays in the Lake District (Grasmere)* in 1935 was dominated by walking and contained trips using motor

transport and steamboat launches.³⁴ The London, Midland and Scottish Railway's *Walking Tours to North Wales, West Lancashire and the Lake District* [1930] comprised suggestions for walks linked to the railway's timetable.³⁵ More general works, such as the guidebooks issued by Rural District Councils and printers in local towns, recommended local walks as important attractions of their own neighbourhood.³⁶ O'Neill has described how district councils competed to attract visitors by engaging in footpath disputes to maintain access to beauty spots, as well as enhancing public spaces and lakeside access.³⁷

The growth and diversification in the number and type of visitors and touristic practices represents an important point in the print history of the English Lake District and the practice of fellwalking at the time Symonds and Palmer were writing. Guidebooks proliferated and their content on fellwalking specialised further by walk selection, location and type of route. *Praise from Youth Hostels in Lakeland*, a guide published in 1955 by the Lakeland Group of Youth Hostels, indicates that Symonds and Palmer succeeded in finding space for their guidebooks alongside the *Thorough Guide*. Stating that 'all that "Baddeley" says, and it is said in fine detail, is true to-day', *Youth Hostels in Lakeland* also recommended Palmer's *The Lake District* as being a 'very meaty little volume which packs a deal of

³⁴ *Summer Holidays in the Lake District (Grasmere)* (Co-operative Holidays Association, 1935), p.3.

³⁵ *Walking Tours North Wales, West Lancashire and the Lake District* (London, Midland & Scottish Railway, 1930), p.107. Tour No. 34 to Windermere, returning from Coniston, listed fares from Lancaster, Morecambe, Carnforth, Oxenholme and Kendal.

³⁶ See, for example, *North Westmorland Rural District Official Guide* (Burrow & Co., [n.d.]) which contained on p.12 a picture of ramblers at Haweswater; *Western Lakeland Official Guide* (Abbey series of guides issued under the auspices of Ulverston Rural District Council, [n.d.]) and *Windermere Official Guide* (Windermere Urban District Council, [n.d.]). McKane, Printers of Keswick, issued a *Guide to Keswick and Railway, Coach and Steamboat Time Table* for 1d in 1902. This included short walks around the town but cautioned 'strangers to the district' against 'scrambling over the mountains' since these were puzzling in mist. Lakeland Printers, Ambleside, offered *Lovely Grasmere, The Gem of Beautiful Lakeland, Official Guide* for 6d in 1933. A section on short walks from the village described the not especially easy ascents of Silver How and Helm Crag.

³⁷ O'Neill, "'The Most Magical Corner of England'" pp.233-36.

information into little space and covers historical, literary and wayfaring Lakeland thoroughly'. It described *Walking in the Lake District* as 'the best walking book which the modern out-of-doors movement has produced'.³⁸ *The Aberdeen Journal* similarly hailed Symonds's guidebook as 'a walker's treasure'.³⁹ Improvements in equipment and the expertise and skill of participants, assumed or actual, not only provided opportunities for Symonds and Palmer to differentiate their guidebooks from the *Thorough Guide* but also informed and reflected changes in the practice of fellwalking. Significant amongst these changes was their encouragement to explore more adventurous, as well as less popular, routes and locations in the district.

'Always carry a map and a compass'

Symonds and Palmer set their works apart by offering new possibilities to explore the uplands of the English Lake District independently of engaging a local guide and of guidebook itineraries or route selections. Instead of combining textual and visual cues to make their walking route directions sufficient in themselves, the dependence placed by Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* and Palmer's *The Lake District* on separate maps and on their readership having the skill to use them suggests a point of rupture in design terms from preceding works in the genre. Symonds exhorted his readers to 'always carry a map and compass' (*SWLD*, p.277). Separate maps had significant implications for the content and printed appearance of Symonds's and Palmer's guidebooks, notably their lack of practical illustrations compared with the late-Victorian guidebooks of Baddeley, Prior and Jenkinson.

³⁸ *Youth Hostels in Lakeland*, 3rd edn (Lakeland Group of Youth Hostels, 1955), p.41.

³⁹ *Aberdeen Journal*, 23 May 1933, p.2.

Chapter 4

Instead of illustrating walking routes, the twenty photographs in *Walking in the Lake District* depict Lakeland life and vernacular buildings, as well as picturesque views of the landscape. The only map included is a sketch map of the district in the end-papers, drawn by Abercrombie for the CPRE (*SWLD*, pp.ix; 23). The sectional two-inch-to-one mile scale maps by Bartholomew in Palmer's *The Lake District* showed only the major and most well-known footpaths. Palmer recommended the separate and larger scale maps of the OS to enable independent and more adventurous exploration on foot.

The reliance of Symonds's walking route directions on consulting Bartholomew's map when exploring the fells was pronounced, as this example illustrates: 'Above the letter W of White Moss on the map, turn *left* and go round, under the R and the t of Rydal Mount (map), following throughout the lower slopes of Nab Scar' (*SWLD*, pp.27-28). These directions are incomprehensible unless the relevant Bartholomew's map is studied alongside them. Instead of giving detailed route directions and timings, Symonds used the points of a compass to orientate the reader-walker, as well as regularly interspersing his guidance with references to "(map)". His description of the ascent of the ridge between High Street and Mardale Ill Bell from Mardale via Blea Water exemplifies this approach. '2718' refers to a contour line denoting height, reached by a pathless scramble through crags from Blea Water, the potential difficulty of which becomes apparent from a cursory glance at any map of the area:

When you top the ridge you are between 2718 and Mardale Ill Bell (Ill, pronounced Eel, means steep or savage). Avoid going too far south-west, if in mist, or you may cross the col and begin dropping into Kentdale; if it is misty, and you keep continuously to the plain west by your compass (you brought one from home?) without any south in your bearing, then you cannot do otherwise than strike the

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north and south sheep wall above referred to, and are safe; turn left for

Thornthwaite Crag, right (N.) for Kidsty Pike and the way to Patterdale (*SWLD*, p.14).

The questions Symonds posed, such as '(you brought one from home?)' concerning a compass and his references elsewhere to "(map)" draw the reader-walker into a dialogue with guidebook, map and himself as guide. His use of the second person singular, common throughout *Walking in the Lake District*, deepens the sense of companionship with his reader and places him in the role of teacher-guide.

Palmer's directions also relied on compass and map work as shown in the example below, the ascent of Coniston Old Man via Walna Scar. However, he guided the reader-walker less discursively and more impersonally than Symonds, though his presumption of competence challenges the less experienced:

This track is shortly left, and the route follows the cairns with white quartz markings above the marsh for a mile, then winds among rocks and outcrops, with the great towers of Dow Crag[sic] rising above. Round a corner, the path comes in view of Goat's Water, on the eastern side of which the path passes, with striking upward views to the crags, and follows a stream at the head of the tarn to the pass between Dow Crag and the Old Man. Turn right (E.) and the summit will appear in half a mile or so (*PLD*, p.94).

Palmer's guidance assumed that his readers knew the compass direction in which they were heading, aided by his descriptions of visual cues and marks on the landscape such as cairns. Elsewhere his occasional use of abbreviations presumed the reader-walker had some knowledge of the area: 'Go out on the Easedale road, and beyond the first bridge turn right (N.) and follow the lane under Helm for a mile' (*PLD*, p.73). 'Helm' referred to Helm Crag, a fell which overlooks Grasmere in the centre of the district.

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The ability to navigate by a map and compass enabled Symonds and Palmer to promote the new possibilities for pedestrian exploration of the district offered by the YHA. Walkers travelling on foot between hostels potentially required routes other than established ones starting from lake and valley centres. Such routes were associated with adventure. *Independent Hostels in Lakeland and Northumbria* (1939) stated that, by taking a hostelling holiday in Lakeland, the reader betrayed 'the bit of the adventurer, the explorer, which is in you'.⁴⁰ Symonds encouraged the reader-walker to make use of the earliest Youth Hostels to be established in the English Lake District. He mentioned Goldrill in Patterdale, donated to the YHA by Leonard to whom he gave thanks as the 'youthful grandfather of all who walk.' Symonds prodded his readers to join the organisation at another hostel, Thorneyhow in Grasmere: 'More money, more hostels: more members, more money. *Verbum ambulanti*' (SWLD, p.17). The latter phrase is resonant of the scriptural *verbum domini* (the word of the Lord). It denotes the importance of the YHA to Symonds and his desire to see the organisation flourish, as well as the practice of walking it facilitated. Palmer devoted a section of *The Lake District* to an intrepid 'Youth Hostel Tour' starting and finishing in Kendal and visiting hostels in Coniston, the Duddon and Eskdale Valleys, Black Sail between Wasdale and Buttermere, Borrowdale, Grasmere, Patterdale, and the Kentmere valley (PLD, pp.40-44).

Symonds's and Palmer's methods of giving route directions point to broader issues of readership and use. Their omission of illustrations and step-by-step descriptions, distances and timings imply an address to certain types of readers and walkers, more skilled and able to work out this information for themselves. The ability to read a map and navigate

⁴⁰ *Independent Hostels*, p.5.

with a compass opened further ways of experiencing the district on foot, independent not only of engaging a person as a guide but also of following guidebook instructions to the letter. Symonds suggested that the 'bold' could choose their own route when walking from Blea Tarn to Wrynose. This involved crossing trackless 'rough gruelling ground' on as level a contour as possible 'at such point as the gods may settle; there is always a strong element of the unknown in such adventures' (*SWLD*, pp.30-31). Palmer similarly recommended exploration that was off the beaten track. 'Adventurous walkers, on a clear day, can leave the top of Saddleback and shape as direct a line as possible for Skiddaw 6 m. away,' though this ground was 'no place for night or mist adventures' (*PLD*, p.117). Palmer extolled this type of exploration, stating 'Away from their routes is the real fun - crossing high passes, tramping by wild tarns, traversing high ridges, and getting to know the feel of scree and grass, heather and bracken'.⁴¹ The embodied movement represented by 'crossing', 'tramping' and 'traversing' provided pleasure and deepened the physical connection of the reader-walker with the landscape.

Symonds suggested that independent exploration could develop into an emotional connection with the landscape and another way of enjoying a map:

Real affection for a piece of difficult country, country difficult to know and difficult to walk, is this: if you can sit by the fire and hold the map and read it, using it as a book, and finding hidden treasures in it, as a man takes the score of a piece of music to the fireside, and, as he reads, travels to other places. No man who can use a map need grow old (*SWLD*, p.ix).

⁴¹ Palmer, *Lake District*, rev. edn (1947), p.47

Symonds proposed that map reading was not purely utilitarian but could become an enriching pastime. Part of the unashamed pleasure and value he suggested was to be derived from maps was their consumption off, as well as on, the fell. He made clear that the 'quite different and charming' map in his guidebook was intended for general orientation 'to the east or the south-west or from this to that valley, when you read with the feet up' (SWLD, p.ix). For Symonds maps were more than material artefacts with a practical application. The 'real affection' he suggested was engendered by perusing them extended to a desire to protect the 'difficult country' of the English Lake District which they depicted.

Symonds's and Palmer's different understandings of the English Lake District and treatment of fellwalking

While Symonds's and Palmer's treatment of fellwalking had much in common, it diverged from contemporary guidebooks, as well as from each other, due to their differing involvement in discourses concerning landscape preservation and the outdoors movement. To recap, Symonds was a leading figure in the FLD and other amenity groups and organisations such as the YHA and the Ramblers' Association, which had all coalesced around the cause of landscape preservation and access and the establishment of national parks. Palmer, by contrast, was a practitioner and recorder of outdoor pursuits and a writer by profession.

Walkers were foremost among the readership of the converted, or those whom Symonds sought to evangelise in the cause of preserving the region's landscape. He commended the CPRE, its Honorary Secretary and books on Cumbrian Regional Planning to readers of *Walking in the Lake District*: the 'plates and photographs and sketches will educate you' (SWLD, p.23). He also exhorted his readers to join the FLD:

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All those who walk the fells should pay their footing and join the Friends of the Lake District: for every possible aid, both in opinion and in money, is needed now to protect the District from the increasingly frequent sallies of the Higher Lunacy: before we are much older we shall have mountain roads over mountain passes in all directions (*SWLD*, pp.285-86).

Symonds dramatised the threat to the district. He painted a picture of a landscape under constant attack from those in authority, described as 'the Higher Lunacy', and rallied fell walkers to take action to protect it. At the time he was writing, disputes over proposals for road and house building, water and mineral extraction, and afforestation had brought into sharper focus debates about preservation of the landscape of the district and the use of its natural resources for the benefit of the nation. County councils had assumed responsibility for road maintenance from the turnpike trusts in late nineteenth century. Proposals to improve highways and bridges and construct a road over Sty Head Pass between Borrowdale and Wasdale earlier in the century attracted significant opposition.⁴²

In the 1930s the threat posed by insensitive afforestation became central to preserving the district's landscape. The Forestry Commission had planted commercial conifer forests after it purchased Whinlatter in 1920, and subsequently when it acquired holdings in Ennerdale. Symonds stated that the 'majesty of Ennerdale is gone' if the plantations there were to resemble those established at Thirlmere by the Manchester Corporation (*SWLD*, p.83). The Forestry Commission's acquisition of the Hardknott Estate in upper Eskdale and Dunnerdale in 1934 became a flashpoint. Symonds campaigned

⁴² H.D. Rawnsley, *Times*, 9 June 1919, p.6. Rawnsley opposed the Sty Head road and other 'so called improvements.' The third edition of *Lakeland Passes* (1928), p.57, similarly objected to proposals to build roads over Wrynose, Hardknott and Sty Head as 'an act of sheer vandalism, and walkers must be constantly on the alert to prevent such desecration of these inner shrines of nature.'

vigorously through the FLD and wrote *Afforestation in the Lake District* (1936) to protest against what he called the despoliation by regimented lines of trees of an area which would be at the centre of any future National Park.⁴³

Symonds believed that the best way of preserving the countryside was to teach as many people as possible 'to use and value it.' For this to happen, Symonds referred again to liberty and the importance of securing free and open access to the countryside: 'We can only learn liberty by the use of liberty; and until we get this free access to the open country back again into our city life, we shall be still unsatisfied' (*SWLD*, pp.vii-viii). 'Free access to the open country' was an antidote to dissatisfaction caused by city life. Symonds's view was that until such access was secured, urban dwellers would be forever displaced from their Arcadian roots. A.H. Sidgwick expressed a similar opinion in his *Walking Essays* (1912). He described himself as escaping 'the darkest hours of urban depression' by recollecting 'that I was once a free man on the hills'.⁴⁴ This neo-romantic view of the countryside as a sanctuary from modern industrial life formed part of the preservationist argument described by David Matless. His cultural history, *Landscape and Englishness*, describes the relationship between interpretation of the landscape and definitions of Englishness in the twentieth century. Preservationists believed that close contact with nature was essential for the spiritual welfare of the nation (Matless, *Landscape*, pp.123-4).

⁴³ Sandbach, *Early Campaign*, pp. 504-10.

⁴⁴ A. H. Sidgwick, *Walking Essays* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), pp.245-46. Reproduced in *Lakeland Passes*, p.51. The authors observed this quotation hanging in the sitting room at Cockley Beck Farm near Hardknott Pass in July 1924.

Free and open access to the countryside did not mean its unimpeded enjoyment. A belief prevailing amongst the influential and interconnected group which campaigned for the establishment of national parks was that the recreational possibilities offered by these places should be consistent with the natural beauty of the landscape (Matless, *Landscape*, pp.123-24). This outlook prefigured the principle in national parks management that was eventually summed up in the Sandford Report in 1974: when the needs of public enjoyment and preservation of natural beauty cannot be reconciled, the latter (the preservation of natural beauty) should take precedence. Dower suggested that national parks were not suitable for those 'who want to spend their holidays gregariously'. This included 'charabanc parties, ill-controlled children's outings and other "excursion" groups' (Matless, *Landscape*, p.340). Matless has further suggested that the preservationist movement culturally encouraged and controlled freedom of access in a way that was at odds with the mass trespass of Kinder Scout because 'the bolshie mass rambler hardly belonged in a youth hostel' (Matless, *Landscape*, p.107). The simplicity of the accommodation and the rules of the YHA (and the CHA and HF) covering activities, guests' communal responsibilities and the timing of meals and bedtimes represented organised and meaningful access to the countryside (Matless, *Landscape*, pp.106-8).

Symonds valorised a relationship with the landscape and its natural beauty which could be gained by the active embodied experience of walking, but not by the passive one of motor travel. In terms which are reminiscent of nineteenth century "Muscular Christianity", Symonds decried travelling through the country on a 'motor bus' in the Preface to *Walking in the Lake District* because 'we learn the country as friends only if we walk it in the sweat of our brow or with cold hands and frosty noses' (*SWLD*, p.viii). Matless has described how, for many preservationists, walking, along with cycling, camping and map-reading, made up an

'art of right living' which promulgated individual and national 'intellectual, moral, physical and spiritual health' (Matless, *Landscape*, p.94). Walking formed part of the 'right way' of knowing the hills, suggested by Trevelyan's recommendation on the front cover of the pocket edition of *Walking in the Lake District*: 'A delightful book. He knows the hills in the right way.' Day-trippers to Bowness-on-Windermere represented the wrong way, both behaviourally and socially. Their 'collective' gaze was based on conviviality and group activity.⁴⁵ John Urry has pointed out that not all visitors to the Lake District subscribed to the contemplative 'romantic' tourist gaze which he characterises as being representative of the outlook of Symonds and others.

Unlike Symonds, Palmer was a participant in the outdoors movement rather than one of its leaders. He was a local man whose active involvement in outdoor pursuits originated in being born and brought up in the district and who understood it as a landscape shaped by human interactions. Palmer stated proudly that 'I am a dalesman by birth and can keep my footing in most places'.⁴⁶ His frequent use of 'dales' to describe the English Lake District suggests a local usage distinct from the other guidebook writers in this study, who were all "offcomers" to the district. Palmer retained a local perspective and pride in the region, as suggested by his description in *Tramping in Lakeland* of the village of Dacre and the mansion of Dalemain:

This is a countryside of great old families, not lords or knights but families of squires who were here when the Normans came and who seem likely to remain for

⁴⁵ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 194–98 quoted in Hope, 'Democratisation of Tourism', p.108.

⁴⁶ Palmer, *More Odd Corners*, p.96.

generations still to come. I hold them in more honour than titled folk, for they have worked and managed their land under many changing conditions, and still retain their places.⁴⁷

The 'honour' Palmer accorded to the old farming families recalls Wordsworth's 'perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturalists' and suggests common ground with the causes of countryside preservation and the CPRE (*WG*, p.50). It contrasts with Martineau's portrayal of the local population as ignorant, superstitious and wanting betterment, and with the social standing of the group who gathered at Seatoller House.

Further aspects of Palmer's writing accord with the value that the preservationist movement placed on country life. Palmer recorded the lore, pursuits and customs of the district – the 'elements of old Cumbria in its farms and life' he found in *Watendlath (PLD, p.114)*. He even distinguished between paths used by local people and those used by tourists, recording both the old and the new ways of traversing the landscape on foot (*PLD, p.125*).⁴⁸ Palmer gave local people a voice, such as this shepherd speaking in 1903: 'We shepherds think a lot of home, though it means cold-flagged floors, rough-beamed dark rooms, and leaking roofs, with whitewashed cottage walls'.⁴⁹ His account is unsentimental in the manner of Martineau, but she might well have pointed to the shepherd's living conditions as wanting improvement. Palmer emphasised not only how hard outdoor life on the fells was for the shepherd but also its compensations. Later in the same work, he

⁴⁷ Palmer, *Tramping in Lakeland*, p.125.

⁴⁸ Palmer described the different paths meeting at Sty Head. The path ascending Aaron Slack was the climbers' route to Ennerdale and the direct route up Great Gable. The ordinary Wasdale path went straight ahead, 'well used and marked' and to the left of centre was a faint path 'mostly used by shepherds and dalesmen' for Wasdale.

⁴⁹ Palmer, *Dells and Fells*, p.10.

recounted the words of another shepherd about collecting sheep from fells after a snowstorm: 'Have you ever been on a pass-head with mountains all around on a moonlit night? Some folks call it sublime and awesome, but those words mean nothing to plain men like me' (Palmer, *Dells and Fells*, p.36). 'Plain' was a badge of honour, the shepherd's appreciation of the landscape profoundly felt without the need for fine words.

Walking in the Lake District and *The Lake District* reflect different understandings of the significance of the region, its landscape and the practice of fellwalking. Symonds aimed to educate his readership in the necessity of preserving the natural beauty of the district for future generations by growing to learn and love it on foot. By contrast, Palmer looked to the recent past, recording the way of life and customs of its people and their interactions with the natural environment, and to fellwalking as an enjoyable way of experiencing the region. *Walking in the Lake District* further demarcated a certain taste and set of beliefs, highlighting a divergence between Symonds's assumed readership and that of Palmer. This divergence is significant because it influenced the more philosophical, masculinist and exclusionary approach to fellwalking demonstrated by Symonds.

