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RAMBLING AND MANLY IDENTITY IN DERBYSHIRE'S DARK PEAK, 1880s–1920s*

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ABSTRACT. *This article explores how walking in a particular type of terrain, the moorland area of north Derbyshire known as the Dark Peak, contributed to a localized sense of place which was framed by regional and national discourses and also testified to broader social and cultural uncertainties strongly shaped by gender and class. The punishing physical values of such wild upland areas offered challenges of stoicism, hardiness and endurance which were central to late-nineteenth century ideals of manliness, as masculinity was increasingly defined by forms of sporting activity which encouraged character-building battles against nature. Sensibility is not readily associated with this robust discourse of adventure. The 'wild' outdoors, so easily seen as an extension of the public, masculine world was, however, of far greater complexity. More than a focus for physical activity and trespass 'battles', it was a place where emotion and the elating intimacy of open space gave expression to needs which also intimate the masculine anxieties of the era.*

A substantial literature has emerged in recent decades on the relationship between landscape and national identity.[1] David Matless and Catherine Brace, for example, have highlighted the centrality of landscape and notions of particular southern countryside, like the Cotswolds, to ideas about England and Englishness.[2] The idea of the rural as the bedrock of Englishness, particularly

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* Illustrations from *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbooks are from the collection in Sheffield Local Studies Library, reproduced by kind permission of the Director of Leisure. Contemporary photographs of Kinder are reproduced by kind permission of Andrew Leder, 'Leder Image', 4 Temple Avenue, Padfield, Glossop, Derbyshire, SK13 1EE.

[1] Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, *The iconography of landscape* (Cambridge, 1988); Stephen Daniels, *Fields of vision: landscape imagery and national identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, 1988); Barbara Bender, *Landscape: politics and perspectives* (Oxford, 1993); Denis Cosgrove, *The palladian landscape: geographical change and its cultural representations in sixteenth century Italy* (Leicester, 1993); P. Gruffudd, 'Landscape and nationhood: tradition and modernity in rural Wales, 1900–1950' (Ph.D. thesis, Loughborough, 1989); Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, eds., *The anthropology of landscape: perspectives on place and space* (Oxford, 1995); Simon Schama, *Landscape and memory* (London, 1995); Wendy Joy Darby, *Landscape and identity: geographies of nation and class in England* (Oxford and New York, 2000); David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt, and Fiona Russell, *The geographies of Englishness: landscape and the national past* (Yale, 2002).

[2] David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, 1998); P. Gruffudd, 'Selling the countryside: representations of rural Britain', in J. R. Gold and S. V. Ward, eds., *Place promotion* (Chichester, 1993), pp. 247–63; Catherine Brace, 'Finding England everywhere: representations of the Cotswolds, 1880–1950' (Ph.D. thesis, Bristol, 1997).

powerful between the late nineteenth century and the First World War, was dominated by the 'soft' domesticated landscapes of southern England whose homely, human values perhaps complemented the contemporary idealization of family life. The ascendancy of this southern rurality in ideas of English national identity has received far more consideration than other regional landscapes whose 'outlander' status challenged or subverted it although, as Dave Russell suggests, 'southern victory' was not 'as complete as is sometimes suggested'.[3] Even less attention has been paid to how gender might be inscribed in such meanings, although feminist geographers have been encouraging new ways of thinking about landscape representation and place identity since the 1970s and more particularly the 1980s.[4]

This article focuses on the Dark Peak area of the northern Peak District whose terrain epitomized the 'wild', 'rugged', and 'desolate' landscapes which Howkins suggests were excluded from the contemporary pastoral dream of gentle village life and rolling southern downland.[5] Typically dismissed in 1810 as 'barren', 'dreary', sterile, and naked, the Dark Peak uplands lacked the Lake District's picturesque qualities and were largely ignored by tourists and travellers until the end of the nineteenth century when they started to attract attention with the growth of the rambling and outdoor movement.[6] Surrounded by 'the world's most populous cluster of manufacturing towns' and more bounded by large urban populations than any other upland area in Britain, the Dark Peak is probably most familiar to many for the mass trespass campaigns of the interwar years and for its designation, in 1950, as part of Britain's first National Park.[7] This article is largely concerned with an earlier, formative period in the Dark Peak's history, between the 1880s and the First World War, when the social, economic, and political climate in which it began to become better known was one of disquiet at the impact of industry and urbanization and the challenges of modernity. This context gave the relationship between the landscape, walking, and manliness

[3] Dave Russell, *Looking north: northern England and the national imagination* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 26–7.

[4] Susan Ford, 'Landscape revisited: a feminist reappraisal', in C. Philo, ed., *New words, new worlds: reconceptualising social and cultural geography* (Lampeter, 1991), pp. 151–5; Catherine Nash, 'Remapping and renaming: new cartographies of identity, gender and landscape in Ireland', *Feminist Review*, 44 (1993), pp. 39–57; Gillian Rose, *Feminism and geography: the limits of geographical knowledge* (Cambridge, 1993); Mandy Morris, '"Tha'lt be like blush-rose when tha' grows up my little lass": English cultural and gendered identity in *The Secret Garden*', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996), pp. 59–78.

[5] Alun Howkins, *The death of rural England: a social history of the countryside since 1900* (London and New York, 2003), pp. 25–6; Russell, *Looking north*, pp. 56–7.

[6] J. Britton and E. W. Brayley, *A topographical and historical description of Derbyshire* (London, 1810), p. 293; Alun Howkins, 'The discovery of rural England', in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness, politics and culture, 1880–1920* (London, 1986).

[7] Charles Hurt, *On foot in the Peak District: 40 circular walks in Europe's most popular national park* (Newton Abbot, 1988), p. 7; M. Shoard, *The theft of the countryside* (London, 1980). The Peak District National Park now claims to be 'the second most visited National Park in the world after Japan's Mount Fujiama'; T. Brighton, *The discovery of the Peak District: from Hades to Elysium* (Chichester, 2004), p. 212.

a particular resonance that can be elucidated by an examination of the gendered emphases explored here.

I

The Peak District, at the most southerly part of the Pennines, is a meeting point of several different worlds: industrial and rural; highland and lowland; 'wild' and cultivated; north and south. Its varied terrains (which fall largely within Derbyshire) in some respects mirrored the divisions of a broader national identity, forming two clear geological divisions, descriptions of which were refracted by both gender and class. To the south, the 'gentle' limestone contours of the White Peak and Upper Derwent Valley, home to important estates and centres of landed culture such as the Duke of Devonshire's stately home at Chatsworth, had been attracting tourists since the eighteenth century.[8] To the north, the peat uplands and gritstone edges of the Dark Peak, so unlike the 'effeminate' distractions of the White Peak's grassy, wooded hills and commercialized dales, were an enclave within England's industrial heartland.[9] These bleak, largely treeless moors formed an altogether 'wilder', 'savage' area of rough grass, heather, and peat whose high upland gritstone plateau, Kinder Scout, more than 2,000 feet (600 metres) above sea level, is 15 square miles of peat bog 6–10 feet thick (2–3 m), gouged by water eroded trenches or groughs 15 to 20 feet deep.[10] Kinder Scout forms, with the neighbouring plateau of Bleaklow and the peat bogs of the Howden Moors and Black Hill, one of England's 'last real wildernesses'.[11] It rises steeply from the surrounding area and is bordered by gritstone 'edges', rocky outcrops, and crags that drop away steeply to provide far-reaching views across the surrounding valleys. Navigation in poor weather conditions has always been risky 'even for the native'; for the plateau itself, away from the edges, has few features or landmarks and can turn from semi-Arctic wilderness in winter to desert in summer, where the peat has eroded, leaving 'a Sahara-like expanse of receding peat banks and drifts of sparkling, silica-rich sand'.[12]

The appeal of walking in such difficult ground conditions grew with the expansion of the rambling and outdoor movement whose frequently intense physical and emotional relationship with the upland environment was very different from the passive contemplation of scenic views often associated with elite consumption. Although contemplation was not absent, this was more landscape as a 'realm of interaction', less a 'way of seeing' than a way of

[8] Cited in D. W. Shimwell, 'Images of the Peak District, A.D. 1150–1950', *Manchester Geographer*, n.s. 1 (Winter, 1980), p. 22. [9] Howkins, 'Discovery of rural England', pp. 62–3.

[10] R. A. Redfern, *Rambles in Peakland* (London, 1965), p. 132.

[11] Hurt, *On foot in the Peak District*, p. 7.

[12] Mrs Humphry Ward, *The history of David Grieve* (London, 1892). Book accessed at Project Gutenberg, *www.gutenberg.net*, July 2004. Also cited in A. R. H. Moncrieff, *The Peak country* (London, 1908), p. 23; Roly Smith, ed., *Kinder Scout: portrait of a mountain* (Leicester, 2002), pp. 24–5.

