Daniels, Stephen, and Ben Cowell. "Living Landscapes." *The Public Value of the Humanities*. Ed. Jonathan Bate. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. 105–117. The WISH List. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849662451.ch-008>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 10:54 UTC.

Copyright © Jonathan Bate and contributors 2011. You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

---

8. Living Landscapes

Stephen Daniels (University of Nottingham)
and Ben Cowell (National Trust)¹

Landscape and environment are currently matters of compelling cultural and material significance, as fields of academic enquiry, genres of artistic creativity and arenas of public concern. In the mind and on the ground landscapes are a medium for making sense of the world and people's place in it, and for expressing and exploring passionately held values about beauty, belonging, livelihood, relations with the natural and social environment, memories of the past and prospects for the future.

This is the context and strategic case for the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) programme in Landscape and Environment. The programme has researched the making and meaning of a range of landscapes within and beyond Britain, landscapes created on the page and in performance, built and cultivated in city and country, landscapes lived in, worked on, moved through and looked at. A central theme of the programme is exploring the range of values, including aesthetic, commercial, spiritual, scientific, social, historical and ethical values, which are expressed in the way landscape is seen, designed, made and managed. The programme has examined the cultural complexities, and power relations, of such values, both combining and competing: landscape as both common ground and contested terrain.

The AHRC programme reflects a resurgence in public interest and scholarly research, nationally and internationally, in the ways in which landscape is valued and managed. In rural policies the UK government has looked beyond food production to a wider cultural stewardship of the countryside, and opened up new areas to public access. A cluster of departments and agencies concerned with the landscape and the built environment, in both city and country, have addressed concepts of public value that are intrinsic rather than instrumental, that go beyond utilitarian or financial values, to a sense of place and social belonging, spiritual solace and aesthetic inspiration (English Heritage 2000; Communities and Local Government 2009). Places may have their price, as creators of tourist revenue as well as the costs of conservation, but the value of Stonehenge to the English landscape, no less than the value of Shakespeare to the English language, is a matter of public good that cannot be measured adequately in monetary terms and which arts and humanities research helps us identify and enhance (Cowell 2008). Such valuation in terms of landscape takes us beyond the protection of certain sites to the wider, changeable world of their historical and geographical significance, including taking into account overlooked places and periods,

and the views of those who live and work around them as well as visit them from afar. This is a growing feature of conservation and heritage policy internationally. The Council of Europe's European Landscape Convention, now signed or ratified by thirty-six states, promotes a broad, participatory view of landscape, including natural, rural, urban and industrial areas, and sites that may be overlooked as everyday or degraded as well as those that are scenic and iconic. Similarly, new planning policy in the UK emphasizes above all the relative significance of local landscapes, as discerned through visual examination, archival study and public consultation, and whether or not they feature heritage assets that are formally designated through the planning system (Communities and Local Government 2010).

The Landscape and Environment programme has created a collaborative community within and beyond the academy, including multidisciplinary project teams in partnership with a range of people and organizations with a practical stake in landscape matters, notably on questions of heritage, conservation and public understanding. Many of these organizations themselves are actively engaged in research into landscape, much as there is also a great tradition in Britain of lay research into the deep and wide histories of localities and places. This essay focuses on two programme projects in northern England, which include National Trust properties and are centrally concerned with understanding and promoting the public value of landscape.

The National Trust is Europe's largest conservation charity. Established in 1895, it now has more than 3.75 million members (many more than all UK political parties combined) and manages an estate that encompasses 250,000 hectares of land and countryside, 1,100km of coastline and more than 300 historic properties open for public access. In total, its property portfolio comprises 1.5 per cent of the total land area of England, Wales and Northern Ireland. The origins of the Trust are associated with Victorian liberal campaigners interested in social reform and access to open space, and a concern for landscape as a public amenity, modelled on the success of similar trusts in the United States. The initial pattern was to acquire land rather than buildings, including areas of common land, while in its main expansionist phase in the mid-twentieth century it became more closely associated with the cause of country-house preservation. Since the 1960s the Trust has expanded its range of social and environmental interests, in the spirit of its founding ideals. While larger mansion houses such as Calke Abbey in Derbyshire and more recently Seaton Delaval in Northumberland have continued to feature in the Trust's acquisition policies, there is increasing contextual attention to the broader estates, and changing social and physical worlds, which give them cultural significance and material support (Daniels 1993). The Trust's portfolio of properties has expanded to embrace more subaltern forms of heritage such as the early nineteenth-century workhouse in Southwell, Nottinghamshire, and the childhood homes of John Lennon and Paul McCartney in suburban Liverpool, interpreting these sites in terms

