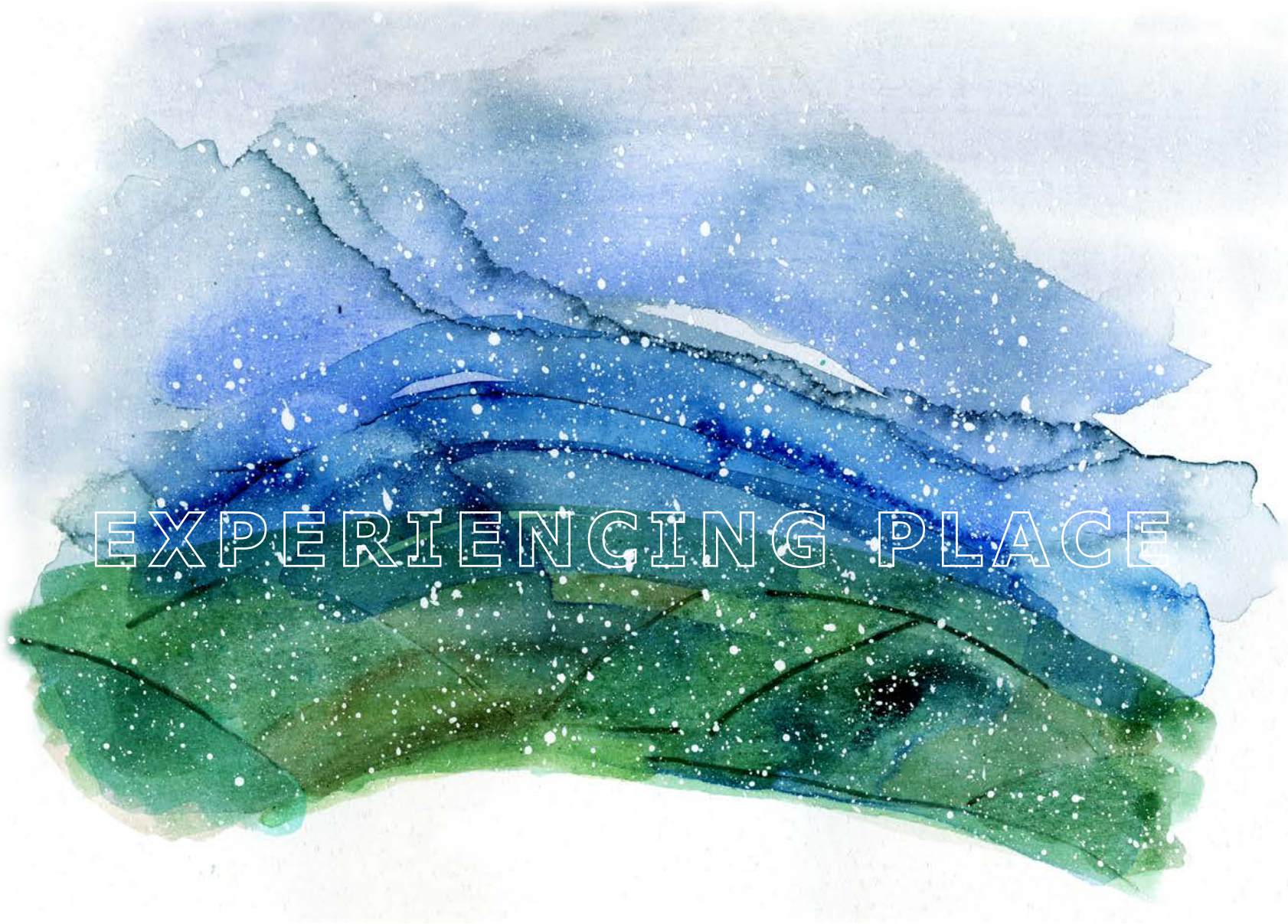
EXPERIENCING PLACE

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MAPPING CONNECTIVITY IN THE NORTH PENNINES

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A thesis presented to Newcastle University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Fine Art

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ABSTRACT

This study of Bruthwaite Forest in north Cumbria investigates interaction with a changing rural landscape, seeking to map connectivity by transcribing subjective experience of place. The random exercise of walking stimulates thoughts and observations that generate a textual and visual narrative of personal involvement in the landscape. Intensive fieldwork and historical research are the basis of an art practice that embodies the material reality of the place in the creation of new artefacts that investigate and comment upon structural change and decay, the topography of place-names, and the human traits of finding and collection. The research area is defined by the boundary of a former hunting forest, now mostly within the Geltsdale nature reserve and the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. My contribution to the history of Bruthwaite Forest includes the location and photography of extant and ruined houses and structures including cairns, bridges, boundary stones, wells and other features of significance to inhabitants in the past. I have tentatively identified and located several medieval shielings, documented all the sheepfolds, and re-placed some 'lost' place-names, thus bringing back into current memory names and places which were once common knowledge to those who lived here. The photographic and ceramic artworks are integral to the study, responding to the characteristics of this upland area and acting as a stimulus to reflection on the human place within the natural world.

For Arlo, Milo and Otto

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The presence of good friends and neighbours is invaluable in a landscape study of this nature, and in particular I am thankful to Robin and Norah Jackson for local knowledge freely given; Dora Chambers and all the other contributors to the *Map of names*; Alexander Murray and Robin Murray for many local anecdotes and insights, as well as permission to reproduce their father Stephen Murray's map of Greenside farm; Hamish Nicholson for giving me free range on his land at Clowsgill and Tarnhouse; and the RSPB wardens who have been helpful in many ways, Steve Garnett for insights into the Coalfell flora and providing copies of useful unpublished documents, Dave O'Hara and Stephen Westerberg for understanding my need to wander freely in Bruthwaite Forest, and Ian Ryding and Belinda Lloyd for their assistance with my exhibitions in the Geltsdale Gallery.

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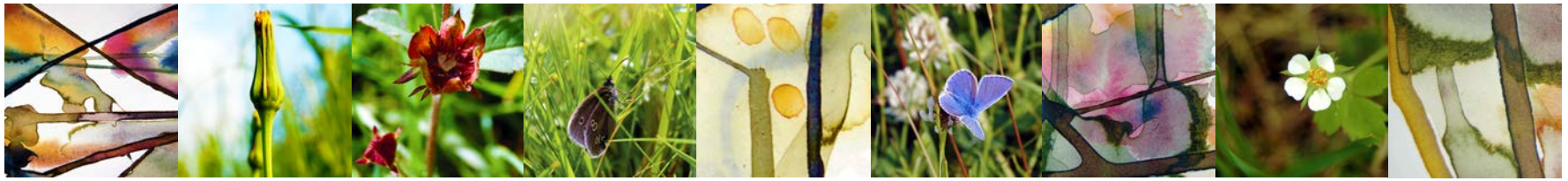
ABBREVIATIONS

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AONB	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
Cal IPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CRO	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
EHR	Economic History Review
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HNP	Howard of Naworth Papers
JMC	Journal of Material Culture
MFA	Master of Fine Art
ON	Old Norse
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OS	Ordnance Survey
OUP	Oxford University Press
RAOB	Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland
RCHM(E)	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

1 INTRODUCTION



Research questions

What is the potential for developing different ways of understanding a changing rural landscape through diverse yet interlaced approaches that seek to map connectivity through transcribing subjective experience of the place?

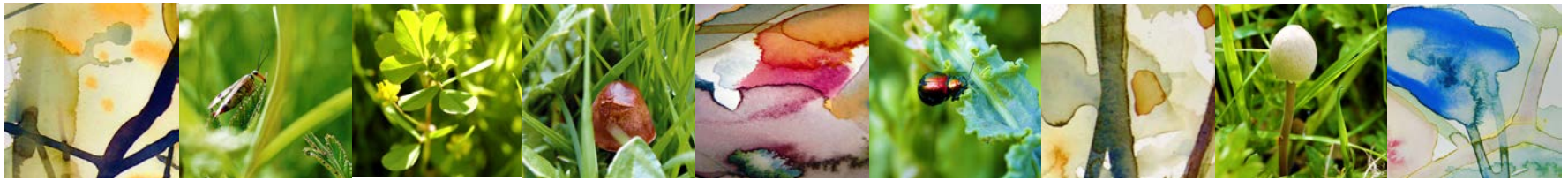
How can the exploration of this landscape through the practice of the *dérive*: random walking open to chance encounter, be combined with detailed observation and research to provoke artworks reflecting directly experienced integration with the continuum of past and present?

Which media are appropriate for making artworks that respond to the geological, topographical, ecological and historical characteristics of this upland area and embody its elemental reality?

How can impermanence in the landscape be celebrated through the creation of artworks that comment on structural decay, the topography of place-names, and the human traits of finding and collection?

What contribution can be made to the history of Bruthwaite Forest through the location and photography of its extant and ruined buildings, shielings and sheepfolds?

How can the work as a whole, engaging with ideas of change and chance, become capable of stimulating reflection on the human place within the natural world?



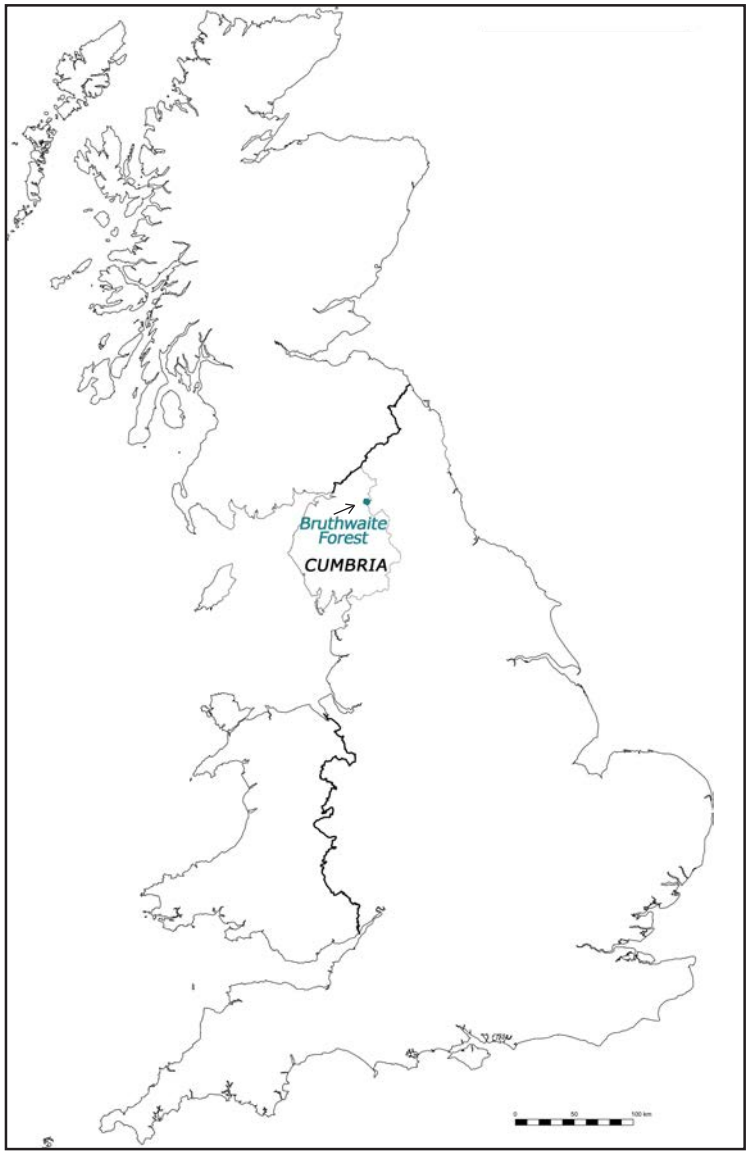
Research aims and parameters

This study explores, through the practice of walking, the possibility of communicating directly experienced integration with the continuum of past and present in a rural area. It aims to convey an understanding of the landscape through artworks that investigate and comment upon structural change and decay, the topography of place-names, and the human traits of finding and collection.

The thesis is designed to draw together a textual and visual narrative of those characteristics of the local history and topography that have inspired the artworks. It presents the results of historical and field research focusing on aspects of a specific landscape not previously published, and introduces a portfolio of artworks that embody the material reality of that landscape and are directly informed by the historical understanding and the fieldwork.

The research area is defined by the boundary of a former hunting forest in the uplands of rural north Cumbria. The 4000 acres of Bruthwaite Forest now lie within the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), supporting a hill farm in organic stewardship and a nature reserve managed by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB). The research is interdisciplinary, drawing on current ideas in art practice and phenomenology and the techniques of local history and landscape archaeology.

This has been a ten-year investigation into how, as an artist acting intuitively, one might integrate and interact with a given environment, culminating in the four years of doctoral study from 2006 to 2010. An intense connection with the place enabled the creation of artworks that convey the experience of that place. A methodology formed as the work progressed, allowing fieldwork to remain spontaneous and open to chance encounters, while documentation, archive research and finds processing were precise and meticulous. Both approaches were susceptible to generating artworks, which evolved through increasing familiarity with the elemental materials of the earth, fusing these with an enhanced understanding of this landscape, its history and actuality.



Bruthwaite Forest located on the Ordnance Survey outline map of Great Britain

Nature and landscape defined

Raymond Williams, discussing the historic senses of the word, thought that "nature is perhaps the most complex word in the language" (Williams 1983, 219). It is used in a specific sense here to describe the material content of the planet Earth, a set of finite and renewable lifeforms and elements. Nature contains ecosystems, the symbiotic behaviour of complexes of animals and plants; in this holistic view there is difference but no separation between natural and human existence and behaviour.

I use the term landscape here to describe the sensory and intellectual apprehension of landform and landuse, encompassing geology, topography and ecology, together with the changes wrought by humans and other animals. Whereas my perspective is still necessarily if reluctantly anthropocentric, the *European Landscape Convention*, as established by the Council of Europe in 2000, has no qualms about defining a landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors", and undertaking "to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity" (http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm). Landscape is often perceived as static: a captured moment, but close familiarity enables one to experience the constantly evolving cycles of growth and decay, and movement powered by wind and water.

Walking as methodology: a rural dérive

Walking as a reflective and integrating activity is at the core of the study, which is led by the state of wonder and the process of discovery. Walking stimulates spontaneous, non-linear thought and enquiry, inspired in part by the landscape in which it takes place. Questions were formulated which were later followed through with formal research, and the results are presented here in narrative form, reflecting the process of exploration and discovery, and weaving in relevant aspects of the history of the forest and its buildings.

On a daily basis walking was essentially random, in that there was no predetermined goal, in the spirit of a rural version of the *dérive*. This involved a letting go of habitual, rational means and motives in daily life, allowing oneself to be "drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters [one] finds there" (Knabb (trans) 1981, 50). Gradually all the accessible ground was covered in more or less detail, while adventures and obstacles exerted their influence and took me to spots possibly never surveyed by conventional cartographers, at a level of detail still blurred in available satellite photography. Initial exploration provided empirical knowledge of preferred routes, for instance avoidance of the worst boggy areas in wet weather. This fieldwork drove the documentary research, which in turn informed the fieldwork, and as familiarity took the edge off discovery, leading to some practical understanding of the ecology, several themes began to emerge. It is these themes of structural change and decay in vernacular buildings, the topography of place-names, and finding and collection, that were then followed through to the conclusion of the project.

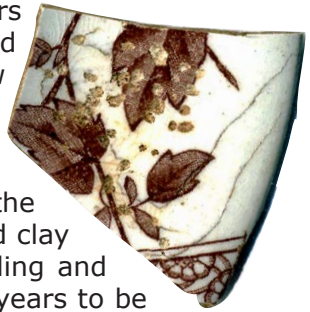
Structural change and decay

Photography of decaying vernacular structures, abandoned machinery and transient objects has mapped change over the years. Extant buildings were photographed and catalogued, together with the ruins or grassed-over earthworks which represent shielings, cottages or industrial relics. Artworks directly generated by the fieldwork include a detailed survey of *Coalfell Flora* (2006-8), which can be used to identify subsequent changes due to altered grazing regimes; *Ephemera* (2007), photographs of objects in transition through rust and weathering; and *Kirkhouse Bricks* (2007-10), two series of photographs of recycled fragments from the local brickworks.

The topography of place-names

Analysis of the local place-names became one of the main strands of the research, with the purpose of understanding how people responded to the landscape in the distant past, and how they used language to convey their experience of the place. Archival searches in the Cumbria Record Office at Carlisle Castle and in the Palace Green Library of Durham University focused on estate maps and leases which yielded names and details of landuse and house-building. Artworks inspired by disintegrating maps and local names include *Elements* (2008), *Tile Maps*, *Signs of Life*, and *Insights* (all 2009).

Finding and collection



The forest, now sparsely populated, was formerly home to several hundred miners, quarrymen and railway workers and their families. For many years the landlords rented small plots of land to the workforce for each household to keep a cow and grow basic crops, although many of the cottages have been demolished and the land is now farmed as permanent pasture. One of the main indicators of this vanished era is the abundance of artefact spreads around the former house sites, in their middens and in the manured fields. These comprise sherds of common types of glazed domestic pottery, earthenware, and clay tobacco pipes, dating from the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries. The haphazard way of finding these was to follow molehills meandering across the pastures. The moles render up anything in their way below the unploughed surface, including pottery, glass and clay pipe stems and bowls. A collection of these finds, archived in 1050 small plastic bags with their date of finding and provenance, formed the basis of the exhibition *Small Finds* (2007) and was almost doubled over the following years to be reconfigured as part of the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Ceramics

Tactile contact with the earth itself was both a metaphor for physical engagement and a sensory imperative, the most direct means of expressing connectivity in artforms. As a reciprocal response to the finding of objects from the earth, small amounts of boulder clay were dug from various deposits in marshy areas and quarries, and used to make *Pots of Clay* (2007–10), as well as *Elements* (2008), *Tile Maps*, *Signs of Life*, and *Insights* (all 2009). *Potscapes* (2009) presented photographs of some of the miniature pots in the landscape from which the clay was derived.

Outcomes

The contribution to the history of buildings in Bruthwaite Forest includes the location and photography of extant and ruined structures which have been significant in the lives of past inhabitants. I have tentatively identified and located several medieval shielings, documented all the sheepfolds, and re-placed some 'lost' place-names, thus bringing back into current memory names and places which were once common knowledge to those who lived here. The photographic and ceramic artworks combine in various ways to form exhibition installations which present a subjective response to and interpretation of a specific landscape, and act as a stimulus to reflection on the human place within the natural world.

Summary of contents

2 Contextual survey sets out the theoretical basis of the study, and the literary and archive sources consulted. It explores the practice of walking as an essential source of integration and understanding, and the themes of freedom and belonging, the place of humans in nature, and the sensory experience that stimulates the artistic process. The relevance of topographical place-names to the deciphering of landscape history is discussed, as is a selection of the documentary and cartographic resource. The inevitability of entropy is approached in terms of the transience of all material things, and the function of cultural memory is seen as a meeting place of art and archaeology.

3 The art of fieldwork describes how, with a growing understanding of the geological and human history of the forest, the activities and processes evolved to create the imaginative space that enabled the artworks.

4 Bruthwaite Forest places the study in its geological and topographical context, relating the climate, landuse, fauna and flora to the experience of living in the forest.

5 Placing names examines the local place-names and demonstrates their value as the primary source of information about the medieval topography and history of the forest.

6 Shielings and sheepfolds tentatively identifies five shieling sites, and locates the eleven extant sheepfolds in or close to the forest.

7 A landscape transformed relates the post-medieval history of the forest, as the exploitation of coal mines and quarries and consequent development of railways reshaped the landscape, leaving major earthworks that directly affect current landuse.

8 In conclusion assesses the artwork in terms of the intention expressed in the research questions.

Appendix A lists and describes all the artworks, 2006 to 2010.

Appendix B lists and describes the three exhibitions, *Small Finds* (2007), *Here Today* (2008) and *Experiencing Place* (2010).

Appendix C lists and illustrates the species found during the 2006 survey of the flora of Coalfell Pasture.

Pots in Experiencing Place exhibition, Stagsike, September 2010

2 CONTEXTUAL SURVEY

My work really is just about being a human being and living on this planet, using nature as its source.
(Richard Long, in Tufnell 2007, 63)

Freedom and belonging

Walking in this territory on my doorstep, roughly five kilometres in diameter and containing some 4000 acres of fell, moor and grasslands, has prompted extensive grazing across the broad pastures of the humanities, following the diverse lines of enquiry arising from the fieldwork. Much of the historical groundwork had already been laid in many years of landscape studies of various upland areas in Cumbria. It is a humbling reminder of the way in which ideas flow through our culture that on re-reading texts, such as Malcolm Andrews' *Landscape and Western Art* (1999), thoughts that I considered my own leap from the page. These cultural encounters find their way into the artworks, fusing ideas and materials into a visual rendition of profound involvement in a particular landscape.

Time and emotion, wood in water, Carrock Beck, 1999

This brief survey of the intellectual context sets out to situate such received knowledge in an individual perspective, charting a meandering path through the jungle of influences that has shaped my thinking and so my artwork. Even intuition comes preloaded with genetic and cultural information, and the authenticity of the work I make is actually affirmed by the acknowledgement that it is of its time, a consequence of the epoch and the society I live in. Nonetheless, creativity is still a matter of personal freedom and integrity for, as Charlie Parker once said, "music is your own experience, your thoughts, your wisdom. If you don't live it, it won't come out of your horn. They teach you there's a boundary line to music. But, man, there's no boundary line to art" (Shapiro and Hentoff 1992, 405). Art may not need to be outrageous but it does need to be unconstrained, free to step off the path and to transgress academic and geographical boundaries to make something new that reflects the place and circumstances that inspired it. In such a context, Lucy Lippard contends that "artists… can expose the social agendas that have formed the land, bring out multiple readings of places that mean different things to different people at different times… The dialectic between place and change can provide the kind of no-one's-land where artists thrive" (Lippard 1997, 19).

A profound sense of being a part of the world underlies notions of territoriality, predating their dominion over our interaction with place. Much of rural France remained a peasant society until relatively recently, and the sense of belonging to a *pays*, of boundaries not connected with ownership, is evoked by Graham Robb in his description of "the tangible, ancestral region that people thought of as their home. A *pays* was the area in which everything was familiar: the sound of the human voice, the orchestra of birds and insects, the choreography of winds and the mysterious configurations of trees, rocks and magic wells". He writes of the "aural domain" of a community, a territory defined by the radius of soundwaves (Robb 2007, 28, 30). This close configuration was by no means a sure recipe for human contentment, but those who lived within the familiar would internalise the *pays* and carry it with them all their lives. This was true of Thomas Bewick, whose genius was to tell a whole true story in a three-inch woodcut. His *pays* was the Tyne valley in Northumberland, and "all his life he walked the banks of the river and he knew it in all its moods… The great river flowed through his art…" (Uglow 2006, 402-3). Edmund Blunden grasped the essence of Bewick's humanity that did not set him apart from nature, in "a world in which the dog, the plover, the farmer's wife, the tramp, the old pollard are all personalities to be watched and interpreted without bias in favour of the human species" (Blunden 1929, 23).

The howling wilderness

As the people of industrialised countries were drawn into towns, the loss of this quality of belonging provoked "a growing concern to preserve uncultivated nature as an indispensable spiritual resource", and "a feeling that wilderness, by its very contrast with cultivation, was necessary to give meaning and definition to the human enterprise; a preoccupation with the freedom of open spaces as a symbol of human freedom" (Thomas 1983, 267-8). This concern took on the romantic tinge excoriated by LH Matthews in *Mammals in the British Isles*:

Ice contours, Hainingburn, February 2010

> We should not forget that since neolithic times man has been struggling to improve and adapt his environment to suit his needs, and has succeeded in turning the howling wilderness into a land flowing with milk and honey over much of the earth's surface, bringing civilization in place of savagery. The romantic delusions of people cradled in all modern amenities that the wilderness is a place where everything is beautiful and unspoiled would soon be dispelled if they had to fend for themselves in the majestic cathedral of a tropical forest, or among the glittering ice pinnacles of the polar regions. All wild environments are hostile to man, and his success in taming and modifying them distinguishes his humanity from the ways of the brutes.
> (Matthews 1982, 182)

This curiously dated attitude is a reminder of the anthropocentric scenario of conquest and exploitation that assumed the superiority of so-called civilization over savagery, and man over the "brutes". Man's success at taming and modifying such wild environments is now seen to be endangering the earth's biosystems. Lippard describes the origins of art in nature as "the perception of relationships between humans and the natural world" (Lippard 1983, 41), yet the gulf created by dualistic thought led to a situation where "for the last five hundred years western landscape art has been like a barometer of anxieties over the balance of power between nature and culture" (Andrews 1999, 223). Plato is held responsible for rationalising the distinction between the body, which is material and exists in time and space, and the soul, which roams at large in the realm of ideas and abstract realities. The Cartesian dualist perspective reinforced this separation, not just between mind and matter, but by extension between humans and their environment, and so encouraged the notion of superiority, of one species or race over another, justifying much cruelty and oppression. This was challenged, from Hegel onwards, by philosophical inquiry into the nature of consciousness, developing radically different, non-hierarchical and unifying thought that eventually contributed to the redundancy of the idea of human supremacy. Almost everything we do 'against nature' is eventually reclaimed 'by nature', so that we may claim to be participants in but not rulers of natural processes – a statement that itself assumes difference. It requires a conscious effort to abandon the ingrained idea of the nature / culture dichotomy, but having done so we are left with no pretext for the wilful exploitation of resources and animals since, if we are part of nature, we are damaging ourselves through such destructive behaviour. Only through observation of surviving primal cultures can we begin to imagine a time when the connection with the landscape was direct and inevitable, when the demands of hunger and shelter were met through acute sensory perception and foraging. Mark Edmonds, who like most of us seems unable to shed the vestiges of an idealised view of the distant past, claims, in

Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic, that "people's understandings of the land hung upon places and pathways, upon concepts of seasonal tenure and ancestry. The shifting mosaic of grass, woodland, scrub and cultivated earth grew out of the actions and the histories of people. It lent an order to their experience and understanding of the world around them" (Edmonds 1999, 36). The many centuries of argument citing intellect, language, religion or the use of tools as the qualities that set man apart from animals, providing a handy justification for their ill-treatment or domestication, are chronicled by Keith Thomas in *Man and the Natural World*. The gradual change in attitudes meant that "by the later seventeenth century the anthropocentric tradition itself was being eroded. The explicit acceptance of the view that the world does not exist for man alone can be fairly regarded as one of the great revolutions in modern Western thought" (Thomas 1983, 166).

Charles Darwin's biographer, Janet Browne, in a Stanford University online lecture, said that "his sympathy for the natural world also helped him to think of animals and plants as part of this web of relationships… he could think of animals as actors in the same world as himself". A principal theme of *On the Origin of Species* is that "all organisms come to be through entirely natural processes". As Browne put it, "he invited his readers to utterly reconceptualise their ideas about the world and our human place in it" (www.stanford.edu). Darwin proposed that humans are completely natural creatures, and changed the way we thought about ourselves. The change is by no means yet complete, however, and our lingering, atavistic acceptance of the nature / culture dichotomy still needs to be challenged, not to posit a truth, but in response to the need for us to rethink our relationship with a planet in distress. Many artists of the landscape have recognised this challenge presented by the "sharpened sense of human alienation from the natural world" and "a sharpened environmentalist sense of the fragility of that ecosystem. These anxieties burden the artist in his or her negotiation of that dialectic between civilisation and the wild, technological progress and the natural world, the gallery and the landscape" (Andrews 1999, 213).

A sensory cornucopia

> The idea of the senses as being gateways of the soul, of being the portals through which perception goes in and out of the body, is very dear to me because it suggests a kind of osmotic, breathing relationship with the phenomena of light and of space of which we are a part. It suggests immersion; immersion within rather than vision which suggests simply distance… What's wonderful about the sense of sound or the sense of hearing or the sense of smell is that we are within it and it is within us. It's not about distance, it is about immersion. I am interested in the senses because they are the channels through which we are immersed in being rather than distanced in knowledge.
> (Gormley 1994, 81)

In his poem *De Rerum Natura* Lucretius argued that all our knowledge comes from the senses, recognising that the information we absorb through our fingertips is as valid as what we see or hear, and that we are physically part of the changing world. His translator paraphrases Lucretius' understanding as "nothing we know, therefore, can come from nothingness, or depart into nothingness. Everything must therefore be made of permanent elements which combine and re-combine in the objects we perceive" (Sisson 1976, 9). Robert Smithson understood this, saying "the manifestations of technology are… aggregates of elements. Even the most advanced tools and machines are made of the raw matter of the earth" (Flam 1996, 100-101). The whole issue of connectivity comes down to an engagement with this "raw matter" that digs deeper than the visual, and is necessarily reciprocal. Just looking

is never enough; the frustration of being on the outside looking in fuels my distaste for tourism, which seems designed to reinforce the alienation that is so destructive of the nature of humanity. As Yi-Fu Tuan puts it, "the person who just 'sees' is an onlooker, a sightseer, someone not otherwise involved with the scene. The world perceived through the eyes is more abstract than that known to us through the other senses. The eyes explore the visual field and abstract from it certain objects, points of focus, perspectives" (Tuan 1974, 10). In this abstract view of "a new-found environment it is not what people actually see as much as what they want to see or think they see that influences their reaction to the landscape" (Whyte 2002, 62). What did I want to see? First impressions, ten years ago, were mainly visual, but once the other senses came into play, and the distance receded, the perspective changed, and daily fieldwalking brought a deeper involvement with the place. Through the practice of walking and recording change I came to appreciate, with Lucretius, that all is "ceaseless motion", even though the eye cannot perceive the "hurtling particles of eternal matter" (Sisson 1976, 40); and that I am part of this flux, both acting and acted upon.

Photography, with its disturbing vocabulary of capturing and shooting, creates distance, and this intrusive mediation is intensified by the visual apprehension of a world of material things; if, indeed, "these objects are imagined primarily as objects of vision, then that world is imagined primarily as a spectacle" (Mulhall 1996, 39). Christl Berg examined the distancing and colonising effect of perspectival vision in her thesis *Tracings: A Photographic Investigation into Being in the Land* (2004), an extract from which is published in James Elkins' *Artists with PhDs* (2009). She situated her work in the field of "interpretations of the land, nature, and the environment that aims to communicate a participatory relationship", developing alternative strategies to conventional photography through "walking, observing, touching, collecting, recording, deciphering, and assembling" (Elkins 2009, 233, 231). Wary of seeing my world in the viewfinder, more often than not I leave the camera at home, but this "machine inherited from Cartesianism" (Fisher 2004, 80) is nonetheless at least as vital to my work as the trowel or the penknife, and the immediacy of digital photography is downright exciting. Long before I came across Berg's work, I listed my own strikingly similar strategies for engaging with the material environment as "walking, observing, collecting, sorting, preparing, making, finishing and assembling". In this continuum, the work responds to change in daily circumstance and surroundings, and the processes involve close contact with the land, physical and sculptural. David Nash, listing the materials one might collect in order to build an outdoor stove, pointed out that "the activity of gathering is a learning of place" (Nash 1996, 86). I use materials directly gathered from the research environment, primarily the native clay and found objects, to invest personal meaning in a work or to make a new meaning, conjuring up layers of events in the journey of the object.

The interventions of artists who step outside the frame to become integrated with the natural environment that inspires or sustains them express in some way their reciprocal communication with the landscapes they inhabit and the interconnectedness of the whole. Lotte Glob is a sculptor living by Loch Eriboll near Durness in Sutherland. In June 2008 I went to see her, curious to compare the common experience of being an artist of the land. Working with clay, and with rocks and minerals collected from the hills, she fires her ceramics in her outdoor wood-fuelled kilns, and carries some of the sculptures back up into the mountains between Eriboll and Torridon to place them, sometimes so thoughtfully that she cannot find them again. She also makes ceramic books and tiles which enclose her thoughts and feelings. Describing her practice, she says "I have consciously documented walks by direct alchemical process where the walk and the rocks collected during the walk are fused to gatherer into an eight inch square ceramic tile. This documentary device therefore is a transformed, lived experience", in contrast to "the formalised geometry of photography as used

by other artists who have recorded their walks and land based art" (lotteglob.co.uk, *Transformation*). Glob feels she is part of the landscape, and the photographic portrait of her (by Simon Butterworth) in her book, *Floating Stones* (2008), endorses this claim in her deeply lined and weathered face, evidence of forty years' walking in the mountains of northern Scotland. In a pure act of release, reminiscent of returning wolves to the wild, she launches glazed ceramic spheres, her 'floating stones', onto remote lochans where they drift and blow away at the whim of elemental forces that may abrade or smash them, or carry them downstream to the sea.

The processes inherent in all my work, from exploration and discovery, recording, firing and so on, are integral to the art or, to put it another way, the integrity of the artwork rests on the investment in it of thought, sensory and physical involvement over a long period of time. This is no radical position: Christo and Jeanne-Claude considered the twenty-five years of negotiation preceding the wrapping of the Reichstag in 1995 to be an integral part of their work (Renfrew 2003, 80), and likewise in the 1960s Sol LeWitt showcased idea and process, stating:

> If the artist carries through his idea and makes it into visible form, then all the steps in the process are of importance. The idea itself, even if not made visual is as much a work of art as any finished product. All intervening steps – scribbles, sketches, drawings, failed works, models, studies, thoughts, conversations – are of interest. Those that show the thought process of the artist are sometimes more interesting than the final product.
> (LeWitt 1967)

Perhaps affronted by LeWitt's dictum that "The idea becomes a machine that makes the art" (LeWitt 1967), Richard Long protested that "the premium placed by conceptual artists on ideas – to the extent that their actual realisation is secondary – is completely antithetical" (Moorhouse 2002, 13). Somewhere between these extremes, I regard all my work, from the initial spark or concept to setting up an exhibition or designing a book, as part of the creative continuum, snowballing towards its destination; but, unlike LeWitt or Antony Gormley, I find it vital to the integrity of the work that I make it all myself.

Solvitur ambulando

> Thinking is generally thought of as doing nothing in a production-oriented culture, and doing nothing is hard to do. It's best done by disguising it as doing something, and the something closest to doing nothing is walking.
> (Solnit 2002, 5)

In my research proposal (2006) I declared my intention of "transcribing subjective experience of place", which I approach by finding ways of mapping connectivity through fieldwork. Rebecca Solnit brings out the reciprocity of this relationship, saying "when you give yourself to places, they give you yourself back, the more one comes to know them, the more one seeds them with the invisible crop of memories and associations that will be waiting for you when you come back" (Solnit 2002, 13). Using my own experience as a paradigm for such encounters, I explore various ways of engaging and integrating with a familiar place. Walking daily means that my starting place is usually the pasture and moorland closest to home, and so becomes the most familiar; only occasionally do I reach the fell tops. A certain intimacy with the place develops through constant wandering and observing, exploring lost or relic boundaries, faint pathways and decaying buildings. This throws up a concentric pattern of the distance from home and the range of timespans. The early sense of freedom to roam through 360° around my house gave rise to *Centrifuge* (2001). Wandering over

Centrifuge, digital print, 2001

familiar territory in an unsystematic way, varying the route from home each day as small events occur, my meanderings are more often than not influenced by molehills, for these are the source of many small finds. Lippard recognised that "there is something revelatory about walking daily in a familiar place. Each view, each detail is constantly renewed by changing light, seasons, personal moods, becoming increasingly tangible, until that specificity doubles back into generality, then back and forth, with the rhythms of walking, day after day" (Lippard 1983, 125).

By walking and thinking, I come to know the place. The focus is determined by historical curiosity and the pleasure of finding things; by the ways in which I react to what is there, noticing the ephemeral and the enduring, and trusting my understanding from primary experience. The art is to elicit meaning by creating the space of ambiguity that allows the imagination to play, entering the state of reverie present in WG Sebald's writings that hover between fiction and fact, addressing time, coincidence, memory and forgetting. Walking was fundamental to his thinking, chance and random events his guide, since "as you walk along, you find things… it's a form of unsystematic searching" (Sebald, in Cuomo 2001). In an academic context, embracing the haphazard, the random or serendipitous may not be an obvious strategy, but in this I am vindicated by Sebald, whose own doctoral research was anything but systematic:

It was done in a random, haphazard fashion. The more I got on, the more I felt that, really, one can find something only in that way – in the same way in which, say, a dog runs through a field. If you look at a dog following the advice of his nose, he traverses a patch of land in a completely unplottable manner. And he invariably finds what he is looking for. I think that, as I've always had dogs, I've learned from them how to do this. So you then have a small amount of material and you accumulate things, and it grows, and one thing takes you to another, and you make something out of these haphazardly assembled materials. And, as they have been assembled in this random fashion, you have to strain your imagination in order to create a connection between the two things. If you look for things that are like the things that you have looked for before, then, obviously, they'll connect up. But they'll only connect up in an obvious sort of way, which actually isn't, in terms of writing something new, very productive. You have to take heterogeneous materials in order to get your mind to do something that it hasn't done before. That's how I thought about it. Then, of course, curiosity gets the better of you.
(Sebald, in Cuomo 2001)

Riff, December 2009

Not only do I follow the mysterious distribution of molehills but, like Sebald, I am guided, or interrupted, by my dog's nose and inclinations, a very effective means of disrupting linear thought. Our language and culture suffused with Cartesian dualism can impede primal experience of place, while Zen Buddhism perceives no separation or inherent conflict between mind and body, spiritual and material. In *The Way of Zen* (1962), Alan Watts' interpretation of Zen for Western sensibilities, we find the appealing notion that "it is only when there is no goal and no rush that the human senses are fully open to receive the world" (Watts 1962, 195), a way of thinking, or not thinking, for which I have a natural affinity, "travelling without point, with nowhere to go" (Watts 1962, 215-6). The Japanese poet Bashō, in *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and other Travel Sketches* (Nobuyuki 1966) illuminates the process by which the act of walking can sometimes generate an artwork which carries the evocative intensity of a haiku. It was Bashō who developed the haiku, described as "a pebble thrown into the pool of the listener's mind, evoking associations out of the richness of his own memory" (Watts 1962, 202). While *The Narrow Road* is not the way to fame or fortune, it at least avoids the bleak alternative identified by WH Davies in his poem, *Leisure*:

Greenside lambs, April 2007

Howgill donkeys, February 2010

What is this life if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare.
No time to stand beneath the boughs
And stare as long as sheep or cows…
(Davies 1916, 18)

Tindale ponies, February 2007

Robert Louis Stevenson, in his essay *An Apology for Idlers*, goes so far as to claim that "extreme busyness… is a symptom of deficient vitality; and a faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity" (Stevenson 1946, 71).

Richard Long has made works in Japan and his statements show the influence of Zen, though with a robust individualist scepticism which I share. He makes journeys through his own reality, leaving only a light impression of his thoughts or footsteps, and his work has been described as "a portrait of himself in the world, his personal journey through it and the materials that he finds along the way" (Daniel-McElroy 2002, 6). The connection between Long's work and my own lies in the act of walking, affinity with the landscapes encountered, and the realisation of subjective responses to those landscapes. He describes this as "a meeting place of the natural world and natural materials and my human sensibility at the place I happen to be" (Tufnell 2007, 69). The temporality inherent in Long's sustained walks, where distance is often measured in time, is echoed in my daily short walks, during which surface finds are recorded with the date of my discovery. I find common ground in his involvement with "ideas as varied as place and geography, mapping, the importance of water, the properties of different kinds of rocks, the role of paths as social networks, ways of measuring time", and with his statement that "My art is the essence of my experience, not a representation of it" (Tufnell 2007, 9, 25).

Solnit's history of walking, *Wanderlust* (2002), covers the ground from Wordsworth's *Prelude*, "a single long walk that… never altogether stops" to Parisian *flâneurs* and the Situationist *dérive* (Solnit 2002, 106, 212). Guy Debord's *Theory of the dérive* defined what he conceived of as an exclusively urban pursuit, and he even thought that "wandering in the open country is naturally depressing", because "the interventions of chance are poorer there". He allies chance to the manmade environments of industrialised cities where, as he quotes Karl Marx, "men can see nothing around them that is not their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive" (Knabb (trans) 1981, 51). Yet the idea of the *dérive* can be adapted to rural places, where the landscape is more literally alive with the interplay of elemental forces. Fifty years on, the *dérive* may seem over-prescriptive in its campaign to disrupt complacency by introducing chance into daily routine, but it is still a potent experimental countermove to the alienation of everyday life, a provocation to resist constraint and become receptive to the changing environment.

Early on the Situationists ejected the visual arts from their repertoire, on the basis that they served the purposes of the spectacle by separating art and life, thus degrading authentic experience. This position was later summarised in Sadie Plant's study, *The Most Radical Gesture*, as "Only by the suppression of art as a category in its own right could the realisation and integration of the artistic and poetic into everyday experience for which Dada and surrealism had longed be achieved" (Plant 1992, 56). It was perhaps in response to this critique that some artists adopted new tactics that were less prone to being commodified. Whereas the subversive gesture of graffiti has now been disarmed by commerce, it is less easy to exploit the art in an idea, or the activity of walking. Considering walking as art, Solnit sees "the rich potential relations between thinking and the body, the way one person's act can be an invitation to another's imagination; the way every gesture can be imagined as a brief and invisible sculpture; the way walking reshapes the world by mapping it, treading paths into it, encountering it; the way each act reflects and reinvents the culture in which it takes place" (Solnit 2002, 276). It is in this sense that Hamish Fulton's work is contingent on the walk; in fact he takes the view that "a walk has a life of its own and does not need to be materialised into an artwork" (www.hamish-fulton.com/hamish_fulton_v01.htm). To reach his audience he nonetheless finds it necessary to meet them half-way, transmitting his experience of encounters with various landscapes in exhibitions such as *walking journey* at Tate Britain (2002), in which he juxtaposed photographs with texts in large vinyl lettering directly placed on the gallery walls.

My footprints in the sand, Mallacoota, Australia, April 1997

Walking was transformed in the twentieth century from the normal means of travel for most people to a minority leisure pursuit that increasingly requires specialist equipment. Both Fulton and Long in a sense reinvent the art of walking in their practice, perhaps in response to the redundancy of walking as a necessity. Despite this stance, art has never entirely wandered out of the gallery, and their walks, to some extent governed by invitation or commission, are far more purposeful than mine, and characteristically linear – even a circular walk on a defined route is linear – partly, perhaps, for want of a dog.

Topographical place-names

> You can tell from many of my works, especially the text works, that place names play a really important part. I think the way places are named affects the way we know places. It's like language, how we talk about things is part of our understanding of the world. (Richard Long, in Tufnell 2007, 101).

Words, November 2008

Depending on the visual or physical context, words have the power of evocation, through their meaning, of course, but also by the more subliminal route of sound and association. In my work, I take the ordinary place-names of the research area and treat them as a lexicon of human experience of that environment. The names travelling from past to present are held to the land, and clay is the land. Using clay from the research area to make small bricks and tiles and imprinting them with the words that describe the place, I perform a synthesis of the material of the earth and the names given to that place. The clay is a constant feature yet in constant erosion, while the names, though anchored in place, may drift or change their meaning, or even be lost from history unless they are conveyed orally through generations of inhabitants. Smithson conjured an analogy between language and geology, saying that "words and rocks contain a language that follows a syntax of splits and ruptures. Look at any word long enough and you will see it open up into a series of faults, into a terrain of particles each containing its own void" (Flam 1996, 107). That of course is a quirk of the human brain, whereby perception of anything can become fragmented and distorted as shapes and meanings break down under intense concentration. Then it is time to go for a walk, and follow the alternative meaning of molehills.

Words and phrases, together with found objects, have been written or collaged into artworks, most notably by Gauguin, Picasso, Braque and the Surrealists. More recently, Bruce Naumann and Ian Hamilton Finlay have tested the ability of words to hold a feeling or transmit a sensation, inscribing stones or making maps to connect thoughts and places. Henry David Thoreau, in his essay *Walking* (first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1862), expressed the intrinsic difficulties:

> He would be a poet who could impress the winds and streams into his service, to speak for him; who nailed words to their primitive senses, as farmers drive down stakes in the spring, which the frost has heaved; who derived his words as often as he used them – transplanted them to his page with earth adhering to their roots; whose words were so true and fresh and natural that they would appear to expand like the buds at the approach of spring, though they lay half smothered between two musty leaves in a library… (Thoreau 2007, 33-4)

Language – names, labels, descriptions – mediates between intellect and experience, to the extent, Christopher Tilley claims, that "our experience of the world is always preformed by language so that language becomes indelibly part of our being in the world, a point where 'I' and the world meet". He concludes from this that "all understanding is therefore linguistic", but this ignores the gamut of direct sensory experience that bypasses language. It is nonetheless true that to convey sensory experience to others – or to write a thesis – "language is not a tool or resource that we use but a medium through which we must work" (Tilley 1991, 116).

It is axiomatic that we all observe and experience a place in different ways, but some common ground must be found in our terms of reference for places, or we would be constantly explaining, describing, repeating… names are so convenient. Referring to a place that has a name can be brief and straightforward, but if there is no known name, a lengthy description may be needed to locate it in relation to nearby named places. Magnus Olsen defined a place-name as "a word, or word-complex, that within one particular community… instantly evokes the idea of one particular place through an association by contiguity" (Olsen 1928, 5). It is no simple task to invent such a name, as the incoherence of my findspot labels written in the field often illustrates.

Naming places is as much a beginning of ownership, in the sense of more or less exclusive occupation, as it is a necessity of verbal communication. Set against the topography, the challenge here is to link the familiarity of observation expressed in the place-names, attributed in many cases by pre-Conquest inhabitants, to the knowledge I now have of the place. Place-names tend to mutate, migrate or disappear, but those that survive enable one to see features of the landscape through the eyes of the people who lived here when these names first entered the written record. They described places so aptly that the names are just as vivid and relevant today, and sometimes combine with discoveries on the ground to reveal hitherto unrecorded sites. My purpose in this part of the study is to attempt to relate the topographical place-names of Bruthwaite Forest to the landscape they describe.

I approached the analysis of these place-names with some caution, well aware of the false etymologies and connections imagined by people blundering naïvely into linguistic territory, and with much reference to acknowledged authorities. Ekwall's classic *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* (1960) has only recently been challenged by Victor Watts' *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names* (2004), while the multi-volume *Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (Parsons and Styles 2000, Parsons 2004) has so far only reached the letter C. The standard work on the *Place-names of Cumberland* (Armstrong et al 1950-2) is beginning to show its age in its comparative lack of topographical context, but there is refreshing new work on adjacent areas in Diana Whaley's *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names* (2006), and Stan Beckensall's *Place names and field names of Northumberland* (2006). Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898) is unsurpassed, and I have also taken into account the recent work of Andrew Breeze and Richard Coates in *Celtic Voices English Places* (2000).

Ekwall observed that in the parts of Cumbria away from the coast and the Eden Valley, place-names were almost entirely Norse, and that this must have been the main or only language used, especially in the more remote areas. He was quite dismissive of topographical place-names, declaring that they "mostly denote minor places of comparatively late origin" and "are of minor importance on the whole". He even claimed that "at this period names arose spontaneously and were not given deliberately… they would be given by neighbours rather than by the inhabitants of the places themselves" (Ekwall 1936, 158, 138-9). But surely topographical names such as 'Clowsgill' were given deliberately, not describing a neighbouring settlement but their own environment in direct terms of what they saw, perhaps soon after arriving in the area, while considering routeways or settlement sites. These supposedly inferior names are, it turns out, nearly all we have when it comes to understanding the medieval era in Bruthwaite Forest.

