

Chapter VI

Crosthwaite

Soon after arriving at the vicarage, Hardwicke engaged a stonemason to carve the words of Thomas Gray,¹ the poet who wrote the Elegy, into the stonework that topped the wall of the terrace,

"I got to the parsonage a little before sunset and saw in my glass² a picture, that, if I could transmit to you, and fix in it all the softness of its living colours, would fairly sell for a thousand pounds. This is the sweetest scene I can yet discover in point of pastoral beauty."

The Bishop had not exaggerated when he described Crosthwaite, " ... as near Heaven as anything in this world can be." It was an idyllic setting for Hardwicke. The church is a jewel set in the beautiful valley of Keswick, through which runs the river Greta, lying between the picturesque Lake Derwentwater and the delightful, small Lake Bassenthwaite, the whole being ringed round by fells, with Skiddaw and Latrigg as the backcloth, and Blencathra (Saddleback), Scafell, Causey Pike, Lonscale and Catbells, perhaps, being the best known, to form an amphitheatre twenty miles in circumference.

Not only did the beauty of Crosthwaite appeal to Hardwicke but also its history. It is thought that a Christian church has existed on this site since A.D.553. Jocelin of Furness relates how Kentigern, sometimes known as Mungo,³ fled from the pagan King Morken of Strathclyde,⁴ who meant to kill him. He reached the old Roman town of Carleolum, which today is Carlisle.

¹Gray visited Crosthwaite in 1789

²The 'glass' was a Claude Glass, a convex mirror by which the traveller could view the landscape reduced to about the size of a post card.

³Servanus his teacher, called him by the more intimate name of Myn Ghu which means "dear friend"

⁴Cumberland was part of Strathclyde

In the wooded valleys of the Lakes, many had become Christians through the influence of St. Ninian and St. Patrick, as well as Christian Roman soldiers, who were stationed at the Roman camp at the bend of the River Greta. Some had lapsed from their faith and on hearing this, Kentigern journeyed through the region, founding and strengthening little churches. In a clearing (Thwaite) between the two lakes at Keswick, he planted a wooden cross, i.e. Crosthwaite. The first rough buildings would be of oak wood and wattle. In 1181 Jocelin says a "new" church was built by Alice de Romille/Romile, the Lady of Allerdale, who was the widow of William Fitz - Duncan, Earl of Murray and nephew of King David of Scotland. When in deep grief over the death of her son, she founded Bolton Abbey in Yorkshire and restored the nave of Carlisle Cathedral. This church was built of stone and had a nave, north aisle and chancel with chancel arch, but no tower or south aisle. The foundations of this stone church are still there and can be traced in places.

Richard Coeur de Lion gave the rectory of Crosthwaite to the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, on the 9 November 1189. The monks who came to work the parish lived on a grange called Monks' Hall, where today the hospital now stands.

Over the years many alterations were made, with the addition of the south aisle and a small tower. In the early sixteenth century the church was rebuilt with a clerestory and no chancel arch. The present tower was built in 1554. It seems that the church was neglected in the 17th and 18th centuries, so that by the 19th century extensive work had to be carried out. Some of this was not totally in keeping with such an ancient foundation. The great thing seems to have been whitewash on everything - ceilings, walls, arches, pillars, windows - renewed each year. The other feature was a large, steeply sloping singers' gallery which held a great number of singers. Then it was decided that both the whitewash and the gallery must go. This was mostly carried out by chiselling, thereby removing not only the whitewash but also many ancient markings and pictures in the process.

Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate from 1813, died in 1843, having lived at Greta Hall in the Parish of Crosthwaite from 1803 to 1843. In the following year a collection was made to provide a memorial to him. At the same time, due to the generosity of Mr. James Stanger who lived nearby at Lairthwaite, the church was restored, reroofed and reseated under the direction of George Gilbert Scott (later Sir), the architect, with pleasing results. This was considered to be the memorial to Southey, who is buried in the churchyard. Inside the church there is another memorial in the form of a recumbent figure in white marble by Lough, a self taught artist, with an epitaph by Wordsworth, beginning with,

"Ye vales and hills whose beauty hither drew
The Poet's steps and fixed him here, on you
His eyes have closed."

The local people thought of him as a humble and devout parishioner rather than as a poet and writer. He sat in a square box pew at the right hand side near the entrance to the chancel and when he stood up his head and shoulders were higher than the rest of the congregation.

Inside the church there are six consecration crosses in the north aisle although one of them is very faint, and three in the south aisle, the other three perhaps lost in the chiselling, as there ought to be twelve in all. When a church was consecrated the Bishop sprinkled water and anointed the walls in twelve places, symbolic of the twelve apostles. These places were marked with painted or carved crosses, sometimes both carved and painted. Outside there was a second set of crosses to mark that the church was consecrated to the "English use" - 'seu dum consuetu: dinum' - and not the Roman or any other rite. At Crosthwaite there is the full set of twelve, carved and painted, said to be unique. Two other churches in England have more crosses outside, Ottery St. Mary in Devon has thirteen and Cannington in Somerset has seventeen, while one, Throckington, Hertfordshire, has the full set of twelve inside.

To this beautiful and historic church with its treasures, came Hardwicke, who, together with his wife Edith, cherished and beautified it with the best designs and materials which could be obtained, for over thirty years.

As well as the beauty of the parish and the history of the lovely church, Hardwicke was deeply interested in the literary associations of the area, especially the poets linked with the Lake District, being particularly fascinated by the life and work of Wordsworth,¹ together with Coleridge and Southey.

