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## "Unbroken Towards the Sea": The National Trust and the Rise of Coastal Preservation in Late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain

By Chelsea Judy

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a movement to protect Britain's natural beauty commenced with the founding of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty. Established in 1895 by the founding triumvirate, Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter, and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, the Trust became an organization devoted to preserving the natural landscape of Britain from increasing urbanization and environmental disfigurements from unrestrained industrial development. While the Trust's acquisitions included areas of outstanding natural beauty like the Lake District, as well as famous manors and other historical monuments, coastal preservation was, at first, an afterthought. This secondary approach to coastal properties, however, grew from an afterthought in 1895 to a central mission of the Trust when it established the Coastal Preservation Committee in 1938.<sup>[1]</sup> Even though in the beginning the Trust justified collecting coastline only if the properties were attached to historic monuments or were integrally related to local British history and culture, the importance of preserving coastline grew as the coast, especially in Devon and Cornwall, became threatened by holiday tourists and urban development. The debate surrounding the coastal acquisitions that took place between 1895 and 1938 was pivotal in the development of a specifically coastline ethic at the Trust, which led to the establishment of the Coastal Preservation Committee and, ultimately, a new environmental policy agenda with the founding of Enterprise Neptune in 1965.

Unlike the Lake District, the English countryside, or historic British monuments, early coastal preservation efforts of the National Trust have been left mostly untouched in academic literature. Historians such as Len Clark and John Gaze, who co-authored the book, *Figures in a Landscape: History of the National Trust* exemplify how the majority of historical scholarship published about the Trust simply chronicles its history but does not attempt to explain coastal preservation's role in the Trust's work.<sup>[2]</sup> Such standard publications only focus on the evolution of the Trust's coastal policies during the launching of Enterprise Neptune in 1965, which became the most comprehensive and successful private coastal preservation movement in Britain.<sup>[3]</sup> British coastal protection is explored in T.C. Smout's *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England Since 1600*<sup>[4]</sup> and B.W. Clapp's *An Environmental History of Britain Since the Industrial Revolution*, but the early work of the National Trust on coastal preservation is again overlooked.<sup>[5]</sup> While both authors address the threat to modern coastline by urban and industrial development, neither author connects the origins of contemporary coastal preservation to the early coastline property acquisition policies of the National Trust in the late 19th century.<sup>[6]</sup> John Sheail's "Coasts and Planning in Great Britain before 1950" is the most detailed historical work done on coastline protection in Britain before Enterprise Neptune, but it is not his main focus, and a causal relationship between the National Trust's early preservation work and the rise of coastal preservation specifically in Britain is not argued or even suggested.<sup>[7]</sup>

The development of a coastal preservationist ethic in the National Trust's aspirations was gradual and only manifested from the Trust's appreciation for more obvious sources of beauty or monuments indicative of the nation's heritage. The Trust's idea of preserving areas of "natural beauty" halted at the coast because it was not seen as an integral part of or active force upon British history in the mind of the British public. This divorce between the natural coast and Britain's national identity falls under Donald Hughes' environmental-historical theory, which argues that "the idea that the environment as something separate from the human, and offering merely a setting for human history, is misleading."<sup>[8]</sup> Based on the Trust's obvious "historic monument" bias when collecting coastal properties, it is clear that the Trust viewed coastline as only a setting for the narratives of British history. On the contrary, Hughes continues that "the story of world history, if it is balanced and accurate, will

consider the natural environment and the myriad ways in which it has both affected and been affected by human activities."<sup>[9]</sup> This notion that the natural environment could serve as an agent of history, rather than simply a setting, and its ability to shape human affairs ultimately translated Britain's natural environment into a source of British nationalism. However, in the beginning of the Trust's involvement in coastal preservation, without an historic monument that could act as a direct reference to British history, coastal properties were not seen as vehicles for British nationalism and thus did not qualify for collection. This recognition of natural coastline as an equitable force in British history, and subsequently just as much a source of nationalism as an historic monument, was not an established principle in the founding of the National Trust. Instead, it grew out of the coastal collection policies of the Trust during the crucial years from 1895 to 1938.

Although aesthetic appreciation for natural coastline was not prevalent in Britain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it grew out of other sources of established beauty, such as ancient monuments and historic buildings. In Melanie Hall's article, "The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883-1913," Hall distinguishes how "the buildings which it [the National Trust] acquired between its founding in 1895 and 1910, while its founders were still active, reflect [a] desire to monumentalise English political, religious, and literary traditions."<sup>[10]</sup> Buildings and monuments reflected England's heritage and legacy, and the preservation of such historic buildings was a centerpiece for the Trust's early ambitions. The Trust identified a palpable sense of nationalism through the collection of ancient monuments that pointed to British history. Preservation of these monuments was both a validation of the ability to communicate nationalism through historic buildings and a response to growing industrialization and urbanization in the late 19th century.<sup>[11]</sup> Hall argues that "as part of its early educational mission the Trust consciously attempted to use architecture as historical evidence for a vision of English life and social order which it hoped would cement a union of English-speaking people that rested on sentiment [...] upon common religious traditions, political ideals and historical memories."<sup>[12]</sup> What is overlooked, however, is how many of these early historic monument acquisitions were attached to coastal property. National pride that was at first only associated with these historic monuments also later came to be appropriated with the natural coastline and further solidified Donald Hughes' concept that the environment is not just a setting, but a shaper of human activity; "consequently, the narratives of history must place human events within the context of local and regional ecosystems."<sup>[13]</sup>

However, as Hall argued, because the Trust's earliest collections were driven by a desire to preserve British history and transform areas like the Lake District and buildings that exemplified British cultural legacies into agents of nationalism, the coast was reduced to Hughes' role as a setting and the Trust only acquired coastal properties that were attached to monuments. Ultimately, the rise of coastal conservation in Britain falls under Hughes' argument that "at least in one of its aspects, environmental history can be a history of culture and ideas."<sup>[14]</sup> This idea to preserve coastline as a place of natural beauty developed out of the Trust's bias towards collecting properties reminiscent of British local and national history, as substantiated by Hall's theory of nationalism conveyed through the Trust's acquisition of historic monuments. In the first years of the Trust, coastline was not identified as a place of outstanding natural beauty and coastal preservation was not considered a primary motive in the Trust's acquisition of these monuments. This conflicted with the Trust's charter principles.

In addition to ancient monuments and buildings of historic interest, areas of "outstanding natural beauty" were identified in the Trust's founding principles as places to actively pursue for acquisition. Coastal properties, however, were overlooked in the Trust's push for the preservation of places like the Lake District and Wicken Fen, landlocked areas that Britons had always celebrated.<sup>[15]</sup> Even areas outside of Great Britain were subject to the Trust's scrutiny. In a Provisional Council Report in 1898, the Trust reported that "the Council is fully alive to the fact that an opportunity now presents itself of acquiring Killarney as a great national park, after the manner of the Yellowstone region in America, and a resolution on the subject was presented to the General Meeting."<sup>[16]</sup> This report captured a certain "spirit of the time," namely the Trust's scramble to protect areas of natural beauty, which mirrored the actions of naturalist groups internationally, but it also illustrated the distance to which the Trust would go to implement its preservationist objectives.<sup>[17]</sup> Even in Ireland, the threat of losing outstanding natural beauty to private entrepreneurs galvanized the Trust to action. In a statement to the Provisional Council in 1899, Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P. stated: "That this meeting desires to record its conviction that it would be deeply to be deplored were the Lakes of Killarney, perhaps more widely celebrated for their beauty than any spot

in the British Isles, to be closed against the public, or marred by vulgarizing and incongruous treatment."<sup>[18]</sup> While these early efforts were undoubtedly admirable and the scrutiny the Trust gave to natural areas, even across the Irish Sea, was comprehensive, coastal preservation policies remained noticeably undeveloped. Although the Lakes of Killarney in Ireland microcosmically exemplified the extensiveness of the Trust's preservationist ethic, coastline protection was a secondary consideration and only emerged out of a movement to salvage Britain's historic monuments.