(a)

(b)

(c)

Fig. 1. (a) Far-reaching views over the surrounding countryside from Black Ashop Edge, Kinder. (b) View from Kinder Downfall. (c) View from Kinder Downfall.

Fig. 2. The sandy bed of the River Kinder at Kinder Gates.

experiencing.[13] Disquiet at the feminizing effects of tourism also influenced preferences for the Dark Peak's apparently 'uncorrupted, unchanged' landscape at a time when the impact of tourists in the White Peak was being likened to a 'desecration' whose frivolous, feminine materialism challenged the strength, vigour, and 'manly virtues' of the English national character.[14] Writers in the 1880s and 1890s described a growing desire for the peace, wilderness, and sense of adventure no longer available in the 'feminized' passivity of the White Peak's 'tamed' valleys, crowded with 'litter-scatterers' and fun-loving day-trippers.[15] The Dark Peak's wild landscape demanded effort, energy, and endurance, all of which were central to late nineteenth-century ideals of manliness, as masculinity was increasingly defined by forms of sporting activity based on character-building battles against nature.[16] A minority found Kinder's forbidden status as a grouse reserve particularly challenging since aggressive local landowners intensified the

[13] Angela Miller, 'Everywhere and nowhere: the making of the national landscape', *American Literary History*, 4 (Summer, 1992), pp. 207–29, at pp. 214, 226. For a contemporary ethnographic study of landscape as 'bodily movement and use' rather than 'visual scenic illusion', see Darby, *Landscape and identity*, pp. 22off. See also Kenneth Olwig, 'Landscape and identity: geographies of nation and class in England (review)', *Journal of Social History*, 36 (Spring, 2003), pp. 777–9.

[14] M. J. B. Baddeley, *The Peak District* (9th edn, London, 1908), p. xi; J. B. Firth, *Highways and byways in Derbyshire* (London, 1905), p. 13.

[15] Baddeley, *Peak District*, p. xi; Firth, *Highways and byways*, p. 13; John Derry, *Across the Derbyshire moors* (Sheffield, 1904), p. 188. J. E. Morris, *Beautiful Britain: the Peak country* (London, 1914), p. 10.

[16] E. A. Baker, *Moors, crags and caves of the High Peak and neighbourhood*, introduction by Roly Smith (Tiverton, 1903; repr. 2002), p. 9. Baker, librarian at Derby's Midland Institute, belonged to a group of Sheffield and Derby walkers and climbers known as the Kyndwr Club, founded in 1903. See also J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and morality: middle class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester, 1987).

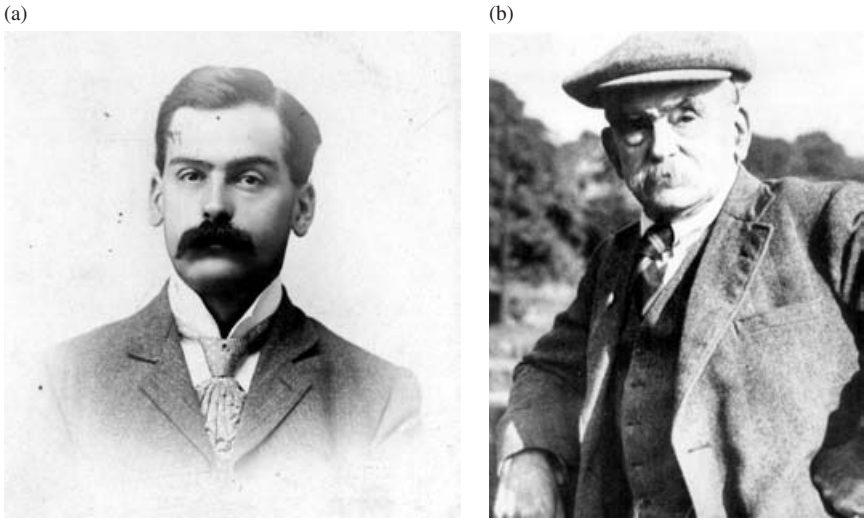


Fig. 3. (a) The young Ward. (b) Ward, 1953.

physical and psychological risks of its terrain and further enhanced its symbolic meaning in the urban/rural power struggle over access.[17]

Landscape is, of course, susceptible to multiple and frequently contradictory readings and it is by no means the intention to suggest that these were the only meanings ascribed to the Peak District during this period. However, the proliferation of print culture which took place between the 1870s and 1914 gave certain Peakland discourses a particular resonance and the purpose here is to outline how perceptions of the Dark Peak were shaped in a particular selection of contemporary texts by G. H. B. Ward (1876–1957). So-called 'King of Ramblers', Ward was a particularly significant writer on this part of the Peak District, prominent in the movement to gain public access to moorlands and a pioneer of walking on and around outlawed Kinder Scout. His works, freely plundered by other writers, strongly influenced several generations of ramblers.[18] Ward spent decades researching and writing about the Peak District and it has been suggested that 'perhaps he, more than any other single person, discovered the hitherto unrecorded facts and details of the Peak's ancient landscape'.[19] He did much to educate Sheffield public opinion about the preservation of many long-forgotten ancient footpaths, his precise topographical descriptions suggesting a powerful sense of place. Northern writers like Ward contested the hegemonic status of

[17] Jan Marsh, *Back to the land: the pastoral impulse in England, from 1880 to 1914* (London, 1982), p. 4; Moncrieff, *Peak country*, 1908, p. ix; Ann Holt, 'Hikers and ramblers: surviving a thirties' fashion', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4 (1987), pp. 56–67, at p. 153.

[18] David Sissons, ed., *The best of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' handbooks: 'Ward's Piece'* (Tiverton, 2002), p. 14.

[19] Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 196.

southern rurality at a time when nostalgic invocations of a mythical rural past helped constitute the 'urban masses of modernity' as an 'internal other'.[20] As Readman suggests, 'a "democratic" sense of nationhood' helped shape a more forward-looking desire to maintain continuities with 'timeless' landscapes like the Dark Peak's moorlands and secure access to them for future generations, emphases which are very apparent in Ward, who was influenced by the Clarion movement of Robert Blatchford, a romantic socialist more akin to Morris and Ruskin than Marx who believed strongly in the socially transforming power of open air fellowship in the countryside.[21] The Clarion message was spread through educational and cultural activities which included choirs, cycling, and rambling clubs and entertainment for poor children, all of which were linked through Blatchford's socialist weekly the *Clarion*, launched in 1891.[22] Ward's Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, inspired by the *Clarion* and founded in 1900, claimed by the early 1920s to be 'the largest and most influential Rambling Club in the British Isles' and trained many 'leaders' who went on to form other local rambling clubs.[23] His mouthpiece, the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbook (*SCR*), published annually between 1901 and 1964, was well known in walking circles.[24] This pocket-sized publication, three inches by five inches, intended as a walking companion, gradually grew from a four-page card in 1902 to a booklet of about a hundred pages, which by the early 1920s had a print run of 1,500.[25] It contained much previously unpublished information about the Peak District's history, geography, folklore, and geology and included details of forthcoming rambles, some photos and maps, articles on walks in various areas, and reminiscences and stories from local people. There were also short prose and poetry extracts from a range of writers including Wordsworth and Whitman, Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Richard Jefferies, George Borrow, John Ruskin, Edward Carpenter, William Morris, as well as translations of Spanish and Latin-American authors, all of which reflected Ward's own literary and political interests.[26]

Ward was born in Sheffield in 1876 and grew up on its outskirts in Glen Cottage, Park Farm, near fields but within sight and smell of Sheffield's dirty industrial landscape.[27] The location shared some of the moorlands' marginal qualities, close to the countryside yet near enough to experience the city's fogs and thick soot deposits.[28] Ward's early working life was as a fitter and turner in an iron works but he subsequently became a civil servant, with a post in the Sheffield

[20] Elizabeth Helsinger, 'Constable: the making of a national painter', *Critical Inquiry*, 15 (Winter, 1989), pp. 253–79, at pp. 276, 278.

[21] Paul Readman, 'Landscape preservation, "advertising disfigurement", and English national identity c. 1890–1914', *Rural History*, 12 (2001), pp. 61–83, at p. 76.

[22] D. Hollett, *The pioneer ramblers, 1850–1940* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 99–100; H. Taylor, *A claim on the countryside: a history of the British outdoor movement* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 8, 107.

[23] *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers* (*SCR*), 1921–2, p. 101; *SCR*, 1922–3, p. 56. The club claimed 150 members before the First World War, 'sometimes less, now more': *SCR*, 1912–13, p. 40.

[24] *SCR*, 1921–2, p. 100.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Sissons, *Best of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' handbooks*, pp. 18–19.

[27] Ibid., p. 11.