'The hills belong to all, and not the few': gender, class and fellwalking

Symonds's background and involvement in the national parks campaign shaped both how he directed *Walking in the Lake District* to a certain type of reader-walker and the contradictions in his guidebook. He addressed a 'brotherhood' of existing and potential recruits to the cause of preserving the district's landscape, based on an appreciation gained by exploring it on foot. He engaged with mountain walking more philosophically than previous authors. Yoshikawa has suggested that Symonds was influenced by a model of

Romantic pedestrianism that embraced lonely wandering.⁵⁰ Symonds contrasted those who discerned the special qualities of the district with those who did not in a manner reminiscent of Wordsworth's opposition to the railways. In a description which resonated with Wordsworth's practice of walking, Symonds defined a mountaineer as 'a man who both loves mountains and knows how to go up and down them in all weathers, and can tell you what grows on them'. This man also possessed a 'love of man in his native haunts, and a passionate desire to guard God's earth from the Philistine' (*SWLD*, pp.58-60). His concern to preserve the landscape of the region also reflects his Christian and moral belief in a duty of care being owed to God's creation. By contrast, Palmer, like Jenkinson before him, stated more inclusively that 'the hills belong to all and not the few'.⁵¹ Palmer concentrated on the practicalities of fellwalking and encouraging new communities of visitors to enjoy the uplands of the district.

Symonds called walking 'the best of all pastimes', but its significance for him extended beyond a mere leisure pursuit.⁵² He made walking into a subject for philosophy by categorising it into various functional types. He expounded on these most fully in 'The Making of the Mountains' at the end of *Walking in the Lake District*:

For some, walking is the nearest and cheapest way between points: for some it is physical exercise: for others it is an art, a combination of many skills and interests and pleasures. There is the physical pleasure of moving: there are the deeper

⁵⁰ Yoshikawa, *William Wordsworth and Modern Travel*, pp.229-30.

⁵¹ W.T. Palmer, *Byways in Lakeland* (London: Robert Hale, 1952), p.245.

⁵² H.H. Symonds, 'On Mountain walking', *Rucksack* 2 (1934), 19 (Y500001) quoted in Michael Cunningham, "Two wheels bad?"

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valuations of natural beauty; but there is more besides - a whole group of interests, and ways of knowledge, which are a proper endowment of walking.

Symonds continues:

And so some faint awareness, never more, of how the hills came to stand in their present order; of the qualities of certain plants which grow in high cold places; of the history caught in local names; of the races of men which have built the traditions of a district, and shaped its ways of feeling; all this adds a zest, an intelligence, a scope to walking, and makes an art of it, an orchestration of many powers and interests. You may walk against time, and bag peaks: then you are sub-human, looking down at the paths only to dodge the boulders. You may truly savour the colours, the mists, the ridges and the feel of thigh muscle: then you are human. But if, as a low undertone of feeling, you have some light technical equipment too, about botany; or the weather; or the shapes and seemliness of a country's buildings, or the forms of its rock; or its sheep -breeding, or its ethnology or other lore - then you are of the brotherhoodYou walk in a 'universe', strictly so called, 'unified' by a mind, and all turned and converted to the purpose of your sympathy and friendship (*SWLD*, pp. 252-53).

The hierarchy of walking which Symonds proposed had an economic aspect and lays him directly open to charges of snobbery, implied in his criticisms of Baddeley. At its lowest level, Symonds equated walking with a particular economic class getting from A to B in the most inexpensive way. The next level - those for whom walking was physical exercise - were economically superior to manual labourers who obtained sufficient exercise from their jobs. At its upper level, walking represented a philosophical and practical sensibility which Symonds characterised as an attribute of the 'brotherhood'. He described it as a

combination of skills, interests and knowledge spanning architecture, local customs and the sciences of geology and botany. It had an aesthetic element of pleasure and taste, and was an investment, signified by his description of it as an endowment. Such walking was emphatically not carried out against time in the manner of peak-bagging. Ruskin was amongst the first to disparage the latter practice in his remarks on Alpinists in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865). He hoped for 'an end to the vulgar excitement which looked upon the granite of the Alps only as an unoccupied advertisement wall for chalking names upon'.⁵³ Symonds's low opinion of those who engaged in 'peak-bagging' was in sympathy with Ruskin's views, the term, however, pointing to the popularity of fellwalking.

The sensibility of fellwalking Symonds espoused was not only economically and socially elitist but also overtly masculinist. He wrote from the perspective of a male gaze, stating that the countryside was not to be made the sort of spectacle 'which a man looks at with his hat tipped well back on his head.' He associated the term brotherhood with a particular type of manhood and a landscape which excluded women. The 'intelligence' and 'art' of walking he portrayed culminated in the transcendental, and masculinist, experience of being part of a 'brotherhood' at one with a universe created by God. Symonds described the 'work of rock' which was the 'craggy, crinkled outline of the ridge-top of Scafell' in religious and gendered terms as 'the Mecca of all who are of the true brotherhood' (*SWLD*, p.49). A particular type of manhood was forged through the behaviour required and the knowledge gained from meeting the challenge this difficult terrain posed. He contrasted the 'elegant beauty' of Coniston and Windermere with the 'stern discipline' offered to those

⁵³ John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1865), p.24.

who had 'trained ourselves in a heroic landscape, and have learnt to love the hard, steep, sombre beauty of volcanic rock-work' (*SWLD*, p.222).

Symonds introduced attributes of character as an additional criterion for membership of the exclusive brotherhood he described: 'A man may take out rope enough on a walk to hang himself, and still not be of the true brotherhood, which has some rather delicate qualities about it of adventure and skill and humility combined.' Earlier in the same passage Symonds called rock climbers the 'aristocrats of walking', implying that climbing was perceived at the time as representing the apogee of mountain leisure pursuits. Rock climbers, however, did not automatically belong to the brotherhood unless they demonstrated gendered qualities of manliness or gentlemanliness, with chivalric overtones of 'skill and humility'. In the persona of *Auctor*, Symonds stated that 'Not all who use ropes are gentlemen' when describing how he buried litter left by climbers at the base of Pillar Rock (*SWLD*, p.59).

The misogyny evident within Symonds's guidebook forms a counterpart to its masculinist appeal. Symonds deliberately poked fun at a woman hiker ascending Helvellyn in one of the classical dialogues which pepper his guidebook. His initial criticism is voiced by *Ambulator*: 'There's a girl in shorts and zebra stockings at the front, coming up the path from Wythburn. Her rucksack looks as fat as if she had filled it with balloons'. *Auctor* agrees immediately and suggests they depart before the hikers reach them (*SWLD*, p.24). Women may have gained the vote, but Symonds's overtly misogynistic description of a woman whom he deemed to be completely out of place in the fells points to the persistence of assumptions of male superiority in contemporary society. Symonds further described Helvellyn as having 'a smooth top beyond measure, a unique and regrettable

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encouragement to silk stockings and high heels', a notable departure from Baines's association of the mountain with masculine daring in his *Companion* (SWLD, p.263).

Symonds's disparagement of hikers further emphasised the exclusive nature of the brotherhood. His suggestion that belonging to it was dependent upon the type of individual and how they moved through the landscape points to the distinctions made in the nineteenth century between traveller and tourist that Buzard has examined. Earlier in the dialogue above, *Auctor* explained the reason for the litter in the summit shelter on Helvellyn: 'Ask the char-a-banc owners on Morecambe Bay. Every fine day seatful after seatful of "hikers" is dumped where the Nag's Head used to be at Wythburn and they give their hiking uniform an outing up this fell-side' (SWLD, p.23). Symonds's distaste for char-a-banc owners and hiking groups reflects the value he and others of his circle placed on moving through the landscape alone and on foot instead of by motor transport. His disparagement of cockneys, who he claimed did not know that Lancashire was partly in the lake country, was shared with Prior. Symonds also deprecated those visitors who felt that they had not got their 'moneysworth' if they did not see a lake a day (SWLD, pp.39; 221).

The language and ideas Symonds used to educate his readership on fellwalking reflect in part an intent to inspire and strive for 'better' things represented by his own lofty ideals and Christian faith. Symonds assumed his readers were classically educated. He imagined them making the same comparison (probably to Virgil's *Georgics*) as himself 'as you walk down Ennerdale homewards, studying the Virgilian setting of the trees in *quincunx* fashion': a group of five with four at each corner and one in the middle (SWLD, p.86). Passages in untranslated Latin, Greek and French and literary allusions to topographical features of the district abound. Sadgill Farm near Kentmere used to put up benighted

travellers '*ad misericordiam*' (out of pity). A *Scylla* of rock and *Charybdis* of peat bog was to be found near Cam Spout on an approach to Scafell from upper Eskdale. The slate fells formed a representative place or 'locus classicus' for ling and bilberries. The view across Buttermere is compared to Matthew Arnold's method of identifying 'touchstone' passages 'so as to judge better elsewhere of the grand manner in composition' (*SWLD*, pp.11; 188; 89; 86). Symonds also quoted from Rupert Brooke's 'The Old Vicarage, Grantchester' and described the name of the fell High Street as a '*faute de mieux*' (for want of something better) and '*par excellence*' in relation to its flat top (*SWLD*, pp.135; 16).

At odds with his exclusive philosophy of fellwalking, Symonds hoped its practice would promote civilizing Christian companionship. He proclaimed that 'The freedom of the open air and of the fell side is a civilizing thing: it is a needful part of our self-knowledge, and of our knowledge of one another' (*SWLD*, p.ix). His religious beliefs led him to reinforce the benefits of fellwalking with a Biblical allusion and the use of the second person singular. The 'acts, and the good things which they do for you, are written in the Books of Eskdale and Scafell' (*SWLD*, p.242).⁵⁴ Symonds implied a sense of worshipping the heights and their Creator in his description of making obeisance to Dow Crag, made more explicit when he joked that 'those worship best who have the steadiest heads' on top of the Screes which plunge steeply to Wastwater (*SWLD*, p.203).

The exclusiveness which Symonds revealed in his treatment of the philosophy of walking and types of walker, of gender and of education extended to his hopes for the YHA and its membership:

⁵⁴ This sentiment suggests 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings' *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, Authorised King James Version* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), Isaiah 52: 7

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It stands for the preservation of rural England. It is itself a 'council for the preservation of rural England', a council of young people who know a fine thing when they see it and will let no one spoil it. It knows also that charity begins at home, and the more of us who are educated a little in this matter, then the bigger hope there is of reforming that great open-handed English populace which throws its rubbish and half-timber broadcast (*SWLD*, p.viii).

Symonds identified with 'us', the organised and educated 'council of young people' and set this group against an ignorant 'them': 'the great open-handed English populace'. The latter despoiled the countryside with litter and the 'sham gentilities of the "Tudor tea-shop" style' of building which Symonds deplored and is implied by his reference to 'half-timber broadcast' (*SWLD*, p.vii).

By contrast, Palmer described fellwalking as an inclusive leisure activity and regarded the YHA as an enabler of the practice, in particular by young people, instead of as a vehicle for achieving the preservation of the English Lake District landscape. Towards the end of his life Palmer emphatically expressed his belief that men and women should be able to engage in fellwalking, albeit using occupation stereotypes, in *Byways in Lakeland*, published in 1952:

The hills belong to all, and not the few. The office lad and shop lass, the miner and the factory worker, have equal right to traverse the heights and dales from one Youth Hostel to the next, and should be encouraged to do so, and take the ways of safety.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ W.T. Palmer, *Byways in Lakeland* (London: Robert Hale, 1952), p.245.

Palmer placed himself alongside the many and not the privileged few. *Lakeland Passes* used a similar phrase: 'Mountain paths which not many years ago were trodden by the few are now thronged by young people' (Barber and Atkinson, *Lakeland Passes*, Foreword).

Palmer's words resonate with Jenkinson's support for the Latrigg Fell Mass Trespass, as well as Leonard's promotion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of recreative and educational holidays to 'the clerk chained to his desk and the worker weakened by the heat of the mill and the workshop'.⁵⁶ In the revised edition of *The Lake District* (1947) Palmer notably attempted to remove any uncertainty young and inexperienced youth hostellers might have had about visiting the region. Those on a budget could be sure of costs: 'It is therefore possible for a youngster to get three good meals and have a comfortable night's lodging for 5s per day, with some spending coppers as well.' Expert wardens and a local population who found hostellers 'lively and stimulating folk' meant a warm welcome was assured.⁵⁷

Palmer's hierarchy of mountaineers was defined primarily by leisure pursuit, skills and experience rather than by education, gender or philosophy. He stated in *The Complete Hill Walker* that he hoped to promote 'a keener interest in the successive stages by which a rambler becomes a hill walker, a hill walker becomes a rock climber, and a young rock climber becomes a candidate for the ranks of expert and experienced mountaineers'.⁵⁸

Palmer's language here was gender neutral, as was his claim in *The Lake District* that 'Most

⁵⁶ Hope, *Democratisation of Tourism*, p.119. Palmer's words also hint at Shelley's much earlier poem *The Masque of Anarchy* composed in 1819. It included the rallying cry 'Ye are many – they are few' in commemoration of the protestors killed and injured in the Peterloo massacre of the same year.

⁵⁷ Palmer, *Lake District*, rev. edn (1947), pp.44-45.

⁵⁸ Palmer, *Complete Hill Walker*, p. viii.

attention has been paid to the requirements of the walker'. Such usage was not always the case. In *The English Lakes* (1930) he took aim at independent, affluent women of a higher social class than the 'office lad and shop lass.' Palmer stated that 'one of the most ridiculous sights on the Helvellyn track is Madame Motorist brandishing an open red, blue or green umbrella to the soaking mountain mist'.⁵⁹ He singled out Helvellyn due to its ease of access and popularity, but not the feminine nature of its landscape as characterised by Symonds. Later in the same work Palmer referred to a 'regular club man or woman of the rocks', placing skilled mountain climbers, male or female, on an equal footing (Palmer, *English Lakes*, p.236).

Palmer's emphasis on the physical rather than the philosophical not only touched on national dialogues of physical conditioning but also reflected his own practice. He claimed to have built on his experiential knowledge by making 'a considerable study of the history of outdoor sport and travel'.⁶⁰ His fitness regime was tailored to the demands of youth hostelling and influenced by the regimes for strength, health and fitness Westaway has described, which culminated in the first attempt on Everest in 1922 by the British Mount Everest expedition.⁶¹ Palmer suggested that his readership should aim to walk between thirty and forty miles in a day as hostels were generally sixteen to eighteen miles apart. He cautioned that the final day of a weekend trip could entail an even longer walk to reach a railway or bus terminus.⁶² Palmer's own first ascent was that of Harter Fell (Mardale) aged

⁵⁹ William T. Palmer, *The English Lakes, Their Topographical, Historical and Literary Landmarks* (London: Harrap, 1930), p.217.

⁶⁰ Palmer, *More Odd Corners*, p.7.

⁶¹ Westaway, "Men Who Can Last", pp.303-332; 307-08.

⁶² Palmer, *Complete Hill Walker*, pp.55; 24-25.

five. He walked from Buttermere to Windermere in mist, ascended Coniston Old Man in snow, and walked from Buttermere to Mellbreak via Scale Force in winter. He also described climbing Hillbell (Mardale Ill Bell), High Street, Helvellyn, Bowfell and Scafell Pike at night and experiencing the high places in storm conditions.⁶³ Like Jenkinson, he took part in an attempt in 1895 on what had become known as the Lakeland twenty-four-hour record. Palmer covered fifty miles and 9,000 feet of ascent in 19 hours and 18 minutes.⁶⁴

Symonds's and Palmer's attitudes to youth hostels exemplify the varying degrees of exclusivity and inclusivity in their address to their readership. Both regarded the YHA as a means of enjoying the uplands but Palmer saw its effect as popularising, Symonds as helping to demarcate the district for a particular taste or social group. Palmer welcomed the role of the Youth Hostel movement in the Lake District 'becoming more and more popular with young people'. He defended the YHA against the charge that it brought 'a newer and poorer type of guest' and kept away 'more profitable people':

So far this cannot be proved; the evidence is stronger in other directions, that the Lakes are becoming more and more popular with young people. Certainly the movement has brought into the area many thousands of youngsters with very limited money resources, but their quarters and routes are quite apart from the ordinary tourist track; the hostellers are seldom in evidence near villages, and never under criticism for bad conduct (*PLD*, pp.40-41).

⁶³ Palmer, *Lake Country Rambles*, pp.1;11; 15-17; 25-30.

⁶⁴ Baddeley, *Thorough Guide*, 13th edn, pp. xxviii – xxix.

In the revised edition of *The Lake District* Palmer added a further defence of the thousands of hostellers who visited the district – that most of their food money was spent locally.⁶⁵ He described hostellers as tramps, a term which he used in appreciation of both an upland walk and the walker, for example ‘the rough, high ground beloved of the tramp’.⁶⁶ This comparison implies that hostellers were a good, if not the best, sort of walker, potentially because they were exploring off the beaten track and appreciating the landscape as they travelled. By contrast, Symonds’s philosophical and educational engagement with walking led him to hail the ‘shifting of organised interest into the fresh air’ embodied by the YHA, sermonising that it represented:

cleanliness and imagination and good taste and sane feelings; for good buildings; for no litter; for a knowledge of the outdoor world; for an understanding of agriculture and for a decent humility in the presence of the most skilled of all workers, the agricultural labourer and the shepherd (*SWLD*, p.viii).

Symonds hoped that the YHA offered a means of returning to the values of a mythical agrarian golden age. His attitude towards rural workers was akin to Palmer’s reverence for the agricultural communities of the English Lake District, his elevation of shepherds additionally possessing Christian overtones.

Walking in the Lake District contains many contradictions. Symonds was a fellwalking snob, but one who used this snobbery to inspire his readership to share his ideals. He encouraged walking as the best way of getting to know the region, but his philosophy of the

⁶⁵ Palmer, *Lake District*, rev. edn (1947), p.45.

⁶⁶ Palmer, *Tramping in Lakeland*, pp.97-98.

practice was socially exclusive and gendered. The characteristics of the 'true brotherhood' at its heart were influenced by his background, character and commitment to the preservation of rural England which was central to his life in later years. How members of the 'brotherhood' moved through the English Lake District landscape reflected the exclusive nature of his beliefs concerning those people for whom it should be a national park. By contrast, Palmer's belief that the fells were for all led him to demystify fellwalking as a leisure pursuit and to encourage young people and youth hostellers in particular to start on the path to enjoying this leisure practice and becoming experienced mountaineers.

'Follow the nail scarred track'

By the late 1940s the only guidance concerning the descent from Scafell Pike via Brown Tongue or Esk Hause the Browns deemed necessary was an instruction to 'follow the nail-scarred track', these marks having been made by nails in the soles of walking boots (Brown, *Fell Walking*, p.113). Symonds and Palmer contributed to the uplands of the district to becoming increasingly well-trodden by encouraging fellwalking which was independent of detailed guidebook directions, took place off the beaten track and utilised the growing numbers of youth hostels. Developments in equipment, motor transport and the tourist infrastructure assisted more visitors to explore the district on foot in this manner.

Symonds's and Palmer's respective, but differing, assumptions of a particular readership and preparedness for fellwalking, signalled by the absence of practical illustrations from their guidebooks, were significant for the development of fellwalking and its guidebook literature. Their works left a gap for the future, highly pictorial guidebooks of Wainwright and Poucher, (considered in the next chapter), which were accessible to the non-expert. Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* suggest an appeal to many different types of

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walker, potentially uniting a readership demarcated by the exclusivity of Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* or drawn to the more inclusive nature of Palmer's *The Lake District*.

Chapter Five 'A desire to escape from the common round': Alfred Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides to the Lakeland Fells*

It was a total love of the fells, a desire to escape from the common round, my long-standing fascination with maps, an acquired interest in drawing, an insatiable urge to look round the next corner on a trodden way if I could find one and it didn't matter if I couldn't.¹

Alfred Wainwright, *Fellwanderer* (1966)

Alfred Wainwright's 'desire to escape from the common round' is central to understanding his dominant role in the relationship between English Lake District guidebooks and fellwalking. It suggests his aspirations to originality in the *Pictorial Guides* and for them to move beyond the deficiencies of other works. Creating them allowed him to be apart from and transcend aspects of his everyday life. Wainwright's guidebooks are written and drawn entirely by hand and appear so in print. His 'fascination with maps' and 'interest in drawing' heralds illustration as an important and distinctive feature of his work. Wainwright's curiosity 'to look round the next corner', whether or not the way was trodden, points to the comprehensiveness of the information he provided on walking the 214 fells he included in the *Pictorial Guides*. These works have encouraged numerous fellwalkers to follow in his footsteps and to explore the uplands of the district, both on and off the beaten track, with a book instead of a person, and also perhaps instead of a map, as a guide. Such is his significance to the development of fellwalking as a self-guided leisure practice strongly

¹ Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 8^r-9^v.

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associated with the English Lake District that the fells in the *Pictorial Guides* are commonly called “Wainwrights” after him.

