# OS. Opificio della Storia

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## **OS.** Opificio della Storia

Bovini. Dall'allevamento tradizionale alla zootecnia industriale

Cattle: from traditional breeding to the livestock industry

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## Editoriale

Editorial

#### MANUEL VAQUERO PIÑEIRO

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L'allevamento non rimase esente dal subire gli effetti dell'intensa ondata di modernizzazione che investì l'agricoltura occidentale durante il XIX secolo. Negli ultimi tempi da parte della storiografia internazionale si è sviluppato un crescente dibattito sulle trasformazioni ecologiche innescate dall'economia zootecnica. Infatti in alcune aree del pianeta le grandi mandrie trovarono particolari condizioni per imporsi come attività economica principale. Argentina, Uruguay, Stati Uniti, Australia sono alcuni degli scenari in cui l'allevamento brado di migliaia di capi bestiame si rese possibile grazie alla disponibilità di sterminati pascoli di pianura. A trarre beneficio da queste vantaggiose condizioni ambientali per l'allargamento delle frontiere dell'allevamento furono anche le società europee le quali grazie alla rivoluzione dei trasporti e alla scoperta della catena del freddo ebbero accesso a un costante rifornimento di carne congelata e in conserva a prezzi molto contenuti. Allo scadere del XIX secolo la carne divenne uno dei prodotti che contribuì alla globalizzazione dei traffici commerciali e dei consumi alimentari derivanti dall'industria.

Tali processi coinvolsero anche il vecchio continente afflitto da una cronica penuria di animali da grossa taglia a causa anzitutto della netta insufficienza di terreni d'adibire a pascoli. I pascoli di montagna risultavano decisamente inadeguati, destinati in larga parte alla pastorizza transumante e al sostentamento di piccole economie familiari. L'alternativa andava cercata in pianura con lo sviluppo di aziende zootecniche specializzate in grado di soddisfare la crescente domanda di carne e di prodotti lattiero-caseari provenienti dalle grandi città. L'Italia partecipò a tale processo di trasformazione e il presente numero monografico di OS. Opificio della Storia mira a cogliere il senso di tale cambiamento mettendo in evidenza una serie di casi di studio. Complessivamente i contributi che compongono il dossier Bovini. Dall'Allevamento tradizionale alla zootecnica industriale finiscono per comporre un quadro che consente di cogliere il passaggio da un allevamento tradizionale a un altro molto più attento all'incremento della produttività.

È vero che negli ultimi tempi la pratica intensiva dell'allevamento ha sollevato parecchie critiche in quanto accusata di essere una delle principali fonti di inquinamento e di consumo indiscriminato delle risorse naturali, a cominciare dall'acqua. Siamo in presenza, anche in un contesto di mutamento culturale, di influenti movimenti che propendono per un radicale ridimensionamento del consumo di carne. Nonostante attualmente ci sia una spiccata sensibilità verso l'impatto ecologico delle grandi aziende zootecniche, a metà del XIX secolo il quadro appariva radicalmente diverso. Allora il problema principale era quello del superamento dei vecchi e scarsamente produttivi sistemi di "tenuta delle bestie" attraverso la propagazione della cosiddetta zootecnia razionale. Processo

sostitutivo da collocare anzitutto in quelle aree del continente europeo più direttamente coinvolte nell'economia dell'allevamento stabulare.