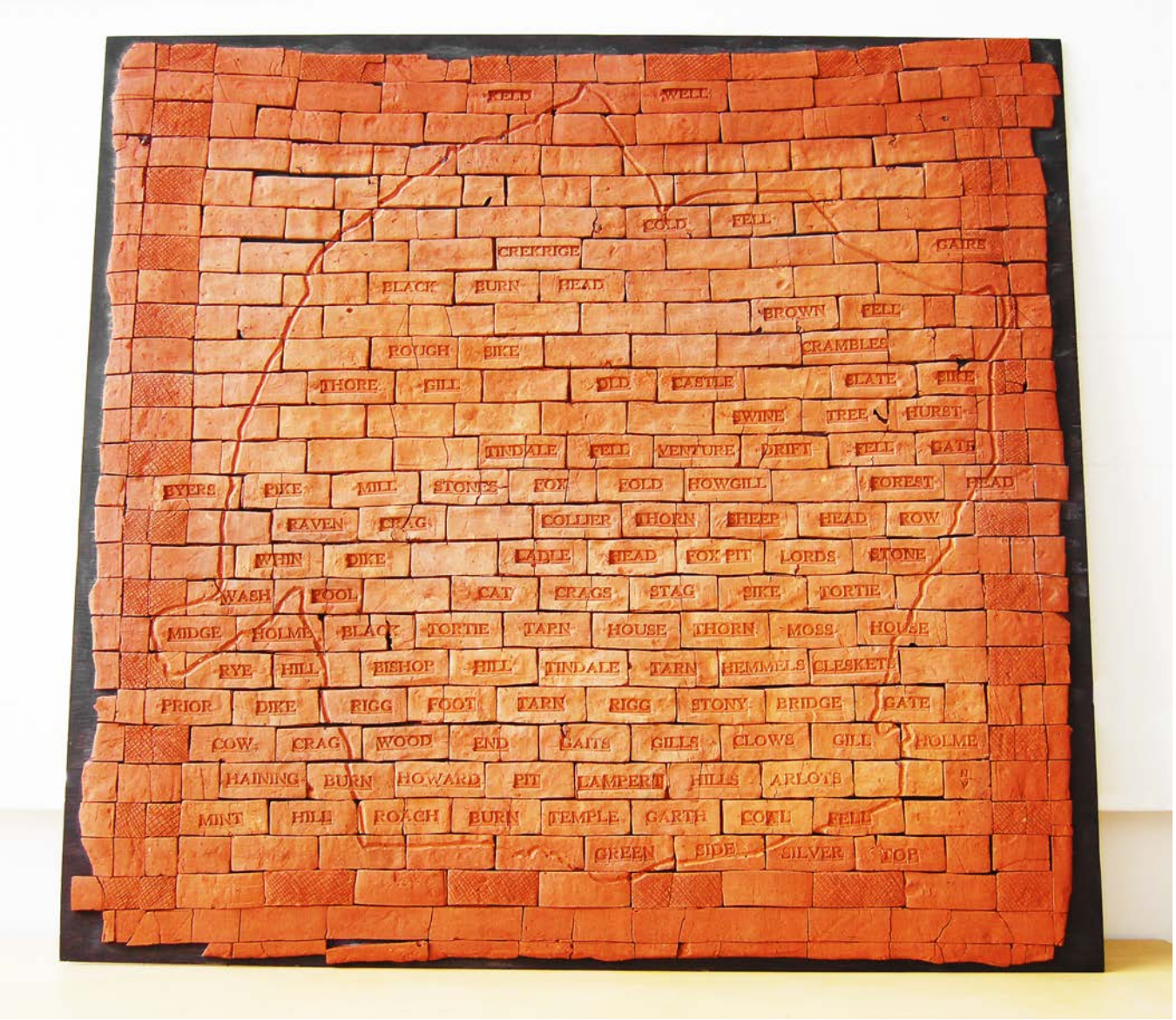
For my purposes, however, the most stimulating author was Margaret Gelling, whose writings on place-names in the landscape (1984, 1988, 1998) opened up the whole subject of topographical place-names, retrieving them from the lesser, uninteresting category to which they had been assigned. Half a century after Ekwall, Gelling asserted that "topography should be studied on the

ground", and exhorted readers to do their own fieldwork to test and refine her suggestions. She encouraged the contribution of people with intimate knowledge of their local landscape, asserting that "visual appreciation of all but the most dramatic landscape features depends on, or at least improves with, familiarity; and the finer points of topography may require to be experienced in day-to-day living" (Gelling 1984, 8).

The questions we ask about place-names have in the past tended to be demographic: who lived where, and when. More recently Gelling collaborated with Ann Cole in *The Landscape of Place-names* (2000) to show the value of topographical names when placed in the context of the landscape they describe, using line drawings to bring out minor variations, such as the angle of a slope. This method illustrates the precision with which names were devised, having regard to the more subtle detail of landforms. Where no maps or visual or written descriptions survive, and we only have the place-names to hint at the thoughts of ordinary people, those names have a greater value than if the years before, say, the twelfth century were abundantly documented. The necessarily speculative nature of place-name study, given the dearth of medieval documentary evidence, confers a cautious freedom to interpret the words themselves in terms of the landscape they describe. The aptness of the description, after a thousand years or so have elapsed, can tell us a great deal about change, but also about the features which have remained constant, withstanding the mining and quarrying in recent centuries that have riddled the fells with cavities and tunnels and recast the contours with spoil heaps.

Naming is a continuous process, with greater intensity at times of expansion onto fellside land, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Whaley 2006, xxv) before the Black Death and border raiding caused a corresponding shrinkage from the margins. Names are still being attributed, as older ones are forgotten or become irrelevant, but recent names tend to show less consideration of and connection with the territory they describe. As John Field said, "the users of a name must have given some thought to its appropriateness; otherwise… they would not have gone on using it, in its developing forms, for several hundred years", but he wonders "to what extent do users of a name either understand its literal meaning or pay conscious attention to its significance?" (Field 1993, 2). The name 'Howgill' may now resonate merely as a postal address for a row of cottages, even though life in those cottages is forever conditioned by their location at the foot of the deep ravine once called *holh gil*.

Field-names can be more fickle than settlement names, changing from one generation to the next, and often describe the field's shape, the soil quality, or the conditions underfoot. Modern house names can be wildly inappropriate, like North American settlement names which typically refer to the place left behind rather than the place the settlers founded. But the old names, as Gelling says, "are never 'trivial'... the choice of word to describe the settlement site is as serious as any statement which our forefathers have bequeathed to us" (1984, 6). There is a stark beauty in the names themselves, and an aptness, a certain *gravitas*, about these Brittonic, Anglo-Saxon and Norse words that throws some light on the character of the people who invented them, and the extensive topographic vocabulary they had to draw from. It is as if they felt responsible for the names; for once a name is given, that is how the place is understood, until the sense of the name is lost through linguistic changes, and it becomes just a familiar label, a reference point. Nonetheless, we would be adrift, lost in the landscape without the mental map of names that we all carry. I made *Tile Maps* (2009) by embedding the names of Bruthwaite Forest in the clay of that place, symbolically making the names an integral part of the place, and so prolonging their memory in visual and tactile form.



Tile map 1: Place-names of Bruthwaite Forest, September 2009

When a name or a boundary needed to be remembered, it had to be held in people's minds, a relic passed with diminishing accuracy and understanding from one generation to the next. Ownership was a stimulus to memory: asserting one's rights, confirming boundaries, resisting incursions became important as the pressure on land increased with a growing settled population, and aspirations towards a more comfortable lifestyle. When land acquired monetary value, rather than being assessed for the value of its produce, then cadastral maps proving the boundaries and naming the land divisions became essential.

How and whether the names of the past come down to us, distorted by usage, is fortuitous. They arrive in a jumble of eras and origins, from Brittonic or Welsh to Old English and Old Norse, and a mingling of Middle English and modern north Cumbrian or Northumbrian dialect (Armstrong et al 1950). It is an ongoing process of renewal, recognised as "the continuing creativity of naming… for many of these names tell their own stories, reflecting recent history or man's interaction with nature" (Whaley 2006, xi). The role of maps in cementing names to places is paramount, yet these austere authorities may be contested by local people with an alternative vocabulary for their surroundings. Using the authorities mentioned above, and the maps listed below, in conjunction with inquisitive fieldwork, I have found likely homes for some of the 'lost' names of Bruthwaite Forest. Memory can falter, and some names have been discarded along the way. The place may be renamed following a demographic shift, or the name might be completely lost. Wrestling with all these possibilities, the authors of the *Place-Names of Cumberland* pointed out somewhat testily that "place-names no longer current are marked as '(lost)'. This does not necessarily mean that the site to which the name was once applied is unknown. We are dealing primarily with names, and the names are lost" (Armstrong et al 1952, lxi).

Only a fraction of all the names that have existed survive long enough to be recorded, and only an arbitrary selection of those is to be found on Ordnance Survey maps, which compound the lacuna by ignoring field-names. Olsen cited a 1921 study of two small settlements totalling 250 inhabitants in Sunnfjord (Norway), in which 2300 place-names were recorded, nearly 300 for each of the farms. Extrapolating from this figure he came to a very conservative estimate of some five million Norwegian place-names existing at least until the mid nineteenth century (Olsen 1928, 3). The names of Bruthwaite Forest are a thin scatter, a mere vestige, compared with these staggering figures.

Northern history

> … the past is nothing but a present memory, a shadow, a trace…
> (Watts 1972, 140)

Some knowledge of the geology and climate is essential for an understanding of the conditions of life in the North Pennines. The *Northern England* volume of the *British Regional Geology* (Taylor et al 1971) and the *North Sheet* of the *British Geological Survey Ten Mile Map* (1:625,000, 3rd Edition (Solid), 1979) provide an overview, but the most detailed observation of the local geology, including the coal seams and mines, is still Trotter and Hollingworth's work for the *Geological Survey of Great Britain* (Sheet 18, Brampton, Drift Edition, 1:50,000 survey, 1930) and the accompanying volume, *Geology of the Brampton District* (1932). From 1937 to 1941 Gordon Manley maintained a meteorological station on Great Dun Fell in the Pennines to the south of Bruthwaite Forest, and his *Climate and the British Scene* (1952) draws extensively on his local observations, with particular emphasis on snow and wind, as does his chapter on climate in Pearsall and Pennington's *The Lake District* (1973). Derek Ratcliffe's *Lakeland* (2002) is

complementary to the latter, but more specifically includes the North Pennines, from the perspective of a naturalist who grew up in Carlisle. Oliver Rackham's work has a southern bias, but his comprehensive *Woodlands* (2006) discusses forests and wood-pasture in great detail, and notably dismisses once and for all the false perception that forests necessarily contained trees (Rackham 2006, 24). RSPB wardens on the Geltsdale reserve have supplied me with much local information, and I have also had access to John Miles' manuscript *Greenside Estate Environmental Assessment* (1996), a very detailed ecological audit of five farms at the northern edge of the forest.

The natural philosophers of the eighteenth century "constructed a detached natural scene to be viewed and studied by the observer from the outside, as if by peering through a window, in the secure knowledge that the objects of contemplation inhabited a separate realm, offering no omens or signs, without human meaning or significance" (Thomas 1983, 89). This perspective, analogous to that of tourism, was recreated by Mark Dion in *systema metropolis* (Natural History Museum, London, 2007), in which one peered through the windows of site huts for a fragmentary view of the post-excavation categorising of finds and data analysis. The effect of this separation was to leave the viewer feeling utterly excluded, neither able to participate in the archaeological process, nor recognised as a living, breathing part of nature. When objective science overrules subjective experience, contact with nature is in jeopardy, and this exhibition also examines Linnaeus' botanical classification, in which the use of Latin constrains us to experience plants mediated through a foreign language. Latin names have their own beauty, but it is the vernacular that expresses human understanding of a plant: *Taraxacum officinale* has a very different resonance to 'dandelion', or indeed the reference to its diuretic properties in the French 'pissenlit'.

Awareness of the forest wildlife grows with observation through the seasons, and sightings of roe deer and brown hares, or barn owls and buzzards, are part of the daily connecting experience. The creature whose traces I follow most closely, however, is the mole which, paradoxically, is rarely seen alive, and so my understanding of mole behaviour is informed principally by Kenneth Mellanby's classic monograph, *The Mole* (1971). This woodland animal has adapted to the grasslands created by farmers (Mellanby 1971, 11-12), and so broadly represents the change since Neolithic times in the Bruthwaite Forest landscape from woodland to treeless fells, pasture and hay meadows. There is abundant evidence of prolific mole activity in the pastures around my house, and over the years molehills have mapped out for me such a meandering course that any observer must be baffled by this seemingly random human behaviour.

My interest has always been with marginal subsistence activities in the Cumbrian uplands, as evidenced in my earlier work, whether it be charcoal burning in the Furness Fells (1989), or sheepfolds and shielings in the Caldbeck Fells (1999). There is no evidence for charcoal production here, and most of the trees are in recent plantations, but I have documented eleven sheepfolds and five possible shielings. HG Ramm's inventory of shielings in north Cumbria, in *Shielings and Bastles* (1970), is the main source of descriptions and plans that provide comparative data useful for identifying possible shieling sites in the forest. The Anglian and Norse settlements in Cumbria are discussed in considerable detail in Nick Higham's *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (1986), while *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Baldwin and Whyte 1985) collects seminal papers by acknowledged experts on place-names (Fellows-Jensen), settlements (Higham) and shielings (Whyte).

Bruthwaite Forest is unusual in that it was retained so late as lordly demesne as to be almost an anomaly, only opening up to leasehold tenure of farms as the industrial era of coal mining and quarrying gathered momentum. Farmers and miners learnt to coexist in this landscape shaped by its particular history and my research, ironically, actually brings back to memory the territorial boundary of this medieval hunting forest that is quite irrelevant to people living here today. Connectivity and the experience of place are at odds with the routine exclusion of people from much of the land by people with vested interests. Marion Shoard, in *A Right to Roam* (1999), makes no bones about fingering those responsible for this state of affairs, pointing out that "our current landowners' right to exclude stems directly from the particular experience of the Norman Conquest. Effectively, a band of robber barons keen to seize space to pursue their passion for hunting and contemptuous of the claims of the indigenous population grabbed the land from the people" (Shoard 1999, 3).

The northern territories were no sinecure, however, and the long struggle for domination is clear in WE Kapelle's account, in *The Norman Conquest of the North* (1979), of the foundation of the Barony of Gilsland on the northern frontier, during the turbulent centuries after the Norse settlements. Documentary references occur sparsely in the eighteenth-century histories of Cumberland by Nicolson and Burn (1777) and Hutchinson (1794), but for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the principal source is John Todd's invaluable transcription and partial translation of the *Lanercost Cartulary* (Todd 1997). His introduction describes the local pastoral economy at this time of expansion into the lands that were to become Bruthwaite Forest, and the charters record all the grants of land to Lanercost Priory, providing, in their detailing of these lands and their boundaries, the first surviving records of local place-names.

The forest and its depleted resources resulting from Scots raiding are mentioned frequently in the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* of the successive Barons of Gilsland from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (HMSO 1898, 1908, 1912, 1988), where devastation is a constant theme in the descriptions of properties. George MacDonald Fraser's *The Steel Bonnets* (1971) conveys the sense of almost unremitting disruption and mayhem along the Borders in his chronicle of the centuries of border reiving, while Angus Winchester's many publications on the medieval landscape history and rural economy of Cumbria provide the backdrop to that era in Bruthwaite Forest.

Post-medieval history was characterised by industrial developments, and this has been the main interest for contemporary historians. Alan Harris's article on the Tindale Fell wagonways (1972), and two histories of the mineral railways which traversed the forest, Charters' *The Brampton Railway* (1971) and Webb and Gordon's *Lord Carlisle's Railways* (1978), describe the development of the transport system from the eighteenth century, in the context of detailed accounts of coalmining and quarrying.

Archives and maps

A decayed artefact can encapsulate within a single fragment the human endeavour and skill that created the whole. A building in terminal decay exposes its guts, revealing the intimacies of its making, as the entropic processes reduce it to its material components of wood, lime and stone. Conserved documents of paper, parchment or vellum still smell of the past, show the marks of wear and tear from folding, rolling or the repeated impress of an index finger on the significant area of a map. They depend for their survival on the skills of the archivist and conservator, for:

> the storehouses of memory, the central cortices of social formations of print and the written work, are ecologies where the materials of remembrance are living, dying, and being devoured. The continuation of written cultures depends upon managing the nature of old and stretched animals' skins, pulped and reshaped wood or rags, and chemical compounds on tapes or disks.
> (Ogborn 2004, 240)

There is considerable pleasure to be had in sleuthing an obscure trail through an archive deposit on the off-chance of a serendipitous discovery. Much landownership is rooted in the strategic planting of an élite in whose interest it was to maintain power and control over people in places that the ruler might otherwise not reach. Archives are therefore overwhelmingly legal documents, with the emphasis on title to property, and on "the fundamental connection that exists between language and power – the intimate bond between the act of naming and possession that means that language is always also about control" (Morley 2003, 93).

Falling Leaves, November 2008

The primary resource for the post-medieval history of the forest is the *Howard of Naworth Papers* deposit (HNP), held at the Palace Green Library of Durham University, which includes various surveys of the Barony of Gilsland. Maps appear at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the estate plans of manors in the Barony (HNP C713/1, 1A, 7, 12, 13), and an accompanying written survey, transcribed by THB Graham (1934). These plans of the forest area, although conserved, are fragmentary, and as Bruthwaite Forest was still demesne land the survey is more informative about the peripheral commons and farmland than about the forest itself. Subsequent maps of the whole Barony were produced in 1772 and 1829 (HNP C201/24).

Before the Ordnance Survey set new cartographic standards and conventions, estate maps were drawn as required, variable in scale, orientation and accuracy. A few hand-drawn and well-worn maps of this type survive, covering smaller areas within the forest, of which the most useful have been those of Tarnhouse Forest (HNP C170/61), Templegarth (HNP C167), Coalfell Farm (HNP C230), Forest Head (HNP C106), and the Tindale Spelter Works (HNP C134). Re-negotiated leases were the reason for the large-scale Naworth Colliery plans produced in 1838 and 1861 (HNP C133/2, C133/9), which locate every colliery cottage in the coalfield. I have transcribed leases to establish the building date for the farmstead at Coalfell and the relationship of this expanding settlement with the older farm at Templegarth (HNP C77/1, 9, 10, C129a/6).

The published *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle* (Ornsby 1878), covering the years 1612-1640, and *Naworth Estate and Household Accounts 1648-1660* (Hudleston 1958), transcribed from documents in the HNP archive, have been a goldmine for social and economic historians. For my purpose, they provide many snippets from the first half of the seventeenth century regarding the resources and management of the forest, the structural maintenance of the first two stone-built houses at Tarnhouse and Templegarth, and the early development of the Coalfell colliery.

Naworth colliery records are also found in solicitors' deposits (DX, D/Th, and D/MBS) at the Cumbria Record Office in Carlisle, where local wills, parish registers (DRC 6) and Quarter Sessions Rolls (Q/11/1) throw more light on individuals living in the forest. The Record Office has original copies of the one-inch maps of Cumberland made by Hodskinson and Donald (1802) and Greenwood (1821), together with Enclosure (Q/RE/1/79) and turnpike road (Q/RZ/2/20) maps, and a near complete series of the 1868 and 1901 editions of the Ordnance Survey 6" and 25" scale Cumberland sheets, as well as the 6" sheets for 1926 and 1946.

The RSPB have allowed me to use a number of documents in their possession, including draft versions of the *Archaeological Landscape Survey* (Jones 2003) and *Environmental Impact Assessment* commissioned in support of the 2003 proposal for tree-planting to create new woodland pasture in Bruthwaite Forest. From the same source also comes a late nineteenth century memoir by Henry Moses, whose family farmed at Tarnhouse for three generations until 1848 (Moses 1897).

Transience: change and chance

> … in whatever direction you travel from here,
> To left or right, upwards or downwards, or any way,
> There is no end to the universe…
> … the emptiness spreads out infinitely
> And elements in unlimited numbers float
> In many ways, driven in endless movement…
> (Lucretius, trans Sisson 1976, 72)

One of the first impressions thrown up by repeatedly walking over the same area is that of change, sometimes dramatic but more often tiny and apparently insignificant: the slow tumbling of a field wall as a consequence of freeze-thaw conditions, as opposed to the single event of a tree falling on it. A personal aesthetic of imperfection and impermanence embraces a long-term view of the inevitable decay of all materials and their eventual return to the fabric of the earth. The historical perspective attests to the transience of human lives, some more memorised than others, evidence that we are just passing through, subject to bodily decay and energy transfer just like any other life-form. Likewise the scars and scratches of human interaction with the land are gradually assimilated by vegetation cover, becoming an integral part of what we see and experience. Ian Whyte emphasises the ongoing effects of interventions in the distant past on landuse in the present, "so that landscapes are not simply passive creations of human activities, but dynamic, interactive elements in the development of societies" (Whyte 2002, 14).

Andy Goldsworthy said, of his first drystone wall (*The Wall*, 1988-9), "Originally I was going to take the stone from a quarry, but the waller said that normally they try to use old stone, so we found an old derelict wall and used that…" (Goldsworthy 1996, 13). In the same way, the wall that once enclosed Bruthwaite Forest is still represented in extant field walls, their periodic rebuilding restoring their memory, even when those involved in the rebuilding are unaware of why the wall was there in the first place. In the sense that my work is often concerned with recording gradual structural decay, or creating violent change by firing artefacts of local clay, it seems I share the focus of Long and Goldsworthy and other contemporary artists of the land, who apparently have "the need to remind us that nature is constant change" (Andrews 1999, 220).

Caitlin DeSilvey, in her article *Observed decay* (2006), discussed the prevailing assumption that "the erosion of physical integrity is associated with a parallel loss of cultural information", and asked whether the "entropic processes of decomposition and decay" can "contribute to the recovery of memory" on a different level. Dealing with "the entanglement of cultural and natural histories", DeSilvey sifted through the rotting detritus of an abandoned homestead, rubbish too far gone for preservation and too recent to appeal to archaeologists. She challenged the "value judgements that render materials into distinct categories of 'artefact' and 'waste'" by allowing the finding of mouldering mouse-eaten remains to permeate her imagination and make the cultural connections that tidied-up and conserved artefacts could not make. Decay had progressed to the point where the distinction between artefact and ecofact was unclear (DeSilvey 2006, 318-320, 323).

If one looks only at "the evidence of explicitly human activity – then the onset of decay and entropic intervention may look like destruction, an erasure of memory and history", and this highlights the problems encountered when we consider human existence and behaviour to be of a different, indeed superior order to that of animals and nature in general. Once she finds the disintegrating books shredded by nesting mice, DeSilvey gets to grips with entropy and starts to understand "the artefact as a process, rather than a stable entity with a durable physical form" (DeSilvey 2006, 323-4). The perfect paradigm is found in the kitchen drawers, where a layer of "mouse droppings, rubber shreds, wood splinters, paper, lint, wire, insect wings, plant stems, seeds, human hairs" overlaid an "amalgam of human skin, tiny fibres, crumbled deposits of mineral and animal origin". This was where "human artefacts blended imperceptibly into a mass of worldly matter", confirming that "the artefact is not a discrete entity but a material form bound into continual cycles of articulation and disarticulation" (DeSilvey 2006, 332, 335). Left to its own devices, the abandoned house would be entirely consumed by entropic processing, and human remains would be reintegrated with the whole.

Acceptance of inevitable material decay and absorption into the fabric of the earth confers a great freedom, since the desire for permanence and perfection leads only to sterility, an artificial stasis, and sometimes an excess of conservation. The aphorism attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus, around 500BC, "it is not possible to step twice into the same river" (Robinson 1987, 55), paraphrased as "everything flows", is broadly contemporary with the *I Ching*, the Chinese oracular book of change, as Hellmut Wilhelm notes in his commentary, *Change*, and is identical in meaning with Confucius' remark that "Like this river, everything is flowing on ceaselessly, day and night" (Wilhelm 1960, 13, 18), at a time when both Eastern and Western cultures were coming to understand the fundamental principle of change. The focus of Western thought about change was on causality, however, and "an incalculable amount of human effort is directed to combating and restricting the nuisance or danger represented by chance" (Jung 1949, in Wilhelm and Baynes 1968, xxii-xxiii). To the ancient Chinese, on the other hand,

> The matter of interest seems to be the configuration formed by chance events in the moment of observation, and not at all the hypothetical reasons that seemingly account for the coincidence. While the Western mind carefully sifts, weighs, selects, classifies, isolates, the Chinese picture of the moment encompasses everything down to the minutest nonsensical detail, because all of the ingredients make up the observed moment.
> (Jung 1949, in Wilhelm and Baynes 1968, xxiii)

The term 'synchronicity' was coined by Carl Jung to describe this "coincidence of events in space and time", involving the "objective events" and the "subjective… states of the observer" in a holistic principle of the moment. Synchronicity can occur when consultation

of the *I Ching* falls on a particular hexagram, "the exponent of the moment in which it was cast", that is, the hexagram as "an indicator of the essential situation prevailing in the moment of its origin" (Jung 1949, in Wilhelm and Baynes 1968, xxiv). This of course is the essence of the haiku and is, I think, analogous to what happens when a "coincidence of events" generates the germ of an artwork. It is the quality that invests the artwork with authenticity: the recognition of its making in the spirit of the moment, encapsulating the myriad incidentals and phenomena of that moment.

Fear of chance or resistance to change, and awareness of the perpetual state of flux can be distressing, as Sigmund Freud related in his essay *On Transience* (1916), which begins:

> Not long ago I went on a summer walk through a smiling countryside in the company of a taciturn friend and of a young but already famous poet. The poet admired the beauty of the scene around us but felt no joy in it. He was disturbed by the thought that all this beauty was fated to extinction, that it would vanish when winter came, like all human beauty and all the beauty and splendour that men have created or may create. All that he would otherwise have loved and admired seemed to him to be shorn of its worth by the transience which was its doom.
> (www.freuds-requiem.com/transience.html)

At the time he wrote this, Freud's own sons were away fighting in the first world war, yet it was the poet rather than Freud who found it hard to accept impermanence. Without decay and winter there could, of course, be no renewal. Plants would be exhausted if they were never dormant, while rotting plant material becomes humus to nourish the next generation. If all the buildings ever built survived there would barely be space for anything new, and this perception makes it possible to accept or even celebrate their demise. Many of the things I have photographed are no longer there, or have moved or disintegrated, silent currents of change. Lucretius concludes Book II of *De Rerum Natura* with a gloomy reflection on human exploitation of the natural resources that were once abundant:

And so it will be at last with the walls of the world
Which are falling into decay in a crumbling ruin….
Already the age is broken, the earth is effete
And can hardly produce small creatures, although it once
Produced all species, including huge wild beasts.
I do not think that the human race came down
On a golden chain from heaven to our low fields;
Nor that the sea invented rocks by lashing them:
But earth produced all these as now she feeds them.
And besides, shining harvests, happy vineyards,
Of her own motion she produced them all;
She gave delicious fruit and happy pastures.
Yet things now barely grow for all her effort;
We tire the oxen and wear the labourer out;
Ploughshares grow thin with scraping the mean fields
Which seem more niggardly the more we work them.
Already the old ploughman shakes his head
To see that all his work has come to nothing:
When he compares the present with the past
He may well praise the fortunes of his father.
He will go on about old times, recalling
How men lived easily on far less land
And plots of ground were smaller…
He does not understand that things grow worse,
That all things move to death, worn out by age.
(Lucretius, trans Sisson 1976, 74-5)

Death is not, of course, the end for natural phenomena, as Mark Dion's *Neukom Vivarium* project for the Seattle Art Museum (2006) demonstrated by putting decay and regeneration on display. A massive sixty-foot fallen hemlock, installed in a purpose-built greenhouse on what was previously a hazardous waste site, sustains, in death, colonies of "bacteria, fungi, lichen, plants and insects" in full view of visitors provided with magnifying glasses and microscopes (www.seattleartmuseum.org/Exhibit/exhibitDetail.asp?eventID=10202). There they could see that

> … the universe as a whole somehow goes on.
> This is because the particles which escape
> From one object attach themselves to another
> And so one thing will grow old and another flower.
> (Lucretius, trans Sisson 1976, 46)

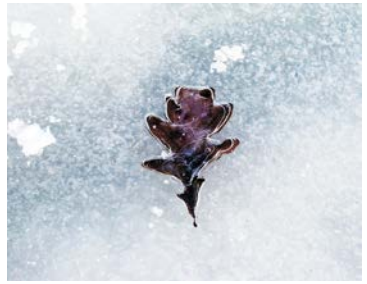
In an *Art:21 Ecology* film about the *Vivarium*, Dion interrogates our relationship with nature through the installation of complex systems needed to control light, heat and humidity. However sophisticated these may be, they can still only approximate to the forest ecosystem, emphasising "the difficulty of replicating what nature can do". The effect is deliberately equivocal, this spectacle of change serving to distance us even further from our part in nature, while throwing light on processes we would not otherwise see. The huge energy resource embodied in the creation of such an ambitious artificial environment could be said to negate any lingering notion of progress in human ability to control natural events and phenomena. Dion's mission is to showcase the paradox inherent in such heroic attempts, and it was doubtless with tongue embedded in cheek that he said of our current efforts to control climate change, that "If we pass the test we get to keep the planet" (video.pbs.org/video/1239798902).

Janet Browne referred to Darwin's rejection of the idea of progress, in which he maintained that there is "no necessary progression in evolutionary change" (www.stanford.edu), an assertion wholly incompatible with the Victorian spirit of scientific enquiry, imperial conquest and industry ever marching forward. If there is no advance towards a goal, then one might as well walk around the mountain, rather than aim for the top. As Wilhelm expressed it, "the notion of progress, which we have incorporated in the idea of cyclic movement by the image of the spiral, is alien to the ancient concept of change. The value judgment contained in our idea does not accord with an image made after nature". This "attempt to exalt the new at the expense of the old, the future at the expense of the past, was alien to Chinese thought" (Wilhelm 1960, 20).

Increasingly aware of what we have lost, we are now even more likely to fetishize the past, clinging to the ruins as the future spins out of human control. Smithson thought that "in the technological mind rust evokes a fear of disuse, inactivity, entropy, and ruin" (Flam 1996, 106), but fear depends on the perception of entropy as "everything becomes nothing" rather than "everything becomes something". A rusting piece of machinery, its origins in a lump of iron ore, is slowly returning iron to the earth, just as stones tumble from a redundant building to become earthbound once more. Some of the industrial sites in Bruthwaite Forest are scheduled and hence subject to legislative protection, yet on the ground there is a splendid lack of concern for these romantically crumbling structures. A derelict house or field wall is a useful stone quarry, the past manipulated and reinvented by the present, unhampered by the rigor mortis of heritage culture.

To observe change is one thing, to accept it quite another, and we are conditioned to resist or deny change, while knowing that we grow old and die. The human urge to control everything that lives sidesteps this inevitability with the notion of continuity, the intellectual legacy that fills our libraries and museums. Accepting and understanding change can be a celebration of the relinquishing of control, and extends to the processing of sculptural materials. Clay, for instance, when fired undergoes profound change under intense heat, and the metamorphosis is not entirely predictable, however sophisticated the programming of the kiln.

The *European Landscape Convention* accepts that "the aim is not the preservation or 'freezing' of the landscape at a particular point in its lengthy evolution", a policy which in any case could only fail. It agrees that "landscapes have always changed and will continue to change, both through natural processes and through human action" (conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Reports/Html/176.htm), a statement which raises the question whether human behaviour is indeed unnatural, and demonstrates that the nature / culture dichotomy is still in the mainstream of current thinking.



Oakleaf in ice, Coalfell Meadow, February 2009

Finding memory: art and archaeology

> No matter how far culture will go to destroy its connections to nature, humankind and all of our technology, good and bad, are inextricable parts of Nature – the original determinant, the mother and matrix of everything, that all-pervasive structure that lies beneath scenery, landscape, place, and human history.
> (Lippard 1997, 11)

Tilley has explored the archaeologist's approach to the question of perceiving reality and the subjective response. In *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) he proposed an imaginative analysis of "the manner in which people experience and understand the world" (Tilley 1994, 11), setting an agenda for the historical aspect to my own wanderings in time and space:

> If places are read and experienced in relation to others and through serial movement along the axes of paths it follows that an art of understanding of place, movement and landscape must fundamentally be a narrative understanding involving a presencing of previous experiences in present contexts.
> (Tilley 1994, 31)

Cairns, burial mounds, henges and the like can be considered as repositories of memory, held as stories relayed on periodic visits to their sites to perform ceremonies of some sort (Edmonds 1999, 36). Within Bruthwaite Forest there are two known inscribed stones (Frodsham 1989) to act as reminders of prehistoric knowledge of this area, and they are perhaps more likely to be waymarkers or foci than burial or ceremonial sites. There are also many linear boundaries, dikes and enclosures in the forest, of indeterminate age, which collectively speak of fairly intensive and changing landuse, as memory becomes etched into the land itself. Most of the history of the place is lost, but some is inscribed on the ground in earthworks, and what survives may be passed on through stories and multiple interpretations, filtered according to the changing values and perspectives of each generation. As Tilley puts it, "Whatever we remember, and the manner in which we remember, we get a different past, a different sense of place, and a different landscape every time" (Tilley 2006, 28). The storyteller, to hold the audience's attention, condenses and recasts past events to an essence

of meaning for the present. Thus it is not what actually happened that is significant, but its relevance to our current situation. The "'know-how' handed down by word of mouth and condensed in the figure of the storyteller… was the foundation upon which community traditionally built continuity, and whose transmissibility guaranteed individual agency" (Fisher 2004, 79). For memory to work in a preliterate society, there needs to be an overlap of generations, enough years for knowledge to be passed down. In times of total disruption, such as the fourteenth century, the forest may have lost all its people, agriculture faltered, and much knowledge will have fallen by the wayside. It may well have been a century that the survivors needed to forget in order to move on.

By the late twentieth century I experienced the practice of field archaeology becoming clinical to the extent of denying the human contribution of the fieldworkers. Recognition that the survey or excavation is just another phase in the life of the place, and that our interventions are a real and continuing transaction, was long overdue. The intensity of thought and process on an excavation is a total engagement with the site by the participants, and their intuitions and opinions are as valid as those of the long-dead people they are trying to understand. The account of survey and excavation, in the last five summers of the millennium, of a Bronze Age settlement site among the stones of Bodmin Moor swings the other way, with much emphasis placed on the on-site behaviour of the diggers and surveyors. Their musings and insights were faithfully recorded, so that archaeology and anthropology became fused, and this seems to have revitalised the spirit of the place. As the authors express it in *Stone Worlds*, "most excavation reports airbrush out the way in which the daily process of excavation generates alternative site histories that are then abandoned, forgotten, perpetuated, or transformed. This 'forgetting' jettisons much that is of value" (Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 2007, 93).

The foregrounding of the participants in archaeological fieldwork was also a key element in Dion's contemporaneous *Tate Thames Dig*. This was conducted as a performance, which went so far as to include individual photographs of the dig team in the associated publication, *Archaeology* (Coles and Dion 1999, 96-7). Anything that caught the eye was collected, and all the finds were considered of equal importance (Williams in Coles and Dion 1999, 79, 86). This anarchic beachcombing on the tidal Thames foreshore is analogous to my fieldwalking in Bruthwaite Forest guided by the distribution of molehills. Like the tides sweeping up the river, moles bring to the surface objects from different layers and different times, seemingly at random, leaving them exposed and stranded. The artefacts recovered may have negligible contextual significance, but they are literally redolent of the past.

The molehill is the epitome of chance, of daily and hourly change. In winter the most recent molehill is identifiable by its lack of snow or frost cover. Objects excavated by moles may be visible one day and gone the next, lost to view through ground disturbance by grazing livestock or drawn down and re-buried by earthworms. Molehills are so abundant, like little volcanoes bubbling up regardless of anything else that might be going on, that the chances of finding any given artefact are infinitely and marvellously impenetrable.

Fresh molehill, Coalfell Meadow, February 2009

3 THE ART OF FIELDWORK

What is the object of art? Could reality come into direct contact with sense and consciousness, could we enter into immediate communion with things and with ourselves, probably art would be useless, or rather we should all be artists, for then our soul would continually vibrate in perfect accord with nature.
(Henri Bergson 1911, 150)

Fieldwork

The artwork charts a developing intimacy with the place through daily fieldwork, involving all the senses in a state of constant wandering. This personal presence in a familiar landscape gradually becomes part of the weave, unobtrusive interventions nonetheless leaving their imprint. The fieldwork that stimulates the artworks combines thought with raw experience, making an ephemeral or durable record of fundamental activities, a tactile engagement with the past. Every sortie into this territory, at whatever time of year, is in some way challenging, and always surprising. A walk can be quite ordinary, though never dull, and yet there are occasional sublime moments of solitude, bliss, and terror, identifiable with "the poetic and sensual desire to be really in the world, feeling its most intimate reality… the experience of complete integration: the moment of absolute excess, unity, communion, and utter completion; the glimpse of how it is to be truly found and profoundly lost at the same time" (Plant 1992, 39).

From my windows I see people walk into the landscape and disappear. Likewise, I open the garden gate, cross the pasture, and disappear from view, absorbed in the terrain. This is a sensation I experienced from the age of three or four: the freedom that comes from being unobserved; as Long puts it, "I like the fact that I can be almost invisible, that I can come and go almost unnoticed" (Tufnell 2007, 71). There is a correspondingly deliberate personal absence from the photographs in this study – I am a textual but not a visual presence.

Emmeline
Has not been seen
For more than a week. She slipped between
The two tall trees at the end of the green…
(Milne 1924, 83)

The fieldwork is partly a quest: to find lost names, to trace forgotten pathways and buildings, to reawaken memory of the neglected and forgotten. One way of finding the extent of a tumbled building is to walk along the apparent earthworks, allowing one's feet to feel the difference between underlying stone and softer ground. Over greater distances I walk the faintly delineated, embanked or deeply worn tracks that join the places where people once lived and worked. A barely conscious sensitivity develops that guides one over rough ground and can pick up an almost invisible path, just as Thomas Hardy described it in *The Return of the Native*:

> The whole secret of following these incipient paths, when there was not light enough in the atmosphere to show a turnpike-road, lay in the development of the sense of touch in the feet, which comes with years of night-rambling in little-trodden spots. To a walker practised in such places a difference between impact on maiden herbage, and on the crippled stalks of a slight footway, is perceptible through the thickest boot or shoe.
> (Hardy 2005, 57)

In truth, the aimless wandering is not so: the dog and I have to be exercised, and the considerations of avoiding sheep, cattle, hay meadows or breeding birds shape each walk. The daily route varies not only according to whim, but to these and many other factors, including the amounts of energy and time available. In addition to spatial constraints, I often find myself determining an objective as I set off: to dig clay, to gather seedheads for impressing onto clay tiles, to locate artefacts, take photographs, pace out the dimensions of an earthwork… sometimes just to get away from the computer. There is no purity of intent, but always a desire to integrate and to enjoy.

Recording change

Accepting change is not easy: it is a constant reminder of our mortality and the brevity of a lifespan. Witnessing the slow decline of a building one grieves for the craft of the workers who created its fabric and detailed its finish. Documenting decay with photographs is a palliative for the sorrow of passing, and a recognition that these vernacular structures – farmsteads, sheepfolds, bridges – served their purpose well in their time. Change affects everything, even the quality of the photographs. I arrived here in autumn 1999 with a Nikon F-301 SLR camera, with which I documented the first year, then at great expense and with wonderment acquired an early Sony Cybershot, and never set foot in a darkroom again. The immediacy of the digital process for a while eclipsed the undeniable evidence that for landscape work the two megapixels it boasted were utterly inadequate. By late 2005 I was able to justify the purchase of a Nikon D50 SLR, and spent the following summer crawling around in the long grass photographing tiny flowers, fungi and insects. The pictures in this study reflect these changes, but also the fact that the entire design and layout has been facilitated by a software upgrade in March 2009 to Adobe Creative Suite 4. This enables me to follow through the creative process from raw text and imagery to what used to be called camera-ready copy, now a PDF on a DVD that the commercial printer puts in the press and bingo: a publication.

Change also comes with the seasons, and the photographs in this study reflect the weather at all times of the year, from frozen felltops to high summer on the tarn. As my photograph of a deer illustrates, I have neither the patience nor the lenses to attempt wildlife photography, leaving this to the RSPB, who manage almost the entire forest as the northern half of the Geltsdale nature reserve. Their concern, although primarily with birds, encompasses the ecosystem and wildlife of the area, seeking to achieve a balance that allows threatened species to recover and breed.

Roe deer in Templegarth field, December 2005

Birds are an aural and visual companion through the year: lapwings and the first call of the curlew in spring, the cat-like cry of the buzzard mobbed by crows as it hunts over the trees, the piercing screech of oystercatchers, the sewing machine-like whirring of snipe, and the wingbeats of a flight of swans. Bramblings flock to my garden in winter, spirits are lifted when the swallows arrive, swifts swoop and dive, barn owls hunt voles and the heron fishes the beck. Less visible are the wild animals, although I often encounter brown hares and roe deer are plentiful, but several young ones died in the hard winter of 2009-10, when for the first time here I saw a stoat in ermine. Weasels feed on the large population of rabbits, and amphibians in the garden include frogs, toads and newts; woodmice move into my house every autumn, and moles are abundant, though relentlessly persecuted.

Newt in the garden, August 2001

Mouse in the garden, May 2010

January to April, molehills and finds on bare ground
April to July, be circumspect: nesting birds
May to September, flowers abound
September to January, collect firewood

The travelling artefact

How do objects come to be where we find them? Some are airborne, like seeds blown on the wind, but most travel on and under the ground. Although the majority of my finds are ceramic, and that is the main focus here, more recent objects, especially those unearthed in the garden, are likely to be metal or plastic. The appeal of surface finds is their tangible yet impenetrable link with the past; in the depth of the soil is a depth of memory. The journey of the object is affected by many agents including humans, wind and rain, weathering, erosion, moles, rabbits and earthworms, accident or coincidence. Darwin observed in his study of earthworms in relation to soil formation, that

Birthday balloons adrift, February 2009

> farmers in England are well aware that objects of all kinds, left on the surface of pasture-land, after a time disappear, or, as they say, work themselves downwards… small objects left on the surface of the land where worms abound soon get buried… Every step of the process could be followed, from the accidental deposition of a single casting on a small object lying loose on the surface, to its being entangled amidst the matted roots of the turf, and lastly to its being embedded in the mould at various depths beneath the surface. When the same field was re-examined after… a few years, such objects were found at a greater depth than before.
> (Darwin 1945, 79, 83)

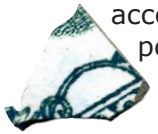
Plate tectonics, digital print, June 2001

If earthworms are partly responsible for burying artefacts, moles, in their search for earthworms to eat, return the artefacts to the surface, their subterranean wanderings bringing up a random scatter of lost and forgotten fragments. Just as my researches excavate small heaps of knowledge from a seemingly limitless field, so has Simon Schama likened himself to moles burrowing through time, "throwing up tracers for the historian as they push through obscurity" (Schama 1995, 17). Moles are incredibly active and persistent, as any gardener fond of an English lawn knows. They live almost entirely in tunnels of their own making, from surface runs to a couple of feet deep or more (Corbet and Southern 1977, 41). The mole's agenda is finding worms and breeding, so it is with quite different purpose that I follow the results of its travels underground, noting different types of soil in the upthrow from the tunnels, catching the gleam of a potsherd after rain has washed it clean of earth.

That which I perceive as a superbly impenetrable source of wonder the archaeological finds specialist regards as a problem that impedes contextual analysis:

> The date of a pot or a sherd is not necessarily the date of the archaeological context in which it was found. Apart from the problem of the life-expectancy of different vessel types… there is the question of the post-depositional history of the pottery. Between its original breakage and/or discard and its final resting place, it may have undergone several events (such as sweeping-up, removal to a rubbish pit, disturbance of that pit, and so on) spread over several years or even centuries.
> (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 186-7)

I consider the artefact as an autonomous thing, enduring change through place and time and change in its physical integrity. Its history does not stop dead when it falls into the hands of archaeologists. It may one day be a boxed and classified component of the archaeological record, and the next a discard heading for landfill and another phase of its existence. 'Context' is just the more or less datable stage in its journey at which it is of possible use in reconstructing human behaviour in the past. But the journey continues, albeit the artefact is irrevocably altered by being cleaned, separated from its neighbours in its depositional resting place, and perhaps displayed in a museum. If it had arrived in Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum a century or more ago, for instance, it would have found itself occupying the same display case as artefacts from different cultures and all parts of the world, in anthropocentric juxtaposition of typological series. This approach, intended to explain how design and technology evolved through comparison of material cultures, accommodates more or less complete objects, generally tools, vessels and utensils. The seemingly incoherent fragments of pottery thrown up by the mole's deeper tunnelling in the strata of the industrial era are more illustrative of the lifestyles and taste of the families of miners and quarrymen, and this is the cultural significance of these casual discards, bundled from one context to another through human and animal agency.



Potsherds, in their stubborn longevity, become almost an embarrassment as they are "not continuously recycled so large parts of the assemblage do not disappear from the archaeological record" (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 229). Once a vessel is broken, nobody wants it, so it is free to travel. The analogy is that of a person travelling through life, or a stone moving, abrading and eroding through time and space; a metaphor for an idea travelling from mind to mind; a diaspora and a gathering of ideas becoming barren or becoming potent, depending on whether they fall on stony ground or fertile soil. My journeys are paralleled by those of the objects, all of which have travelled to get where they were found, currently reside in my collection, and… whither next?

The chronology of the finds is an important element, charting my passage through time and place within the forest. I was *there*, at *that* time, in *that* place, where I picked up *this* object. That is part of its significance. There would be no point in putting it back – turning back time is not an option. I can take my made pots back for a visit to the environment from which they came as raw material, as I did with *Potscapes* (2009), but I have no inclination to leave them there; a photograph will stand for their fleeting presence. The visual diary of finding and re-placing is a virtual mapping of a ten-year cycle of my movements in the landscape.

Pots on a sandstone windowsill at Forest Head quarry, June 2009

Finding and collecting

> The passion for collecting which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso, or a miser, was very strong in me, and was clearly innate…
> (Darwin 1887, 28)

There is still, always, a thrill in the instant of discovery, which is something quite other than the spirit of enquiry. Spontaneity and happenstance inhabit this and the other aspects of my fieldwork. Farmers and gardeners, rabbits and moles are constantly at work, bringing artefacts to the surface, one person or another passing by, perhaps with their own collecting criteria, catching the glint of glass in the sun. Objects are thrown up, or buried, in a continual repositioning of things in time and space, as the land itself holds memories. The human practices of making, using, throwing away and retrieving are themselves natural agencies, and the collection of pottery sherds and other surface finds is a way of touching the past, a subjective sifting of the detritus of unknown lives. I began to collect surface finds in January 2000, when the farmer dredged the channel of Coalfell Beck, revealing quantities of clay pipe fragments and broken pottery, washed down from the farmstead and former quarrymen's houses at Clowsgillholme. This initial surge of finds was interrupted by the foot-and-mouth epidemic in 2001, which curtailed all fieldwork for ten months. Collection of glass, ceramic, plastic and other anomalous objects intensified from 2005, with a predictable concentration of finds in the vicinity of homesteads and a corresponding dearth on the felltops.

Clay tobacco pipe stems found in molehills, Templegarth, March 2004

Surface finds can reawaken a past, rather than measure it. Analysis of a potsherd would give its dimensions, fabric, whether rim or body sherd, glaze characteristics, type-series and so on. My collections simply evoke a cultural context and assist an imaginative reconstruction of the taste and lifestyle of past folk, where they lived and where the midden was. People threw out their rubbish downhill, filling up old swallow-holes, bellpits and quarries, and provided splendid burrowing ground for rabbits in so doing. My entire collection, albeit revalued by the effort invested in cleaning, sorting and presenting it, is rubbish. Nonetheless it is interesting because it is old rubbish; new rubbish is of course just landfill and methane. In the act of picking up a find, the findspot is lost: memory cannot handle such fleeting encounters with the locations of myriad artefacts. I relate the objects to their findspots by writing or drawing labels to locate them and date the event of their finding. The chronological sequence illustrates the development of my awareness of the place in the precision of the findspot. As time went on more detailed descriptions gave a more accurate location, showing the tendency, or necessity, to attribute new names to specific places hitherto anonymous. Each time a find is labelled, I have to think about where I am, and put it in the context of my timeline of discovery, recording the findspots with spontaneously invented names.

As familiarity with the landscape increased, the recording of locations became more precise. I began to use a GPS (Global Positioning System) in 2007, but found that this created distance rather than enhancing an understanding of the place. Far more engaging was the examination of how one describes a location at micro-level, below the radar of any map. The naming of each findspot thus tied in with the place-name study, and frequently new names had to be invented or, if words failed me, a quick plan was sketched.

The migratory surface finds are unstratified and lack archaeological context, and so can be considered non-diagnostic; they also represent very common types of pottery. Freed from a responsibility to record them formally, I identified artefacts simply by date of finding, site name and approximate location. The chronology of finding and the spatial distribution thus became a visual journal marking my passage through the landscape, as shown in *Small Finds* (2007), and as a continuing habit. These fragmented artefacts confer freedom on the imagination to run in many directions as to their histories, and yet the creation of the artwork knowingly arrests their history by isolating them from their meaning. This is in contradiction to conventional thinking which holds, as Caitlin DeSilvey puts it, that "in order for the object to function as a bearer of cultural memory it must be held in perpetuity in a state of protected stasis". The attention given to the object is transformative, as "acts of counting, sorting, stacking, storing and inventory convert things from the category of 'stuff' to the status of museum object" (DeSilvey 2006, 326). The finds signify and embody the present past, enabling me to communicate through touch with the hands of the maker, and the breaker, of the ceramic vessel whose shard I pick up, yet the processing – cleaning, sorting, labelling, boxing – step by step distances and reduces the vital contact, and the glass case or plastic bag banishes any remaining intimacy. This is the paradox that was explored in *Small Finds*, and that led me to make pots, in mitigation of the loss.