of recent scholarship on their wider cultural landscape (Daniels 2006). The National Trust has recently developed a broader concept of its role and function, going beyond the permanent preservation of land and buildings to a more dynamic concept of conservation and heritage built around changing values and significance (Gaze 1988; Newby 1995; Cowell 2008).

‘Tales of the Frontier’

Hadrian’s Wall, one of Britain’s best-known historic monuments, provides a vantage point for exploring wide-ranging issues of landscape value. The Wall has been opened up to a wider world in the last decade, with sites made more physically accessible and publically understandable along its 117km length, coast to coast from the Solway to the Tyne, as it runs across upland pasture to post-industrial towns. As a linear insertion in the landscape, the Wall is a complex and challenging monument to maintain and manage, with over 50 organizations and 700 private individuals owning particular sections. It is a requirement of the Wall’s designation as a World Heritage Site that it is both managed as a single entity along its length, and a 16km zone to either side, and that its historical significance is framed by a broad field of cultural values, accommodating the range of interests of those who conserve, use and enjoy the site, including the million or so people who live or work within the Wall’s regional sphere of influence.

The scholarly concern to explore the wider world of Hadrian’s Wall for its 300-year Roman history, including its dynamic relations with the land and life of the territories it passed through, is beginning to be presented to a wider public, in on-site interpretation and associated guide books. What has been much less understood, and scarcely presented, is the Wall’s long, post-Roman history, and its impact on the changing fabric of the Wall and how these express changing ideas of Roman Britain. The Landscape and Environment project ‘Tales of the Frontier’ has pioneered this form of understanding, by researching key periods in the Wall’s post-Roman history, including that of the present, to uncover contrasting and competing perspectives on its Roman past, and their material effects in developing the surroundings of the Wall as well as the structure itself.

The multidisciplinary team of archaeologists and geographers from Durham University has excavated a rich range of sources, including the rich seam of factual and fictional writings on the wall, as well as new ethnographic and observational field work. They have examined how the meaning of the Wall has been made and remade, materially and imaginatively, and variously represented and experienced, written on the page, performed in re-enactments, encoded in visitor conduct, inscribed in the earth in excavations and set in stone in restorations and reconstructions. They have also examined what these findings tell us about wider questions of national, imperial and post-imperial identity (Hingley 2008; Hingley and Nesbit 2008; Nesbit and Tolia-Kelly 2009; Witcher, Tolia-Kelly and Hingley 2010). The

project has explored the landscape narratives, the framing codes of time and space, which both shape, and are shaped by, the Wall as it transects a range of rural and urban sites and episodes of the region's longer history. Here we will focus on findings at two sites, Housesteads and Wallsend.

Housesteads

At Housesteads the National Trust owns the fort as well as five miles of wall and over a thousand hectares of land surrounding it. Here Hadrian's Wall is presented to the visitor in its most iconic form, and makes its most dramatic public impact, snaking across wide open spaces, the impressive remains of its ramparts built on to the cliff-like geological exposure of Whin Sill. This sublime-looking conjunction of culture and nature, ancient social and earth history, is a centrepiece of the Northumberland National Park, and its careful stage management is part of a modern history of improved estate landscape. The earliest antiquarian visitors in the seventeenth century were keen to claim a site marginal to classical scholarship (it is scarcely mentioned in Roman texts of the time) for a field-based British history and its imperial inheritance of a Roman past, but this border country between England and Scotland was still a dangerous place, beset by bandits. As the wider landscape was improved so its Roman history was reclaimed. The nineteenth-century landowner John Clayton purchased substantial areas of the central part of Hadrian's Wall, including the fort at Housesteads, carried out excavations on the fort to consolidate and display its Roman remains, and had substantial