With his usual energy and enthusiasm, Hardwicke plunged into getting to know his parishioners and exploring his new parish. He stated his intentions in his first Crosthwaite Church magazine as follows:-

"I believe strongly that the law of Christ and the love of Christ should embrace and govern the whole round of active practical life - the social as well as the intellectual, the commercial as well as the political; the life of action as well as the life devotional and doctrinal; the hours of recreation as well as the hours of labour. And I fear that we sometimes limit the word religion to that which is certainly a part, but only a part, of the Divine Life - attendance at the place of worship, and the reading of the Bible - and sometimes forget that our love to God involves love and very present duties to our neighbours. I shall come to Crosthwaite not only as an ecclesiastic and Church official, not only as a minister and superintendent of the religious services in church, mission room and Sunday school ... I shall come as one who holds himself pledged to encourage all good work, and who will try - God helping him - to preach that best of sermons among his friends and fellows - the life of Christian justice, temperance, tolerance and charity."²

¹Rawnsley, H.D., Lake Country Sketches, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow 1903, pp1-58 deal with "Reminiscences of Wordsworth among the Peasantry of Westmoreland". This was a paper written in 1881 and read at the AGM of the Wordsworth Society, London 1882. Robert Browning was Chairman. This is now published separately

²Crosthwaite Magazine, July/Aug 1883

These were not mere fine words, he lived by them, in his whirlwind of seemingly ceaseless activity. He and Edith did a lot of visiting and tried to give practical help whenever they could. This ranged from chairing and attending meetings, taking an interest in all local activities, to assisting in the drawing up and writing of wills, arbitrating in family quarrels and sorting out the wrongs and rights of problems. In addition to the usual parish work of services, christenings, marriages and funerals, Hardwicke was asked to help in the writing of letters, especially for young men to prospective fathers-in-law. In a conversation I was privileged to have with Mrs. Hopper, aged ninety two and a widow, whose marriage ceremony had been conducted by Hardwicke, I was given examples of the practical help and kindness given by him and his wife. At the time of my visit to Mrs. Hopper, she lived in beautifully appointed sheltered housing, which previously, when she was first married, that same area had consisted of little cottages and yards with few amenities. Edith and Hardwicke visited the inhabitants regularly, carrying flasks of hot soup when the weather was very cold, which they distributed to those in need. At Christmas time there was provision for gifts of coal, through the church, to those suffering hardship. If the weather was very severe before Christmas, Hardwicke insisted that the coal be given out and fires lit. Mrs. Hopper was unstinting in her praise of the work done by the Rawsleys among their parishioners.¹

Soon after his arrival at Crosthwaite, he took a basket of fruit to an elderly lady who was not very well. For everyday wear he was rather unconventional for a priest at that time, with his dark straw hat, grey flannel trousers and short coat. The lady took him to be the gardener and asked him to give her warmest thanks to the vicar.

Hardwicke spent a lot of time on his sermons, making notes and jotting down ideas throughout the week, making them relevant to the news of the moment. By Saturday evening he was ready for

¹This conversation took place in 1988. Mrs Hopper was a bright and interesting talker. Sadly she died three years ago aged 96

Sunday, but if some dramatic or interesting piece of news occurred late in the week, this meant feverish rewriting. He paid special attention to the form of words, perhaps because he tended to read his sermons, taking care to rouse the interest of his listeners. Jowett, on a visit to Keswick in the spring of 1884 wrote, "I heard him preach ... and I was pleased to see the hold he evidently had on his congregation."¹ From the information about his education, it is evident that he had little theological training but he made every effort to overcome this difficulty and from time to time he asked Thring's advice. In one of his replies, Thring says,

"I don't agree with your pitching into your congregation ... The glory and happiness of doing good ought to be the preacher's sole theme, with a dash of how to do it. To paint a thrilling and touching heart-picture is a hard thing - so to draw a clear and striking path of holiness is a hard thing, but to knock a fellow on the head is easy; it merely wants a fist, the other wants heart and head. If clergymen spoke of the Heavenly Father's glorious gifts of love, and the happiness of the sons who receive and act, we should not have so much evil; but people get frightened at God and repelled instead of attracted."²

This advice rather suggests that Hardwicke had been attacking his congregation.

Equally important to Hardwicke was the monthly Parish Magazine, which he did not regard as a chore but as a vehicle for conveying the Christian message, thoughts and ideas into every home, together with all the parish news and important items of national and world news. This would be of great interest and value to his readers, since news was not so readily accessible as today. Any movements concerning social welfare and improvement in the living conditions of working people, e.g. housing, health, hygiene, were highlighted. There were also seasonal articles on agriculture,

¹Rawnsley, E.F., Canon Rawnsley, p61

²Ibid p60

natural history and weather. Quite often there was one of Hardwicke's sonnets.

Although the dedication of Crosthwaite Church was and is dedicated to St. Kentigern, Southey noticed and bemoaned the fact that nothing was done in the parish by way of remembrance of the saintly founder, "not a bell rings on St. Kentigern's day and not a trace of the Saint remains in the Parish", he wrote. Hardwicke took this to heart and resolved to remedy the matter. As a result, in 1885, on the 13 January and each year thereafter of Hardwicke's ministry, the bell was rung to mark St. Kentigern's special day. A special service was held at which he recounted the story of how the saint had arrived there and set up his wooden cross in the "thwaite" and baptized those who came to listen to him, in the Derwent stream at How Wray (Howrah) known locally as Holy Corner. Edith and Hardwicke, as part of their work in beautifying the church, had beautiful iron work churchyard gates erected with the symbols of Kentigern incorporated into the design - the tree, bird, salmon with a ring in its mouth, and bell.* These were also repeated in the new mosaic pavement in the sanctuary, together with the earliest and latest arms of Fountains Abbey. Edith drew the designs for these and also for the fine oak Reredos, which is a memorial to Mary Sterndale Rooke, 1882, a benefactress to the belfry. On the gilded metal panels, the birth, death and resurrection of Christ are portrayed. Beneath the panels is the text, "my meat is to do the will of him who sent me," also the work of Edith and worked by J. Birkett, R. Temple, A. Litt and G. Dixon. Between the panels are carvings of St. Kentigern, the founder and St. Herbert, a hermit preacher. The cross in the oak grove forms the cresting. Running along the front of the canopy is a carved vine scroll as the symbol of Christ as the true vine. Above and below, the carvings are of oak for strength; holly for immortality; olive leaves for peace.