This chapter argues that, in the *Pictorial Guides*, Wainwright made the practice of fellwalking available to the non-expert in a way that the reliance of Symonds’s and Palmer’s walking route directions on a separate map, and the ability to read it, did not. These books, published between 1955 and 1966, cover seven geographical regions of the English Lake District, which Wainwright defined differently to preceding guidebooks. He allocated a separate chapter to each of the 214 fells, arranged alphabetically within each pocket-sized volume. Every chapter is an all-encompassing, composite character study of an individual fell, stripped of the weather, and performed through textual, visual, cartographic, and indicative features. The *Pictorial Guides* are more than practical manuals of instruction. Wainwright also wrote imaginatively about the landscape of the district and his response to it, and his drawings have helped his guidebooks also to be received as works of art. He largely achieved his ‘desire to escape from the common round’ of English Lake District literature through the medium of illustration. Wainwright integrated over 3,600 illustrations with his text. These include maps, views from the summits, diagrams of ascent and drawings of man-made and natural features of interest.² There are 215 characters in the *Pictorial Guides*: each of the 214 fells and Wainwright as author. The *Pictorial Guides*’ handwritten appearance has little in common with preceding guidebooks and invites intimacy. Wainwright’s opinions draw the reader-walker further into his confidence as both a guide and companion.

² Hutchby, *Wainwright Companion*, p.18.

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Five features of the *Pictorial Guides* set them apart from other works and are central to their pre-eminence in the development of fellwalking and its guidebook literature. Three relate to Wainwright's innovative illustrations, namely his ascent diagrams, self-portraits, and his mapping of the uplands. The fourth is his arrangement of the *Pictorial Guides* as a curated collection of 214 fells, and the fifth his exposition of the practice of fellwalking. Wainwright's ascent diagrams and accompanying drawings orientate the reader-walker dynamically in a three-dimensional landscape via the medium of the printed page. His authorial self-portraits reinforce his authority as a guide and give the reader-walker a sense of moving through the uplands on foot, with the author as a companion. His distinctive cartography is accessible to the non-expert and is presented as transferring authority to his guidebooks from the official maps of the OS and Bartholomew. His delineation of each of the 214 fells as a distinctive sub-region, a place to be explored in itself, has assisted the practice of 'peak-bagging' which has become a central part of his popular legacy. Wainwright's description of fellwalking is the fullest exposition of the physical practice in English Lake District guidebooks. However, his promotion of purposive but leisurely exploration is at odds with the collecting of summits, particularly against time, which his guidebooks have facilitated.

Wainwright's significance to the development of fellwalking and its literature extends beyond these features to his position as a reconciler of some, if not all, of the themes and tensions, sometimes binary, expressed in preceding works. This chapter begins by foregrounding the importance to the relationship between guidebook literature and leisure practice of Wainwright's Wordsworthian connection with the region and his association of it with fellwalking. The similarities between the *Pictorial Guides* and English Lake District and mountaineering literature are outweighed by the features which have

resulted in them escaping from the ‘common round’ of guidebooks. The distinctiveness of his guidebooks, and that of Wainwright’s description of fellwalking, originates in the tension between his aspirations for his guidebooks to join the pantheon of English Lake District literature, and his description of them as ‘nothing more than my own personal notebook’ (Davies, *Letters*, p.95). There are few examples of him thinking about his readership while he was making the *Pictorial Guides*, but their idiosyncratic nature is central to their appeal.

Wainwright, fellwalking and the English Lake District

Alfred Wainwright (1907-1991) described how his persisting ‘love of lonely uplands’ was engendered when he was a young boy by exploring the hills and moors around his childhood home.³ He was born in Blackburn into relative poverty. His father was a stonemason who was often unemployed. His mother took in washing to make ends meet. Wainwright left school at thirteen but was employed at the Town Hall, unlike many of his contemporaries who went to work in the local mills.⁴ He began his career in the Borough Engineer’s Office, transferring to that of the Borough Treasurer three years later. He subsequently qualified as a municipal accountant after years of home study (Davies, *Biography*, pp.23; 30). Wainwright first visited the English Lake District in 1930, taking the bus from Blackburn with his cousin (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.22). He subsequently made the sixty-mile journey to visit the region whenever he could and resolved to move there permanently as soon as he might be able to do so. In 1941 he secured a role as an Accountancy Assistant in the Borough Treasurer’s Department in Kendal, in the south of the district (Davies, *Biography*, p.96). His civic responsibilities represent a connection with

³ Alfred Wainwright, *Memoirs of a Fellwanderer* (London: Michael Joseph, 1993), p.12.

⁴ ‘About AW’, The Wainwright Society, n.d. <<https://www.wainwright.org.uk/our-purpose>> [accessed 28 June 2024].

Jenkinson and Baddeley. Wainwright was appointed Kendal Borough Treasurer in 1948 and retired from that role in 1967. He never travelled abroad and although he explored the Peak District, the Scottish Highlands and North Wales, the English Lake District landscape remained foremost in his affections.

Wainwright's first visit to the English Lake District was transformative. He experienced the Romantic or Biblical possibility of transcendence and a Wordsworthian connection with place which determined the association of fellwalking with the region's landscape in his work. The first fell he climbed was Orrest Head, a modest peak 780 feet high near Windermere. Although Wainwright did not include Orrest Head in the 214 fells in the *Pictorial Guides*, featuring it instead in the *Outlying Fells of Lakeland* (1974), its ascent 'cast a spell that changed my life' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.24). On reaching the summit an extensive view of the Lakeland mountains appeared 'as though a curtain had dramatically been torn aside'. Wainwright continued, 'It was a moment of magic, a revelation so unexpected that I stood transfixed, unable to believe my eyes. [...] God was in his heaven that day and I a humble worshipper' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.23). His use of religious imagery is a recurring feature of his prose. It can be traced to his Congregationalist upbringing, Wainwright noting that 'At Blackburn I had attended chapel. Now I worshipped in nature's cathedrals' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.89). His account of the ascent of Orrest Head reflects Wordsworth's experience of mountain climbing, which Bainbridge has described as 'an almost instantaneous means of elevating not only the body but also the soul'.⁵ Wainwright recounted how 'With climbing there came an uplift, not only of the body

⁵ Bainbridge, 'Romantic Writers and Mountaineering', p.7.

but of the spirit and the mind' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.62). More prosaically, this visit also influenced the importance he placed on mapping in the *Pictorial Guides*, and in particular the accurate depiction of footpaths. He wrote that 'Footpaths on the fells are of first importance: they show the way and avoid dangers' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.74). He cited his uncertain descent of Helvellyn on his first visit by the White Stones track, which was not shown on his map.

Wainwright's idea of writing a guidebook connected literature, fellwalking and place. It generated a 'line of escape' to the English Lake District which he called 'a perfect dreamland' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.95). His experience on Orrest Head prompted him to move to the region to find 'A place to live. A place to be. I had no roots there, but I resolved to grow some, and they would go deep, into the very rocks' (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.4^v). His sentiments resemble Wordsworth's lines in *Home at Grasmere* 'here / Should be his home, this Valley be his World' which describe the poet's own homecoming.⁶

Wainwright's letters suggest that he derived both stability and sanctuary from his relocation to Kendal. He wrote in 1942 to a former work colleague in Blackburn, Eric Maudsley: 'But the gloriously clean air never has a day off. It's there every minute of every hour - and it makes me feel good and fit and glad to be alive' (Davies, *Letters*, p.48). 'A day off' implies that a certain structure, here expressed in terms of work and leisure, underpinned Wainwright's relationship with his new home. Like Wordsworth, Wainwright's admiration of upland farmers was crucial to his perception of the English Lake District as a place of sanctuary. His portrait of the local people of the Northern Fells as 'sturdily independent' and 'unspoiled by "tourism", whose roots go deep in their own soil' reflects the 'perfect Republic

⁶ *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by A.J. George (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin: 1904), p.222, *The Recluse, Home at Grasmere* l.1, 44-45.

of Shepherds and Agriculturists' Wordsworth had extolled (*WNF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion). Wainwright's early aspirations for the *Pictorial Guides* seemingly prioritised meeting his aims for their quality in comparison to Wordsworth and other greats of English Lake District literature.

'Future generations, when they think of Wordsworth and Southey and Coleridge and de Quincey will think of Wainwright also'

Wainwright's aim that his work join the pantheon of Lakeland writers suggests a particularly ambitious aspect of his 'desire to escape from the common round'. Writing in 1943 to another former work colleague from Blackburn, Lawrence Wolstenholme:

Future generations, when they think of Wordsworth and Southey and Coleridge and de Quincey, will think of Wainwright also. All my energies are now devoted to this aim. I am engaged on a work which will bring me fame, and enthusiasm for it is running white-hot; life is deliriously exciting (Davies, *Letters*, p.70).

Wainwright's aspiration for his work to be placed in the lineage of English Lake District guidebooks is a counterpart to Martineau's aim of locating herself on the literary map of Lakeland alongside Wordsworth. His 'white-hot' enthusiasm for making his mark on English Lake District literature suggests that he was not thinking about his readership but rather the personal dimension of his 'desire to escape from the common round'.

Aspects of the *Pictorial Guides* reflect the influence of preceding works. Their full title, *Being an Illustrated Account of a Study and Exploration of the Mountains in the English Lake District by A. Wainwright* revives the prolix style of the nineteenth century. By contrast, Wainwright's contemporary, W.A. Poucher, used the much shorter title *The Lakeland Peaks* (1960) for his pocket guidebook. 'Study' and 'Exploration' reflects the increasingly scientific approach Buzard has identified in guidebook literature. As well as bearing similarities to

Jenkinson's *Practical Guide*, Bainbridge has suggested that Wainwright's naming of the fells in his summit panoramas is reminiscent of early mountaineering literature.⁷ Wainwright's references to locations in Wordsworth's poetry and the district's Scandinavian and Roman history, also recall Jenkinson's work, and the writings of W. G. Collingwood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸ Critics have argued that the distinct, 'historically oriented, human-appreciative' upland aesthetic which Wainwright formed was intended, like Wordsworth's, to guide his readers in proper appreciation of the landscape of the district (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', pp.399; 418-19). Wainwright's upland aesthetic reflects concepts of the sublime. He described a flat landscape as 'a picture only half-finished; it contains nothing to arrest the attention' (Davies, *Letters*, p.48). He favoured height, roughness and rockiness over the smooth and regular, and revealed a Romantic era longing to be overawed by Nature's power in the presence of 'sublime architecture' (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', pp.400-03). He appreciated 'best a summit with rocks; failing that, a summit with stones' (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', pp.402; 405). His emphasis on ascent and views of the landscape from height additionally reflect preceding literature. The polar opposite was his dislike of upland bogs which he shared with Baddeley, who described Blea Tarn near Ullscarf as 'a dismal sheet of water in the midst of a peat-bog' and drew attention to the 'boggy nature of the ground' above Watendlath (*BTG*, p.128). Wainwright dismissed the same area as being 'shockingly wet', 'all swamps and peat hags' which impeded walking (*WCF*, High Tove 1; 4).

⁷ Bainbridge, 'Romantic Writers and Mountaineering', p.6.

⁸ Derek Cockell, 'Literary References in AW's Guides', *Footsteps, The Wainwright Society Magazine*, 77 (2022), 8–10; 'Literary References in AW's Guides (Part 2)' *Footsteps*, 78, (2022), 12–13. Wainwright referenced locations in Wordsworth's poems *The Excursion* (Bleatarn House), *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle* (Bowscale Tarn) and *Yew Trees* (the Borrowdale Yews).

Wainwright recognised two English Lake District guidebooks in particular as precursors to the *Pictorial Guides*. He recalled that, after his first visit, 'I read everything I could about the area. The WC at home was permanently furnished with a map and a second-hand copy of Baddeley's guidebook' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.42). He claimed to know the OS map and Baddeley by heart, without specifying which edition of the latter he used (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 4^v). He named Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* as the best guidebook to the district yet written, including by implication his own, but without giving his reasons.⁹ Wainwright also held the photographic works of his contemporary, Poucher, in high regard. He recorded having read the latter's large format black and white picture books, *Lakeland Through the Lens* (1940) and *Snowdonia Through the Lens* (1941). A letter Wainwright wrote to Poucher's son, John, after his father's death points to a shared perfectionism. Wainwright recalled that 'I met him only once as he was returning from three weeks in Scotland when he had never taken a single picture because the conditions were never right' (Davies, *Letters*, p.395). Wainwright also described reading and re-reading other mountain literature, such as four works by Frank S. Smythe (Davies, *Letters*, p.30; Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.79).

Elements of Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* and Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* are reflected in the *Pictorial Guides*. Like Jenkinson and Baddeley, Wainwright adopted a boots-on-the-ground approach when composing his guidebook. His mountain panoramas and his focus on naming the fells recall the *Practical Guide*.¹⁰ The format of his fell character studies can be seen embryonically in the routes of ascent, views from the summits and routes of descent

⁹ Wainwright, *Favourite Lakeland Mountains*, p.1.

¹⁰ Liz Woodham, "'On foot over almost every inch of ground'", Henry Irwin Jenkinson's *Practical Guide* to the English Lakes, 1872', *Footsteps, The Wainwright Society Magazine*, 80 (2022), 10-13 (p.12).

outlined in *The Fells* section of Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* (*BTG*, pp.156-191).¹¹ However, Wainwright's work contains significantly more detail and illustrations. Even allowing for the smaller typeface used in the *Thorough Guide*, the difference is highlighted by the number of pages devoted to Helvellyn by Wainwright (twenty-six) and Baddeley (five) (*WEF*, Helvellyn 1-26; *BTG*, pp.165-69). In common with Jenkinson, Baddeley and other writing about the English Lake District, Wainwright described the fells in human terms. He called himself 'a king amongst friends' when he was among them (*Wainwright, Memoirs*, p.89). Jenkinson likewise called the 'huge haycock' summit of Pike O' Stickle an 'old friend' because it was seen from so many places in the district (*JPG*, p.108) He claimed that 'Pillar, Great Gable and Bow Fell look like monarchs of the hills' (*JPG*, p.62). Baddeley referred to Skiddaw as 'a "prince" of mountains for ponies and nervous people who do not like precipices', Wainwright as an 'affable and friendly giant' (*BTG*, p.159; *WNF*, Skiddaw 6).

Wainwright followed Jenkinson and Baddeley in emphatically steering the reader-walker away from routes for climbers. His warning to his readership against ascending Pillar Rock, 'Don't even try to get a foothold on it', closely reflected Baddeley's 'We say to the ordinary tourist, with regard to every one of them, "Don't!"' (*WWF*, Pillar 6; *BTG*, eighth edition, p.165). Jenkinson described the same ascent as 'exceedingly hazardous and foolhardy' (*JPG*, p.281). Wainwright's portrayal of the best places for a fellwalker to be as those that were exciting and could be reached without danger reflects the movement in guidebook literature from imaginative to practical engagement with the landscape concerning mountain safety (*WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion). It also reflected Wainwright's 'sufferings' when ascending Skew Gill, Great End, on the end of a rope. These

¹¹ *The Fells* section contained pen portraits of Black Combe, Fleetwith, Glaramara, Great Gable, Helvellyn, High Street, Langdale Pikes, The Pillar, Red Pike (Buttermere), Saddleback, Scafell Pike, Scafell and Skiddaw.

were such that he could 'NOT recommend it as a route for decent walkers' (*WSF*, Great End 12). The writer and climber, A. Harry Griffin, described Wainwright regarding a rope as if it were a poisonous snake.¹² Wainwright further characterised the separation of fellwalking and rock climbing by their differing aims. He stated that 'Rock climbing is losing its affinity with fellwalking and becoming a thing apart. For the fellwalker the ultimate objective must always be the highest cairn'. He contrasted this objective with the example of most rock climbers who did not continue to the summit of Loft Crag, one of the Langdale Pikes, despite this being within easy reach (*WCF*, Loft Crag 6).¹³

Notwithstanding the influence of English Lake District literature and the significance of the region to Wainwright, in a way curiously reminiscent of Prior it was a book on the Alps which was central to the genesis of the *Pictorial Guides* and their highly illustrated appearance. Wainwright wrote that the gift of 'an illustrated volume on Switzerland containing many pen and ink drawings [...] sparked off in me an ambition to do mountain drawings' (Davies, *Letters*, pp.391-92). This book was *Swiss Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*, originally published in 1866 by the Religious Tract Society (see Figure 10).¹⁴ Different editions and versions were published subsequently, and it is not clear which edition Wainwright was given (Davies, *Letters*, p. 392). Whichever he received, he was inspired.

¹² David Johnson, *Encounters with Wainwright* (Milnthorpe: The Wainwright Society, 2016), p.77.

¹³ See also *WSF*, Dow Crag 3.

¹⁴ Rev. Samuel Manning, *Swiss Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil with Illustrations by Mr. Whymper and Others, A New and Enlarged Edition* (London: The Religious Tract Society, [1866]; [1871]), pp.106-07.



Figure 10: The Matterhorn and 'Sketch Map of the Route of Ascent', Rev. Samuel Manning, *Swiss Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil* [1866].

The clear outlines of the mountain and the delineation of rock features in Figure 10 can be seen in Wainwright's illustrations of fells in the *Pictorial Guides*. He had made maps and sketched since he was a child but drawing mountains offered the possibility of unifying his personal interests and skills. It also resonated with historical developments, namely the designation of the Lake District as a national park. This occurred on 9 May 1951, a year before Wainwright started work on the *Pictorial Guides*.

'Lakeland, once a sanctuary from noise and fast traffic, is being opened up to types of people who wantonly destroy peace'

The designation of the LDNP, improvements in the region's transport infrastructure, and in equipment for walking, as well as the skills to use it, helped to create a context in the 1950s and the 1960s favourable to the reception of the *Pictorial Guides* and their promotion of fellwalking. Not all of these developments were welcomed by Wainwright. His opinions on the preservation of the landscape of the district and its lack of suitability for gregarious enjoyment were in sympathy with the views of Symonds and his circle. It became apparent

over the period Wainwright was composing the *Pictorial Guides* that 'national park status did not in itself guarantee protection', as Jeremy Rowan Robinson writes in his history of the FLD from 1951-2001.¹⁵ Many of the threats from which this status was designed to preserve the district's landscape resurfaced. These included water extraction, road building, afforestation and quarrying. New threats materialised, including those posed by extending rural electricity supply in the immediate post-war period and the use of motorised leisure vehicles on green lanes in the present day. For Wainwright, people posed the main threat to the landscape he loved.

Ironically, Wainwright facilitated the use of motor transport in collecting the summits by clearly identifying the various starting points for each fell in the *Pictorial Guides*. However, he deplored road schemes because they made the region accessible to the wrong sort of people, as well as threatening its solitude which he prized:

The present road policy in the Lake District, of widening, cutting off corners, easing gradients and generally turning highways into racetracks, is surely wrong. Lakeland, once a sanctuary from noise and fast traffic, is being opened up to types of people who wantonly destroy peace and quietness and good order, and are aliens in a place of natural beauty (*WNF*, Blencathra 8).

Wainwright's impassioned plea against road schemes reflected the FLD's position, as well as preceding literature and his own perception of Lakeland as a personal sanctuary. His censorious disparagement of the 'noisy, uncouth, illiterate mob with transistors going full

¹⁵ Jeremy Rowan Robinson, *A Voice for the Landscape: Friends of the Lake District 1951-2001* (Regional Heritage Centre, Lancaster University, 2024), p. xiii.

blast' whom he encountered on Great Gable in August 1970 brought up to date the similar objections voiced earlier by Wordsworth, Prior and Symonds (Davies, *Letters*, p.239).

Wainwright's complaint about 'racetracks' is consistent with the dislike of visitors hurrying through the district expressed in preceding guidebooks, speed being seen as antithetical to proper appreciation of its charms.¹⁶ The FLD had argued since its foundation for a policy of traffic management, rather than one providing 'for the rapid movement of vehicles'. It vigorously opposed the track of the old railway between Keswick and Cockermouth being used for large scale improvements to the A66 trunk road under Blencathra.¹⁷ Andrew Nichol, one-time publisher of the *Pictorial Guides* at the Westmorland Gazette, recorded that Wainwright met Geoffrey Berry several times in the latter's capacity as secretary of the FLD.¹⁸ The Beeching Report (1963) on the rationalisation of the railway system shifted the balance in favour of the motor car. It led to the closure of a substantial number of railway lines across the country, including most Lake District branch lines (the closure of the western end of the Cockermouth, Keswick and Penrith Railway in 1966 turned the line from Penrith to Keswick into a branch line, which was closed in 1972). An underlying assumption of the Beeching Report was that people would drive to the nearest railhead to continue their journey. In practice journeys were increasingly completed by car, and motorists typically drive to the starting points of fell walks.

¹⁶ See, for example, Budworth, *A Fortnight's Ramble*, pp.xxvi- xxvii.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Berry and Geoffrey Beard, *The Lake District: A Century of Conservation* (Edinburgh: Bartholomew, 1980), pp.30; 53.

¹⁸ Andrew Nichol, *Behind the Scenes with Wainwright: A Publisher's Perspective of a Reluctant Celebrity* (Kendal: Kirkland, 2012), p.24.

Wainwright's objections to the threat posed to the district by insensitive afforestation by the Forestry Commission were not purely aesthetic but also reflected how access to the fells might be adversely affected. He deplored, in terms that reflect Symonds's objections, the indignity of the 'dowdy and ill-suited skirt' that had been forced on Pillar, one of his finest half dozen fells, by 'foreign trees' which had destroyed the previous charm of the valley (*WWF*, Pillar 3). Wainwright's objection to foreign trees was shared by the CPRE and FLD both of which advocated the planting of mixed, native broad-leaved woodland (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', pp.406-07). He drew attention to the way in which a combination of forest and fencing on Blake Fell prevented walkers from reaching the summit (*WWF*, Blake Fell 7). He was less critical of the Forestry Commission's planting on Dodd which had been conducted 'with imagination, and with due regard to amenity' (*WNF*, Dodd 2). His views on water extraction schemes are considered below in relation to his authorial self-portraits.