Figure 8.1 Housesteads Fort (Vercovicium), one of the sixteen permanent bases on Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland. © NTPL/Simon Fraser

parts of the stone rampart rebuilt. Later sites and structures integral to the long post-Roman history, including medieval buildings and arable fields, were cleared to create extensive pastures and sweeping, panoramic vistas. The site, and its historical authenticity, can be understood as both ancient and modern, a Roman site accommodated within a project of landscaping, in the tradition of antiquarian landowners who displayed and refurbished ruins on their estate as the focus and viewpoints for panoramic views, a source of both scholarly and scenic delight.

Housesteads was designated as a scheduled ancient monument under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act in 1928 and given over to the National Trust in 1930, one of its first archaeologically significant properties. The protection and management of the monument has meant that for last thirty years there has been an effective presumption against further intrusive archaeological excavation. Other sites, notably Vindolanda, have demonstrated how an archaeological project can work as an academic and popular initiative, fulfilling new expectations of access to archaeology (some promoted by the 'Time Team' television programmes) and a more zonal, less monumental sense of the Wall and its significance. The remains of a medieval bastle house built into Housesteads fort's south gateway have been conserved and interpreted for the visitor, beginning to communicate some of the post-Roman history of the site, and the Trust and English Heritage are endeavouring to disperse visitors more widely. But shifting public perceptions and on-site interpretation to match scholarly research is challenging, and at Housesteads the Roman flush toilets will remain a principal attraction as much as the functioning modern ones to the motorized tourist, demanding that standard measure of British amenity value, the view with a loo.

Wallsend

Wallsend, as the name indicates, is where Hadrian's Wall came to an end. In Roman times this was on the wild banks of the Tyne, but it is now in the streets of a former shipyard district of the greater Tyneside conurbation. Here, we seem a world away from Housesteads. Little remains of the Wall itself, but the local area has long been conscious, proudly so, of its presence, with a sustained tradition of municipal engagement. In 1903, a stretch of the Wall was found within the adjacent Swan Hunter shipyard; this could not be preserved *in situ* and was relocated to Wallsend Public Park, joined a few years later by parts of the East Gate discovered during the construction of a hotel. In 1929, the Wallsend Corporation began excavations which identified the plan of the fort and parts were marked out with paving. During the 1970s, a large area of housing was cleared for redevelopment; consequently, extensive archaeological investigation between 1975 and 1984 revealed almost the entire fort site and further commercial development on the site was halted. During the late 1990s, a multimillion pound development included the construction of a museum, Segedunum, the reconstruction

of a Roman bath-house and the full display of the excavated site. Difficult to comprehend at ground level, the site is visible from the museum's 35m viewing tower, along with a wider panorama of the locality's long landscape history, including former industrial areas and residential areas. Consciously referencing Wallsend's shipbuilding heritage, the viewing tower takes the form of a ship's bridge, in a version of local heritage which twins classical and modern engineering achievement. If the fort at Housesteads is framed as a pastoral landscape park, Segedunum mobilizes another tradition of envisioning landscape history: the theatrical panorama. It does so, like many Victorian panoramas, as a form of entertainment and instruction, and like many municipal museums of the period it has a serious civic purpose: to help regenerate the area economically and culturally, and increase the cohesion of its community.

Working in partnership with North Tyneside Council, the 'Tales of the Frontier' project contributed to this civic purpose with the principal, public-centred outcome of an exhibition, *An Archaeology of 'Race'*, staged at Segedunum before moving to a venue near to the western end of the Wall, Tullie House Museum in Carlisle. Building on evidence for the multiracial makeup of the Roman garrisons, the exhibition addressed the question of landscape and citizenship in a dialogue between past and present, and gave a view of the imperial presence that was more than a military matter of coming, seeing and conquering. It focused on the period of governance of North African-born Lucius Septimius Severus, the man whose name was attached to the Wall for a period of its post-Roman history before it reverted to Hadrian. This exhibition displayed the broader culture of the Wall community, its domestic, everyday life, the growing of food and religious observance, with a range of objects – originals and replicas, material and virtual – and newly commissioned artworks including a hologram bust of Severus. It located the Wall through its community within a broader geography, its people drawn from the shores of Africa, the forests of Bavaria, the mountains of the Balkans and the plains of Iberia, a view of the Wall as a gathering place rather than a barrier, a site of contact and encounter, not just about keeping people out but about bringing in so many people and things (Tolia-Kelly and Nesbitt 2009).