[28] *SCR*, 1937–8, p. 78.

and Brightside Labour Exchange.[29] In the 1890s, he broke with the church where he had been a Sunday School teacher to become involved in the socialist movement and an activist in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In 1903, he became first secretary of the Sheffield branch of the Labour Representation Committee.[30] He was a committed internationalist whose interests were focused by a love of Spain. A small inheritance enabled him to travel to the Canary Islands in 1900, and he subsequently taught himself Spanish and befriended two influential Spanish political activists, the non-violent, moral force anarchists Francisco Ferrer Guardia (1849–1909) and Fernando del Marmol (1861–1915). Ferrer's international reputation precipitated considerable outcry in Europe and North America after his execution on false charges in 1909, and Ward subsequently wrote a book criticizing anti-democratic forces in Spain called *The truth about Spain* (1911).[31] All these influences – socialism, trade unionism, a sympathy with anarchism, the language of religious sentiment – flow through his descriptions of the Peak landscape, although his writings were also inflected by more localized discourses, for it is also important to see them as an entry into the urban standpoint and sense of place of walkers from the Sheffield side of the Dark Peak, whose autodidact self-help traditions contributed much to the development of the local outdoor movement.[32] The 'real men' of Sheffield's steel and cutlery trades formed a distinctively 'masculine' labour market whose democratic and quasi-anarchist traditions were important elements in this local cultural mix.[33] (Walkers from varied backgrounds and different surrounding urban areas, such as the Manchester clerks, warehousemen, and engineering workers who illegally tramped over its grouse moors, undoubtedly viewed the region from different perspectives.)

Ward's Sheffield origins, so important in how he came to view the moorlands, also suggest the porous nature of boundaries between the rural and urban. Sheffield people, many of whom had origins in rural south Yorkshire and Derbyshire, were known for being almost colonially possessive of the countryside within such easy reach of their city, a useful reminder of Matless's observation that the rural needs 'always to be understood in terms relative to those of the city and suburb'.[34] The self-conscious, personally engaged sense of ownership and belonging so apparent in Ward's works was perhaps particularly marked amongst urban ramblers such as these who regularly walked the countryside close to where they lived and whose position was rather more equivocal than the easy distinction between insiders and outsiders. Walkers like Ward were not easily classifiable as native dwellers, casual travellers, or tourists, and his perspective on the north

[29] Sissons, *Best of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' handbooks*, p. 14. [30] Ibid. [31] Ibid., pp. 13–14.

[32] The political influences upon Ward's writings deserve separate consideration, and will form the subject of another article.

[33] Russell, *Looking north*, pp. 38, 44; *The Sheffield outrages: report presented to the trades union commissioners in 1867, with an introduction by S. Pollard* (Bath, 1971).

[34] E. J. Buckatzsch, 'Places of origin of a group of immigrants into Sheffield, 1624–1799', *Economic History Review*, n.s. 2 (1950), pp. 303–6; Matless, *Landscape*, p. 17.

Derbyshire moorlands, while not that of a native, became, perhaps, that of someone who felt himself in some respects to have 'gone native'. Complex emotional ties bound his urban experience to historical imagination for as he put it, if Sheffield was in his heart, Derbyshire was also in his bones.[35] He mused about his own ancestors, who might 'have trod the heather and tufty grasses either as shepherds or during their journeyings with pack horses'. (As David Hey pointed out, bleak moors might have repulsed early travellers and outsiders like Defoe and Celia Fiennes but were very familiar to petty traders and local carriers who related to them quite differently.[36]) Talking with those who still travelled and worked the moors connected Ward with family histories and stories which went back 'to the days of common pasturage', when meat and wool had not yet been replaced by grouse. They linked him to cultural memories once shared by many of those who now lived and worked in the towns and whose legitimacy was reinforced by his researches in the local archives, as he reminded readers of forgotten pathways, pointed out old habitations and pondered the whereabouts of those descended from their former inhabitants.[37]

Despite Ward's passion for the countryside which surrounded Sheffield, he retained a great deal of affection for his native 'Town of Smoke', the starting point from which he had learned 'to roam outside'.[38] Indeed, his 'outsider' view, from the surrounding hills and moors and from the urban outskirts, reinforced a sense of displacement and feeling for the unfulfilled potential of the workers who had made Sheffield. His insider's understanding of the land, in the sense of an intimacy with nature and feeling for place combined with a more critically aware 'outsider's' view, powerfully expressed in his defence of eroded access rights and strong feeling of former hardship, rather than nostalgia for the loss of a rural idyll. His socialism made him responsive to how history had fashioned this physical world and was also expressed in his concern for the contribution that rational recreation and individual character-building pursuits could make to the betterment of working-class culture. (This political dimension, together with socialist debates about the development of popular culture at this time, have been well examined by Chris Waters and Harvey Taylor.[39])

Ward's perceptions of the Dark Peak were also shaped by the cultural myths and discourses of the broader Peakland landscape and by English discourses of northernness and southernness which, as Helen Jewell suggests, combined older regional ideas of hard physical labour and endurance in a harsh environment

[35] *SCR*, 1927–8, p. 78. Sissons, *Best of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' handbooks*, pp. 11, 13. Ward had several family connections with Derbyshire. His paternal grandfather, William Ward, had been born at Ridgeway, Derbyshire, and his wife, Fanny Bertha Platts, came from Dronfield, Derbyshire. After their marriage in the early 1900s, they moved to Owler Bar, Derbyshire, about five or six miles from the centre of Sheffield.

[36] D. Hey, *Packmen, carriers and packhorse roads: trade and communications in north Derbyshire and south Yorkshire* (Leicester, 1980). [37] *SCR*, 1927–8, pp. 78–9. [38] *SCR*, 1911–12, p. 18.

[39] Chris Waters, *British socialists and the politics of popular culture, 1884–1914* (Manchester, 1990); Taylor, *A claim on the countryside*.

with more recent manufacturing ones.[40] Gendered inflections were again apparent in the juxtaposition of upland England's independence, individualism, and physicality against softer, domesticated southern landscapes, supporting Russell's observation that 'the North has generally been coded as masculine (albeit in a more complex way than might be assumed) and set against a more effeminate south'.[41]

The Pennine uplands of West Yorkshire and Lancashire which surrounded many northern manufacturing communities played an important part in these narratives. The inhabitants of remote manufacturing villages on the 'wild, semi-cultivated hills and moors' were known for their lack of deference, 'rugged', and 'occasionally eccentric' individualism, stoicism, and plain speaking. Their qualities contributed to what Cyril Pearce has described as a 'landscape of dissent' where those defiant of the established order, such as early Methodists and political radicals, met out of sight of the authorities and whose associations with liberty were retained even after politics changed to more formal, less public forms.[42] The Dark Peak's high heath lands, towards the southern end of the Pennine chain and distant from centres of authority and control, shared these 'frontier', free-thinking associations.[43] The medieval and early modern Dark Peak was part of the Royal Forest of the Peak under the duchy of Lancaster, whose scattered settlements and small farms, so unlike the White Peak's nucleated villages and strip fields, were worked by husbandmen and moderately wealthy independent yeomen.[44] Self-contained, independent of squire and the established church, it subsequently became strongly Nonconformist, its history often defined in terms of manly English independence and the rights of the freeborn Englishman.[45] In Cox's history of Derbyshire (1903) the Peak was the manly 'heart' of England to which the population traditionally fled in times of danger.[46] In 1905, *The Victoria county history of Derbyshire* contrasted the soft life of the effete southern lowlands with the warlike, independent spirit of the 'wild' men in England's 'northern counties', Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.[47] This

[40] Helen M. Jewell, *The north–south divide: the origins of northern consciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 208, 212.

[41] Rob Shields, 'The north–south divide in England', in Rob Shields, *Places on the margin: alternative geographies of modernity* (London, 1991), p. 163; Russell, *Looking north*, pp. 38–9; Raphael Samuel, *Island stories: unravelling Britain: theatres of memory* (2 vols., London, 1998), II, p. 56; Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the people* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 62.

[42] Cyril Pearce, 'A landscape of dissent: topography and identity in three Pennine valleys', *Landscapes*, 3 (Autumn, 2002), pp. 84–102, at pp. 86, 89.

[43] John Belchem and James Epstein, 'The nineteenth-century gentleman leader revisited', *Social History*, 22 (1997), pp. 173–92, at pp. 183–4; Howard Hill, *Freedom to roam: the struggle for access to Britain's moors and mountains* (Ashbourne, 1980), p. 127.

[44] Derek Brumhead, 'Social structure in some "Dark Peak" hamlets of north-west Derbyshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Local Historian*, 28 (1998), pp. 194–207.

[45] Derek Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the Royal Forest of Peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 96 (2000), pp. 85–7.

[46] C. J. Cox, *Derbyshire* (London, 1903), p. 30; Moncrieff, *Peak country*, p. 7.