Located clay pipe fragments, April 2010

Finds curation on the kitchen table, April 2010

Making clay pots and tiles

While out walking I locate exposed surfaces from which I collect small bags of clay, brought home squashed into coat pockets. Handfuls of clay are scooped from many different deposits, and only stones and clumps of vegetation are removed, leaving all manner of small inclusions. Earth colours vary from buff to yellow, orange, red and grey, and mixtures occur as every scrap is recycled, leading to unpredictable results from firing.

The sequence of processing could be described as the mud pie phase, to pick out stones, followed by the kneading bread phase, to achieve the consistency required for making pots, and the rolling out pastry phase, to make sheets for maps and for cutting into tiles, all carried out in the garden or on the kitchen table. Any life-forms remaining in the raw clay are disturbed by this throwing, kneading, rolling and cutting, slowly dying as the clay dries, then baked into the fabric in the kiln at above or below 1100°C. This sequence carries the original qualities of the clay through into the finished artefacts, so that these pots and tiles remain an indelible link to the ground they came from.

The transformative process is at the same time a metaphor for change, and a manifestation of actual change, where human and other natural agencies engage with the anomalies and irregularities of the clay. A deliberate relinquishing of control over change often produces serendipitous results, reflecting the spirit in which the fieldwork is conducted. These artefacts are the most direct physical expression that I could devise of the sensuous experience of involvement in the landscape.

Boulder clay, Tarnhouse Rigg, March 2010

Pots before firing, May 2007

Pots

The pot held in the hand is made from clay which is of the land. Clay's aptitude to demonstrate the connection with place makes it my medium of choice for mapping the experience, and a metaphor for profound connection with the earth. Pottery has always connected the maker and the user with the land, in a timeless, or circular way.

> The ancients believed that movement in nature was disposed toward the circular path. The circle symbolised perfection. The moderns, following Newton's revolutionary thought, postulated the straight line as the natural path of all moving matter. Cosmos yielded to geography and landscape… the medieval man's sense of time, mirroring his vertical and rotary cosmos, was essentially cyclical. Not until the eighteenth century did the linear, directional concept of time become important.
> (Tuan 1974, 148)

Each of these tiny pots is made from a ball of clay which I can enclose in my hand, and this sets a scale for the entire series of 900 pots. I find that circularity is the most natural and satisfying way to work, as the ball of clay turned in the hand describes a continuous curve, evolving rather than being coerced into its final form. The basic spheres may develop rims and narrow bases, or be flattened to form discs. These are the shapes which govern the design of most ordinary pottery utensils: practical jars, bowls and plates. The continuous curve of the circle is pleasing to hand and eye, but it does not need to be geometrically perfect to achieve harmony. The form, colour, texture and anomalies of the fired pot provide sufficient interest, so that no incised or painted decoration or glaze is relevant or appropriate. The pots are made in batches of up to a dozen, and each one can take a good hour of my time. I use a penknife to carve and shape, a small modelling tool to hollow out the pots, and two grades of steel wool to finish. In the attempt to make the pot walls as thin as possible, in proportion to their size, the tool sometimes breaks through. The holes are usually patched with slip and scraps, or they may be left and fired tel quel. As with all ceramics, breakage is a normal hazard, and I have no qualms about including broken pots in exhibitions, as they refer to natural decay and to the recovered fragments of the *Small Finds* collection.

Preparing clay, June 2007

Pots taking shape, May 2007

Carving pots, August 2007

Pots on a field wall near Tarnhouse, June 2010

Place-name element tiles, July 2010

Tiles

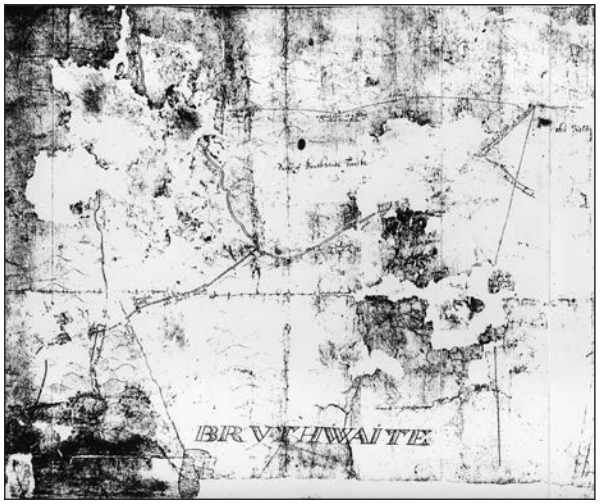
Experiments in tile-making until early 2007 using commercial clay were unsatisfactory, as it became obvious that for me a clean material of uniform consistency which fired to an even and predictable colour was no transmitter of sensations and surprises. The mark-making and textural qualities I sought also appeared contrived and too figurative. For these reasons I have since used locally dug clay exclusively.

For tile-making, large stones and other inclusions were picked out, and reasonably compacted and homogeneous blocks formed by repeatedly throwing the clay at a board. The clay was then rolled out to the approximate thickness required, ¼" thick for place-name tiles. After initial drying, rectangular shapes were cut using steel cutters made for me by the Fine Art metalwork technician. Tiles were fired at 1100°-1160°C.

The place-names of Bruthwaite Forest encompass Brittonic, Old English and Old Norse, with a mingling of Middle English and modern north Cumbrian or Northumbrian dialect. They are primarily topographical, and as such highly evocative of the landscape they describe. Having collected local place-names from many maps and documents, I made a series of clay tiles stamped with elements of these names, some of which are 'lost'. The idea was that these tiles, each about the size of a domino, could be rearranged to form new compound words, and thus prompt curiosity as to how the names were formed in the first place.

Place-name element tile, October 2009

Experimental tile-making using commercial clay, February and May 2007



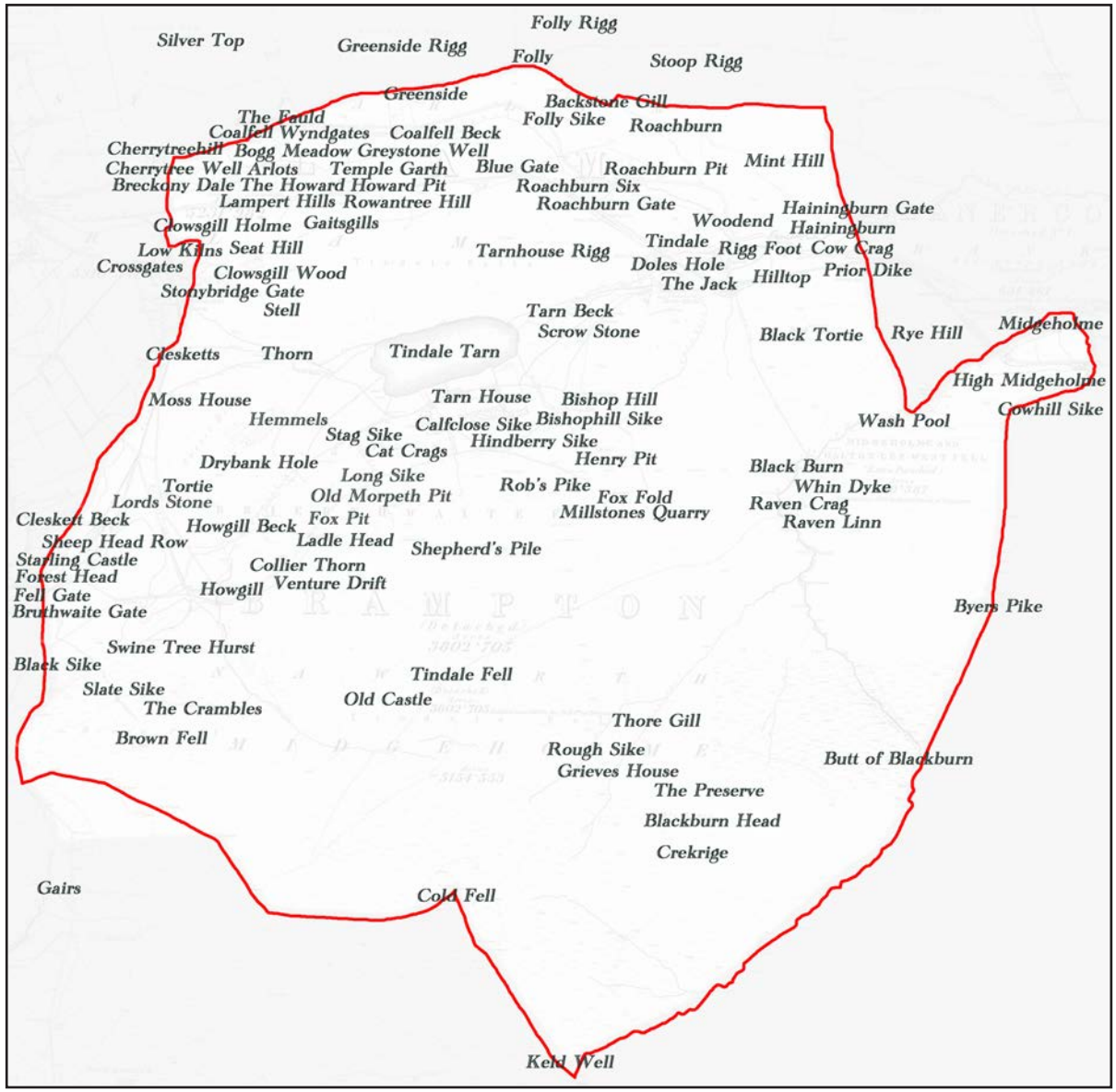
Gilsland Survey extract, 1603, HNP C713/13

Maps

Two maps of Bruthwaite Forest were made, of similar size and fabric. One was imprinted with many of the local place-names, the other showed only names which have been lost or are no longer used. The maps reflect the nature of the terrain and the consequent distribution of population and landuse, as names can be seen to cluster in the farmlands and lower fellside mining areas, but are few and far between on the felltops.

Each map was treated as a single sheet, rolled out to ½" thick and left with untrimmed edges that suggest a time-worn map such as the Gilsland Survey of 1603 (HNP C713). Paper templates were used to trace the forest boundary directly onto the clay and to locate place-names. A groove outlining the shape of the Bruthwaite Forest boundary was incised on the face of the sheet, which was then cut horizontally into 1" wide strips, and vertically into 4" long tiles, arranged in stretcher bond reminiscent of a brick wall, using knife and steel rule. Each map was divided into about 28 rows, each row containing about 23 sections, totalling around 650 individual pieces.

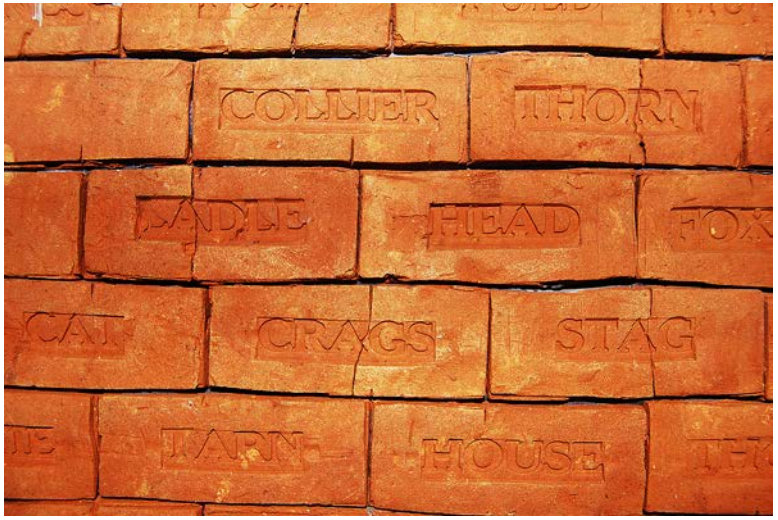
Tile map detail before firing, November 2008



Place-names of Bruthwaite Forest: paper template for Tile Map 1

Tile map drying, November 2008

The extent of the clay sheet, about three feet square, meant that it dried from the outside inwards, and the fibreboard on which the damp clay was supported between trestles sagged under the weight. As a fortuitous result the component tiles tended to warp and fracture, adding relief to the map. As soon as the clay would hold a sharp impression, letters were stamped on the tiles using metal printer's type, to form place-names roughly where they occur on old maps of the forest. A rough border was cross-hatched around the ragged edges, and the maps were then left to shrink and dry. Before the maps were taken apart to convey to the kiln each of the 1300 or so pieces was numbered on the back to enable reconstruction.



Fractures in drying tile map, November 2008

Fractures in fired tile map, August 2010

May 2007

November 2008

Making tile maps in my studio in the Fine Art building, Newcastle University

March 2009

September 2009

Signpost in Bruthwaite Forest, December 2008

Signs

Clay was rolled into sheets as thinly as possible, and signs were cut 1” wide and to the length of each name or word. One end was then cut to a point to suggest a footpath sign. Once dry enough to take an imprint, metal type was used to print the names of places, animals and birds found in the forest. The signs when fired are brittle and prone to fracture, evoking the weathering of a wooden signpost. They came to indicate that a place is more than the sum of its names, that the birds and animals are also what makes a landscape.

Clay signs drying, January 2009

Signs of life: Animal and bird signs, July 2010


Sparrowhawk
Osprey
Buzzard
Hen Harrier
Curlew
Lapwing
Black Grouse
Cormorant
Red Grouse
Starling
Canada Goose
Collared Dove
Redshank
Wood Pigeon
Blackbird
Cuckoo
Woodpecker
Pheasant
Crow
Swallow
Moorhen
Dunlin
Mallard
Snipe
Chaffinch
Black Swan
Pied Wagtail
Mute Swan
Pipit
Sparrow
Robin
Great tit
Wren
Goldfinch
Bluetit
Greenfinch

Tesserae

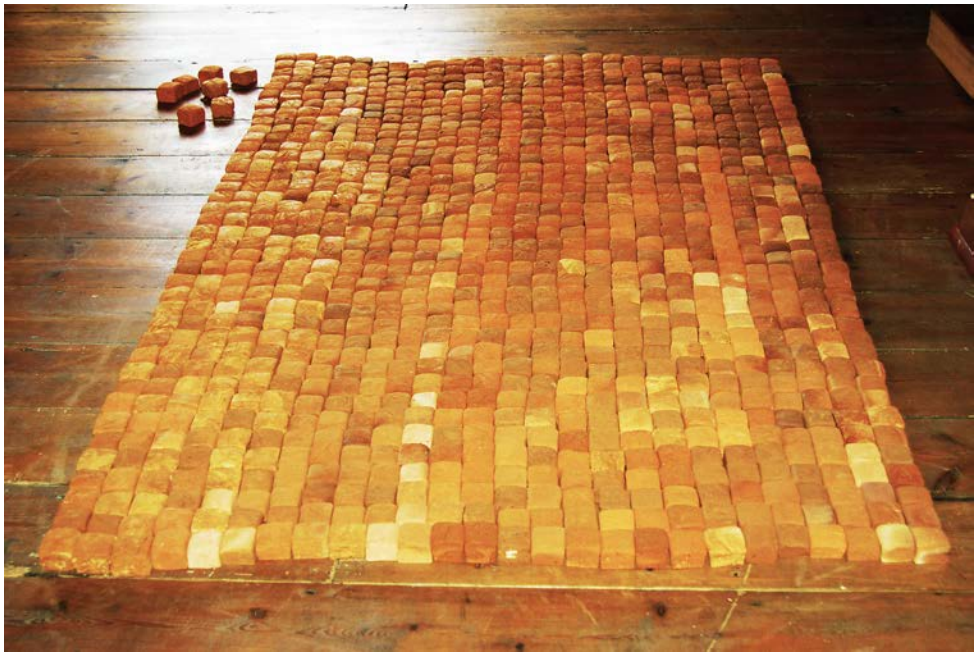
Sheets of clay, prepared in the same manner as for tiles, were cut into rough 1” cubes with a steel cutter and left to dry until they could be trimmed and shaped. A child’s-size rolling pin and a scrap of muslin were used to give the top surface of each tessera a slight cushion shape with dropped corners, and to produce a haphazard woven texture. After further drying, a quick impression was made in the top of each tessera, using objects collected on the walk that day: leaves, twigs, bark, stones, bones, fir-cones, grasses, seedheads, feathers…

Making tesserae on the kitchen table, July 2009

Tesserae production, July 2009

First batch of tesserae drying, August 2009

Tesserae before firing, August 2009



Fired tesserae, August 2010

Individual tesserae, August 2010

Process and walking

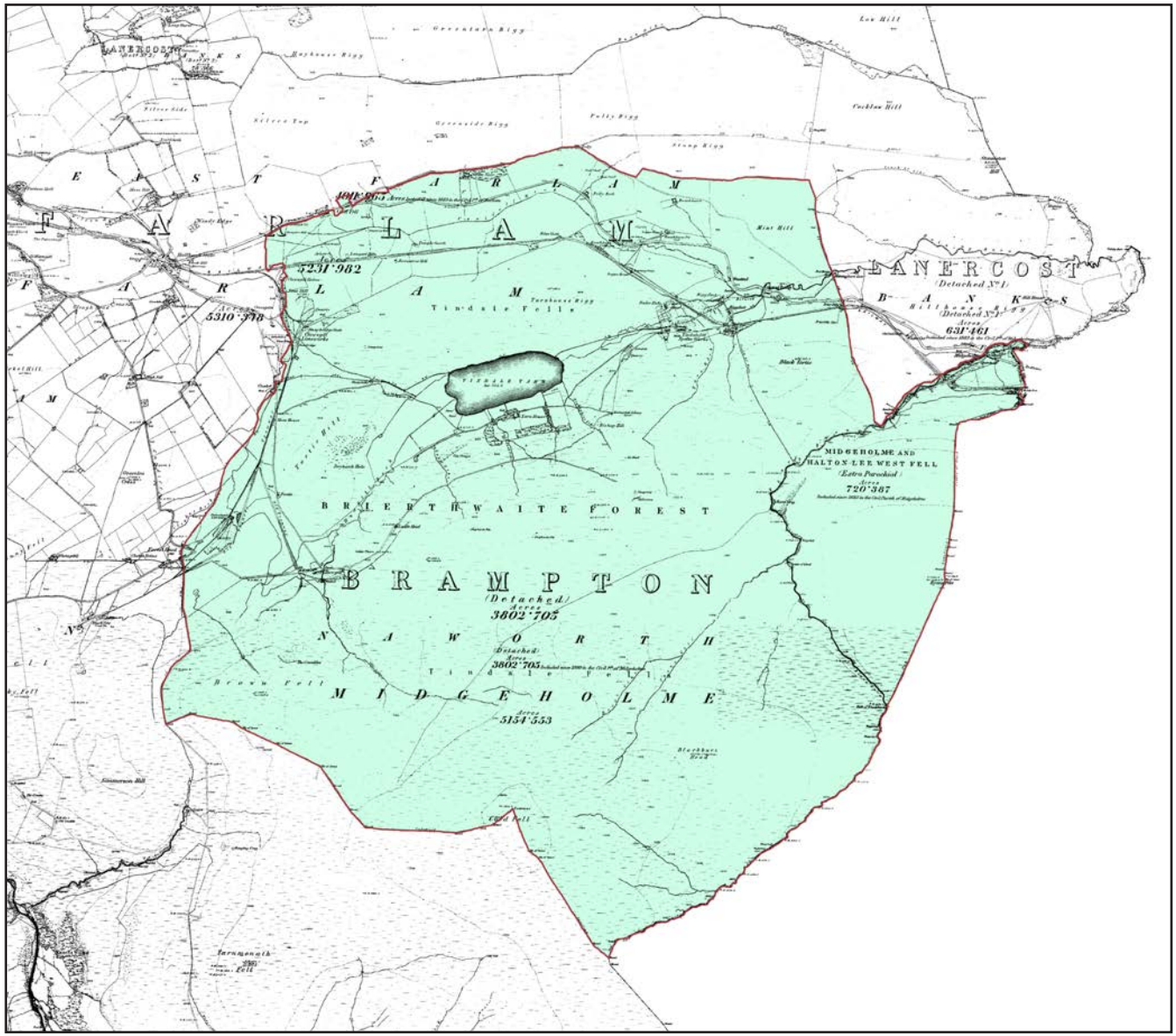
This chapter has described my responses to the stimuli I find in the landscape I inhabit, and the physical materials and processes that are vital to my way of being in the world. All these processes, from the initial fieldwork to the photography, the documenting of change and movement, the finding and collecting and making, are a consequence of the lifelong habit of walking. Walking and talking is a pleasant activity which can happen anywhere, but walking and observing is a solitary habit specific to place. For ten years I (mostly, but not entirely) narrowed my focus to one place, Bruthwaite Forest, and the following chapters are a very personal observation of what I found there. They reflect the interest I already had in vernacular buildings, shielings and sheepfolds, in the names people give to places, in the ordinary detritus of ordinary lives and in the fundamental materials of earth, stone, wood and iron. They map my growing understanding of this landscape and its idiosyncrasies, and my faltering but nonetheless persistent sense of belonging, not through possession but through a responsive attitude, a desire to integrate and reciprocate. It would be mechanistic thinking to suppose that every angle on the landscape generates an artwork – the effect of, say, a solitary hour or two spent in a fellside sheepfold, or seeking a lost stone cross in deep rushes is not measured in quality or quantity of output. The most I can say is that for the work described above to emerge, placing myself in such situations is propitious to Jung's idea of synchronicity, and that some slow fuse may ignite months or years later. The following chapters therefore describe the cognitive and topographical situations which may be responsible for the works I have made.

Pots on milk churn, Forest Head quarry, June 2009

Pots in decaying brick wall, Forest Head quarry, June 2009

4 BRUTHWAITE FOREST

It is, I find, in zoology as it is in botany: all nature is so full that that district produces the greatest variety which is the most examined. (Gilbert White 1902, 57)



Area of Bruthwaite Forest overlaid on OS 1st edn 6" map of Cumberland,1868

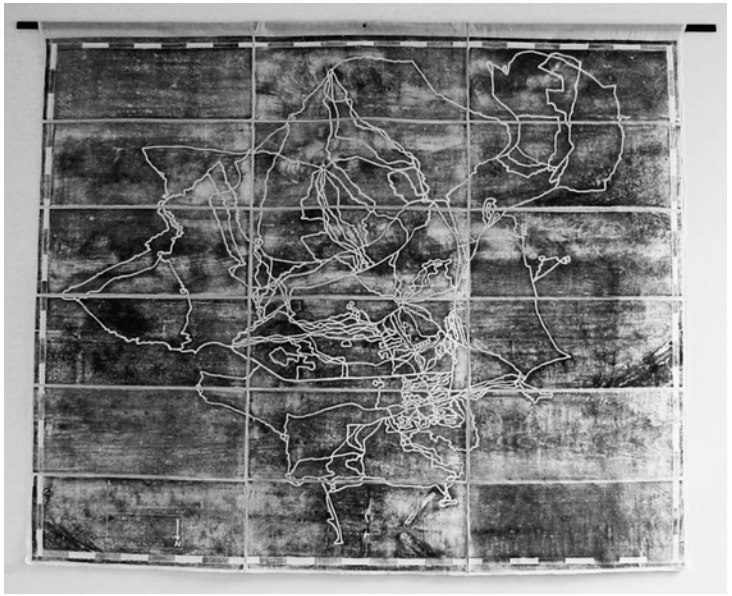
Walking in the forest

My previous landscape studies have all been of the Cumbrian uplands, in particular the Furness Fells, the western Howgills, and the Caldbeck Fells (Lambert 1989, 1996, 1999). These were all grounded in detailed fieldwork, in areas a few minutes or an hour's drive from home. The move to Coalfell in 1999 provided the opportunity to study the North Pennine landscape on my doorstep. From the beginning I recorded observations as I gradually explored the territory around my house. For the first few months I logged and mapped the daily walks, represented in *Walkmap* (1999) and finally in the woodcut *Passing through* (2002). The activity soon outgrew the record, and different ways of expressing a deepening understanding were sought.

Gilsland Survey 1603, HNP C713/7

Discovering that my house lay on the edge of a medieval hunting forest, I seized on this as a means of focusing the research within an ancient land boundary: the forest wall. Rebuilt over much of its length many times, quarried away in places, this wall remains a potent subliminal influence. The edges may blur as the forest wall loses its potency, fading from local significance, but its definition is still tacitly accepted, embodied in the field walls dividing moorland from permanent pasture that follow the line marked on maps of 1603 (HNP C713/7, 13). Most people here today would be unaware of the forest boundary, as the notion of a hunting forest is no longer relevant to landuse, but I rediscovered this boundary line by walking its entire length as part of the fieldwork for *Beyond Landscape* (Lambert 2006, 24). Having set this artificial research limit based on a medieval assumption of ownership, I transgress whenever and wherever it seems appropriate. The study covers the entire forest, but is most closely focused on the Coalfell area, where glaciation, agriculture and industry have created the landscape in which I live.

Walkmap, digital print, 1999



Passing Through, woodcut, 2002

Scars of mining on Tindale Fell, March 2010

Geology

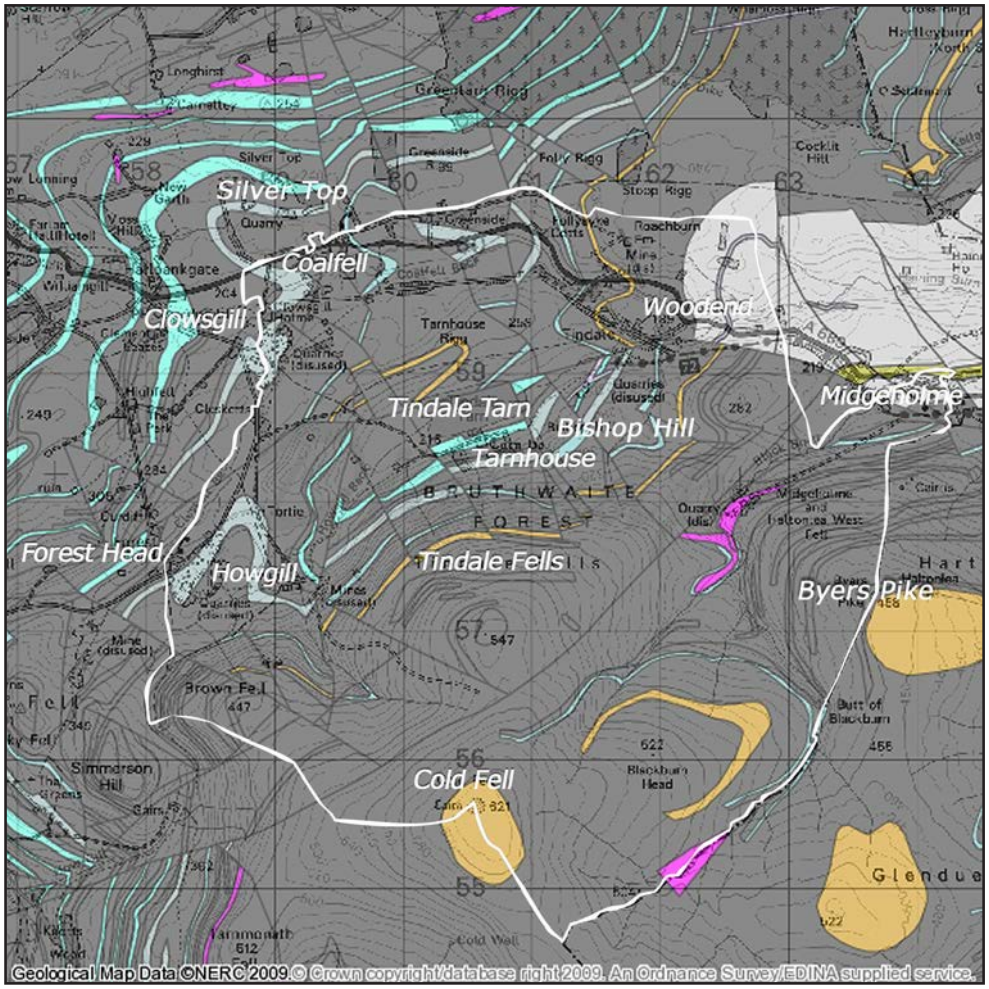
The bedrock and soils of Bruthwaite Forest have had the most profound influence on settlement and landuse. Mineral exploitation reached its apogee in the nineteenth century, but the scars of excavations for coal and stone remain and have become so integrated in the landscape that it is hard to imagine its earlier appearance. The tilted, folded and faulted Carboniferous sedimentary rocks of the Alston Block (Ratcliffe 2002, 19, 23) come to an abrupt end on Tindale Fell. On this steep north-facing slope the gritstones and shales of the Cross Fell range alternate with thin limestone bands and coal measures. The Stublick Fault forms an escarpment across the face of Tindale Fell (Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 163) and the Great Whin Sill, that "huge igneous intrusive sheet of quartz dolerite" (Ratcliffe 2002, 24), outcrops on the west flank of Byers Pike overlooking the Black Burn gorge. Dolerite or whinstone, limestone, sandstone and coal were all extracted from the bedrocks of the forest until the mid twentieth century, but the only currently active quarry is at Silver Top, just to the north. The Little Limestone Coals in the Tarnhouse colliery were being mined from 1747, and the Great Limestone, which outcrops from Howgill Beck around the lower slopes, has been quarried at Tarnhouse and Bishop Hill, and in the acutely folded Forest Head and Clowsgill quarries on the western edge of the forest (Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 86-89).

Forest Head quarry spoil heaps, February 2010

Quarry in the Great Whin Sill, Byers Pike, March 2009

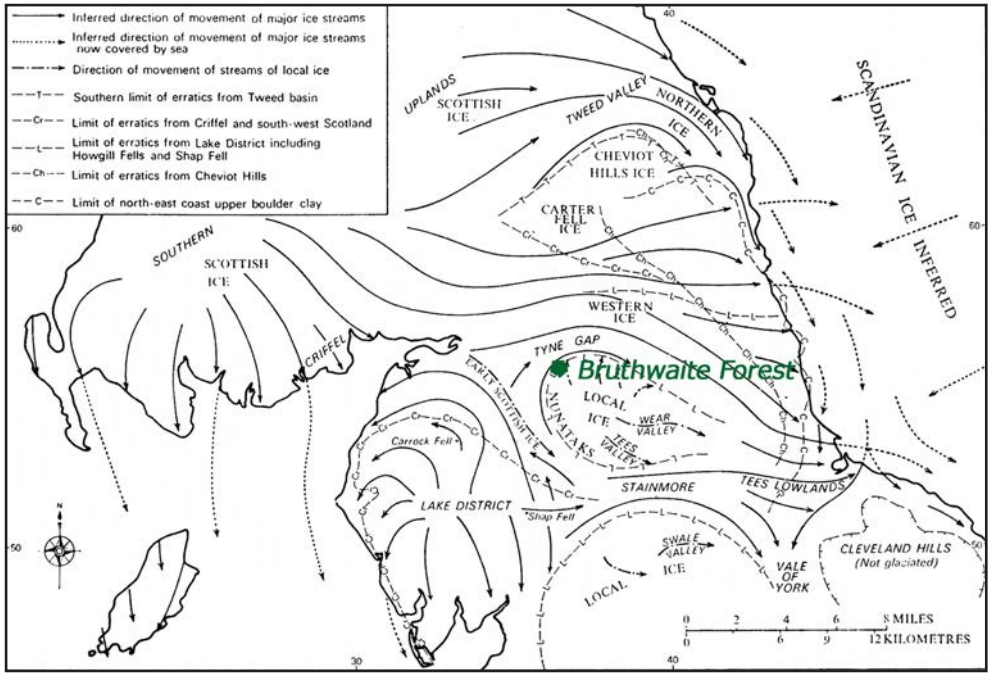
Folding of the Great Limestone in Forest Head quarry, March 2006

Laminated sandstone in Black Sike quarry, October 2009



Solid or bedrock geology of Bruthwaite Forest

- *Stainmore Formation*
- *Thornborough Grit*
- *Great Whin Sill*
- *Lower Felltop Limestone*
- *Great Limestone*
- *Four Fathom Limestone*
- *Firestone Sill*
- *Little Limestone*
- *Unnamed Igneous Intrusion, Carboniferous*
- *Craignook Sandstone*

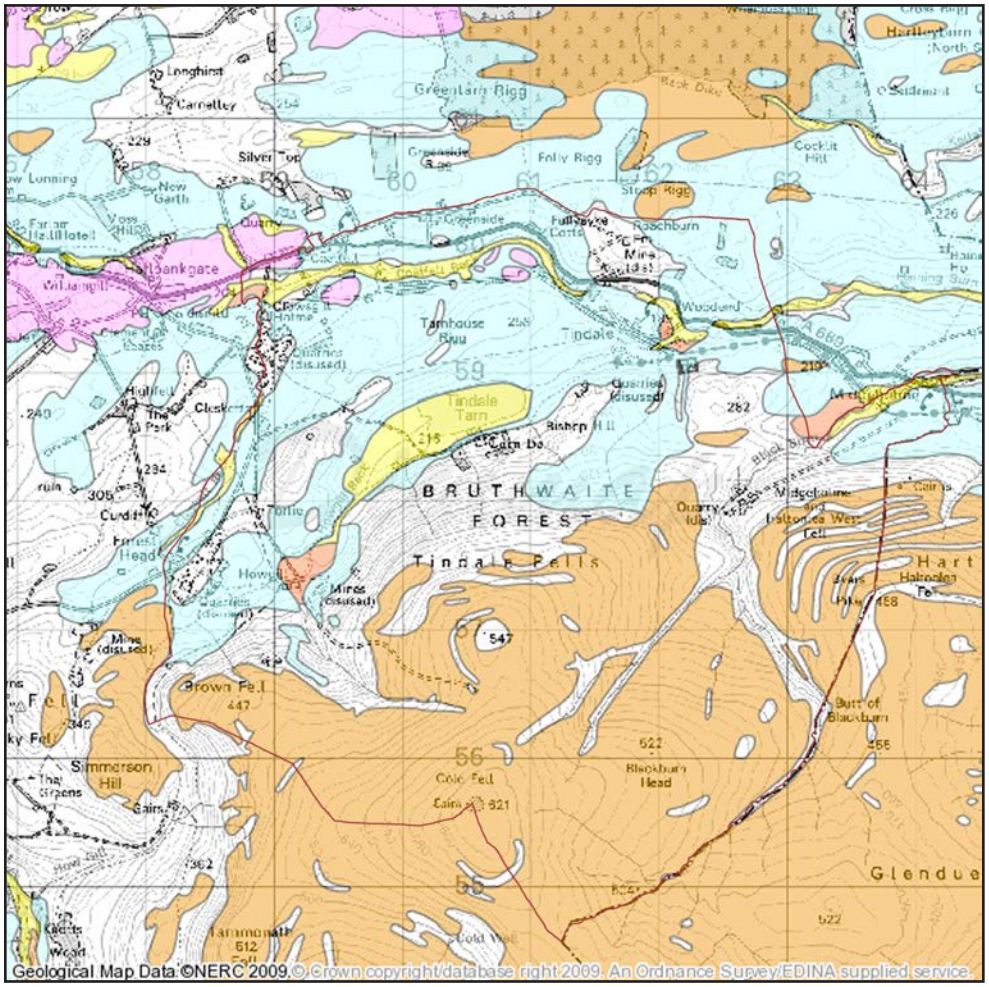


Devensian ice-movement in northern England (from Taylor et al 1971, 86, fig 28)

While the felltops are covered in peat with areas of blanket bog, the valleys below were deepened by the Quaternary glaciations that spread "great layers of drift over the lower ground, obscuring the underlying rocks with fluvio-glacial sands, gravel and boulder clay, heaped in places into moraines, drumlins and eskers" (Ratcliffe 2002, 25, 19). There are two small north-facing corries along the Stublick Fault escarpment, both of which have been quarried, and many drumlins in the valleys to the north, their orientation showing that the latest glaciers, containing Lake District erratics, scoured north and east around the Tindale fells towards the Tyne Gap. The valley of Coalfell Beck is a glacial overflow channel in which pulverised stone buried the bedrock in a deep sludge of clay, to the extent that near Woodend, at the confluence with Tarn Beck, the pre-glacial valley floor was a hundred feet lower than it is now (Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 150-155, 163-165).

Millstones quarry on the Stublick Fault escarpment, April 2008

The valley of Coalfell Beck, a glacial overflow channel, December 2006

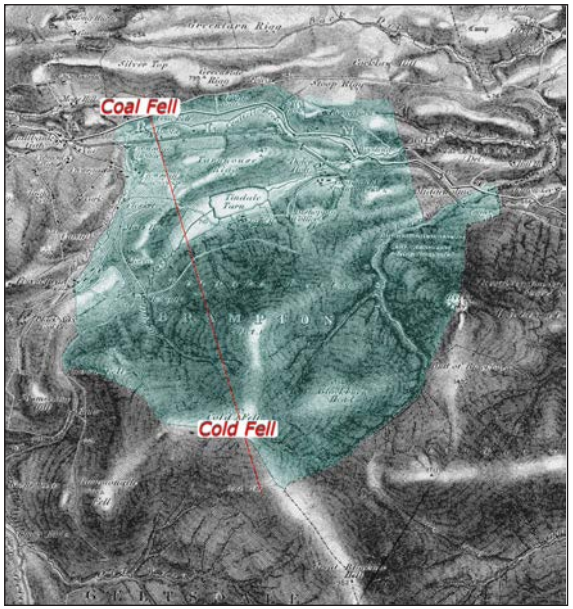


Drift or superficial geology of Bruthwaite Forest

- *Alluvial Fan Deposits*
- *Alluvium*
- *Glaciofluvial Deposits, Devensian*
- *Peat*
- *Till, Devensian*

Erosion and scouring of stream banks exposes the boulder clay, and waterlogged ground, as on Greenside Rigg, is a good indicator of this underlying impermeable layer, while moles bring small amounts to the surface. This is the clay that I extract to make pots and tiles.

Boulder clay, Greenside Rigg, January 2010

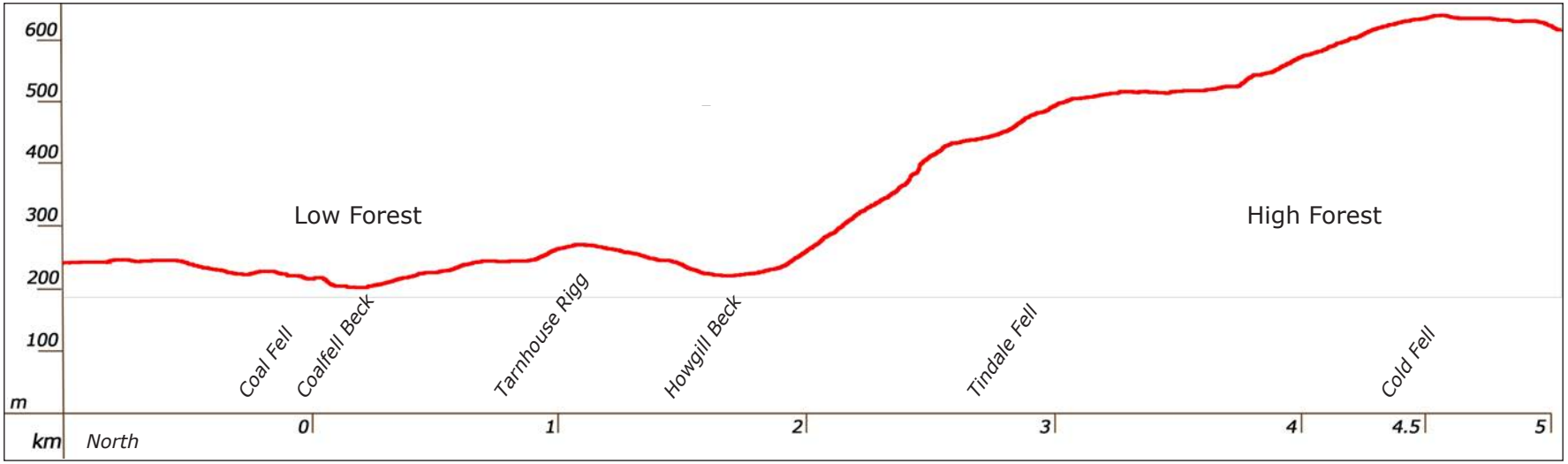


Bruthwaite Forest overlaid on OS 1st edn 1" map

Climate and topography

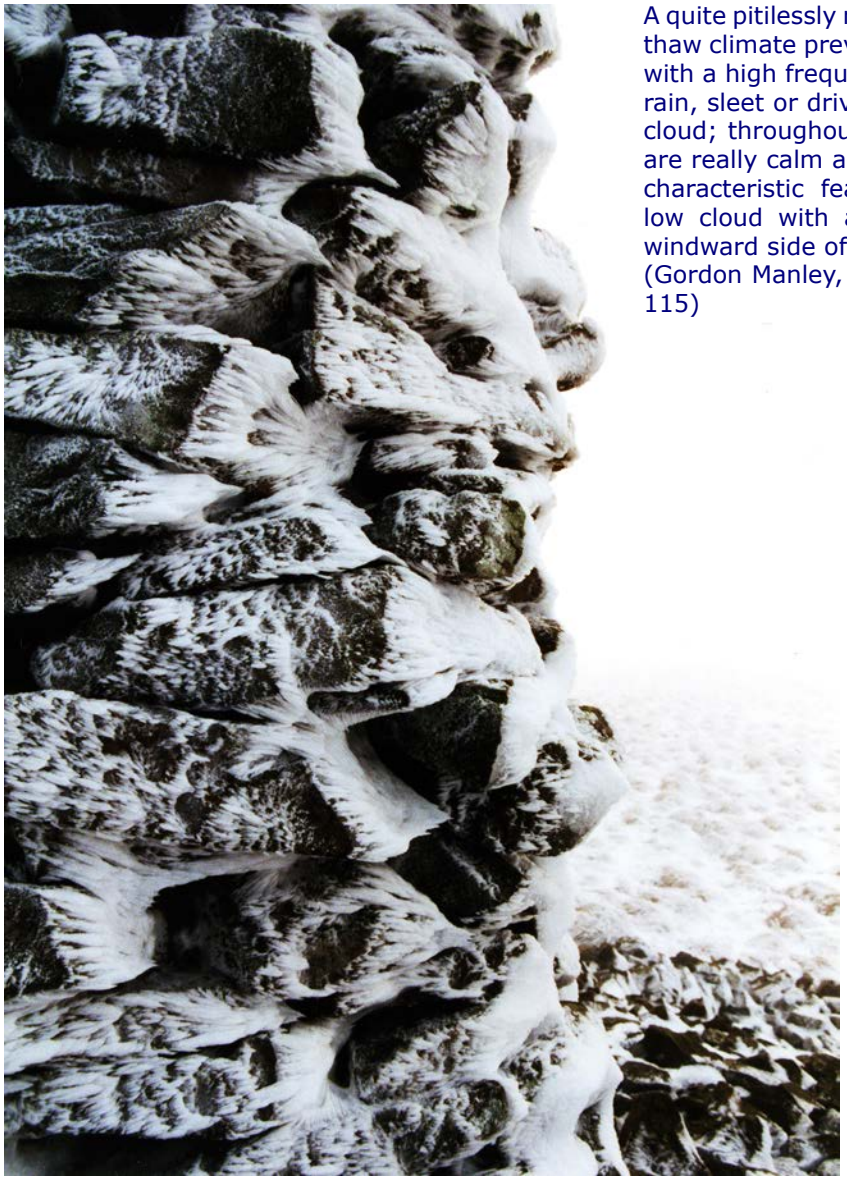
From the sandhills of Coal Fell (214m) at the northern edge of the forest, to the gritstone cap of Cold Fell (621m) at its blunt apex, is 4½ kilometres, as the crow flies, or a couple of hours' walk. Even though the North Pennines attract less rain – but more snow – than the Lake District hills to the west (Ratcliffe 2002, 14,17), the blanket bog on the tops and boulder clay on the lower ground ensure that it is wet underfoot for much of the year, despite many efforts at drainage in the past.

The marked difference in altitude and vegetation between the fells south of Tindale Tarn and the enclosed fields to the north was acknowledged in their designation as "High Forest" and "Low Forest" in the seventeenth century landowner's household accounts (Hudleston 1958, 138, 180, 213, 220, 231, 233). In common with the Cumbrian uplands in general, the fields below the intake wall are sheep and cattle pasture and hay meadows. Although cereal crops were once grown, there is now no cultivated arable land in the forest, and under the RSPB's management policy sheep are giving way to cattle. The high ground remains a sheepwalk for the present, but it is not managed as a grouse moor as the shooting rights are no longer exercised.



Profile of Bruthwaite Forest from Coalfell to Cold Fell

The light separates High Forest from Low Forest: Tindale Fell at sunset, looking south from Coalfell, April 2009



Tindale Fell top, 29 December 1999

A quite pitilessly raw, windswept, bitter freeze-and-thaw climate prevails for long periods every winter, with a high frequency of alternations between cold rain, sleet or driving snow and very persistent low cloud; throughout the winter, sunny intervals that are really calm are very rare, and one of the most characteristic features is the rime-deposit from low cloud with abundant 'frost feathers' on the windward side of all obstacles.
(Gordon Manley, in Pearsall and Pennington 1973, 115)

Cold Fell summit, February 2001

Tindale Fell top, December 1999

Ladle Head ruin and old dog Jay, January 2003

Change can be brutal with a sudden storm, or so slow as to be imperceptible. Ten years is barely a flicker on the geological scale but a critical period in the demise of a building, as high winds and freeze-thaw conditions pull it apart. The exposure is harsh for humans too. Mary Snaith, two years old, of *Laidleheads* on Tindale fellside, died in October 1823 (DRC/6/62/2).

A felltop cairn is subject to every hazard of exposure, but the currick on Tindale Fell, of skilful drystone construction, seems built to survive. At different times I have seen it coated in horizontal shards of ice and draped in wind-shredded Tibetan prayer flags. On this sunny occasion I decorated it momentarily with some of my pots.

Tindale Fell summit cairn or currick, June 2009

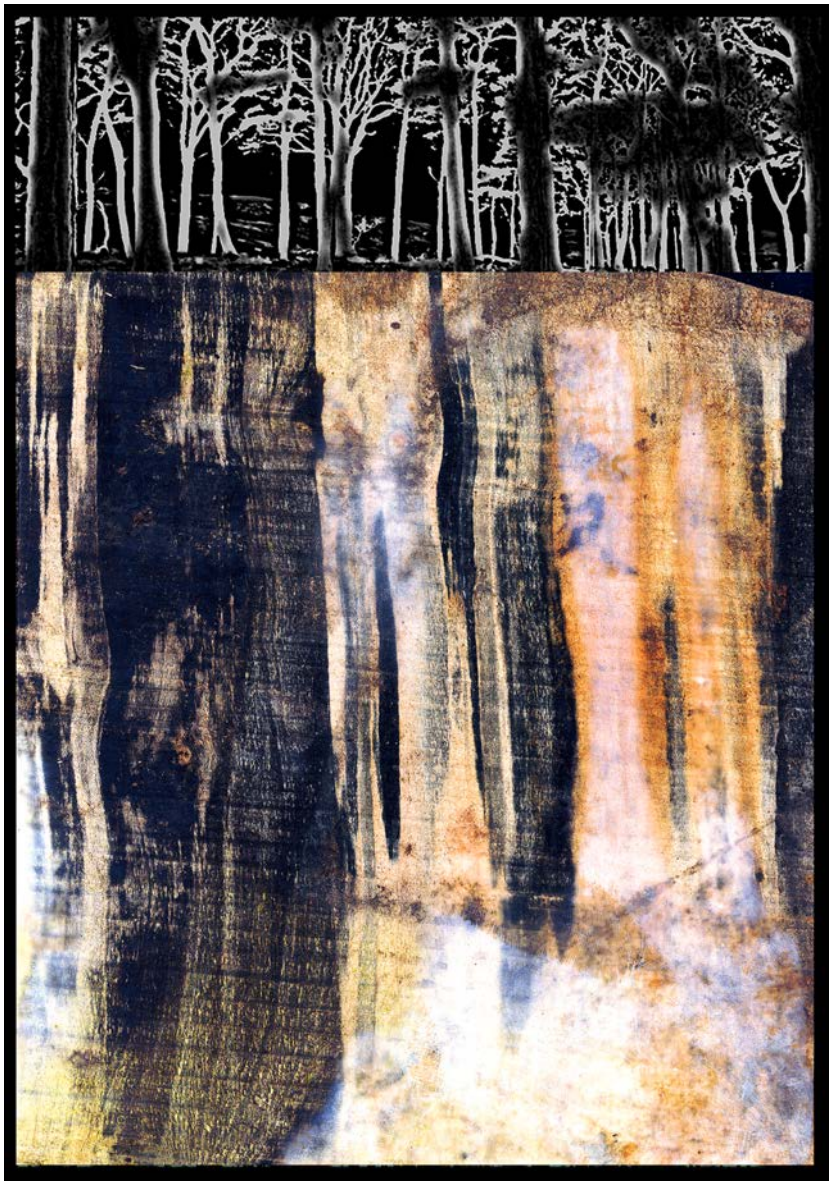
Tarnhouse in the trees between fell and tarn, March 2010

At the fell foot, the winter-shadowed farmstead of Tarnhouse commands the east-west oriented valley from Forest Head and Howgill to Bishop Hill and Tindale. In the words of Henry Moses, who farmed at Tarnhouse in the mid nineteenth century:

> the eastern half of this valley is wholly occupied by Tindale Tarn, 64 acres in extent; the western half consists of a flat meadow only a very few feet raised above the lake which is fed by streams conveying the drainage… through the meadow… the whole valley must have been one lake, the meadow soil being composed of earthy deposit brought down by the streams, when in flood, from the steep hills which surround it; and by mosses, the products of vegetable growth, and decay which have accumulated upon it. It is therefore… a lacustrine bog.
> (Moses 1897, 48)

The fertility implied in this description of the valley meadows must have been recognised and exploited in the initial clearing of Bruthwaite, which may well precede the medieval land grants to Lanercost Priory.