While coastal preservation eluded the founding principles of the National Trust, the Ancient Monuments Protection Bill passed by Parliament's the British House of Commons in 1899 sparked the Trust's campaign to salvage monuments representative of Britain's history. In a Report of the Council, the Trust expressed how it was "glad to be able to report that, thanks to the efforts of Lord Avebury and Lord Balcarras, the Ancient Monuments Protection Bill, drafted by Sir Robert Hunter [...] has passed the House of Commons, and will it is hoped shortly to become law."<sup>[19]</sup> This Act of Parliament extended the provisions made in the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 and emphasized the importance of the preservation of ancient monuments. In an address to the House of Lords, Lord Avebury declared: "We ask you to-day to affirm the principle that the protection of these national monuments is a duty we owe alike to our ancestors who erected them and to our children for whom they ought to be preserved."<sup>[20]</sup> Although spoken on behalf of historic monuments in 1900, this same line of logic would be used by the Trust when justifying the collection of coastline simply for its natural beauty and association with British history in the 1930s.<sup>[21]</sup> The Ancient Monuments Protection Bill set the precedent upon which the National Trust would furnish an "ancient monuments" bias which would further advance the development of a coastal movement by 1938. The implementation of this bill, coupled with the Trust's founding triumvirate and original Provisional Council, inaugurated what Hall calls the movement to "monumentalise English political, religious, and literary traditions" through preservation.<sup>[22]</sup>

Although the Ancient Monuments Bill provided the foundations upon which the National Trust could cultivate a preservationist agenda and, ultimately, expand this agenda to include coastal properties, the Bill could not have instigated such a comprehensive movement without the Trust's founding Provisional Council. Not only was the original council a compilation of the leaders of various Victorian preservationist organizations, but "of its initial forty-five Council members, fifteen were either Liberal MPs or Liberal members of the House of Lords [...]" This group suggests a unifying concept of English values that encompassed educational, religious, literary, artistic, and landscape traditions and, crucially, those traditions of governance which were very much in the public mind."<sup>[23]</sup> Before the idea of preserving coastline could develop, a precedent that advocated the preservation of British tradition and England's historic legacy had to be established first. The splintered movement that began with several independent societies like the Commons Preservation Society led by Sir Robert Hunter and the Kyrle and Selbourne Societies, separate entities with similar preservationist goals, had gained momentum from the mid-19th century and finally culminated in the establishment of the National Trust.<sup>[24]</sup> Under the Trust's broad spectrum of preservation objectives, the Trust served as both an umbrella organization for these various societies led by progressive Members from both Houses of Parliament, scientists, public humanitarian leaders, and liberal academics. Moreover, it also reflected "a wider concern to push preservation activities beyond individual voluntarist group interests and to institutionalise and provide for the movement a national [...] context."<sup>[25]</sup> The establishment of the National Trust was the watershed event of a disjointed Victorian environmental movement; the Ancient Monuments Bill delegated legal authority to the Trust's preservation ambitions, and the progressive leadership of the founding triumvirate legitimized its social presence.

Momentum for a national environmental movement had been building since the early 19th century, and it laid the framework for the foundation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty through a variety of non-governmental organizations.<sup>[26]</sup> Many of these smaller organizations were established and directed by what would become the founding triumvirate of the National Trust. Octavia Hill, Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, and Sir Robert Hunter pushed for legislative and public action to protect various theatres of the natural environment. The early efforts of these environmental 'lobbyists' illustrated how "the steadily increasing extent of the environmental problems perceived by the Victorians [described] the intertwining structure of people and organizations the Victorian environmental movement created" and eventually culminated with the establishment of the National Trust.<sup>[27]</sup> The social work that Octavia Hill performed in London in the mid-19th century, alongside

Robert Hunter's participation in the Commons Preservation Society and Hardwicke Rawnsley's personal crusade to save the English Lake District from desecration by the railroad industry, would prove to be the precursor accomplishments to their future conservation campaigns as founders of the National Trust in 1895.<sup>[28]</sup>

Born in 1844 in London, Sir Robert Hunter became a co-founder of the National Trust alongside Hill and Rawnsley after a long career with the Commons Preservation Society. This society, founded in 1865, aimed to protect public lands from private enclosure and in 1868, Hunter was appointed its Honorary Solicitor.<sup>[29]</sup> In this position, Hunter advocated the protection of common land in Britain and published pamphlets explaining by-laws and Acts of Parliament concerning British Commons and their implications for the Victorian conservation effort. In a pamphlet published in 1895 the same year the National Trust was founded Hunter wrote, "At the present day, owing to the persistent and intelligently directed work of the Commons Preservation Society, and particularly to the public-spirited and unwearying efforts of [liberal Members of Parliament] as the late Henry Fawcett and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, the efforts of the Legislature are directed to the protection, and not to the destruction, of commons."<sup>[30]</sup> By collaborating with the Commons Preservation Society, not only did Hunter establish a set of environmental principles and aspirations he would later apply to the National Trust, but he also achieved notable victories for the environmental movement, the most celebrated of which was the preservation of the previously Royal Epping Forest and Queen Victoria's approval of turning it into a national park in 1882.<sup>[31]</sup> In a written commemoration of Hunter, Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley described his unwavering devotion to the creation of the National Trust and how its establishment:

"is evidenced by the fact that, in addition to the public monuments held in trust, forty-five properties in eighteen years have been secured for the nation's enjoyment, and Sir Robert Hunter, in addition to the 6,000 acres which he gained for the public when he won the famous Epping Forest case, has helped to secure another 6,000 as recreation grounds for the people."<sup>[32]</sup>

Additionally, the Commons Preservation Society served as the crossroads at which Hunter would meet Octavia Hill, who wanted to use the Society as a platform from which Sayes Court, the manor house at Deptford, could be saved.<sup>[33]</sup> Although the Commons Preservation Society could not serve as the medium she ultimately used to protect Sayes Court, Hunter suggested that such an effort called for a completely new conservation organization; this suggestion would later blossom into the National Trust.

Octavia Hill, through her own efforts as a social reformer in London and essays written for the Commons Preservation Society, became one of the founders of the National Trust along with Hunter. Hill's leadership in and advocacy for the Trust originated largely from her early years spent in London as a social reformer, working in a number of housing communities and schools for women and children. As a landlord for Freshwater Place, Hill wrote her first discourse on her tenants' need for a fresh, outdoor space and the critical effect open air and space exerted on an individual's overall health and welfare. It was "this concept of the need for people to have at least some space in the open air, first formed so early in Octavia's career, [that] later developed into an altogether wider idea" and became the cornerstone of Hill's efforts to conserve Britain's natural landscape and coastline.<sup>[34]</sup> In her later years, Hill published *Our Common Land*, a collection of essays that epitomized the conservationist ideology that she embodied.