The physical appeal of the English Lake District, extolled by preceding guidebooks, was augmented by heightened interest in mountaineering, be it climbing or walking, the mountains large or small, resulting from the British Mountain Expedition's first ascent of Everest in 1953. Mike Parsons and Mary Rose have pinpointed the ascent of Everest with no fatalities as a 'symbol of national status' and a 'catalyst of change' which made mountaineering seem safe and mountaineers influential to the wider public.¹⁹ Wainwright reflected this interest by contriving to mention Everest twice in the *Pictorial Guides*. He suggested that 'Everest enthusiasts will liken the two pronounced rises' of High and Low Pike near Ambleside to the 'first and second steps' of the mountain's north-east ridge. He

¹⁹ Mike C. Parsons and Mary B. Rose, *Invisible on Everest* (Philadelphia: Northern Liberties Press, 2002), pp.216-17; 220.

noted, however, that it would be a feat of the imagination to see any resemblance between Everest and the rounded summit of Dove Crag (*WEF*, High Pike 1). Participation in mountaineering, climbing and fellwalking was facilitated by other developments which meant that not only more, but more skilled, people could take to the outdoors after the war. Parsons and Rose have drawn attention to the number of ex-servicemen with experience of wartime mountain training, the foundation of the British Mountaineering Council in 1947, which was open to all 'regardless of class, education or climbing standards', and a 'post war return to normality' (Parsons and Rose, *Invisible on Everest*, pp.209; 219). Local Education Authorities also established outdoor pursuits centres in response to the Education Act 1944. The first four Outward Bound Schools were opened in the 1950s, two of which were in the Lake District. The Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, with its emphasis on outdoor expeditions, was founded in 1956 (Parsons and Rose, *Invisible on Everest*, p.222).

While Wainwright was composing the *Pictorial Guides*, developments in equipment and a nascent outdoors market enhanced the walker's experience. Parsons and Rose have suggested that the Everest expedition was also a catalyst for innovation in materials which began to percolate the general outdoors market in the latter part of the 1960s, resulting in, for example, lighter weight rucksacks (Parsons and Rose, *Invisible on Everest*, pp.223-29). Specialist retailers like George Fisher in Keswick (1957) Graham Tiso in Edinburgh (1962), and new companies such as Mountain Equipment (1961) and Berghaus (1966), were established, predominantly by outdoors enthusiasts who were motivated to supply or develop the equipment they wanted to use themselves (Parsons and Rose, *Invisible on Everest*, pp.230-33; 229; 243). Such improvements seemed to have made little impact on Wainwright, who preferred traditional woollen and tweed walking attire. He did not carry a compass because he did not learn how to use one, viewing it as a gadget, and 'I do not get

on well with gadgets' (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.23^v). Wainwright would have needed a compass were he actually heading into truly uncharted territory instead of the Lakeland fells. The latter, in contrast to the Himalayas, by which he was fascinated, can be tackled by an amateur walker with common sense and the ability to read a map, or accompanied by an accurate guidebook. Wainwright was not a habitual winter walker, with all that implies about the skills and equipment required to navigate safely in more challenging conditions.²⁰ He referred to the 'long winter of exile' (*WCF*, Helm Crag 4; *WSF*, Great End 2). Wainwright's personal eschewing of a compass is potentially reckless for fellwalkers adopting his practice but demonstrates his confidence in communicating information on routes in the *Pictorial Guides* and the appeal of these works to the non-expert.

It is easy to see how the *Pictorial Guides* may have become anchored in time as the guidebooks of the newly formed LDNP. That Wainwright did not attempt to secure his literary legacy in this way reflects the importance of his personal aspirations for his guidebooks. Notably, the boundary of the *Pictorial Guides* notably did not follow that of the LDNP. This caused the significant omission in the south-west of the district of Black Combe, 1,970 feet high and a popular viewpoint. Wainwright emphasised how working on the *Pictorial Guides* allowed him to 'escape from the common round'. Using imagery of imprisonment, he revealed that 'During the making of the books they dominated my thoughts. They held me in chains' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.95). His statement that 'The only way I could express my gratitude was by writing about them' confirms his imprisonment was willing, as well as rendering ironic his later claim that 'Lakeland is an emotion, and emotions

²⁰ Andy Beck, *The Wainwrights in Colour* (Bowes: Double Z Publishing, 2017) p.207. 'AW climbed Blencathra every Sunday in the winter of 1960/1961, a season of less snow than in previous years'.

are felt, not expressed' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, pp.79; 203). The *Pictorial Guides* were, on the one hand, a personal 'love letter' to the fells of the English Lake District and, on the other, a public tribute with an eye on posterity. (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.79; *WEF*, Introduction).

'Building a mountain on a blank sheet of paper'

Wainwright's idiosyncratic approach to 'building a mountain on a blank sheet of paper' helped to popularise fellwalking (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 4^v). This approach has been documented at length by Davies and others. It is summarised here in relation to the tension between Wainwright's personal and public aspirations for his guidebooks, which helped to make them distinctive in the print history of English Lake District tourism. He recalled later that:

memories crowd in on you as you delicately bring to life on paper the various features of the mountain you have seen so often. Your pen moves through a mist of dreams...Yes, drawing was a good idea. It brought the mountains to my own fireside. I could wander over them in an easy chair, on a black winter's night too.

(Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 4^v).

In contrast to the ambition he expressed elsewhere, this passage elucidates the personal pleasure Wainwright derived from making the *Pictorial Guides*. His enjoyment encompassed the active practices of fellwalking and composition as well as the passive one of being transported to the fells from his fireside. Drawing maps and sketches offered Wainwright an escape from increased mechanisation at work, which he disliked, as well as from his unhappiness in his first marriage (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.2^r). Given the crowded

market for English Lake District guidebooks that the *Pictorial Guides* would be entering, Wainwright's 'desire to escape the common round' also suggests commercial necessity.

Wainwright approached his guidebook project as an experienced fellwalker, and not as a professional writer, illustrator or cartographer. Of the fells, he described 'many years of inarticulate worshipping at their shrines' before he began work on the *Pictorial Guides*, while continuing in full-time employment (*WEF*, Introduction). A draft letter in 1955 to Bill Mitchell, editor of *Cumbria* magazine, outlined how his method evolved:

Later I started to be methodical in my notes too. Every fell had to yield answers to the same questions: the details of its structure, the best routes of ascent, the secrets of its untrodden places, the views from the top (Davies, *Letters*, pp.94-95).

The *Pictorial Guides* took thirteen years of personal research and exploration.²¹ Like Jenkinson he preferred to 'record my findings at home while they were fresh in my mind', favouring there-and-back day trips.²² He used photographs taken in the field to compose his illustrations. His approach remained enigmatic at the time as, in keeping with his personal shyness, this letter was unsent.

Wainwright pinpointed improvements in mapping and the availability of public transport as the two significant developments which enabled him to make the *Pictorial Guides*. He called the republication for general use in the period 1937 to 1961 of the two-and-a-half-inch OS maps 'an important happening' for his project (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.5^v). He resolved that 'I must make my own up-to-date maps, my own

²¹ Wainwright composed the first page, the ascent of Dove Crag from Ambleside, on 9 November 1952 (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.9^v). He finished his fieldwork on 10 September 1965, one week ahead of his planned schedule, when he secured a complete view from the summit of Starling Dodd, a fell in the western Lake District near Buttermere (*WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion).

²² Alfred Wainwright, *Ex Fellwanderer* (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1987), fol.40^v.

diagrams, my own drawings, all carefully designed and presented as attractively as I could' (Davies, *Letters*, p.95). The one-inch maps previously available did not show the crowded and rough landscape features of the English Lake District in sufficient detail for walkers. Wainwright predominantly used public transport in an era when bus services were arguably experiencing their heyday in linking remote rural places, as Turnbull has described in her history of motor transport in Westmorland.²³ His use of buses seems to have been pragmatic, originating in his dislike of machines and consequent inability to drive. He walked mostly in the summer months of better weather and the extended bus timetable, occasionally making use of taxis and lifts to complete *WWF*, due to the more limited availability of public transport in this area.²⁴ Davies has suggested that Wainwright took account of the availability of public transport, as well as using all of the most obvious dividing lines of lakes, valleys and mountain passes, and the need to keep each volume roughly equal in size, when separating the *Pictorial Guides* into seven volumes (Davies, *Biography*, pp.139-40).²⁵

Wainwright appealed to scribal culture as a way of reinforcing the validity of his own, hand-crafted design. He stated that 'Since the monks and other scholars of long ago diligently penned their illuminated manuscripts, the making of books by hand-written text and hand-drawn illustrations has suffered two near-mortal blows'. He bemoaned how 'The

²³ Turnbull, *Motor Transport*, pp. 46-52. See also *WNF*, Binsey 5: 'Good fellwalkers like good mountaineers never walk when they can ride. Bus no.71 goes past the Lodge'.

²⁴ Johnson, *Encounters*, p.209; Chris Butterfield, 'Wainwright in Loweswater' <<https://www.alfredwainwright.org.uk>> [accessed 30 June 2024].

²⁵ For example, Book One, *WEF*, and Book Two, *FEF*, are separated by the Kirkstone Pass and Ullswater. The Langdale valley separates Book Three, *WCF*, and Book Four, *WSF*. Crummock Water, Buttermere and the Honister Pass separate Book Six, *WNWF*, and Book Seven, *WWF*.

calligrapher then became virtually extinct' with the invention of the first of these, the printing press.²⁶ Factors which may have been constraints for other authors played to his abilities and interests. His methodical and handcrafted composition and design process united his professional sensibility as an accountant trained in handwritten ledgers, the eye of a good draughtsman and a pragmatic approach which made use of the materials he had available. His accountancy training was helpful in the manuscript skill and accuracy required to draw each page by eye, to the size of its intended reproduction in print and on one sheet of paper with no cutting and pasting. He used traditional dip pen and ink and the finest nibs; some illustrations were drawn with the aid of a magnifying glass (Beck, *Wainwrights in Colour*, p.12). His illustrations, unlike the printed layer colouring introduced in Baddeley's *Thorough Guide*, were in monochrome. This design choice removed one way of giving visual cues to readers and made it more important that his drawings were clear and accurate. His attention to detail was such that he discarded the first 100 pages of Book One, the *Eastern Fells*, because he decided that the text would look neater if it were justified on the right-hand side as well as the left (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 9^v). Garland has pointed out some disadvantages of Wainwright's ignorance of printing techniques which, for example, made his correction of mistakes by redrafting entire pages more laborious than necessary (Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light' pp.54-55).

Wainwright's early ambitions for the *Pictorial Guides* are inconsistent with the little attention he paid to accepted ways of preparing a book for printing and the publication process. He did not have a publisher or a printer in place until he was nearing completion of Book One (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, pp.80-82). Henry Marshall, the Kendal Librarian, became

²⁶ Alfred Wainwright, *A Lakeland Sketchbook* (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1969), Introduction.

the first publisher (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 10^v). The *Pictorial Guides*' artisanal appearance is how Wainwright presented them for printing because he 'wanted every page to be exactly as I penned it' (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 9^{v-r}). The printer, Harry Firth, commented, 'I don't think anybody since the days of the monks had ever produced a completely hand-written book' (Davies, *Biography*, pp.155-56). Firth's description of Wainwright's method as unique was exaggerated but nevertheless indicates the challenge of reproducing his handcrafted manuscript in print. Print historian Lawrence Wallis has pointed to the difficulties: 'the artwork needed to be translated into a photomechanical printing surface at a time (1955) when letterpress was the dominant process'.²⁷ Even though they were commercially produced, the *Pictorial Guides* appear to be executed in the draughtsman's hand.

Ironically, while Wainwright's handcrafted design promoted intimacy with the reader-walker, he did not conduct any research with his potential readership regarding the format he adopted, nor did he revise the *Pictorial Guides*. He recommended as early in the series as Book Three, *The Central Fells*, that his readership used them as their own notebook, making annotations 'neatly I hope!' (*WCF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion). The *Pictorial Guides* have been updated twice posthumously. The short gap between the first revised edition, by Chris Jesty, published 2005 and 2009, and the second, by Clive Hutchby, between 2015 and 2020, confirms the necessity of revisions to maintain accuracy.²⁸

²⁷ Lawrence Wallis, 'Local Lad Prints Lakeland Guides', *PrintWeek*, 15 March 2007, p.21. GALE|A160633408 [accessed 13 September 2023]. The engraving of each page had to be done elsewhere as the Westmorland Gazette did not have the equipment. 297 fineline zincos were fashioned by the Northern PhotoEngraving Co in Manchester. By the time of publication of Book Two, *FEF*, at Easter 1957, the Westmorland Gazette was doing the engravings (Davies, *Biography*, p. 170).

²⁸ Chris Jesty, Author and Cartographer, 2025, 'Chapter 17 - Wainwright', < [https://www.chris-jesty.co.uk/chapter 17](https://www.chris-jesty.co.uk/chapter%2017) > [accessed 29 June 2024].

Wainwright's suggested after the event that his decision to publish the *Pictorial Guides* was an emergent one. However, it represents an important instance of his thinking about his readership. He stated that 'By the time Book One was finished I had begun to feel that other walkers also suffering from, or rejoicing in, Lakeland fell fever, might find some use for it' (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol. 9^r). The recurrent metaphor of 'fever' suggests that he envisaged a readership consumed, like him, by an obsession with walking in the uplands of the district. Wainwright was an enthusiastic fellwalker who knew what sort of guidebook he would find useful and, despite its personal nature, others would likewise. His approach to making his guidebooks, which he described as one which 'suited my particular circumstances and my own idea of the sort of book I would have liked for myself', points to their personal and wider utility, as well as the features which set them apart from the 'common round' (Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light', p.55).

'I just began with a map or diagram relating to the ascent': ascent diagrams

Wainwright's hand-drawn illustrations are unusual because they are attractive and skillfully made but not merely ornamental; they are in fact immanently practical. Unlike preceding guidebooks which relied on plan views, his varied perspectives, often hovering just above the ground, guide the reader-walker dynamically through the landscape. This is epitomised by the bird's eye view ascent diagrams, which Wainwright dismissed as common sense: 'I just began with a map or diagram relating to the ascent, then added some text to fill in the spaces around a drawing and so build up a first page' (Hutchby, *Wainwright Companion*, pp.23-24). While the bird's eye view was not new, Wainwright's use of it was innovative. Denis Cosgrove and William L. Fox have traced its long history in map making and cartography, describing its combination of two aerial perspectives - the vertical view which

resembles a map and the oblique view which allows the observation of three-dimensional landscape features.²⁹ It reflects the concept of surveying the landscape from a height characteristic of the relationship between the walker and the fell portrayed, for example, in Martineau's and Jenkinson's guidebooks.

Wainwright designed his ascent diagrams to make the route clearer than both a conventional map and a photograph.

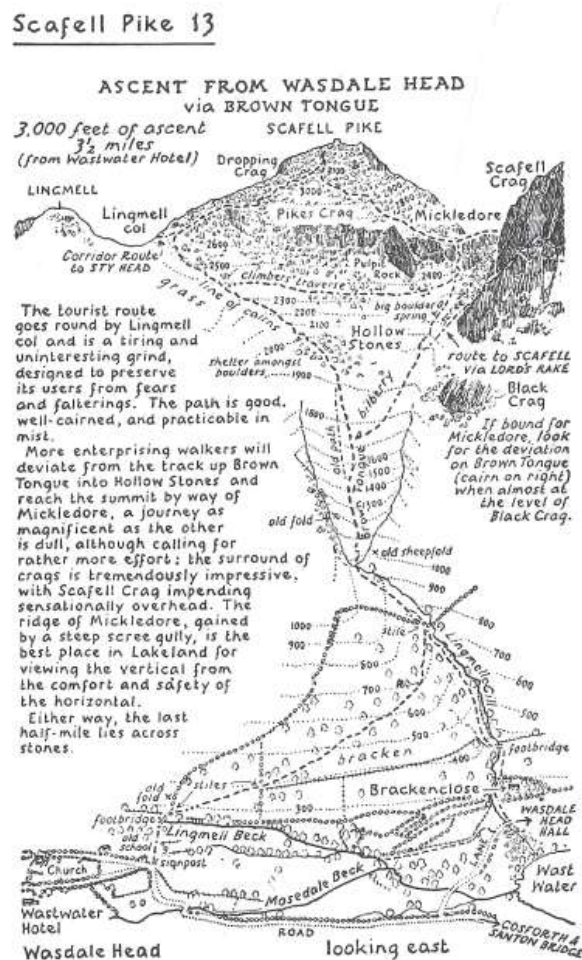


Figure 11: Ascent from Wasdale Head via Brown Tongue, WSF, Scafell Pike 13, © the Estate of A. Wainwright

²⁹ Denis Cosgrove and William L. Fox, *Photography and Flight* (London: Reaktion, 2010), pp.15-16. <<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lancaster/detail.action?docID=713719>> [accessed 12 May 2020].

Wainwright's ascent diagrams are an innovative and user-friendly way for a reader-walker, potentially unskilled in using a map and compass, to orientate themselves in the landscape. Hand-drawing enabled him to illustrate viewpoints which are sometimes physically impossible and can only be imaginary. Hutchby quotes Garland's description of how Wainwright's 'moving bird's-eye' perspective operates. At the bottom, seen from hovering above the start of the walk, the diagram is virtually a map. As the path or route ascends 'the viewpoint changes, becoming progressively more oblique, until by the time we are looking at the summit it has become the outline we observe on the ground at the beginning of the climb' (Hutchby, *Wainwright Companion*, p.21). In this sense Wainwright's ascent diagrams are the polar opposite of the fixed viewing stations described in West's *Guide*. As well as making the route and obstacles to progress clearer than a map, Wainwright's viewpoint was not available to the photographer. Hutchby has pointed out that Wainwright deployed multiple perspectives available to a 'moving' or 'flying bird' (Hutchby, *Wainwright Companion*, pp.26-29). Ironically, Wainwright created the sense of a moving image on a static page by layering detail from other static images, namely photographs taken in the field, to enable him to see above and beyond a photograph taken from a fixed viewpoint. His design meant there was little need for cross-referencing since all relevant information was shown on the same page.

Wainwright's ascent diagrams were of practical use to the reader-walker and became increasingly important as successive *Pictorial Guides* appeared. This suggests Wainwright's aspiration to originality in print, and utility for his readers. He made these diagrams more detailed after the first page he drew, the ascent of Dove Crag from Ambleside in Book One, and increased the amount of space he allocated to full-page ascent diagrams as the series progressed. The trend towards full-page diagrams is not related to the amount of content in

each volume. An original analysis shows that the number of fells either with no diagram, or only a half-page diagram, decreased correspondingly (see Table 3).

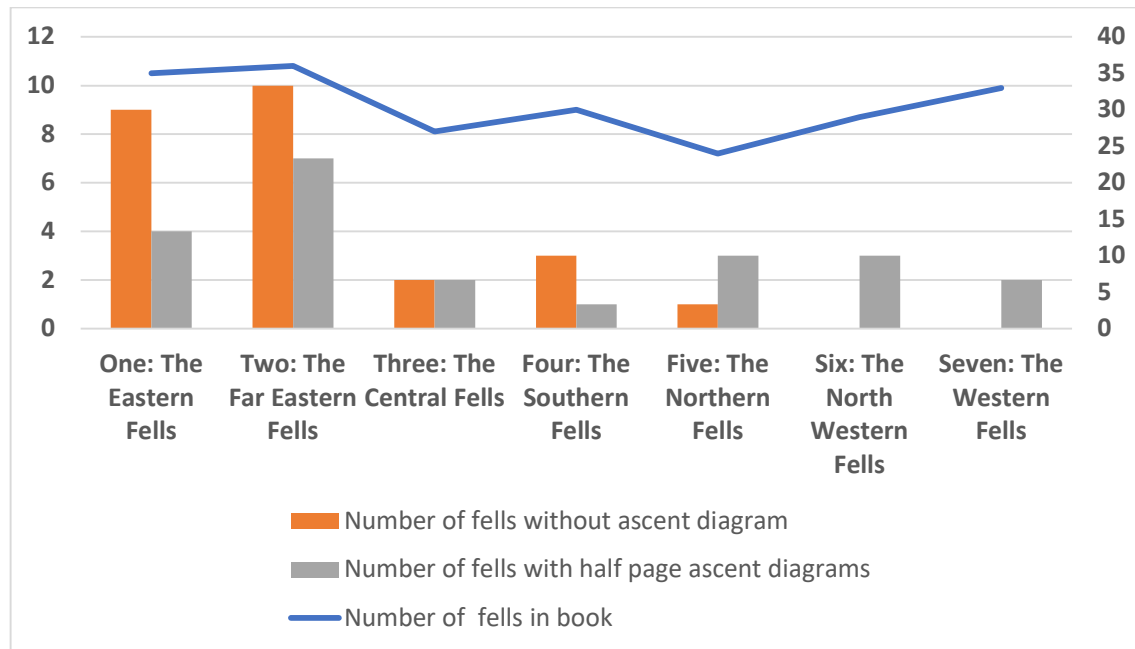


Table 3: The number of fells in Alfred Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* without full-page ascent diagrams

Forty-seven of the total 214 fells either lack an ascent diagram or are allocated a half page diagram. Just under two thirds of these, or thirty fells, are found in the first two books of the series. All fells in the final two volumes have at least a half-page ascent diagram. There is some evidence for a correlation between fells which were late inclusions and those lacking ascent diagrams. Andy Beck has noted that four fells without ascent diagrams (*WEF*, Arnison Crag and Nab Scar, and *WNF*, Brae Fell and Meal Fell), were not on Wainwright's original list for inclusion (Beck, *Wainwrights in Colour*, pp.18; 50; 214; 232). These are also among the smaller fells, which Wainwright dealt with thoroughly, but less completely than the greater heights.