St. Herbert was linked with St. Kentigern and Hardwicke did not overlook remembrance of him. The saint was a great friend of St. Cuthbert and it is said that they died on the same day, 13 April

* Appendix 8

687A.D. He lived on the island of Derwentwater, praying and preaching. In 1374 Bishop Appleby¹ gave an injunction to the the incumbent of Crosthwaite, probably Sir Thomas de Eskhead 1363-1390,² telling him to go to the Island of St. Herbert in Derwentwater on the 13 April and celebrate the special mass of St. Cuthbert with his parishioners. Hardwicke, whenever possible, on the 13 April, announced that he would go to the Island and give a lecture if the weather was fine, as no buildings remained and the meeting would have to take place in the open air. He arranged boats to go to the island at three o' clock. Fine weather was necessary for the boat journey, as it is often very stormy and wet in this district.

During his first winter, 1884 at Crosthwaite, Hardwicke was aware of the hardship and dreariness of the lives of many of his parishioners, not only because of the severe weather conditions which are usually prevalent in Cumberland at that time of the year, but also because of the unemployment caused by agricultural depression and the cessation of the tourist trade at the end of the summer. Remembering the teaching of his friend, Ruskin and the practical example of the Hinksey road digging exercise, Hardwicke resolved to try and help if possible. With the help of Edith he organized some evening classes to teach metal work, wood carving and drawing designs. In November these began in a small way and took place three nights each week in the parish rooms, which had to be cleared and made ready for parish work, the next day. A professional teacher took the classes, together with Edith, who saw to the organisation of the scheme and helped with a neighbour, in the metal work and design. The Keswick school of Industrial Art (K.S.I.A.) developed out of such humble beginnings.

¹Bishop Thomas de Appleby was Thomas, Canon of St Mary's Church, Carlisle, consecration the 18 June 1363. Longest episcopate in the Carlisle Diocese, 30 years and 6 months. He died on the 5 December 1395. There was a family of this name who owned land at Averas Holme on the Eden near Carlisle and at Strickland Ketel, near Kendal. John de Appleby was made Archdeacon of Carlisle and Dean of St Paul's in 1364

²See later with reference to the font, Ch XX

The aims of the K.S.I.A. were stated clearly from the beginning

1. To counteract the pernicious effects of turning men into machines without possibility of love for their work.
2. To make it felt that hand-work really does allow expression of a man's soul and self, and so is worth doing for its own sake, and worth purchasing even at some cost to the buyer.
3. To try to displace by hand-work the crude metal and wooden ornaments produced by steel dies and hydraulic presses.
4. To show that here in England an abundance of skill of hand is wasted which, if any education worth its name were given to the whole working man - to his eye, hand, heart, as well as head - could and would help England.

Those who joined the classes were urged to take a pride in their work, paying attention to the design and artistic result, not to hurry or rush for any monetary gain, but to enjoy the making of beautiful and satisfying pieces, which gave pleasure to handle and use. After two years thirty people had joined the scheme, two years later there were sixty seven. It became necessary to have their own premises, with proper workshops and a showroom. The County Council, realizing the value of the work, gave a grant which was supplemented by public subscriptions of £800. Walter Crane, Holman Hunt and G.F. Watts were among those who gave support. Earnings from the school, itself completed the necessary amount. As Edith and Hardwicke set out on a visit to Switzerland in May 1893, they got out of their carriage to cut the first turf before continuing to the station. A year later the building opened free of debt. This institution in its attractive building on the banks of the River Greta, producing such lovely pieces in metal, brass and copper, but especially silver, survived for one hundred years, closing in 1984. Hardwicke spared no effort in making known the work of the K.S.I.A. in his lectures all over the country. He even

managed to work it into a lecture on "mummies" after his visit to Egypt.

Ruskin was delighted with this project and followed its progress with keen interest, often sending notes of encouragement. The Rawnsleys visited him to report on the work, which gave him great pleasure. Hardwicke wrote in his book, Ruskin and the English Lakes, with reference to those working at the school,

" ... they use their eyes and see beauty in living design and the worth of a springing curve ... you will watch the men with pencil in hand doing what they may to reproduce a branch of wild rose upon their drawing boards, or modelling a cast of a leaf in clay ... (they) see what they used to pass by without notice ... "¹

Associated with the K.S.I.A. was the revival of hand spinning and weaving of linen, dyeing, embroidery and Greek lace work in 1884 by Albert Fleming and Marion Twelves in Langdale, inspired by Ruskin and eventually known as the Ruskin Linen Industry. Miss Twelves moved her work to Keswick, where she received great help and encouragement from Edith and Hardwicke. Later the linen industry became separate from the K.S.I.A. and came under the auspices of the Guild of St. George.