Although Hill's early advocacy for open spaces stemmed from her ambitions for social reform and better living conditions for her tenants, conservation on a grander scale ultimately became her primary focus when she began to see the natural landscape of England as an irreplaceable agent of the British people's happiness. Nature became a source of beauty in Hill's writing and she emphasized in her essays how "when work is done, when the eating is finished, the soul and spirit of men ask for rest; they want air, they want the sense of peace, they want the sense of space, they want the influence of beauty."<sup>[35]</sup> Similarly to Robert Hunter, her early experiences and involvement in environmental conservation gave Hill the skill set and principles she could later apply to the efforts of the National Trust. In 1896, Hill wrote in a letter to *The Times* that, after the establishment of the National Trust under the Companies Act of 1895, "great progress has been made [...] and donations have come in from America, from Cornwall and Devonshire, and from many parts of England, and letters have been received showing general interest in the scheme."<sup>[36]</sup> However, despite the advancements in conservation made by Octavia Hill and Robert

Hunter with the Commons Preservation Society, it was Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley's campaign to save the Lake District from being overrun by railroads and industry that incited the establishment of the National Trust.

Often described as part of England's most beautiful country, the Lake District became a primary objective of the National Trust's endeavor to preserve natural beauty. Lying within the modern county of Cumbria, the Lake District's beauty inspired famous poets such as William Wordsworth, who wrote of its pristine landscape that "After many wanderings, many years// Of absence, these steep woods and lofty cliffs,// And this green pastoral landscape, were to me// More dear, both for themselves, and for thy sake!"<sup>[37]</sup> Wordsworth would later come to be called the first Lake District conservationist, a campaign that Canon Rawnsley would assume in the late 19th century due to the looming threat of industrial development and urbanization in the area. With the combined efforts of Robert Hunter and Octavia Hill, "the 'official' catalysts for the Trust's inception have been given as the fight led by Canon Rawnsley, aided by the Commons Preservation Society, against a proposed railway from Buttermere to Braithwaite in the Lake District in 1883."<sup>[38]</sup> Through the campaign to preserve the natural beauty of the Lake District, the founding "triumvirate" of the National Trust came together on the building momentum of the Victorian environmental movement. In 1894, *The Times* published an article on the burgeoning interest within the conservationist movement in forming a new environmental organization that would encompass and perform all of the activities in which Hill, Hunter, and Rawnsley were participating in numerous smaller agencies. The article described how Canon Rawnsley told *The Times* correspondents that "the dormant sense of the beautiful was awakening in the mass of our population, and this association would, it was hoped, do much to rouse it to activity."<sup>[39]</sup> Through the varying facets of Victorian environmentalism, the founding members of the National Trust found common ground upon which they could establish an organization dedicated to preserving the historic heritage and natural beauty of Britain. Moreover, the differing backgrounds from which the founders came illustrated how there was not a certain kind of 'property' the National Trust wouldn't consider for purchase and protection. With Rawnsley's crusade in the Lake District, Hunter's achievements in the Royal Forests, and Hill's advocacy for the preservation of the British Commons, the groundwork had been laid to expand the National Trust's reach into coastal preservation as well.

Considering the reasons for the establishment of the National Trust in 1895 and the influence of the Trust's founders on the framework within which the organization would operate, it would seem that the preservation of coastline would fall naturally within the Trust's founding principles. However, quite conversely, coastal preservation was not the result of an inherent British appreciation for the coastline's natural beauty. Historically, coasts were viewed as dangerous places to visit or live, especially those in Devon and Cornwall. In 1901, *The Times* published an article entitled "The Danger of the North Cornish Coast," which highlighted its unpopularity as a vacation destination and called attention to its "dangerous nature" and the "40 strandings [there] within the last ten years, 18 resulting in total losses."<sup>[40]</sup> Storms that frequented the southwestern coast impeded maritime activity and 'bathing,' and the rudimentary road system made coastal towns in Cornwall inaccessible, which discouraged many tourists from exploring the county. Because it was considered a dangerous environment, the National Trust struggled to garner a positive response from the British public in its efforts to preserve various coastal properties.<sup>[41]</sup> This apprehension resulted in the coast's general unpopularity among Britons and consequently influenced the Trust's deliberations in the coastal properties it chose to preserve there.

Because the Cornish and Devon coasts were viewed so unfavorably, the Trust's efforts to preserve coastline in these counties became secondary to preserving historic monuments. Moreover, coastal preservation was not an explicit objective discussed during the National Trust's establishment, and acquisition of coastal properties only occurred if these properties were attached to a historic monument or were culturally significant to the local community. Such "additions" to a coastal property warranted a higher value to the Trust's Provisional Council and served as justification for its acquisition. Passed by Parliament in 1907, the National Trust Act stipulated that the Trust was "established for the purposes of promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest and as regards lands for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their natural aspect features and animal and plant life."<sup>[42]</sup> Coastline was not specifically mentioned anywhere in the act. Unless a coastal property was otherwise of interest to the Trust, or if it contained no other apparent reason for protection other than its natural beauty, it would not be acquired.<sup>[43]</sup> Coastline protection was a gradual development rather than a founding principle. Subsequently, the limited coastal



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properties acquired by the Trust in its early years were properties that were attached to ancient monuments or were closely connected with local culture and histories.<sup>[44]</sup>

The Trust's acquisition of Barras Head and Tintagel Castle in 1896 serves as an exemplary case study of the importance of historic monuments in the preservation of coastal properties, especially in Cornwall. Because of Tintagel's association with the legend of King Arthur and Camelot, the fact that it was also a coastal property was of little interest to the Trust; the idea of preserving this part of the Cornish coast simply for its natural beauty was much less important than its connection with the Arthurian legend. As late as 1920, Canon Rawnsley, in *A Nation's Heritage*, which was dedicated solely to the Trust's properties along the Cornish coast, sings the praises of the property's Arthurian associations much more than its panoramic views along the coast. "Those who descend that path must be impressed by the way in which the remains of the twelfth-century castle, with the keep high up upon the mainland, [...] grow up and strike the beholder with a sense of their absolute impregnability in olden time."<sup>[45]</sup> Rawnsley's focus on the castle indicates that although the Trust was aware of the importance of Britain's coastline as a natural environment, monuments and relics emblematic of the nation's heritage were still the primary motivating factors in the Trust's preservation endeavors. A Report of the National Trust Provisional Council in 1896 noted that Barras Head "commands a wide view over the Atlantic, while in the immediate foreground is the noble headland which forms the site of Tintagel Castle, the seat of Arthurian romance."<sup>[46]</sup> Only later in the Council Report does it mention that Tintagel is also "one of the most impressive spots upon a coast of singular charm, and the permanent preservation of such a neighbourhood in its wild natural condition, is, the Council are convinced, a service for which will hereafter be grateful."<sup>[47]</sup> Despite Barras Head's natural beauty, the preservation of the associated coastline was only the result of its connection with the castle and how it offered the Trust the opportunity to salvage a part of Britain's ancient heritage. The Trust's "ancient monuments" bias continued into the twentieth century as more coastal properties were acquired for reasons other than their outstanding natural beauty.