Non a caso i saggi privilegiano quelle regioni dell'Europa occidentale contraddistinte dalla presenza di una solida base armentizia. L'Inghilterra, il nord della Penisola Iberica e l'area padana sono gli ambiti geografici indagati. Ovviamente rimangono fuori molte altre situazioni e ambiti geografici altrettanto interessanti da indagare, speriamo in prossimi numeri. Per il momento e considerando che da un punto di vista storiografico in Italia ancora la storia dell'allevamento, da tenere distinta da quella della pastorizia, appare meno esplorata, i contributi qui raccolti compongono una lettura d'insieme delle trasformazioni. Se i saggi di Álvaro Aragón Ruano e Luca Mocarelli fissano il quadro di piena maturità raggiunto dalla zootecnia precedente al XIX secolo, gli altri contributi forniscono degli specifici approfondimenti in quanto evidenziano gli elementi innovativi accaduti a partire dall'Ottocento: la selezione delle razze indagata da Luca Barducci a partire dal caso concreto dell'azienda dei principi Torlonia di San Mauro di Romagna (Rimini); il consolidamento di una letteratura scientifica esaminata da Omar Mazzotti e la costruzione di impianti e stalle parte integrante di un ricco e variegato patrimonio architettonico rurale, così come si desume dai saggi di Anna Gallo e Barbara Galli. Rivoluzione della zootecnia ottocentesca da cogliere pure sul versante dei fertilizzanti chimici presentati in questa sede da Luca Andreoni. Infatti con l'arrivo dei concimi chimici allo scadere del XIX secolo gli agricoltori finalmente potevano liberarsi dai limiti derivanti dal dover fare ricorso ai concimi organici. Una trasformazione delle sostanze rigeneratrici dei suoli che diede la possibilità alla zootecnia di rendersi autonoma dall'agricoltura. La concimazione dei campi smette così di essere vincolata alla produzione di sostanze organiche animali e l'industria zootecnica, anche grazie al contemporaneo arrivo dei mangimi industriali, diventa uno specifico settore dell'economia agricola. Dunque emerge un quadro sfaccettato relativo a uno dei capitoli più ricco di conseguenze della rivoluzione agraria avviatasi dopo il XIX secolo.

## The heritage designed by farming. The past meets the future at Spout House Farm in Lake District.

Il patrimonio progettato dall'agricoltura. Il passato incontra il futuro nella fattoria Spout House a Lake District.

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#### **CODICI ERC**

SH5\_8 Cultural studies, cultural identities and memories, cultural heritage SH6\_9 Modern and contemporary history SH7\_5 Sustainability sciences, environment and resources SH1\_12 Environmental economics; resource and energy economics; agricultural economics

#### ABSTRACT

The Lake District has been the UK's largest national park since 1951 and has been a World Heritage Site since 2017. The Lake District owes its cultural and economic importance mostly to the interaction between agro-pastoral farming and its natural features. A balance recently put at risk by modernity due to critical issues related to the aging of farming communities, animals' diseases, the milk price de-crease and the intensification of tourism as risk for the environment.

A balance recently put at risk by modernity due to critical issues related to the aging of farming communities, animals' diseases, the milk price decrease and the intensification of tourism as risk for the environment.

The paper aims to explore and analyse the role of farming in the area, with a focus on the village of Crosthwaite and the old manorial farm called Spout House that represents a physical and immaterial heritage, as is one of the few remaining working farm in the valley. Built in the 17th Century, despite the architecture still unaltered, the predominant activity of farming has become a much smaller part in the last years, making room for another type of economy based on tourism. A practice that needs to be integrated in the heritage in order to give new life to the rural dimension.

#### Rural and cultural: the base of a World Heritage Site

As James Rebanks<sup>1</sup> reminds in his book *The Shepherd's Life*, until the 1750 the interest shown by foreign people to this mountainous corner of North-West England has always been very low, and even if someone had paid a kind of attention, it was to find it poor, unproductive, primitive, inclement, ugly and backward. Since then, many things have changed and within a few decades, it has become of great interest for many people, first of all artists and writers. In particular, the aesthetics of Picturesque, introduced by Romanticism, stimulated a different way to look at mountains, lakes and rugged landscapes like this one whereas, in the meantime, the construction of railways and roads made it much more accessible. Slowly, the negative feeling gave space to a kind of obsession felt

#### **KEYWORDS**

Livestock farming Farmhouse architecture Cultural Heritage Sustainable tourism Lake District

by visitors, which started with conceptualizing an idealized scenario of the mind – antithesis of the Industrial Revolution born less than hundred and fifty kilometres to the south – and that has exponentially grown to date as result of the needs to live close by the nature. To build a deep connection with it, able to increase our well-being. An idea, which corresponds with the basis of the modern Environmentalism, despite it, finds its root in an old concept defined by William Wordsworth in 1810, when he proposed to identify this place as a kind of national property to be shared with every man who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy it<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, according to Wordsworth, the main strength of Lake District was its having an own culture and history. Here, therefore, shepherds and farmers built up a political and social model of incredible value where people used to govern themselves without being dominated by an aristocratic elite like elsewhere<sup>3</sup>.

In line with Wordsworth's thinking, in 2017 Lake District was inscribed as a World Heritage Site, a nomination that recognizes the importance of the area from a cultural, financial, social and productive point of view. Overall, factors that have always been interconnected, even if with a difference balance as result.