[47] *Victoria county history of Derbyshire*, I (1905) p. 192.

reputation as a refuge and stronghold was shared with 'mountainous' terrain in other parts of Britain. The Welsh mountains, for example, became with industrialization 'Gwlad y Bryniau' (Mountain Land), a 'fastness or fortress for the nation' where 'sturdy, tough' Welshmen were as 'free as mountain air', although they also had other cultural meanings as the heartland of Welsh language and culture.[48] English commentators tended to focus on the poetry and 'mystery' of their melancholy remoteness rather than on any heroic spirit, since a feminized, racialized pessimism sat more comfortably with the perceived 'emotional weakness' of the Welsh national 'character'. As Matless points out, we should not ignore the East–West axis to national identity, which associates the West with Celtic mystery and spirituality and the East with Anglo-Saxon rationality, a differently nuanced male/female dichotomy perhaps more closely allied to temperament and emotion.[49] The Dark Peak, part of the East–West divide of the Pennines was, in some respects, a bridge between the North-West and East Midlands. Its landscape was certainly associated with the down-to-earth qualities of Anglo-Saxon pragmatism in discussions related to national character, yet it also retained more spiritual implications.[50] In 1903, for example, Ernest Baker, a keen Peak District climber and caver, pondered the meanings of such 'austere' upland landscapes', whose 'prophecy' was 'as sombre as their history'.

> Whether it be, as Thomas Hardy maintains so eloquently, that [they] … are naturally in harmony with our modern pessimism, or that they exercise a tonic influence upon our pampered and jaded minds; or whether it be merely the physical sense of space and freedom; or the suggestions of the mysterious and the illimitable with which the shadowy expanses and the dark ravines sway the imagination as with the suggestiveness of poetry; true it is that the gloomy scenes which our grandfathers hated, draw us with a subtle and powerful spell.[51]

Hardy, in placing the remote, 'haggard', windswept heathland of Egdon Heath at the heart of *The return of the native* (1878), had suggested that such landscapes appealed to 'a subtler and scarcer instinct, to a more recently learnt emotion than that which responds to the sort of beauty called charming and fair'. 'Civilization' was the 'enemy' of such an 'inviolate place' whose 'ancient permanence' … 'gave ballast to the mind adrift on change, and harassed by the irrepressible New'.[52] Hardy's depiction of the strange, 'alien' South Wessex landscape drew much criticism in the 1870s, yet the last three decades of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of paintings at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions depicting once unpopular fells, moorlands, and heaths, as the appeal of such 'ancient', 'unspoilt' landscapes was accentuated by

[48] C. Dellheim, 'Imagining England: Victorian views of the north', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), pp. 216–30, at p. 220; Gruffudd, 'Landscape and nationhood'; Gruffudd, 'Selling the countryside', pp. 247–63.
[49] Matless, *Landscape*, pp. 17–18.
[50] Crichton Porteous, *Derbyshire* (London, 1950).
[51] Baker, *Moors, crags and caves*, p. 10.
[52] Thomas Hardy, *The return of the native* (London, 1878), book 1, ch. 1.

the apparent contamination of modernity.[53] The iconic status of natural, wild landscapes subsequently expanded in the twentieth century as perceptions grew of them as not only as an antidote for the stresses of urban life but a source of national 'spiritual renewal'. In the 1900s, however, 'Wild Kinder' remained relatively unknown. Guide books, 'especially those edited by elderly gentlemen', concentrated on the more accessible attractions of Buxton and Matlock.[54] Even the more active tended to steer clear of moorland terrain. M. J. B. Baddeley, author of a popular guide to the Peak District, told Ward shortly before his death in 1906 that he would have put more moorland walks in his guide books but that 'the then rambler and general mountain walking public did not like moorland walking'.[55] Ward himself suggested in 1907 that 'perhaps not 200 of the million dwellers in Sheffield and Manchester' knew '*The Unknown* of N. W. Peakland', '35 square miles, trackless, lone and silent, untrodden save by a few solitary keepers and upland shepherds, or by a "tramp"'.[56] This, like Egdon Heath, was a timeless environment in which the rational man, confronted by the vacillating uncertainties of modernity, could find a certain austere comfort. Its appeal was also nuanced by the tensions of gender and class, and it is to these aspects in Ward's life and work that we turn next.

II

Although rambling is often seen as an undifferentiated activity, Ward's writings suggest a spectrum of walking (and attendant sensations) of which the most arduous was considered best suited to only the most manly of men. The Sheffield *Clarion* handbooks welcomed women on walks, but only 'men and brothers' were considered robust enough for the more strenuous trails or for male-only overnight excursions known as Revellers' Rambles, which also involved trespass upon Kinder.[57] Women were elected to the Club's Committee in 1904 but were only honorary members until 1906 and Ward remained ambivalent about women's involvement, regarding them as second-class walkers who were never quite up to the rigours of the most 'manly' forms of rambling.[58] He was uncomfortable with the 'New Woman' and suggested, during the First World War, that such models of female behaviour could be left far behind on the easy lower slopes: 'Some day they'll come along the Rough Revellers' way, but not until the new woman bravely puts the breeches on.'[59] He retained a strong sense of the married man's entitlement to free time and independent leisure outside the home. 'Determined' to have 'at least two days' to himself over a Bank Holiday week-end, he was an unrepentant 'selfish beast … deaf to all Pankhurstian critics of the married

[53] Peter Howard, 'Painters' preferred places', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11 (1985), p. 146, cited in Readman, 'Landscape preservation', p. 69.
[54] Moncrieff, *Peak country*, pp. 24–5.
[55] *SCR*, 1954–5, p. 108.
[56] *SCR*, 1907.
[57] *SCR*, 1921–2, p. 21; *SCR*, 1923–4, p. 22.
[58] *SCR*, 1921–2, p. 100.
[59] *SCR*, 1917–18, p. 31.

man'.[60] As he wrote in his obituary of his wife after fifty years' marriage, she was not an 'emancipated woman'. 'Behind her man, and often better than he', she walked 'in the shadow of his name and initials, supporting and holding him when he might, or would have fallen.'[61] By the interwar years older Sheffield Clarion members recalled earlier days when 'women ramblers were not fashionable and were often pleaded for', since by then the open air had become as much a space 'of equality and freedom' for women as for men, and they were 'well aware that the women ramblers would not be shooed away'.[62] Nevertheless, the exclusion from Revellers' Rambles remained and the first Women's Revellers' Ramble did not take place until 1955.[63]

The catch-phrase on the front of each *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbook, 'A Rambler made is a man improved', is a reminder of how rambling appealed to the desire for self-improvement among the lower middle and skilled working classes. The fourteen founding members of the Clarion Ramblers included a factory manager and manufacturer, a Catholic priest, and a newspaper compositor. Several of those in their twenties, like Ward, subsequently rose out of their original social class, one to become an art student and another a milk inspector for Sheffield.[64] Ward's own family background was relatively advantaged, with his father a skilled worker and sometime supervisor in the metal trades and his paternal grandfather a 'small master', and his own transition from manual work to a white collar job in the 1900s may well have influenced how he conceptualized walking in the high moorlands.[65] The long established effeminate associations of office work, a traditional employment route for 'upwardly mobile' working-class men, were reinforced in the late nineteenth century by the entry of many young women, whose competition encouraged male clerks to seek new ways of asserting their masculinity.[66] As James Hammerton has pointed out, the emasculated, lower-middle-class wage slave was much parodied in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, when contemptuous stereotypes of lower-middle-class masculinity were accentuated by contemporary anxieties 'about masculine identity, the pace of urban development and the degenerative influence of female consumerism upon the national character'.[67] The moral manliness

[60] *SCR*, cited in D. Sissons, 'A Sheffield Clarion Rambler: some aspects of the life and work of G. H. Ward (1876–1957)' (MA thesis, Sheffield, 1992), p. 96.

[61] *SCR*, 1953–4, p. 132.

[62] Matless, *Landscape*, p. 80; *SCR*, 1935–6, p. 112.

[63] *SCR*, 1929–30, p. 56; *SCR*, 1935–6, p. 112; David Sissons, 'Clarion call', *Peakland Walker*, 11 (Summer, 2000), p. 95.

[64] Sissons, 'Clarion call', pp. 14–15.

[65] Sissons, *Best of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' handbooks*, pp. 11, 12; Sissons, 'Clarion call', pp. 14–15.

[66] John Tosh, '"A fresh access of dignity": masculinity and imperial commitment in Britain, 1815–1914', *www.history.und.ac.za/sempapers/Tosh.pdf*, July 2004, p. 19; Gregory Anderson, *Victorian clerks* (Manchester, 1976); Richard N. Price, 'Society, status and jingoism: the social roots of lower middle-class patriotism, 1870–1900', in Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The lower middle class in Britain* (London, 1977).