At Housesteads and Segedunum the 'Tales of the Frontier' team have identified different strategies of presenting and learning about the landscape and culture of Roman Britain. It was an opportunity to deploy current modes of landscape theory, which emphasize the mobility and mutability of landscape features, even monumental ones, and the fluency of sites which may seem fixed, on the ground and in the mind. This deconstructive academic aspect of the research is connected to a socially constructive one as an integral part of the project, in the tradition of scholarly civic engagement for a university mindful of its regional commitments. The project's Durham University-based team are contributing to the efforts of various agencies charged with the custody of Hadrian's Wall to enhance the complexity as

well as the complementarity of the various sites along the Wall and a new appreciation of this linear landscape as a diverse, connected whole.

Contested common land

Common land in Britain holds a special place for people concerned with the public value of landscape and research is revealing it to be highly complicated physical and cultural terrain, much less understood than many of its admirers or detractors might assume.

Common lands were usually to be found on tracts of marginal land beyond intensive farming, often on thin soils and intractable terrain, and in areas of heathland, moorland, marshland and woodland, which once covered a third of England and Wales. Such commons were conventionally condemned as wastelands by those intent on developing them for highly profitable uses, for farming or housing, but they have proved highly valuable to the communities which used them, a rich reservoir of resources, for grazing, food, fuel and materials for building and making a variety of products, from chairs and pots to dyes and medicines.

Traditionally commons were not legally public property, open to all, nor a no man's land which anyone could exploit. Yet neither were they (unlike in continental Europe) in communal ownership: commons were privately owned, the property of a manorial landowner but subject to the rights of commoners, usually local inhabitants, governed by manorial courts. The contraction of common land, to the point where it now covers just 3 per cent of the country, and its virtual disappearance from large parts of lowland England, have been accompanied by some redefinition of its meaning and use, even its reinvention.

In places the decline of effective manorial governance opened a permissive space, more customary than constitutional, for new kinds of commoners, sometimes in temporary huts and encampments, to make a living. Enclosure for agriculture prompted paternalistic plans to reserve patches of heath land for the poor to subsist or village greens for play, and building development around cities and towns provoked campaigns for commons' preservation as an urban amenity, with grants of access protected through local acts and statutes. Early conservation organizations, including the National Trust, helped re-imagine the commons, including those around cities and those in more peripheral regions made accessible by motorized transport, as a collective national resource, green spaces over which everyone may roam freely. (A quarter of the Trust's landholdings are registered commons, and it looks after 11 per cent of the commons in England.) As common land has physically shrunk, so it has culturally expanded, from a specific landscape for a local community to a general landscape for a national citizenry. It was not until the twenty-first century that there was anything approaching a comprehensive right of public access to registered common land (Everitt 2000).

Pastoral myths of commons may mask some pastoral realities, that there are still over a million acres of common land in England and Wales, most privately owned, much of it working country, grazing land, in upland regions of northern England and Wales. Within this upland region there is rich diversity in the commons' culture of landscape, their character and identity varying according to terrain, tradition, neighbourliness, custom, historical development and interaction with national legislation and designations that affect the land and its management. The long and continuing history of upland commons is rich and complicated, but often features much less than laments for lost lowland commons in national narratives of landscape history (Winchester 2000; Straughton 2004).