A long before the relevant changes happened during the 19th century, the first settlements in the District date back to about 5000 years ago. Later Celts, Vikings and Romans settled there, but it was only in 1951 that the District was reunited and declared as one of the United Kingdom's first National Park. Essentially what Rebanks can see living and working there every day: a territory forged by the work of men; a landscape defined by walls, roads, streams, fields, hedges, canals, paths, barns, quarriers; surrounded by mountains and dotted with small farms<sup>4</sup>.

It currently comprises 13 separate valleys, hills also known as fells, many lakes and rivers, and is managed by a partnership of 25 organizations that have jointly agreed a management plan. To make a difference is the kind of relationship each group has with the site, considering that some of the lands are run directly by their owners, others by members and some are government funded.

However, above all, the interaction between agro-pastoral farming and the natural features represents the key to have determinate the harmonious beauty of the area. The one still preserved and valorised, despite the hurdles faced over the last years.

A tangible and intangible heritage, whose value means everything for the approximately 300 hundred families who keep this intimate landscape and its ancient lifestyle still alive. People who has consciously decided to spend their lives following the rhythm of the seasons, taking care of the animals and the environment, weaving together past and present until they become almost impossible to discern<sup>5</sup>.

#### At the heart of a heritage practice

Hefted: is a key word to explain the ancient connection - that tie together pastoralism and history in Cumbria - drawing a unique cultural and productive landscape. Looking at the etymology, it comes from the Norwegian *Hefo*, which can be translated as tradition. However, it is not a coincidence if its current meaning as noun, verb and adjective refers in all the cases to the world of farming. Specifically, the noun means the land where an animal spends most of its life in mountain; as adjective it relates to the animals who live there, whereas the meaning of the verb is to instinctively feel a connection with this kind of place.

At the same time, in three different ways, the word Hefted tells us what is at the heart of Lake District heritage, explaining the deepness of the relationship between people, animals and lands. Indeed, even the sheep are called Hefted, settled, because of their ability to freely roam without getting lost. On the other side, the devotion felt by locals to the heritage is also expressed by the choice to never give up on practicing one of the oldest farming system in the world based on a high concentration of common lands, the biggest in Western Europe. The same respect shown by the benefactors, who have sold many of these territories to the National Trust, in order to guarantee the protection of environment and its lifestyle, but with the clauses of preserving the pure races and the practice of selling and leasing the lands in a way that older shepherds can get retired sure to pass their grazing rights and flocks to the next generation<sup>6</sup>.

The need felt to take care of animals and environment, season after season, keeps reinforcing the people's awareness of holding such an important treasure and push them to put effort into their practice, recon signing it more like a conglomerate of practices in which we find: caring, breeding, land management, bureaucracy and public engagement<sup>7</sup>. Especially nowadays, when the activities handled by farmers seems to concern the hospitality business at the same level of farming.

Despite of the complexity coming from managing millions of visitors every year and the challenging nature of the land, since the Roman Empire farming is still a core part of the region's economy and it designs a landscape really appreciated by tourists thanks to the profile pointed by white farms, dry-stone walls, flocks and farmers at works.

#### **Challenges and opportunities**

Looking at the dynamics of farming in this mountainous area, as we said, the system adopted appears still the same for many years. Methodical and simple, it just follows the rhythm of the seasons and the animals' needs. In summer, the shepherds are busy to keep the flocks healthy and they make the hay bales for winter. Later, in autumn, the reproductive cycle starts and in winter the animals in excess are sold. To arrive in spring, when it is time to take care of the pregnant ones, mark and vaccine those who will graze.

However, despite this simplicity, over the last two decades the balance of the system has been affected by three main problems related to the Foot and Mouth Disease, the milk price decrease and the low outcomes coming from the wool trade.

In particular, due to the epidemic FMD, spread around the country in 2001, thousands of infected sheep throughout the Lake District were killed and the replacement caused several difficulties, as the new ones had to be trained first to recognize shepherds and lands without the risk of getting lost. Some of them have been even locked for five years by electric fences to take the time to re-learn everything. Following, dairy farmer currently face different kind of problems attributed to post-Brexit and Covid implications. One is a dire shortage of labour, considering the absence of migrant labour and the lack of interest shown by young residents in this industry, and another the high supply costs. So that in 2020 U.K. counted 11,900 dairy farms, with a reduction of 67% compared to the 35,700 dairy farms active in 1995. A negative result in line with the wool production, affected by such a significant price decrease that most of the time farmers reason, they also made a change in the way sheep are bred in order to have less wool<sup>8</sup>.