[67] A. James Hammerton, 'The English weakness? Gender, satire and "moral manliness" in the lower middle class, 1870–1920', in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., *Gender, civic culture and consumerism: middle-class identity in Britain, 1800–1940* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 167, 170, 176.

of many lower-middle-class autobiographies, with their priggish, 'effeminate' emphasis on duty, self-improvement, moral propriety, and 'puritan self-denial' was easy meat for satirists, who lampooned lower-middle-class husbands as dependent weaklings in thrall to their wives, although Ward was indifferent to such lack of domestic mastery; being 'scolded' and chivvied like a child at home was irrelevant to one who once on the moors became like a 'lion' worthy of a 'hunter's meals'.[68] The harsh, masculinized moorland environment was the antithesis of the homely sphere which supposedly sustained women's emotional needs, redressing domestic disempowerment and helping restore life to its proper balance.[69] It is to this manly landscape that we now turn.

III

The popular culture which developed around rambling and climbing in the late nineteenth century redefined the military metaphors and language of conquest so prevalent in mid-Victorian descriptions of climbing and also absorbed more general military influences whose prevalence, Leonore Davidoff suggests, owed much to the advances of women, against which they were, in part, a reaction.[70] These trends are apparent in many contemporary accounts of the Dark Peak's fells and moorlands.[71] Baker described how even 'sitting in a deep drift, and surrounded by a wall of snow', he and his fellow walkers 'were not safe from the enemy' who 'pelted' them 'from every chink and crevice'. Their faces were encased in icy 'vizors'; sleet felt like 'frozen darts'; gales raged like 'rude warfare'; rocks and crags looked like 'ramparts' and 'strongholds'.[72] During the grouse-shooting season the moorlands became a 'war-path between keepers and trespassers', the shooters' hides like 'miniature castles' and 'fortresses'.[73]

The imperial discourses of exploration and discovery which had framed the masculinity of the mid-Victorian mountaineer were also very apparent. Peakland walkers often described a sense of entering into uncharted territory; 'some names noted on maps but many unrecorded', most needing to be 'investigated and explained'.[74] This fostered at its most extreme a 'pungently masculine Darwinism' and belief in the law of the survival of the fittest evocatively expressed in ideas of the wilderness.[75] Wildernesses – uncomplicated yet dangerous environments in which men pitch themselves against the unknown – have been a significant influence in western masculinity. Most, such as the American west and

[68] *SCR*, 1916–17, pp. 53–4.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Leonore Davidoff, 'The family', in F. M. L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge social history of modern Britain*, II (Cambridge, 1990), p. 105.
[71] Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and morality*, pp. 1–5; *SCR*, 1922–3, p. 129.
[72] Baker, *Moors, crags and caves*, pp. 32, 36–8.
[73] Moncrieff, *Peak country*, pp. 24–5.
[74] Peter H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the invention of mountaineering in mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (July 1995), pp. 300–24, at pp. 313–14, 316–17, 323; John Taylor, *A dream of England: landscape, photography and the tourist's imagination* (Manchester, 1994); *SCR*, 1925–6, p. 61.
[75] Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the mind: a history of fascination* (London, 2003), pp. 90–2.

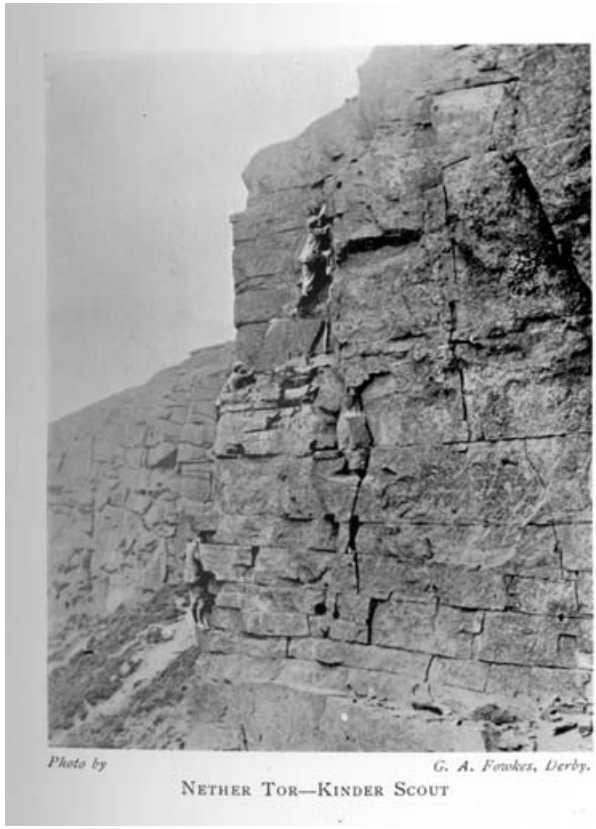


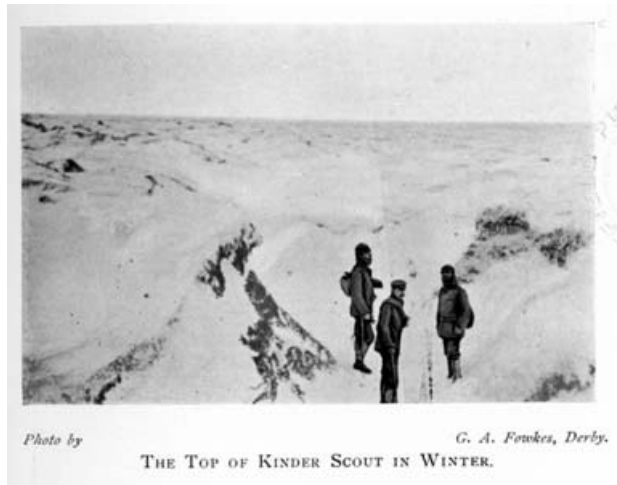
Fig. 4. Climbing on Nether Tor, Kinder Scout. Photo by G. A. Fowkes, Derby, printed in E. A. Baker, *Moors, crags and caves of the High Peak and the neighbourhood* (Tiverton, 1903).

Australian outback, are geographically remote. The Dark Peak's very proximity to so many large urban centres, however, added to its imaginative power, as is apparent in Ward's writings. The sense of advancing upon a new frontier was clear in his reputed repetition of the phrase 'pioneers, oh pioneers' during the first Clarion Club ramble in September 1900, which resonated both with a sense of the historic moment and with broader fantasies of manliness and self-discovery.[76]

Ward believed the 'man of the hills' was easily recognizable from his 'posture and stride': 'There's no slouch about it and no street-corner boy, masturbator, or syphilitic, could obtain it, for he would be "laid up" in half a day's attempt to crawl where we run.'[77] Such language suggests the anxiety and cultural disgust

[76] *SCR*, 1958–9, 7; Tosh, 'A fresh access of dignity', pp. 17–18.
[77] *SCR*, 1925–6, p. 101; *SCR*, 1916–17, pp. 24, 35.

(a)



(b)

Fig. 5. (a) The top of Kinder in winter. Photo by G. A. Fowkes, Derby, printed in E. A. Baker, *Moors, crags and caves of the High Peak and the neighbourhood* (Tiverton, 1903). (b) At the foot of Kinder Downfall in winter. Photo by W. Meakin, Newthorpe, Notts., printed in E. A. Baker, *Moors, crags and caves of the High Peak and the neighbourhood* (Tiverton, 1903).

which surrounded contemporary ideas of physical manhood. Manliness demanded self-control of anger, desire, and affection and the conservation of bodily energies through restraining sexual impulses. Masturbation and syphilis were sources of moral panic, not only physically debilitating but causes of insanity and nerve disorders which threatened both national and individual well-being.