Wainwright's ascent diagrams are only one component of the impossible or imaginary perspectives and illustrations of notable landscape features, not always shown to

a uniform scale, which he deployed throughout the *Pictorial Guides*. Figures 12 to 14 from the Scafell Pike chapter in *WSF* show how he integrated his ascent diagrams and other illustrations, to a varying scale, with his text in order to generate a sense of exploring the mountains with him as a companion. Wainwright began the chapter on Scafell Pike with illustrations designed to orientate the reader-walker. Two double pages of drawings, with very little text, communicate an overview of Scafell Pike's location and some of its key features. The second of these double pages, Scafell Pike 3 and 4, highlights the utility of his integration of text and illustrations.

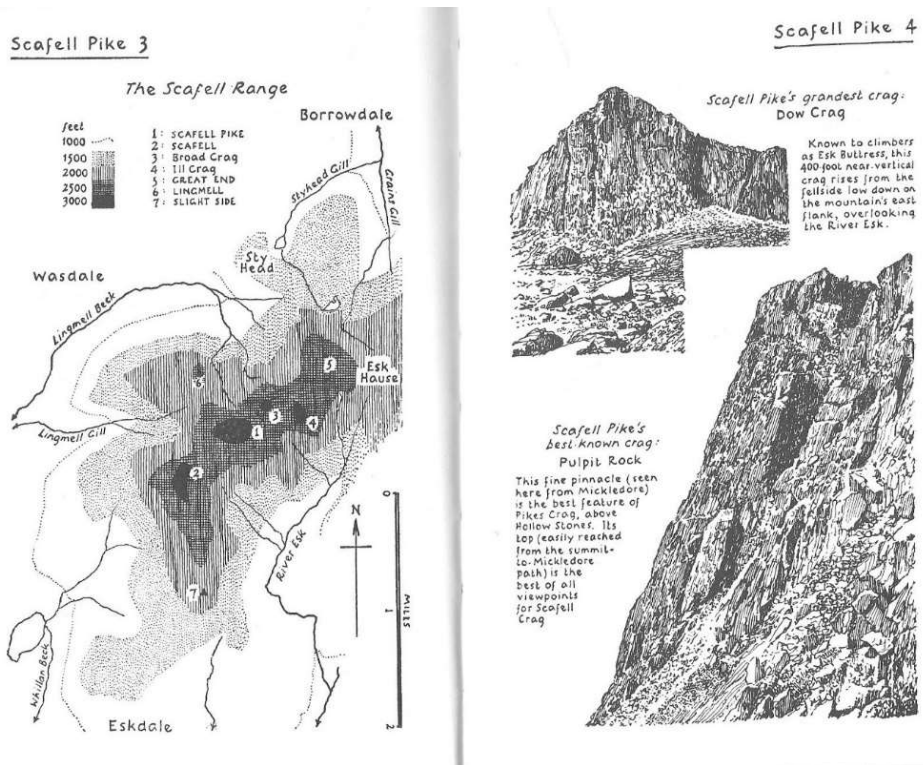


Figure 12: 'The Scafell Range' and Scafell Pike's 'grandest' and 'best known' crags, WSF, Scafell Pike 3 and 4, © the Estate of A. Wainwright

The inclusion and positioning of text in Scafell Pike 4 eases the transition to the close-up views of Dow Crag and Pulpit Rock from the larger-scale contour map of the Scafell range in Scafell Pike 3. Having located the fell and the reader in their surroundings, and

communicated their steep and rocky nature, Wainwright progressively adds more text and gives close and distant views of Broad Crag and Ill Crag.

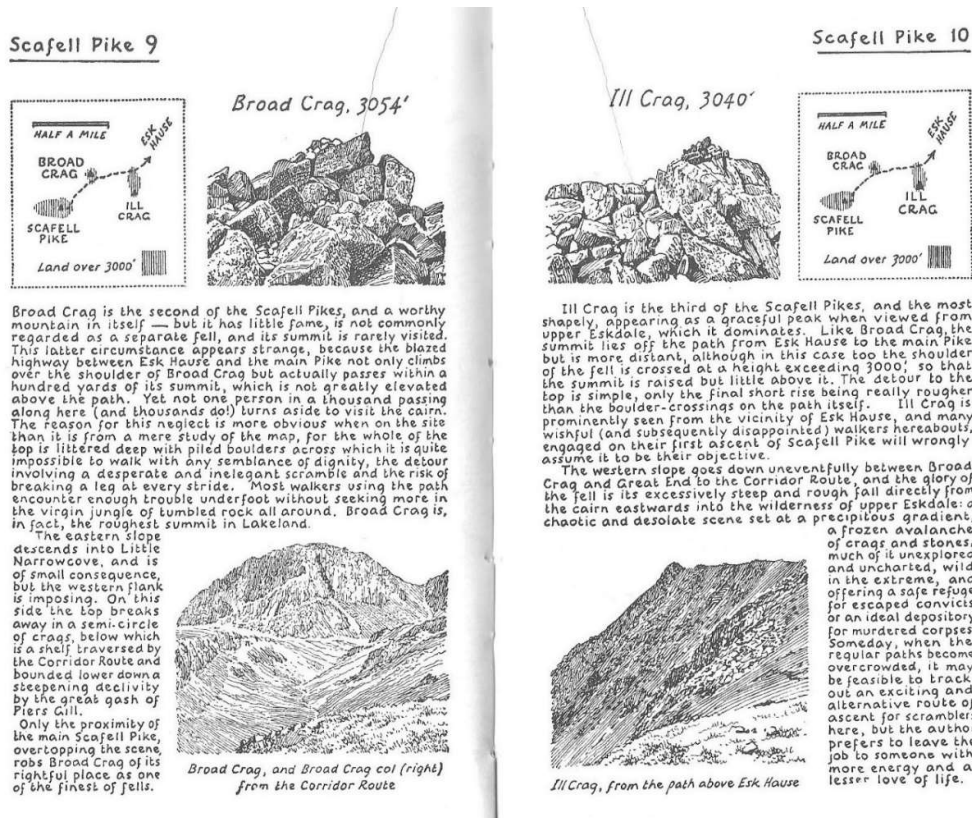


Figure 13: The Pikes of Scafell Pike, WSF, Scafell Pike 9 and 10, © the Estate of A.

Wainwright

Building on the intimacy of its handcrafted appearance, Wainwright invites his readership into companionship with himself through the opinions expressed in his text. He sympathises with most walkers about rough ground on Broad Crag and cautions against mistaking Ill Crag for the summit on a first ascent. He reveals his preference for solitude and something of his character by expressing his dislike of potential scramblers' routes in upper Eskdale: 'the author prefers to leave the job to someone with more energy and a lesser love of life'. His words reflect Baddeley's treatment of Scafell, as well as Jenkinson's advice to 'strangers' to

engage a guide when ascending Scafell Pike in poor weather (JPG, p.192). But in

Wainwright's case the guide was a book.

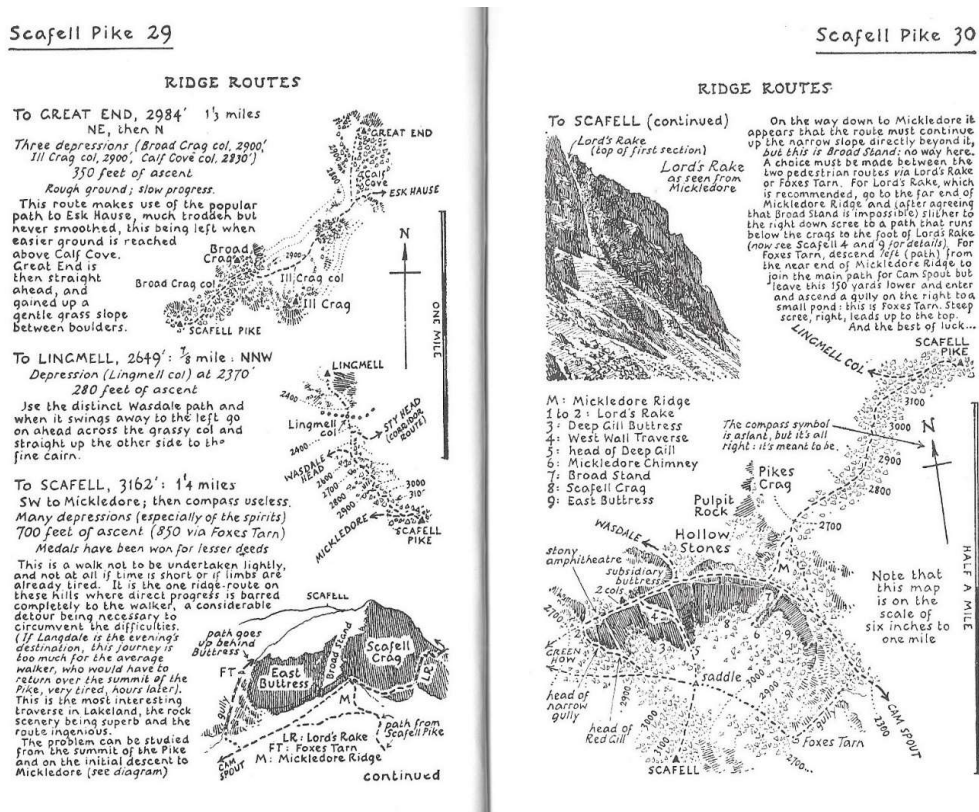


Figure 14: Scafell Pike, Summit and 'Ridge Routes', WSF, Scafell Pike 29 and 30 © the Estate of A. Wainwright

Even richer 'boots on the ground' text and illustrations combine to draw the reader-walker into deeper acquaintance with the fell. Wainwright painstakingly explains the complex topography of Scafell Pike's summit. Maps in two different scales and drawings of places where it is critical not to go wrong give visual clues about the landscape encountered. In the chapter on Scafell Wainwright uses another type of illustration, directing the reader-walker's attention to another place it is important to locate accurately by positioning himself in the landscape. His authorial self-portraits represent another distinctive aspect of his representation of fellwalking in the *Pictorial Guides*.

'The man, the cairn, the boundless sky': self-portraits

Wainwright's self-portraits exemplify his status as a companion in the reader-walker's pocket, supplanting the guides of previous eras, and also reveal his character more fully than preceding authors. A reply in 1961 to an admirer of the *Pictorial Guides*, who had sent him a photograph of himself, indicates that he was aware of the symbolism involved in such portraits:

The photograph you enclosed is a masterpiece of simple, effective arrangement – the man, the cairn, the boundless sky – and somehow symbolic, too. It's an absolute gem, and although you don't actually say I may keep it, I am going to assume it is a gift and have it framed to stand on my desk. An inspiration in itself!

(Davies, *Letters*, p.115)³⁰

Wainwright's admiration of the photograph's 'simple, effective arrangement' points to the clarity of information communication to which he aspired in the *Pictorial Guides*. His use of 'symbolic' confirms he was aware that his self-portraits had meaning beyond the purely representational. His description of the photograph as 'an inspiration' and his intent to frame it suggest that it expressed how he wanted to see himself.

The self-portrait in which he makes his strongest claim to authority is found in *WSF*. It is not by chance that he reinforces his presence alongside the reader-walker by positioning himself at the head of Deep Gill looking towards the West Wall Traverse on Scafell. This route is difficult to locate among the shattered rock and crags just below the summit of the second highest mountain in the district, but correctly doing so is vital

³⁰ Davies, *Letters*, p. 115. I am indebted to Derek Cockell for bringing this to my attention.

since the vertical drops lower down Deep Gill are dangerous and 'out of bounds for walkers' (WSF, Scafell 9).

Scafell 9



The head of Deep Gill
(the top of the descent to
the West Wall Traverse)
with the Pinnacle
(left-centre)
and the Oracle
(bottom right)

Figure 15: The Oracle, WSF, Scafell 9, © the Estate of A. Wainwright

Wainwright unites his embodied fellwalking experience with a distinct authorial persona in Figure 15. He characterises himself as 'The Oracle', a trusted companion by virtue of his many years spent exploring the district. He appears as a lone explorer among rocky and mountainous heights, paying tribute to the fells and showing others the right path. More practically, Wainwright portrayed himself unaccompanied because he did not want to be distracted whilst he had 'work to do'. This had to be done 'unseen or at least unnoticed by others' because he could not stand someone looking over his shoulder, asking silly questions or, worse, being 'pointed out' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.134). He was careful never fully to reveal himself, his self-portraits showing him from behind (or from the side in the caricature in the conclusion of WSF). An unforeseen consequence of his approach was that readers looked out for him as he worked on the *Pictorial Guides*. As a result, he walked away from summits and paths if other walkers occupied them. His reasons for doing so, because 'I liked

a fell to myself, and particularly a summit', unite aspects of his character with the value he placed on getting to the top and on solitude (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.137).

Wainwright created authority by placing himself in the landscape at least once in each volume of the *Pictorial Guides*.³¹ The locations indicate he intended to guide the minds, as well as the feet of his readers, by manipulating their relationship with the landscape. As a guide could have gestured to the view, so Wainwright directed his reader's gaze by using himself as a device to point towards scenery which he prized highly.

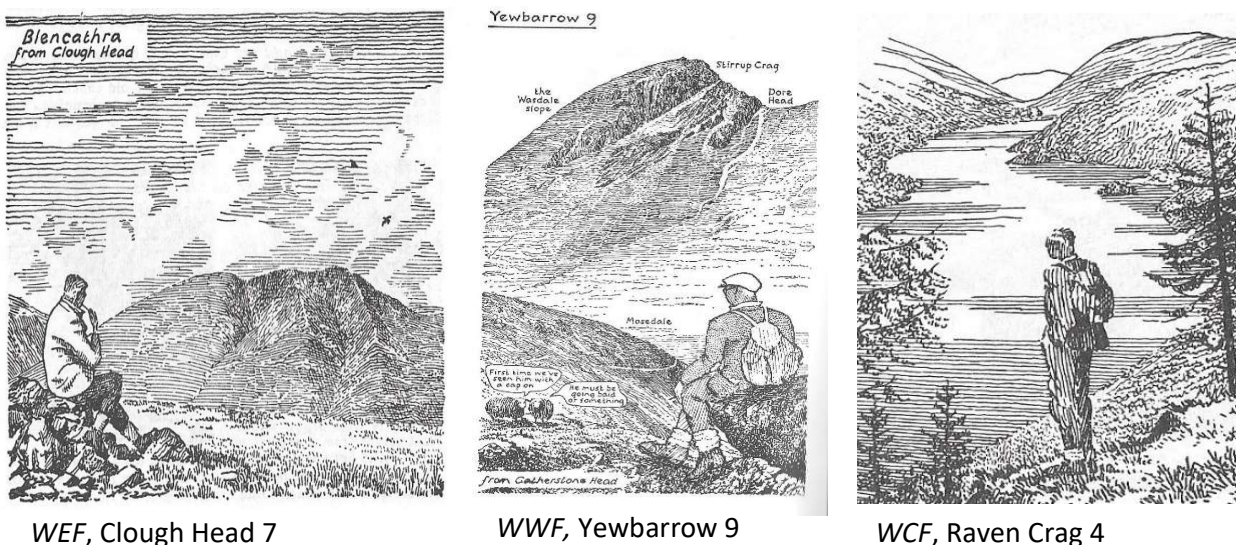


Figure 16: Symbolism in Wainwright's self-portraits © the Estate of A. Wainwright

Four of the seven locations of Wainwright's self-portraits correlate with places included in his lists of various 'finests' in the conclusion of Book Seven, or which he otherwise singled out as possessing special merit. In Figure 16, Wainwright is looking at Blencathra, one of his finest half-dozen fells. Yewbarrow, a summit on the Mosedale Horseshoe, is included in his list of the finest ridge walks. Another self-portrait is on

³¹ Wainwright's self-portraits are found in *WEF*, Clough Head 7; *WFEF*, Harter Fell 10; *WCF*, Raven Crag 4; *WSF*, Scafell 9; *WNF*, Binsey 7; *WNWF*, Grasmoor 15; *WWF*, Yewbarrow 9.

Grasmoor, also included in the finest ridge walks (*WNWF*, Grasmoor 15). The West Wall Traverse in Figure 15 connects to Lord's Rake on Scafell, one of the six best places for a fellwalker to be.

The location of another two self-portraits suggests an attempt by Wainwright to enlist his readership in his deprecation of the effects of water extraction on the landscape. Raven Crag 4 in Figure 16 depicts him above the valley of Wythburn, flooded to create Thirlmere reservoir. *WFEF*, Harter Fell 10, portrays him gazing down into Mardale, the valley which was dammed to turn Haweswater into a reservoir. The battle over Thirlmere had been lost many years before the time when Wainwright was writing, but Haweswater was flooded in 1935 when Wainwright was becoming increasingly familiar with the district. He made his opinion clear in the *Pictorial Guides*. He stated in *WFEF*, Harter Fell 2, that 'the hamlet of Mardale Head was "drowned" by Haweswater (shame!)'. Wainwright went even further in his private correspondence with the writer Molly Lefebure, who dissuaded him from including the boast in *Fellwanderer* that he urinated in Thirlmere's streams every time he went near them 'because he hated the Water Board for turning the lake into a reservoir' (Davies, *Biography*, p.195). He nevertheless added it later to his *Memoirs* (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.137).

Wainwright combined stereotypes and self-deprecation to both conceal and express his identity. Hand-drawing enabled him to place himself in the landscape more distinctively and in more varied ways than his contemporary W.A. Poucher could with a photograph.³² In *WNF*, Binsey 7, he pictured himself as an 'Ancient Briton' amongst the remains of the prehistoric tumulus on the summit, the illustration nodding to the style of a 1950s seaside

³² See, for example, *PLP*, p.224, 'Winter Snows on Blencathra'.

postcard. He labelled the back of his jacket 'Harris tweed' in the self-portrait on Grasmoor which shows him gazing toward an annotated panorama of the High Stile range of fells above Buttermere. Wainwright emphasised his status as a seasoned explorer by showing how changes to his physical appearance between Books One and Seven marked the passage of time. He drew himself with a full head of hair in *WEF*, Clough Head 7 (Figure 16), noting in his autobiography that it was red when he started the project and white at the conclusion of Book Seven, *WWF* (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.79). The full-page cartoon of the author in this book, Yewbarrow 9 (Figure 16), contains two sheep commenting that the author is wearing a cap for the first time, perhaps due to his thinning hair.

Wainwright did not depict a peopled landscape in the *Pictorial Guides*, reflecting his preference for solitude. He typically drew himself in close-up and other figures in miniature, which visually amplified his status as guide and companion. Excluding authorial self-portraits, Hutchby has identified only nineteen drawings in the *Pictorial Guides* which include people, eighteen of which represent figures seen at a distance. As with his self-portraits, Wainwright's drawings of other figures were typically positioned to reinforce his landscape aesthetic or illustrate topographical features. An original analysis demonstrates that the locations of these eighteen drawings correlate with Wainwright's 'finest' lists. Ten are of locations on these lists (*WEF*, Striding Edge, Helvellyn 14; *WCF*, Helm Crag 5; *WSF*, Coniston Old Man 10, 13; Dow Crag 12; Bowfell 14; *WWF*, Great Gable 10, 12; Pillar 5, 6). An additional two drawings illustrate scenes which Wainwright judged to be pre-eminent of their kind (*WCF*, Loughrigg Fell 7; *WWF*, Whin Rigg 8).

Wainwright's ascent diagrams and authorial self-portraits distinctively represent the needs and perspective of the embodied walker moving through the landscape. His representation of three-dimensional features from viewpoints above, around and alongside

the fells allows the reader-walker to orientate themselves with confidence. His self-portraits represent him as a trusted companion. This status enabled him to use the knowledge he had won in the high places to address deficiencies he perceived in the previous works of others, in particular concerning a lack of accurate mapping of footpaths. This is the third way in which Wainwright's 'desire to escape from the common round' makes his portrayal of fellwalking in the *Pictorial Guides* distinctive.