'Contested Common Land' is a project in the Landscape and Environment programme focused on upland commons as a continuing collective resource with multiple, and sometimes conflicting, valuations and uses. The project brings together historians and legal scholars, from both sides of the Pennines, from the Universities of Newcastle and Lancaster, to address the issue of the sustainable use and management of common land. It is focused on the implications of the 2006 Commons Act, which introduced a new legal framework for commons governance, enabling commoners to establish statutory councils, and powers to enter into binding agreements with government agencies promoting sustainable management. This Act introduced much more flexibility and collective local power than the static model of property fixed in the previous Commons Registration Act of 1965, and mobilized a long history of the landscape and its governance. Archival and field work was combined with contemporary ethnographic research, interviews, group discussions and conversations with farmers, landowners and land managers. Both forms of research helped reconstruct the collective memory of common land, as expressed in documents, embodied in custom, acted upon in practice and manifested on the ground, in the traces of present and past activity. As well as informing and improving the governance of commons the project has enhanced wider scholarly understanding and public awareness (Straughton 2008; Rodgers 2009).

The case studies of three upland commons in Cumbria, Powys and North Yorkshire reveal long and complex histories, with phases of decline and development, disuse and re-use, ruin and reconstitution, and resilience in the face of periodic pressures and predicaments, external and internal, adapting to and engaging with modern development. The modern county of Cumbria contains the largest area of common land of any county in England (some 112,786 ha). The local significance of the commons as a working country is framed by the Lake District's history as a national amenity. Large areas fell within the early twentieth-century Lakes Urban District and were designated metropolitan commons and subject to public access and demand for outdoor leisure of many forms has increased substantially since then. The commons, including its traditional farming management, is one of the

elements in the Lake District's current proposal to seek World Heritage Site inscription, giving this region 'outstanding universal value'. This is thus a model countryside to chart the intersecting demands and values of farming, recreation and conservation, and the making and meaning of a variety of landscapes and environments, folded and faulted like the region's rock strata. One of the largest commons in the county, consisting of over 3,000 ha, is in Eskdale in the southern fells of the Lake District National Park.

Eskdale

The development of Eskdale Common is an integral part of the valley's landscape history as an aristocratic estate, and now as a more extensive, and highly varied, National Trust estate. It includes England's highest mountain, Scafell Pike, and its deepest lake, Wastwater, as well as the remains of a Roman fort high on Hardknott Pass and the more tranquil river scenery of the Duddon Valley.

Eskdale Common was owned for much of its history by the Earls of Northumberland and latterly by their successors the Lords Leconfield until 1979 when it was transferred to the National Trust. This substantially increased the Trust's holdings in the valley. The freehold on the high fells was donated to the National Trust early in the century, and the peaks, including that of Scafell Pike, became a memorial to Lakelanders who died in the First World War. Carrying a new meaning of commons, as an amenity of public

Figure 8.2 Taw House Farm in Eskdale, Cumbria. © NTPL/John Miller

access, the plaque on Scafell summit announces that it is 'subject to any commoner's rights'. Interviewed by members of the Contested Common Land project team, local officers of the Natural Trust maintained that the Trust's commitment to the common pasture lands, along with farm tenancies it has acquired, form a vital part of Eskdale as a working environment, though there remain, inevitably, issues of managing the pressures for public access and nature conservation.

Until the later nineteenth century the management of common rights in Eskdale was regulated by a manor court, with a jury of local customary tenants making and enforcing agrarian rules. The common then entered a period without a management institution, until the formation of a commoners' committee in 1945, largely the creation of a conservationist campaigner, the Reverend H.H. Symonds, prominent in national pressure groups for public access to the countryside. The committee lapsed when Symonds moved away from the locality. The gap was filled in 1967 by a more successful body, the Eskdale Commoners Association, endorsed by the landowner but with more significant grassroots support from the commoners. Its original purpose was primarily to prepare for the registration of rights under the Commons Registration Act of 1965, and it continues now as a vehicle for collective action.