Another innovation of Hardwicke's which pleased Ruskin and gave a great deal of pleasure to the people of Keswick was the inauguration of the Keswick May Day Festival in 1885.² There is a vivid account of the first May Day festival in the local newspaper, *The English Lakes Visitor and Keswick Guardian*.³ The May Queen was chosen by the pupils of the elementary schools. The first one to be chosen was Mariel Spedding. Her attendants each represented a flower - bluebell, wild rose, violet, daffodil, daisy,

¹Rawnsley, H.D., Ruskin and the English Lakes, James Maclehose, Glasgow 1901, pp125-8

²There were May Day festivities in West Cumberland, Workington and Whitehaven. Cockermouth celebrated May Day in 1884. Keswick decided to follow and a committee was formed with Hardwicke as chairman on the 1 May. The date fixed for the procession was the 22 May which was a very short time in which to get everything ready

³ Dated the 23 May 1885.

water lily, primrose, snowdrop, marsh marigold, ragged robin, forget-me-not and poppy. The queen was dressed in white with a crown and sceptre of flowers to represent spring. She rode in an open coach drawn by a white horse.¹ Hardwicke was the Master of Ceremonies for more than a generation and led the horse in case it should become too excited or take fright. The interest and excitement was tremendous, with the inhabitants of Keswick entering into the spirit of the occasion by decorating the town with flags, hanging from windows and across streets, of many countries including France, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece and America, but not Russia, together with the British Standard and "The Union Jack of Old England." Houses and shops were covered with moss, ferns and flowers, until the whole town resembled woodlands rather than streets and buildings. Singled out for special mention for their wonderful displays were Mr. A. Furnace the jeweller, the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, Sharp and Co., The Cumberland Union Bank and Mrs. Thompson Fleming.

The weather had been very cold with some frost, but just before the appointed day it suddenly changed, becoming fine, sunny and warm, which greatly added to the enjoyment.² The plan was that everyone taking part in the procession should assemble in the market place, but the crowds were so vast that the stewards had to quickly revise this and all taking part in the procession had to be lined up in order down the main street. It consisted of twenty seven³ classes which were to be judged for prizes of money, ranging from two pounds to two shillings and sixpence. Most of the classes involved animals, horses, ponies and donkeys, together with trade entries, e.g. the best appointed coach, char-a-banc, or drag-four in hand, the neatest postillion turn out for two or four horses, best groomed horses and ponies, best kept harness, tradesmen's carts and horses such as coal carts, builders' and milk carts, the best loaded cart of hay or straw with the harness and all to be considered, tradesmen's hand carts, donkey carts and the

¹Later accounts by E.F. Rawnsley and especially Mrs Hopper say that the May Queen always rode on a white horse, with Hardwicke leading it by the bridle.

²Snow remained on the top of Skiddaw.

³Mr G Bott says there were 24 classes.

best groomed animal in the whole competition etc.¹ When the May Queen and her attendants emerged from the Skiddaw Hotel yard flanked by a guard of firemen resplendent in new uniforms and headed the procession, Professor Baldwin Brown raised the Maypole and Hardwicke read out the Queen's Proclamation which commanded her loving subjects to be kind to everybody and to all animals and birds.* Then the procession set off taking twenty minutes to pass a given point, arriving at Fitz Park, where the judging was done most conscientiously. Accompanying the newspaper account is a poem of fifteen verses, headed by the words,

"He prayeth best who loveth best,
All things both great and small;
For the dear God, who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

The poem is entitled, "Keswick May Procession" and although there is no name, it seems likely that it was written by Hardwicke.

The whole affair pleased Ruskin so much that he wrote to Hardwicke,

"My Dearest Rawnsley,

You have made this day snow-white for me and it began grey, with your letter, and the proclamation and the quite lovely poem, the best piece of sacred song I have read this many a day. God save you and help you in all you are doing, and spare me for a year or two - if so He please - to see the things done. But you don't tell me how the Queen was elected. I have been

¹175 entries and the total prize money was £35. Hardwicke offered a prize to each of the 4 local schools for the best essay on, "The Duty of Kindness to Animals." This was the theme of the procession. A Special prize was given by Messrs. Johnstone of Penrith, a pair of trousers for Class 22, i.e. the best dressed single, double or four-in-hand driver. Winner, William Wilson of the Keswick Hotel, who also won the prize for the neatest postillion turn out and the all-over champion exhibitor. At 5 o'clock the officials had dinner at the Royal Oak costing 2s 6d per head with Hardwicke in the Chair but for once no speeches! From Mr George Bott's account of the First May Day Procession in the *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, the 11 May 1985

* Full text of the "Proclamation", see Appendix 9

tired¹ in London and long to get near you again. I have good news from Coniston of the Wood School and feel sure it will be all you wish for at Keswick soon.²

Ever your loving

J. Ruskin"

By 1906³ the festival had changed and seems to have been in two parts with the addition in the morning of the annual festival of the Bands of Hope,⁴ of the surrounding district. After their procession there were musical competitions with Miss Cropper of Kendal as the adjudicator. Town choirs took part and their test piece was a chorus entitled, "Sunrise", from Adams Cantata, "A Day in Summer." Keswick School won but not being associated with the Bands of Hope, had to be content with a Certificate instead of the Shield, which went to Crosthwaite, really in second place. Further classes in the competition were for country choirs with the test piece, "Haytime", from the same Cantata; sight singing; violin solo; piano solo, under fourteen; recitation over and under twelve and an Essay on "Kindness to Animals".

The procession took place in the afternoon, the new Queen being crowned by the retiring one, sitting on a crimson throne set in the middle of the stage. Hardwicke again read the Proclamation. The weather was not so kind as in 1885, but in spite of the rain there was a large and enthusiastic crowd.