Riff in Tindale Tarn, June 2010



Treeology, digital print, 2004

Forest and trees

Although the tree cover on the High Forest has long gone, bar the occasional wizened hawthorn or rowan, in post-glacial times there may have been woodland scrub up to 800m (Ratcliffe 2002, 251), and therefore possibly covering Cold Fell. 'Forest' denotes a hunting reserve rather than woodland; as Oliver Rackham emphasises, "a medieval Forest was a place of deer, not of trees" (Rackham 2006, 24). Nonetheless, that there were trees in this forest is attested by several place-names, including Cleskets, or *Claschet* (Todd 1997, 124), which means 'grey wood' (Todd 2005, 93; Breeze 2006, 328).

When William de Mora and his wife Agnes leased forty acres beside Cleskett Beck in c1271, they were "not to cut the wood of Clowsgill except to make and repair hedges or buildings" (Todd 1997, 310).

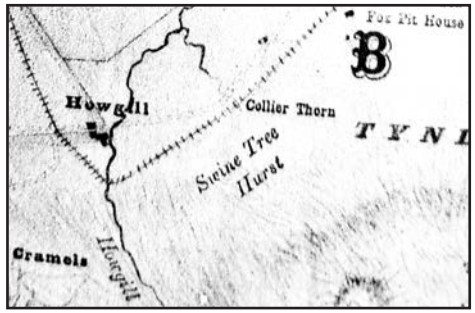
Clowsgill wood, February 2010

Although the remains of individual hawthorns are still to be seen on the fellside, it is unclear where the "standing thorn" of Lancelot Carleton's time was, but 'thorn' is an Old English word (Parsons 2004, 158), and as a boundary marker, renewed over the centuries, it could pre-date the medieval forest. As John Field observed, "Trees marking boundaries had to be firm-rooted, long-lived and conspicuous; oak, ash, yew, and thorns were much favoured" (Field 1993, 64).

Ladle Head thorn, January 2003

Recent plantation on Swine Tree Hurst, Tindale Fell, February 2010

Swinehirstes, mentioned in 1603 (Armstrong et al 1950, 104), incorporates OE *hyrst,* a 'wooded hill' (Gelling 1984, 197). This is probably the same place as *Swine Tree Hurst* (Site 329), which appears on the 1829 Gilsland Survey map on the north-western slope of Tindale Fell above Howgill. Pigs grazing in woodland were part of the pastoral economy, recognised here in a grant to Lanercost Priory which includes "the right to hunt wolves and hares throughout Gilsland, and the right to have demesne pigs in the forest of Gilsland free of pannage" (Todd 1997, 403).



Swine Tree Hurst above Howgill, Survey of the customary lands in the barony of Gilsland, 1829

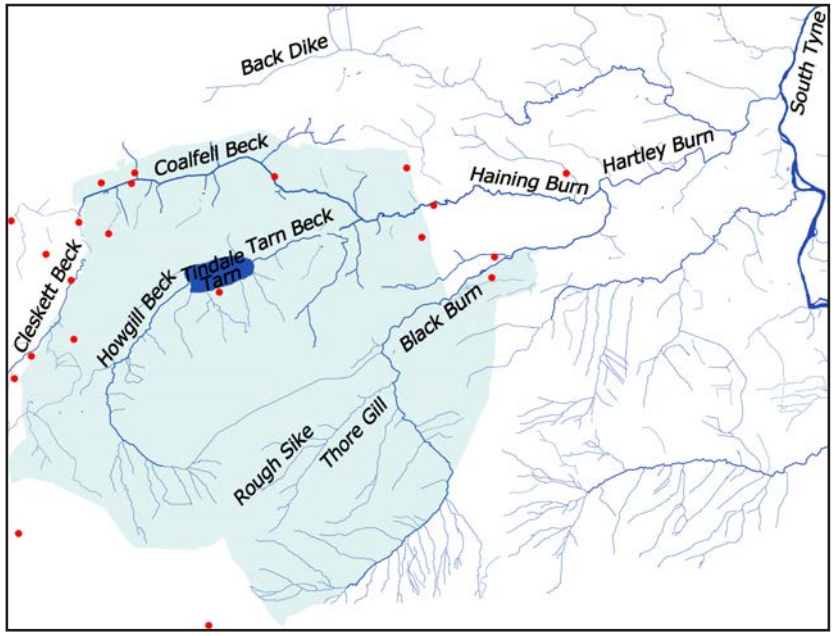
Lancelot Carleton holds by indenture of Lord William Howard and Lady Elizabeth, his wife, all that parcel of land called the forest of Brerethwaite, together with a house called the Tarnhouse and the fishing of Tymell Tarne, lying within the lordships of Brampton and Denton. The said forest lieth adjoining to the Forest of Geltsdale, and is bounded as followeth. Beginning at a standing thorn on the brow side and so to the height of the fell and so, holding the height as heaven water dealeth, to Caldefell syke, and so to a place called the Fawgill. From thence, as heaven water deals, to Byers Pike, and so, down Byers Pike wall, to Blackburn, and up Blackburn to the forest foot, and so, following the said wall, to the said thorn.
(Gilsland survey, 1589, Graham 1919b, 108)

Most of the trees in the Low Forest today are in small recent plantations and roadside tree-planting initiatives, but over the last few years the lower slopes of Tindale Fell and Brown Fell have been planted by the RSPB with native trees, spreading down into the valley of Howgill Beck and across *Ragilmire*. Once the trees are sufficiently grown fencing will be removed and these areas will be managed as wood pasture with cattle grazing.

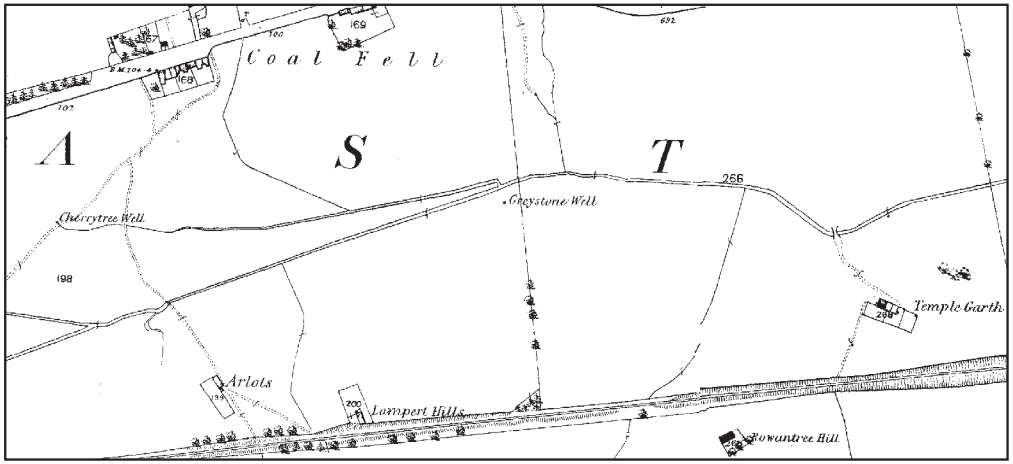
Swine Tree Hurst, the fellside to the left of Howgill cottages, October 2006

Water

Bruthwaite Forest drains to the east. From either side of the sudden terminus of the Pennine range on Cold Fell and Tindale Fell, the summit waters descend through the ravines of Raven Linn, Howgill and Clowsgill, eventually to be reunited in Hartley Burn, a short tributary of the South Tyne. This is the cultural and geographical watershed between north-east and north-west England, with a clear linguistic divide in the terms 'burn', found in Northumberland and east Cumberland, and 'beck', in Cumberland (Gelling 1984, 14, 17). Coalfell, Cleskett, Howgill and Tarn Becks in the west of the forest flow into Haining Burn, which is joined by the Black Burn to flow east into Hartley Burn. Water supply has always been a determinant in the siting of houses, and wells in the limestone areas indicate the distribution of dwellings before piped water was available. From the wells beside Coalfell Beck, water would be carried to the nearby houses. Down a faint footpath at the foot of the sandhill sheltering the row of houses which was once the Coalfell farmstead is Cherrytree Well, from which water still flows winter and summer alike. At the eastern end of Coalfell Pasture, the sandstone surround of Greystone Well is turfbound and barely visible.

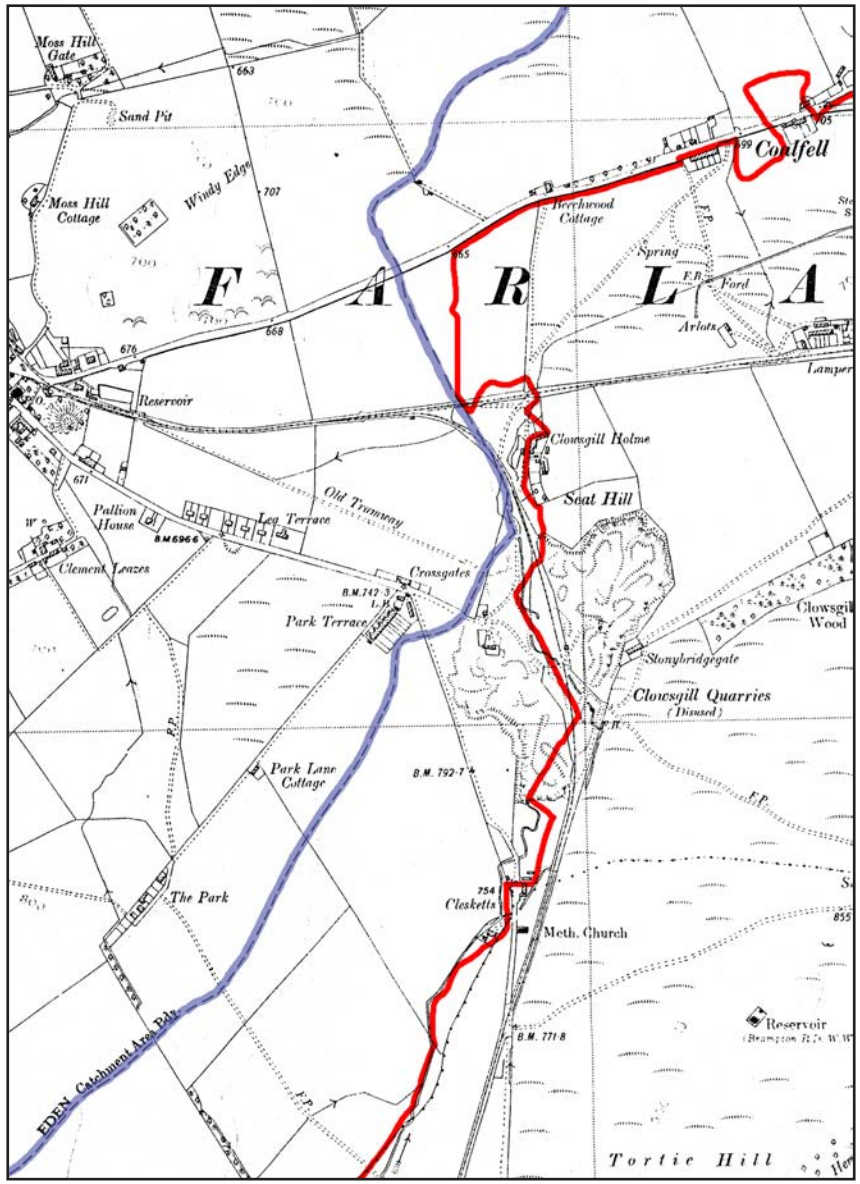


The waters of Bruthwaite Forest flow east to the South Tyne: wells are shown as red dots, map based on OS 1st edn 6", 1868



Wells at Coalfell, OS 2nd edn 25", 1900

Cherrytree well, December 2005



River Eden catchment boundary (blue), forest wall (red), on OS 6" edn 1946

The watershed, shown for a period on maps as the Eden Catchment Area Boundary (OS 6", 1926, 1946), coincides with the western limit of the forest in the limestone ravine of Clowsgill. In this area the distribution of water between Eden and Tyne occurs partly unseen in underground aquifers, which have been much altered by deep mining and quarrying along the limestone band. The collieries at Blacksike and Talkin Fell, just outside the forest to the west, "were drained in part by water level into How Gill" (Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 86). Cleskett Beck disappears at the base of the quarried strata in Clowsgill, regaining the surface intermittently and finally emerging in Coalfell Pasture. To the north of the forest, the present-day Silver Top quarry also lies on the watershed, and the continuous pumping of groundwater from the deep workings has affected the flow in local becks and on their floodplains. Coalfell Beck was re-routed and canalised in the first half of the nineteenth century (HNP C230; OS 25", 1868), yet during heavy rains the marsh floods and the beck resumes its earlier course. When the canalised section was dredged in January 2000, many potsherds came to the surface.

Original course of Coalfell Beck revealed by flooding, November 2009

Mole runs after the thaw, February 2009

Mole runs on frozen ground, January 2010

Moles

Of all animal life in the forest it is the mole that has the greatest influence on my walking behaviour. This "aggressive, quarrelsome and solitary" animal (Mellanby 1971, 108) leaves much visible evidence of its presence. A mole, digging with its shovel-like front feet, can push up to six kilograms of soil to the surface in twenty minutes, creating lines of molehills that map the extensive underlying networks of deep burrows. In the warmer part of the year, and in very soft sandy or peaty soil, it makes surface runs which raise the turf in narrow winding ridges. In wintertime, cold weather drives the mole deeper in search of the worms and insects that have retreated to the warmer ground below, and when snowdrifts thaw, open tunnels are revealed showing that the mole has burrowed along the "soil-snow interface" (Mellanby 1971, 68-74). The calcareous pastures of the Low Forest, unploughed for many years, have a loamy soil rich in earthworms attractive to moles.

In a nature reserve, where wildlife is respected and encouraged, it is surprising to find that the mole is still trapped or poisoned, a pointless relic of the medieval obsession with persecution of 'vermin'. There seems to have been little change in attitudes since the eighteenth century, when "in Cumberland, a mole is rarely to be seen; this is in consequence of every occupier of land contributing his due proportion towards their destruction" (Bailey and Culley 1805, 182).

The molecatcher still does his rounds, and the sight of a row of up to a hundred corpses displayed on a fence is common, but to little avail since the tunnels are rapidly colonised by other moles. The debate as to the beneficial or harmful activities of the mole is inconclusive. John Clare thought that molehills provided a fine topsoil dressing, as in January 1825 he "began to fetch maiden earth from molehills for my flower beds" (Grainger 1983, 216). But moles dig deep where necessary, and are capable of bringing unwanted subsoil to the surface, unlike earthworms which process the soil through their bodies to produce the vegetable mould investigated by Darwin. It is not the moles themselves but their molehills which arguably cause a problem for farmers, and in a more tolerant age perhaps the example to follow is that of Thomas Bewick, whose main task in springtime as a young boy was "being set to work to 'scale' the pastures and meadows; that is, to spread the mole-hills over the surface of the ground" (Thomas Bewick in Weekley 1961, 12).

Mole, in Wood, Our Garden Friends and Foes, 1864

Moles strung on a fence, Templegarth, February 2010

When melted snow leaves bare the black green rings
& grass begins in freshening hues to shoot
When thawing dirt to shoes of ploughmen cling[s]
& silk haired moles get liberty to root
An ancient man goes plodding round the fields
Which solitude seems claiming as her own
Wrapt in great coat that from a tempest shields
Patched thick with every colour but its own

With spud & traps & horsehair strings supplied
& potter out to seek each fresh made hill
Pricking the greensward where they love to hide
He sets his treacherous snares resolved to kill
& on the willow sticks bent to the grass
That such as touched jerks up in bouncing springs
Soon as the little hermit tries to pass
His little carcass on the gibbet hings

& as a triumph to his matchless skill
On some grey willow where a road runs bye
That passers may behold his powers to kill
On the boughs twigs he'll many a felon tye
On every common dozens may be met
Dangling on bent twigs bleaching to the sun
Whose melancholly fates meets no regret
Though dreamless of the snare they could not shun
They died unconsious of all injury done

On moors & commons & the pasture green
He leaves them undisturbed to root & run
Enlarging hills that have for ages been
Basking in mossy swellings to the sun
The pismires too their tiptops yearly climb
To lay their eggs & hunt the shepherds crumbs
Never disturbed save when for summer thyme
The trampling sheep upon their dwellings come

John Clare, The Mole Catcher (extract)
(Robinson et al 1996, 21-29)

Frozen molehills, Tarnhouse Rigg, December 2008

5 PLACING NAMES

Through an act of naming and through the development of human and mythological associations… places become invested with meaning and significance… they become captured in social discourses and act as mnemonics for the historical actions of individuals and groups… in a fundamental way names create landscapes.
(Christopher Tilley 1994, 19)

Waymarkers

> In a natural landscape, any kind of marker of human presence and human usage – a bridge, a road, a milestone, a castle, an isolated monument – inflects that landscape, connects it however vestigially with the insignia of human control and organization.
> (Andrews 1999, 156)

Dismissing the spurious notion of ley lines, Paul Hindle remarked that "the very idea that Stone Age men needed sight-lines, markers and cairns to find their way about is something of an insult to them; they clearly knew their surroundings intimately" (Hindle 1993, 17). They would undoubtedly be acutely aware of their surroundings and skilled at navigating by natural indicators such as vegetation growth, water flow and wind blow, yet their knowledge did not stop them leaving more enduring markers in significant places, whether standing stones, cairns, or rock carvings. In unfamiliar surroundings, in bad weather, or when travelling far afield, for seasonal hunting or for trade, even the most attuned wanderer would be glad to find a cairn, an inscribed stone, a marker post or a conspicuous tree to show the way.

Perhaps the oldest survivals of all the waymarkers in the forest are the two sandstone boulders that flank the track skirting Tortie hill between Clesketts and Howgill. This may not have been their primary purpose: at the point where the track dips after Tortie cottage one's eye is drawn south to the fells above Howgill, and it was several years before I noticed these isolated rocks in the fields to either side. The track and the cottages it serves are relatively recent, yet this spot, overlooking the earliest cleared pastures in the forest, must have given pause to many a traveller over time. The boulders appear to have passed through history unrecorded until the one to the west of the track was named as "Lord's Stone" on a railway map of 1798 (Webb and Gordon 1978, Fig 4). Now recognised and known as the Tortie Stones, their weathered surfaces are found to be pocked with late Neolithic or early Bronze Age cup-and-ring markings (Frodsham 1989, 4-6; Richardson 1992, 7-11).

Lord's Stone, October 2006

Tortie Stone, November 2006

Tortie hill, December 2008

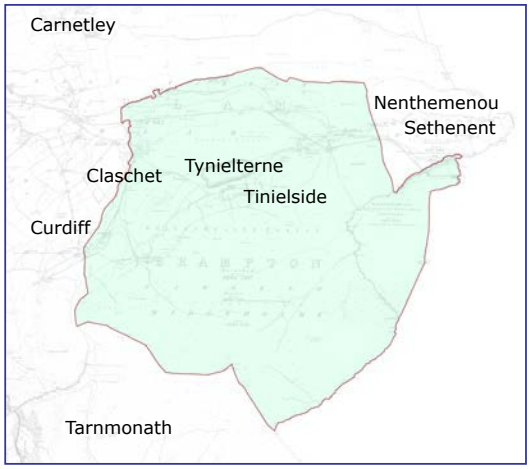
The distinctive elongated and rounded profile of Tortie hill recalls the shape of the tortoise's curved shell, and this seems to have inspired the name, first recorded as *Torty* in 1387 (Armstrong et al 1950, 103). There are only four occurrences of this name in Britain, all hills in Gilsland, two of them in Bruthwaite Forest (http://leisure.ordnancesurvey.co.uk).

North-eastwards along Tarnhouse Rigg is another stone, placed upright and deeply weathered. These three stones are the most prominent pointers to prehistoric human activity in the forest.

Tarnhouse Rigg Stone, November 2006

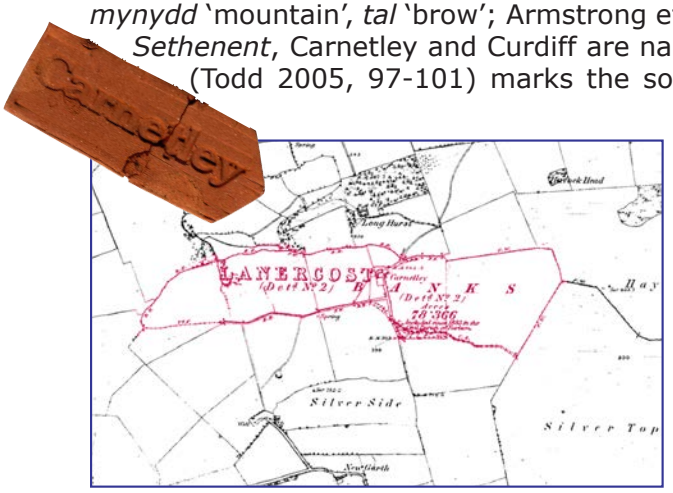
Celtic names

Although it may be supposed that their authors had access to earlier manuscripts now lost, the charters of Lanercost Priory, transcribed by John Todd (1997), provide the first written record of many of the names in and around Bruthwaite Forest. The names in the Cartulary are unlikely to have been newly coined for the land grants, so the scribes were recording, from the later twelfth century, names which may already have been passed down orally for several hundred years. One can sense the struggle to find a representative spelling for a name given in the local speech as the monks, probably unfamiliar with the landscape described, resolved a rambling phrase into a concise word of two or three syllables. While there is no indication of Roman influence or names attributed in Roman times, the charters were written in medieval Latin, and the translation of local names into the official language must have brought some distortion.



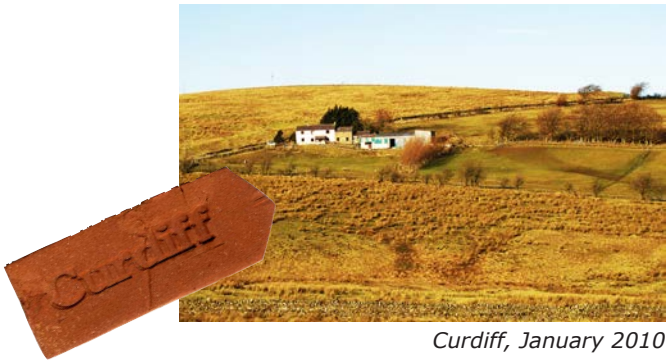
Cumbric names in and near Bruthwaite Forest, overlaid on OS 1st edn 6", 1868

The Celtic language of the British people who lived here during the Roman occupation, and possibly as recently as the early twelfth century (Jackson 1963, 61), was distinct enough from that of Welsh or other Celtic speakers to be called Cumbric (Todd 2005, 89). The cluster of Cumbric names in Gilsland (Todd 2005, 89) and their survival into modern usage implies that the Celtic population endured long enough to coexist with the Anglian and later the Norse incomers. Since there has never been a village, let alone a town or seat of secular or religious power in the forest, the place-names are all minor ones and hence feature in few documents. Some are unique to the area, but most are composed of generic elements used elsewhere in north Cumbria, and all describe the terrain. Within a few miles of the forest we find the Cumbric names Cumcatch, Cumrew and Lanercost (*cwm* 'valley', *rhiu* 'slope', *llanerch* 'glade'; Jackson 1963, 80), and Temon, Tarnmonath and Talkin (*maen* 'stone'; *mynydd* 'mountain', *tal* 'brow'; Armstrong et al 1952, xx). On the periphery, *Nenthemenou*, *Sethenent*, Carnetley and Curdiff are names with British elements. *Claschet* (Clesketts) (Todd 2005, 97-101) marks the south-western boundary, but only *Tinielside* and *Tynielterne* lie in the heart of the forest.



Carnetley, outlined on OS 1st edn 6", 1868

Just to the north of the forest is the farm of Carnetley, earlier *Caruthelaue* (Todd 1997, 20-21, 106-8). Given its location and character, the most likely interpretation is *caruthe*, the 'lord's stockaded farm', with the English word *laue* 'hill' as the final element (Breeze 2006, 328). A couple of miles to the east along the Farlam parish boundary occur the later names *Lawstandsheildes* and *Prencquepotlawe* (Graham 1934, 29; HNP C713/1, 1A, 7, 12, 13). Thirty-two acres of land, with common pasture in Denton were given to Lanercost Priory before 1210, and this was consolidated with a further grant c1250 of the "whole land of Carnetley enclosed with hedge-bank and ditch" (Todd 1997, 106-7). Carnetley is still an isolated hill farm enclosed by a ring dyke which is very much evident in the form of banks, ditches and field walls. The farm remained a detached portion of Lanercost parish until 1883 when it was incorporated in Farlam.



Curdiff, January 2010

There is a second possible fortified settlement on the western fringe of the forest at Curdiff, now a farm on the road to Forest Head, whose name may derive from *caer ddu* 'black stockaded farm' (Breeze 2006, 331). The need to defend these farmsteads hints at the endangered and precarious status of the local British people, scattered as they were around the edge of bleak and unforgiving fell country.

Clesketts, February 2007

Clesketts or *Claschet* (Todd 1997, 124), the only wholly Cumbric name here (Breeze 2006, 328), includes *kaito* 'wood' (Parsons 2004, 156). In Askerton, further north in Gilsland, there was an allocation of grazing rights in *Glascaith* woods around 1200, and both *Glascaith* and *Claschet* are akin to the modern Welsh *glas coed* 'grey wood' (Todd 1997, 181-2, 124; 2005, 93; Breeze 2006, 328). The small plantation in this much altered landscape today bears no relation to the former wood pasture, and the rough grazing here ranges over the old Clowsgill limestone quarry and disused mineral railway lines which have obscured the forest boundary.

Sethenent and Nenthemenou, February 2010

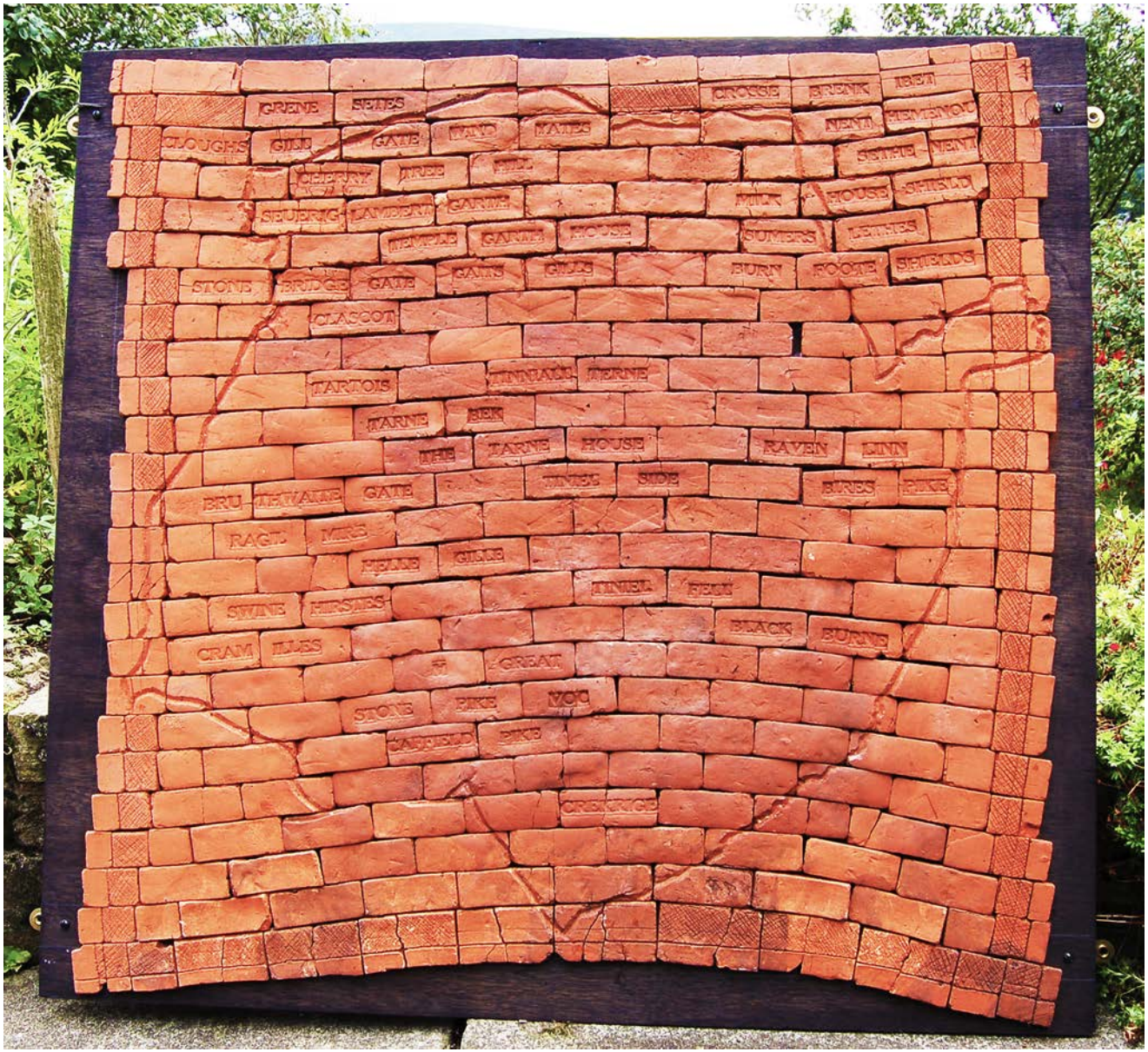
At the opposite side of the forest, on its north-eastern margin, Lanercost Priory, when it was founded c1170, was given "land in the moor of *Brenkibet*" (Todd 1997, 51-5) "'as *Sechenent* flows into Herthinburn and so towards Tindale by the bounds which Gille son of Bueth held', and common pasture of the whole moor and a winter shieling" (Moorman 1948, 84). The monks enclosed this moorland with the Prior Dike, still an impressive bank and ditch, and within this area land at *Sethenent* and *Nenthemenou* was granted for building houses and a shieling. These Cumbric names had weathered many centuries to find a place in the Cartulary. *Sethenent* 'dry valley', is related to the Welsh *Sychnant* (Breeze 2006, 328), and locally there is another lost field name, *Sechenent* (*sïcc*, *nant*) in the Irthing valley at Burtholme (Coates and Breeze 2000, 284). The overall sense of *Nenthemenou* is 'stream of the young goats' (*nant* 'stream, valley', *mynneu* 'kids'; Breeze 2006, 330), with possibly a hint of *ymenyn* 'butter' (Fox 2008, 357). Both these names have since fallen out of use, but can be located as the moorland and valley drained by a tributary of Haining Burn (Todd 1997, 61, 55), where there are still earthwork remains of a shieling.

Prior Dike looking east from Mint Hill, February 2010

Anglian and Norse names

The thin scattering of Cumbric names is overlaid by the Anglian and Norse names which describe and define the territory, and a few names recorded later or reflecting post-medieval local dialect. From the early seventh century Anglo-Saxon became the predominant language in Cumbria (Todd 2005, 89), and the Anglian settlers were profoundly aware of geographical detail, which they expressed with "a vast and subtle topographical vocabulary" (Gelling 1984, 7), but their forty or so words for types of hill and thirty for types of valley lose this eloquence of precision when rendered into modern English merely as 'hill' and 'valley' (Gelling 1998, 75-6). The place-names of the forest are almost all descriptive of the landscape, presumably because it remained sparsely inhabited and then as lordly demesne for so very long. There are hardly any possessive names, and apparently no permanent settlements to which people might consider they belonged. Farlam, the settlement by the fern clearing (OE *fearnlēam* or *fearnlēah-hām*; Armstrong et al 1950, 83-4; Ekwall 1960, 174) some three kilometres west of the forest, is the closest Anglian village, occupying a relatively sheltered lowland site on rich soils, with common moorland grazings bordering the forest to the north and west. Within the forest, however, there is not a single Anglian *tūn, ing*, or *hām*, no *bōðl* or *wīc* or a Norse *by*. The difficulty of separating Anglo-Saxon from Norse names, given the frequency of cognate forms among the topographical terms, is compounded by the lack of written records before the twelfth century. *Burna, clōh, dael, denu, dīc, fūl, hlāw, hrycg, hwamm, hyrst, mos, pīc, sīc, sīde* and *þorn* are all Old English elements contained in names within and adjacent to the forest. All are common words and many can still be heard in local speech.

The Norse colonists, arriving in the late ninth or early tenth century (Todd 2005, 89), generally penetrated further up the valleys and higher into the hills, territory more familiar to them than to migrants from the north European plains. These Norse people also brought with them a rich topographical vocabulary, and as well as creating new names they reused names of familiar places back home (Nicolaisen 2001, 126-7), in the same spirit as nineteenth century emigrants to the New World. Old Norse elements in forest names include *bekkr, dalr, fjall, garðr, gil, holh, holmr, hryggr, kelda, mýrr, nes, sætr, tjǫrn* and *Þveit,* words that continued in coinage and usage throughout the medieval period and sometimes into modern northern dialect. Norse settlers may have been only a transient presence here, using the forest for summer grazing long before the Norman landowners formally granted *Grenesetes* near Greenside and a shieling on *Tinielside* near Howgill to Lanercost Priory (Todd 1997, 342-3, 77).



Tile map 2: Lost names of Bruthwaite Forest, September 2010

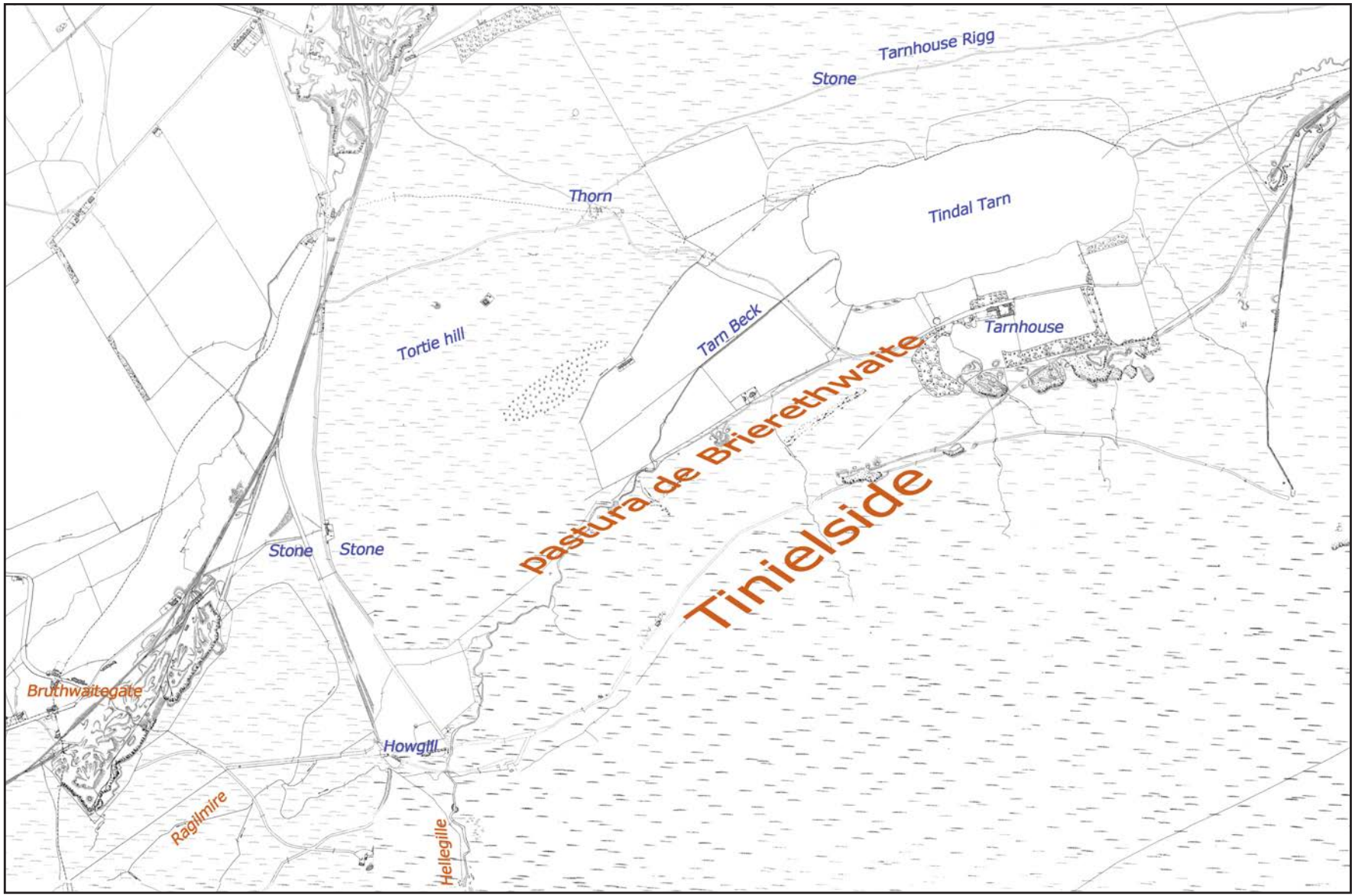
Bruthwaite and Tinielside

There are no *Þveit* names in Northumberland or Durham (Nicolaisen 2001, 137), so that if Bruthwaite was named by Norse incomers, it is likely they made their way from the west coast across the Solway plain up into the north Pennines. The term *Þveit* was typically applied to the clearing of "less promising ground, usually on a higher level" (Nicolaisen 2001, 138), and as it developed in meaning from 'a felled tree' to 'a clearing', and then 'enclosed pasture' and 'meadow' (Gelling and Cole 2000, 249-50), so was the ground itself transformed from scrubby woodland to open grazings. Winchester notes that "'thwaite' survived well into the thirteenth century as an active place-name element" (Winchester 1987, 42), and this is consistent with the first mention of *Brecherthwait*, already enclosed with a hedge-bank and ditch around 1211, and as *pastura de Brierthwate* in the 1270s (Todd 1997, 77-8, 405).

These earliest references to Bruthwaite are found in the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1997), which chronicles a century of land grants from the priory's foundation in about 1169, an era of rapid growth nationally in population and wealth, expansion of farming and pressure on land. The high forests of Geltsdale and Bruthwaite, however, two halves of an upland block divided arbitrarily across the felltops, were fit only for hunting and summer grazing. The 'thwaite' must be on the lower ground, since it is hard to envisage there having been any cleared land or meadow on the steep slopes of Tindale Fell or Brown Fell; thus the forest took its name from the land overgrown with briers that was cleared for pasture at the foot of the fell.

Grants of common pasture and a shieling on *Tinielside* (Todd 1997, 61, 73) marked an early extension of the priory's land westwards over Black Burn into what was to become Bruthwaite Forest. Ekwall surmised that *Tiniel* may combine *din* 'fort' with the Welsh *iâl* 'fertile upland region' (Ekwall 1960, 474), and it is indeed tempting to see here a stronghold or fortified farm at the base of the fell, perhaps at the site of the later Tarnhouse with its pele tower. Victor Watts is dismissive of this explanation as *Tiniel* may be based on a 'ghost-word' (Watts 2004, 618), but he offers no sensible alternative. A less likely derivation is from the British word *Tinoialon* 'upland on the Tyne' (Ekwall 1960, 474), given that the forest is part of the South Tyne water catchment, even though that river is four miles away to the east, beyond a considerable tract of moorland.

It seems reasonable to associate Bruthwaite with this shieling existing in the early thirteenth century near *Hellegille*, which Todd interpreted as Howgill (OE *holh gil* 'deep valley'; Todd 1997, 73; Ekwall 1960, 245, 254). Howgill Beck plunges off Tindale Fell over a series of waterfalls into a deep ravine which is quite a scramble; at the base of the fell it joins Tarn Beck to flow across the valley meadows into Tindale Tarn. Bruthwaite seems, then, to have been the cleared land between Tortie Hill to the north, Tindale Tarn to the north-east, Tindale Fell to the south-east, and *Ragilmire* to the south-west. In order to lend its name to the whole of the forest, Bruthwaite must have been a substantial area of pasture in use at the time. The shieling itself may have fallen out of use during the retreat from marginal land, never to recover, but it is more likely that the shieling grounds were absorbed into the farmlands of Tarnhouse, which "must be on the site of *le Terneclose de Brerethwaite* 1387" (Armstrong et al 1950, 104).



Probable area of Bruthwaite and Tindaleside, overlaid on OS 6" edn, 1957

Gille's land

The people of Cumberland, once part of the Scottish kingdom of Strathclyde, were by this time a "mixture of Briton, Northumbrian, Scandinavian, and Gael" (Barrow 1956, 127). Even when William Rufus, in 1092, drove out Dolfin, lord of Cumberland, built a castle in Carlisle and imported southern peasants to support the garrison (Kapelle 1979, 150), Norman rule did not extend to the northern flank of the Pennines, where pastoral life probably continued, however precariously, in the largely Norse upland settlements. These marginal uplands rising to the east of the Solway plain were barely inhabited, if at all, and used mainly for summer pasture (Kapelle 1979, 7). This was lawless country, once part of the territory of "Gille son of Boet, a local chieftain who appears to have acknowledged no feudal superior" (Wilson 1901, 2, 244). Both Gille and Boet or Bueth are Goidelic names, Bueth leaving his name at Boothby (Armstrong et al 1952, 507), north of the forest near Naworth castle, while Gilsland was named after his son. If Gille looked to any overlord, it was the Scottish king, who held his ground, controlling the northernmost Pennine crossing along the Irthing valley and over the watershed into Northumbria along the river Tyne. The turning point came in 1157 (Kapelle 1979, 200), when we hear no more of Gille after Henry II granted his lands to the Norman Hubert de Vaux. For good measure, Henry created the barony of Langley in south Tynedale, granting it to Adam de Tindale (Kapelle 1979, 130), and thus bringing the communication corridor of the Tyne gap under Norman control for the first time.

Gille's land became the barony of Gilsland, a vast tract of 70,000 acres, much of which was upland waste. Gilsland lay within the disputed border area which alternated between Scottish and English lordship, and for centuries afterwards border raiding and counter-raiding were deeply ingrained. The barony's stronghold was at Naward, later Naworth (OE *nearu weard* 'fort in a narrow place'), which Ranulph Dacre was licensed to fortify in 1335 (Ekwall 1960, 336). The castle was a close neighbour of Lanercost Priory in the Irthing valley, in a commanding yet vulnerable position by the main road through the Tyne gap. In 1309 the Scots, led by Robert the Bruce, burnt much of Gilsland, and "committed great outrages at Lanercost". From then on, these devastating raids, and the retaliatory sorties into Scotland, became the pattern of life in the Borders, until by the mid fifteenth century "the inhabitants of both sides of the borders… so repeatedly invaded and pilfered each other's territories, that a great part of Cumberland became one continued scene of rapine, desolation, and bloodshed" (Nicolson and Burn, II, 23, 24). Even in 1399 Naworth Castle was "worth nothing but is in great need of repair as it is near the March and in great danger from the Scots" (Cal IPM 1988, 515-7).

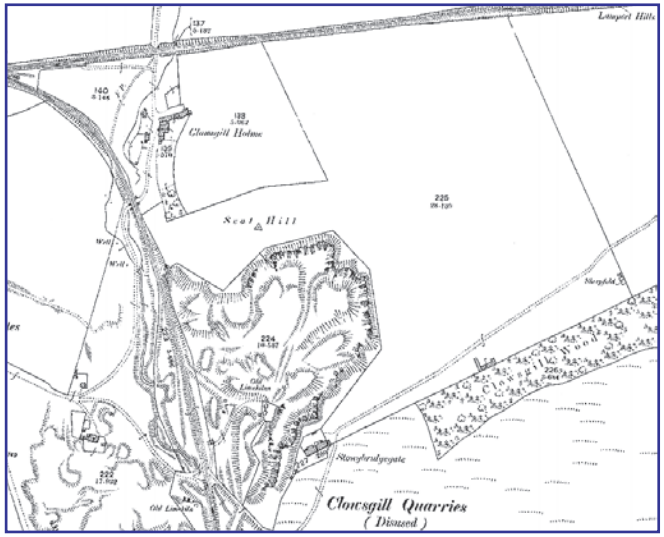
Aerial photograph of Naworth Castle

Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that Gilsland was sparsely populated. Above the more fertile lowland settlements, both to the north and south of Naworth, were the wild moorlands, including Bruthwaite Forest, described as waste, but as Todd commented, "'waste' was a term of art for land which provided lambs, fleeces, butter, cheese, turf, timber, underwood and bark, venison and fish". By the early thirteenth century pasture had been granted for "60 cows, 3 bulls, 10 mares, 10 sows, and the oxen and horses to plough the land, *in foresta mea de Geltesdale et de Tinielside"*, and the shielings were "vaccaries and bercaries in embryo", some with enclosed arable fields (Todd 1997, 26, 17, 77, 18).

Clowsgill

Whereas Howgill was a deep ravine, Clowsgill was a slighter cleft in the limestone. Here was the site chosen as "a suitable place for making a sheep-walk… and pasture for one milking of sheep" (Todd 1997, 120-1), beside Cleskett Beck in the demesne land of *Seuerig* (*sef, hrycg*, the sedge or rushy ridge; Armstrong et al 1950, 87). This relatively sheltered spot, on fertile soil overlying the limestone band with a good water supply, developed into a farm by the late thirteenth century, with common pasture for 200 sheep. William de Mora and his wife Agnes leased forty acres here from the Priory, "at a rent of twenty shillings and three loads of an eight-ox wagon of hay chosen by the prior a year", and by 1292 the farm comprised two houses with crofts and sixty acres of land, including thirty acres of hay meadow (Todd 1997, 309-11, 283-4, 337-8).

Clowsgillholme, November 2005



Clowsgillholme, OS 2nd edn 25", 1901

The farmstead was built on a *holmr*, the "very slightly raised ground" (Gelling 1984, 50-1) above the beck, known as *Clousgilholme* by 1598 (Armstrong et al 1950, 85). Clowsgill itself has been intensively quarried for its limestone, the holme has been hemmed in by railway embankments and bridges, and the beck has in the past been encumbered with a waterwheel, dams and sluices, so that the original form of the ravine must be imagined.

Clowsgillholme, January 2007

Seat Hill overlooks Clowsgillholme and before much of it was eaten away by the quarry, would have formed the east face of the ravine. Its modern name possibly derives from ON *sæti* 'a natural seat or high place', or ON *sætr* 'shieling, summer pasture'; even perhaps a faint memory of *Seuerig*.

Hunting forest

> In the said baronie their bee divers parkes for fallowe deare; and a great forrest of read deare called Geltesdale and Brearіethwaite where I have seen above a thousande reade deere att a viewe and a course. (Thomas Carleton, land sergeant of the Barony, Gilsland Survey 1597; Moses 1897, 31)

As the neighbouring Geltsdale Forest was named from the valley to its south and west, so Bruthwaite Forest was named from a clearing in the valley to its north. The two forests form one continuous upland at the northern extremity of the Cross Fell range, divided only by a line of boundary mounds and posts over the summits of Cold Fell and Byers Pike, represented schematically on the 1603 Gilsland Survey and subsequent maps. Bruthwaite was not a royal forest but a private chase reserved for the lord's hunting, while providing Lanercost priory with stinted grazing on the fell. Private chases, unlike parks, were generally unenclosed (James 1981, 5), yet the northern and western boundaries of Bruthwaite Forest were formed by a continuous wall, which became a significant and enduring landscape feature. Five kilometres south of Naworth, Bruthwaite Forest provided hunting for pleasure, meat for the lord's table, and exclusive rights over all its material and mineral resources. The Norman lords of Gilsland had at first enjoyed hunting rights across the whole of the barony, but by the 1290s they were limited to the upland forests (Winchester 2007, 165) and there were already tensions between the different demands made on the land. The shieling grounds and other enclosed land must have been successful, for they interfered with the lord's hunting and this "made it increasingly difficult to reconcile enclosure for arable cultivation with hunting and pasture rights" (Todd 1997, 8). As early as 1295 it seems "the free chase of the barony… renders nothing but herbage" (Cal IPM 1912, 285), that is, payment for agistment, the right to graze cattle and some horses.