In late 1909, the Chichester family entrusted Morte Point, fifty-two acres of headland property on the North Devonshire coast, to the National Trust.<sup>[48]</sup> Situated between Ilfracombe and Barnstaple, Morte Point commanded panoramic views of the southeastern British coast; however, like Barras Head and Tintagel, the Trust did not find Morte Point's natural beauty as reason enough for acquisition. Instead, similarly to how the Trust treated the collection of Barras Head for its association with Tintagel Castle, Morte Point's historic value was justified by its attachment to "the ancient church of St. Mary Magdalene, Morthoe, with its memory of the murderer of Thomas Becket."<sup>[49]</sup> Despite its picturesque views of the Atlantic and the famous coastline of Devon, Morte Point's historical connection to the famous medieval Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, served as the primary motivating factor in the Trust's acquisition of the property. In *A Nation's Heritage*, Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, focused on how "tradition tells us that this old church with two others, Martinhoe and Trentishoe, were founded by Sir William Tracyone of the four knights who murdered Thomas Becket in expiation of his deed."<sup>[50]</sup> Not only did this description parallel Rawnsley's account of Barras Head and its connection to Tintagel, but the seemingly contrived allusion to the Archbishop of Canterbury illustrated how far the Trust would reach for an historic reference to justify the acquisition of a coastal property. It wasn't until the end of Rawnsley's description of Morte Point that he finally mentioned that "nothing astonished us more than the beauty of the colour of the ragged rocks that each day feel the tide. They shone in the sun like gold, while nearer to the land those above high tide stood up like mighty spearheads, steel colour and silver-grey."<sup>[51]</sup> Coastline, even by 1909, remained inapplicable to the Trust's concept of an "area of outstanding natural beauty," and, if acquired, it had to be accompanied by an historical connection, regardless of how obscure the reference. Furthermore, the Trust's use of the ancient church as justification for the collection of Morte Point demonstrated how the natural environment was still seen as a setting for British nationalism and not yet an agent for nationalism. Outstanding natural beauty could not communicate the same nationalist sentiment that an ancient monument could evoke from Britons, and, subsequently, the Trust's "ancient monuments" policy endured until the end of the decade.

Although the Trust's "ancient monuments" bias limited coastal property selection, the purchase of Blakeney Point, Norfolk in 1912 can be viewed as an early indication of the specifically environmentalist philosophy the Trust would adopt explicitly in the second half of the 20th century. Blakeney Point broke from the Trust's coastline acquisition paradigm because it did not possess an historic monument and was not culturally important to the

local community. Neither was it acquired for its beauty, but only for its unique environment. The Provisional Council argued that "to the ornithologist, the botanist and physiographer, Blakeney is a veritable treasure it is a resting-place for summer migrants and hundreds of birds may be seen here the plant-life is of peculiar interest, while the formation of the shingle beaches and dunes with the curious 'hooks' afford an admirable illustration of the action of wind and waves."<sup>[52]</sup> Although it did not have historical value, Blakeney Point offered the scientific community a nature reserve for future research. In the Annual Report of the Provisional Council of 1912, the Trust reported that "the Council [...] feels that this may be the beginning of what may eventually prove to be an important development of the work of the Trust and may enable it to enlist the sympathies of naturalists and scientists."<sup>[53]</sup> Blakeney Point's value did not lie in its natural beauty or in any obvious historical significance. Unlike the Trust's acquisition of Britain's Lake District and monuments of historic or cultural value such as Waddesdon Manor in Buckinghamshire, Blakeney Point was acquired for essentially scientific reasons. Moreover, its purchase was a landmark development in the Provisional Council's vision for the Trust's future as an environmental organization. In the nineteenth Annual Report of 1913 the Council stated:

It is hoped that the acquisition of this property [Blakeney Point] by the National Trust may be the beginning of a larger movement in the direction of preserving areas through the country, which may be regarded as reserves for wild nature, and in this connection the Council of the National Trust has noted with interest the formation of a *Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves*, which has for its main object the collection of information as to areas in the United Kingdom which retain their primitive conditions, and contain rare and local species liable to extinction, and the acquisition of such areas, where possible, and their transfer to the National Trust under such conditions as may be necessary.<sup>[54]</sup>

This emerging notion of national reserve was echoed in *The Times*, which published in an article in 1912 regarding the Trust's purchase of Blakeney Point: "In other countries much has been done in the way of reserving large spaces for the study and preservation of wild nature; America, Germany Belgium, France, all have their national nature reserves."<sup>[55]</sup> The article itself reflected a spirit of the time:

"It is hoped that with Blakeney Point a satisfactory beginning of the establishment of natural reserves' may be made in England, and it is appropriate that the body which has been selected to hold the property should be the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, for, quite apart from its appeal to the scientist and naturalist, Blakeney Point is a beautiful open space, with its long stretches of yellow sand and windswept dunes."<sup>[56]</sup>

However, while *The Times* explicitly stated that Blakeney Point was also "a beautiful open space" apart from its scientific value, the National Trust did not use its natural beauty as primary motivation for acquisition. Though Blakeney's purchase pointed to the sweeping coastal environment protection movement the Trust would invigorate in 1965 with Enterprise Neptune, in terms of establishing an aesthetic appreciation for coastline in the early 1910s and using its outstanding natural beauty as justification for preservation, coastline protection in the framework of the National Trust's environmental efforts was still in its infancy.

Although Blakeney Point marked the beginning of a shift in the Trust's acquisition policies, if not for the aesthetic reasons the Trust would later champion, the publication of A.G. Folliot-Stokes' expository work, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* in 1912 underlined a growing appreciation for the coast's natural beauty in the general British public.<sup>[57]</sup> One of the first works of its kind, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* was a project Folliot-Stokes dedicated entirely to chronicling the natural landscape of Cornwall, especially along the coastline. He wrote in his introduction that "there is nothing in this world of ours so old and yet so unchanged as the sea. Continents have risen and disappeared, coast-lines have altered, mountains have been levelled, animals have become extinct and man has been evolved, but throughout all these eons the sea has remained unchanged."<sup>[58]</sup> Unlike works published before it regarding Cornwall's characteristics, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* focused entirely on the beauty of the fishing villages and seaside of the county. Folliot-Stokes' work exemplified the growing awareness of the coast's beauty and as he passed through each coastal town in Cornwall, he wrote: "We shall discover, as we tramp its coasts, that its surrounding seas are as blue as the Mediterranean in fine weather; that the vegetation in its coombes and valleys is as luxuriant as in Southern France; and that its inhabitants have much that is foreign



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about them, both in appearance and customs."<sup>[59]</sup> By comparing Cornwall to the Mediterranean and Southern French countryside, areas which these other countries were proud to call their own, Folliot-Stokes not only transformed the Cornish coast into an agent of nationalism for Britain, but he pointed to a generally appreciative attitude towards the coast's natural beauty that would become clear by 1938.<sup>[60]</sup>

Again, the acquisition of Barras Head and Tintagel Castle served as a representative case study of how the Trust began collecting properties under the notion of acquiring monuments that reflected Britain's historic legacy, but soon the coast itself became a source of nationalism. Folliot-Stokes paid special attention to the Trust's collection of Tintagel, writing as he rode through Barras Head that "we can almost fancy we see in the trembling night the crush of armed men, and the compact cavalcade of armed and mounted knights, their lances glinting in the moonlight as they press after him in silent haste."<sup>[61]</sup> A major component of British folklore, the Arthurian legend constituted a significant part of British nationalism. In Folliot-Stokes account, this nationalism is translated into his discussion as he described how he and his company "decide that tomorrow we will follow in their footsteps to Slaughter Bridge, where the fatal battle was fought, on through Camelot and then across the moors, where toiled the wounded King, even to the shore of that silent lake, from whose bosom one summer's noon an arm rose 'clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,' holding the brand Excalibur."<sup>[62]</sup> In the context of Donald Hughes' theory, Folliot-Stokes bridged the gap between the historic meaning of Tintagel and the natural landscape of Barras Head.<sup>[63]</sup> Because Folliot-Stokes described in great detail the beauty of the environment and that "to look from the subdued light of this subterranean passage at the brilliant, sun-kissed aquamarine waves, to watch them hurtle themselves against the polished sides of the entrance with a noise like thunder and to see clouds of spray, barred with miniature rainbows, fly like a gauze veil across the cavern's mouth, is a sight not easily forgotten," it became clear that the environment surrounding Tintagel was more than simply a setting.<sup>[64]</sup>