'Imaginative geographies' of the Dark Peak often invoked a language of purification in condemning the unhealthy temptations of working-class street life associated, as Rebecca Solnit suggests, with the 'erotic', the 'dangerous', and the 'revolutionary'.[78] Handbooks dwelt on the physical cleansing and spiritual refreshment to be found in the 'virgin' purity of moorland streams and waterfalls.[79] *Clarion* readers were exhorted to leave 'Smokeville's' 'filthy streets and blackened blocks of homes and wander … away from the week's conventions and perverted sentiments', to fresh air and streams 'unsullied' by city sewers.[80] 'Ah! Come up here, ye of that "One Mile One Pub Procession." Come up here, ye of the syphilitic breed. Ye who are best bruisers of your own sweet souls.'[81]

Eugenic fears were particularly acute in the 1890s when anxieties about masculine identity, sharpened by the Wilde trials, were intensified by the 'New Woman's' entry into the public arena. Many sons of the professional upper middle class fled the feminizing conventions of domesticity to seek adventure in the empire. (It was from this time that adventure stories for boys, uncompromisingly masculine, became popular.[82]) Definitions of masculinity hardened between the 1880s and 1914 in the shadow of the new imperialism and amidst racial concerns about the poor physical state of young men of the 'residuum'. Working-class boys and young men had long been criticized for 'lounging' at street corners and getting into mischief, but the question became more urgent in these decades when manliness was deemed to be increasingly at odds with the domestic, as Alexander Paterson made clear in 1911 when he observed that for many boys 'every hour at home' was 'a step back'.[83]

Ward's foundation of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers was said to have been inspired by just this desire for an alternative environment in which to create 'clean-limbed and clean-hearted manhood who are fit to wed and continue our British race'.[84] The most appropriate landscape for such ambitions was Kinder Scout which in Ward's writings was unarguably male, 'his' very name alluring – 'Kyndyr' meaning 'head of the waters' and 'Scout' referring 'to pouring forth a liquid forcibly'; crags and gritstone cliffs weathered by the elements forming a 'muscular' skyline at the edges of Kinder's plateau which included an outcrop known as Boxing Glove Stones.[85] Sensibility is not readily associated with the tough discourses of this unforgiving natural world which demanded self-control and emotional discipline, yet Kinder was also 'the father

[78] *SCR*, 1909, p. 27; Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: a history of walking* (London and New York, 2001), p. 176. [79] *SCR*, 1900–61, 60th anniversary edition, pp. 5–6.

[80] *SCR* Membership Card, 1908. [81] *SCR*, 1916–17, p. 35.

[82] Hammerton, 'The English weakness?', pp. 168–9; Tosh, 'A fresh access of dignity', pp. 18, 19.

[83] G. Pearson, *Hooligan: a history of respectable fears* (London, 1983), p. 57; C. E. B. Russell, *Manchester boys: sketches of Manchester lads at work and play* (Manchester, 1905), p. 113; Alexander Paterson, *Across the bridges* (London, 1911), cited in Ellen Ross, *Love and toil: motherhood in outcast London, 1970–1918* (New York and Oxford, 1993), pp. 153–4.

[84] *SCR*, 1916–17, p. 47; Sissons, 'A Sheffield Clarion Rambler', p. 88; *SCR*, 1959–60, pp. 5–6; *SCR*, 1925–6, p. 101. [85] *SCR*, 1909, p. 16.

Fig. 6. Kinder Downfall, plunging from the edge of Kinder to the ravine below.

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Fig. 7. Boxing Glove Stones.

Fig. 8. The waters of Kinder Downfall from a distance.

of many streams' and a dozen 'jewelled joyful, baby rivulets' leapt down the 'stony terraces' between his 'swarthy arms and shoulders'.[86] Water tumbled towards valleys, whose 'maiden' beauty of golden bracken and pinkish-purple heather was 'ravishing' to the 'lover's eye' of 'her man above' on the higher slopes.[87] As such examples suggest, the rhetoric of heroic manliness was also complemented by a very different sensibility to which we now turn.

[86] Ibid., p. 16; *SCR*, 1914–15, p. 62; *SCR*, 1913–14, p. 35.

[87] *SCR*, 1913–14, p. 35.

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Fig. 9. Heather-covered slopes and tumbling water at Fair Brook, Kinder.

IV

Ward and fellow founders of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers were more than fitness enthusiasts, they were also romantics as is apparent in an early *Clarion* handbook which was illustrated with a lyrical engraving of two young women playing music and reading beneath a tree accompanied with the verse: 'The rambler's gone a-courting, Miss Nature is his lady-love'.[88] Ward described the charms and appeal of the 'sombre moors' of Northern Derbyshire where he could walk 'Man free – man happy – child of the moor and hill, Lover of the valley – Nature's bridegroom.'[89] Ideas of possession and subjugation had linked the concepts of 'nature' and 'woman' since the Enlightenment yet the familiar

[88] *SCR* Membership Card, 1908.

[89] Quoted in *SCR* Membership Card, 1907.

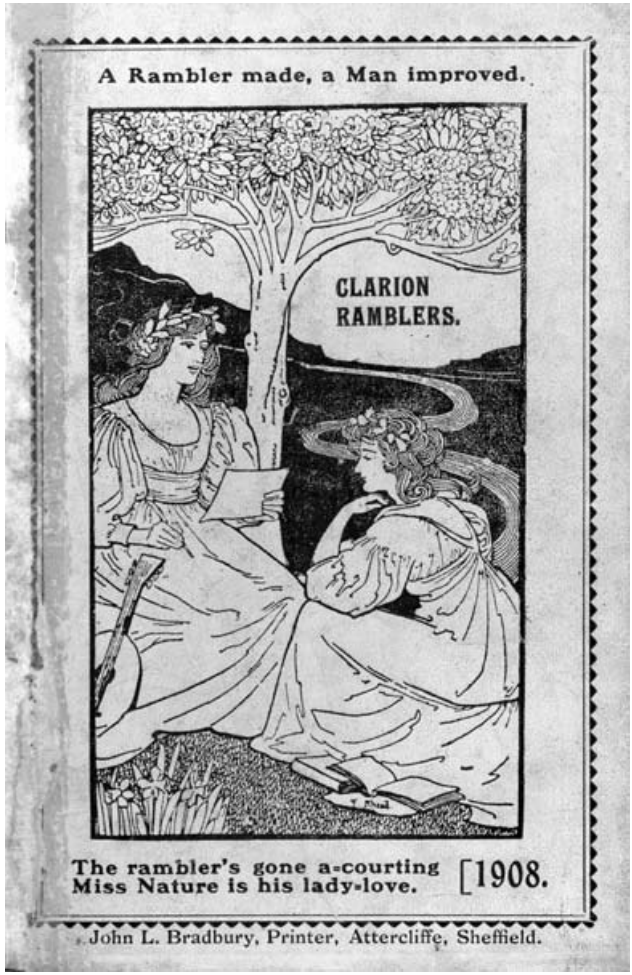

Fig. 10. 'The rambler's gone a-courting, Miss Nature is his lady-love': front cover of *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbook, 1908.

dichotomy of female nature and male cultural world was also subverted by this landscape's masculinized character which allowed Ward and his companions to throw off the contrivances of civilization for a more organic version of nature, which blended the human, natural, and spiritual.[90] David Sissons refers to a Whitmanesque 'combination of fresh air, exercise, sunshine, nudity and male comradeship' and there is an undeniable homoerotic element in some of the

[90] Janice Monk, 'Gender in the landscape: expressions of power and meaning', in Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, eds., *Cultural geographies* (London, 1999), p. 165.

handbooks' writings.[91] Ward knew Edward Carpenter, the 'Complete Anarchist and Saint in Sandals' who lived in the hamlet of Millthorpe where he had by the 1900s become a 'leading cultural institution' and inspiration to socialists in Sheffield and parts of the North-West, such as Bolton.[92] Carpenter, prophet of the simple life and the 'absence of things', was a keen walker who also believed in the power of fresh air and contact with the natural world to regenerate Britain's young working men. Like Whitman, whose own poetry was inspired by an archetypal frontier of wide, open spaces, the American west, Carpenter extolled the virtues of freedom, the beauty of the male physique and comradeship, urging that 'the highest spiritual communion between man and man' was 'that between friend and friend'.[93] His 'crusade for sexual openness' and 'an end to "the impure hush"' emanated, in Tosh's view, from 'the total censure of emotional and sexual disclosure in his childhood', although public emphasis on a somewhat 'higher' homosexual identity stressing the emotional and moral aspects of male comradeship rather than the expression of sexual pleasure was scarcely surprising given fierce legal and social inhibitions against homosexuality.[94] Tosh suggested such relationships appealed particularly to young middle-class men, suffocated by domestic life and drawn to Carpenter's 'mystic' ideal of 'homogenic love' as an ideal which transcended class boundaries and raised 'sexual urges into the purer love of comrades working together in the common cause'.[95] Carpenter's influence is certainly discernible in Ward's writings, although he shared neither Carpenter's vegetarianism nor his more open views about the rights of women, yet his works were also imbued with the tensions and characteristics of broader manly culture and the disappearance of the early handbooks' lyrical illustrations, once photographs took over from line drawings in the 1912–13 edition, perhaps suggests the suspicion with which contemporary manliness was coming to regard anything artistic or effete. The masculine insecurities of the period accentuated fears of aesthetic decadence and the effete dandy's unmanly interest in his appearance, as is apparent in Ward's description of a Lake District ramble in the early years of the war when he and his companion encountered two walkers, one of whom was described as 'Mr. Eau de Stink', who failed to conform to the physical demeanour of a 'proper' rambler', being 'clean-shaven, begloved, gaitered, and quite up-to-date – including a cigarette … They were beauties, real "daisies" – and we may never see their likes again.'[96] Such walkers were unsuited to the physically demanding rambles which gave a masculine veneer to feelings and interests

[91] Sissons, 'A Sheffield Clarion Rambler', p. 8.