The forest wall above Gairs, November 2005

The forest wall by the lonning at Greenside, November 2005

This presaged the terrible century of plague, cattle disease and bad weather causing crop failure. Border warfare and cattle raiding did everything to make matters worse, and the successive lords were careful to emphasise the pitiful income from their diminished estates, but it was undoubtedly true, when William Dacre died in 1399, that his lands, which included *Rocheburne*, *Brerestwait* (Bruthwaite) and *Prenquepotmore*, were "largely waste owing to destruction by the Scots" (Cal IPM 1988, 515–517). Raiding and warfare continued throughout the next century, which is why at the death of Humphrey Dacre in 1485 "the herbage of a several pasture called 'Geltesdale'… let for 60s., and now lets for 6s.8d." and "a close… called 'Brerethuayte'… gives 2s. for herbage" (Cal IPM 1898, 69).

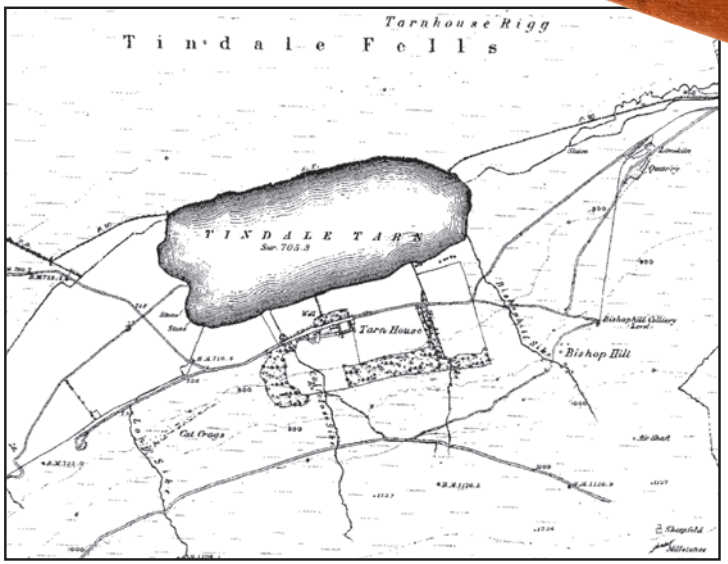
Gilsland Survey extract, 1603, HNP C 713/13

Bruthwaite Forest highlighted on Thomas Ramshay's Plan of "The Barony of Gilsland According to the Ancient Boundary", 1772

Tarnhouse

Despite the grim prevailing conditions, Humphrey Dacre's "new built house… called 'Ternehouse'" (Cal IPM 1898, 69) at the fell foot anticipated returning prosperity as well as responding to the need to protect a beleaguered tenant. Tarnhouse was constructed by 1486, probably as a pele tower, since it has hefty sandstone walls in places two metres thick and possibly a curtain wall (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk). Yet despite this defensive solidity, Tarnhouse and the other houses in the forest, Roachburn and Templegarth, were destroyed by the Scots and were equally valueless "because they lie totally waste and unoccupied" (Cal IPM 1898, 71; CRO DX1113/14). Although with a northern outlook that denies it sunshine all winter long, Tarnhouse was well situated at the heart of the forest to take advantage of the plentiful resources of the fell grazings, woodland and hay meadows, even while the adjacent fishery of *Tynyel-logh* was worth a mere 6d. (Cal IPM 1898, 69). According to the Gilsland Survey book of 1603, the extent of Bruthwaite Forest was 4100 acres (Graham 1934, 162), identical with the acreage of Tarnhouse farm in the late nineteenth century.

Tarnhouse, west gable end, February 2007



Tindale Tarn and Tarnhouse, OS 1st edn 6", 1868

Tarnhouse by Tindale Tarn, February 2008

Following the dissolution of the monasteries, Lanercost Priory and all its endowments, including the priory's various ancient parcels of land in Bruthwaite Forest, passed to Thomas Dacre (Moses 1897, 49). But by the late sixteenth century "the Border was getting worse… there existed… a reign of terror. 'Decaie'… had set in with a vengeance" (Fraser 1971, 189). This was the time when William Howard was negotiating to buy back his Gilsland estates from Elizabeth I, who had appropriated them for the Crown following the attainder of the last of the Dacre lords (Ornsby 1878, xviii). His need to recoup this substantial cost made him look to his estates for ways to increase revenue from rents through the gradual introduction of leasehold tenure. Despite the appalling local conditions, which meant that "most of the gentry within twenty miles of Carlisle were in fear of their lives" (Fraser 1971, 191), farming improvements were in the air: "the agricultural propagandists… wanted the bracken, gorse and broom removed… the old rushy pasture lands should be ploughed up and drained; deer parks were wasteful and there were far too many chases and forests… agricultural improvement and exploitation were… moral imperatives" (Thomas 1983, 254).

William Howard and subsequently his great-grandson Charles kept detailed household accounts of local payments and receipts in the first half of the seventeenth century (Ornsby 1878; Hudleston 1958), and these show the steady increase in income from the estates (Hudleston 1958, xiii-xiv). They also give some detail of the toings and froings between Naworth and Bruthwaite, as when "Christopher the herd at the Forrest" brought word of a newborn colt foal, or 2d. was paid "To a boye goinge an errand into the Forrest" (Ornsby 1878, 28-9, 334). There were still red deer in the neighbouring forest of Geltsdale as late as 1658, when Will Wheelehose was keeper of the deer there (Hudleston 1958, 206), but gradually in Bruthwaite "hay was mown and sheep took the place of deer" (Moses 1897, 49). The Howard accounts show receipts for the hay of the forest and for making two "stack garthes at the Low Forrest" (Ornsby 1878, 7, 68, 153, 301, 91). Payments for "two men making a fowld at Tarn house" in 1612, and some years later "for makeinge two gates for the Lowe Forrest" (Ornsby 1878, 37, 324) suggest new enclosures for sheep pastures. Cattle were also kept but the only reference to them in the account books is a payment in 1650 to "John Peere for heard of the Cowe Forrest" (Hudleston 1958, 91).

Throughout the years of the Civil War both Geltsdale and Bruthwaite Forests were let for grazing, to Daniel Sowerby and others (Hudleston 1958, *passim*). Sheep in ever-reducing numbers are still grazed on the fell, but by the account of the nineteenth century farmer Henry Moses,

> The southern half of the farm being almost wholly above the 1250 feet contour line grows only heather; and though from its altitude, the scarcity of the more nutritious kind of food, the want of shelter, and the danger of the deep 'mossbreaks' which intersect it, it is not well adapted for sheep (carrying only a relatively small number of the hardy blackfaced breed), but it is an excellent grouse moor.
> (Moses 1897, 48)

Tarnhouse and barns on Google Earth, April 2006

Around 1760 the Moses family came to live at Tarnhouse, Joseph Moses having taken the joint tenancy with Jacob Sewell. Joseph's son John married Jacob's daughter Elizabeth, and they raised a family of thirteen children, all of whom, when young, worked on the farm, which "produced nearly all required by the family, and every member worked for the general good". John Moses profited from the war with France, when high grain prices "caused much virgin ground to be ploughed up and sown", still to be seen as large areas of narrow ridge and furrow on the fellside. When John died in 1802 (at the age of 46, as a result of sleepwalking out of a bedroom window at a Brampton inn), he left the farm extremely well stocked, mainly with sheep valued at nearly £2300 and a dairy herd worth nearly £1100, six work horses together with a mare and foal and four colts (Moses 1897, 42, 52). The tenancy continued with their son Jacob until 1848, and fifty years on, his nephew Henry, born in 1818, left a memoir in which he described the house and its interior as he knew it in his youth before it was rebuilt and enlarged (Moses 1897, 3, 23, 32, 45). This account epitomises the Victorian ideal, and idyll, of fecundity and close family networks, industrious self-sufficiency and rural robustness. Why they chose to rent the Tarnhouse farm, while owning several estates elsewhere in Gilsland, must say something about their appreciation of its dramatic location between fell and tarn, despite the depressing lack of sunlight in the winter months and the long rough access track.

Tarnhouse, north elevation (front), June 2010

A long, irregularly built edifice of two stories, with cottages attached for the convenience of the shepherds and labourers… At the back of the house was a good garden for vegetables and… black and white currants, gooseberries, raspberries, apples and pears; and here and there was a border set aside for the culture of many old-fashioned flowers, pot-herbs, and plants used medicinally, as rue, marigolds, rosemary, southernwood, mints, and thyme. Scattered about were stables, cowhouses, barns and lofts for storing wool… The walls of the dwelling house were of stone, and of enormous thickness, especially those at the back… The windows were small, and some of them had thick stone mullions dividing their lights… The long kitchen, hall, or sitting room… was a very snug apartment, which overlooked the garden, and escaped the bleak, cold winds when they swept across the Tarn in winter… Here the family assembled after the work of the day was over, and here stood the 'lang settle' with its high oaken back and quaintly carved legs and ends strong enough to bear the weight of 8 or 10 portly farmers…. Opposite… was the 'dresser' bearing upon its well waxed and polished shelves a strange collection of ancient and modern delph and china with sundry pewter and wooden plates that had done good service for many a long year… A fireplace of large dimensions occupied a considerable space at the south end of the room. Here were ovens of brick and iron sunk deep into the thick wall, and a grate capacious enough to roast a saddle of mutton whole. Such a display of polished trivets, pot-hooks, crows, and big steel knobs, to hang things on that required constant warming… On the mantel-shelf were arranged an odd medley of lamps, tin and brass candlesticks, a small looking-glass, spice-box and graters, and tins of various sizes; and above these were slung a single and double barrelled gun, an old sword, and two shot belts… There was a feeling of warmth and comfort about this common sitting room, and when the winter snows fell, and its inhabitants prevented from following their usual outdoor work, all managed to find something useful to do here.
(Moses 1897, 4-5)

Tarnhouse, south elevation (back), June 2010

Templegarth

The ultimate fate of Templegarth is in stark contrast to the kempt appearance of Tarnhouse. The slender evidence for its name lies in the single occurrence of *terram Templi* in a Lanercost charter (Todd 1997, 93), and then only as a means of defining the boundaries of an adjacent land grant. It presumably belonged to the Knights Templar (Armstrong et al 1950, 86), but after the order was dissolved in 1312, their estates were handed over to the Knights Hospitaller, resulting in the loss of many records (Brighton 2006, 25, 45-6), and there is no known surviving account of the Templars' or Hospitallers' ownership. Once a fine stone-built and slate-roofed yeoman's house (Lambert 2006, 22), second in status only to Tarnhouse, Templegarth became miners' cottages and has long since been reduced to a single storey cattle shed and neglected to the point of ongoing collapse.

March 2004

Templegarth, 1749, HNP C167

February 2010

With George Topping and William Bell, Thomas Bell rented Templegarth from the 1680s, and at his death in 1688 his goods included no livestock other than poultry:

		li.	s.	d.
Imprimis	Meale & groats	0	6	8
Item	a spinning wheell	0	2	00
Item	Wood vessell	0	6	00
Item	his sword & Apparrell	1	00	00
Item	an Iron Pott & other Iron goods	0	08	00
Item	3 bedsteads	0	13	00
Item	Beding & one winnowing cloth	0	16	00
Item	one chest one Cubbert & one fraime	1	01	06
Item	a float and a reel	0	00	06
Item	geese and hens	0	05	00
Item	one Ladder a trailing Carr & a wheelbarrow wheel	0	02	06
Item	Hay	0	08	00
Item	two Chaires & a cathmallison	0	03	06
Item	Boord and formes	0	02	00
Item	Botls	0	01	06
Item	one Iron team	0	02	00
Item	a float bedd & one paire of old wheels	0	01	00
Item	in Manner for ground	0	01	00
		06	00	02

When George Topping died in 1722 his nine children were mostly grown up, his son Ambrose living nearby at Coalfell. George bequeathed to his "beloved Wife Grissel One white Cow a Galloway, & all the household Gear", and the inventory of his possessions reveals a fair degree of prosperity, most of the value being in his sheep and cattle:

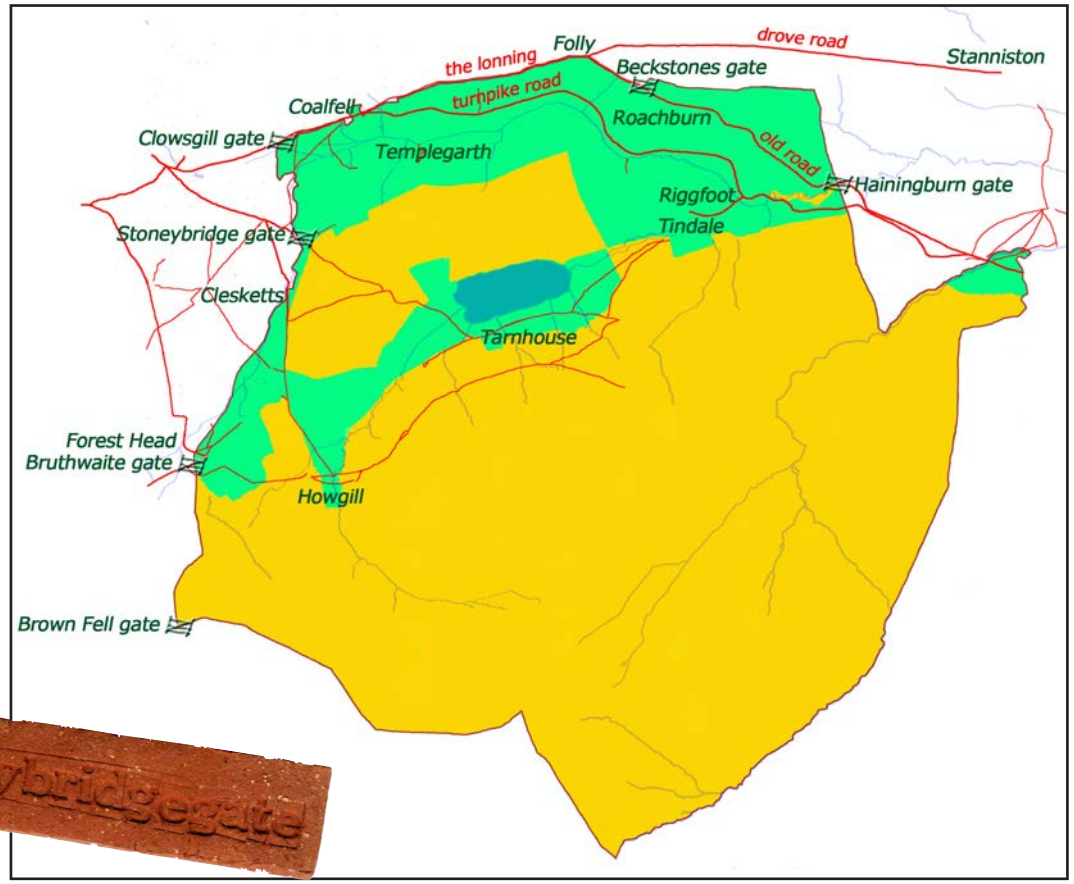
		£	s	d
Imprimis	His Horse & Apparel	05	00	00
Item	Bedding & bedsteads & a linnen webb	05	10	00
Item	Cupboards Presses Tables Forms Chairs & Stools	03	00	00
Item	Pewter Brass & Iron	02	14	00
Item	Wooden Vessel & other Household Goods	01	15	00
Item	Ploughs Carts & other husbandry Gear	01	07	00
Item	Sheep Lambs & Wool	31	00	00
Item	a Bull	01	04	00
Item	Cows & other Black Cattle	41	18	00
Item	Horses & Mares	05	00	00
Item	A Haystack	01	12	00
Item	Geese & Hens	00	06	00
		100	06	00

Carved glass fragment found at Templegarth, March 2004

Templegarth, February 2010

Beckstones gate, looking eastwards into the forest towards Roachburn, November 2005

Stoneybridge gate, looking westwards out of the forest across Clowsgill quarry, January 2006



Roads, tracks and gates into the forest, based on OS 1st edn 6", 1868; access areas (Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000) shown in yellow

Ways through the forest

Before the turnpike road from Brampton to Alston was built the old road, known now as the Lonning, followed the outside of the northern boundary past Greenside to Beckstones gate, where it passed into the forest and skirted around Roachburn before dropping down the bank to leave the forest at Hainingburn gate. The turnpike (now the A689) diverged from the fellside route at Coalfell, following the valley as far as Riggfoot. Otherwise, only the short modern access road from Riggfoot to Tindale and a few yards of road at Clesketts, surfaced in recent times, lie within the forest. All other routes are unsurfaced farm tracks, or old waggonways and mineral railway lines now used as footpaths. From Bruthwaite gate, at Forest Head, an old track used to lead east past Howgill to the Bruthwaite clearing and the shieling on *Tinielside*, before it was obliterated by the expansion of the Forest Head quarries. Tarnhouse is now served by a modern track from Clesketts, but Templegarth, long neglected, is accessed only by a footpath across the fields.

Passing a milepost in the rain, woodcut by Thomas Bewick

After [Haltwhistle], I met with little to attract notice except Naworth Castle; and when I left it, and was proceeding across the country, I lost my way by following paths which led only to holes that had been made by digging peats and turf, and did not reach my uncle's house at Ainstable till late in the evening.
(Thomas Bewick in Weekley 1961, 67-8)

Travellers who braved the rough tracks of Bruthwaite Forest were few; those who did were likely to be on foot with heavy loads on their backs, especially packmen, and would be most glad of a resting stone at stopping points along the way.

> Fellside farmers did not attend market… frequently… the travelling pedlar of small wares supplied them with all the extras required for the family; they were respectable men in their way, and were generally connected with good mercantile houses in Leeds, Newcastle, Carlisle and Glasgow. From them might be purchased blankets, carpeting, calicos, linn, laces and most of the things sold in shops; and latterly some would exchange these articles for poultry, eggs, butter, cheese and such like, and which they would turn to profit at other places as they journeyed along.
> (Moses 1897, 7)

Tarnhouse was well noted along the fellside for its hospitality, and it was a rare occurrence for the family to sit down alone to meals… A beggar was never turned away without food of some kind being given him, and many a poor wandering tramp was allowed to rest on clean hay or straw in an out-house… Latterly it was not found good policy to encourage these nomads.
(Moses 1897, 5)

Travellers, woodcut by Thomas Bewick

Resting stone at Templegarth bridge, February 2009

COUNTLESS STONES (Nepal 1983)
Here are the resting places for the people with loads. Benches of flat stones which are just the right height. When you walk up to them you can rest the load that is on your back.
(Richard Long, in Tufnell 2007, 82)

Resting stone at Roachburn gate, February 2009

Sign at Clesketts road end for the footpath to Woodend Bridge, and for the bridleway from Crossgates to Tindale, January 2008

Signs

In the time when walking was the normal way to get anywhere, the network of tracks and footpaths linked home and wells, neighbours and workplace. Travellers would navigate by means of cairns, thorn trees or posts.

Cairns on Brown Fell, March 2006

Thorn, January 2008

ON *stolpi* 'a post' (Field 1993, 220) is probably the origin of the somewhat featureless Stoop Rigg, on the northern edge of the forest, across which a drove road ran from Folly to Stanniston (a contraction of Standing Stonehill, as it was still named in 1780 (Q/RE/1/79)).

Signpost for Stanniston, February 2009

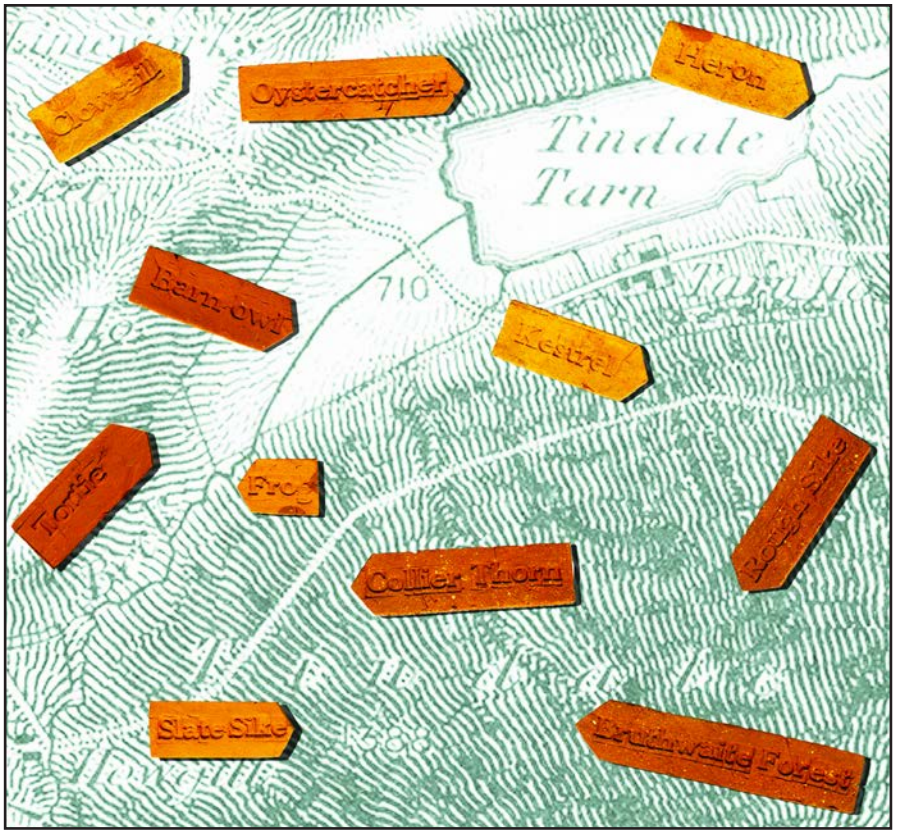
Even shepherds might lose their bearings in bad weather, unless the builders of two of the many cairns on Tindale Fell were just whiling away the hours.

OS 1st edn 6", 1868

RSPB signs, May 2008

Then, as now, people were urged or required to keep to the beaten track, and often this would be the safest and most sensible option. This keeping of people within bounds and restricting access to open land harks back, however, to the earliest assumptions of ownership, and has only partly been rectified over the last ten years by the *Countryside and Rights of Way Act* giving a statutory right of access on foot in many areas. The sense of belonging is hardly enhanced by the law of trespass, and footpath and other signs in rural areas can be enabling, but also constraining. They mediate between the walker and the experience of place, dictating where one can go and what one should see. Modern footpath signs have recently been augmented in the forest by distinctive RSPB signage of the trails they have created on the lower slopes of Tindale Fell. The trails are a welcome addition to the very few paths on this rough and daunting fellside, but the designation of viewpoints is reminiscent of the eighteenth century romantic aesthetic of the landscape, which served only to emphasise our detachment from the place.

I have translated the idea of the sign as a guide to the landscape into a series of thin ceramic labels stamped with local place-names, but also with the names of birds and animals that I have seen in the forest. Overlaid on a topographical map, for instance, they might point in all directions, suggesting the abundance and mobility of local fauna and the absurdity of pinning down birds and animals to a particular place.



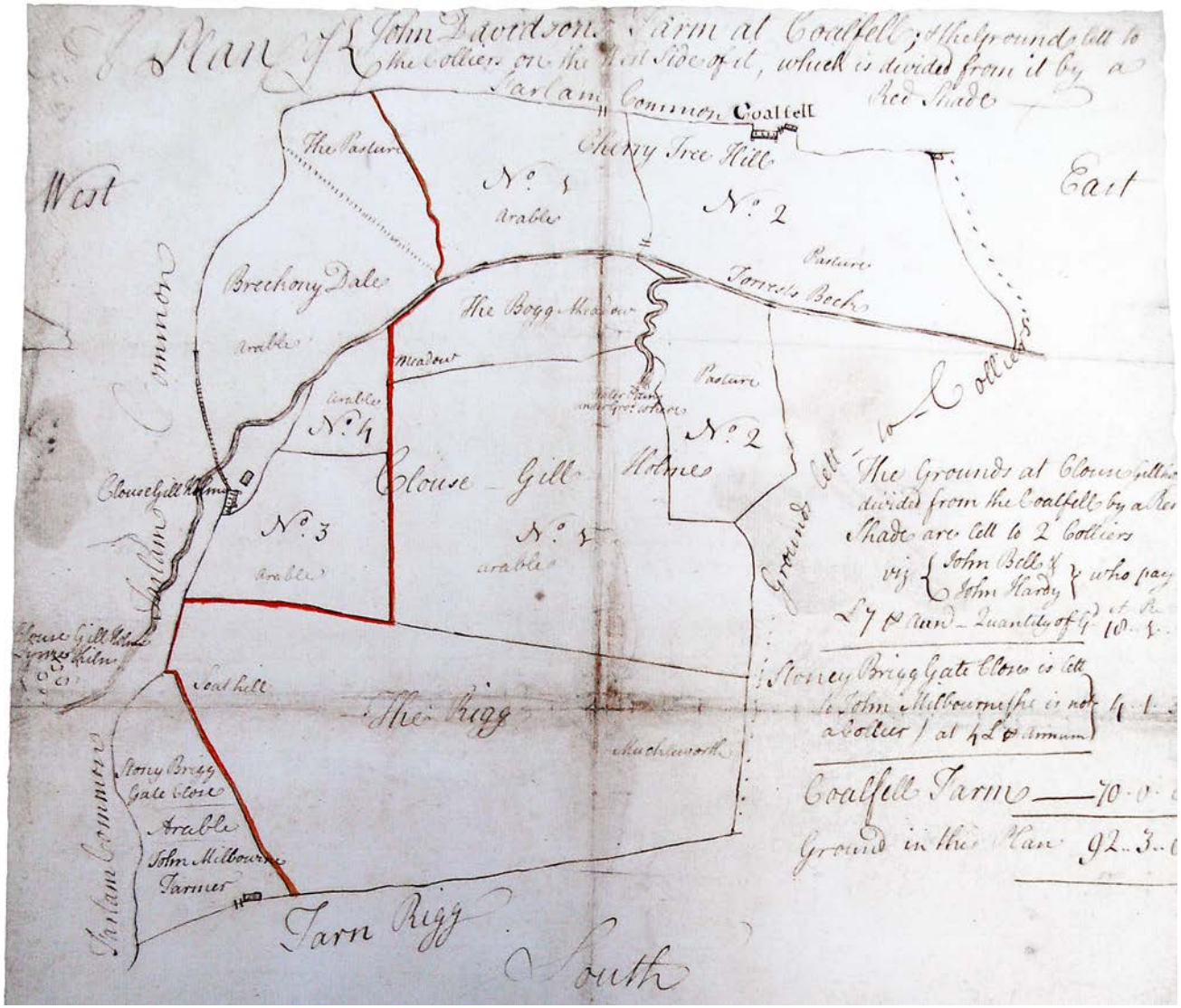
Signs of Life overlaid on enlarged OS 1st edn 1" extract, 1864-5, March 2009

Field names

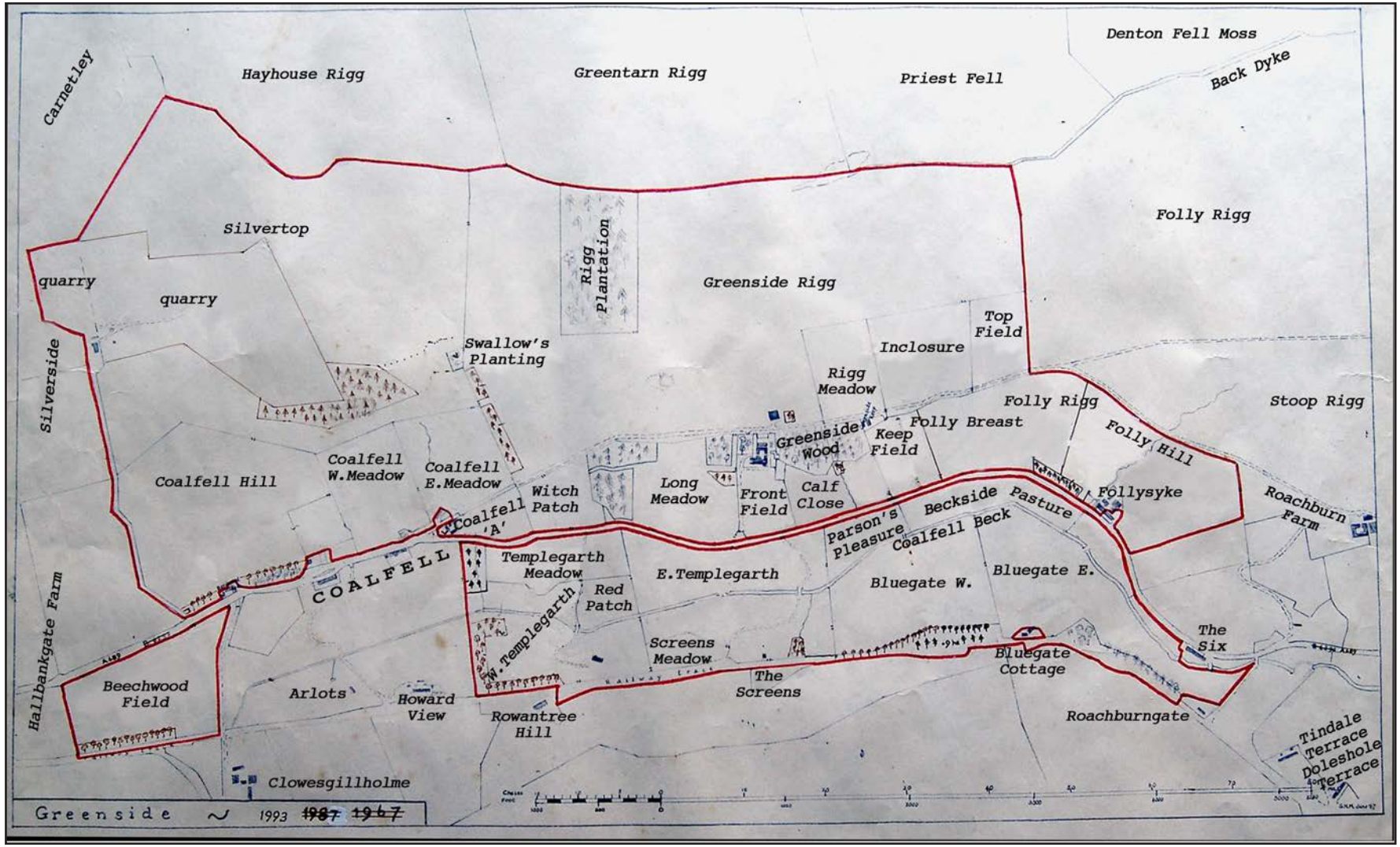
Field-names… are largely a creation of the post-enclosure period and belong to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many of them preserve ancient names of earlier and larger areas of unenclosed land, but new names had to be found for the numerous new units newly enclosed. Some were named from distinctive local features of historical or topographical interest, but very many of the names are commonplace and uninteresting.
(Reaney 1964, 207)

This map of Coalfell farm (HNP C230) perhaps serves to confirm the banality of field names but, prosaic as they may be, I have taken *Breckony Dale* and *The Bogg Meadow* into my vocabulary for the topography of the west end of Coalfell Pasture.

One would not expect to find many old field names within the forest, much of which remained as open moorland until the early nineteenth century. The more recent names, *pace* Reaney, may seem prosaic now, but gather interest and resonance as time goes on, and are always worth collecting. Some years ago Stephen Murray recorded the field names of his farm at Greenside on a map now in the possession of his son.



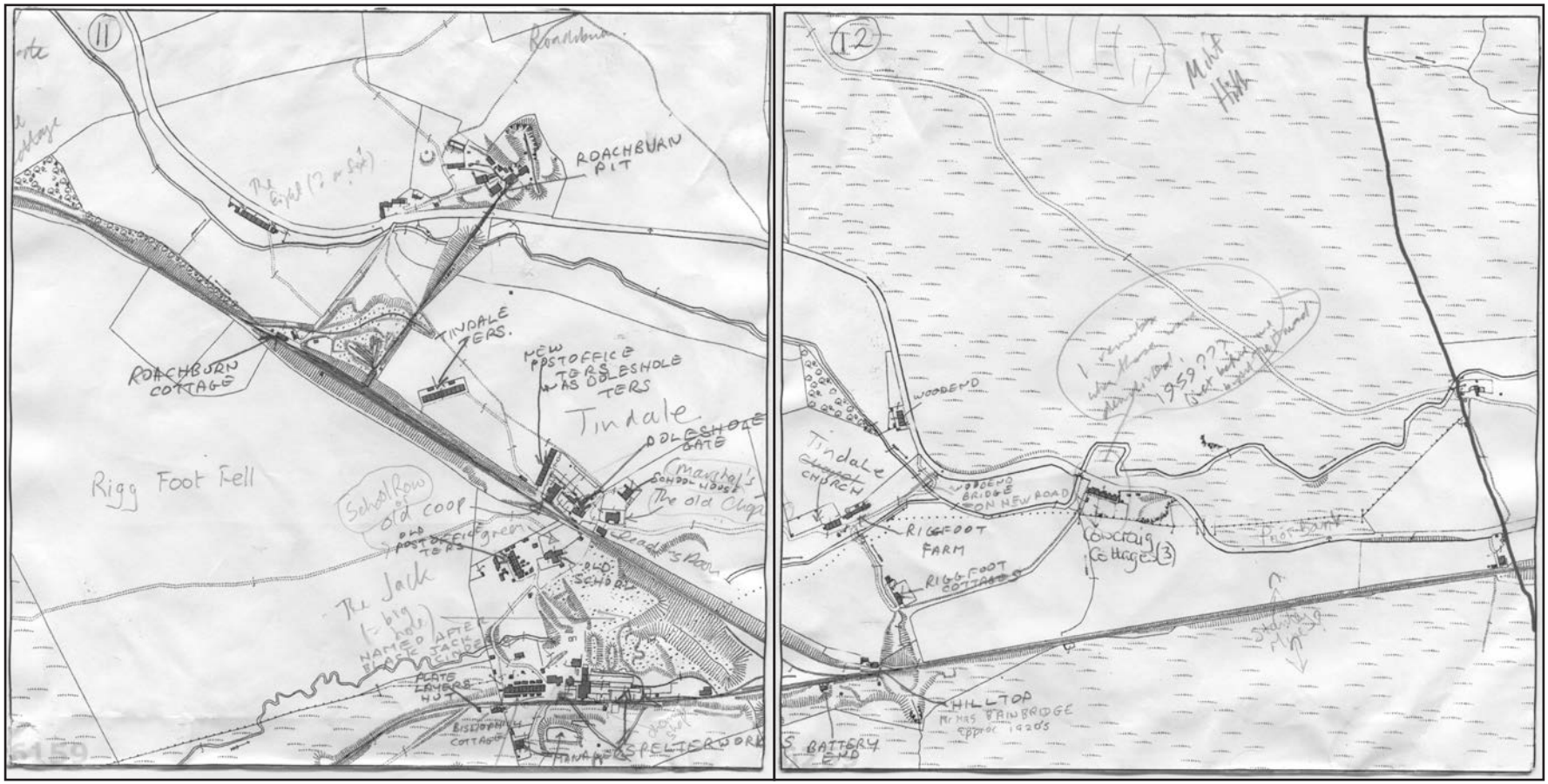
Coalfell farm, c1800, HNP C230



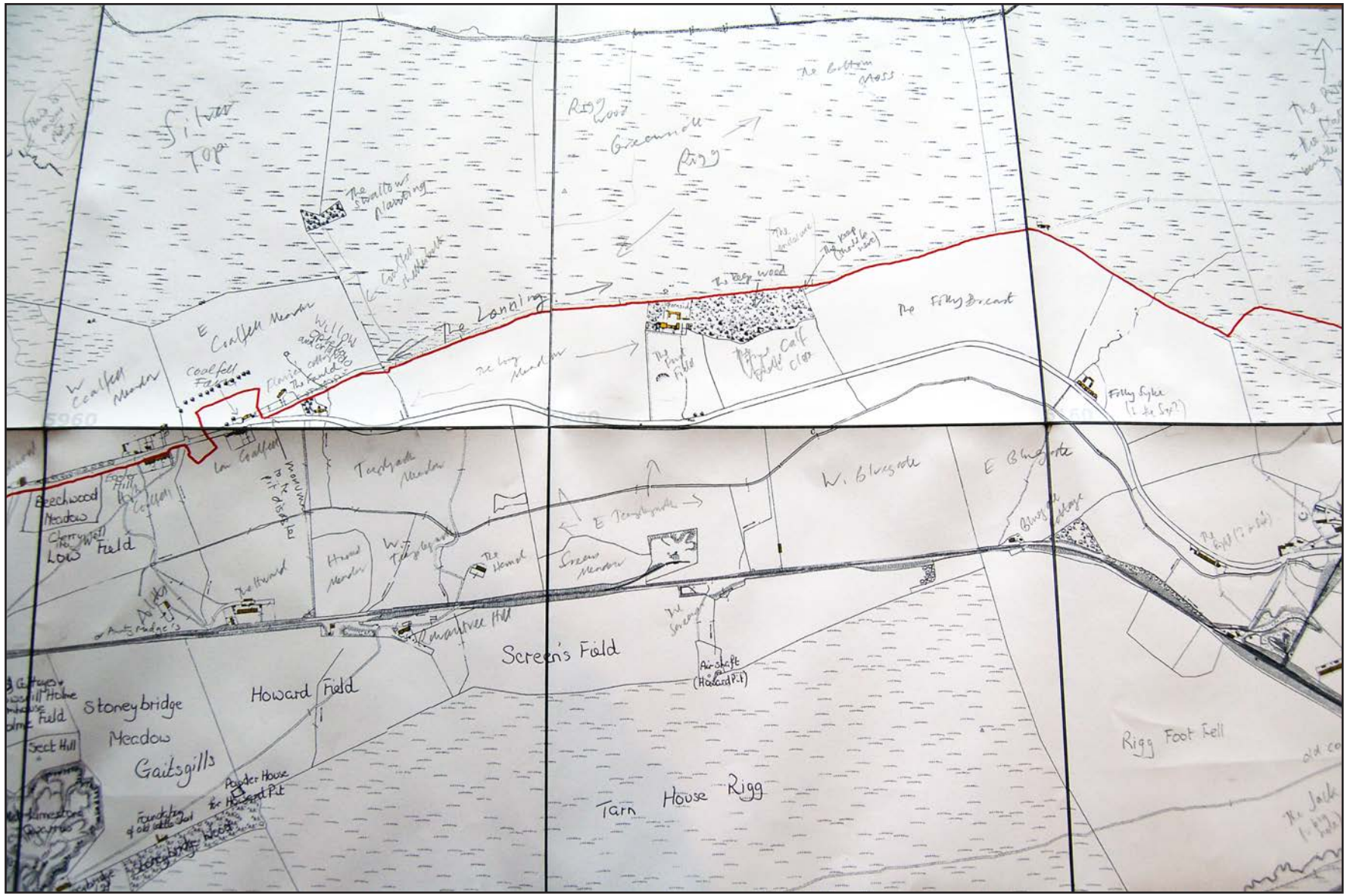
Stephen Murray's map of Greenside farm with field names, 1967-1993

The map of names

Field-names change with the generations of farmers, and in an attempt to record the names in current use which appear on no maps, I circulated a large-scale map of the area from which all names and labels had been removed. Local people were asked to write on the map the names by which they know fields and other places. In recognising their contributions I follow the fieldworkers of the Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century who relied on local memory and tradition for the transcription of place-names from mouth to map. Those surveyors, sometimes perceived as arrogant linguistic colonisers, were occasionally misled, notably in fiction by the erudite Irish peasantry in Brian Friel's play, *Translations* (Friel 1981), but I see no sign of such mischief here, where people when asked are keen to pass on their knowledge without embellishment.



The map of names, Tindale area, based on OS 1st edn 6" 1868, October 2008



The map of names, Greenside and Coalfell area, October 2008

6 SHIELINGS AND SHEEPFOLDS

Shielings

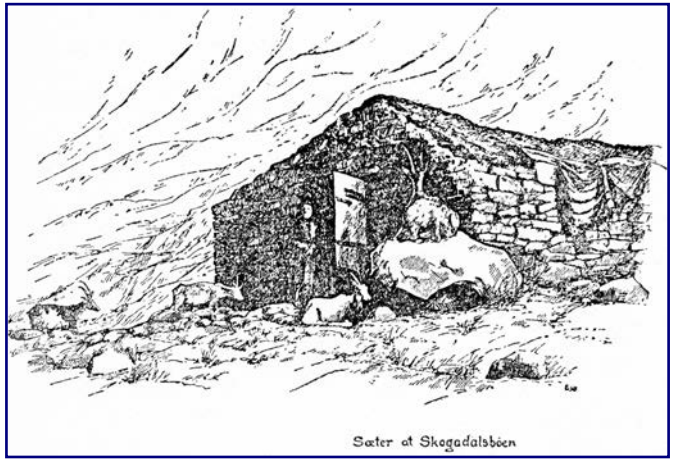
> The Borderers… From autumn to spring, when the nights were long, was the season for raiding; the summer months were for husbandry… Tillage took place in spring and summer, and the crops were mainly oats, rye and barley, but the main effort went into cattle and sheep raising… leaving his winter dwelling about April to [live] in his shieling for the next four or five months while the cattle pastured… Even their winter quarters were often makeshift affairs that could be put up in a matter of hours. They were fashioned of clay, or of stones… and sometimes of turf sods, with roofs of thatch or turf.
> (Fraser 1971, 51-2)

The land grants to Lanercost Priory for grazings and shielings were typical of the countrywide expansion onto marginal lands in the thirteenth century. In such areas "either modern farms occupy the sites of many of the shielings or other forms of land-use (eg mining) have resulted in settlement on the moor in small cottages, sometimes called shiels... which are difficult to distinguish from pastoral shielings. Thus discovery of the purpose... is dependent on the known history of land-use" (Ramm et al 1970, 2). In Bruthwaite Forest the subsequent retreat, as the population fell due to plague and the unquiet border, left only the uncertain footings of a few shielings and a scatter of enigmatic banks and possible enclosures to remind us of the struggle with the upland terrain. The shieling way of life, still practised in Norway today, is thought to have come to an end in the north Pennines by about 1600 (Winchester 2000, 85), but it may have lingered longer here, for in late August 1640 Richard Fisher, the herd at the forest, was paid two shillings "for repairinge a sheele in the Forrest" (Ornsby 1877, 355).

The numerous traces of stone structures in the forest are most likely associated with the coal mines and quarries, and the evidence for shielings is slim, but two are mentioned in the Lanercost Cartulary, on *Tinielside* and at *Sethenent* (Todd 1997, 73, 237, 210). Nearly four centuries later, two shielings are shown at the eastern forest boundary on the Gilsland Survey (1603) at *Burnfoote* and *Milkhouse shield* (probably identical with *Sethenent*), and a further one to the north at *Grenesetes.* The existence of a fifth shieling is postulated from the place-name evidence and fieldwork at *Gaitsgills.* None are in the High Forest, all have an adequate water supply from adjacent streams, often at a confluence, a characteristic location for shielings that takes advantage of an alluvial fan providing richer pasture.

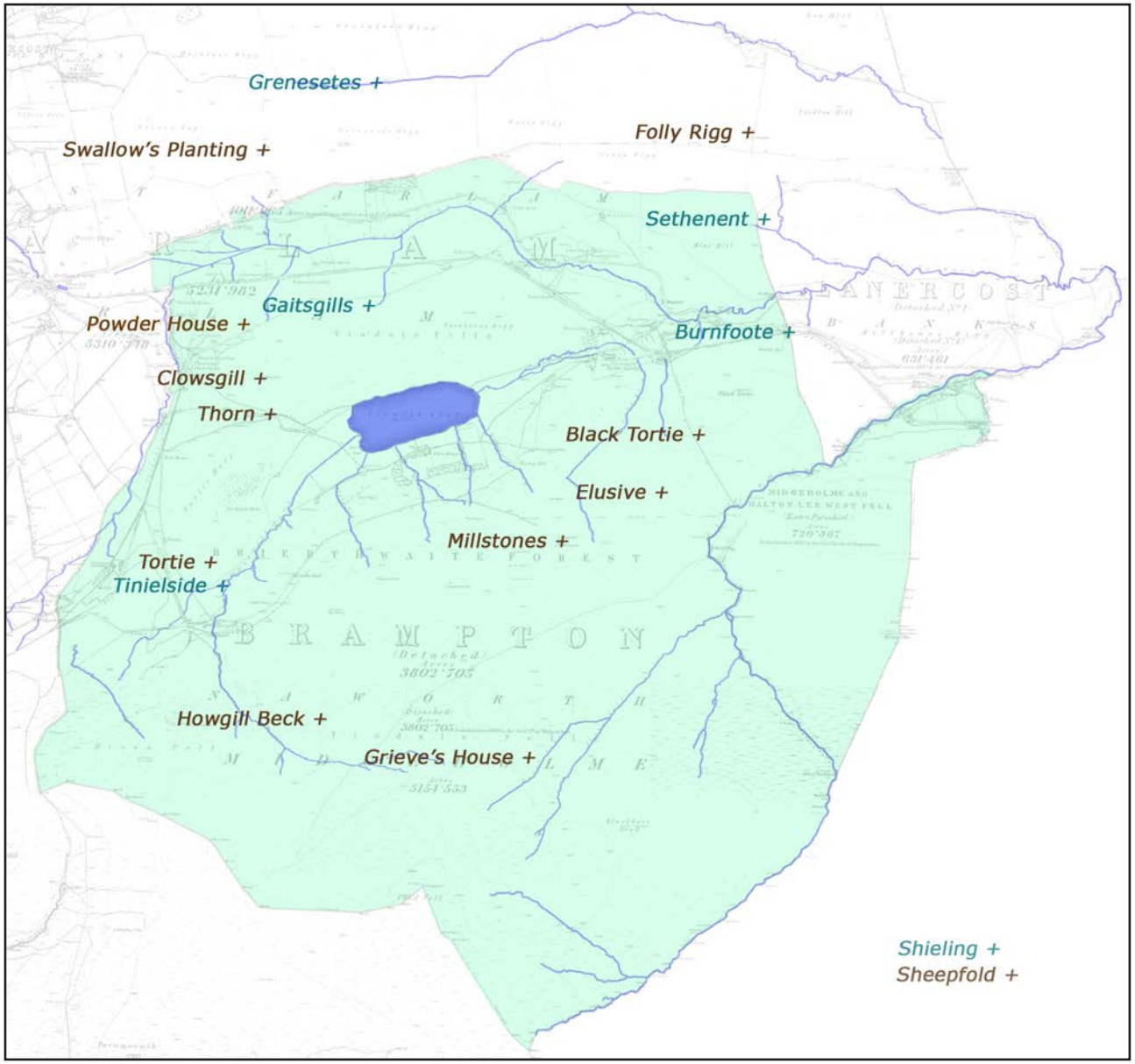
In July 1876, descending into Skogadal, the 'woody valley', from the peak of Uranaastind in the Norwegian Jotunheim, my great-grandfather, the mountaineer William Cecil Slingsby, arrived at the *sæter* or shieling hut of Skogadalsböen:

> The *saeter*… had three rooms, the first for milking and cooking, the second for living and sleeping in, and the third for embryo and completed cheeses. It was built of stone and had mud floors, and as it had no chimney the smoke oozed out through a dry wall, the doorway, and a small hole in the roof.
> (Slingsby 1941, 87)



The sæter at Skogadalsböen (Slingsby 1941, 69)

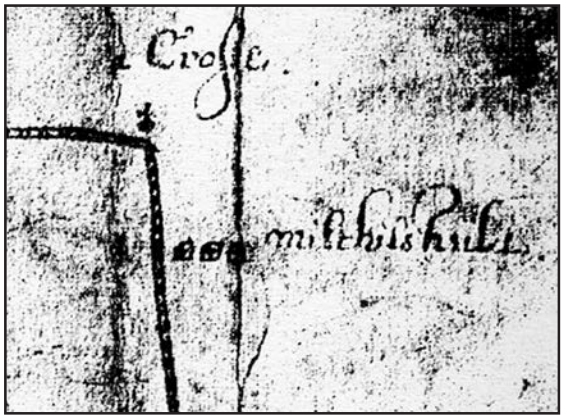
> Ascend a steep hill, and find ourselves on an Arrie, or tract of mountain which the families of one or two hamlets retire to with their flocks for pasture in summer. Here we refreshed ourselves with some goats' whey, at a Sheelin or Bothay, a cottage made of turf, the dairy-house, where the Highland shepherds, or graziers, live with their herds and flocks, and during the fine season make butter and cheese. Their whole furniture consists of a few horn-spoons, their milking utensils, a couch formed of sods to lie on, and a rug to cover them.
> (Youngson 1874, 139)



Location of shielings and sheepfolds in and adjacent to Bruthwaite Forest, overlaid on OS 1st edn 6", 1868

Sethenent

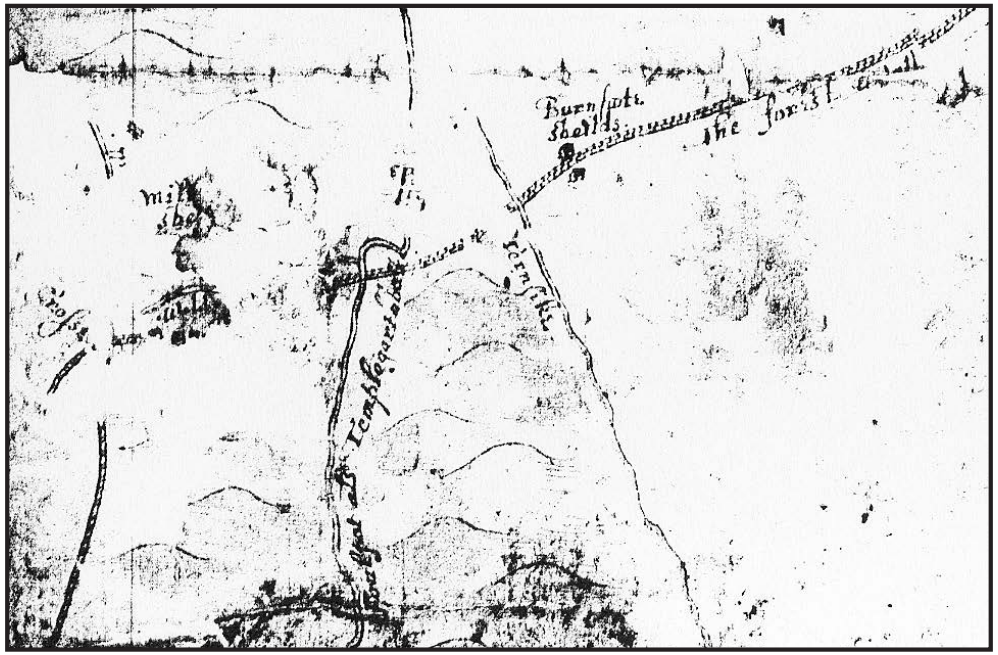
The stone footings of a building to the east side of the forest wall at Mint Hill are quite possibly the remains of the shieling at *Sethenent* beyond Hartley Burn mentioned in the charters of Lanercost Priory (Moorman 1948, 84; Todd 1997, 61). This in turn may be the "milking shiel" shown as a row of three buildings on the 1603 Gilsland Survey map, just outside the forest wall on Mint Hill (HNP C713/7, 13; Lambert 2006, 44).