The Queen's Proclamation is an interesting and revealing document, read at a time of pleasure and merry-making, having the serious purpose of attempting to educate children and adults in how to treat the countryside and its wild life. The unthinking destruction and cruelty prevalent at that time and still to some

¹In 1885 Ruskin began Praeterita in monthly parts but was interrupted by depressive illness

²This letter is quoted by Rawnsley, E.F., Canon Rawnsley p70

³Cumberland and Westmorland Herald, the 6 May 1906

⁴Band of Hope founded in 1847 at Leeds for the promoting of temperance principles among children. Hardwicke was a keen supporter of the Temperance movement

extent in existence today, tended to be due to ignorance handed down in families from generation to generation, as being the acceptable, normal way of life. My own first schoolmaster,¹ who had tremendous influence in the remote country district in which we lived, did much the same thing by opening our eyes, through keeping nature diaries and entering competitions² on the study of trees and birds.

In spite of this fine work and high minded concepts, Hardwicke found pleasure in taking part in that most brutal and indefensible activity of otter hunting. He wrote a very strange chapter³ entitled "Out Ottering", in which he shows great inconsistency by describing the beauty of the early morning with the birds singing, by listing the flowers and trees and painting a delightful picture of the countryside. After this he goes on to write about the rush to catch the early morning train from Cockermouth to Threlkeld which carried the hunters and hounds. Hardwicke joined them at Keswick station. Apparently there were four otter packs in existence in the Lake District at that time, Kendal, Cockermouth, Carlisle and Egremont, consisting of six to eight couples of hounds, together with some rough haired terriers of the Ulpha and Patterdale variety.

Several points were put forward by Hardwicke which were supposed to make the hunt acceptable. The first of these was that the times and dates of the hunts were never advertised but passed round by word of mouth so that no great crowd took part, to limit damage to growing crops especially hay grass. No hunting took place when the grass was being grown for mowing. The hunt did not begin at 5.30am because the scent was at its strongest

¹David Foster, who taught in Cumberland until 1964 when he was ordained as a priest. In 1974, retired to live near Crosthwaite Church and was still taking services there when he died suddenly in 1985 aged 81. He must have known Hardwicke. Mrs Hopper, mentioned earlier, compared the two men and their fine wives, for their kindness and care for those in need.

²The competitions were inaugurated by Hardwicke who provided a shield for the best essays entered by local country schools.

³A Rambler's Notebook at the English Lakes, publ. James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow 1902, pp13-32. The frontispiece is entitled, "Out Ottering in St John's Vale", attributed to Mr Rupert Potter.

then and otters would have been easy to track, but was delayed to give the otters a chance. For the same reason hunting did not take place if the water was low. On the occasion described by Hardwicke, the hunted otter escaped up the River Bure in St. John's valley, into Thirlmere. He goes on to say that the hunters were not bothered about killing otters, since they did not breed prolifically, the thrill of the chase was everything and he could not wait for the next hunt. There is no thought, however, for the distress caused to the defenceless otters.^{1,2} I find Hardwicke's attitude in this matter incredible and inexcusable.³ His activities at Uppingham in stuffing small animals are very suspect, but perhaps may be excused on the grounds of youth or that the creatures were already dead when he found them.

Hardwicke was involved in all the local affairs of his parish and the town of Keswick. No sooner were the May Day festivities over, than Hardwicke became engaged in the Keswick Footpaths' dispute. This arose when two landowners barred two footpaths, thought by local people to be public, and erected signs claiming the areas in question were private. The first footpath at Fawe Park led to the western shore of Derwentwater and went through the property of Mrs. Spencer Bell. The other path went over Latrigg leading to Skiddaw. With the growth of the tourist trade, due to people coming from the industrial cotton towns for rest, refreshment, walking and the pleasure of seeing the beauty of the Lake District, this was considered to be a very serious matter, for the visitors and also for those whose livelihood was derived from catering for their needs.

Wordsworth had been very keen to keep the rights of access for walkers to enjoy the beauty of the district and had even taken

¹The hunting debate is still going on today, especially with regard to the National Trust. Which side would Hardwicke have supported today?

²John Wyatt retired as Chief Ranger of the Lake District National Park in 1986 after 25 years. In his book, *The Bliss of Solitude*, Ellenbank Press 1991, pp204-5 describes his delight at seeing, unexpectedly, 2 otters swimming in Wasdale. He had assumed that they were no longer residents in the Lake District, perhaps due to otter hunts

³ This activity is also at odds with the May Queen's Proclamation written by H.D.R..

part in the removal of obstructions, as in taking down a wall blocking an old track between Ullswater and Lowther Castle, assisted by the Lord Chief Justice and Justice Coleridge.¹ A few years after Wordsworth's death the Keswick and District Footpath Preservation Association had been founded but had partly lapsed. From the outset, Hardwicke entered the fray and decided to revive the Association, doing everything possible to gain support from those most at risk, optimistically hoping for some landowners to join them.² This did not happen and Hardwicke was elected President, with Reverend W. Colville as vice-president and Mr. H.I. Jenkinson³ as Secretary.

Miss Spedding and Mr. J. J. Spedding, who claimed to own Latrigg as their freehold under the 1810 Enclosure Act, wished to close the footpath because they alleged great damage had been done to their property by the number of people who walked over their land. Mrs. Spencer Bell had closed the Fawe Park footpath for similar reasons. At first the Committee tried to negotiate a settlement to the problem, but the footpaths remained blocked. Latrigg was closed by locked gates, barbed wire and newly planted larch trees, guarded by a rough fellow. The situation at Fawe Park, where the gates were also locked with piles of brambles and branches piled against them, was complicated by the tragic death of Mrs. Spencer Bell's son in a drowning accident. This caused difficulty for Hardwicke as Mrs. Spencer Bell was one of his parishioners and he did not wish to pressurize her further, when she was suffering grief and distress.