Although the effort to keep unvaried the farming practices, as result of these issues some changes have been recently introduced by the local families in the direction of a more traditional practice that give them the opportunity to reduce the expense and, at the same time, to increase the knowledge of the past. Choosing to work in community and finding the resources they need just inside the lands owned has contributed to increase the feeling of belonging felt by people, although, on the other side it generates a sense of protection sometimes still in contrast with the increased tourism in the modern age. In fact, despite most of the locals understand the necessity to make a room for an industry indispensable to financially survive, it can be hard to accept a massive and, sometimes, invasive presence.

#### Destructive or regenerative tourism?

Once again is Rebanks who explains in his book what local communities think about the increased number of tourists in the Lake District area. He only used a few words, precisely; an expression told him by his grandfather, who really could not understand this kind of phenomenon. To make him sceptical was the difficulty in seeing strangers running there only on sunny days, just to take some pictures and then leave. In his opinion, they shown no interest in those lands, there was no connection between the two parts. Could seems just a detail, but really this vision would explain why many times as visitors of the modern age we act wrong, as if the land we walk on or the places we visit do not belong to us.

Indeed the practice of tourism is not something new for Cumbria and the whole District, but it has drastically changed in terms of ways of traveling and numbers of visitors since the Industrial Revolution. From that moment, the massive presence of vehicles and the resulting pollution required a constant commitment to protect the environment and to preserve its material and immaterial heritage.

For this purpose, when Lake District National Park was created in 1951, the government decided to refuse any kind of restriction for people who want to travel there but imposed a set of rules and best practices to support a sustainable tourism mostly based on educa-ting travellers.

Definitely, nowadays this industry represents the main source of income in the area with about 14 million of visitors every year, who spend money and support local business. According to the British government, in 2018 the number of travellers in the District was over 19 million for a total income of almost two million pound spent<sup>9</sup>. The economic advantage is quite evident and is not the only interesting factor to consider. Still the government highlights a list of positive impacts of this new practice on the area, in addition to the negative ones. Therefore, on the other side of the risks caused by pollution, congestion and negligence, there is the opportunity to have more jobs and best services, or to invest the money saved to valorise the heritage.

#### Farming, a feeling of belonging in Crosthwaite

Located in Cumbria, precisely in South Lakeland, that is the southern part of the Lake District National Park, this little village belongs to the Parish of Crosthwaite and Lyth. Just in the middle between Kendal, in the 17th and 18th centuries a crucial spot for the wool trade, and the lake of Windermere, it owes its uniqueness to the ability to keep a natural environment, characterized by a simple lifestyle, despite tourism and the spread of new activities in the area.

Already the name of the city shows the richness coming from its history. Indeed, Crosthwaite is made of the word Cross, which is probably related to the connections existed between Christians and the Irish and Angle missionaries in the 6th century, and the Scandinavian *Thwaite* that means a piece of land or a clearing in a forest. Perhaps referred to the fact that in the past the valley was completely covered with forest to prevent pillaging by Scottish raiders and in the village there where only a cluster of farm houses with barns and few family homes who worked in trading to support livestock farming.

Some relevant changes within the economical and productive system began to happen over the 18th century when the population started to increase because of industrialization. In parallel, the need to produce more food became urgent and in 1815, a specific program for intensive agriculture was defined. Called the *Heversham Award*, it allowed in a short period to turn most of the peat mosses into fertile agricultural lands through a massive drainage system, and to use them for growing cereal and roots crops close to orchards of apples and damsons planted on the lower slopes of the hills<sup>10</sup>.

At the same time, the open field system of agriculture, used in England for much of its history, was abolished due to the *Enclosure Acts*, which designed a new landscape adding roads, new roadways and waterways for transportation, and it re-allocated fields to different farms and Lords. So, if until then the land held in common gave farmers the opportunity to overgraze a valley populated by sheep, horses, pigs, cows, geese and horses, once the government took control of the territory it had the power to make strategic choices about what suited best the land. This made room for a more profitable farming system, whose presence appeared even more necessary over the coming years, with a pick in need of food during the Second World War.