Common rights in Eskdale are of three kinds, largely pasture, but also turbary (peat cutting) and estovers (bracken harvesting). Commons pasture, mainly for sheep, remains central to hill farming and livelihood; turbary and estovers have now fallen into disuse, with the use of alternative sources of fuel, roofing and animal bedding. Their legacy in the landscape takes the form of the remains of peat tracks and huts (some re-roofed) and the rampant spread of bracken. The landscape also reveals remains of former landowners' rights to hunt game, in the form of grouse butts and hunting lodges, and to mine minerals, in the form of the ruined mine workings and the narrow gauge track of a railway which once transported iron ore and granite to the port of Ravenglass. In the mid-twentieth century this railway promoted local tourism, bringing in visitors from the industrial Cumbrian coast, including the poet Norman Nicholson, whose writings on Eskdale, in poems and guidebooks, did much to enhance the appreciation of Eskdale as an enterprising, working country, governed by its sturdy 'statesmen' farmers (Nicholson 1944; Nicholson 1949).

... the ESK comes from the narrowest dale
Where the statesmen meet at the Woolpack for a glass of ale
And a crack about herdwicks as a cure for the tick
And how some fool has broken his neck on the rock.

Common rights in Eskdale were codified by a document originally drawn up in 1587 known as the 'Eskdale Twenty Four Book', so-called because it was prepared by a jury of twenty-four men. No less than estate maps and

account books of the period, the book was part of a new, modern, rational framework of land management, precisely prescribing and demarking the time and space for commons practice. For pasture, the book designated each commoner's heaf (grazing portion of the fell) and drift (the designated route to it), conceiving the common in terms of grazing capacity, taking into account different livestock (sheep, cattle, horses), topography and ground cover, creating a patchwork of practice. The book has proved sufficiently flexible to accommodate four centuries of economic and social change, including the development of Eskdale for industry and tourism, and the transfer of government from the manor to other institutions. No original copy of the book is known but it has been periodically copied and transcribed, for example in relation to stocking disputes. It continued to be consulted as a framework for commons governance into the twentieth century, long after the manor court's demise, in conjunction with more recent texts, such as new fell rules drawn up in 1980 when the National Trust acquired ownership and legal statutes of modern environmental stewardship on grazing strategy.

The 'Twenty Four Book' deserves to be better known, not only as an enduring framework for commons governance, adapted and appropriated through a long history of practical use, but for its language of landscape. One passage reads:

As for the tenants of Spouthouse we find that they shall take their sheep up their bank or bankedge and on the south side of Blea tarne upon their accustomed way upon the height of Brownband and up over the How of Swinside and up at Eile Ark to the Hardrigge and if their sheep be on the north side of Bleatarn that then they shall take them and go to their drift both at cominge and going there at will and pleasure.

Here is an expressive and performative language of landscape, one of movement and process, through a detailed topography of named places and pathways, which echoes in the literature of the Lake District sensitive to places, like Eskdale, off the beaten track, mindful of their forgotten ways.

The 'Twenty Four Book' remains a talismanic text for some commoners, but a number of the younger generation and newcomers seemed unaware of it when interviewed in the course of research. The project has effectively reintroduced this text to the commoner community as a whole, as part of the initiative to restore flexibility and local custom in the governance of Eskdale Common, and to address the new requirements of environmental law; a sustainable text for a sustainable landscape. The project has done this through its online Geospatial tool, LandNote, which displays heafs and cow pastures areas mentioned in the book, along with other information from modern documents on registration and conservation. As with other forms of mapping, landscape representation is social as well as visual, representing the rights and

interests of those who own, work and visit the land as well as its topography. Displayed on a tabletop screen, LandNote is used to focus discussions on future management among stakeholders, but will also be made available as an open source, a virtual commons, to a wider public, for community planning and as an educational tool. It will also be used for new forms of tourism that are mindful of the history and sociability of Eskdale as a working country, as well as its more solitary and scenic pleasures, a place of local livelihood as well as part of a bigger picture of national belonging and identity.