To publicize the work of the Footpath Preservation movement Hardwicke wrote an article entitled, "Footpath Preservation - A National Need", which was published in the *Contemporary Review*,⁴ in which he urged,

¹Murphy, Graham. Founders of the National Trust, Christopher Helm 1987, p92

²Ibid

³Writer of Guide to the Lake District

⁴*Contemporary Review*, Vol 50, Sept 1886

" ... it is a public duty to make every reasonable effort to preserve ancient rights of way, in order to hand on to succeeding generations our pleasant byways, as well as our necessary, but sometimes unpleasant highways."

He also claimed that twenty two supposed ancient rights of way in the Ambleside area had been closed. Later he wrote of that time,¹ that even the local custom of pace-egging, when parents with their children, "... went to the top of Latrigg, to trundle the eggs ...", i.e. rolled the coloured² eggs which varied in the strength of their shells. The egg which survived the competition without breaking, was the winner. There were other places in the parish and Keswick, where competitions took place, but Latrigg was by tradition the most popular.

Various skirmishes and attempts to break the barriers took place and many accounts of these, mostly greatly exaggerated or even apocryphal, circulated.³ The most popular of these was that Hardwicke, wielding a crowbar, marched at the head of an army of protesters, sometimes numbered in hundreds, sometimes in thousands, charged the barricades.

Meanwhile, Hardwicke, realized that if the dispute went to court, money would be needed to fight for the cause. Therefore he set about speaking at meetings throughout the country, London, Oxford, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Bristol. As a result, fund raising committees were formed to raise funds to pay legal fees and there was much publicity in the press. The Kyrle Society⁴ became interested in the cause and issued an appeal,

¹Rawnsley, H.D., Months at the Lakes, James Maclehose & Sons 1906, pp51-2

²The eggs were coloured with onion scales, log wood, cochineal and bits of cheap ribbon which were not colour fast. Red or purple eggs stood for the royal robe put on Christ's shoulders; blue, the traditional colour of the Virgin's robe; yellow for the Jew and black for demon spite that nailed Christ to the cross.

³Rice, H.A.L., Lake Country Portraits, Harvill Press, London 1967, p134

⁴The Kyrle Society was founded in 1877 for the purpose of beautifying places such as hospitals and schools; making the most of small open spaces and improving the artistic taste of the poorer classes. It was named after John Kyrle 1637-1724 (Pope's 'Man of Ross'). Born in Whitehouse, Gloucestershire, but lived most of his life in the village of Ross,

signed by Miss Octavia Hill and Sir Robert Hunter because they thought that the effect on the public of the closing of the Lake District footpaths would be disastrous, since many people gained great enjoyment and health giving refreshment from walking and visiting the mountain tops. Such closures, it was felt would spread to other parts of the country.

The dispute dragged on and on, until in May 1887, five youths were prosecuted for causing damage on Latrigg amounting to one shilling. This case was withdrawn as Mr. Spedding was after bigger fish and was aiming at arousing drastic action which would lead to a proper case, settling the question once and for all, in his favour he hoped.

The Keswick Footpath Association organized the confrontation, raising more money to fight a court battle and distributing a prepared leaflet, aimed at showing they were responsible, respectable citizens, by asking the public to shut gates, control dogs, not to damage trees or flowers.

The first action took place on the 30 August 1887, when a small party made up only of the leaders of the Footpath Association hoped to reach an amicable settlement with Mrs. Spencer Bell. She was adamant and verbally assaulted them at length, calling them "sharks". She did not, however, resist them when they removed the barriers which obstructed the footpath across her land, to Nichol Landing.¹

More opposition was expected on Latrigg and the walkers found this to be true. The path was blocked by a large mass of iron, wood and barbed wire, all covered with fresh tar. The lawyer who had been advising Mr. Spedding inflamed the situation with

Hertfordshire. He was famous for his generosity and for supplying needy parishes with churches.

¹Hardwicke was away from home when this action was planned so that Rev. W. Colville had to chair the meeting. He wished Hardwicke was there as he was always able "To say the right thing." At the barrier Mr. Routh Fitzpatrick, a committee member, expressed similar sentiments. Someone shouted, "No" and Mrs. Spencer Bell said that the absent vicar should stick to preaching and not be a politician.

his delight, when the barrier could not be breached. Mr. Spedding and Mrs. Bell further inflamed the situation by accusing the trespassers of being just a few agitators. This had the unexpected effect of uniting the opposition solidly behind the organizers.

In September the Footpath Association held another meeting at which the actions of the members were endorsed with enthusiasm and the next steps planned. Enigmatically, Hardwicke was not present, nor at the subsequent events. In his absence the Reverend W. Colville presided and it was decided to tackle Fawe Park on the 28 September and Latrigg on the 1 October. He said,

"Since, there is not the slightest hope of compromise or reconciliation, we must throw heart and soul into the work, and be determined to win the day ... "

Mr. H.I. Jenkinson rallied and led the protestors. Four to five hundred followed him to Fawe Park, either by walking or crossing the lake by boat. After a short argument with Mrs. Bell's solicitors the gate was taken off its hinges, the thorn barricades and tree trunks were removed. It was peaceful and good humoured. Mr. Jenkinson then read out a telegram from Samuel Plimsoll M.P.¹

"Hearty thanks to you, dear friend, and the Keswick Footpath Association for maintaining public rights, so that the lads of the future may enjoy the same rights that I enjoyed forty years ago."

Three days later more than 2000 people gathered to gain access to Latrigg. Samuel Plimsoll was at the head of the protestors, together with twelve men carrying crowbars, pickaxes and spades, assisted by a blacksmith. Before going up Latrigg, Mr. Routh Fitzpatrick, a leading committee member asked the crowd to behave in an orderly fashion and avoid causing damage, especially to young trees. This would be difficult with such a large number of walkers. Mr.