By appropriating the nationalism associated with Tintagel castle to the physical environment of Barras Head, Folliot-Stokes conveyed how the environment is part of Arthurian history and is just as capable of communicating Britain's legacy as the castle present there. Although not explicitly said, Folliot-Stokes found a source of British nationalism inherent in the coastal land as well as the historic monuments it bore. While traveling through Barras Head, he wrote, "the coast is extremely picturesque and grand. Though the cliffs are not so high as many we have passed, [...] they are, by reason of their abruptness, the fine contours of their little bays, and the grandeur of their sentinel island rocks, as scenically effective as anything to be found in the Duchy."<sup>[65]</sup> While a description of the natural beauty was excluded in the first Provisional Council's Interim Report on Barras Head and Tintagel in 1895, Folliot-Stokes not only noted the aesthetic appreciation earlier omitted, but illustrated how the natural beauty of Barras Head could also be a source of British national pride.<sup>[66]</sup> This relationship between the natural environment of Barras Head and nationalistic sentiment is ultimately encapsulated by the following anecdotal excerpt:

Beneath us is the sunlit sea. Inland the great spurs of the central moorland raise their rounded shoulders; while immediately in front of us stretches the flower-strewn turf, with which Nature has covered this great natural stronghold, whose daisies in the long ago must have often been pressed by the feet of that noble pair, who, like so many before their time and since, loved not wisely, but too well.<sup>[67]</sup>

This description not only painted a clear picture of Barras Head, but it physically tied the history of Tintagel to the environment. The reader of Folliot-Stokes' work is connected to the Arthurian legend through the environment: the same coastline and land that King Arthur and his knights are said to have walked and lived on have endured longer than the crumbling castle and can still be accessed hundreds of years later by Britons in 1912. With this "great natural stronghold" Barras Head's environment was also an agent of history and constituted an equal part of the Arthurian legend as the historic monument. Although an isolated case this early in the century, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* illustrated a developing idea that sources of history were not limited only to historic monuments, but the land itself was a sufficient source of national pride and history. It was this principle that the National Trust slowly expanded and adopted with other coastline properties later in the decade and continuously through the century, especially as the coastline grew more crowded with an influx of tourists and admirers similar to Folliot-Stokes.

Before the conclusion of the First World War, the stresses of tourism and development on the coastal environment in the 1910s had already been identified as a potential threat by the National Trust. The Trust's Annual Report of 1914 argued the environmental value of Cornwall's coastline and noted that "from time immemorial the public has been allowed to wander freely on the cliffs, but of recent years bungalows and small houses have been built and public access to the cliffs has been closed in many places."<sup>[68]</sup> Not only did the Trust identify the dangers of encroaching urban development along the Cornish coast, but it also raised an environmental alarm. The report advocated finding a solution to the degradation of Cornwall's coast and plainly stated that "the cliffs of Cornwall form one of the most enduring assets of the county; they are renowned throughout Europe, and it would certainly be little less than a national misfortune if public access to them were lost forever."<sup>[69]</sup> This report indicated the beginning of a shift in the Trust's perception of its reasons for coastline acquisition, and even more importantly, it illustrated how historic associations ceased being the only, or even the main, driving force in the Trust's property acquisition policy. Under the threat of "national misfortune," preservation of coastline could be defended on the principle of its natural beauty alone.

When compared to Barras Head, which was acquired clearly for its Arthurian associations, the acquisitions of "The Dodman" and "St. Catherine's Point" in 1918 and 1919 respectively epitomized the burgeoning coastal appreciation in the Trust's acquisition policies. While King Arthur's Tintagel was undoubtedly the motivating factor in the Trust's acquisition of Barras Head, it is clear that in the coastal collections of the late 1910s these historical or cultural reasons were no longer the only focus of the Trust's attention to the coastal properties. While the Dodman and St. Catherine's Point in Cornwall were purchased for their historical interest, their "natural beauty" was also emphasized in the Trust's Annual Reports.<sup>[70]</sup> Like Tintagel, the Dodman was acquired primarily for cultural reasons. "The property, amounting to 145 acres, includes a farm, and is situated within comparatively easy access of the town of St. Austell [and] it is the original "Dead Man's Rock" described in the novel by Sir A. Quiller Couch..."<sup>[71]</sup> Similarly, St. Catherine's Point is described in the same Provisional Council Report as containing "the remains of an old Castle," but is also described as "commanding extensive and beautiful views."<sup>[72]</sup> For the first time, the natural beauty of the coastal property was given equal weight with its historical significance when justifying its acquisition. Even more importantly, in the Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trust, it was disclosed that the ancient castle was "now the property of the Crown [and] the offer also included the option of purchase of the castle *should the Crown ever desire to sell*."<sup>[73]</sup> This part of the offer was never fulfilled and today, St. Catherine's Castle is owned and maintained by English Heritage.<sup>[74]</sup> Although the Trust referenced the castle as additional reason to acquire St. Catherine's Point, the possession of the historic monument was not guaranteed. This uncertainty over the castle's ownership demonstrates how an historic monument was not altogether necessary by this point. The Trust acquired St. Catherine's regardless of whether the castle was attached to the property or not, which further underlined the Trust's growing appreciation simply for the natural beauty of the coast. Attempts to justify the collection of these two properties by reference to their historic monuments or literary associations were secondary efforts at most.<sup>[75]</sup> The Dodman and St. Catherine's Point marked a clear, if gradual, transition period in the Trust's policy approach towards coastline collection. While it had one foot planted in past coastal policies, with reports published regarding the national misfortune Britain would suffer if it were to lose the natural heritage present in the Cornish coast, the Trust also had one foot planted clearly in a more forward-looking policy underwritten by a preservationist ethic.<sup>[76]</sup> Post-war commercialism and the acceleration of urbanization along the coast ultimately pushed the Trust's coastal preservation efforts towards a greater aesthetic appreciation for the coastline's natural beauty.

In 1918, the influx of tourists and resulting threat of development that the counties of Cornwall and Devon experienced after the First World War legitimized this policy and philosophy shift.<sup>[77]</sup> The construction of a comprehensive railway system and especially the advent of more efficient "motor coaches, cheap cars and motor bicycles, brought the whole of England within the reach of those with but limited means or leisure."<sup>[78]</sup> This substantial increase in the number of Britons visiting the Cornish coast did not go unnoticed by correspondents at *The Times*, and articles describing the pleasures of a sea-side holiday began appearing more frequently in British newspapers. According to a *Times* correspondent in St. Ives in 1919: "we [can] walk about in beach shoes or sandals [...] or loaf on the beach or play golf or sail there is not so much sailing now as there was before the war because there have been no boats built[but] by all accounts there has never been a season so generally successful as this in Cornwall's history."<sup>[79]</sup>