[92] Jonathan Rose, *The intellectual life of the British working classes* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 193, 454.

[93] Chushichi Tsuzuki, *Edward Carpenter, 1844–1929: prophet of human fellowship* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 3; Fiona MacCarthy, *The simple life: C. R. Ashbee in the Cotswolds* (London, 1981), pp. 12, 17, 20, 66–7, 83.

[94] Mona Domosh, 'Corporate cultures and the modern landscape of New York City', in Anderson and Gale, eds., *Cultural geographies*, p. 97; John Tosh, *A man's place: masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 183, 190.

[95] MacCarthy, *Simple life*, pp. 12, 17, 20, 23, 66–7, 83.

[96] *SCR*, 1916–17, pp. 27–31.

(a) (b)

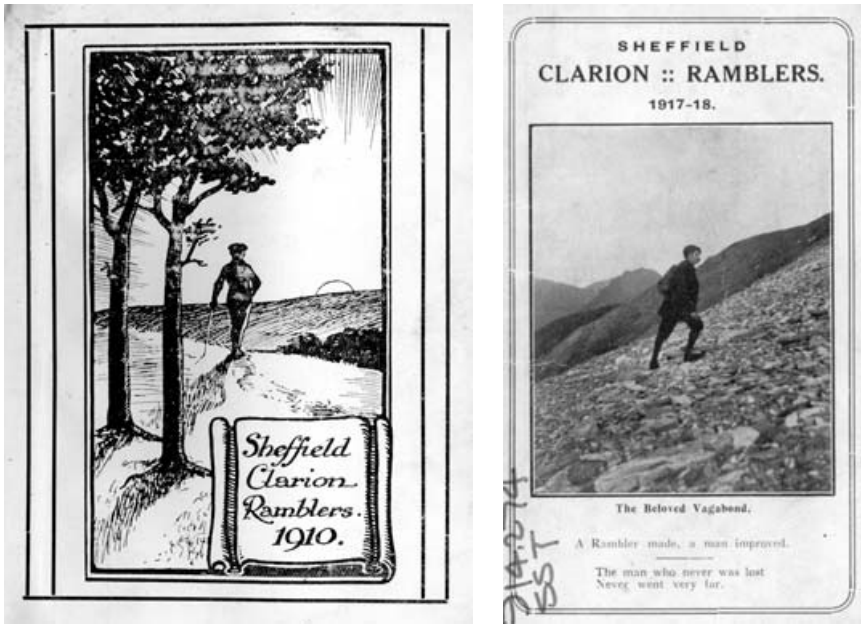

Fig. 11. (a) 'Carefree king of the open road': front cover of *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbook, 1910. (b) 'The beloved vagabond': front cover of *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbook, 1917–18.

which might otherwise have had uncomfortably effeminate overtones, for Ward was a poet whose literary interests were shared by several other early Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, such as Bert Driver and Bill Whitney.[97]

Many poets and writers included in the handbooks had themselves been keen walkers who saw walking not so much as travel but as a means of freeing the mind, the very familiarity of the terrain through which they wandered helping to achieve its liberation.[98] The idea of freedom was a source of several significant motifs in Ward's works, apparent in his affection for the vagabond or carefree king of the open road. The words tramp, vagabond, gypsy, and nomad were very popular among late nineteenth-century travel writers, encapsulating the 'rogue and rebel aspects' of travel, 'straying, going out of bounds', whose strong individualistic emphasis was expressed in the mentality of a particular kind of walker whom Ward characterized as the 'self-reliant' Anarchist, who refused to be placed in 'leading strings' and to be regimented by 'mass practice'.[99] This kind of walking, quite different to walking in a group, was far less usual among women, at least before the twentieth century.[100]

[97] *SCR*, 1900–61, 60th anniversary edition, pp. 5–6.
[98] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, pp. 103–4.
[99] Ibid., pp. 107, 124; *SCR*, 1925–6, p. 102.
[100] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, p. 245.

Fig. 12. The self-reliant individualist, as depicted on the front covers of *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers*' handbooks in the 1920s.

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In some respects, the vagabond may also be seen as country cousin to the metropolitan *flâneur*. Both figures coincided with new ideas about leisured time and desires to challenge the increasing pace of modern life and it was in this sense that the reiterated notion of the peat uplands as a timeless landscape was particularly important.[101] The Peakland walker who gazed down upon urban communities in the valleys was a fugitive from materialism and the consumer's insatiability for ever newer visual delights. Ward particularly disliked the growing menace of speeding motor cars and road tourers which 'devoured' the scenery and drove walkers off the roads with their hooting and 'vile paraffin stench', making the protection of bridleways and footpaths even more urgent.[102]

The vagabond's wish to escape also demonstrated the desire to throw off the responsibilities and claustrophobia of domesticity.[103] As Ward put it, it was upon the moorland heights that 'we cast our carking cares and are enabled to carry our roguish, laughing, care free boyhood into middle life'.[104] Travel accounts and adventure stories have often used a sense of home, frequently conflated with ideas of homeland, as narrative anchorage to convey the danger and excitement of voyages into the unknown, heroic journeys into the testing fields of exile and male adventure invariably making it a place of attachment and security yet also of confinement. Growing suspicion of how the increasing home-centredness of family life might undermine masculinity encouraged the desire for more 'manly' environments and the Peak uplands were ideal for just such dreams; a tamed wilderness upon which uncertain masculinities, fleeing from domesticity, could be projected through manly fantasies of exploration.[105] Ideas of interior and exterior were implicit in such emphases, which placed women's security firmly in the settlement of place. Ward's own views were part of a broader territorialization of movement and travel, which saw women as most appropriately set within the small spaces of domestic life rather than the heady openness of public space.

V

This article has suggested how wild areas of upland terrain such as the Dark Peak contributed to and reinforced contemporary ideas of masculinity. Ideas of power – whether in physically dominating the landscape, or in the more mystical sense of being overwhelmed – play an important part in Ward's works. Nevertheless, the textual landscape of his handbooks was more than 'a masculinized ideal of self-hood founded on separation from nature, rational objectivity

[101] Ibid., p. 100.

[102] Solnit, *Wanderlust*, p. 100; Morris, *Beautiful Britain*, p. 11; Firth, *Highways and byways*, p. 16; *SCR*, 1912–13, p. 36; *SCR*, 1913–14, p. 4; *SCR*, 1915–16, pp. 44–5; *SCR*, 1916–17, p. 48.

[103] M. Crang, *Cultural geography* (London, 1998), pp. 47–9.

[104] *SCR*, 1925–6, pp. 92, 101.

[105] Ibid., pp. 182–90.

and a need to dominate'.[106] In particular, it illustrates an important tension between masculinized discourses of nature, which stressed heroic domination of the 'great outdoors' and a mundane level of repeated recreational involvement in a familiar countryside which had a more everyday, domestic dimension.[107] Ward expressed what we now recognize as the invigorating physiological and psychological effects of strenuous exercise in the language of emotional exhilaration and catharsis whose 'almost spiritual intensity' was also characteristic of mountaineering and rock climbing.[108] His writings are very suggestive of walking's role as a salve for the stresses and anxieties of everyday existence. The moors were places 'where troubled souls might lay awhile and forget that battered brains make bodies ill'.[109] In an article entitled 'Thoughts of a rebel' he described the sense of being constrained and imprisoned by the demands of the contemporary workplace, the 'din and bustle, grin and grind, order and obey'.

> Headaches and heartburns. A cruel system binds and bends me down. And I feel madman-counsel within – I would like to go and slay someone: thus express my rebellious mind and slake out my revenge 'gainst he who denies me expression and steals my sovereign will … We are … like whirling wheels, treated as automata and merely mechanical motions, regulated and resolved – a Something without a soul, wound up batteries of jumping nerves.[110]

The expression of such feelings would, of course, eventually acquire a different language, as growing awareness of the psychological self led to wilderness areas becoming acknowledged as significant spaces for confined urban populations. This is another reminder that Ward's engagement with the Peakland landscape was a Sheffield-based one and that the masculinist space he constructed in his attempted flight from domesticity did, in fact, have much of the domestic about it. Unpredictable and occasionally treacherous, it was, nevertheless, reachable without transport, the Sheffield resident's back yard, which despite the heroic rhetoric, testified to a strong need for 'an "elsewhere" that existed beyond the constraints of daily life' yet was 'still part of daily life'.[111]

This 'wild' outdoors, so easily seen as an extension of the public, masculine world was, in fact, of much greater complexity, suggesting the ambivalence with which the landscape was often gendered as an object of the male gaze.[112] It was a place where geography gave expression to psychological need, where emotion and the exhilarating intimacy of open space also gave rise to a domesticated sense

[106] K. Kroeber, *Ecological literary criticism: romantic imagining and the biology of the mind* (New York, 1994), p. 17, cited in G. Carter, '"Domestic geography" and the politics of Scottish landscape in Nan Shepherd's *The living mountain*', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 8 (2001), pp. 25–36, at p. 27.