¹Samuel Plimsoll, 1824-98. M.P. for Derby. Brought about adoption of the line which bears his name, indicating the maximum depth to which a vessel may be loaded, because of the great loss of life due to overloaded vessels. For a time he lived at Penrith, 18 miles from Keswick. He and his father worshipped at the Congregational Church, known as the Ebenezer Chapel, in Duke Street. At this moment this is being converted into flats.

Jenkinson who emerged as the real leader in this dispute with regard for discipline and legal requirements, spoke to the crowd in stirring terms,

"Today, you are showing to the world a spirit which will kindle such a fire as will light up all the British Isles. If we have no right of access to the summit of Latrigg, then we have no right to ascend other similar mountains in Great Britain."

After breaking through a locked gate leading to Latrigg, the crowd reached the main barrier, where Samuel Plimsoll made a long speech supporting Mr. Jenkinson's words and then asked Mr. Spedding to remove the obstructions, to cut down the trees he had planted to spoil the view and provide seats for people to sit and enjoy the scenery. He said that the Earl of Lonsdale had willingly cut down trees on Penrith Beacon to open up the view. The blacksmith and the twelve men with crowbars opened the gate and cleared the obstructions and the procession walked through in an orderly fashion, some of them singing, "Rule Britannia". This did not please Mr. Spedding's gamekeeper, who asked Mr. Jenkinson to stop them as it disturbed his game birds. Mr. Jenkinson pointed out the mountain peaks and the path through Great Wood on the slopes of Walla Crag which had been cleared amicably by the owner, Mr. R.D. Marshall. There were cheers and a verse of the "National Anthem" sung before the procession returned to Keswick, where the town crier, William Scales announced, "The second round is now over.". From time to time, further barriers were erected, but the Footpath Association employed three men to clear them away, while groups of youths walked on the paths, singing,

"The lions of Keswick
Will break every chain,
And open the footpaths
Again and again!"

Hardwicke was not present at any of these demonstrations, perhaps he was busy raising money by lecturing to provide funds for the inevitable legal battle. Not all his parishioners and

neighbours agreed over the access question which put him in a difficult position, since he was sensitive to the problems of the landowners. It is a fine principle that there should be open access and freedom to walk in the country and on the mountains but not all those who take part realize that damage does occur, e.g. broken fences and walls; litter; open gates; trampled crops; animals disturbed, especially sheep when in lamb. Most do take care, but some do not. Landowners either own the land or pay rent and rates for it and apart from damage, there is a certain loss of privacy which is valued by most people wherever they live.¹

The expected court action came at the end of 1877, when an action was brought against the Keswick Footpaths Association in the Court of Chancery. On the 6 July 1888, eight defendants appeared before Mr. Justice Grantham and a special jury at Carlisle on charges of committing trespass. Among the eight were Reverend Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley, Reverend A.P. Goddard, W. Routh Fitzpatrick and H.I. Jenkinson. The events leading up to the trespass at Fawe Park and Latrigg were outlined. It was, however, the Latrigg episode which was being dealt with on this occasion. The court was told that access to Latrigg was by way of the Terrace Road, which ran along its south western flank. When the Speddings claimed the freehold of Latrigg under the 1810 Enclosure Act, they attempted to close the Terrace Road. The approach to this road was by a privately built bridge called Calvert Bridge. This was used by many people. This bridge was protected by a gate which was locked until 1834, but the key was available at the nearby toll house. A wicket gate had been added but it was argued that it was not a public road. With the making of the Terrace Road, Mr. Calvert closed the Spooney Green Road and from 1831 to 1839 the way was completely blocked by a rough thorn fence making access impossible. This continued until 1864 when the railway came to Keswick for the purpose of conveying iron ore to the north east, returning with coke for West Cumberland. From that time people used the Terrace Road freely without hindrance. The jury was asked to accept that this meant

¹A further hazard is Coxydosis from fouling by dogs, which is dangerous to children and causes the death of lambs

it was free for public use. With the coming of the railway and the opening of Spooney Green, Mr. Spedding attempted to close the Terrace Road, which finally led to the court hearing.

Witnesses were called. Jonathan Crosthwaite said that he used to ride on his white galloway once a year to break down the barrier at Spooney Green. This was borne out by John White who had to repair the damage each year. Mr. George Watson of Penrith, like his father before him, was the surveyor of turnpike roads in the Keswick area. He stated that the usual way up Latrigg was by Calvert Bridge and Terrace Road which was used by pedestrians and he knew of no one who had been stopped. Horse drawn vehicles paid a toll. The next witness was the retired headmaster of Crosthwaite School, Mr. Peter Harrison. His father had kept mountain ponies between 1831 and 1839 and as a boy he led them regularly over the bridge and along the terrace without being challenged. Other witnesses were Reverend Cuthbert Southey, vicar of Askham and son of Robert Southey who had lived at Greta Hall, Keswick from 1819 to 1842 and Isaac Hawell of Greystoke, aged sixty eight who had spent most of his life farming in the Latrigg area, first with Mr. Mandale of Lonscale Farm and then Thomas Richardson of Greta Bank, until he took over Lonscale Farm himself for nineteen years, who both affirmed that the Terrace Road was in constant use.

The last two witnesses were William Bowe, a local guide who said that he had taken a carriage over the route to the summit of Latrigg, claiming that, "... the road is a highway for carriages right up to the top." and Robert Bowman aged seventy one, a resident of Keswick from 1832, fifty six years, who affirmed that he climbed Skiddaw frequently, sometimes two or three times a day. On one occasion he had gone with about a hundred other folk to see the sun rise. Both claimed to have carried out their activities without hindrance.