This success British coastal towns and provinces experienced in the late 1910s only continued to grow into the 1920s, and, consequently, the National Trust redoubled its efforts to preserve as much of the natural coastline as possible, regardless of the significance of a property's historic interest. In 1922, the Trust expressed interest in collecting Scolt Head, a long stretch of Norwich coastline that would serve as an addition to Blakeney Point.<sup>[80]</sup> The Trust's Provisional Council wrote in its Annual Report for 1922-1923: "It will be remembered that in 1912 the Trust became the owners of about 1,100 acres of Blakeney Point; this year an opportunity presented itself of acquiring from the Earl of Leicester Scolt Head a range of sand-dunes almost adjacent to Blakeney Point comprising about 1,200 acres."<sup>[81]</sup> As discussed with Blakeney Point, in addition to its aesthetic appreciation for coastline, the Trust further cultivated its scientific ethic with its acquisition of Scolt Head. Not only was it adjacent to Blakeney Point, which was purchased purely for its scientific value, but the Provisional Council discussed how the property contained "a magnificent range of sand-dunes, culminating in Scolt Head, believed to be the highest sand-dune in England, [which] protects the area and the adjacent hinterland from the sea, the rest being flat-marsh in various stages of development. To the botanist and ornithologist the whole property had very great interest."<sup>[82]</sup> Furthermore, the Trust did not include any historic significance to Scolt Head as further reason for the importance of its acquisition, but conversely added that "the property presents very great attractions, alike the lover of beautiful scenery and to the naturalist."<sup>[83]</sup> Coupled with its scientific interest, Scolt Head's collection can be viewed as a "trial run" for the Trust's new practice of justifying coastline collection simply for its environmental ramifications. Even more importantly, the logistical measures the Trust took to acquire Scolt Head also demonstrated how the aesthetic appreciation the Trust established with St. Catherine's Point was beginning to inspire other environmental interest groups into taking action.<sup>[84]</sup>

Because the National Trust required donations and outside funding to purchase its properties, Scolt Head's collection was ultimately made possible by several Naturalist groups in England.<sup>[85]</sup> The sale of Scolt Head came to the Trust's attention via the Earl of Leicester, and the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society, who provided the funding necessary to put Scolt Head under the Trust's protection. In its Annual Report, the Provisional Council noted, "the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society at once took the matter up, and within a comparatively short space of time the necessary amount of money for the purchase was raised and the area was transferred to the National Trust. It will be managed by a Local Committee of Management as is done in the case of Blakeney Point."<sup>[86]</sup> This report illustrated the steady expansion of preservationist principles beyond the National Trust and how the interest of preserving these coastal areas no longer belonged solely to special organizations like the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society or the National Trust, but was now a local interest as well. Although Scolt Head was primarily acquired because it extended the scientific interest inherent in the neighboring property, Blakeney Point, it began a new decade in the Trust's history where aesthetic justification, as demonstrated in the collection of St. Catherine's Point, would become the leading reason the Trust cited for the coastal properties it collected during the next ten years.

Following the possession of St. Catherine's Point in 1919, the next decade epitomized the National Trust's new aesthetic justification for acquiring coastline and considering coastal properties as places of outstanding natural beauty. In 1926, the Trust acquired another coastal property in Cornwall called Polperro, a small fishing village known only for its beautiful panoramic scenes of the sea and the cliffs lining the coast. Published by Charles G. Harper in 1910, *The Cornish Coast (North)* was an exploratory work that, like Folliot-Stokes' *The Cornish Coast and Moors*, aimed to describe in great detail the Cornish villages and its surrounding coastal countryside for curious readers. When discussing Polperro, Harper wrote, "I suppose no one will deny Polperro the dignity of being the most picturesque village on the south coast of Cornwall."<sup>[87]</sup> Although written in 1910, Harper's account described the "picturesque" nature that ultimately captured the attention of the National Trust and spurred action by the local community in Cornwall to place Polperro under the Trust's protection. Harper illuminated the beauty of Polperro and bound it to the economic viability of the town, citing that "the chief industries of Polperro are the pilchard-fishery and the paintings of pictures, and it is because of the commercial, as well as the aesthetic, interest of the artistic community, in preserving the old-world picturesqueness of Polperro, that the wonderful old place remains so wonderful and retains its appearance of old age."<sup>[88]</sup> This connection between Cornish coastal towns' commercial prosperity and the maintenance of unspoiled natural beauty was established in principle but not in practice and did not become part of the Trust's acquisition principles or practices until after the collection of St.

Catherine's Point in 1919.<sup>[89]</sup> However, with the acquisition of Polperro in 1926, the Trust exemplified how, by the 1920s, an awareness of the coast's natural beauty had taken root among Britons.

The Annual Report of the National Trust for 1926-1927 detailed the negotiations of its acquisition of Chapel Cliff, Polperro. Any reference to cultural value for the local community of Polperro or an historic monument was noticeably absent from the report and instead it focused wholly on the natural beauty of the Cornish headland. Similarly to St. Catherine's Point, the Provisional Council emphasized the importance of salvaging coastline for the sake of its importance as a place of outstanding environmental beauty and made no attempt to justify its collection based on an historic building suggestive of British history or legacies.<sup>[90]</sup> The Provisional Council stated:

The Trust has gained a further footing in Cornwall through the acquisition of Chapel Cliff, Polperro, which was purchased by means of public subscription. The cliff, which was purchased by the harbour of Polperro, commands an extensive view of the English Channel and will now be preserved for ever as an open space, with the same privileges for the fishermen as heretofore.<sup>[91]</sup>

The acquisition of Polperro was the first demonstration following St. Catherine's Point of the Trust's continuing paradigm of collecting coastal properties and justifying these acquisitions by the properties' natural beauty alone. Polperro's antiquity and the beautiful coastal countryside surrounding it was a source of British legacy in itself. The reference to the rights of the fishermen further suggested that the Trust acquired Polperro simply to maintain its natural environment, preserve the current antiquated state of its town, and prevent the loss of a property that heralded British history through its natural beauty and the old Cornish village to overdevelopment. As Harper recounted in *Cornish Coast North*, "Polperro is unquestionably in many ways old England of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, surviving vigorously into the twentieth" and the preservation of this property's natural state was also a preservation of British coastal history.<sup>[92]</sup> Furthermore, the report cited the "extensive view of the English Channel" as reason for collection of Polperro and also included how the property was purchased through public funding and subscription.<sup>[93]</sup> This reference clearly illustrated how preservation of coastline developed into a movement that was slowly infecting the local communities in Cornwall and Devon by the 1920s and was not limited to the leaders and members of the National Trust alone.

This growing awareness among Britons regarding the natural beauty of the coast was especially illustrated by the Trust's acquisition of St. Saviour's Point, Fowey in 1927. St. Saviour's Point epitomized the Trust's new appreciation for natural coastline because it was an extension of the first property the Trust acquired for its natural beauty alone, St. Catherine's Point, and donated by two British citizens that had already supported the National Trust's efforts.<sup>[94]</sup> In the Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Provisional Council, the Council wrote, "It will be remembered that in 1918 Mr. Stenton Covington presented to the Trust the headland at the west of the mouth of Fowey Harbour, known as St. Catherine's Point. He and Mrs. Covington have now given further proof of their generosity by acquiring and handing over to the Trust St. Saviour's Point, the land opposite side of the harbour."<sup>[95]</sup> The Covingtons' repeated donations exemplified the momentum that was gathering beneath the Trust's effort to both include the British public in its growing preservationist movement and cultivate acquisition practices that were grounded in an appreciation for the coast's natural beauty. Moreover, Fowey Harbor and St. Saviour's Point had no obvious historical significance in a monument or famous building. Instead, the only justification the Provisional Council gave for St. Saviour's acquisition was that "the entrance to Fowey will therefore be secure for all time from disfigurement, and the members of the Trust have once again reason to express their indebtedness to Mr. and Mrs. Covington for their far-seeing beneficence."<sup>[96]</sup> This "disfigurement" the Provisional Council referenced pointed to how the Trust saw environmental desecration and the destruction of natural beauty as the sole reason for collecting St. Saviour's Point and as reason enough for acquisition policies towards coastal properties in the future.<sup>[97]</sup> Although momentum for the preservation of coastal properties was expanding beyond the Trust and into British society, this interest in coastline was also illustrated by the growing urban development along Britain's coast in the 1920s.<sup>[98]</sup> While an increasing number of people worked to preserve the coast's natural beauty, an increasing number of people looked to go on seaside holiday or live near Britain's coast.<sup>[99]</sup> Urban development exacerbated the Trust's endeavor to protect the natural beauty of the coastline and ultimately pushed the Trust, as well as other preservationist organizations, to begin building the framework within which the late 20th century environmental movement would operate.