'If the Ordnance Survey couldn't get them right, I thought I could': mapping

Maps which accurately depicted footpaths in the English Lake District fells were of prime importance to Wainwright. He recalled how, from his early days of exploring the district, 'footpaths became a personal study, too. If the Ordnance Survey couldn't get them right, I thought I could. I noted all I could find' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.74). Getting footpaths 'right' suggests that Wainwright also had in mind consumption by others, indicating the public aspect of his aspiration for his guidebooks. He praised the OS mapping of features on the ground as 'remarkably accurate topographically' (*WEF*, Notes on the Illustrations). However, he criticised their main defect, which was their unreliable representation of footpaths in the uplands of the region. He reserved the most criticism for Bartholomew's maps, which he regarded as 'just hopeless, dangerously inaccurate and very misleading' (Davies, *Letters*, p.118). Baddeley's use of these maps in the *Thorough Guide*, and the consequent perpetuation of errors regarding footpaths, left a gap for Wainwright to fill with his corrected versions. He was fascinated by maps all his life, stating: 'Maps have always been my favourite literature. I would always rather study a map than read a book' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.73). His reading of maps as a form of literature points to their dual use on or off the fell, which Symonds had earlier described. Wainwright could have

produced an overall map of the district in the *Pictorial Guides* but did not, consistent with the prime focus of his mapping project being the accurate portrayal of footpaths. It was only after his death that Chop McKean Mapping linked the individual plan views of each fell to produce a map of the area covered by each book in the series. Getting footpaths 'right' addressed the challenge posed to the continuing usefulness of guidebooks by self-design of fell walks through the judicious use of OS and Bartholomew maps.

Wainwright transferred cartographic authority to the *Pictorial Guides* by representing footpaths accurately and by suggesting routes even if no path existed. He helped his readers to orientate themselves by mapping footpaths as they appeared on the ground, as well as by illustrating viewpoints and features above, around and alongside the fells. By contrast, some of the legally designated rights of way shown on OS maps had fallen into disuse and were no longer discernible on the ground; other well-trodden paths were omitted.

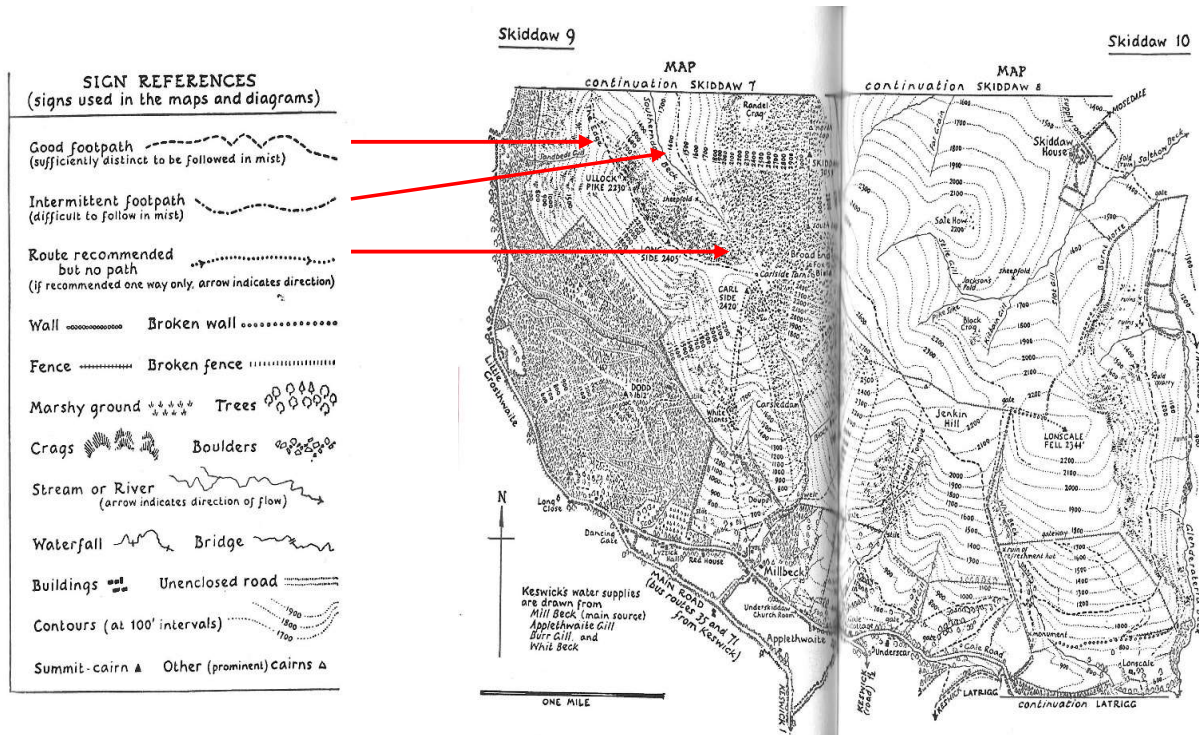


Figure 17: A Wainwright map, WNF, Skiddaw 9 and 10 © the Estate of A. Wainwright

Wainwright defined and mapped three types of footpaths in the *Pictorial Guides*, shown by the arrows in red and described in his key to signs used in his maps and diagrams which are superimposed on Figure 17 (WNF, inside front cover). He separated these paths into three categories: 'good (sufficiently distinct to be followed in mist); intermittent (difficult to follow in mist) and route recommended but no path (if recommended one way only, arrow indicates direction)'.

Wainwright reinforced the *Pictorial Guides'* cartographic authority by pointing out corrections to the OS and Bartholomew's maps. These were mostly to footpaths, but very occasionally to the OS contour lines and hachuring of crags. An original analysis demonstrates that, based on the number of times mentioned, OS maps were both Wainwright's main source of reference and the focus of his corrections. He mentioned the OS, Bartholomew's and other maps or cartographical sources or authorities ninety-five times in the *Pictorial Guides*. Nearly three quarters,

or seventy-one, of these references are to the OS. For example, Book One, *WEF*, contains twenty-one mentions to external sources. Eighteen of these point out errors, fourteen of which relate to the OS. This pattern continues throughout the series. Wainwright further deepened the cartographical authority of his guidebooks by including other sketch maps which demonstrated his detailed knowledge of topographical and geographical quirks of the district, particularly in relation to less well-known fells. For example, a diagram depicts an unusual arrangement of three valleys of 'a peaceful and undisturbed sheep pasture' (*WNF*, Great Sca Fell 2). A double-page spread, *WNWF* Sale Fell 3 and 4, illustrates Wythop's hidden valley. Wainwright further emphasised the depth of his knowledge by referring to local names for and pronunciation of landscape features, such as 'a little twisted ridge diverting the stream is known locally as Saddleback' and 'Shoulthwaite is pronounced "Shoolthet" and Smaithwaite "Smethet"' (*WNF*, Great Sca Fell 7; *WCF*, Raven Crag 2).

Accurate mapping of footpaths was so important to Wainwright that he distinguished between those errors of commission and those of omission (*WWF*, Caw Fell 6). This suggests legal, religious and moral concepts of right and wrong. A belief that the worst sins are those which are intentional or reckless, rather than arising from mere negligence or omission, is consistent with his upbringing. Wainwright pointed out that the revised editions of the OS one-inch maps published from 1963 onwards contained 'errors of commission [which] are even worse than errors of omission'. Footpaths were shown which existed as rights of way but not as a physical path on the ground, particularly dangerous because 'it is better for one's peace of mind to find a distinct path one does not expect than to fail to find a path one is told to expect' (*WWF*, Caw Fell 6). Wainwright cited as examples of omission from the OS map the established White Stones route from Thirlspot to Helvellyn, the presence of which had confused him on his first visit, and the path via Taylorgill

Force from Seathwaite to Sty Head, a stepping off point for popular walking routes to the Scafell range and Great Gable (*WSF*, Scafell Pike 15).

Wainwright consolidated the authority of the *Pictorial Guides* and his position as a companion in the pocket of the reader-walker through the medium of illustration. His artisanal approach could have suggested amateurishness, but graphic designers have instead claimed that it lends his guidebooks real authority. Angharad Lewis has called the *Pictorial Guides* examples of the ‘most human side of superlative information design.’³³ Garland has suggested that the nature of Wainwright’s work, written and drawn entirely by hand, possesses an advantage over print by engendering trust in the author as guide and companion. This advantage only applies if the handwritten guide is done well (Garland, ‘Lead, Kindly Light’ pp.54-58). Wainwright combined the accurate depiction of footpaths with placing himself in the landscape alongside the reader-walker and integrating diagrams, shifting and varied perspectives and his own mapping in a way that previous guidebooks had not achieved. These features may well have been sufficient to ensure the *Pictorial Guide’s* ‘escape from the common round’ of English Lake District walking guidebooks. But how he structured his guidebooks represents another way in which Wainwright achieved his aspiration.

‘To display the exhibits’: the *Pictorial Guides*’ structure

Wainwright’s arrangement of the *Pictorial Guides* into a fell-specific structure, and not as an itinerary, sets them apart. It represents a deviation from an approach to guidebook writing that had previously focused on joining up the parts of the region point by point. How Wainwright displayed the 214 fells in the *Pictorial Guides* reflects public and personal aspects of his desire to

³³ Angharad Lewis, ‘Drawn to the Land’, *Eye: The International Review of Graphic Design*, 20.78 (2010), 48-49 <<https://www.proquest.com/trade-journals/drawn-land/docview/848782601/se-2>> [accessed 13 September 2023].

'escape from the common round'. When he was invited in 1942 to take control of Kendal Museum, he expressed delight that it was now his 'to display the exhibits, to publicise, to curate and to catalogue' (Davies, *Biography*, p.116). His decision to use separate chapters for each fell in the *Pictorial Guides*, and to communicate information in the same order within them, meant that each can be seen as a portable museum exhibit crystallised in print, an invitation to his readership both to view and to actively explore.

The *Pictorial Guides'* structure confirms a shift towards the fells and upland walking routes and away from towns, villages, or valley centres. The 214 fells Wainwright listed indicate that the uplands of the district had become increasingly well-known and well-trodden since the mid-nineteenth century, and the table of twenty-six hill names and heights in Martineau's *Complete Guide*. Wainwright's selection criteria confirmed his 214 fells were a personal collection. Davies has suggested that he defined fells for inclusion first by height, generally being above 1,000 feet, and second by individuality: 'was it enough of a hill in its own right or merely a slope of another' (Davies, *Biography*, p.140). Wainwright applied these criteria fluidly. In Book One, *WEF*, Davies has calculated that Wainwright's height cut off was around 1,400 feet; by Book Four, *WSF*, this had reduced to nearer 1,000 feet. Wainwright included Castle Crag, which measures 985 feet, in Book Six, *WNWF*, because he found it to be 'magnificently independent' (*WNWF*, Castle Crag 2). Beck has suggested that Wainwright's selection process was even more flexible. Wainwright started the project with a list of 260 fells, initially composed of peaks with spot heights on maps or whose location appealed to him. During his explorations prior to starting work on the *Pictorial Guides*, Wainwright added a further twenty-eight fells. He then adjusted these lists to fit the books, Castle Crag being an example of a fell which did not appear in the initial 260 (Beck, *Wainwrights in Colour*, p.39).

Wainwright's presentation of his 214 fells as a curated collection helped to secure his place in popular fellwalking culture in ways that he did not expect. This structure has facilitated the practice of peak-bagging, for which various challenges exist. The most well-known is the fastest supported continuous round of the 214 fells. The current record of five days, 12 hours, 14 minutes and 42 seconds was set by John Kelly on 7 May 2022.³⁴ The prioritisation of collecting summits is at odds with the leisurely exploration which Wainwright favoured and his description of the practice of fellwalking, the fifth distinctive aspect of the *Pictorial Guides*.

'A wonderful exercise, the best of all': Wainwright's practice of fellwalking

Wainwright's description of the practice of fellwalking originated in a similar belief to Symonds's, that the best way to experience the uplands of the region was on foot. Wainwright, however, concentrated on physical practice rather than philosophy. He represented fellwalking as 'a wonderful exercise, the best of all. It strengthens the legs, clears the mind, and tones up the whole body to a state of exhilaration' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.101). He distinguished between those purposively walking on the fells (using a rich vocabulary, which, as well as true fellwalkers, includes strong and/or adventurous walkers, wanderers, botanists, hikers, pilgrims, explorers, scramblers, climbers, travellers) and crowds of the undiscerning such as peak-baggers, tourists and motorists and, worst of all, wreckers, litterers and vandals. Wainwright implied that the first, purposive group, though tourists themselves, were more deserving than the second, based on the value, both physical and moral, which he attributed to the expenditure of physical effort. He stated uncompromisingly that 'Idleness builds no monuments' (*WNF*, Great Calva 3). His beliefs mirror a distinction Buzard has highlighted in Wordsworth's poem 'The Brothers'. Wordsworth contrasted

³⁴ John Kelly set his record time between the 2 May and 7 May 2022.
<<https://www.grough.co.uk/magazine/2022/05/07/runner-john-kelly-sets-new-record-for-completing-round-of-wainwright-fells>> [accessed 10 June 2025].

the purposeful traveller of 'twelve stout miles' with the tourist flitting about like a butterfly or sitting and scribbling.³⁵

The practice of the true fellwalker represented Wainwright's own. A leisurely and purposive explorer is closest to his walking identity and points to why he chose *Fellwanderer* as the title of his autobiography. Wainwright distinguished between the explorer 'leading into unfrequented corners, zig-zagging where there is no need to zig-zag, sometimes returning to the same summit two or three times during the course of a day' and the hurrier, the cutter of corners. Wainwright's love of zigzags indicates the value he placed on exploration as well as ascent. He declared that 'A good walker's special joy is zigzags which he follows faithfully. A bad walker's special joy is in shortcutting and destroying zigzags' (*WWF*, Great Gable 16). Wainwright also defined the true fellwalker by how he placed his feet onto the ground. He was a good walker who trod firmly with a smooth and rhythmical stride. He walked tidily not displacing loose stones. He also preferred to be solitary and quiet (Wainwright, *Fellwanderer*, fol.22'). He paid attention to and respected his surroundings because the uplands were works of art made by their Creator, including the birds and animals who made their homes on the fells (*WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion).

Wainwright's belief that '*All fellwalking accidents are the result of clumsiness*' points to his equation of moral values with this leisure practice (*WWF*, Great Gable 16). It also addresses the contradiction between the encouragement of fellwalking and its potentially dangerous nature. Wainwright's uncompromising focus on personal responsibility led him to reject the criticism of the *Pictorial Guides* made by John Wyatt, who was appointed the first warden of the LDNP in 1961. Wainwright claimed that his guidebooks were not to blame for an increase in accidents befalling fellwalkers, as he believed Wyatt had stated. Instead, Wainwright argued that 'my books have often

³⁵ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p.20.

saved people from benightment and injury, and that there would be more incidents without them' (Davies, *Letters*, p.124). He also suggested the erosion of footpaths was not caused by the growth in the popularity of fellwalking as a pastime, 'but by clumsy walkers', particularly those in groups who extended the boundaries of footpaths by walking abreast to converse (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.179). Moreover, he equated the smooth passage of a good walker with life virtues and the clumsiness causing the trail of debris left by a bad walker with life vices, stating that 'Their respective journeys through life will be the same' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.113). And: 'Mountain climbing is an epitome of life, and good practice for it. You start at the bottom, the weaklings and the irresolute drop out on the way up, the determined reach the top. Life is like that' (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.194). Wainwright's concluding words of Book Seven, 'watch where you are putting your feet', thus emphasised his belief that fellwalking was a simple, enjoyable and safe exercise (*WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion).

However, Wainwright's ascent diagrams, authorial self-portraits, idiosyncratic mapping, curated collection of 214 fells and exposition of the practice of fellwalking do not fully explain his significance to its development as a leisure practice associated with the region. To understand the latter, it is also necessary to examine the extent to which Wainwright was a reconciler of the themes and tensions, sometimes binary, expressed in preceding works. The following sections consider what Wainwright's description of the 'true fellwalker' meant for how inclusively or exclusively he addressed his readership, with particular reference to gender, and evaluate his success in resolving the tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design by comparing his artisanal information communication with Poucher's use of photography.

'People of exceptional charm and intelligence and enthusiasm for the fells': Wainwright and his readership

Wainwright's handwritten and highly illustrated communication of route directions appeals to many different types of reader-walker. His "manuscript in print" style gave the *Pictorial Guides* a very personal appearance - as if they were a hand-written note to each person who bought the book and walked the fells, accompanied by the author as a companion. Similarly, Wainwright valued as 'treasures' the 'constant stream of appreciative letters' he started to receive soon after the publication of Book One, all of which he attempted to acknowledge (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, p.121). He described his readers as 'people of exceptional charm and intelligence and enthusiasm for the fells'. He paid particular attention to correspondents who were disadvantaged in some way from experiencing the region at first hand, either physically (elderly, ill, infirm or disabled people) or by virtue of distance (such as servicemen stationed overseas). Wainwright particularly commended families and children who wrote to describe their adventures on the fells, perhaps because he believed, maybe wistfully given the circumstances of his unhappy first marriage, that these experiences would strengthen family bonds (Wainwright, *Memoirs*, pp.121-22). His letters suggest that he remained aware of his original status as an outsider when first visiting the district.

On the one hand, the *Pictorial Guides* were inclusive, opening the fells of the district to the non-expert as their design and Wainwright's correspondence shows, but, on the other, aspects of how he addressed his readers can be exclusionary, notably with reference to gender. His valorisation of fellwalking reflects the reconstruction of masculinity around notions of endurance in the British outdoor movement in the 1920s, as well as Symonds's masculinist philosophy of the practice. While the term 'true fellwalker' is ungendered, the

masculine is suggested by the similarity between Wainwright's own practice and his description of the ideal. The latter is typified by the illustration in *WSF*, Coniston Old Man 13. Boy Scouts line up alongside the summit of the fell. Tourists point in the direction of Blackpool Tower. A male gaze is prioritised by a 'solitary fellwalker, bless him, looking north to the hills'. Book One, *WEF*, is dedicated to 'the men of the Ordnance Survey'. However, when writing about progress Wainwright strongly and powerfully condemned 'men', instead of mankind which at least suggests the inclusion of women:

Men are clever enough to make atomic bombs and strut about like lords of creation yet can't even make a blade of grass or a sprig of heather, let alone build a landscape like this. Which is as well (*WNF*, Skiddaw Little Man, 13).

'Lords of creation' is consistent both with Wainwright's emphasis of the masculine over the feminine and his use of religious language. It negatively portrays the former, 'strut' suggesting that man's cleverness is empty and meaningless in comparison with Nature. Such sentiments place Wainwright in sympathy with Wordsworth and modern eco-criticism.

Wainwright set women in the fells apart largely through practical considerations and stereotypes, some of which were coloured by his own circumstances. His observation in *WSF*, Coniston Old Man 8, 'that fancy handbags and painted toenails are as likely to be seen as rucksacks and boots' addresses out-of-place attire. It is hard not to read his description of wives meeting a deserved death on Wetherlam because their husbands had tired of them as a reflection, albeit unkind, of his unhappiness in his first marriage (*WSF*, Wetherlam 8).

However, his suggestion that 'Ladies wearing skirts in mixed parties can best preserve their decorum at this point by insisting on going down first and rejecting offers of male assistance' at least gives women the power to decline male gallantry (*WSF*, Glaramara 7). A scenic full-page view featuring an unknown female figure prominently in the foreground,

facing away from the reader and towards Ullswater, is an anomalous and intriguing exception to Wainwright's other drawings of people in the *Pictorial Guides* (WEF, St Sunday Crag 8). This illustration may represent the perfect woman, consistent with the fells as his idealised place of escape. Davies has noted that Wainwright 'never revealed who this was or even agreed it was a real person'. Three of his former Blackburn work colleagues were convinced that it was another office colleague, Betty Ditchfield, to whom Wainwright 'took a great shine' (Davies, *Biography*, p.143). The Wainwright Society appealed for conclusive information on the woman's identity in 2018, but this has not been forthcoming to date.³⁶ Evidence from Wainwright's life adds further nuance to his treatment of women in his guidebooks. Although only two of the twenty-four *Pictorial Guides*' letters reproduced in Davies's *Wainwright Letters* are from women, Wainwright enjoyed regular correspondence with others, notably the writer Molly Lefebure (Davies, *Letters*, pp.97-124; 228-42). David Johnson's *Encounters with Wainwright* has also helped to redress the gender imbalance suggested by Wainwright's description of the 'solitary fellwalker, bless him'.

Recent scholarship has applied present-day discourses to Wainwright's notions of fellwalking and the English Lake District. Critics have suggested that Wainwright's preference for a rural idyll, and his connection with nature through fellwalking, expresses 'a certain interpretation of Englishness' (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', p.417). Further, Wainwright's praise of fellwalking and his valuing of the countryside as a 'tranquil place of beauty and leisure have been associated with an English or British national identity and with the countryside as a "white domain" that excludes Asian and other ethnic groups'.³⁷ Palmer

³⁶ John Bewick, 'Fun on the 2018 Society Challenge', *Footsteps, The Wainwright Society Magazine*, Autumn 2018.

³⁷ J. Agyeman and R. Spooner, 'Ethnicity and the Rural Environment' in *Contested Countryside Cultures*, ed. by P. Cloke and J. Little (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp.197-217 (pp.206-207).

and Brady have pointed out that those visiting the English Lake District for the first time, particularly members of ethnic minorities or some socio-economic groups, may not identify with the walking code Wainwright espoused (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', p.417). Wainwright's correspondence confirms his early readership was overwhelmingly white and British, typical of the time in which he was writing. He also attracted some American admirers (Davies, *Biography*, p.220; Johnson, *Encounters*, pp.176-83).