Having listened to these accounts, the Judge suggested that the two sides should retire to discuss the problem and try to reach an agreement. This was arrived at after an hour, with the Footpath

Association giving up its claim to the Terrace Road while Mr. Spedding recognized the public right of way to the top of Latrigg by way of Spooney Green and the zigzag path. It was a quiet ending to a dispute of some bitterness and violence, but it had established the principle of freedom of access, not just to a small Lakeland fell but to all mountains and open spaces.¹

During this period it is not surprising with this ceaseless activity that Hardwicke had several bouts of ill health, which all the doctors he consulted, agreed was due to strain, stress and fatigue and recommended complete rest as the best medicine. Taking this advice, Hardwicke set off in January 1887 for a short holiday in Cannes with his mother and two sisters. Unfortunately, this was interrupted when his brother, Walter, who was in Cairo, became seriously ill. At once, Hardwicke left Cannes to visit him. As Walter recovered, Hardwicke became interested in Egyptian antiquities, especially the mummies in the Boulak Museum. Of particular interest to him was the newly unwrapped mummy of Rameses II² and he became engrossed in gathering information for future lectures, one of which was called, "How I saw Pharaoh in the flesh."

Feeling better, he returned to Cannes where, soon afterwards a fairly serious earthquake occurred. Panic and alarm broke out among those staying in the hotel as they tried to get away. Hardwicke remained calm, saying that it was, "merely the result of a marginal disturbance". The proprietor, on hearing this, asked him if he would write down this statement which he did and the delighted proprietor hung up this, "important pronouncement of a

¹This account of the Footpath Dispute has been compiled from the following sources:

Murphy, Graham, Founders of the National Trust, pp91-5

Rawnsley, E.F., Canon Rawnsley, pp70-3

Rice, H.A.L., Lake Country Portraits, p134

The Lakes Visitor and Keswick Guardian, the 3 Sep, the 5 and the 15 Oct 1887

Cumberland and Westmorland Herald, the 16 Jan 1888, "Battle for Latrigg"

the 25 June 1888, "Freedom to Roam on Latrigg", George Bott, Keswick

²Rameses II reigned c.1300-1225BC, son of Seti I

distinguished scientist", for all to read. Peace was restored and no one left.¹

In spite of his action packed life, Hardwicke always had time for his friends, of which he had a great number, many of them women. He had the gift of making friends wherever he went, due no doubt to his ready sympathy and interest. Often he used to say that he liked to be kind.

These friendships were not ephemeral affairs, but of a long standing nature. Many of his close women friends, one of them being Lilian Buchanan (Lady Adam Smith), thought of him as a confidant or a father to whom they could turn for advice and share their family experiences. Older women often thought of him as a son who gave them comfort and support in their later years. One indeed, whom he comforted when her son, a promising artist, died, left him her house and its entire contents. Another friend was Mrs. Lynn Linton, the novelist, who had lived in Crosthwaite Vicarage until she was forced to move south because of her health. She missed her beautiful old home very much but revealed in a letter dated December 1897, how much comfort she had gained from Hardwicke's letter to her which contained a sonnet and a description of her father's old study, which Hardwicke used and cared for.² She felt that she had been transported back to her old home.

Two of his dearest friends were the artist G.F. Watts and his wife, who supported him in many of his schemes, notably the K.S.I.A., the National Trust, the plight of the Armenians and the killing of wild birds for their plumage.

After the Jubilee Bonfire on the 22 June 1887, Hardwicke and Edith had a holiday in Switzerland. While they were away, Dr. Temple, Bishop of London, stayed in their vicarage. Apart from the trees at the bottom of the garden which he would have liked to cut down, he enjoyed his stay and said, "Everything else is

¹Rawnsley, E.F., Canon Rawnsley, p74

²E.F.R., Canon Rawnsley, pp124-5

perfect. It is very pleasant to be in a house where something of an artistic poetical spirit has presided over all the arrangements."^{1a}

On their return at the end of July they had many visitors, particularly Phillips Brooks*, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Massachusetts. In 1885 Hardwicke had edited a volume of twenty sermons by English and American clergy, which he entitled, "Christ for Today".^{1b} These were ordinary sermons which when first preached, publication had not been considered. Each contributor chose his own sermon at Hardwicke's request. The idea behind this book was to show how in Anglican and American Episcopal churches, Christ was preached to meet the religious needs of the time. Hardwicke admired Phillips Brooks and in 1890 dedicated a book of poems to him.² The Ballads record heroic deeds done in Great Britain and America during contemporary years, e.g. The Ballad of "The Cleopatra", "Father Damien" and "The Legend of St Bees". The Bucolics are sketches from real life in Lincolnshire and written in the dialect. In the Book of Sermons his is the second and is entitled, "Our power to help or harm Religion," based on St. Matthew 23.13.

In October 1887 Hardwicke was greatly saddened by the death of his Godfather, Headmaster and life long friend, Edward Thring. In 1889 he paid tribute to the man who was such a great and good influence in his life, by publishing a delightful book, Edward Thring as Teacher and Poet.^{3*}

^{1a} Rawnsley, E.F., Canon Rawnsley, p.76.

* There is a poem by H.D.R. in memory of Bishop Phillips Brooks on his death at Boston 23 Jan 1893 in Valete, p92

^{1b} Christ for Today, International Sermons by Eminent Preachers, edited by Rev. H.D. Rawnsley 1885

² Rawnsley, H.D., Poems, Ballads and Bucolics, Macmillan & Co., 1890. The dedication reads: "To Phillips Brooks of Boston, USA, In Memory of a Day at Crosthwaite and with Gratitude for All he has done for The Religious Thought of England; And to those of his Fellow Citizens who Remember that Their Forefathers Sailed from Lincolnshire, I Dedicate this Book"

³ Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London.

* Memorial Poems on Thring's Death, 22 Oct. 1887 in Valete