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The environmental desecration of England's coast by urban development prompted the Trust's affiliation with a smaller preservation organization, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), an entity with which the National Trust eventually collaborated to found the Coastal Preservation Committee in 1938.<sup>[100]</sup> By 1922, the Trust published Annual Reports which focused on how their latest coastal properties' "present very great attractions, alike the lover of beautiful scenery and to the naturalist."<sup>[101]</sup> Protecting coastline from the disfigurements of tourism and development had become one of the Trust's main endeavors. This new "coastal awareness" and drive to protect Cornwall's coastline, especially coupled with an increased interest in seaside holidays by the British public, eventually produced in the 1930 CPRE report *Cornwall: A Survey of its Coast, Moors, and Valleys, with suggestions for the preservation of amenities*.

Researched and published by W. Harding Thompson, a member of the Town Planning Institute in Cornwall and the inspector commissioned by the CPRE to assemble this survey, the *Cornwall Survey* explored solutions that balanced coastal preservation and commercial activity in Cornwall. The arrival of greater numbers of tourists to the Cornish coast ushered in an era where "the expanding needs of the holiday-maker and the home-seeker [had to] be reconciled with the need to protect coastal amenity."<sup>[102]</sup> The beautiful cliffs and untouched coastline were the primary factors that drew people to the county in the first place. Unchecked industrial development along the coast, overfishing, and urbanization would have destroyed the commercial market and economic viability, which depended upon the preservation of the coast's natural beauty.<sup>[103]</sup> In "...1929, it was decided that a Regional Survey of Cornwall should be undertaken, with the object of ascertaining to what extent the amenities of the County had already suffered by recent developments, and in what way further disfigurements may be avoided."<sup>[104]</sup> The dichotomy between the National Trust and CPRE's desire to safeguard the coastal environment and criticisms by those who argued that economic utilization of the land was of paramount importance created deadlock between coastal preservation and commercialism. Harding argued in the *Cornwall Survey*, on the other hand, that "a reply based entirely on aesthetic values would fail to convince the exponents of such an argument" and instead reminded them "that the beauty of certain parts of Cornwall is a commercial asset to the County, greater indeed than could be realized if such land were covered by buildings and industries."<sup>[105]</sup>

Perhaps the most important suggestion in the *Cornwall Survey* was for the creation of a National Coastal Park along the Cornish coast.<sup>[106]</sup> Much of this proposal was fulfilled by the National Trust, which, through donations, had acquired by 1937 eight Cornish coastal properties. These coastal acquisitions were praised in an article in *The Times* in 1937, which stated, "the Trust owns some fifty acres and protects 200 more by covenantsthese, with the most recent acquisitions, are, it is true, mere fragments of the great whole, but [they are] fragments of inestimable value."<sup>[107]</sup> Only a year later, a similar survey regarding the coast of the neighboring county, Devon, was completed. In this work the author asserts that these surveys and the National Trust's expanding ownership of foreshore properties "suggest very forcibly the worth of such an acquisition and the need to protect as much of such a coast line as can still be saved."<sup>[108]</sup>

Aligned with this new coastal awareness, in 1929 the Trust commissioned George Macaulay Trevelyan of Cambridge University to write, *Must England's Beauty Perish?: A plea on behalf of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty*. This pamphlet was a watershed publication in the history of the coastal preservation in Britain. Coasts were now seen as "one of England's greatest assets" and worth preserving simply for their natural beauty alone.<sup>[109]</sup> Once considered dangerous and only of value if attached to an historic monument, the coastline was now an important part of Britain's natural heritage and a place of environmental importance. Its imminent destruction attracted Trevelyan's special attention, who wrote in his pamphlet, "Our Victorian grandfathers did not string out bungalows along the downs and hills and sea cliffs to anything like the same extent as we."<sup>[110]</sup> By including Britain's coast in his plea on behalf of the Trust, Trevelyan established coastal preservation as a fundamental part of the escalating environmental movement and urged a stop to "the remorseless ploughshare of modern development [which threatened] to tear up at will every beautiful spot in the island."<sup>[111]</sup> Together with W. Harding Thompson's *Cornwall Survey*, Trevelyan's *Plea* legitimized coastal conservation as part of the Trust's preservationist agenda and growing environmental ethic.

Despite the National Trust's bias against coastal properties in its early years, by the 1930s it had added to its appreciation for historic monuments and rolling countryside a love of Britain's natural coastline. With the rising



threat of development, however, the Trust was not only one of the first to recognize a growing threat to the coastal environment, it was the first national organization to act on this recognition. While coastline was considered at the Trust's inception as a dangerous environment, with its famous Cornish headlands and the White Cliffs of Dover, it became an environment in which the British could take pride. Coupled with the Trust's development of a purely aesthetic appreciation for coastal properties, coastline itself emerged as a source of nationalism for the British public by the 1920s. Although coastal conservation began as an afterthought, in the crucial years between 1896 and 1938 the Trust cultivated an appreciation for Britain's coastline and ultimately inaugurated an extensive environmental movement with the establishment of the Coastal Preservation Committee in 1938. Enterprise Neptune has become the National Trust's most recent effort to conserve British coastline and is a product of the small, early steps the Trust took to establish coastal conservation as an environmental objective. These incremental steps, seemingly inconsequential in the Trust's early years, grew into a national movement that identified coastline as an integral part of Britain's natural heritage. Today, one sixth of the coast of the British Isles is protected by the National Trust, with views "unbroken towards the sea."<sup>[112]</sup>

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- [1] John Sheail, "Coasts and Planning in Great Britain before 1950," *The Geographical Journal*, 2 (July 1976), 259, <http://www.jstor.org>.
- [2] Len Clark and John Gaze, *Figures in a Landscape: History of the National Trust*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1988.
- [3] Merlin Waterson, *The National Trust: The First Hundred Years*, London: National Trust, 1999.
- [4] T. C. Smout, *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England Since 1600*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2000.
- [5] B. W. Clapp, *An Environmental History of Britain Since the Industrial Revolution*, London: Longman Publishing Group, 1994.
- [6] For further works regarding a general history of the National Trust, see also John Sheail, *Nature in Trust: The History of Nature Conservation in Britain*, (Glasgow: Blackie, 1976); Jennifer Jenkin, *From Acorn to Oak Tree: Growth of the National Trust, 1895-1994*, (London: Macmillan, 1994); and Robin Fedden, *The Continuing Purpose: A History of the National Trust, Its Aims and Work*, (London: Longmans, 1968).
- [7] John Sheail, "Coasts and Planning in Great Britain before 1950," *The Geographical Journal*, 2 (July 1976), <http://www.jstor.org>.
- [8] Donald Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life* (Routledge: London, 2001), 6.
- [9] *Ibid.*, 7.
- [10] Melanie Hall, "The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883-1913," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003), 346.
- [11] *Ibid.*, 347.
- [12] *Ibid.*, 357.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 6.
- [14] Hughes, *An Environmental History*, 4.
- [15] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1911-1912), 6.
- [16] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1898-1899), 16, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [17] *Ibid.*
- [18] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1899-1900), 13, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [19] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1899-1900), 12, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [20] *Ancient Monument Protection Bill*, (c153-6), 1900, London: HMSO, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1900/may/15/ancient-monuments-protection-bill>"> (accessed February 17, 2011).