Wainwright's opinions on modern life and his nostalgic representation of the English Lake District suggest that, like Symonds, he intended to address a readership of the high-minded. Unlike Symonds, Wainwright did not make fellwalking a subject for philosophy but he did associate moral values with it, as well as with aspects of human interaction with the English Lake District landscape. His praise of craftsmanship, like his appeal to scribal culture, reinforces the worth of his hand-crafted approach:

In these decadent years of easy money and overmuch leisure, of easy consciences and slipshod work, it is refreshing to come across craftsmanship of the highest standard and be reminded of the days when even the humblest servant took a pride in his work and when hands were the most skilled of tools [...] These sheepfolds are *beautiful*, works of art (*WNF*, Great Calva 3).

The expertly crafted sheepfolds of Skiddaw Forest in the Northern Fells stand for pride in a job well done, the hard physical labour involved the opposite of the 'decadence' Wainwright condemned. Wainwright's description points again to the notions of 'in place' and 'out of place' appropriateness which Palmer and Brady have identified in his work (Palmer and Brady, 'Landscape and Value', pp.405-06). The 'easy money and overmuch leisure' which

were absent from Wainwright's early life, are out of place, unlike the positive attributes of human interaction with the uplands represented by the craftsmanship of the sheepfolds. Wainwright's portrait of Bowscale Fell 'Yet the Victorian travellers were right - their sense of values was always sound. The setting *is* wild and romantic and *very* impressive' equated a hyperbolic description of the rightness of Victorian values with the landscape of the district (*WNF*, Bowscale Fell 7).³⁸

Wainwright's opinions are personal, reflect his religious and moral upbringing and do not aim for inclusivity. However, distinctions such as those between the tidy and the clumsy, the quiet and the noisy, and the solitary and the group are as pertinent to his definition of the 'true fellwalker' as those between the masculine and the feminine. His description of the 'true fellwalker' focused on physical aspects of fellwalking which could be easily copied. On the one hand, his description of the practice and his ascent narrative meant that the *Pictorial Guides* addressed walkers fit and competent enough to climb hills, instead of those who were either unable to, or were content to remain at a lower elevation. On the other, their dual utility as a work of art as well as a practical handbook broadened their appeal, and in so doing addressed the tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design.

Beauty and utility in guidebook design

Wainwright's hand-drawn information communication was more successful than W.A. Poucher's use of photography in *The Lakeland Peaks* (1960) in resolving the tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design, which arose when late nineteenth century guidebooks gave greater prominence to maps and other drawings. While Wainwright

³⁸ Wainwright praised other unfashionable viewpoints such as Glenridding Dodd (*WEF*, Glenridding Dodd 1); Ladies Table on Sale Fell (*WNWF*, Sale Fell 5); Lanthwaite Hill (*WNWF*, Grasmoor 3).

focused on the English Lake District, Poucher placed it in a canon of landscapes of other parts of Britain. *The Lakeland Peaks* was the first and most popular volume in his five-volume pocket guidebook series.³⁹ The twelfth and most recent edition was published in 2005 by Frances Lincoln. *The Lakeland Peaks* was initially priced at 16s, 3/6 more expensive than Book One of Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* when it was first published (Davies, *Biography*, p.157).⁴⁰ It was highly illustrated, with 181 photographs in the first edition, rising to 250 in the ninth edition (1983). Unlike the *Pictorial Guides* it was revised, by Poucher during his lifetime and by others after his death. As well as his fellwalking experience, Poucher based his authority as a guide on his selection of the best places and times of the day and year from which to take a picture and his explanations of other technicalities of mountain photography.

An examination of Poucher's depiction of the ascent of Scafell Pike via Brown Tongue shows the greater tension between beauty and utility in his approach compared with Wainwright's in Figure 11, Scafell Pike 13. This tension is notably expressed in the substantial choreography of book, maps and terrain Poucher required the reader-walker to perform to navigate his guidebook, as well as the ground underfoot. The photograph in Figure 18 depicts the route as the reader-walker would see it in similar weather and ground conditions. Poucher's use of such annotated photographs was not new. The first series of FRCC climbing guidebooks published in the 1920s include similar photo-diagrams.⁴¹

³⁹ Its companion volumes were *The Welsh Peaks* (1962), *The Scottish Peaks* (1964), *The Peak and Pennines* (1966) and *The Magic of Skye*, first published in 1949 but repackaged into the pocket guide format in 1980.

⁴⁰ Smith, *A Camera in the Hills*, p.134.

⁴¹ Stephen Reid, 'A History of Lake District Climbing Guidebooks', *The Fell and Rock Journal*, 88 (2022), pp.852-894; p.855; 'A History of Lake District Climbing Guidebooks (Part 2)', p.122 [accessed 20 March 2024].

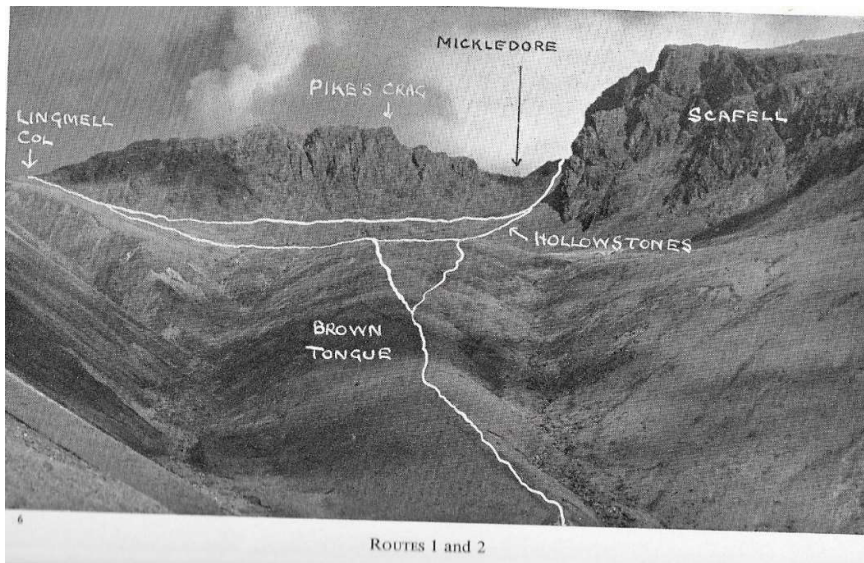


Figure 18: Scafell Pike, PLP, Routes 1 and 2 © W.A. Poucher

Poucher did not integrate text and image as completely as Wainwright in the *Pictorial Guides*. The first operation required of the reader-walker is to rotate the book, as most photographs are arranged landscape format, at 90° to the explanatory text. It is necessary to refer to a double-page spread of Bartholomew's map at the beginning of the section on the Scafell range. Gradients, for example, are marked on this map but not on Poucher's photographs, requiring the reader-walker to turn pages back and forth to check them, as well as other topographical features. By contrast, hand-drawing enabled Wainwright to highlight gradients and other notable features in his ascent diagrams and illustrations, and to include all relevant information relating to a route on one or two pages (Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light, p.54).

Poucher's superimposition of routes and naming of landscape features by hand in black or white on his photographs introduced an artisanal quality to early editions of *The Lakeland Peaks*. However, his hand-drawn annotations suggest a compromise between the scenic quality of the photograph and the practicality of his notes compared with

Wainwright's consistent typography. Poucher's script is untidier than Wainwright's and his spellings inconsistent – for example, both 'Piers Gill' and 'Piers Ghyll' are used in this section to refer to the same dangerous ravine (*PLP*, pp.61; 87). Printing took the place of handwriting in the fifth edition (1971). Garland has suggested that the utility of *The Lakeland Peaks* was further impaired by the camera's flattening effect on contours and the halftone reproduction necessitated by the use of coated art paper, which resulted in a loss of detail. Another disadvantage of photography was that it made Poucher's pocket guidebooks 'heavier – and so less convenient' than they should have been. Garland has identified 'the unduly large number of pages (about 400 per book, 367 in the first edition of *The Lakeland Peaks*) resulting from the profusion of full-page photographs', 'extravagant' margins and the use of dense-art paper throughout, necessitated by the placing of photographs as close as possible to the relevant text (Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light', p.53).⁴² In contrast, the description by John Ellis Roberts, the former head warden of what was then known as Snowdonia National Park, of using Poucher's pocket guidebooks to pin down the location of a casualty following a mountain accident is a compelling instance of the utility of photography.⁴³

Poucher's use of photography in the *Lakeland Peaks* influenced the design of modern illustrated guidebooks for walkers more than Wainwright's artisanal approach. The text of modern works tends to concentrate on route directions which are illustrated with photographs, mostly in colour. Any extraneous information is typically isolated in a separate

⁴² Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light', p.53.

⁴³ Smith, *Camera in the Hills*, p.150.

text box.⁴⁴ Today's guidebooks frequently make route choice easier for their readers by presenting a selection of best walks based on criteria such as the time available, distance covered and arduousness of the terrain encountered.⁴⁵ Poucher's arrangement of *The Lakeland Peaks* by mountain ranges facilitated the planning of a day in the hills which includes more than the ascent and descent of one summit. By contrast, selecting such a walk in the *Pictorial Guides* necessitates the reader-walker connecting one fell to the next by consulting the ridge routes section of the relevant chapters. Apart from a very few exceptions, such as the Fairfield Horseshoe and walk from Newlands to Buttermere, Wainwright did not suggest circular or linear walks (*WEF*, Fairfield 3; *WNWF*, Causey Pike 10). The reader-walker had to wait eleven years from the publication of Book One in 1955 for him to reveal his various 'best' lists in the conclusion to Book Seven.

However, while Wainwright's idiosyncratic design may have prevented it from being universally adopted, his choices have influenced certain modern guidebooks and hand-drawn maps. Mark Richards's series of *Lakeland Fellranger* guidebooks, published by Cicerone, describe 230 fells, divided geographically and listed in alphabetical order in each volume, closely resembling the structure of the *Pictorial Guides*. Richards's guidebooks also include what he describes as linescape drawings and fellscape diagrams, as well as colour photographs. Jack Keighley has made hand-drawn and illustrated walking guides to Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Pennines.⁴⁶ Many villages in the county of Suffolk have hand-

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Joe Williams, Business Development Manager, Cicerone (UK walking, cycling and mountain guide publishers), for this insight given in a telephone interview on 18 February 2021.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Richards, *Great Mountain Days*.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Jack Keighley, *Walks in the Yorkshire Dales: An Illustrated Guide to Thirty Walks of Outstanding Beauty and Interest* (Milnthorpe: Cicerone, 1989).

drawn footpath maps which amateur map maker Wilfrid George started to produce in the 1960s. Recently, Colin Hindle has composed two hand-drawn and hand-written guidebooks in a planned series of four. These depict the best Lakeland views and are intended to be supplemental to the *Pictorial Guides*.⁴⁷ The design of most modern lowland and mountain guidebooks to the English Lake District and elsewhere owes more, however, to Poucher's use of photography.

The reception of the *Pictorial Guides*

The author of a review in *Truth*, the British Periodical, counselled in 1938 that 'It is bold if not foolish to attempt, and hard indeed to succeed in, a new book about the Lake District'.⁴⁸ This warning seemed to describe the initial reception in 1955 of Book One of the *Pictorial Guides*. Reviews were favourable but sales were slow, partly due to a train strike coinciding with the book's publication. Sales picked up enough for a second impression of 1,000 copies at Easter 1956 (Davies, *Biography*, pp.164-65). Book Two was published at Easter 1957 and the series was then firmly under way. In 1992 Davies estimated annual sales to be 25,000 copies of the seven books (Davies, *Biography*, p.333). Average sales of 3,500 per volume, derived by dividing the annual total sold by seven, represent very strong sales. This figure is nearly ten times that of one of Richards's first-generation *Fellranger* guidebooks and would have placed each *Pictorial Guide* within Cicerone's top five bestsellers in 2019.⁴⁹ In reality, sales varied between each book of the

⁴⁷ Colin Hindle, *The Best Lakeland Views: A hand drawn, handwritten guide to the Lake District: Book One Ullswater, Brotherswater, Haweswater* (Penrith: H&H Reed, 2021); *Book Two Windermere, Grasmere, Langdale, Coniston* (Penrith, H&H Reed, 2024).

⁴⁸ 'Lakeland Pictures', *Truth*, 21 December 1938, p.22.

⁴⁹ Williams, 18 February 2021.

Pictorial Guides. *WSF*, including Scafell Pike, was the bestseller for several years (Nichol, *Publisher's Perspective*, p.32). Much later, Wainwright's initially reluctant television appearances attracted a new audience. Coffee-table books, with colour landscape photographs by Derry Brabbs and published by Michael Joseph, accompanied the BBC Television series, with Wainwright and Eric Robson, shown nationally from 1986. Nichol has noted that sales of the Wainwright titles published by the *Westmorland Gazette* (which excluded the coffee-table books) 'increased from 28,000 in 1982 to 87,000 in 1986 – more than 300 per cent in four years without any increase in staff or promotional costs' due to Wainwright's television appearances (Nichol, *Publisher's Perspective*, p.31-32).

Publicity brought renewed attention to Wainwright's character and views and to the increasing popularity of fellwalking which his *Pictorial Guides* encouraged. The former were commonly framed within the caricature of the curmudgeonly Northerner to which print media has frequently defaulted to describe him.⁵⁰ This portrayal is at odds with the many personal recollections of his shyness and generosity described in Johnson's *Encounters with Wainwright*. Many contributors highlight Wainwright's individual acts of personal kindness and his encouragement of their fellwalking endeavours (Johnson, *Encounters*, pp.87-88; 113-115; 184-86).⁵¹ Davies records that Wainwright offered to pay for the publication of A. Harry Griffin's collected articles on Lakeland from the *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1957 just as the

⁵⁰ Ged Moran, 'Alfred Wainwright Foggy of the Fells', *Guardian*, 27 October 1990; Martin Kettle, 'Nasty Side of a Great Feller', *Guardian*, 20 September 1994.

⁵¹ Johnson, *Encounters*, also notes that Wainwright contributed two original drawings to Brian Smith's *Exploring The High Fells with a Wainwright Guidebook* (Chorley: Countryside Publications, 1984), pp.8; 28. These, from *WWF*, Some Personal Notes in Conclusion, are of Scafell and Pillar, two of Wainwright's best places for a fellwalker to be.

Pictorial Guides were beginning to do well, and at a time when Griffin had not yet had a book published (Davies, *Biography*, p.312).

The tension, which the *Pictorial Guides* were not only unable to reconcile but also exacerbated, was that between preservation and protection of the landscape of the district and the promotion of its enjoyment on foot. Footpath erosion is emblematic of the increasing numbers of fellwalkers, many of whom were encouraged by the *Pictorial Guides*. Like Wordsworth, Wainwright's writing popularised the area and encouraged visitors, not all of whom, nor of whose practices, he approved. Towards the end of his life he referred to 'the crowds of visitors of the wrong type that now infest the villages and the valleys'. (Davies, *Letters*, p.394). The website of Keswick Mountain Rescue Team names Wainwright as the 'culprit' in some rescues. It suggests that the popularity of his *Pictorial Guides* has led some walkers to go astray or underestimate the difficulties of the lesser heights of Barf and Catbells.⁵² However, its observation that 'Occasionally paths and rights of way are badly placed on OS maps' does not acknowledge Wainwright's correction of such errors nor his painstaking mapping of paths as they appear on the ground.

Today's perceptions of the *Pictorial Guides* confirm why many people view Wainwright as the 'patron saint' of the modern practice of fellwalking and these guidebooks as pre-eminent in English Lake District guidebook literature. Garland has drawn attention to the coherence of their text and illustrations, the accuracy and appropriateness of their information and its intuitive presentation as the elements which comprise Wainwright's successful communication of information to his readership (Garland, 'Lead, Kindly Light',

⁵² 'Local Accident Blackspots', Keswick Mountain Rescue Team <<https://keswickmrt.org.uk/safety-hotspots>> [accessed 14 June 2025]

pp.54-58). The *Pictorial Guides* have been received both as practical volumes for walkers and works of art. As well as forming a fellwalker's tick list project, they are consumed as an aid to leisurely exploration, both on the fell and at home and are kept on the bookshelf for pure enjoyment. Wainwright first editions, memorabilia and drawings are highly collectable. A pen and ink sketch of Striding Edge was auctioned for a record price of £10,200 in June 2020.⁵³ The *Pictorial Guides* have spawned other literature, notably personal reminiscences and guidance on how to complete the 214 fells, but also social groups.⁵⁴ The *Wainwright Society* was formed 'to keep alive the fellwalking traditions' Wainwright promoted.⁵⁵ It maintains lists of those who have completed other Wainwright challenges as well as the 214 fells in the *Pictorial Guides* and republishes some out-of-print titles. From February to December 2025, The Armit Library and Museum in Ambleside co-curated, with Wainwright collector and archivist Chris Butterfield, a special exhibition to mark the seventieth anniversary of the publication of Book One of the *Pictorial Guides*.⁵⁶ Wainwright is celebrated as an important figure in the history of walking in Britain. National Trail status was announced for his popular Coast to Coast walking route in August 2022. A project to upgrade this route is due to be completed in early 2026.⁵⁷

⁵³ Alex Candlin, 'Alfred Wainwright's Sketch Sells for Record Price in Online Auction', *Westmorland Gazette*, 3 July 2020 <<https://www.thewestmorlandgazette.co.uk/news/18560499.alfred-wainwrights-sketch-sells-record-price-online-auction/>> [accessed 13 September 2023].

⁵⁴ Some recent examples include Andy Grigg, *Nowhere Fast, Walking the Wainwrights* (Ammanford: Sigma, 2014); Karen and Dan Parker, *Peak Bagging Wainwrights, The Definitive Guide* (Sheffield: Vertebrate, 2021); Graham Uney, *Walking the Wainwrights* (Caernarfon: Pesda Press, 2021).

⁵⁵ 'Our Purpose', The Wainwright Society, n.d. <<https://www.wainwright.org.uk/our-purpose>> [accessed 28 June 2024].

⁵⁶ The Armit Library and Museum, 2025 'Alfred Wainwright at The Armit', <<https://www.armitt.com/alfred-wainwright>> [accessed 10 June 2025].

⁵⁷ Lake District National Park, 'Upgrade of Wainwright's Coast to Coast to National Trail', <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/projects/upgrade-of-wainwrights-coast-to-coast-to-national-trail>>

“Doing the Wainwrights”

Thirty years after Wainwright’s death, the January/February 2021 edition of *Lakeland Walker* magazine debated how long his legacy would last in a world of digital mapping. The answer to this question lies in how, as guide-companion, Wainwright created a hand-drawn walker’s geography of the uplands of the English Lake District and presented his 214 fells as a curated collection in print. Each chapter reads as a character study of an individual fell, performed through textual, visual, cartographic and indicative features. These features combine to provide orientation - a vision stripped of the weather – and an enhanced sense of place and specific location. The books can be read away from the fells too (as Wainwright intended to do himself when he could not climb them). Wainwright’s stylistic choices narrowed the gap between the author and his readership, rendering him a trusted companion who took the place of a physical guide. His status represents the culmination of a relationship between author and reader which became more equal, and possibly more intimate, as the reader-walker became more autonomous and independent over the period considered in this study.

Wainwright’s artisanal design and composition and his exposition of the physical practice of fellwalking made the *Pictorial Guides* a boon for visitors who are not skilled map readers or fellwalkers. He encouraged fellwalking which is autonomous, off the beaten track and available to the non-expert. Griffin called these guidebooks so remarkable that he feared they were too complete and risked taking away the joy of discovery of the fells (Davies, *Biography*, p.158). The *Pictorial Guides* show the way up, down and along Wainwright’s personal collection of fells. Readers can make their own route selection from

[accessed 10 June 2025].

the author's collection according to time and capability. The books can be enjoyable reading on their own too. They can be perused at home before setting off or after coming back, or on days when circumstances do not permit setting out. Their use has been consolidated by the publication of the original books as Reader's Editions and Hutchby's revised volumes as Walker's Editions, the latter available in a paperback, or flexibound, format to enhance their practicality.

Is this enough for the *Pictorial Guides* enduringly to escape the common round of English Lake District guidebooks? No other guidebook writer has become synonymous with fellwalking and the landscape of the English Lake District in the same way as Alfred Wainwright. His aspiration to 'escape from the common round' is exemplified by the merging of his authorial identity with the uplands of the region. The naming of the 214 fells in the *Pictorial Guides* as "Wainwrights" after the author has cemented his place both in English Lake District literature and the history of fellwalking. "Doing the Wainwrights" has become the ultimate Lakeland endurance challenge. It may be completed in a leisurely way over a number of years, or against the clock. Derived but divorced from his printed pages, the challenges inspired by the *Pictorial Guides* have fixed Wainwright's place in popular culture, the print history of English Lake District tourism and its relationship with the practice of fellwalking.

Chapter Six Conclusion

Early writers regarded Striding Edge as a place of terror; contemporary writers, following a modern fashion, are inclined to dismiss it as of little account. In fact, Striding Edge is the finest ridge there is in Lakeland, for walkers – its traverse is always an exhilarating adventure in fair weather or foul, and it can be made easy or difficult according to choice. The danger of accident is present only when a high wind is blowing or when the rocks are iced: in a mist on a calm day, the Edge is really a fascinating place (*WEF*, Helvellyn 5).