[107] Carter, '"Domestic geography"', p. 34.

[108] Tosh, *A man's place*, p. 188. Physical exercise such as strenuous walking encourages physiological changes which boost levels of endorphins, an opium-like compound which reduces sensations of pain and tends to induce a sense of tranquillity and emotional well-being.

[109] *SCR*, 1913–14, p. 35.

[110] *SCR*, 1911–12, p. 28.

[111] Carter, '"Domestic geography"', p. 34.

[112] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Symbolic formation and symbolic landscape, with a new introduction* (Wisconsin, 1984; repr. 1998), pp. xiv, xviii–xix.

of comfort, familiarity, and belonging. It testified to male anxieties and the desire for an emotional sanctuary at a time when the domestic sphere, supposedly a refuge from the outside world, had become a woman's workshop and a place of duties and expectations. The manly connotations of the wilderness gave men like Ward 'permission' to relax and achieve a sense of being at home in their own sheltered setting. The iconic status that wild landscapes subsequently achieved in the discourse of English national identity perhaps owed much to this desire for an intimate space in which to tame the emotional tensions of contemporary masculinity.

Ward's writings, framed within influential discourses of romanticism, aesthetics, and history, are a window into the imaginative geographies of the Peak, the changing perspectives of his individual view framed by larger ideas of nature, nation, gender, and class. Kinder's plateau, 'roof of the world', was a blank canvas, a 'boundless, featureless, homogeneous space', whose understated qualities had heroic, transformative capacities quite unlike the ludic transgressions of tourism or the threatening geographies of the 'unknowable' city which subverted 'rational' forms of masculinity.[113] Like the mountain 'wildernesses' popularized by naturalists and mountain climbers, these upper moorlands offered a powerful brew of solitude and awe at nature's elemental grandeur whose capacity to annihilate or overpower the rational or heroic hero was an important part of their appeal. Some of these sensations are encapsulated in a phenomenon known as 'mountain panic', occasionally described by climbers, which is apparent in folklore surrounding the Dark Peak's Bleaklow Hill, a particularly 'forbidding' moor with 'little evidence of past human activity'.[114] Ward stressed the ease with which it was possible to get lost, both physically and metaphorically in this 'Lonely Land', so close to immense populations yet where one could lie 'for years and never be found' in the anonymity of solitude and the feeling of being 'unknown and unseen'.[115]

In helping to articulate such sentiments, the moorlands suggest something of the period's unsettled masculinities as their intoxicating simplicity encouraged the belief that none of the essentials of manliness had changed. These gendered associations affirmed belief in male psychological and mental superiority at a time of considerable tension and uncertainty. The fin de siècle years during which the moorlands started to become popular were challenged by class-based politics and threats to Britain's imperial and economic identity.[116] 'Traditional' manliness struggled with more subversive forms of masculinity and with the economic and political advances of women who were becoming more visible in the 'public'

[113] A. King, *Memorials of the great war in Britain: the symbolism and politics of remembrance* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 175–9.

[114] Such sensations have been attributed to 'Th'wd lad', a Pennine name for the devil. D. Hey, 'Moorlands', in J. Thirsk, ed., *Rural England: an illustrated history of the landscape* (Oxford, 2000), p. 189.

[115] *SCR*, Membership Card, 1908.

[116] For an examination of gender anxieties at the turn of the century, see Elaine Showalter, *Sexual anarchy: gender and culture at the fin de siècle* (London, 1992).

sphere as clerical workers, shop workers, and high-street consumers. Technical advances and social transformation coincided with growing doubts about the future. The economic recession of the 1880s challenged the once irrefutable idea of progress while Darwinian theories of evolution reinforced fears of racial degeneration, exaggerated by recruitment difficulties during the Boer War.[117] The urgency of urban life competed with the 'dust and deafening, the deadenings of the workshop day', an important concern for Ward who finished his engineering apprenticeship and began trade union activism in 1897, a time of intense union militancy during a national engineering lock-out when the craft exclusivism of skilled engineers was being undermined and the impact of new machinery was intensifying.[118] All these influences are apparent in Ward's response to the moorlands which became his passion as he sought to escape 'the city sadness' he found so oppressive.[119]

Ward was of a different generation to the better-known hikers and ramblers of the interwar years. His writings are a reminder of the days before the moorlands acquired a broader resonance of the sort to which Marion Shoard alluded in the 1980s when she emphasized how such areas had become so 'integral' a part of the nation's cultural heritage that their destruction would mean the loss of the nation's 'soul'.[120] The Dark Peak at the turn of the twentieth century held rather different meanings for the working-class and lower-middle-class intellectuals who found such satisfaction in its 'plain', 'uncorrupted' landscape. Ward may, in fact, be seen as part of a broader group of northern writers whose works were inspired by walking and the outdoor movement. Despite its diversity, this movement helped 'perpetuate deeply rooted rural traditions' and contributed to local cultural identities in ways which Taylor suggests 'went beyond basic class models'.[121] Such regional writers helped create a local patriotism based on 'an intimate experience of place', a sense of 'imagined community' among outdoor enthusiasts whose common passion for a very particular type of upland landscape testified to a complex mix of regional, national and international influences.[122] The strength of this identification with the open moorlands was strikingly apparent in one of the earliest and best-attended mass trespasses in 1896 when thousands of Bolton people, spurred by socialist activists, demonstrated against the fencing off of a bleak upper moorland tract called Winter Hill.[123]

Well grounded in the self-discipline and athleticism of manly culture, the type of vigorous walking to which much of this article has referred asserted a particular kind of masculinity, a self-conscious, rational alternative to the aggressive

[117] S. Ledger and R. Luckhurst, eds., *The fin de siècle: a reader in cultural history, c. 1880–1900* (Oxford, 2000), pp. xiii–xxi. See also G. Searle, *The quest for national efficiency: a study in British politics and political thought, 1899–1914* (London, 1971; re-issued with new introduction, 1990); idem, *Eugenics and politics in Britain, 1900–1914* (Leyden, 1976). [118] *Sheffield Guardian*, 21 June 1907, p. 3. [119] Ibid.
[120] Shoard, *Theft of the countryside*, p. 82. [121] Taylor, *Claim on the countryside*, pp. 71–80.
[122] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: a study of environmental perceptions, attitudes and values* (New York, 1990) p. 101, cited in Miller, 'Everywhere and nowhere', p. 216; Taylor, *Claim on the countryside*, pp. 71–4.
[123] Taylor, *Claim on the countryside*, pp. 45–8.

physicality of some working-class culture. Yet Ward's works also suggest how emphases upon the physicality and political struggles of the outdoor movement may obscure other significant motivations, for walking in the high moorlands had other more subtly inflected meanings. Valued as a source of 'mental refreshment', it was also influenced by romantic traditions of self-understanding and realization.[124] The poetic imagery and literary allusions which litter Ward's handbooks illuminated a sense of the dissolving boundary between self and other which testified to a need for emotional release more usually constrained by the conventions and expectations of contemporary manliness.[125] 'Wild' landscapes such as the Dark Peak were constructed as a refuge from the 'feminizing' effects of modernity and mass culture. Their character-building terrain was hallowed as a testing ground for warriors. Yet just as significant in such testing times was their valorization of sensibilities which challenged the emotional reticence expected of manly behaviour. In the upland areas of northern England, the frequently striking environmental contrast of grim manufacturing communities in close proximity to open rural space encouraged, in Taylor's words, powerful 'emotional associations with certain landscape features'.[126] Shoard suggested that those attracted to the moors were 'among the most passionate enthusiasts for the countryside' and cited the veteran rambling campaigner Tom Stephenson who had first felt their 'lure' at the age of thirteen in 1906, on the moorland massif of Lancashire's Forest of Bowland.[127] The localized associations of the particular moorlands examined here, influentially expounded by Ward and subsequently absorbed by a broader national symbolism, are a reminder of the importance of addressing the complex contribution that both gender and non-southern regional landscapes have made to the 'complicated discourse of national identity'.[128]

[124] Ibid., p. 8.

[125] Kroeber, *Ecological literary criticism*, p. 17, cited in Carter, '"Domestic geography"', p. 27.

[126] Taylor, *Claim on the countryside*, p. 238.

[127] Shoard, *Theft of the countryside*, p. 76.

[128] Denis Cosgrove, Barbara Roscoe, and Simon Rycroft, 'Landscape and identity at Ladybower Reservoir and Rutland Water', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s. 21 (1996), pp. 534–51, at p. 536.