Nowadays, after years, the activity of farming in the valley is fighting another revolution. It does not concern efficiency this time, but somehow is still a change dictated by the need to survive. A necessity that moves the farmers who keep working the land in

two opposite directions. From a side they protect the integrity of tradition in order to respect the place they call home and to preserve this heritage by transmitting its tangible and intangible value. However, on the other hand, they had to accept to see people not involved in farming moving from abroad in the old farmhouses and reconvert them in something different. So that, currently the village and the valley show a contradiction, as even if they almost look like in the past: spotted with white farms, with the lands designed by dry-stone walls, enhanced by an uncontaminated and delicate silence, like in many other parts of the District here tourism took over. It becomes more evident especially if we look at the presence of animals in the fields, where now much less sheep and cows live as neighbours of tourists and travellers; considered, together with the old buildings, still visible expression of what Hefted means.

#### The Spout House: how farming and tourism can coexist

Sir Brian Wilson, the current owner of the Spout House, has always worked as farmer. He still does, raising dairy cattle and sheep. His parents as well, since when his grandfather purchased the house in 1955 to farm.

Despite of being one of the few remaining active farms in the village, few years ago Brian decided to convert part of the building into an accommodation facility. The passion for taking care of animals is still predominant in his life, visible in the daily routine, scheduled around the animals' needs, and in the way he looks after the house, the garden and the lands. It is even expressed in the way he acts, talks and lives - kindly and soberly - becoming himself an example of the Wordsworth's thinking previously mentioned.

The decision to open up the architecture to tourism came out for two reasons: the plenty of space available and the milk and wool prices decrease.

However, by the time visitors arrive at the Spout House, after walking up and down through the hills that take them from Kendal, the main feeling is to have travelled back to the past (1).



 The Spout House in the early 1900s (from https://www. crosthwaiteandlyth. co.uk, 2021).

Located on the side of the hill, it looks out over the green lands, surrounded by grazing grounds and paths. The animals around are few, and the barns made of stone with slate roofs are empty, although the tools and machines used for working silently testify a past that can be considered still present. A characteristic even more evident looking at the architecture, almost unaltered outside. In line with the inside that, as Brian is happy to explain, despite of later alterations, it still keeps some parts as the first owner Tobias Atkinson made them. The initials of his name, T.A.M, together with the date 1709, are still visible engraved on the surface of an old spice cabinet in wood, placed next to the



2. The old spice cabinet in wood engraved with the first owner initials (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).



3. The front of the house with the pigeon stone on the top (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).

kitchen fireplace (2). It first testifies the construction of the farmhouse in the early 17th century by Atkinson, local parishioner and benefactor. His family name was related to the house for a long time, until the 1805, when the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tobias Atkinson had no male heirs to follow on and his only daughter married a naval officer from Kent, called Argle. Once the Atkinsons became the Argles, they continued to live at Spout House and expanded their properties owning many farms in the District. They only left the house in the late 19th century, after decided to let it to a tenant, John Gardner. His family lived there until the mid-twentieth century when the Argles sold the farm. Over those years all of them, included the five girls John had, have been working the land around, and giving a relevant contribution to the livestock farming. Before being passed to Brian's family, the house was purchased by a factory owner who employed a farm manager to farm it. In an overall perspective, throughout its history, a constant interest in livestock farming and a deep connection with the lands has always been highlighted by its owners. Even the name chose by Atkinson for the house, Spout, refers to the local culture, as it is a word used in the area for a spring, which flows from a rock.

Like the other houses erected at that time in the same area, it was built using stones from the local mines or quarries and it has a slate cover. On the outside, in line with the little porch at the entrance, is visible the front tympanum with a large round stone ornament, known as *pigeon stone* due to the habit of birds to rest there (3). It is made by two levels and six stands, of which two are open forward under the gable with the attic. The windows at the ground floor are hinged; instead, the end with two stands has sash windows with glass bars. At the 1st floor there are both casement windows and locked windows flanking the ones with horizontally sliding sashes, whereas the attic has fixed glass with light opening window. Following, the back has casement windows and a gabled wing with gabled stilts with rounded stem and sliding closure under the roof<sup>n</sup>. As mentioned before, in addition to the house, on the left side there are a barn and a terephone (a. P). Both made in the same materials of the fourthouse and own if they

storehouse (4,5). Both made in the same materials of the farmhouse and, even if they are not used anymore to house cattle providing a storage for food and fodder as well, they retain many of their original features.

To conclude, the interior of the house, while retaining the old features, has been modernized over the years. The space that once corresponded with the kitchen, and today includes the entrance and the dining room, has kept the old fireplace and the bevelled beams such as the rest of the house. Also, most of the doors have the original wooden panels and the staircase shows thin turned columns, square uprights and shaped handrails<sup>12</sup> (6,7,8).