Wainwright's characterisation of Striding Edge as the 'finest ridge there is in Lakeland, for walkers' and a 'fascinating place' to explore by whichever route, easy or difficult, his readers chose confirms that fellwalking had become a largely self-guided leisure pursuit by the end of this study. By contrast, up to the mid-nineteenth century Striding Edge was seen as dangerous, and guidebooks commonly advised their readers to hire a local guide. Even with this precaution, Martineau described its traverse as 'always fool-hardy' (*MCG*, p.165). The position Wainwright adopted between literary descriptions of Striding Edge as a place of 'terror' or of 'little account' reinforces the authoritative nature of his own narrative, as well as pointing to the change from guided to autonomous fellwalking. His use of 'in fact' implies that previous and contemporary descriptions were wrong because they respectively overstated or understated its dangers. The latter are real enough. Striding Edge has continued to be the location of numerous mountain accidents, fatalities and rescues since Gough's death in 1805. Wainwright took the perils of the ridge into account when defining the weather conditions, namely high winds and ice underfoot, in which the former were most likely to arise. The possibility of 'exhilarating adventure' is, however, always present and available to the reader-walker who can rely on the *Pictorial Guides* in 'fair weather or

foul'. This phrase adds a touch of lyricism to his prose, consistent with his aspiration that his name be spoken of alongside Wordsworth and the other greats of English Lake District literature.

This thesis has demonstrated that the interrelationship between guidebook literature, leisure practice and place has contributed to the development of a close association between fellwalking and the uplands of the English Lake District. While acknowledging their importance, it has challenged the predominant role commonly attributed to the guidebooks of Wainwright, and Wordsworth before him, in the development of tourism and recreational fellwalking in the region. It has drawn attention to the way in which other works encouraged new types of visitors to travel to the district and explore its fells on foot with a guidebook instead of with a person as a guide. A wider cultural change in the way that mountains were perceived favoured the growth of fellwalking. If early works rendered the mountains picturesque, instead of objects to be viewed with horror and distaste, the guidebooks in this study encouraged their accessibility to pedestrians, influenced by Romantic era ideas which suggested a new kind of relationship between the walker and the fells. Other developments facilitated the promotion of fellwalking in the English Lake District. The tradition of relatively unrestricted access to the fells; the increased accessibility of the region resulting from the expansion of its tourist and transport infrastructure and improvements in mapping and equipment helped to make fellwalking more popular and enjoyable. The uplands of the district became increasingly well-trodden as domestic and continental, in particular Alpine, tourism suggested diverse ways of experiencing the region on foot in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

The treatment of Striding Edge exemplifies how guidebook literature encouraged the shift from guided to autonomous fellwalking. From the mid-1860s, the works in this study increasingly minimised its perils, largely due to the increasingly accurate, detailed and illustrated route directions writers such as Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley included in their guidebooks. Such directions reflect the movement in guidebook literature from imaginative to practical engagement with the landscape concerning mountain safety, as well as influencing how and to whom the possibilities of 'exhilarating adventure' in the high places were available. They assisted new and existing visitors to take to the fells independently, many of whom were unable to afford or preferred not to hire a guide, in effect a form of servant. Only ten years after Martineau's guidebook was first published, Prior suggested to a more exclusive intended readership of Alpinists, or those aspiring to be, that Striding Edge was 'formerly treated as a rash undertaking' (*PAP*, p.129). Jenkinson addressed a broader readership of tourists but agreed that there was 'really no danger to be apprehended'. (*JPG*, pp.iii; 310). Baddeley described Striding Edge similarly to Jenkinson, with the additional qualification that 'giddily inclined people will probably feel more comfortable' on the less precipitous Swirrel Edge of Helvellyn (*BTG*, p.166). Prior, Jenkinson and Baddeley associated the dangers of exploring the uplands on foot with locations more closely linked to the nascent sport of rock climbing, such as Scafell and Pillar Rock. The pedestrian routes they chose to include in their guidebooks and those that they cautioned against reflected the growing separation of climbing from fellwalking.

Guidebooks proliferated and became increasingly specialised in the twentieth century as they catered for a growing number of visitors and their varied leisure interests. In the inter-war years these works increasingly represented the uplands of the English Lake District as a landscape to be experienced in the pursuit of leisure. The advent of motor

transport; the wider provision of cheap accommodation by the YHA and holiday organisations such as the HF and CHA; and practical improvements in navigation and equipment all combined to assist more visitors from less-privileged backgrounds like Wainwright's to experience fellwalking in the district for the first time. Symonds and Palmer addressed a more adventurous, and in Symonds's case more discerning, readership within a context of exploration formed by the growth of the outdoors movement and the campaign for national parks. These writers favoured off the beaten track exploration, a form of specialisation which relied on a map separate from their guidebooks, and the ability to use it. Unsurprisingly given this context, Symonds and Palmer further downplayed the dangers of Striding Edge. Symonds proclaimed that 'there is nothing on Striding Edge to be afraid of' (*SWLD*, p.21). Instead of highlighting the danger, Palmer described caution as being necessary only on the 'one exciting and laborious section' (*PLD*, p.76). Wainwright's highly illustrated *Pictorial Guides* and Poucher's *Lakeland Peaks* made the fells available to the non-expert in a way that Symonds and Palmer did not. Poucher's description of Striding Edge concentrated on the pictorial, describing the views as being 'justly famous for their impressiveness' and its traverse on foot as 'spectacular'. His guidance that the ridge was 'only dangerous under the most severe winter conditions' (*PLP*, p.230) complemented Wainwright's. Whether using hand-drawn illustrations or photographs, Wainwright's and Poucher's pocket guidebooks showed others the way more clearly than preceding works had done.

English Lake District guidebooks which combined text and pictures to communicate information on walking routes more accurately helped to resolve the tension inherent in their promotion of an activity which was, and still is, potentially dangerous. Other themes and tensions emerged as fellwalking developed into an autonomous leisure practice, which

despite their authoritative nature Wainwright's *Pictorial Guides* did not entirely resolve. To recap, these themes and tensions concern how, where and by whom guidebooks were used; the conflict between beauty and utility in their design as, from the later nineteenth century, these works increasingly included maps and drawings; and how authors created authority for themselves as guides. The conflict which proved most difficult to resolve is that which arose between the promotion of fellwalking as the best way of enjoying the district and the increase in overall visitor numbers. In modern times this has resulted in the solitude of the fells prized by the writers in this study becoming ever more elusive.

As guidebooks became increasingly portable, and thus of greater utility on the fell, questions expressed in nineteenth-century works concerning how and where these works should be used diminished in importance. Prior had suggested that the guidebooks of his contemporaries Martineau and James Payn were best suited to beguiling a wet afternoon indoors, implying that they were of less use to the more experienced visitor who really desired to explore the heights of the district. The successive miniaturisation of what became known as *Prior's Guide* supports his claim for the utility of his own work outdoors. Garnett, Prior's publisher, created as well as responded to demand from potential purchasers by publishing forms of Prior's guidebook which fitted into the pocket not only of a jacket but a waistcoat, with all that implies about the assumed gender of the reader-walker. By contrast, Wainwright's and Poucher's comprehensive and highly illustrated guidebooks were only published in pocket form.

Alongside greater portability, illustrations helped guidebook writers to offer greater independence to the reader-walker. Developments in cartography and print technology assisted information design which could guide fellwalkers with greater accuracy over rough

and complex terrain and in less well-known areas of the district. Several guidebooks in this study are notable for the innovative ways in which they used illustration. The maps in Baddeley's *Thorough Guide* were the first to depict contours using printed layer colouring. Although Prior's *Ascents and Passes* focused on walking as distinct from climbing, later editions include what has been described as probably the earliest printed British crag diagram, the ascent of Pillar Rock in Ennerdale by the 'Slab and Notch' route.¹ Poucher's extensive use of annotated photographs to describe routes in *The Lakeland Peaks* prefigure the common use of photography and photo-diagrams in modern guidebooks. Wainwright's hand-drawn maps and bird's eye view fell ascent diagrams, accompanied by explanatory text, are accessible to people lacking the ability to read conventional maps or use other forms of navigational equipment, such as a compass.

Wainwright's integration of text and image most fully reconciled the use of a guidebook as a practical manual of instruction and its reception as a work of literature and art to be enjoyed equally on or off the fell. For the *Pictorial Guides* to achieve this dual reception, Wainwright had first to resolve the tension between beauty and utility in guidebook design. This tension was prompted by the increased possibilities offered by the incorporation of maps and other illustrations to guide the reader-walker. Sectional maps and other illustrations were largely positioned as imported accessories to the text of Prior's, Jenkinson's and Baddeley's guidebooks, resulting in the need for cross-referencing. Symonds's *Walking in the Lake District* and Palmer's *The Lake District* demonstrated the difficulty of requiring the reader-walker to consult separate maps in addition to their route directions. Poucher, by contrast, interspersed but did not fully integrate numerous

¹ Reid, 'History of Lake District Climbing Guidebooks (Part 2)', p.122.

photographs of viewpoints and walking routes with detailed directions throughout the text of *The Lakeland Peaks*. The information design of the handwritten notations which he superimposed on his route photographs had less visual coherence than Wainwright's entirely handcrafted and wholly integrated solution of text and illustration. The appearance of the *Pictorial Guides* as the work of one hand not only contributed to their user friendliness but generated trust in their author as guide.

This thesis has, on the one hand, drawn attention to how guidebooks encouraged fellwalking in the English Lake District, but, on the other, has identified that as the uplands became accessible to more people, so writers typically attempted to further define how and by whom they believed fellwalking should be practiced. Some attempts to guide minds as well as feet led to greater exclusivity in the way that writers addressed their readers, with particular reference to gender and class, and mitigated against the encouragement of new types of reader-walker. Symonds notably discriminated in favour of a certain taste and type of visitor who would appreciate and enjoy the district, and fellwalking, in the 'right' way. The philosophy of fellwalking he espoused is closer to the ethos of Wordsworth's *Guide* than the other guidebooks in this study. Wainwright was also in sympathy with Symonds's disapproval of those not travelling around the district on foot and gave short shrift to motorists and convivial groups. Similar discrimination is still seen today in debates about the behaviour of the influx of visitors to the LDNP during Covid-19 lockdowns.² The more exclusive approach adopted by Symonds, and Prior before him, in disparaging certain visitors of lower socio-economic status notably contrasted with the inclusiveness exhibited in the guidebooks of

² <<https://inews.co.uk/news/national-trust-fly-camping-lockdown-restrictions-rubbish-558566>> [accessed 6 November 2023].

Martineau and Jenkinson. Palmer's statement that the hills should be open to all, regardless of social class or gender, exemplifies his belief in the inclusive nature of fellwalking.

This thesis reinforces Andrews's and Hewitt's argument that women walkers were always present in the upland landscape, but their involvement has largely been overlooked. English Lake District guidebooks in the later nineteenth century largely failed to recognise women in the mountains, despite their presence in contemporary newspaper reports and their active role in the Alpine Club, for example, from its early days. The overt acknowledgement of women in twentieth century guidebooks was largely the result of an increase in the number of visitors to the district. References to women in Symonds's and Palmer's works, which were to a greater or lesser degree derogatory, drew attention to female types or stereotypes, particularly in evidence on Helvellyn. These references are at odds with early guidebooks that described Helvellyn as a masculine mountain which posed a challenge to men such as Baines. On the one hand, Symonds's and Palmer's portrayals of Helvellyn point to shifting perceptions of the mountain in response to greater familiarity and the closer association of danger with rock climbing. On the other hand, these portrayals suggest changing practices, represented by more women participating in fellwalking, or at least more attention being paid by guidebooks to those who did. Symonds went further in discerning his readership by gender by demarcating a 'true brotherhood' of those who appreciated the hills and mountains in the right way (*SWLD*, p.49). His philosophy is complemented, but to a lesser degree, by some aspects of Wainwright's writing, notably the implied gender of the 'true fellwalker', whom he idealised above all other pedestrians and visitors to the district. Wainwright's and Symonds's treatment of gender renders their representation of fellwalking less than ideal. Wainwright praised the solitary male fell walker on Coniston Old Man - 'bless him' - looking towards the fells and away from the fleshpots of

Blackpool which drew the gaze of other tourists at the summit (*WSF*, Coniston Old Man 13). However, his focus on describing the physical practice of fellwalking, rather than its philosophy, left the possibility of being a true fellwalker open to women.

Whichever readers to whom their authors intended to appeal, local, boots-on-the-ground knowledge was critical to how guidebooks came to take the place of a person as a guide. Writers increasingly derived their authority from how they made their guidebooks and less from reliance on preceding works. All of the authors in this study were active practitioners of fellwalking and based their walking route directions on their personal experience. This common thread points to the significance of individual voices at a time when Buzard has emphasised the increasingly standardised nature of publishers' guidebooks. The authority Martineau derived from being an active walker and resident of the district was amplified by the leadership other writers assumed in local disputes and national discourses concerning access to and preservation and use of the landscape of the English Lake District. Jenkinson and Baddeley took active roles in these causes in the nineteenth century. Jenkinson promoted the cause of access to the landscape for all and opposed footpath closures in the Keswick area, culminating in his leadership of the Latrigg protest in 1887. Baddeley supported the preservation of the landscape of the district and opposed insensitive exploitation of its natural resources. Increasing interest in the twentieth century concerning how the natural resources of areas like the Lake District could and should be used for the greater benefit of the nation was reflected in debates about the founding of national parks, in which Symonds took a leading role, and in the growth of the outdoors movement.

Chapter 6

As well as personal, embodied experience, the writers in this study assumed distinct authorial personae to confirm their authority as guides. Martineau positioned herself as an educator of visitors to the district. She demystified the region by providing information and recommending that her readers aspire to fellwalking as an improving activity, with benefits to be derived from experiencing the solitude of the uplands on foot. Jenkinson presented himself as a servant to a wide range of readers and by implication to Keswick itself. His connection with the town and his passion for fellwalking led him to focus on the exploration of the surrounding fells in his *Practical Guide*. He largely removed his own personality from his guidebook in order to serve his readership. Prior, by contrast, adopted the more exclusive persona of a clubbable companion to fellow or aspiring Alpinists. Baddeley can be characterised as a promoter of the district, both in the *Thorough Guide* and in ELDA initiatives to improve the experience of visitors.

In the twentieth century, Symonds combined the twin personae of campaigner for the preservation of the landscape of the district and educator concerning its special qualities. He differed from Martineau in the latter respect by addressing an exclusive audience of the like-minded. Exceptionally for the guidebooks in this study, Palmer's persona was that of a native or dalesman. He consciously derived his authority from his local birth and experience. By contrast, Poucher drew the attention of photographic tourists, as well as fellwalkers, to the landscape of the area. His visual aesthetic was influenced by eighteenth-century ideals of the picturesque as well as developments in landscape photography in the twentieth century, in which he was technically and artistically adept. Poucher's recommendations concerning mountain photography resemble the prescriptiveness of

West's stations and of viewing the landscape through a Claude glass.³ However, it is Wainwright's authorial persona as the curator of the 214 fells in his *Pictorial Guides* which is most closely aligned with the development of fellwalking as the leisure pursuit we know today. Like Martineau, he created authority by presenting his work as complete, but with a considerably more specialised focus on the uplands. The *Pictorial Guides* represent an all-encompassing study in terms of routes and views of the 214 fells he included. His authorial persona represents an enabling and idiosyncratic authority characterised by his agency in making these entirely handcrafted guidebooks, unconstrained by a publisher's design.⁴

Wainwright appealed to many different types of walkers and readers of guidebooks by how he united exploration of the fells and innovation in their representation in print, reconciling disparate elements of form, content, and context. Paradoxically for a man who prized solitude, Wainwright drew the reader-walker into a strange (given his solitariness) intimacy as he came to represent both the trusted guidebook and walking companion. The *Pictorial Guides* combined text and illustration, the practice of fellwalking and a distinct authorial persona in a way that no other guidebook to the district had done previously. His trusted guidebook and companion status represents the culmination of a relationship between author and reader which became more equal and possibly more intimate as the reader-walker became more autonomous and independent between 1855 and 1966. Wainwright not only became the guide in the reader-walker's pocket but introduced the fells of the district as friends, as Jenkinson and Baddeley had done before him. His guidebooks indisputably enhanced the ability of walkers to explore the uplands of the English Lake

³ I am grateful to Timothy Sykes for this insight.

⁴ Davies, *Letters*, p.95.

District on their own terms at a time when growing affluence post-war and access to personal transport made the district increasingly accessible. His descriptions of the secret places in the fells attracted more people to the district to enjoy them, just as Wordsworth's writings drew visitors to scenes associated with the poet's life and work.

However, the tension which Wainwright and no English Lake District guidebook writer could resolve was that which arose between the promotion of the uplands of the region as a place of quiet recreation, contemplation and healthy exercise, and increased visitor numbers. The detrimental effects of the latter are particularly relevant to the *Pictorial Guides* due to their popularity and the form that Wainwright's legacy has taken. He extolled the seclusion of the fells but popularised the attractions of fellwalking so successfully that the practice has been blamed by some for the erosion of footpaths and mountain accidents in the district (Davies, *Letters*, p.124). Wainwright denied this claim, contending that such problems were caused by clumsy walkers, particularly those travelling in groups, who would have come to the district anyway. The tension between providing information and guidance and allowing personal choice and responsibility has been thrown into even sharper focus as more people take to the uplands of the district today.

Wainwright's description of Striding Edge, quoted above, points to the reasons why this thesis matters. My research challenges the assessment of the cultural identity of the region which has informed and is reflected in the UNESCO statement of significance for the English Lake District. The importance of fellwalking, and that of Wainwright, has been marginalised in the UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination document.⁵ The relationship between guidebook literature, leisure practice and place has contributed to the possibilities

⁵ LDNP, 'Lake District Nomination, Volume 4, The Partnership's Plan, 2.0 Outstanding Universal Value, Special Qualities, Risks, Vision', <<https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/caringfor/whs/lake-district-nomination>>

of 'exhilarating adventure' on Striding Edge becoming available to new types of English Lake District visitors. As well as addressing involvement by class and gender in the history of fellwalking, this thesis has shown the encouragement of fellwalking in guidebooks to have strengthened understanding and use of the district as a centre for outdoor pursuits. Its findings open opportunities for further research on the total number and composition of participants in fellwalking. Complete histories of fellwalking and the English Lake District guidebook genre are yet to be written. An ethnographic study could scrutinise the extent to which the largely white male authorship of English Lake District pocket guidebooks for walkers is exclusionary. Complementary or different approaches to the timeframe and literary sources, unpublished as well as published, could be adopted. A literary critical study might compare the contribution made by guidebooks to that of other genres, for example children's adventure literature of the English Lake District, in rendering the landscape of the area more knowable and available. Similarities and differences in the practice of fellwalking in the English Lake District could be examined in relation to the development of upland walking in other areas of England such as the Peak District, the Pennines and the Yorkshire Dales as well as in Scotland and Wales. The relationship between guidebooks, leisure practice and place identity could be examined in these and other areas. Another comparative study might examine the practice and value attributed to lowland and upland walking. Developments such as those in equipment and mapping could be given the same focus as that accorded to guidebooks in this thesis. The significance of Wainwright's advocacy of fellwalking and long-distance walking routes could be considered in the context of the cultural history of pedestrianism, and his legacy as an amateur cartographer assessed. These areas of research would build on understandings of the English Lake District which this study has established and contribute to making the region and the practice of fellwalking

more accessible to more people in the future. The importance of the latter is reflected in the Lake District National Park Partnership's theme of 'A Lake District for Everyone' ('Management Plan, 2020-2026', pp.42-43).

The relative significance posterity has accorded to the writers in this study is represented in the topography of the English Lake District. Martineau's house, The Knoll, has become a holiday cottage. The English Lake District Association organised public subscriptions to fund the building of a clock tower in Bowness-on-Windermere in memory of Baddeley and his efforts to popularise the district.⁶ The gates in the memory of Henry Irwin Jenkinson at the entrance to Fitz Park in Keswick were also funded by public subscription. The general public utility of the clock, and of the gates, reflects the broad appeal of Baddeley's and Jenkinson's guidebooks. Symonds is commemorated in Symonds Knott, a peak close to the summit or 'mecca' of Scafell, named in honour of his work to protect the region's landscape.⁷ There is a memorial tablet to Wainwright set into the windowsill of a south facing window of St James' Church, Buttermere. The inscription encourages readers to lift their eyes to his favourite mountain, Haystacks, which is seen in the middle of the view from the window and is where his ashes were scattered. A bench dedicated to Poucher was placed in the garden of the Scafell Hotel, Rosthwaite.⁸ There is no memorial in the district to Prior. He was less closely connected with the district than Baddeley and Jenkinson, and his guidebook was insufficiently demotic. There is also no monument to Palmer, but the importance he accorded to recording the life and customs of

⁶ *Aberdeen Journal*, 1 June 1907, p.6. Appropriately, the twin of Baddeley's clock was installed at Windermere railway station.

⁷ A. Harry Griffin, 'The height of honour', *Country Diary*, *Guardian*, 8 September 2003, <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2003/sep/08/ruralaffairs>> [accessed 1 May 2024]

⁸ *PLP*, 11th edn (London: Constable, 1998), preface.

Chapter 6

the English Lake District is reflected in modern understandings of the region as a cultural landscape.

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