Milking shiel, three huts to the east of the forest wall, Gilsland Survey,1603, HNP C713/7

Sethenent shieling, March 2006

Turf-covered stone footings of Sethenent shieling, January 2006

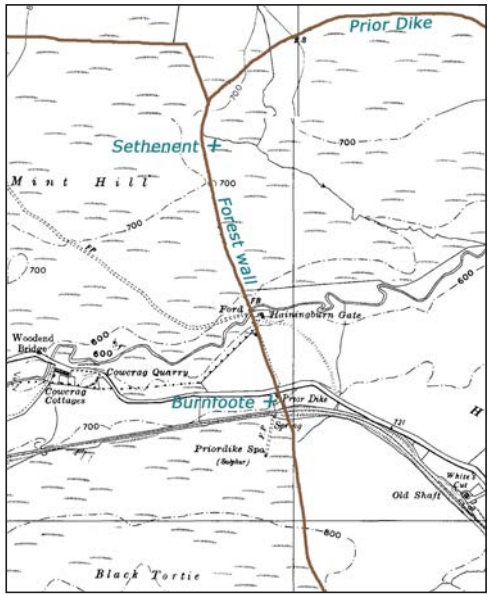


Shielings beside the forest wall, Gilsland Survey, 1603, HNP C713/13

The old mineral railway, now a cycle track, crosses the burn on a railed bridge near Prior Dike. On the far hillside beyond the main road (A689) are the holloways of the pre-turnpike road, September 2010

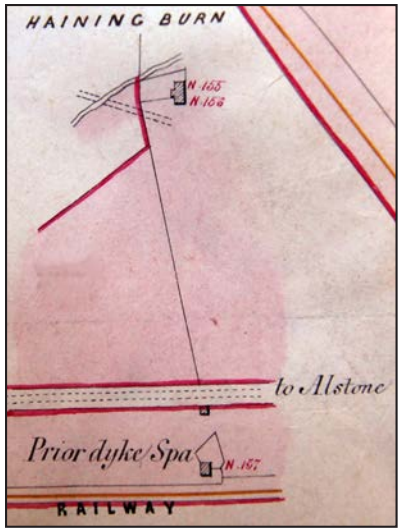
Burnfoote

Further south and to either side of the forest wall on the opposite side of the valley was a pair of shieling huts. The exact location is unclear but the Gilsland Survey maps show them to be just below the area of the spring later known as Prior Dike Spa. The ground here is so boggy and overgrown with rushes that I have been unable to find remains of the much more recent spa buildings or the Prior drift coal mine here, let alone the shieling site beside the burn.



Sethenent and Burnfoote shielings located on OS 6" edn, 1957

Burnfoote shields, Gilsland Survey,1603, HNP C713/7



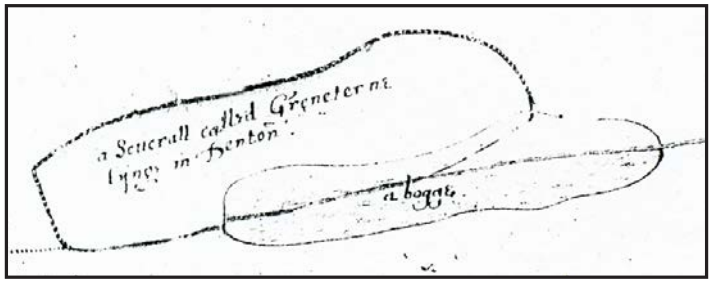
Hainingburn gate and Prior Dike spa, Naworth Colliery plans, 1861, HNP C133/9

Burnfoote, a post-industrial wilderness, September 2010

Greentarn: This may be the site of the "bogge" at Greentarn, or it may be the more recent result of drainage on Greenside Rigg and Denton Fell plantation, December 2008

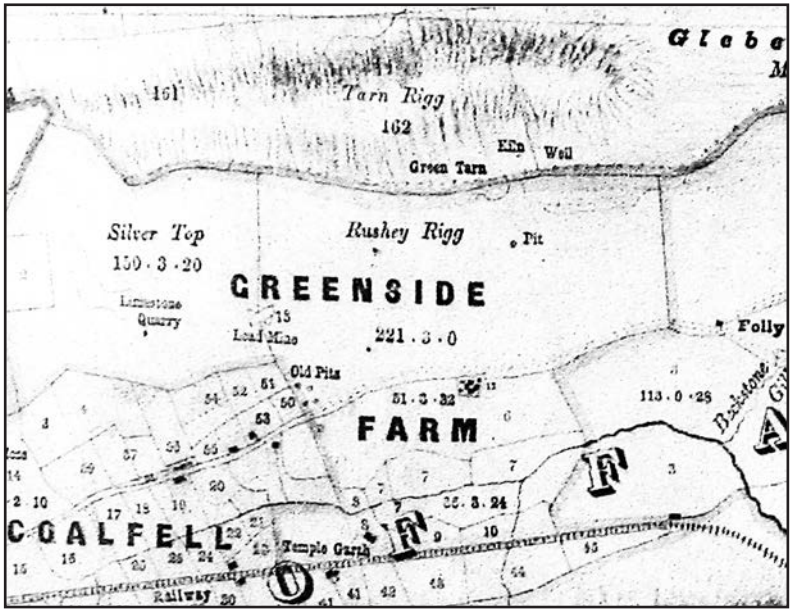
Grenesetes

A former shieling to the north of the forest is hinted at in the name *Grenesetes*, the green *sæter* (Armstrong et al 1950, 85). As mentioned in a charter of 1227 (Todd 1997, 342), it seems to have become a sheep farm, probably identical with the forty-acre enclosure at *Greneterne*, where the boundary between Farlam and Denton ran "up the ternesike to greneterne and so still directly westward to Carnutelydykecorner at Hathwaypike" (Graham 1934, 54), a south-facing slope still known as Greentarn Rigg. Although *Grenesetes* has been identified with Greenside (Armstrong et al 1950, 85; Todd 1997, 343), a kilometre to the south, the latter is said to date from the early nineteenth century when it was built to replace the old farmhouse at Templegarth.



Gilsland Survey, extract showing "a Severall called Greneterne" and "a bogge", 1603, HNP C713/7

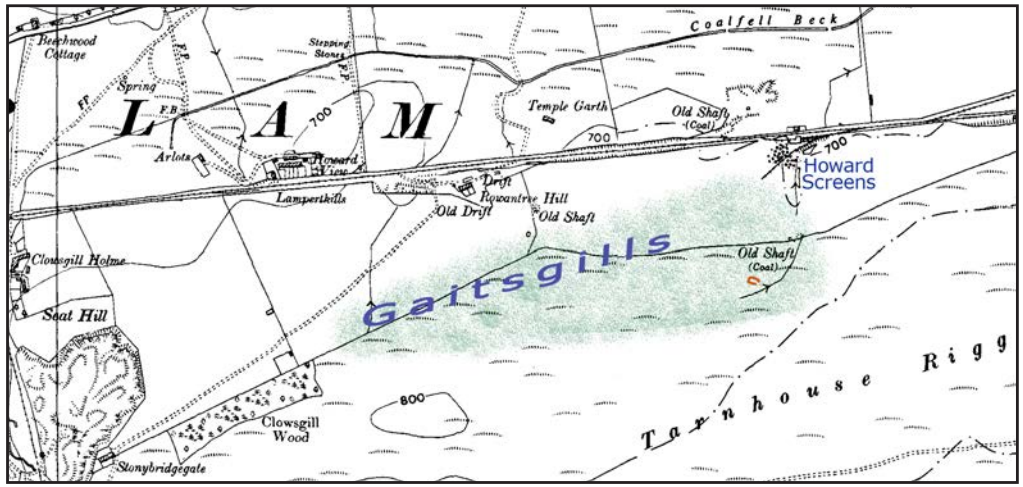
A severall more easte beyonde Carnutlye called Greneterne liinge by the com[mon] on the north: and Farlam grounde on the south: buttinge easte and weste upon the com[mo]n. It was heretofore inclosed & paied a yearlie rent of 6s. 8d. But it is nowe decaied and laide waste to the Common.
(Graham 1934, 53)



Gilsland Survey, extract showing Green Tarn and Greenside Farm, 1829

Gaitsgills shieling, January 2008

Marginal drawing of a goat in the Lanercost Cartulary, Todd 2000, 22



Gaitsgills shieling area, possible hut foundations picked out in red, overlaid on OS 6", 1957

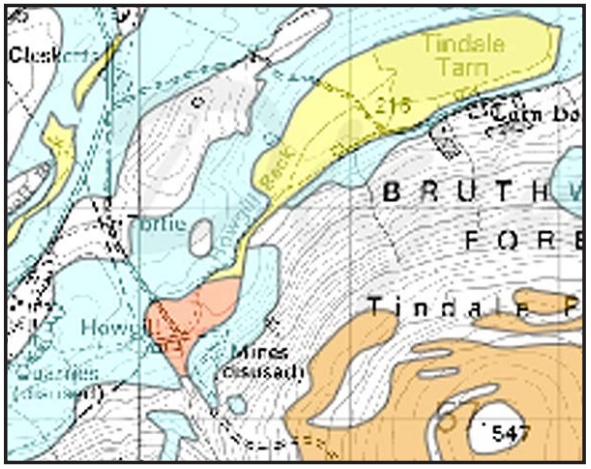
Gaitsgills

South of the Howard Screens (the railway sidings where coal was graded until 1953 (Charters 1971, 35, 37-8)), through a gate in the intake wall onto the fell, is an undocumented site where the evidence springs from the ground: a patch of emerald green amid the coarse moor grasses, a boundary bank along a stream, and the grassed footings of a subrectangular building roughly 8 x 4m beside the track leading onto the rigg – a classic spot for a shieling. This could be an industrial structure associated with the adjacent Howard Pit coal shaft, but in scale, shape and proportions it is akin to other shieling huts I have found in the Howgills (Lambert 1996, 58) and elsewhere. The area is still known as *Gaitsgills* (R Jackson, personal comment, 16 April 2008) and the name suggests that it was once a shieling for goats, from OWSc *skáli*, ON *gait* (Reaney 1964, 176). South of Carlisle is the village of Gaitsgill, described by Denton in the seventeenth century, as "'a whinny place where the inhabitants… made skales and sheeles for their goates'" (Winchester 2010 forthcoming). Goats figure in the Lanercost Cartulary, and in particular there is mention of pasture in Castle Carrock for *triginta capras* (Todd 1997, 18, 126). They may however have been discouraged when this was a hunting forest, as it was then generally considered that goats tainted the grass, making it unpalatable for the deer (James 1981, 43).

Tinielside

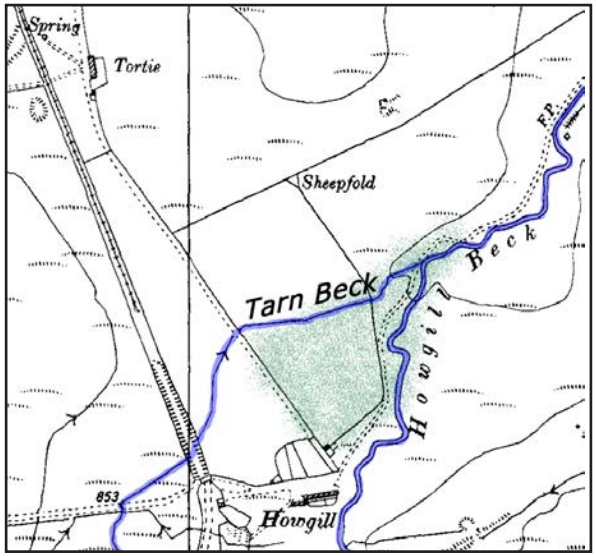
This early thirteenth century shieling is most likely the one mentioned in a charter of 1256 as *unam scalingam in Tynielside juxta Hellegille, ubi aqua de Hellegille descendit in Tarnebek* (Todd 1997, 73, 237). This description locates it at the confluence of Howgill and Tarn Becks, west of Tindale Tarn, where an alluvial fan provided fertile ground. The pastures associated with the shieling would be in the shallow valley at the base of Tindale Fell. Some of this land is now enclosed in fields, the rest adjoining the beck grows rank grass and rushes, with areas of bracken which might indicate cultivation in the past, since bracken tends to colonise richer soils which have reverted from former pasture or arable land. The documentary evidence remains tenuous but the visible effect of the drift geology on the vegetation and landuse is a clear indicator that this would have been a favourable location.

Area of Tinielside shieling under autumn bracken, Howgill cottages to the left, November 2008



Drift or superficial geology of Bruthwaite Forest: the alluvial fan at the confluence of Howgill Beck and Tarn Beck

Bracken at the shieling site enjoying the deep alluvium exposed in section in the bank of Howgill Beck, running dry in late June 2010



Likely area of Tinielside shieling around the confluence of Howgill Beck and Tarn Beck, overlaid on OS 6", 1957

Tinielside shieling site smothered in young bracken, Howgill cottages and Brown Fell in the background beyond the hay meadow, June 2010

The meadow after the hay harvest in the area of the alluvial fan upstream of the confluence of Howgill and Tarn Becks, Howgill cottages behind, August 2010

Riff shows the confluence of Howgill Beck and Tarn Beck, June 2010

Sheepfolds

> The shepherds idealized in pastoral poetry and painting tended their flocks with a view to profitable sales of wool and meat at local town markets. The rural idyll deliberately masks the commercial cycle that connects town and country… It freezes history in some kind of Golden Age.
> (Andrews 1999, 151)

Wolves survived in the uplands of England until the fifteenth century, after which "shepherds no longer had to guard their flocks by night… or lock them up in stone sheepcotes" (Thomas 1983, 273 and footnote). Sheep farming had been the main activity at Clowsgill in the twelfth century (Todd 1997, 92-4, 119-21, 124, 282-4, 309-12, 337-9), and so it was five hundred years later at Tarnhouse and Templegarth. In August 1612 they were "clipping lambs at the forrest" and in 1624 two yards of cheese cloth were supplied. Ten years later 14½ stone of butter was needed for the painstaking work of "greesinge the sheepe in the Forrest", all 600 of them, and in 1640 the herdsman, Richard Fisher, disposed of "foureteene score and five mort sheepe skinns" for £3.5s. (Ornsby 1878, 40, 217, 325, 349). Wages for the shepherd at Templegarth were accounted for in 1612 and 1648 while in 1650, 6d. was paid "for fetchinge a mutton from Templegarth" (Ornsby 1878, 28; Hudleston 1958, 23, 95).

In the vast moorland of the High Forest, sheepfolds would be built within a day's walk of the farm, providing vital shelter in rough weather. The sheepfolds on Tindale Fell and Cold Fell are now all in decay and disuse, but most have been complex structures with several pens, necessary for gathering sheep at lambing time and to "separate ewes and lambs overnight, the lambs being housed in the adjoining cells and the ewes gathered for milking" (RCAHMS 2004) without bringing them off the fell. In this sense sheepfolds are the direct descendants of shielings, where cows and ewes would be milked throughout the summer away from the home farm, and indeed the shieling at *Sethenent* is described as a "milkhouse shield" on the 1603 Gilsland Survey map (HNC 713/7).

Blackface ewe, Clowsgill Wood, December 2004

I have previously demonstrated that many folds in the Caldbeck Fells incorporated roofed bothies, for seasonal or occasional use by the shepherds (Lambert 1999). Those exposed uplands are not dissimilar to the Tindale Fells, in that lacking trees there is little natural shelter, and here in Bruthwaite forest all but one of the five fellside folds have had bothies roofed with slate or ling. Bewick, in his *Memoir*, proposed an ingenious, if prickly solution to the need for shelter in his native area of Tyneside, perhaps more appropriate where building stone was lacking:

> Were long avenues made by double rows of whin hedges, planted parallel to each other at about six feet asunder, and continued in the form of two sides of a square, with the whins of each side drawn together, and to grow interplatted at the tops, so as to form an arched kind of roof, the sheep would, on instinctively seeing the coming storm, immediately avail themselves of such asylums, and particularly in the lambing season. In the corner of the angle of this square, the shepherd might have his hovel, thatched with heather and ling, and his beds for himself and his dogs, made of the same materials; and the whole of this 'bield' might be rendered so snug as greatly to defy the severity of the winter's drifting blasts and wreaths of snow.
> (Weekley (ed) 1961, 9)

As night brought home the crows, so it brought home the shepherds who came in to report the state of the weather and the flocks, or any bit of news they had chanced to pick up along the fell sides. These men generally made their way slowly up to the huge fire which burnt night and day throughout the year; and when they had got partially thawed, a glass, or horn, of ale, warmed, was looked for e'er the 'good night' was said. Brave fellows these shepherds were, and powerful too… The flat Scotch bonnet, the long coat, gaiters half way up their thighs, and the constant check-plaid completed the costume…

Interior with fireplace of the shepherd's bothy at Tarnhouse, June 2010

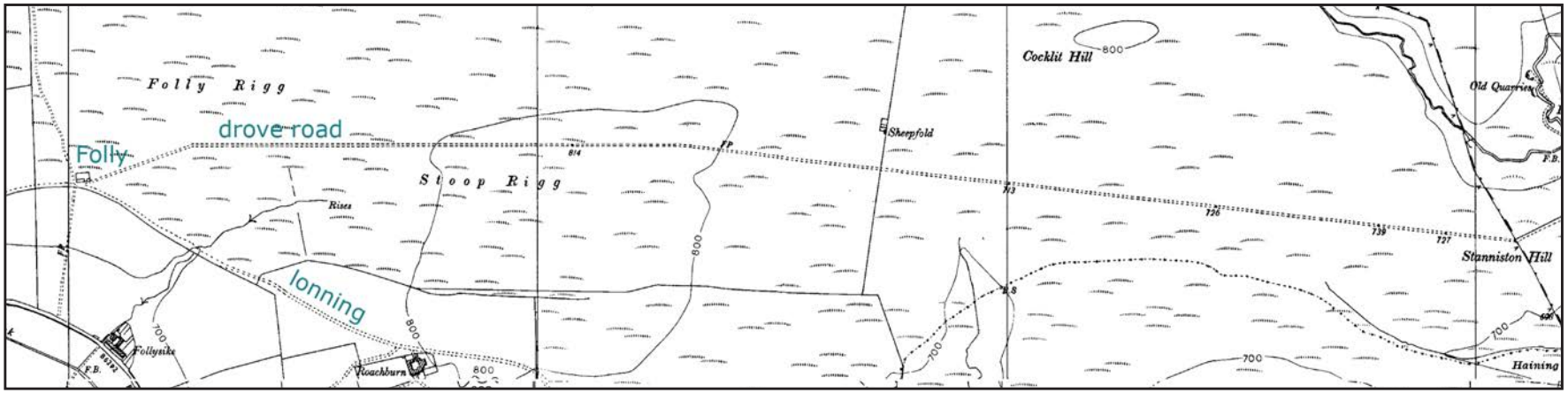
Shepherd's bothy at Tarnhouse, June 2010

The shepherds had their cottages to live in and some of them were not paid in money for their services, but were allowed to pasture a certain number of their own sheep on the farm… With the exception of a few cows to supply the family with milk and butter, nothing but sheep were kept on the fells in my grandfather's time… He told me he never knew the number of sheep he fed.

[Jacob's] oldest shepherd was… Israel who had been born and brought up at Tarnhouse. Of him it might be said 'He never changed or wished to change his place'. Israel had no turn for rambling about, all his ambition was to live and die with his old master… Israel… lived in the cottage adjoining the house and was a handy man ever ready for a job… [His] poor mentally afflicted wife [Molly, locally considered to be a witch] would have fits of wandering about the fells, and stray miles from her home… On one occasion she strayed away early in the morning and it was far on in the night before her husband discovered her crouched down in a hut used as a shelter place by the shepherds some miles off.

Sheep brand 'TH' burnt into the door of the bothy, June 2010

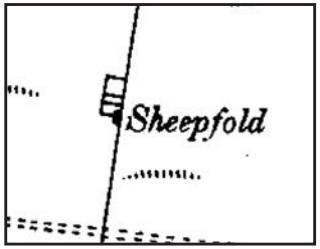
After very heavy falls of snow [the shepherds] would have to traverse great distances in search of the scattered flocks which had sought shelter in the ravines and gulleys where they were sure to be covered over by the whirling drifts, if not speedily rescued. Each shepherd had his private brand on his own sheep. The lambing season was also an anxious time… Lambs are often born amid snow and intense cold far away on bleak, exposed hills, and these had to be gathered with their mothers and taken to places of security.
(Moses 1897, 5, 7, 8)

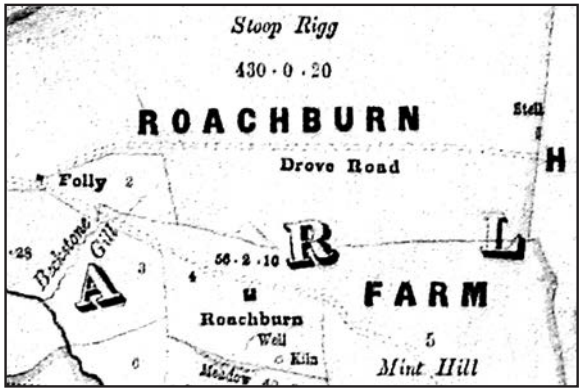


Folly Rigg

This fold, shown as a stell on the 1829 Gilsland Survey, lies just to the north of the forest, adjacent to the drove road which branches from the pre-turnpike lonning at the ruined house named Folly, crossing Stoop Rigg to Stanniston. Much of the stone of the fold walls appears to have been removed down to the footings for use elsewhere.

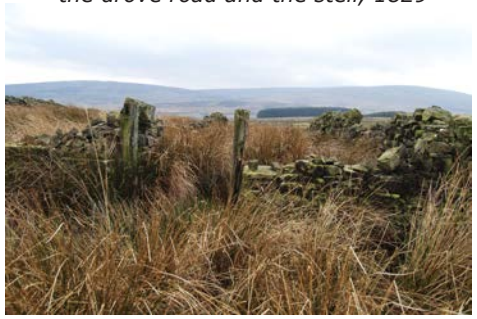
Folly Rigg, the fold, and the drove road to Stanniston, OS 6" edn, 1957





Folly Rigg fold, January 2006

Gilsland Survey extract showing Folly, the drove road and the stell, 1829

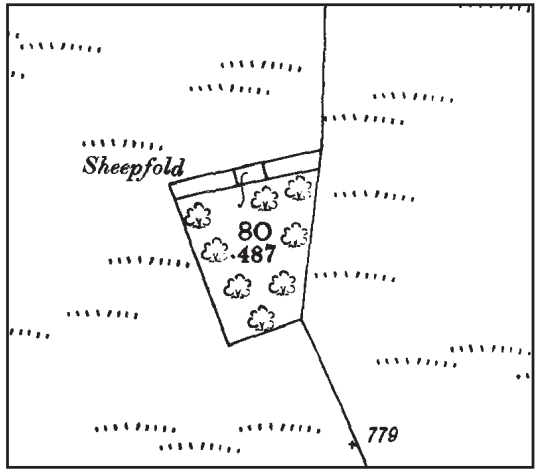


Swallow's Planting

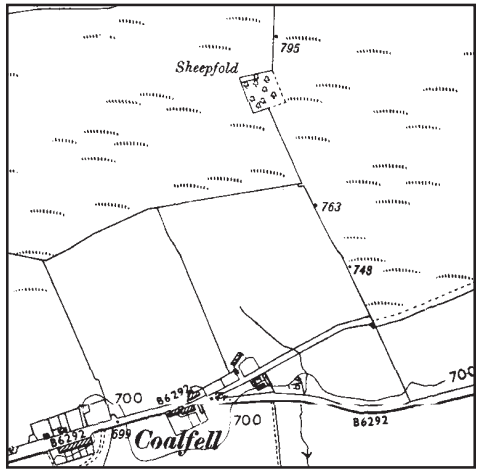
This first appears as an enclosure at the site of a lead mine north of Coalfell on the Gilsland Survey map of 1829. Later it became a small plantation containing a sheepfold. More recently the stone was robbed out to wall around a new conifer plantation nearby (personal comment A Murray), and the beech trees here are in decline: only ten remain standing. In a few more years the conifers to south and west will obscure the view of this distinctive group of trees.

Swallow's Planting fold, June 2010

Potsherd found here, August 2007



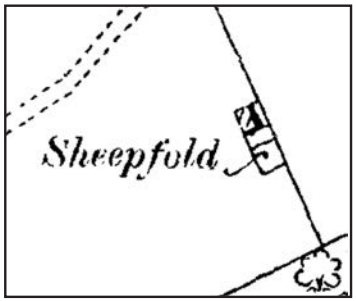
Swallow's Planting, OS 6", 1901



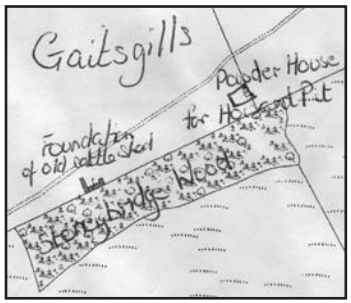
Coalfell and Swallow's Planting, OS 6", 1957

Powder House

The original purpose of this small building in Stoneybridge Meadow was to store mine explosives at a suitable distance from the Howard Pit (personal comment R Jackson). The mine was worked out and closed in 1896 (Trotter and Hollingsworth 1932, 89), and the building with an adjacent enclosure soon found a new use as a sheepfold with a hogg house. It has long been redundant, and having lost its makeshift corrugated iron roof in a winter storm, the powder house slowly crumbles away.



Powder House fold, OS 6", 1901



The map of names, Howard Pit powder house, October 2008

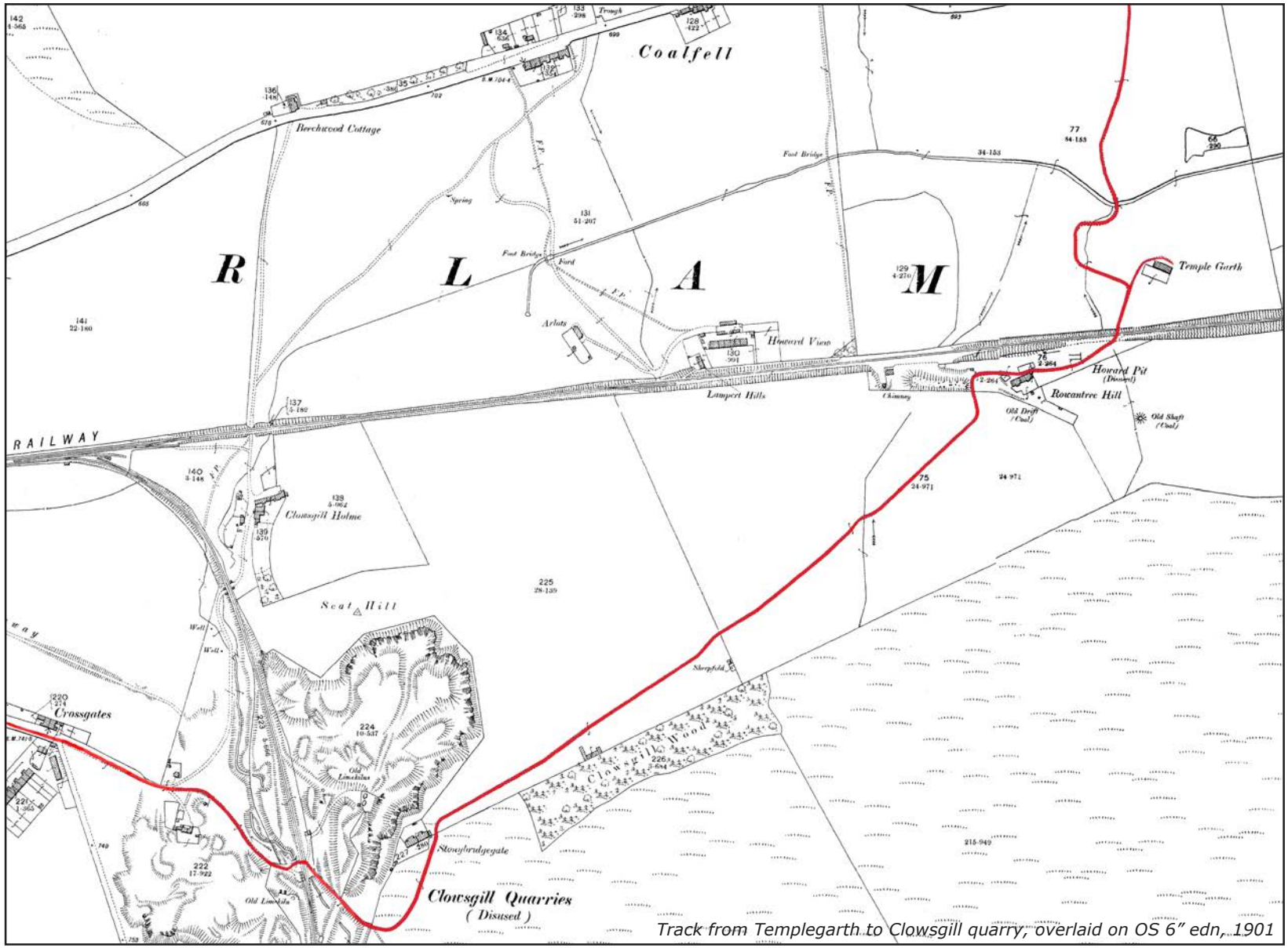
Howard Pit Powder House, January 2010

In 1749 Templegarth farm covered the area from Tarn Rigg Foot to Clowsgill Holme (HNP C167), and the limekiln which the earl of Carlisle agreed to build on the premises for William Magnay in 1782 was probably at Clowsgill quarry, there being no evidence for a kiln anywhere else on Templegarth. The earl also agreed to "furnish the said William Magnay with coals at Tindale Fell Pitt (such as the said Earl burns lime with) to burn lime for the said premises at Fourpence a Load" (HNP C129a/6). The lime would be carted from Clowsgill quarry through Stonybridgegate to Templegarth, very likely along the same track as explosives were carted to Howard Pit a century later for use in blasting.

January 2001

December 2004

May 2007



Track from Templegarth to Clowsgill quarry, overlaid on OS 6" edn., 1901

Clowsgill stell, January 2010

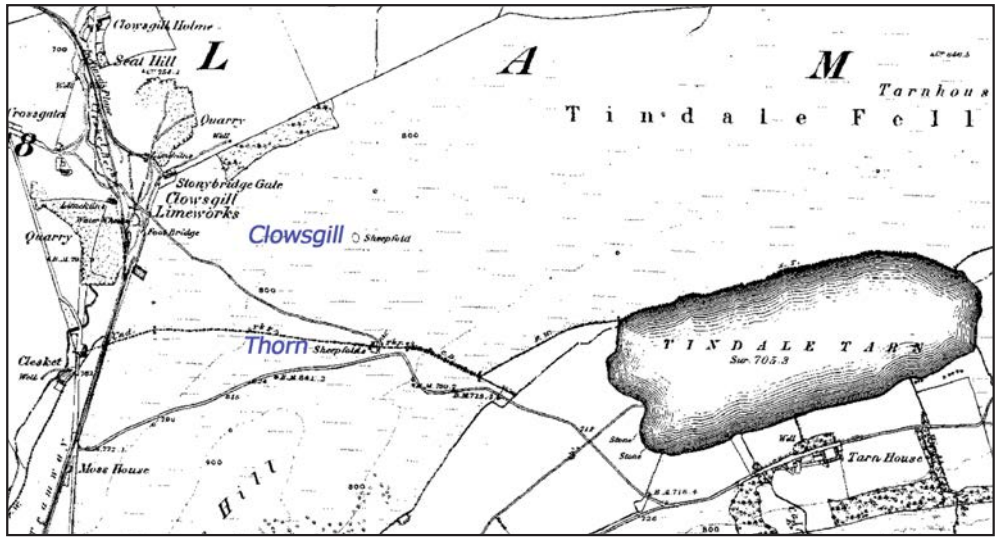
Clowsgill stell on Google Earth, May 2009

August 2010

Clowsgill

The circular stell is common in the Borders, and there are at least two in neighbouring Geltsdale, but this is the only example in Bruthwaite Forest. The fold was built on the highest, dryest part of a wet moorland south of Clowsgill Wood, its curved form intended to "provide shelter with a lower risk of drifting than structures with straight walls" (Humphries 1996, 62). There is no division into separate pens, although there may have been movable internal wooden partitions, and there is no gathering wall. As it is so close to the farm at Clowsgill, there would be no need for a bothy.

March 2009



Clowsgill and Thorn sheepfolds, on OS 1st edn 6", 1868

Thorn fold, February 2007

Thorn

This two-celled fold is prominently situated beside the track to Tarnhouse, at the point where Tindale Tarn comes into view. Like the nearby Clowsgill stell this fold is not remote enough to need a bothy, although travellers would have been glad of the shelter it provided along a well-used route. It is in current and frequent use and now contains a large corrugated iron shed. The thorn itself is on the parish boundary and has probably been a distinctive trackside waymarker for many years.

Thorn fold on Google Earth, May 2009

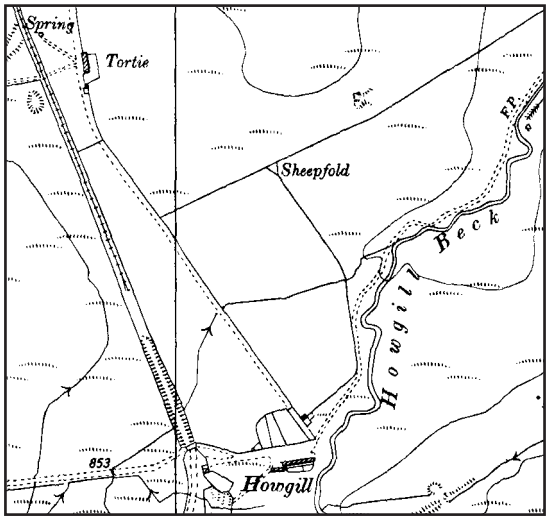
Thorn fold, March 2009

Tortie

A small triangular fold in the corner of a field wall on Tortie Hill was probably built at the same time as the wall in the late nineteenth century, as it first appears on Ordnance Survey maps from 1901.

Tortie fold on Google Earth, May 2009

Tortie fold gatepost, August 2010



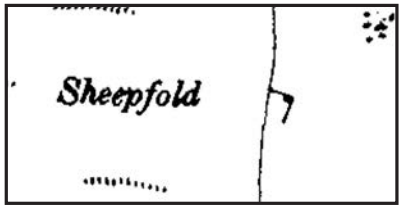
Tortie fold, OS 6" edn, 1957

Tortie fold, August 2010

Howgill Beck

This ruined fold, at the point partway up the modern track from Howgill to Cold Fell where it turns to the east, fits the local pattern of a sheepfold with a gathering wall and a roofed bothy. Photographed in rain and mist, the bleakness of its surroundings emphasises the need for some shelter here.

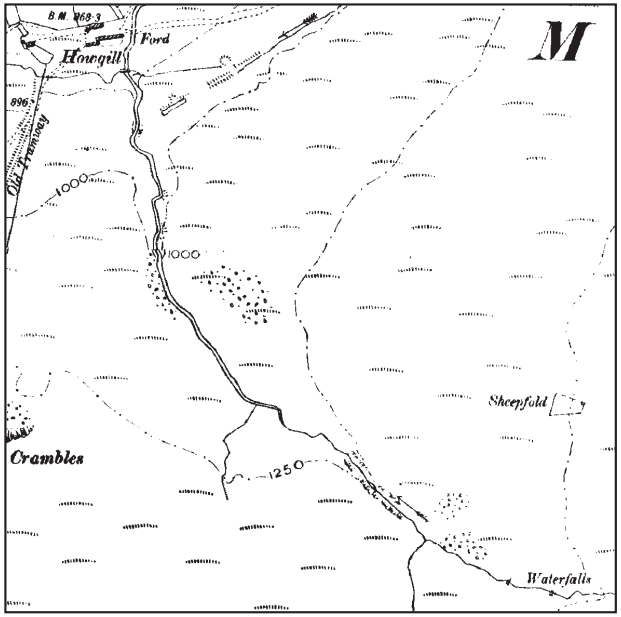
Howgill Beck fold on Google Earth, May 2009



Howgill Beck fold, OS 6" edn, 1957

Howgill Beck fold, February 2008

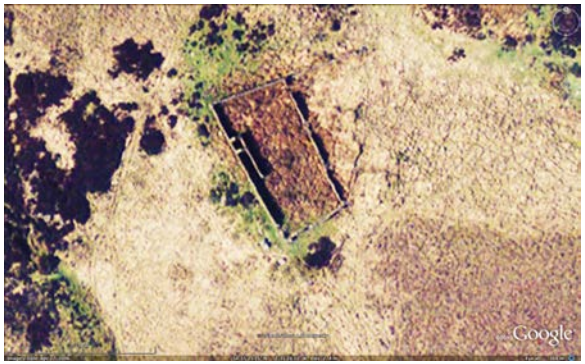
Howgill Beck fold, February 2008



Howgill Beck fold, OS 2nd edn 6", 1901

Black Tortie

The large fold on the south flank of Black Tortie is a single pen but incorporates a bothy in its western wall, well-protected by a parallel internal wall. Together with Elusive Fold, it first appears on the OS 2nd edn 6" map of 1901.



Black Tortie fold on Google Earth, April 2006

Black Tortie fold, March 2009

Bothy doorway, March 2009

Black Tortie fold, February 2008

West bothy wall, February 2008

Bothy doorway, March 2009

Elusive

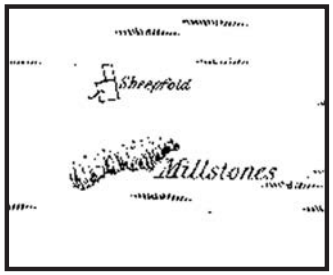
There is no well-defined track to this triangular sheepfold on the lower north-facing slope of Tindale Fell opposite Black Tortie. It seems to have grown out of the rock, making best use of a small outcrop and fitting so snugly into the lie of the land that it is hard to see from most angles. The well-appointed bothy has a corner fireplace with chimney, and is entered through a doorway with a massive stone lintel. The gable end wall survives, and as there are no slates lying around it seems likely the bothy was once thatched with heather, which is abundant here.

Elusive Fold, April 2008

Elusive fold on Google Earth, April 2006

Millstones

A two-celled fold is tucked into the hollow at the base of the crag at Millstones quarry, high on the north face of Tindale fell. This hollow is one of the "corries with their moraines… on the Stublick Fault escarpment" (Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 164). The walls of the larger pen ingeniously incorporate the bedrock and fallen boulders, accounting for its irregular shape. Although there is no bothy to be seen here now, there should have been one in this windy place. I have seen a fox here, and ring ouzels on the crag.

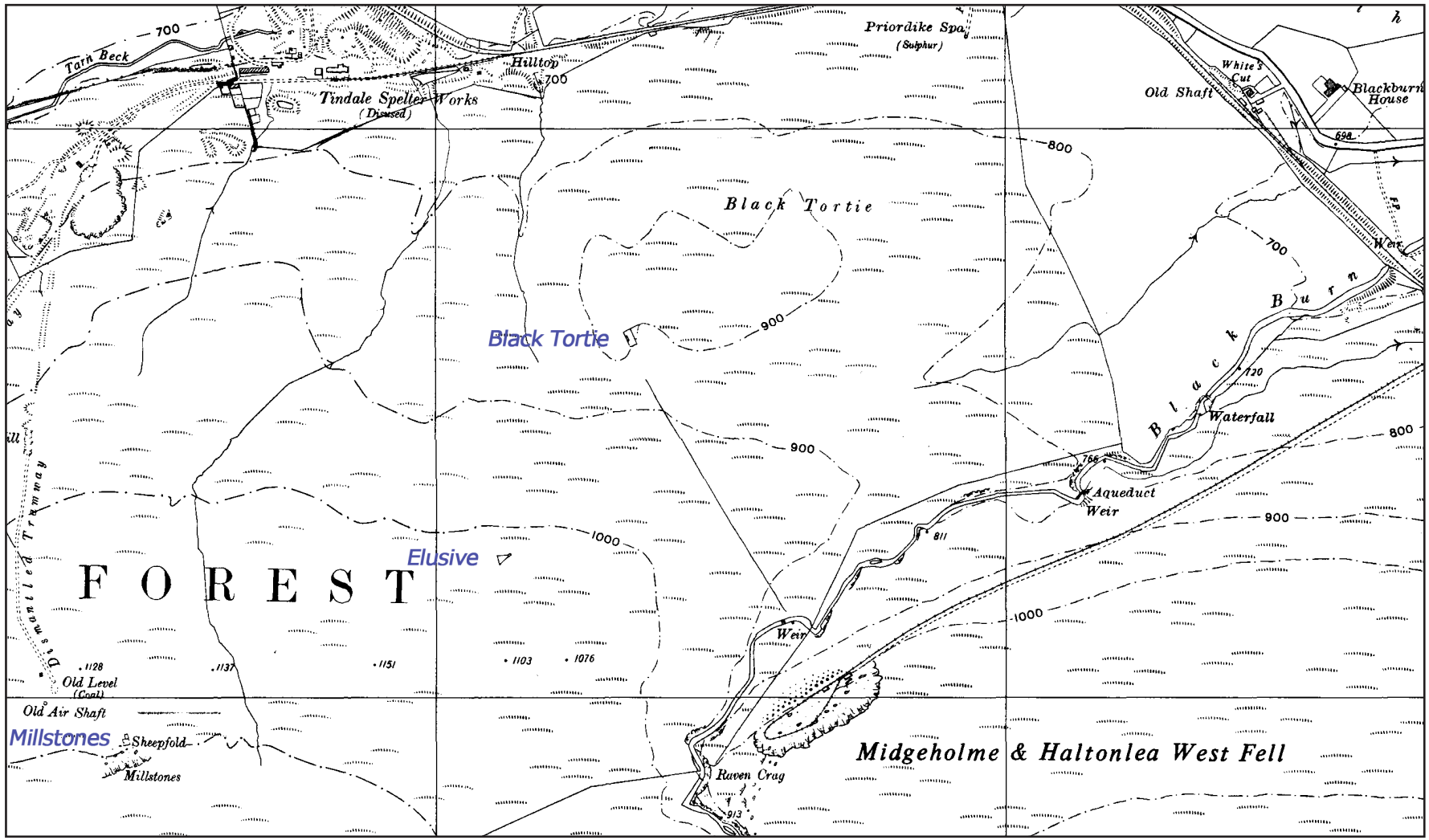


OS 2nd edn 25", 1901

Millstones fold in the corrie, March 2008

Millstones fold on Google Earth, April 2006

Boulders incorporated in the walls of Millstones fold, March 2009



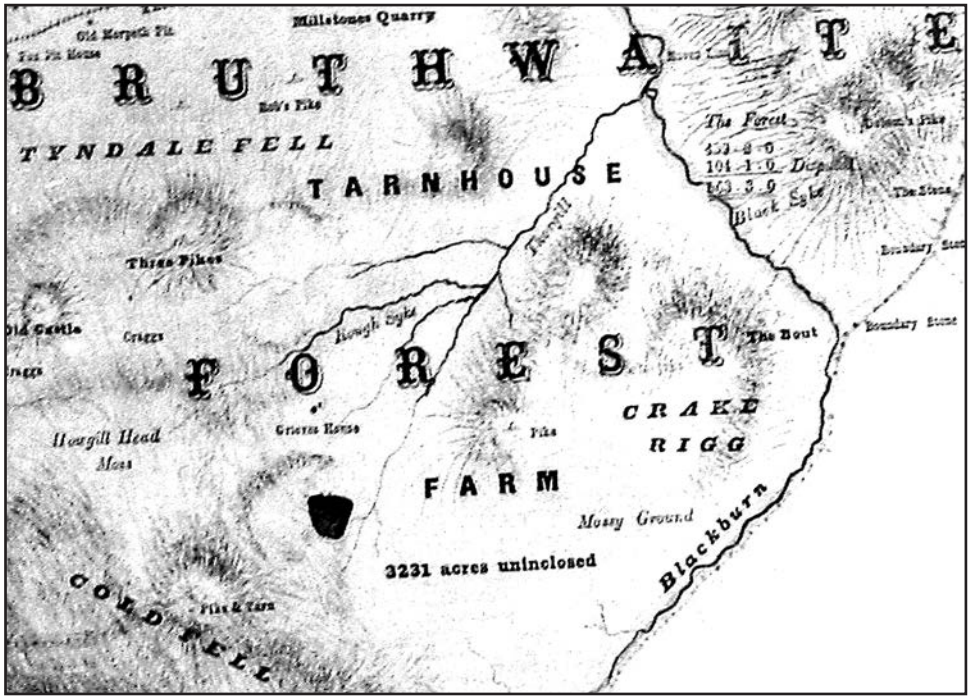
Millstones, Elusive and Black Tortie folds, OS 6" edn, 1957

Grieves House, April 2008

Grieve's House

The very large and tumbled fold on the east flank of Cold Fell at the head of Rough Sike consists of two enclosures and a narrow central section which protected a bothy at the south-east end. Strong squared stone walling, the remains of timber posts and a few Welsh slates show this to have been a solid structure in relatively recent use, presumably as an outpost for the grieve, or farm bailiff. Its strategic and lofty location oversees Blackburn Head, a remote and lonely expanse of peat and heather moorland which, as the Gilsland Survey map of 1829 remarks, is "Mossy Ground". Although I assume that the fold is indeed the "Grieve's House" shown on this map, there being no other similar structure nearby, it appears but is not named on current Ordnance Survey maps.