Conclusion: researching landscape and environment

The projects at Hadrian's Wall and Eskdale explore a variety of different concepts of landscape and environment, both in the present day and in an historical context. They do so through multidisciplinary approaches, encompassing legal, archaeological, anthropological and archival research. At Hadrian's Wall, issues of monumentality are addressed, locating the physical structure of the boundary within the fluid movement of people over time and place, from Roman imperial forces to the shipyards of the early twentieth century. At Eskdale, the community of farmers defined their relationship with the landscape through structures of governance centred on the manorial court, and later the commoners' association. In both examples, the National Trust is one of the organizations that have stepped in to protect and conserve the significance of these landscapes in the twenty-first century. Honouring this responsibility depends on sound understanding and knowledge. To present Housesteads purely as an inheritance from the Roman era is to misrepresent the way it has been reinterpreted and incorporated into the landscape in the intervening centuries. Similarly, the uplands pastures of Eskdale cannot properly be safeguarded and understood without reference to the skeins of rights practised over them by farmers and their animals over a period of at least 400 years. Landscapes are composed of multiple layers of value, accreted over time and sustained through the interactions between people and place. Understanding those values requires a kaleidoscopic approach to research, one that looks beyond the boundaries of the academy, embracing both past and present, and theory and practice, in equal measure.²

Notes

- 1 Stephen Daniels is Director of the AHRC Landscape and Environment programme and Ben Cowell is Assistant Director of External Affairs for the National Trust.
- 2 The authors wish to thank the project teams of 'Tales of the Frontier' and 'Contested Common Land' for their close co-operation in preparing this chapter, including supplying materials from which we have at times silently quoted. Fuller documentation of their findings, including working papers and publications, are on their project websites linked from their respective web pages of the AHRC Landscape and Environment programme (<http://www.landscape.ac.uk>).

Bibliography

- Communities and Local Government (2009), *World Class Places: The Government's Strategy for Improving Quality of Place*, London: Communities and Local Government.
- Communities and Local Government (2010), *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*, London: The Stationery Office.
- Cowell, B. (2008), *The Heritage Obsession: The Battle for England's Past*, Stroud: Tempus.
- Daniels, S. (1993), *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Daniels, S. (2006), 'Suburban pastoral: "Strawberry Fields Forever" and Sixties Memory', *Cultural Geographies*, 13: 1: 28–54.
- English Heritage (2000), *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage.
- European Science Foundation (2010), *Landscape in a Changing World*, Science Policy Briefing, Strasbourg: European Science Foundation.
- Everitt, A. (2000), 'Common Land', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *Rural England: An Illustrated History of the Landscape*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gaze, J. (1988), *Figures in a Landscape: A History of the National Trust*, London: Barrie and Jenkins.
- Hingley, R. (2008), *The Recovery of Roman Britain: A Colony So Fertile*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hingley, R. and Nesbit, C. (2008), 'A Wall for all Times', *British Archaeology*, 102: 44–59.
- Nesbit, C. and Tolia-Kelly, D.P. (2009), 'Hadrian's Wall: Embodied Archaeologies of the Linear Monument', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9: 369–90.
- Newby, H. (ed.) (1995), *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*, London: National Trust.
- Nicholson, N. (1944), *Five Rivers*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Nicholson, N. (1949), *Cumberland and Westmorland*, London: Robert Hale.
- Rodgers, C.P. (2009), 'Property rights, land use and the rural environment: A case for reform', *Land Use Policy*, 26.
- Straughton, E.A. (2004), 'Beyond Enclosure: Upland Common Land in England and Wales since 1800', in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds), *Society, Landscape and Environment in Upland Britain*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Straughton, E. (2008), *Common Grazing in the Northern English Uplands, 1800–1965: A History of National Policy and Local Practice with Special Attention to the Case of Cumbria*, Lewiston, NY, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P., and Nesbitt, C. (2009), *An Archaeology of 'Race': Exploring the Northern Frontier in Roman Britain*, exhibition catalogue, Durham: Tales of the Frontier, Durham University and AHRC.
- Winchester, A.J.L. (2000), *The Harvest of the Hills: Rural Life in England and the Scottish Borders 1400–1700*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Witcher, R., Tolia-Kelly, D.P. and Hingley, R. (2010), 'Archaeologies of Landscape: Exploring the Materialities of Hadrian's Wall', *Journal of Material Culture*, 15: 1: 105–28.