4. The old storehouse (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).



5. The old barn (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).







7. The main hollway at the 1st floor (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).



8. A detail of the wooden door (picture Anna Gallo, 2021).

#### What is next? Shaping a sustainable Lake District

The uniqueness of the Lake District concerns at the same time two different aspects: the landscape, shaped by cultural traditions, and a combination of challenges, which represent a risk for managing the area as environment and heritage. So that, even if the government works in the direction of preserving and valorising the tangible and intangible legacy transmitted throughout centuries, an effective approach to reduce their impact on the communities and to preserve the heritage is supporting farmers and farms to evolve.

In fact, the main issues to face are related to some changes happening as result of the modern age, such as: changes in land ownership, the aging of farming population, the climate crisis, agriculture price decrease and the spread of tourism. For this reason, finding the way to tie respectfully the past dimension and the future scenario would help to reach a new balance that could affect successfully the District from a cultural, economic and social point of view.

Just to give some example, showing farmers how to maintain the health and welfare of livestock, and protect the environment by using new technologies and sustainable tools would help to increase the profits making livestock farming profitable again.

In this prospective, sustainable tourism also represents a feasible option to integrate this practice in the Lake District productive system, instead of using it just to respond to the collapse of agriculture. In agreement with that, the National Park Authority declares sustainability as the goal of its acting and highlights the effort the government put in transforming the area into an inspirational example of sustainable development<sup>13</sup>. Indeed, even going back to James Rebanks, his career looks like a clear example of how farming and tourism can coexist. Today he works at the same time as farmer and as expert consultant for the Unesco World Heritage Centre in Paris. A job that, in addition to give him the opportunity to help propagate the concept of a beneficial tourism, it makes possible for him to work by remote having more time and money to invest in farming. In fact, he used both of them to build up a farm where dedicate time to his animals, raised using the same identical traditional system from the past. Like him, many other peers have considered following the same paths over the last few years and it could be a trend: the beginning of a new transformation. A change where tourism is no longer indifferent to the real identity of the place, but want to experience the rural lifestyle to create a connection with it; and where people understand the importance to use history as an advantage instead of feeling that it is like a weight<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rebanks is an English sheep farmer and author from Cumbria, who became famous for the ability to promote the rural life among young adults thanks to the social media. He left school at the age of 16 to work with the grandfather on his family's farm, but later he changed his mind, went back to evening classes and ended studying at college in Oxford. Even that, after degree he decided to spend his life in a farm in Cumbria.

<sup>2</sup> James Rebanks, The Shepherd's Life: A Tale of the Lake District, Allen Lane, London 2015, pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> To explore the relationship between Wordsworth and this area see the book Wordsworth and the Lake District: A Guide to the Poems and Their Places, published by Oxford University Press in 1985. Useful to know and understand more both, Romantic poetry and the 19th century geography of the area.

<sup>4</sup> Rebanks, The Shepherd's Life: A Tale of the Lake District, cit., pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> Ivi, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Ivi, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Sarah May, A shepherd's future: Shepherds and World Heritage in the Lake District, in Jennie Morgan, Sefryn Penrose, Rodney Harrison, Sharon Macdonald, edited by, Heritage Futures. Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices, UCL Press, London 2020, pp. 276-293.

<sup>8</sup> Rebanks, The Shepherd's Life: A Tale of the Lake District, cit., p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/learning/factstourism (latest consultation: March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2022).

<sup>10</sup> https://www.crosthwaiteandlyth.co.uk (latest consultation: March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022).

<sup>11</sup> https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/IOE01/05133/27 (latest consultation: March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022).

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> https://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/learning/factstourism (latest consultation: March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022).

The goal set by the government regard:

- sustain landscape, wildlife and cultural heritage which have always attracted visitors
- $\bullet$  improve the visitor experience by providing better services such information, public transport and improved public toilets
- improve access to the countryside and water
- provide more opportunities for adventurous activities and things to do when it is raining
- offer local food and crafts distinctive to the area
- ensure that good quality accommodation is available at a wide range of prices.

<sup>14</sup> Rebanks, The Shepherd's Life: A Tale of the Lake District, cit., pp. 204-205.



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La proposta di pubblicazione sarà valutata dal *Comitato di direzione* e dal *Comitato scientifico*.