Grieve's House on Google Earth, May 2009



Gilsland Survey map showing Grieve's House between Rough Syke and Thorgill, 1829

Grieve's House, April 2008

7 A LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMED

The experience of history in the landscape is never in the tidy and purposeful order reassembled by historians.
(Richard Mabey 2006, 93)

Stone houses, pit hovels and enclosure

The thick-walled tower embedded in the farmhouse at Tarnhouse is the only defensive structural remnant in the forest that now recalls the centuries of border turmoil, the tumbledown yet still substantial building at Templegarth showing no signs of ever having been fortified. The Gilsland Survey of 1603 specifies every "stonehouse", and these were few: in all of Farlam, other than the manor house, only four stone houses are mentioned, and nothing could compare with the "faire castell… well replenished with woodde and timber" at Naworth (Graham 1934, 55, 59, 31). There is no trace of the homes of ordinary people of these times, since timbers would be reused and mud and thatch would return to earth. Celia Fiennes on her journey from Penrith to Carlisle noted that "you pass by the little hutts and hovels the poor live in like barnes some have them daub'd with mud-wall others drye walls" (Morris 1982, 172). When Bewick travelled through the area he was more able to empathise, observing that

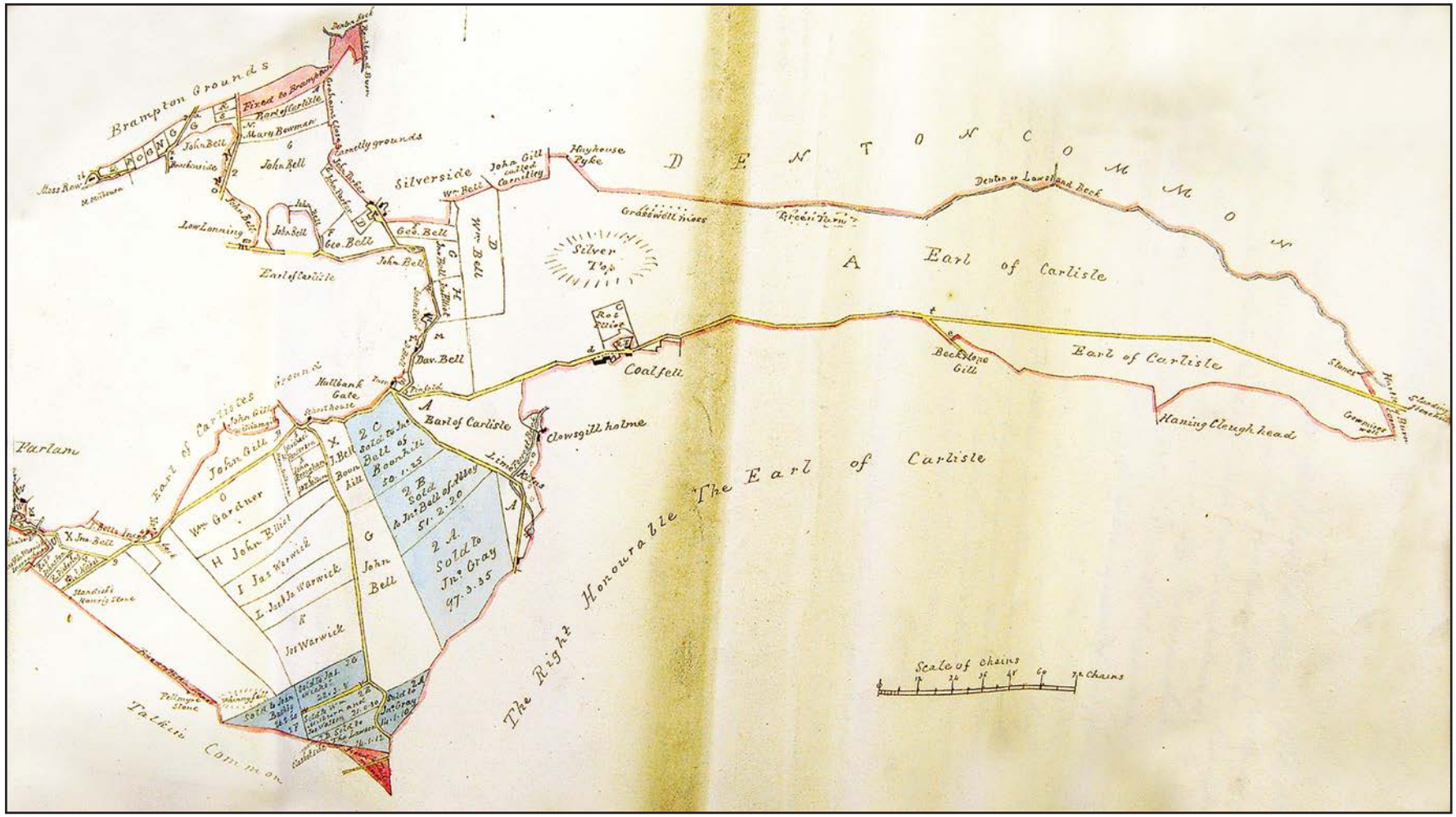
> here and there on this common were to be seen the cottage, or rather hovel, of some labouring man, built at his own expense, and mostly with his own hands; and to this he always added a garth and a garden, upon which great pains and labour were bestowed to make both productive; and for this purpose not a bit of manure was suffered to be wasted away on the 'lonnings' or public roads.
> (Weekley 1961, 27)

Ruined cottage with ewe and lamb, woodcut by Thomas Bewick

The demise of the hunting forest was followed by the rise in mineral exploitation, and by the mid seventeenth century the lower ground on its northern margin began to be leased to farmers. A growing population needed somewhere to live and as the Coalfell and Tindale Fell collieries flourished there came an urgent need to provide dwellings for the miners. Farm buildings were adapted for habitation, and by the early nineteenth century terraces of cottages which would not have been out of place in a Durham pit village were being built in isolated spots near the mines.

The greatest changes, opening up the forest area to the outside world, occurred in the five decades between Enclosure and the coming of the turnpike road in 1828. Coal mining boomed on Tindale Fell, cart roads and waggonways were upgraded to railways, and limestone quarrying and limeburning were developing on a large scale. The western parts of the extensive Farlam commons adjoining the forest were lost by the Enclosure Act of 1780, while the earl of Carlisle retained control of the commons to the north, and of the forest itself, the map (CRO Q/RE/1/79) providing details only of the land newly allocated. For the purposes of agricultural improvement and increased rental value, the former demesne farms had by then been converted from customary tenure to leasehold (Searle 1983, 132-4) and were already encroaching on the commons, as can be seen in William Magnay's 1782 lease of Templegarth farm (HNP C129a/6). Enclosures from the commons to the north of the road, and from the forest land to the south, were combined to create Coalfell and Greenside farms, and the north-west forest boundary also became blurred as parts of the former commons and demesne land were opened up for quarrying on the limestone band at Forest Head and Clowsgill.


All that Farm and Lands called Templegarth, with the Grounds late Common therewith, as now in the said William Magnay's occupation, containing about Five Hundred & Eighteen Acres



Farlam Enclosure map extract showing the north-west corner of Bruthwaite Forest and the enclosed commons beyond, CRO Q/RE/1/79, 1780

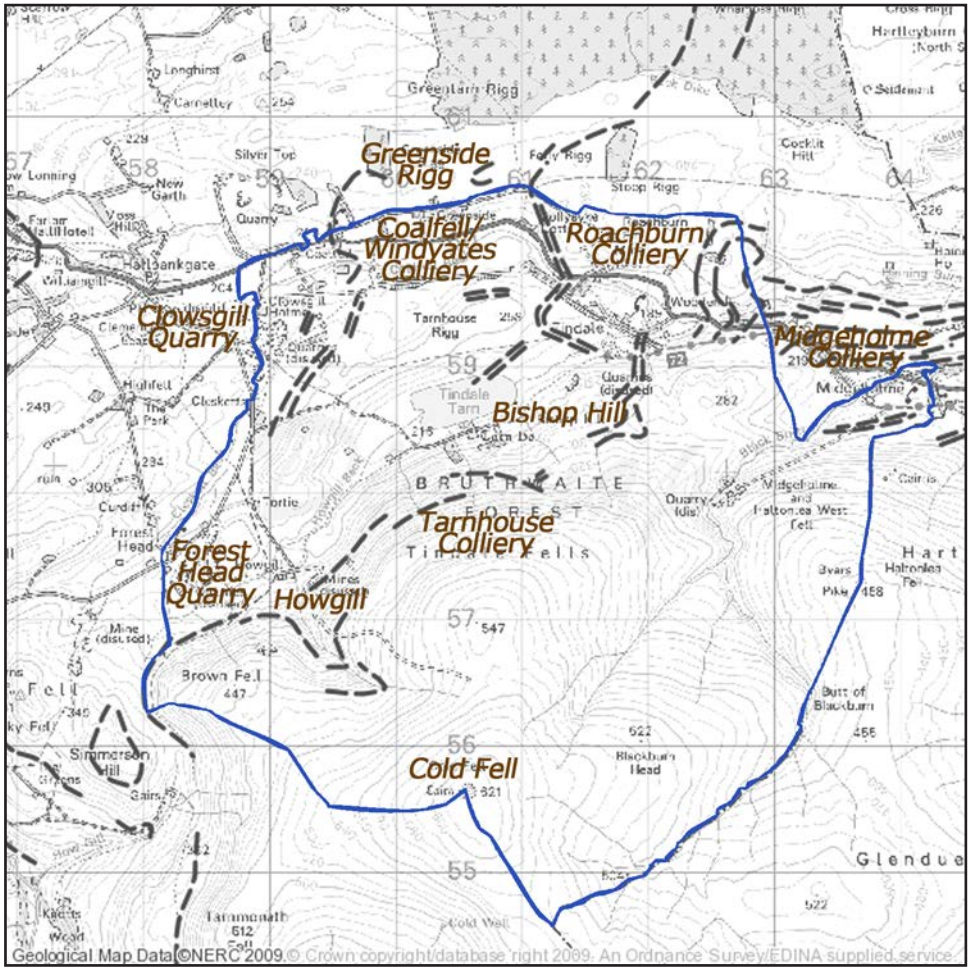
The extended enclosure of the open Northern hills by means of stone walls… [was] largely contemporary with the evolution of Cartesian geometry, the Fahrenheit thermometer and the well-tempered clavier. (Gordon Manley 1952, 155)

Coalfell colliery

The Midgeholme Coalfield has been described as "three small patches" north of the Stublick Fault (Taylor et al 1971, 67). Had these "patches" been any bigger, then the transformation of the landscape would have been correspondingly devastating. The relative difficulty of raising the coal and the uncertainties of the seams, the high water table, the remoteness of the mines, and the lack of iron ore in the vicinity, all eventually meant that mining here never reached the proportions of the industry in the Durham or West Cumberland coalfields. Nonetheless, vast amounts of coal were wrought from the collieries at Tarnhouse, Midgeholme, and Roachburn from the eighteenth to the mid twentieth centuries. There had already been "coal mines in Tynyelfell, valueless on account of the Scots" (Cal IPM 1898, 69) as early as 1486, and by 1522 there were pits at Greenside Rigg (Wilson 1901, 380). Coal was being carted from the Coalfell or Windyates colliery to Carlisle as early as 1562, when

> Lord Dacre 'made a restraint of his coals at Wyndyaits'…and continued to deny the citizens their precious fuel… 'so that the smiths inhabiting within this city could by no means get coals to work withal'.
> (Summerson 1993, 651; CRO Ca2/19)

This was the only coal mine in the whole of Farlam, said to be "decayed" by 1589 (Graham 1919a, 95).



Coal measures, mines and quarries of Bruthwaite Forest

The last and lowest Depression of this Ridge of Mountains, is called Coal-Fell. It hath its name from the Colliery. Here the Coal Class is in full Strength and Perfection, the Seams of Coal at their full height and growth. This Colliery is so antient, that we cannot find out the Original of it: It supplies Carlisle and the Country near it. The Mannor and Royalty is in the Possession of the Earl of Carlisle; the present Lessee is the ingenious Mr. Mowberry.
(Robinson 1709, 44-5)

The colliery was back in use by 1618, when the new technique of boring for coal (www.dmm.org.uk/history/vhced2.htm) was rapidly adopted, "a sett of boaring-rods" being brought from Newcastle (Ornsby 1878, 94, 101). There would have been few, if any local men with the skills to drive a boring and assess the potential of a new mine: "Borers were highly specialised, well-paid workers… When they had completed their task, received their stipulated payment, and spent on ale the gratuity which it was customary to make them, they moved on to another colliery, and their place was taken by sinkers" (Ashton and Sykes 1964, 14-15). In 1620 Richard Burthom's wife was paid 2s.4d.for "one week's boord for a collier" (Ornsby 1878, 182), and in 1634 "one coale rope for the coale pitts" was bought (Ornsby 1878, 327). This thriving colliery "at Windyates near Templegarth" was said by Thomas Denton to be worth £60 a year in 1687 (Winchester and Vane 2003, 361).

Coalfell colliery earthworks, on the south-facing slope above Coalfell Beck, December 2005

Coal may not have been the most acceptable fuel, for "it was disliked by housewives… on account of the smoke, soot and smell" (James 1981, 119-20). Oddly enough, only wood and peat were used at Tarnhouse even in the late eighteenth century, and "when cutting their peat they were profoundly ignorant of the valuable coal beds lying beneath it. Since [then] coal has been extensively worked and my uncle had but to send his carts to get as much as he required for nothing" (Moses 1897, 5). Before the network of waggonways and tramways was developed, most of the coal would be carted out on the coal roads to Brampton and Carlisle. Mining continued on a small scale until the early nineteenth century, when the new railways provided the means of taking the coal to a wider market.

The jumbled evidence of dozens of long-disused bellpits, their characteristic 'doughnut' profile distinguishing them from swallowholes in the limestone, together with later drifts and spoil heaps, can be seen in the fields of Templegarth and Greenside, where the much later Howard Pit overlapped with the old Coalfell colliery. By the 1930s, it was noted that "the district north of Coal Fell has long been worked out. The Tarnhouse Rigg area was actively mined from Howard Pit from 1873 to 1896, when it was abandoned" (Trotter and Hollingsworth 1932, 89).

> We have two labourers at a time, at the handle of the bore Rod, and they chop, or pounce with their Hands up and down to cut the Stone or Mineral, going round, which of course grinds either of them small, so that finding your Rod to have cut down four or six Inches, they lift up the Rod, either all at once, as there is conveniency for its Lift; or by Joynts fixing the Key, which is to keep the Rod from dropping down into the hole… and taking off the cutting Chissel, puts or screws on the Wimble or Scoop which takes up the cut Stuff be it what happens.
> (JC 1708, 11-12)

1650
Pentecost 1650. pd in Mr Widdringtons Accompt to the Boerer wch came out of Northumberland. 10s
pd Robin Trewmans Bill for draweinge an open shaft at the Colefell, And for boreinge for a new pitt. £22 14s
May 10. pd for the Boerer's Dyett at the Colefell to May 17. 11s
June 5. pd for the Boerers Dyett till the 30th May. 11s
pd Tom Halle for mendinge the Boerers & wimbles. 10s
pd the Borer in part of his wadges. £3 5s
June 24. pd John Peeres for 3 weekes dyett for the Boeror. 16s 6d
Pd Tom Hall for steelinge the Boerors' tooles. 4s 2d
pd the Boaror more. £4
June 26. Received of the Colliers in part of three quarters rennt due for the pits Feb. the 2nd last past. £7
July 12. pd the Boerer in part. £1
July 15. pd for his dyett to this day. 11s
July 23. pd the Boarer in full of his wadges to the 23rd of July. £2 10s
pd for his dyett till then. 5s 6d
pd Tom Hall for steeleinge the Chisells. 6s 10d
pd the hire of a horse to carry the Boerer home. 2s 6d
Aug 7. Received of the Colliers in part of there rennt. £18
Aug 16. pd Liuock for carrying home the Boarers. 3s
Novembr 29. pd Barwis for makeinge some and dressinge all the Boreinge wimbles. £1 3s
Dec 25. Received of [the Colliers] in part [of their rent]. £5
Jan 2. pd for 68 dayes worke at the levell at the pitts. £3 8s
Jan 29. pd Tom Hall for mendinge hacks, picks, & c. 3s
Feb 12. Received of them in part for the Colepitts Rennt for the yeare endinge the eleventh of Feb. 1650. £15
March 5. Received of them for one moneth due March 11th. £2 8s
Received of them for 1 month due Aprill 11th. £2 8s
1651
Decemb. 29. To [John Heathwood Carpenter] for mending the Coale wayns. 1s
Decemb. 31. Paid John Pears as remaynes for 70 bushells of burnt Lyme for Naward. 9s
Received of Humphrey Bell for 19 Chaldron of Coales at 5s 4d. the Chaldron. £5 0s 4d
Dec. 31. Received of [Humphrey Bell] for 3 horsloads. £1
December 31. To Humfry Bell for winning Coales. £2 13s 4d

Coal tubs, Howard Screens, April 2004

Coal tubs, Bishop Hill, February 2007

Paid Blitron for sumoning the Tenants of Castle Carrucke & Cumrew to bring coales from the pitts. 1s

1652

Jan. 20. Received of [Humphrey Bell] (besides charges) for 12 Chaldron and 13 loads of Coales. £1 16s 3d

Jan. 25. Received for Coales, besides charges. £2 8s 2d

Jan. 25. Paid Humph. Bell for 3 shovells mending and for the Coalmens box by Mr. Culcheths license. 6s

March 6. Received of John Pearse for 14 load of Coales. 3s 6d

March 6. [?] Paid John Pearse for 30 bush. of lime. 12s 6d

Paid him for his Journey to Carlile to bring the pumpe, with 2 men more. 2s 6d

March 8. paid Mr. Crayster of Carlile for a pumpe for the new coalepits. £7

1653

Feb. 14. Received of Humphrey Bell, Thoms. Livock & Anne Tinlin in full of one yeares rent for the Coalefell ended the 2nd of Feb. 1652. £14

March 9th. Paid John Hetherson of Brampton for five dayes goeinge with the coale waine. 2s 6d

1656

11-18 February. Paid the Colliers in part for sinking. £1

Paid John Langhorne to Newcastle, to gett Colliers & viewers. £1

Paid for the viewers comeing & for an Iron mell & hack. £1 10s

4-18 March. Paid Thoms. Hall smith by Bill for worke done at the Colefell ever since Lammas; this is Allowed in his fine. £2

18-25 March. Paid Langhorne for Cole workes. £11 4s 4d

8-15 Aprill. Paid for the Coleworkes to John Langhorne by bill dated Aprill 2nd. £1 7s 4d

1658

Received of Humphrey Bell in full of one half years Rennt for the Colepitts at Wyndgates due March 25, 1658. £17 10s

Received of [Humphrey Bell] in part of half a years rent for the Colepitts due Michaelmas, 1658. £12

Received of [Humphrey Bell] in full of one half years rent for the Colepitts due then. £5 10s

1660

Received for the Coalpits due at Lady day. £15

Received in full for the Coalepits due at Michaelmas last. £15 (Hudleston 1958)

Coal tubs, Bishop Hill, September 2004

Coal tub, Bishop Hill quarry, February 2007

Clay tobacco pipes

Clay pipes arrived with the mid seventeenth century miners at Coalfell, and disappeared with the last generation to work their lifetime in the mines in the early twentieth century. I have found pipe fragments from Tindale to Howgill in the middens by ruined cottages, or in infill tips of bellpits and swallowholes, and of course in molehills, but they are noticeably concentrated around Coalfell. The find sites coincide with the area of early coal mining, and with later arable farming. Cheap, disposable, and mass-produced, clay pipes are generally regarded merely as a useful component of the archaeologist's dating toolbox, but there was once a whole social ritual pertaining to clay pipe smoking. In the Furness fells, where 'colliers' were charcoal-burners rather than coal-miners, Arthur Ransome's Nibthwaite friends left clay pipes for him in the Red Lion at Lowick Bridge:

> No one will smoke such good pipes nowadays. A new clay pipe is a raw thing, apt to burn the tongue. But the charcoal-burners used always to put their own new pipes on their pitsteads under the skilfully built mound of wood that was to smoulder in its skin of turfs until it turned to charcoal. Then, when at last the mound was opened, they found their pipes glossy and coal-black, ready to give a cool sweet smoke from the first pipeful of tobacco. The right tobacco was Kendal twist… Pipes were a penny each, though most inns kept a stock of them in the bar and any customer could have one for the asking. (Ransome 1976, 112).

No 28, Forest Head quarry, September 2008

My collection includes about forty recognisable bowl fragments, of which seventeen are half or more complete, and are illustrated here. The earliest is from c1640-60, and the latest are 'cutty pipes' and RAOB ritual pipes from the early twentieth century. All those illustrated are from the Coalfell area, except the two on this page which are from a rubbish tip in Forest Head quarry. These are curiously evocative objects, which in their short functional lives have been so much handled and yet so casually discarded, that they carry with them a very tactile, personal feel.

Some indication of where the pipes were manufactured is shown on a few stem sections from the Coalfell area, fifteen of which have legible maker's marks. Five of the stems show the maker as Tennant of Newcastle, another as Tennant of Berwick. Three are by FJ Finn of Gateshead, two are by Christie of Glasgow or Leith, and one comes from Carlisle.

No 21, Forest Head quarry, April 2008

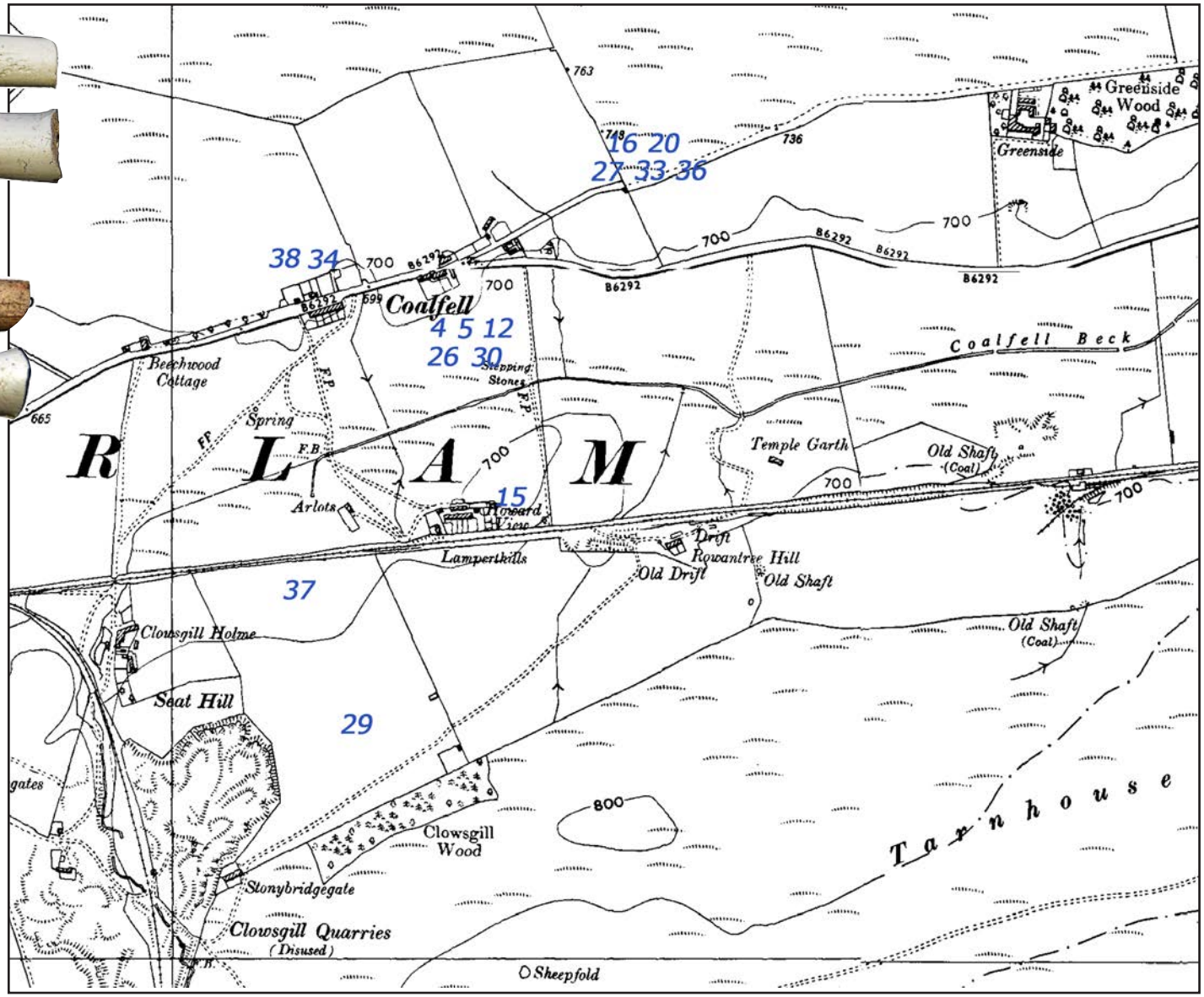
N15, Tennant of Newcastle, Greenside, December 2009

N3, Christie of Glasgow, Coalfell, 2000

N8, Tennant of Newcastle, Coalfell, March 2005

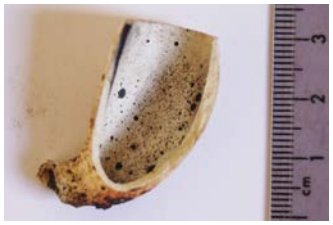
N9, Tennant of Berwick, Coalfell, April 2007

N11, F J Finn of Gateshead, Coalfell, May 2008



Area of Coalfell clay pipe bowl finds, pipe catalogue numbers overlaid on OS 6" edn, 1957


No 30, Coalfell Pasture, January 2008

No 26, Coalfell Pasture, February 2008


No 38, Coalfell Meadow, March 2010


No 29, Stoneybridge Meadow, October 2008


No 4, Coalfell, 2000


No 5, Coalfell, 2000


No 37, Stoneybridge Meadow, January 2008

Clay pipe bowls

No 15, The Garth, April 2007

No 16, Greenside Plantation, April 2007

No 33, Greenside Plantation, April 2009

No 12, Coalfell Pasture, March 2007

No 34, Coalfell allotment, June 2009

No 20, Greenside Plantation, April 2008

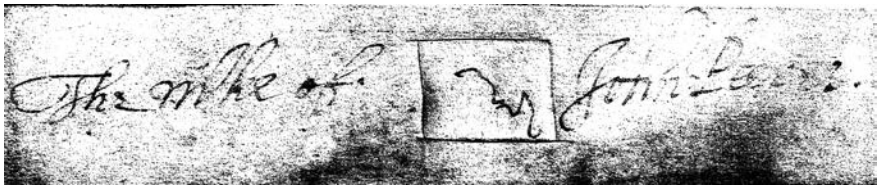
No 27, Greenside Plantation, May 2008

No 36, Greenside Plantation, March 2010

Clay pipe bowls

Coalfell and the colliery farms

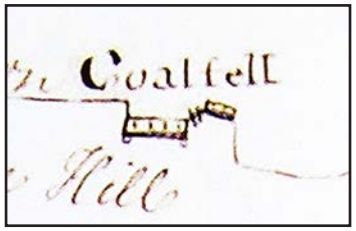
John Peeres rented the Coalfell colliery, where he acted as bankman (Hudleston 1958, 10). It seems fair to surmise that he smoked a pipe, perhaps even the one found in the area of the coal pits on Coalfell Pasture in January 2008 (No 30), which is of the type made during his time here, around 1640-60 (Ayto 1987, 5).



Mark of John Peeres on his lease, 1648, HNP C77/1

Peeres was also herd of the "Cowe Forest" (Hudleston 1958, 91), and delivered coal and burnt lime to Naworth (Hudleston 1958, 115, 118-19, 146). In 1648 he took on the lease of a tenement called "Cheritreehill, alias Winnyates", from George Peeres, perhaps his father, for 10s a year (HNP C77/1). This was variously referred to as an "improvement", a "Cott." or a "parcell of ground in the low forrest" (Hudleston 1958, 90, 112, 138), and there is mention in the lease only of buildings he "shall builde". Ten years later his widow Elizabeth was still paying the same rent for the "Improvement at Wyndgates" (Hudleston 1958, 174).

Only in 1719, when Joseph Walker, yeoman, leased Cherrytreehill and half of Templegarth, was it specified that he should "have a sufficient farmhouse built at Cherrytreehill the first year of this lease". This new house was to be called "Colefell house", the landlord agreeing to pay for "wining and walling the stones and to allow wood and pay the carpenters wages", while Walker was "to lead all the Leading and do the severall work for Colefell house" himself (HNP C77/10). By 1749 John Davidson held the lease, and his farmstead appears on a map at the same location as the present houses (HNP C167).

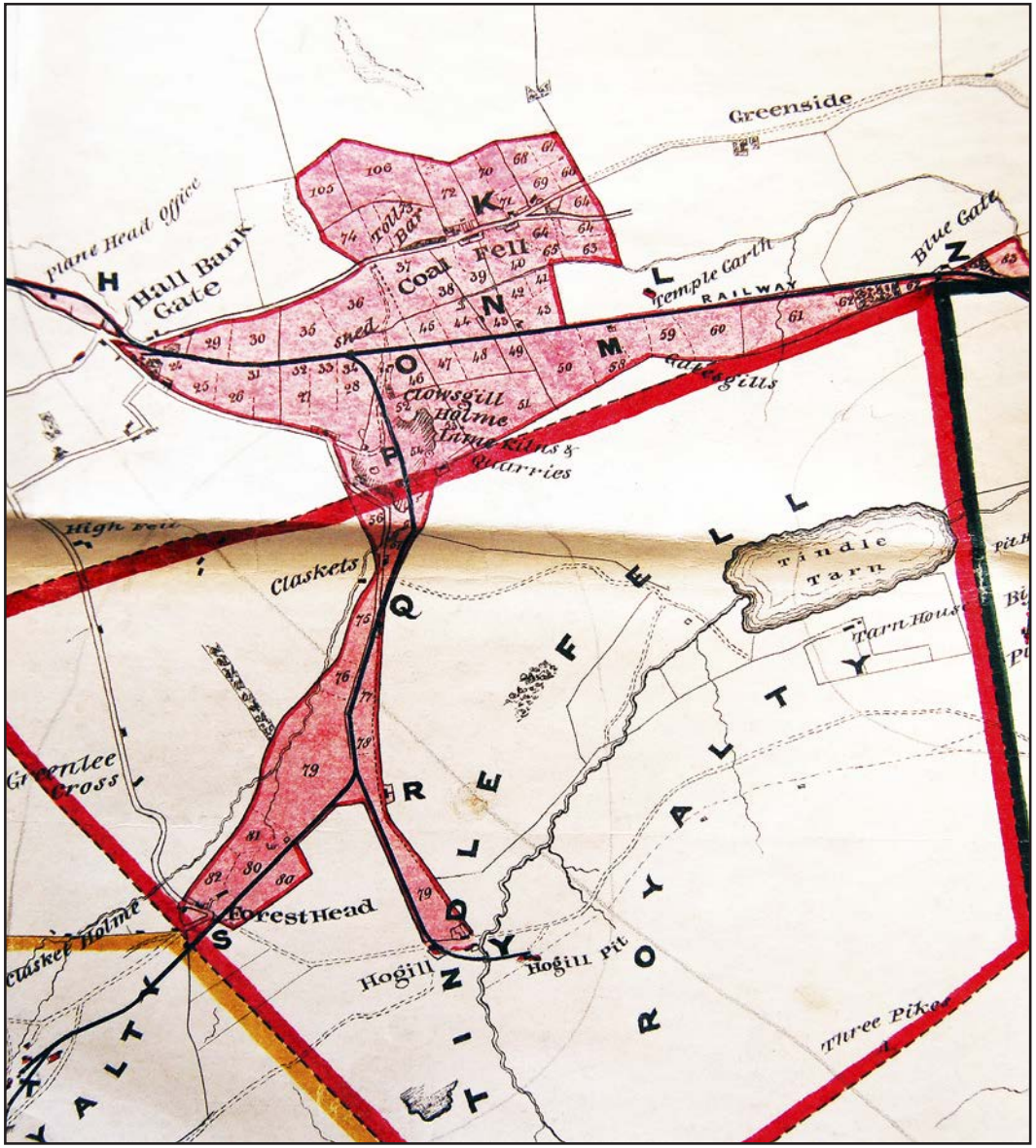


Coalfell house, detail, 1749, HNP C167, and c1800, HNP C230

Coalfell houses to the right of the glacial mound of Cherrytreehill, January 2006

Coalfell Farm, HNP C167, 1749

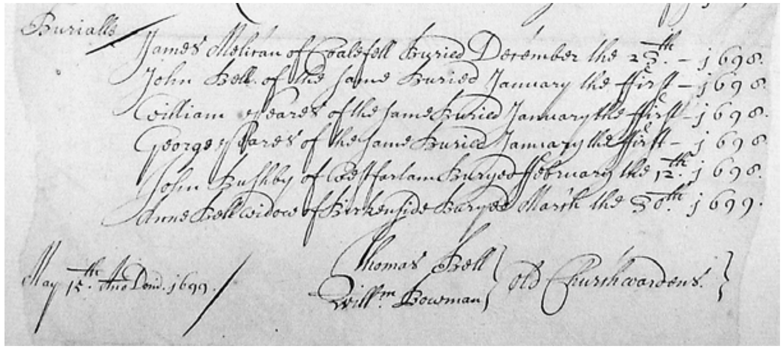
John Peeres had combined cattle herding with carting and coal mining, and a natural development of this way of life was the colliery farm. Land adjacent to Coalfell farm was leased to miners (HNP C167) and this later became estate policy. By the 1770s miners could each rent an allotment sufficient to keep a cow and to grow oats and hay which helped to feed the pit ponies, as well as basic grain and root crops. Cottages were provided with byres and tenants were encouraged to become cow-keepers (Harris 1974, 122, 133-4).



Coalfell colliery farm (coloured pink), Naworth Colliery plans, HNP C133/2, 1838

Coalfell colliery farm became the main focus of this policy, and its extent was increased until by 1832 it stretched down alongside the new railway line all the way to Forest Head and Howgill. The farm was parcelled out in plots varying from one to sixteen acres of arable and pasture (HNP C201/24). These plot boundaries, fleetingly visible in low sunlight or light snow cover, were probably never renewed and so have less substance than the forest wall and medieval dikes which remain as constants in the landscape.

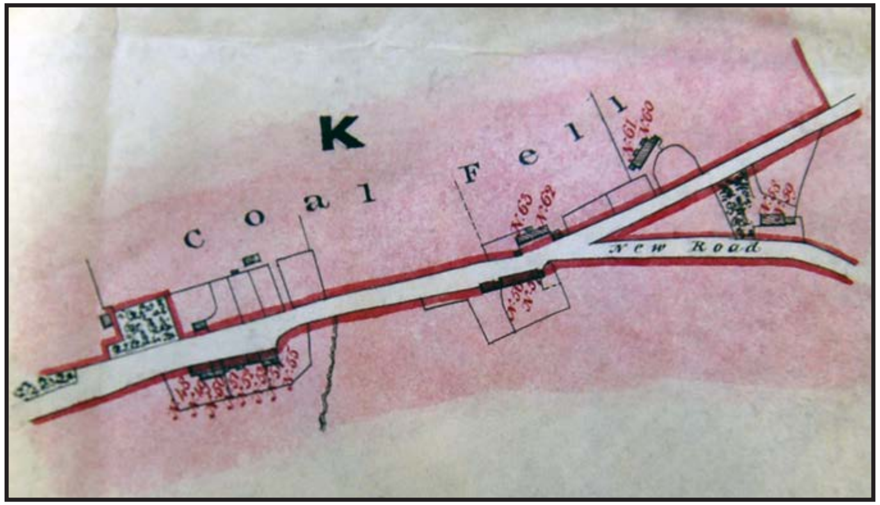
Coalfell, on the northern periphery of the forest beside the lonning leading to Greenside, Roachburn and beyond, became a densely populated hamlet, and ultimately one of the poorest. From the Farlam parish registers (DRC 6/62/1) we gain rare glimpses into the community here. On January 1st 1698 John Bell, William Peares and George Peares were buried, four days after James Melican. If they were all adults this may be a hint of some early pit disaster, although it is more likely that they succumbed to disease spreading through the packed cottages. Thomas Mosely who died in 1720 was a "pittman". Ambrose Topping, a carpenter, and John Bell were in trouble in 1724 for "profaning the Lord's Day by unlawful games and for threatening the Churchwarden when he reproved them". Occupations are mentioned in the 1770s, indicating that the men of Coalfell were generally labourers, although in 1776 William Green was listed as a blacksmith. In 1730 Thomas Bell lost his "gray mare stolen or stray'd from Colefell" (Q/11/1/159/9) and, tellingly, it was said of Jacob Moses of Tarnhouse after his death in 1848 that "The poor of Coalfell and district will have to deplore the loss of a kind and generous benefactor" (Moses 1897, 43).



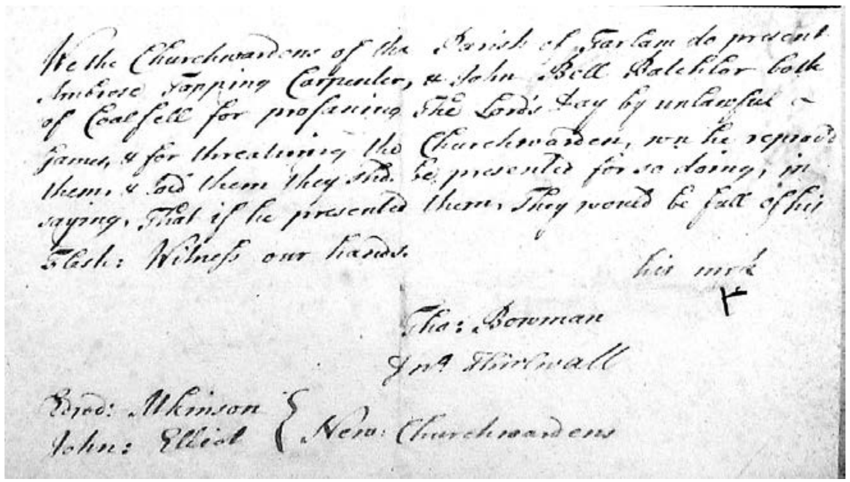
Burialls
James Moliran of Coalsfell Buried December the 25th. - 1698.
John Bell of the same Buried January the first - 1698.
William Heards of the same Buried January the first - 1698.
George Heards of the same Buried January the first - 1698.
John Bushby of Eastfarlam Buryed February the 12th. 1698.
Anne Bell widow of Birkenside Buryed March the 30th 1699.
May 15th. Anno Dom. 1699 /
Thomas Bell
Willm. Bowman } Old Churchwardens.

Farlam Parish Register, DRC 6/62/1, extract from 1698

Coalfell house, January 2010



Coalfell, Naworth colliery plans, HNP C133/2, 1838



We the Churchwardens of the Parish of Farlam do present Ambrose Topping Carpenter, & John Bell Batchelor both of Coalfell for profaning the Lord's day by unlawful games, & for threatning the Churchwarden, wn he reprov'd them, & told them they shd. be presented for so doing, in saying, That if he presented them, They would be full of his flesh: Witness our hands.

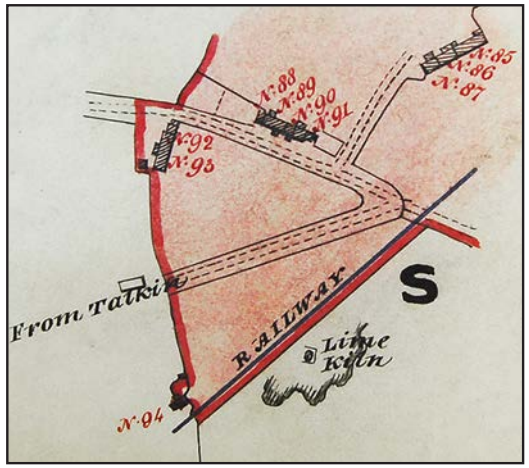
his mark

Tho: Bowman
Jno Thirlwall

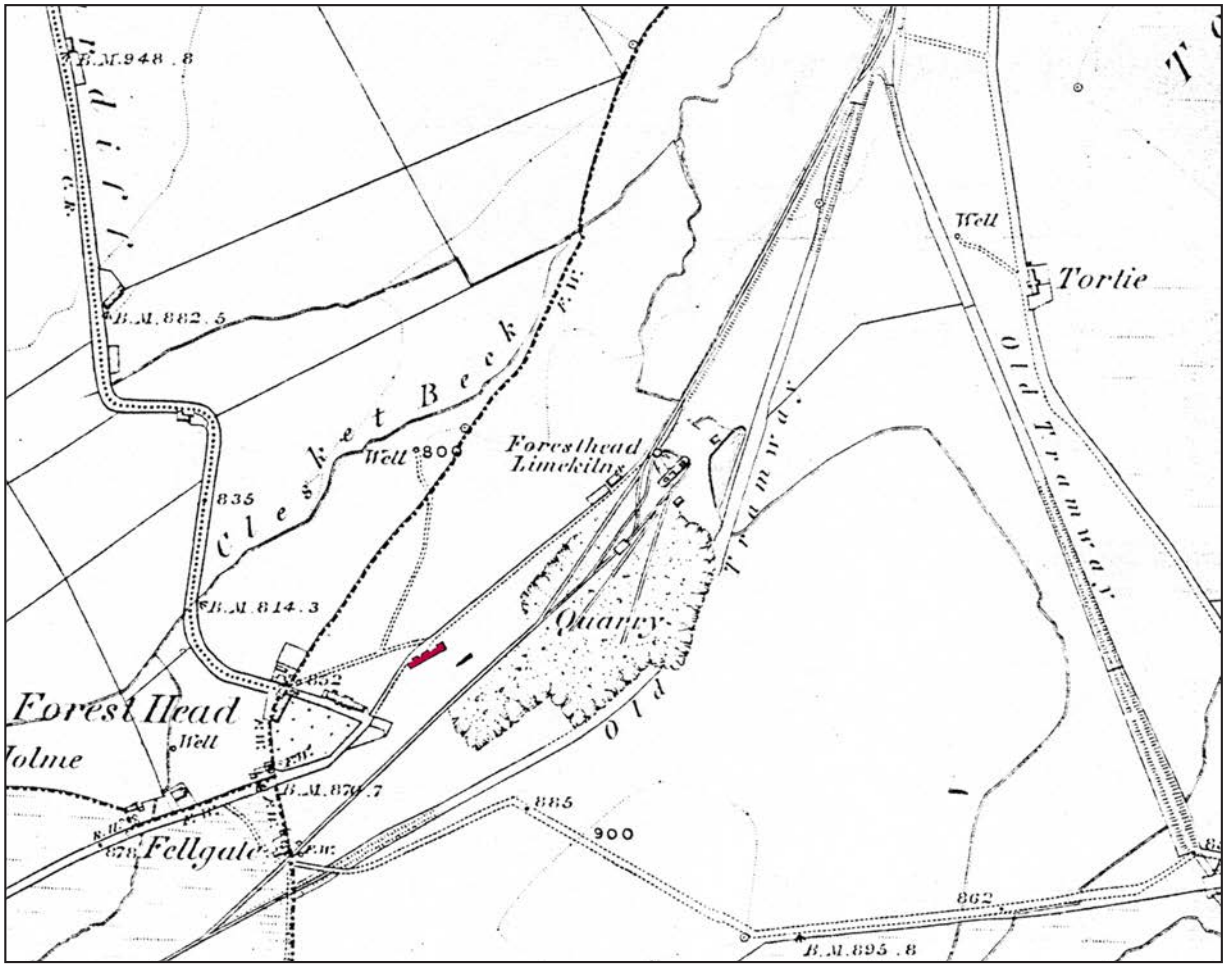
Edwd: Atkinson
John: Elliot } New Churchwardens

Farlam Parish Register, DRC 6/62/1, extract from 1724

Sheep Head Row at Forest Head quarry, January 2008, and potsherds found there, May 2007



Forest Head, Naworth Colliery plans, HNP C133/2, 1838



Sheep Head Row (picked out in red) at Forest Head, OS 1st edn 6", 1868

Colliers throughout the forest were housed in cramped cottages, generally thatched and in 1838 already in "a very bad state of repair" and of "a most primitive character", usually having "rather less than two rooms". By 1906 it was agreed "that owing to their age and character nineteen cottages should be allowed to fall into decay". Many of those thought to be worth keeping were enlarged during reconstruction in the 1890s (DX 1735/3/1), but the oldest cottages were still dark and damp and lacking piped water, even when they had been altered to provide "two bedrooms, a separate pantry, a staircase, more light or better ventilation" (Harris 1974, 137-8, 142). As late as 1910 those at Park Terrace were "suitable only for Pitmen" (DX 1735/1/3), and worse were "the ruins of a row of houses once known as Sheep Head Row. We can only wonder how they got that name" (Dixon 1957, 4). These houses at Forest Head quarry were abandoned in the early twentieth century (OS 6" map, 1926), but the rectangular earthworks of their footings are still visible beside the track through the quarry near the Forest Head gate, and the scatter of pottery nearby is doubtless from their middens.

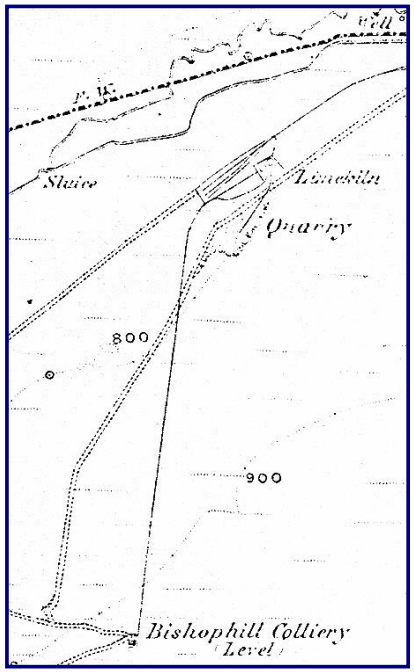
Split sandstone, Butt of Blackburn, May 2004

Split sandstone, Black Sike, October 2009

Quarries

Farmsteads, houses and the earlier industrial structures in the forest were all built of local sandstone, a material preferred by stonemasons as it can be easily riven, although the harder and less workable limestone is found in places, and Tarnhouse is built of calciferous sandstone (www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-78060-tarn-house-midgeholme). Throughout the area small sandstone quarries were opened wherever needed for a house or a field wall, but the forest's main quarries were for limestone, at Clowsgill, Forest Head, Bishop Hill and Tarnhouse. Silver Top, just to the north of the forest, is the only working quarry in the area. All the limekilns are at the quarries; there are no field kilns in the forest.