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- [21] W. Thompson Harding, *Cornwall: A Survey of its Coast, Moors, and Valleys, with Suggestions for the Preservation of Amenities* (London: University of London Press, 1930), 86.
- [22] Hall, 346.
- [23] Hall, 348.
- [24] John Ranlett, "'Checking Nature's Desecration': Late-Victorian Environmental Organizations," *Victorian Studies* 26 (Winter 1983), 198.
- [25] Hall, 349.
- [26] Ranlett, 197-8.
- [27] Ibid.
- [28] Ibid., 210.
- [29] Sir Robert Hunter, "Footpaths and Commons, and Parish and District Councils," (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1895), 2.
- [30] Hunter, 5.
- [31] Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, "A National Benefactor Sir Robert Hunter," *Cornhill Magazine* (February 1914), 10.
- [32] Rawnsley, 10.
- [33] John Gaze, *Figures in a Landscape: A History of the National Trust* (Frome: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), 17.
- [34] Gaze, 17.
- [35] Octavia Hill, *Our Common Land: (and other essays)* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1877), 178-179.
- [36] Octavia Hill, "Barras Head, Tintagel," *The Times*, October, 23, 1896.
- [37] William Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey," in *William Wordsworth: The Pedlar, Tintern Abbey, the Two-Part Prelude*, eds. Jonathan Wordsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40, lines 156-160.
- [38] Hall, 349.
- [39] "A Proposed National Trust," *The Times*, 1894.
- [40] Special Correspondent, "The Danger of the North Cornish Coast," *The Times*, June 17, 1901.
- [41] Octavia Hill, "Barras Head, Tintagel," *The Times*, October, 23, 1896.
- [42] *National Trust Act of 1907-1971 as varied by a Parliamentary Scheme implemented by The Charities (National Trust) Order 2005*, (c.36), London: HMSO, <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk> (accessed September 12, 2010).
- [43] It wasn't until an amendment was added in 1971 that coastal properties were identified as places appropriate for acquisition. Even then, the Act remained vague and only alluded to coastal preservation through its prohibitions regarding maritime activities. The full National Trust Act is available at <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>.
- [44] The National Trust's collection of historic monuments stemmed from the idea that national identity and British "political, religious, and literary traditions" were conveyed through these historic monuments. For more on the Trust's interpretation of historic monuments and its early monument acquisition theories, see Melanie Hall, "The Politics of Collecting: The Early Aspirations of the National Trust, 1883-1913," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), 364.
- [45] H. D. Rawnsley, *A Nation's Heritage* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1920), 139, courtesy of the British Library. For other coastal expository works similar to Rawnsley's *Heritage*, see A. G. Folliott-Stokes, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* (London: Greeing & Co., Ltd., 1912); Charles G. Harper, *Cornish Coast North* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1910); and Charles G. Harper, *Cornish Coast South and the Isles of Scilly* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1910) also available in the British Library.
- [46] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1896), 11, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [47] Ibid.
- [48] The National Trust, *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1920-1921), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [49] Rawnsley, 121.
- [50] Ibid., 121-2
- [51] Ibid., 125
- [52] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1911-1912), 5, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [53] Ibid., 6.
- [54] The National Trust, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1912-1913), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [55] "A Reserve of Wild Nature: Blakeney Point, Norfolk," *The Times*, News Section, November 30, 1912.
- [56] Ibid.

- [57] A. G. Folliott-Stokes, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* (London: Greeing & Co., Ltd., 1912), 28.
- [58] Ibid.
- [59] Ibid., 16.
- [60] Harding, 86.
- [61] Folliot-Stokes, 70-71.
- [62] Ibid., 71.
- [63] Hughes, 6.
- [64] Folliot-Stokes, 68.
- [65] Ibid., 64.
- [66] The National Trust, *First Interim Report by the Provisional Council* (Swindon: National Trust, 1895), 4, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [67] Ibid., 69.
- [68] The National Trust, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1913-1914), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [69] Ibid.
- [70] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1918-1919), 4-5, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [71] Ibid.
- [72] Ibid.
- [73] The National Trust, "Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee" (Swindon: National Trust, 1918), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [74] "St. Catherine's Castle," accessed March 2, 2011, <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk>.
- [75] The National Trust, "Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee" (Swindon: National Trust, 1918), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [76] The National Trust, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1913-1914), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [77] Sheail, 258.
- [78] Harding, 3.
- [79] Special Correspondent, "On the Cornish Coast. Towns and Villages Crowded., Few Men On Holiday," *The Times*, August 08, 1919.
- [80] The National Trust, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1922-1923), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [81] Ibid.
- [82] Ibid.
- [83] Ibid.
- [84] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1918-1919), 4-5, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [85] Octavia Hill, Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 1896, in *Life of Octavia Hill: As Told in her Letters*, edited by C. Edmund Maurice (London: Macmillan & Co., 1913). Octavia Hill's personal letters contain multiple references to the National Trust's need for outside funding and donations from British citizens, Parliament, or other interest groups to pursue the environmental preservationist goals the Trust championed. For further information on the details of each property's specific donors or acquisition protocols, see also: The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust), courtesy of the National Trust Archives and with the specific acquisition years of the property of interest.
- [86] The National Trust, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1922-1923), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [87] Charles G. Harper, *Cornish Coast North (The Cornish Coast [North])* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1910), 42.
- [88] Ibid., 43.
- [89] The National Trust, *Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1918-1919), 4-5, courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [90] The National Trust, "Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee" (Swindon: National Trust, 1918), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [91] The National Trust, *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1926-1927), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [92] Harper, 45.

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- [94] The National Trust, *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1926-1927), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [95] Ibid.
- [96] Ibid.
- [97] Ibid.
- [98] Harding, 3-4.
- [99] Ibid.
- [100] Sheail, 258.
- [101] The National Trust, *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Provisional Council of the National Trust* (Swindon: National Trust, 1921-1922), courtesy of the National Trust Archives.
- [102] Sheail, 257.
- [103] To compensate for the higher population densities among coastal communities in the mid-1910s and onward, fisheries grew strained under consumer pressure, which eventually resulted in overfishing. For further information, see Alan Southward, Gerald Boalch, and Linda Maddock, "Climatic Change and the Herring and Pilchard Fisheries of Devon and Cornwall" in David J. Starkey's *Devon's Coastline and Coastal Waters: Aspects of Man's Relationship with the Sea* (Exeter: Exeter University Publications, 1988), 33-57.
- [104] Harding, 3-4.
- [105] Harding, 86.
- [106] Harding, 92.
- [107] "The Cornish Coast," *The Times*, March 30, 1937.
- [108] Ibid., "The Cornish Coast."
- [109] George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Must England's Beauty Perish?: A plea on behalf of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty* (London: Faber & Gwyer Limited, 1929), 15, courtesy of the British Library.
- [110] Ibid., 16.
- [111] Ibid, 19.
- [112] Octavia Hill, "Barras Head, Tintagel," *The Times*, 1896.