Bishophill quarry, July 2000

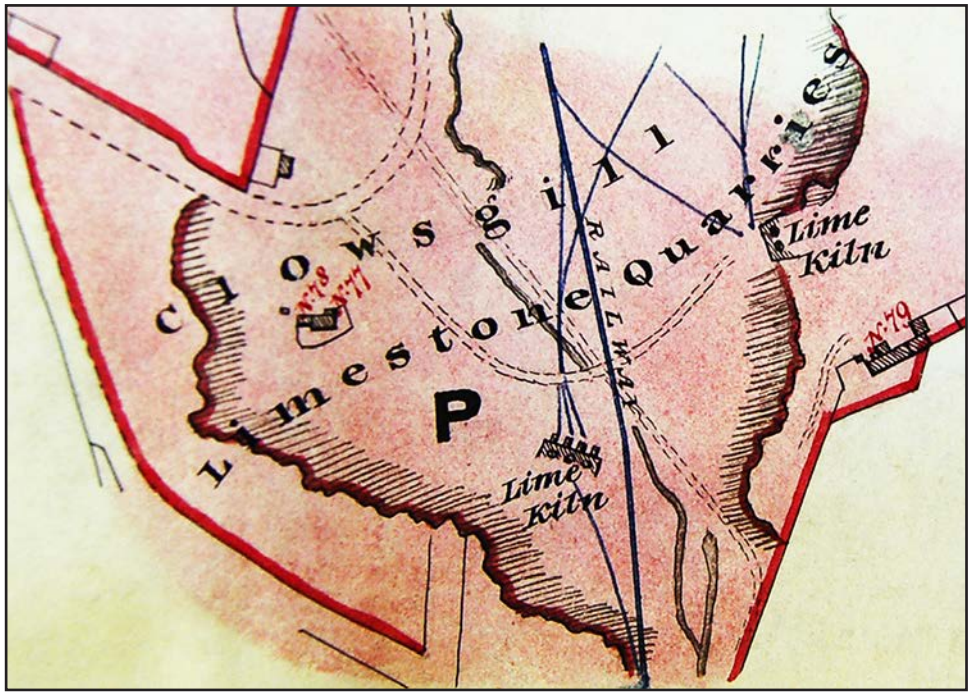


Bishophill quarry, OS 1st edn 6", 1868

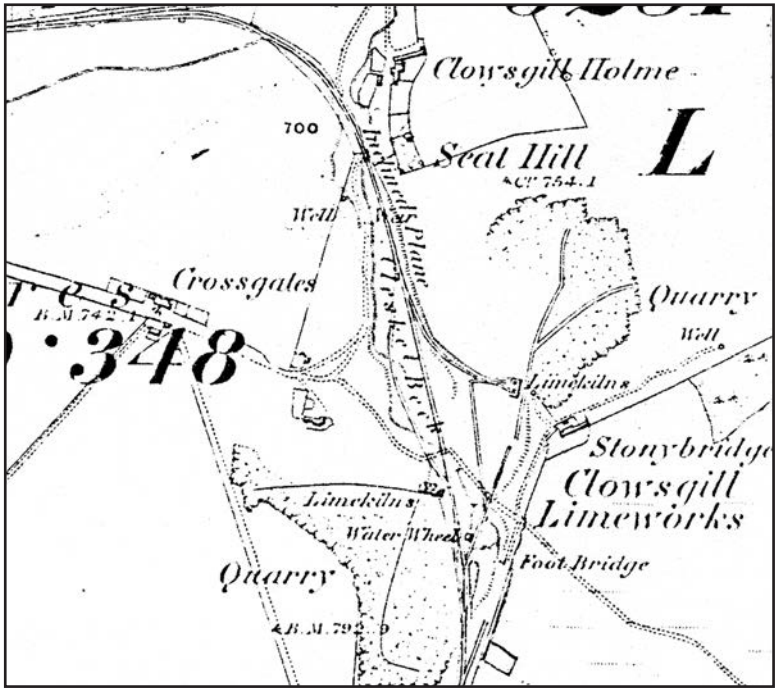
Forest Head limekilns, March 2006

Forest Head limekilns, February 2010

Bishophill limekilns, February 2007



Clowsgill quarries, Naworth Colliery Plans, HNP C133/2, 1838



Clowsgill Limeworks, OS 1st edn 6", 1868

The limestone in Clowsgill quarry was thought to be of the best quality for agricultural use, and was in especially great demand after Enclosure (Harris 1977, 149, 152). The main waggonway from the Tarnhouse colliery to the coal and lime depot in Brampton ran through the quarry (Webb and Gordon 1978, 3) and so coal was conveniently available for firing the kilns. Of the two banks of limekilns shown on the 1838 map, the larger set of four has disappeared, while the set of two kilns survives although its facing stones have been robbed out. Clowsgill was notable for using water power instead of horses after 1844, for "running the Waggons and all materials in and out of the Kilns", the only known water wheel in Cumbria used for this purpose (Harris 1977, 153, 155; HNP C695/4). Since the quarry and limeworks closed in the 1870s (Webb and Gordon 1978, 59) much of the grazing land destroyed by quarrying has been recovered as the lime-rich spoil heaps and tramways have grown over with a turf much appreciated by cattle and sheep.

Clowsgill quarry, November 2005

Forest Head and Kirkhouse bricks

Despite the ubiquitous boulder clay being "the raw material for most of the bricks made in Cumberland", the Coal Measures shale was also widely used. The limestone quarry at Forest Head was reopened in the 1920s for the extraction of the "thick overburden of shale", exposing the limestone for quarrying (Taylor et al 1971, 93; Webb and Gordon 1978, 67; Trotter and Hollingworth 1932, 86). The shale was transported by rail until 1948 to Kirkhouse, where a brick and tile works had been built in 1926 (Webb and Gordon 1978, 67). The local Kirkhouse bricks, visible in numerous crumbling walls of disused industrial buildings, became infamous for their poor quality, and local people have nothing good to say of them. Their fragmentary remains are now often to be found filling potholes in farm tracks, but still forlornly sporting the imprint of the brickworks. In certain light conditions part of the stamped word KIRKHOUSE is visible, and the repetition of the truncated word underfoot becomes a sort of lament for this defunct local industry.

Brick wall in Forest Head quarry, March 2006

Kirkhouse brick, Clowsgillholme, November 2008

Forest Head quarry, October 2007

The disused Forest Head quarry in the foreground and the active Silver Top quarry in the middle distance, June 2009

Kirkhouse bricks under Clowsgillholme railway bridge, November 2008

Tarnhouse tramway, February 2008

Waggonways, tramways and railways

The railways were hugely important in the process of opening the forest to the outside world, and two books are devoted to their detailed history, from the early wooden railed waggonways to the standard-gauge iron railway, with much information about the mines and quarries they were built to serve (Charters 1971; Webb and Gordon 1978). Coal was brought off Tindale Fell and taken down the lines from Midgeholme, Black Sike and Gairs to the Newcastle–Carlisle railway at Brampton Junction, and lime and shales were carried from Forest Head and Clowsgill to Kirkhouse. What we are left with are the embankments, cuttings and viaducts which ease the walking on the fellside. One can often encounter a sheep or two grazing on the short turf of the compacted surface of the trackbed, surrounded by a sea of unappetising bracken.

Tindale Fell waggonway, February 2008

Forest Head tramway, October 2006

Tramways on Tindale Fell, February 2008

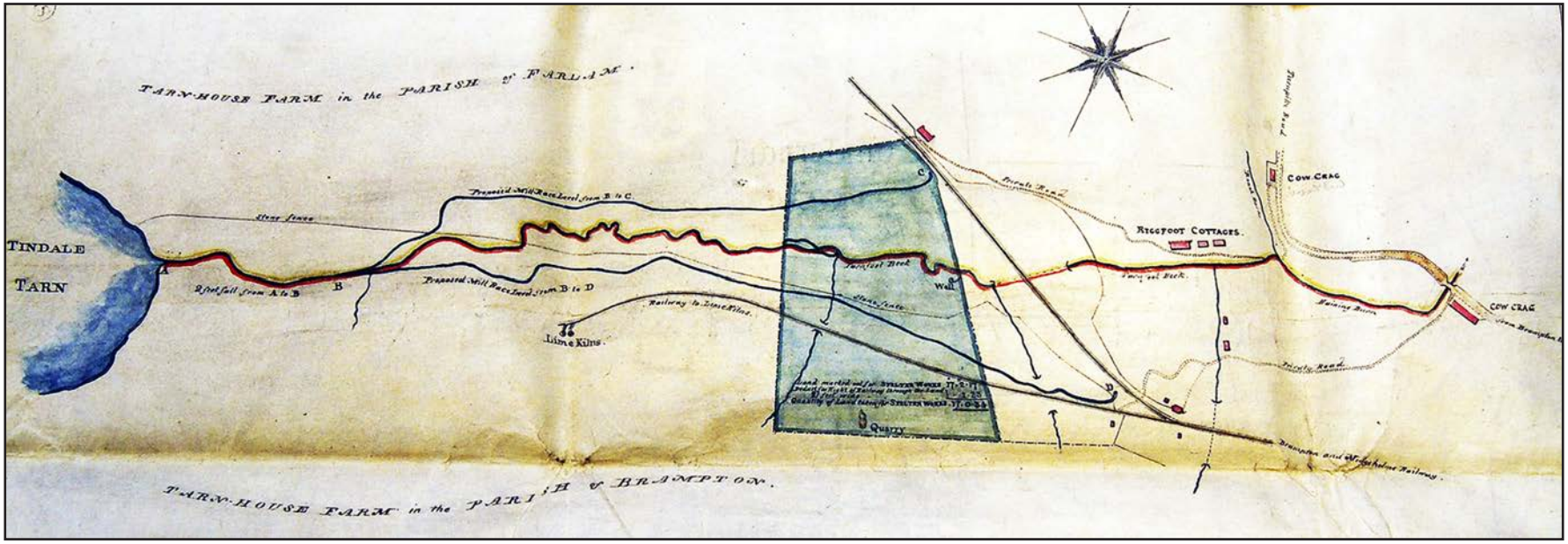
Bishophill tramway, February 2007

Tindale Spelter Works

Land at Rigg Foot was leased for smelting zinc ore from 1845 for 50 years (Almond 1978, 177). The industrial hamlet of Tindale is its by-product and legacy, as is the profoundly polluted valley of Tarn Beck, known locally as "The Jack". A later tenant of Tarnhouse farm, William Dobson, complained in 1895 that "about 1200 tons of sulphur is poured out of their chimneys yearly at great cost to the Company, and at equal loss and detriment, in many ways, to everybody else" (Almond 1978, 181; HNP C607/3). Although the site was briefly reused in the 1930s for extracting zinc from the old spoilheaps (Almond 1978, 184), only the stumps of concrete structures from this later phase survive.

The Jack, February 2007

Since the erection of works for zinc smelting near the northern end of the Tarn much of the romance and solitude of this mountain home had departed. A gentleman living near had discovered a plan for extracting zinc from a mineral known as 'black Jack'… After arranging with the Lord of the Soil, the Earl of Carlisle, and my uncle Jacob, 30 acres of land were assigned to him and here he erected rather extensive buildings where the overflow of the Tarn could be utilized. No one was allowed to see the works as the process was said to be a secret one known only to the managers and workmen. (Moses 1897, 13)

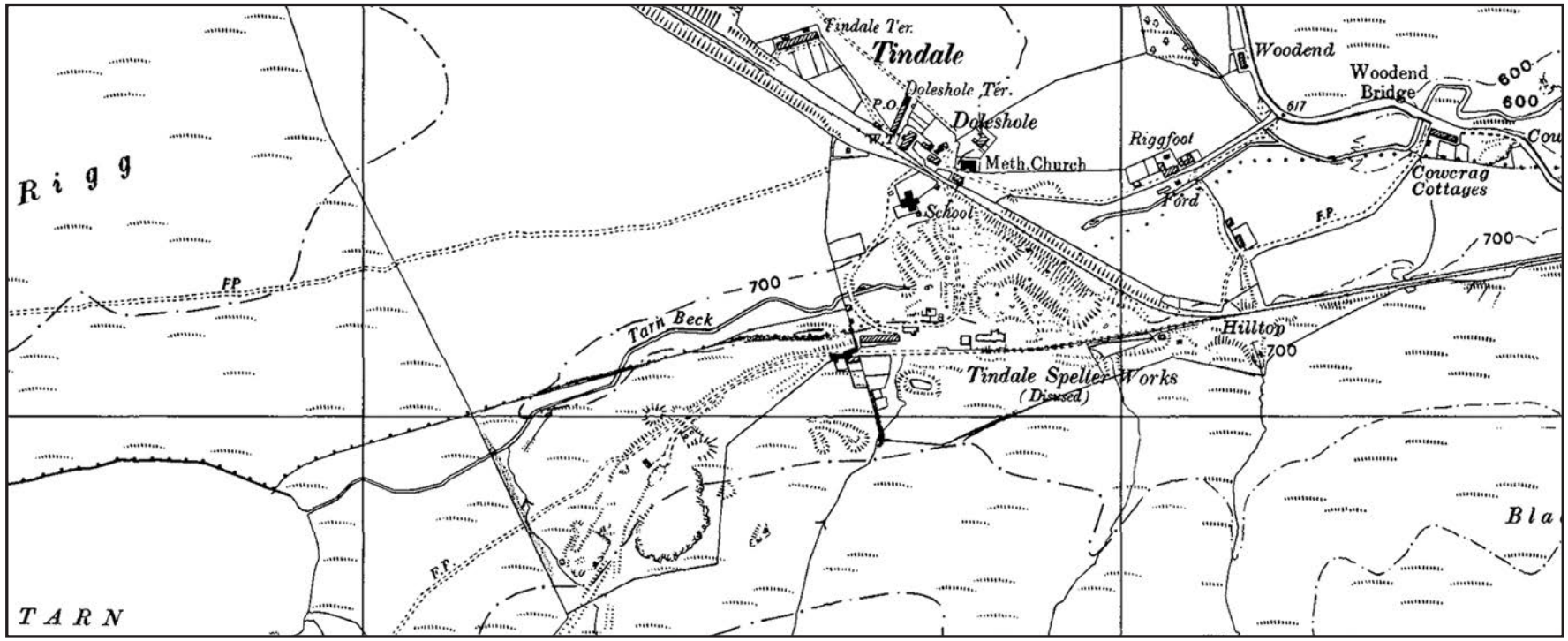


Proposal for Spelter Works, HNP C134/1, 1845

The Jack and Tindale, February 2007

The Jack and Tarn Beck looking west towards the tarn, February 2008

Spelter Works site, February 2008



Riggfoot, Tindale and the disused spelter works, OS 6" edn, 1957

Recovery

The decline of industry and corresponding decay and demolition of many cottages as the miners left for the coalfields of the north-east brought a mid twentieth century lull. The last pits to be worked on Tindale Fell, into the 1970s, were small-scale initiatives by local miners, at Recovery Pit and Peter's Hole near Howgill (Charters 1971, 68-9; Webb and Gordon 1978, 71). The landscape has changed with its designation as part of the North Pennines AONB. Tarnhouse farm is now under organic stewardship as part of the Geltsdale RSPB Reserve, and shooting rights are no longer exercised. Plantations in the Low Forest since the 1960s, although mainly coniferous, have provided shelter from the wind and cover for wildlife, and recent native tree planting on the slopes of the High Forest at Tindale Fell is restoring the wood pasture which preceded coal-mining. The post-industrial landscape, drained of its working colliery population and much of its wildlife, is slowly reviving after two centuries of hectic and intensive exploitation. The vivid re-clothing in turf, bracken and trees makes it hard now to evoke a threadbare black and white landscape of gaunt coal and limestone spoilheaps. Pumping engines and pithead gear have all ceased their din and gone for salvage, iron rails are recycled in makeshift fences, bridges or watergates or lie half-buried and rotting in the ground.

Recovery Pit, Howgill, October 2006

Rail, Forest Head, March 2006

Rail, Midgeholme, February 2006

Rail, Tarnhouse, September 2004

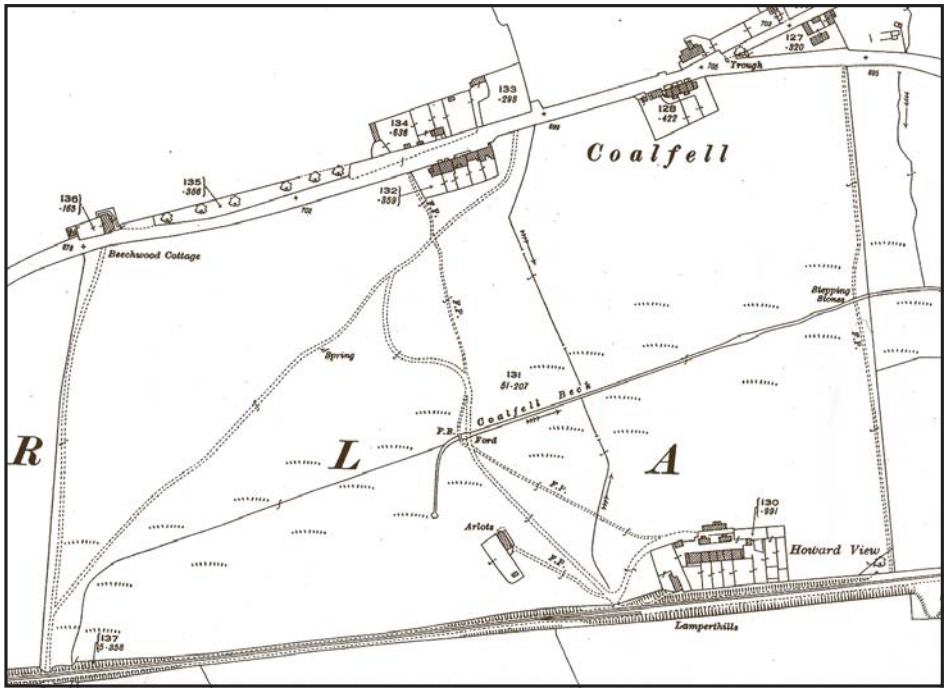
Rail, Tarn Beck, September 2004

Peter's Hole, Howgill, February 2008

Flora of Coalfell Pasture

Despite the use of fertilisers and close grazing by sheep and cattle over many years, following the hiatus of foot and mouth disease in 2001 it was noticeable that change was occurring in Coalfell Pasture. The grazing regime is now being adapted to the needs of the native flora, which is responding well. This in turn is intended to encourage the lapwings and curlews to increase their breeding sites here. The varied habitats include steep valley slopes, deciduous woodland, limestone flushes, dry banks and hedgebanks, old bellpits, adits and spoilheaps, sandy glacial moraines, and an extensive marsh to either side of Coalfell Beck overlying boulder clay.

Coalfell Pasture, June 2006



Area of the 2006 flora survey, Coalfell Pasture, OS 25" edn, 1926

From May to July 2006 I carried out a photographic survey of the flowering plants in Coalfell Pasture. This journey of discovery at ground level revealed 103 different species (not including grasses or mosses) and compared quite closely with a recent survey by the RSPB's botanist and with an environmental assessment a decade earlier (Miles 1996). The photographs, which included the fungi and insects I encountered in the grasslands, were exhibited as part of my MFA degree show that year, and were reconfigured in juxtaposition with details of watercolour paintings in the *Here Today* exhibition at Stagsike in 2008. The combined data collected in these surveys provide a means of monitoring the state of Coalfell Pasture into the future. The species lists and my photographs of eighty of the flowers are reproduced in *Appendix C* (some of the species were identified during my 2006 survey but were not photographed as they were not in flower before the survey ended in early July). The photographs are a witness to the recovery from the damage that this landscape has suffered and a celebration of its vitality.

8 IN CONCLUSION

Every turn of the road brought me new thoughts and every sunrise gave me fresh emotions.
(Bashō, in Nobuyuki, Y (trans) 1966, 85)

This study has been an exploration of the sort of relationship one can have with a place. It is not the place to which I belong: the feelings of that relationship can only exist for the place where I was born and that I first knew: the Furness fells from Ulverston to Coniston, some sixty miles south-west of Bruthwaite Forest. That is the place to which I truly belong, my *pays*, where the sensation of coming home is always overwhelming. My subsequent life elsewhere has taught me that it is not possible to recreate that visceral feeling in another place. Pitching oneself at length into another landscape is therefore an experiment in how close one can come without the primal sense of belonging. As an adult, one can replace that feeling with involvement, intense scrutiny, random and enjoyable wandering, but however one approaches a place there is no means of recreating the sensations of early childhood, in my case damp moss, warm rock, lakeshore pebbles underfoot and cold tarn water. These things can of course be smelt and felt elsewhere, but never with their primary association. The challenge underlying the research aims was not only to make a profound connection with another place but to find ways of communicating this connection visually.

My inclination is towards integration and the blurring or abolition of boundaries and constraints wherever possible, whether on the ground or in the mind. Parcelling human knowledge or natural behaviour into enclosed fields is antithetical to my understanding of the world, so that a deliberate choice was made at the outset to pursue this study in a sort of everyman's land where one is free to wander among the humanities, that "branch of learning concerned with human culture" (OED Online). Culture is about cultivation of the earth and the mind alike, and the branch is part of the tree, an almost infinite organism. Our language itself thus refutes the Cartesian divide, allowing Darwin to run with the metaphor:

> As buds give rise by growth to fresh buds, and these, if vigorous, branch out and overtop on all sides many a feebler branch, so by generation I believe it has been with the great Tree of Life, which fills with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and covers the surface with its ever-branching and beautiful ramifications.
> (Darwin 1872, 170–171)

A recurring theme in seventeenth century English embroidery designs showed the Tree of Life "rising from a ground of grass-grown mole hills, each bearing a delicate sprig" (Snook 1960, 81). Molehills in this instance symbolise the source of knowledge and fertility, and this association together with their seemingly random ubiquity made them an appropriate linking theme for my own wanderings.

At the core of the study is the ordinary activity of walking, a fundamentally defining human behaviour. From the outset the character of this walking was in the spirit of the *dérive*, making a clear distinction between linear, purposeful walking that takes people from home to work to shop, and random walking open to surprise, curiosity and encounter. From the walk stemmed the ideas that nurtured the holistic project of engagement with the environment. This approach, the "unsystematic searching" explained by Sebald (Cuomo 2001), inevitably generated a heterogeneous collection of thoughts and interests, as stimuli reached the brain via byways and meanders spontaneously followed. To marshal these diverse ideas into a coherent narrative was challenging, because at the same time I was pulled in the opposite direction by its counterpart, the spirit of disciplined historical enquiry and analysis; striding a sharp edge between fluidity on the one side and rigour on the other.

Every walk can be an integrating journey of exploration and discovery when one is attuned to the minutiae of change and the factors that affect movement in the landscape. Negotiating a passage through the landscape that causes minimal disturbance can be like

the moves on a Carrollian chessboard, hopping from one field to another by crossing water, avoiding such hazards as cattle, sheep, horses, breeding birds or hay meadows, that move and change according to whim, weather or season. That is the compromise woven into everyday life in a rural place, and acceptance of it is part of the relationship with that place, a constraint that acts as a framework, while following molehills introduces a gentle anarchy and a fruitful illogic.

Past and present are exemplified in the buildings of the study area that are all, with the exception of a few steel-framed or corrugated iron farm sheds, constructed of locally sourced materials. Sand, lime, stone, roof and floor flags all came from quarries nearby, and until the early twentieth century so did the thatch for roofing. Since the demise of local industry and the redundancy of many buildings, these materials are slowly sinking to the ground, mingling with Darwin's "vegetable mould" produced by earthworms, which plants then begin to colonise. From the lichens on the stone walls to the willow herb nourished by rotting timber lintels, this process is evidence of the lack of separation between natural events and human endeavour. Photographs would have sufficed to illustrate and inform a straightforward overview of the topography and record the progress of structural decay, but the connectivity sought required engagement with Smithson's "raw matter" (Flam 1996, 100-101). That is why, for the first time in my practice, I started to use clay, to complement the distancing of the photographic image. The decision to use only locally sourced clay dug by myself transformed the experience, as the physical effort involved in collecting and preparing the raw material made a clear connection even before pots and tiles were made, in the sense of Nash's "learning of place" (Nash 1996, 86). In the process of creating new artefacts that celebrate our place in the environment and our connection with its fundamental substance, the emphasis was placed on the ordinary materials and detritus of everyday life, exemplified by pottery, old and new, found and made.

The investigation into local place-names leads to more encounters with entropic process, with attempts to decipher maps that have endured centuries of use and damage through handling and damp storage to the extent that some are fragmentary and continue to exist only through the painstaking work of conservators. Some of the names lifted from these maps have likewise drifted free from their locations in the landscape, and I have attempted to re-place them where possible. In general, though, these topographical names are remarkably tenacious, deriving as they do from close knowledge of the terrain they describe.

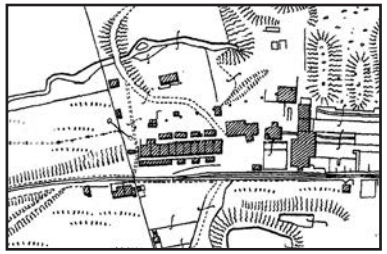
Interplay with the landscape is documented with the camera, a supple and increasingly immediate witness to change and chance, that can capture arrested time in an oak leaf frozen into water that has ceased to flow, or the memory of water in a time of flood returning to its course of centuries before. Fleeting glimpses of ephemera driven by wind and water are balanced by the gravitational pull of a derelict house towards its foundations in the earth. A collection of fragmentary and abraded artefacts from the environs of former dwellings may eventually constitute the only reminder of lives once lived within their now tumbled walls. The objects themselves tell only a fraction of their stories of fabrication, usage, fashion, taste, breakage and discard, but embody unfathomable human comedy, or tragedy. To record, collect and document is to pay tribute to past communities of people of whom we know almost nothing yet whose actions shaped the landscape in which we now live. Synchronicity is present in the palpable connection with the object in the instant of finding, or with aesthetic appreciation and the perception of the photographer at the moment of pressing the shutter. Such intensity of recording and seeking to understand is itself a contribution to the continuum of human life in a place which is in recovery from a historical phase of invasive exploitation, where reverence for the past does not eclipse the creativity of the present.

In *The art of fieldwork* I have described how the various aspects of the work came together in the collection of old and creation of new artefacts. To find things lost in the earth I enlisted the mole in making play with the unpredictable, embracing change and chance by inviting the synchronicity of the creative moment. To make things I collected the native clay, a material subject to environmental influences even after firing, so that the historical journey of the artefact begins soon after its creation. Finding and making were intricately involved with exposure to the local climate, and proceeded hand in hand with a growing understanding of the particular geology and topography of this landscape, illustrated in the following chapter, *Bruthwaite Forest*. The topography and climate were also fundamental to the experience of the people who first passed through the area and those who came to live here a thousand or more years ago. In order to reach back to those first settlers, and for my imagination to see the place through their eyes, I attempted to relate the local place-names to the land they describe in *Placing names*, bringing the story up to date with the *Map of names*, a survey of field-names used by people who live here now.

Locating and recording remote and ruined buildings is part of my involvement with the landscape, and I have spent considerable amounts of time at the neglected sites which are catalogued here for the first time in *Shielings and sheepfolds*. These relics of the pastoral economy had relatively little environmental impact compared to the earthworks of the industrial era in the forest, described in *A landscape transformed*. The study concludes on the positive note of recovery, as a richer flora returns to Coalfell Pasture under a more sympathetic grazing regime. In July this year, heavy rainfall succeeded the dry heat of June, the water level in the becks rose, grass began to grow again, and flowers such as harebell, betony and bird's-foot trefoil re-colonised areas denied to them in the recent past by over-grazing with sheep. The landscape is composed of these things, and the daily experience of walking with the sensations of wind, sun or rain on one's skin confirms the assertion made at the outset that humans are, bio-logically, no more nor less than an integral part of the natural world.

Stagsike at the foot of Tindale Fell, once a pair of shepherds' cottages, now home to the RSPB and their Geltsdale Gallery, December 2008

By early September the defining exhibition, *Experiencing Place*, was being installed in the heart of the forest at Stagsike – on *Tinielside* at the base of Tindale Fell, the site of the original Bruthwaite clearing west of Tindale Tarn. There could not be a closer environmental context for the work which is intended to demonstrate integration and connectivity. All the artworks including the bricks involve clay obtained from local deposits. At the exhibition preview, the photographs of *Kirkhouse Bricks* reminded Robin Jackson, who used to farm at Clowsgill, that the bricks had been obtained many years ago from the demolition of Spelter Works Terrace, a row of back-to-back cottages at Tindale, to fill potholes in his farm tracks (R Jackson, personal comment, 12 September 2010).



Spelter Works Terrace, also known as Gateshead Row, at Tindale, OS 25" edn, 1901

The dramatic effect on the landscape of the brief industrial era of excavating, extracting and piling spoil was but a feeble scratching compared with the slow grinding and pulverizing of the last ice age which shaped the east-west troughs and ridges, heaping up moraines of sand and gravel and laying down boulder clay in former lake-beds.

Nine Hundred Pots… September 2010

The abundance and ubiquity of this clay, encountered and collected while walking, inspired me to make the tiny pots, displayed in the exhibition as *Nine Hundred Pots on a Molehill*, in which the pots cascade from the mound of earth in homage to the bounty of artefacts rendered by the mole. A pocketful of the pots was taken on walks into the fells or to the tarn and the fields, and the resulting photographs are exhibited as *Potscapes*.

Detail of Tile Map 2: Lost names of Bruthwaite Forest, September 2010

My work with place-names demanded a tactile link with the landscape they describe, for which the local clay was ideal. The place-names of Bruthwaite Forest, both current and 'lost', are represented in *Tile Maps*, which by their cracked and ragged form evoke the ravaged seventeenth century maps from which many of the names are derived. The names are further celebrated in the group of works exhibited in four plan-chest drawers, each of which is lined with a blow-up print of the Ordnance Survey first edition one-inch map of the area. *Signs of Life 1* contains ceramic labels or pointers with the names of birds and animals found in the forest, a reminder that the wild creatures are all around us, flying, hopping, running, hiding, while we humans are encouraged to follow signs and stay on the paths. Below is *Insights*, a drawer filled with a mosaic of tesserae with apertures showing some of the place-names on the map. *Signs of Life 2* has labels of local place-names pointing to their locations on the map beneath, as if confirming their continued existence. Below this is *Elements*, another drawer of tesserae, in this case incorporating tiles stamped with place-name elements, such as 'crag' or 'gill'. The imprinted tesserae bring together the notion of a modern map with its grid squares which is an abstraction of the landscape, and the material things one comes into contact with while out walking, such as stones, twigs, seedheads, grasses, feathers and the like.

Tesserae, August 2010

Two smaller pieces complete the exhibition, both framed by the black cast-iron cooking range in the gallery, which was once the kitchen of the shepherd's home. In the back of the fireplace is a selection of *Clay Pipes*, collected over the years from the old mining areas in the fields and quarries near my house. These pipes, manufactured in Gateshead, Berwick, Newcastle or Glasgow, were imported for the use of the miners, quarrymen, engine drivers, mechanics, farmers and shepherds who worked and lived here and in their time enjoyed a smoke. When material possessions were few and housing was cramped, a pipe was cheap and disposable, something one could use and throw away without a thought for its provenance, value or destiny.

Falling Leaves, September 2010

Finally, *Falling Leaves* sits in the recess on top of the old boiler, quietly demonstrating entropy and embodying decay. This is a fragile work, a pile of sheets of clay originally rolled as thinly as possible and stamped with place-names before firing, the prototype for the *Elements* tiles to follow. Surprisingly, this piece has survived for several years being sidelined in the studio and then transported to home and gallery, and has now found its place at Stagsike, shedding fragments throughout the autumn of 2010.

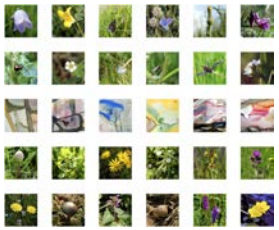
Mole, September 2010

APPENDIX A

ARTWORKS

Coalfell Flora, 2006–2008

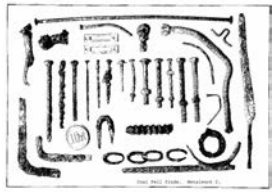
Series of 144 photographs of local flora and fungi, each 4” x 4”
Series of 30 photographs of details of watercolour paintings, each 4” x 4”
Printed on Somerset Enhanced velvet inkjet paper



A selection of photographs from the 2006 survey of the flora of Coalfell Pasture, juxtaposed with extracts from watercolour paintings influenced by the survey. Shown in the MFA degree show (2006) and reconfigured for the *Here Today* exhibition (2008).

Coalfell Finds, 2007

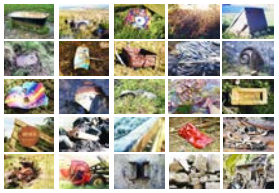
Two lithographs, printed in editions of 20, each print 19” x 14”
Printed on Somerset velvet buff paper



These prints began in 2001 as photographs of a selection of metal finds from my garden, and mark the beginnings of the potential for exploring connectivity. The digital files were printed as lithographs by Lee Turner of Hole Editions in 2007, and shown in the exhibitions *Small Finds* (2007) and *Here Today* (2008).

Ephemera, 2007

Series of 25 photographs, each 10” x 8”
Printed on Somerset Enhanced velvet inkjet paper



The photographs illustrate the environmental effects of rust, burning, fracture, wind and weathering on decaying objects, many of which are no longer *in situ*. Shown in the *Small Finds* exhibition (2007) and reconfigured for the *Here Today* exhibition (2008).

Kirkhouse Bricks, 2007–2010

Series of 20 photographs, each 7.5” x 5”
Series of 8 photographs, each 16” x 11”
Printed on Epson archival matte photo paper

Fragments of bricks bearing the imprint of the local brickworks have been used to fill potholes in farm tracks. In certain light conditions all or part of the stamp KIRKHOUSE is visible. Shown in the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Small Finds, 2007–2010

Approximately 4000 small objects: ceramic, metal, glass, plastic, organic, contained in polythene gripseal bags, each bag 3.25” x 3”

Surface finds collected during ten years of fieldwork. Sorted according to their place and date of discovery, these ceramic, metal, glass and plastic fragments provide an informal timeline of walking and finding. Shown in the *Small Finds* exhibition (2007), the collection was expanded and reconfigured for the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Pots of Clay, 2007–2010
900 small fired clay pots, each 1" or less in height

Clay of varying characteristics was dug from local deposits and used to carve miniature pots.The first 500 pots were shown in the *Small Finds* exhibition (2007), another 400 pots were subsequently made, and all were shown as *Nine Hundred Pots on a Molehill* in the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Elements, 2008
Series of 60 ceramic tiles, each 3" long and 1" wide
Approximately 500 tesserae, each a 1" cube

Tiles made from the local clay were stamped with local place-name elements using metal printer's type. These were combined with the tesserae to form *Elements* and shown in a recycled plan-chest drawer for the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Tile Maps, 2009
Two ceramic maps, each 3' square, mounted on plywood

Tile map 1: Place-names of Bruthwaite Forest, and *Tile map 2: Lost place-names of Bruthwaite Forest*. Each map was composed of approximately 650 tiles, each 3" long and 1" wide and stamped with local place-names. Shown in the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Signs of Life, 2009
Series of approximately 100 ceramic labels, each 1" wide, variable in length

Signs of Life 1: place-names of Bruthwaite Forest, and *Signs of Life 2: birds and animals of Bruthwaite Forest*. Mounted on blow-ups of the Ordnance Survey first edition 1" map of the area and shown in two recycled plan-chest drawers for the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Potscapes, 2009
Series of 12 photographs, each 15" x 22"
Printed on Epson semi-gloss photo paper

Some of the miniature pots made for the *Small Finds* exhibition were taken on walks in the forest, placed in juxtaposition with wood, water, iron or stone, and photographed. These images represent ephemeral moments in the lives of the objects as the pots were not left *in situ* but taken home afterwards. Shown in the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Insights, 2009
Approximately 600 ceramic tesserae, each a 1" cube

This work was inspired by a group of three Roman terracotta tesserae seen in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle University, and by the fragmentary state of seventeenth century estate maps. The tesserae suggest a map carrying impressions of the forest environment instead of cartographic symbols. Mounted on a blow-up of the Ordnance Survey first edition 1" map of the area, and shown in a recycled plan-chest drawer for the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Clay Pipes, 2010
Selection of 20 clay tobacco pipe bowl fragments, contained in polythene gripseal bags, each bag 3.25" x 3"

Clay tobacco pipes dating from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, found in the Greenside, Coalfell and Forest Head areas. Mounted in a recycled hardwood desk drawer and shown in the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

Falling Leaves, 2010
Approximately 35 thin ceramic pages or leaves, originally 6" x 4"

As an experimental prototype for the *Elements* tiles, place-names were printed on thin sheets of clay. The results were not fit for that purpose, but as they fragmented the leaves became a leitmotiv for the project. Installed in the cast-iron black range in the gallery for the *Experiencing Place* exhibition (2010).

APPENDIX B

EXHIBITIONS

Small Finds exhibition poster

Pots of Clay, 2 October 2007

Small Finds, 2007
Adhoc Gallery, Buddle Arts Centre, Wallsend
19 September – 27 October 2007

Works in the exhibition: Coalfell Finds, Ephemera, Small Finds, Pots of Clay

The collection of 1050 small polythene bags of locally found objects was juxtaposed with an assemblage of 500 tiny pots made from locally dug clay. The ideas of finding, losing and recycling were also given expression in the series of photographs of decaying objects in the landscape of Bruthwaite Forest, and in the lithographs of metal objects found in my garden.

The *Small Finds* book that accompanied this exhibition is integral to the thesis and a copy is included in a pocket inside the back cover.

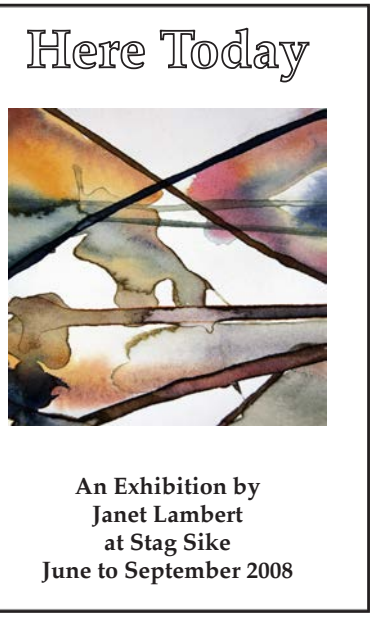
Small Finds book front cover

Here Today, 2008

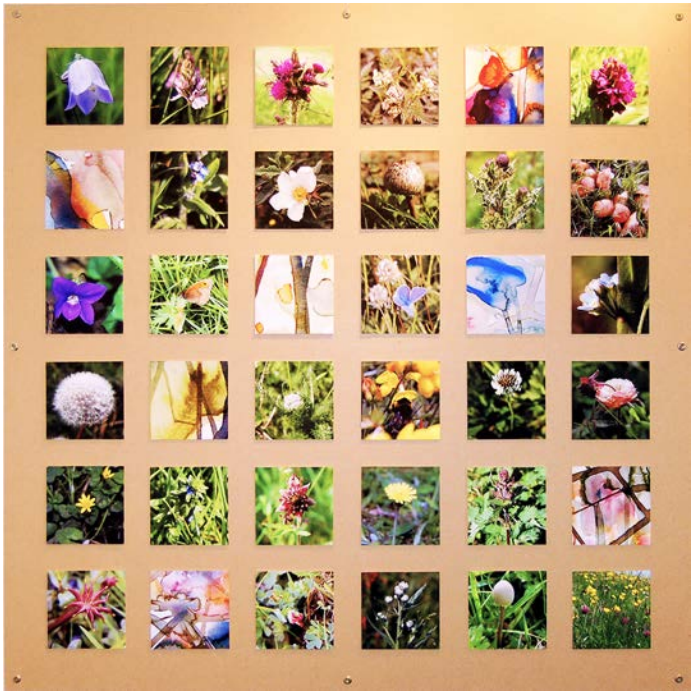
Geltsdale Gallery, Stagsike, near Hallbankgate, Cumbria
June – September 2008

Works in the exhibition: Coalfell Flora, Coalfell Finds, Ephemera

This exhibition juxtaposed photographs of flowers and fungi with photographs of details of watercolours painted in the same season as the Coalfell Pasture survey. The *Coalfell Finds* lithographs and the series of photographs of change and decay, *Ephemera*, were also shown. My research includes recording place-names in current use which appear on no maps. A large-scale map of Bruthwaite Forest, from which all names and labels had been removed, was spread on a table with an invitation to people visiting the exhibition to write on the map the names by which they know fields and other places. This later became the basis of the *Map of names*.



Here Today exhibition poster



Panel of Coalfell flora and watercolour details, July 2008

Here Today exhibition, Geltsdale Gallery

Experiencing Place, 2010

Geltsdale Gallery, Stagsike, near Hallbankgate, Cumbria
11 September – 30 November 2010

Long Gallery, Fine Art, Newcastle University,
15 – 26 November 2010

Works in the exhibition at Geltsdale Gallery: Kirkhouse Bricks, 900 pots and a Molehill, Tile maps 1 and 2, Signs of Life 1 (place-names), Insights, Signs of Life 2 (birds and animals), Elements, Potscapes, Clay Pipes, Falling Leaves

Works in the exhibition at the Long Gallery: Small Finds

Ceramic tiles, pots and tesserae were contrasted with photographs of ceramics in the landscape for this exhibition in the heart of the research area. The *Small Finds* collection, doubled in size by finds since 2007, was reinterpreted for exhibition in the Long Gallery.

900 pots and a Molehill, 19 September 2010

Experiencing Place exhibition poster

Kirkhouse Bricks, Potscapes, Signs of Life 1 and 2, Elements, Insights

Tile maps 1 and 2, Potscapes, Clay Pipes, Falling Leaves

Geltsdale Gallery, 19 September 2010

APPENDIX C

FLORA OF COALFELL PASTURE

Flowering plants identified in Coalfell Pasture, 18 May–8 July 2006

Barren strawberry	*Potentilla sterilis*
Betony	*Stachys officinalis*
Bilberry	*Vaccinium myrtillus*
Bird’sfoot trefoil	*Lotus corniculatus*
Bitter vetch	*Lathyrus linifolius*
Bluebell	*Hyacinthoides non-scriptus*
Bog stitchwort	*Stellaria uliginosa*
Broad-leaved dock	*Rumex obtusifolius*
Broad-leaved willowherb	*Epilobium montanum*
Brooklime	*Veronica beccabunga*
Bugle	*Ajuga reptans*
Catsear	*Hypochaeris radicata*
Charlock	*Sinapis arvensis*
Cleavers	*Galium aparine*
Coltsfoot	*Tussilago farfara*
Common chickweed	*Stellaria media*
Common dog violet	*Viola riviniana*
Common knapweed	*Centaurea nigra*
Common mouse-ear	*Cerastium fontanum*
Common ragwort	*Senecio jacobaea*
Common sorrel	*Rumex acetosa*
Corn sowthistle	*Sonchus arvensis*
Cow parsley	*Anthriscus sylvestris*
Cowslip	*Primula veris*
Creeping buttercup	*Ranunculus repens*
Creeping thistle	*Cirsium arvense*
Crosswort	*Cruciata laevipes*
Cuckoo flower	*Cardamine pratensis*
Curled dock	*Rumex crispus*
Daisy	*Bellis perennis*
Dandelion	*Taraxacum officinale*
Dog rose	*Rosa canina*
Eyebright	*Euphrasia nemorosa*
Fen bedstraw	*Galium uliginosum*
Feverfew	*Tanacetum parthenium*
Field forgetmenot	*Myosotis arvensis*
Field scabious	*Knautia arvensis*
Forgetmenot	*Myosotis…*
Foxglove	*Digitalis purpurea*
Garlic mustard, Jack-by-the-hedge	*Alliaria petiolata*
Germander speedwell	*Veronica chamaedrys*
Goat’s-beard, Jack-go-to-bed-at-noon	*Tragopogon pratensis*
Great willowherb	*Epilobium hirsutum*
Greater bird’sfoot trefoil	*Lotus pedunculatus*
Green field speedwell	*Veronica agrestis*
Ground elder	*Aegopodium podagraria*
Ground ivy	*Glechoma hederacea*
Hairless lady’s mantle	*Alchemilla glabra*
Hairy bittercress	*Cardamine hirsuta*
Harebell	*Campanula rotundifolia*
Heath bedstraw	*Galium mollugo*
Heath spotted orchid	*Dactylorhiza maculata*

Hedge mustard	*Sisymbrium officinale*
Hedge woundwort	*Stachys sylvatica*
Herb robert	*Geranium robertianum*
Hoary plantain	*Plantago media*
Hogweed	*Heracleum sphondylium*
Hop trefoil	*Trifolium campestre*
Lady's bedstraw	*Galium verum*
Lesser burdock	*Arctium minus*
Lesser celandine	*Ranunculus ficaria*
Lesser stitchwort	*Stellaria graminea*
Marsh cinquefoil	*Potentilla palustris*
Marsh marigold	*Caltha palustris*
Marsh ragwort	*Senecio aquaticus*
Marsh thistle	*Cirsium palustre*
Marsh willowherb	*Epilobium palustre*
Meadow buttercup	*Ranunculus acris*
Meadowsweet	*Filipendula ulmaria*
Monkey flower	*Mimulus guttata*
Mouse-ear hawkweed	*Pilosella officinarum*
Nettle	*Urtica dioica*
Northern marsh orchid	*Dactylorhiza purpurella*
Pignut	*Conopodium majus*
Pineappleweed	*Matricaria discoidea*
Ragged robin	*Lychnis flos-cuculi*
Red campion	*Silene dioica*
Red clover	*Trifolium pratense*
Ribwort plantain	*Plantago lanceolata*
Rough hawkbit	*Leontodon hispidus*
Round-leaved mint	*Mentha suaveolens*
Selfheal	*Prunella vulgaris*
Shining cranesbill	*Geranium lucidum*
Silverweed	*Potentilla anserina*
Sneezewort	*Achillea ptarmica*
Spear thistle	*Cirsium vulgare*
Spotted dead-nettle	*Lamium maculatum*
Square-stemmed willowherb	*Epilobium tetragonum*
Sticky mouse-ear	*Cerastium glomeratum*
Thyme-leaved speedwell	*Veronica serpyllifolia*
Tormentil	*Potentilla erecta*
Tufted vetch	*Vicia cracca*
Wall speedwell	*Veronica arvensis*
Water avens	*Geum rivale*
Water forgetmenot	*Myosotis scorpioides*
Water horsetail	*Equisetum fluviatile*
Water mint	*Mentha aquatica*
Wavy bittercress	*Cardamine flexuosa*
Welsh poppy	*Meconopsis cambrica*
White clover	*Trifolium repens*
Wood anemone	*Anemone nemorosa*
Yarrow	*Achillea millefolium*
Yellow rattle	*Rhinanthus minor*

Flowering plants photographed in Coalfell Pasture, 18 May–8 July 2006

Bird's foot trefoil
Lotus corniculatus

Common dog violet
Viola riviniana

Crosswort
Cruciata laevipes

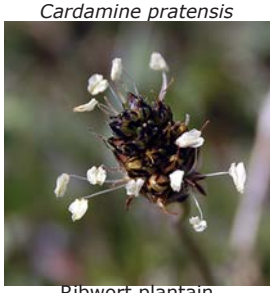
Cuckoo flower
Cardamine pratensis

Dandelion
Taraxacum officinale

Germander speedwell
Veronica chamaedrys

Marsh marigold
Caltha palustris

Meadow buttercup
Ranunculus acris



Ribwort plantain
Plantago lanceolata

Wavy bittercress
Cardamine flexuosa

Wood anemone
Anemone nemorosa

Pignut
Conopodium majus

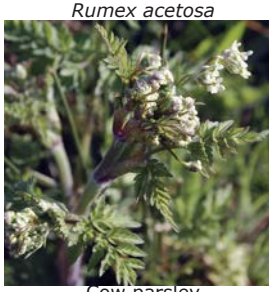
Common sorrel
Rumex acetosa

Red clover
Trifolium pratense

Spotted dead-nettle
Lamium maculatum

Thyme-leaved speedwell
Veronica serpyllifolia

Water horsetail
Equisetum fluviatile



Cow parsley
Anthriscus sylvestris

Cowslip
Primula veris

Ground ivy
Glechoma hederacea

Hairless lady's mantle
Alchemilla glabra

Tormentil
Potentilla erecta

Bitter vetch
Lathyrus linifolius

Nettle
Urtica dioica

Barren strawberry
Potentilla sterilis

Bog stitchwort
Stellaria uliginosa

Bluebell
Hyacinthoides non-scriptus

Bugle
Ajuga reptans

Lesser celandine
Ranunculus ficaria

Garlic mustard
Alliaria petiolata

Daisy
Bellis perennis

Tufted vetch
Vicia cracca

Sticky mouse-ear
Cerastium glomeratum

Water avens
Geum rivale

Field forgetmenot
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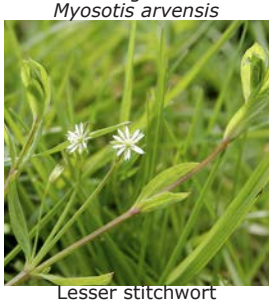


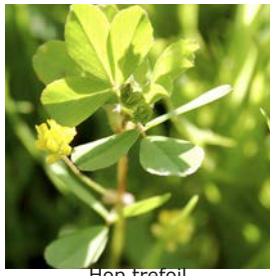
Lesser stitchwort
Stellaria graminea

Wall speedwell
Veronica arvensis

Brooklime
Veronica beccabunga

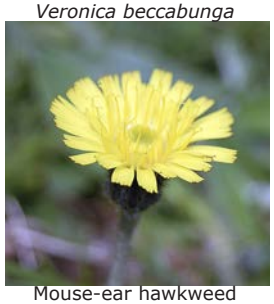
Lesser burdock
Arctium minus

Common chickweed
Stellaria media



Hop trefoil
Trifolium campestre

Meadowsweet
Filipendula ulmaria



Mouse-ear hawkweed
Pilosella officinarum

Green field speedwell
Veronica agrestis

Water forgetmenot
Myosotis scorpioides

White clover
Trifolium repens

Water mint
Mentha aquatica

Heath bedstraw
Galium saxatile

Yarrow
Achillea millefolium

Ragged robin
Lychnis flos-cuculi

Marsh woundwort
Stachys palustris

Betony
Stachys officinalis

Fen bedstraw
Galium uliginosum

Greater bird’sfoot trefoil
Lotus pedunculatus

Marsh cinquefoil
Potentilla palustris

Yarrow
Achillea millefolium

Selfheal
Prunella vulgaris

Square-stemmed willowherb
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Catsear
Hypochaeris radicata

Eyebright
Euphrasia nemorosa

Hedge mustard
Sisymbrium officinale

Corn sowthistle
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Marsh ragwort
Senecio aquaticus

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Achillea ptarmica

Marsh willowherb
Epilobium palustre

Hedge woundwort
Stachys sylvatica

Spear thistle
Cirsium vulgare

Creeping thistle
Cirsium arvense

Field scabious
Knautia arvensis

Harebell
Campanula rotundifolia

Dog rose
Rosa canina

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