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The changing face of Whalley Nab, Lancashire: A naturalistic and cultural landscape

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Abstract

Two hundred years ago, the hill known as Whalley Nab in Lancashire was a sparsely populated, rural prominence. Its appearance was deliberately improved by landowners and became a place of natural beauty as well as an agricultural landscape, location of cottage industry and home for mill workers. This article is an original, microhistorical study of the Nab that indicates how the people of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries experienced the hill and used it for work and leisure. The discussion charts the shifts in appearance of the area and finds that although in various respects the hill is unchanged, some features are very different. Opportunities for biodiversity, in particular, are greatly reduced through human intervention. The article adds to seminal work by authors including Don Mitchell and Robert Macfarlane.

Introduction

In 2005, the local authority that has responsibility for the Whalley part of Lancashire published a document appraising the local conservation area. The document cited the hill known as Whalley Nab as a particular strength and mentioned its beauty and the stunning views to and from it, but said little else (The Conservation Studio, 2005). An internet search made using the term 'Whalley Nab' throws up web sites largely concerned with arduous cycling routes. The historic landscape and its place as a living environment that provided both work and respite from labour is largely overlooked. This article investigates the nineteenth and twentieth century history of the Nab and highlights its former biodiversity, land use, habitation and place in people's lives. As such, it considers the Nab as cultural landscape and adds to Don Mitchell's work, which highlights how landscapes serve individuals. It also furthers the seminal work of Robert Macfarlane and others who show connections between land usage and nature (Mitchell, 2000; Moran, 2014). Reference is made to representations of Whalley Nab in primary sources including national censuses, paintings, newspapers and diary extracts, and a hitherto unstudied picture of life on the Nab is revealed including a vivid image of the wealth of flora and fauna that were available to enjoy. The moment at which the hillside became a cyclists' favourite place for adventure is identified as well as the first signs of traffic pollution and congestion.

Demography, industry and the built environment

Despite the common perception of Lancashire as being urban and industrialised, the central and northern parts of the county contain beautiful countryside and scenic villages. At the southern end of the Forest of Bowland lies land where three rivers converge: the Ribble, Calder and Hodder. This is the site of an ancient Cistercian abbey, a medieval castle and the dramatic Pendle Hill (Johnson & Haworth, 2015; Clayton, 2018; Lee, 2003; Frost & Thompson, 2011 pp. 3-6; McKay, 1888, Rothwell, 1995). The geology of the area includes sandstone, limestone and an abundant water supply leading to quarries and mills being built on the landscape amidst a wider environment of farmland, the nature of which provides for 'little else but cattle rearing' (J. Thirsk in Schwartz, 1994 p.50). Hills and high land in the area are notable. To the north east of Whalley, as well as Pendle Hill at 558m, there are Spence Moor and Wisell Moor at 455m and 315m respectively and Whalley Nab to the south west at 185m. There are grand houses and landed estates including Read Hall and Clerk Hill both of which commanded in 1896 'extensive views of the grandly timbered park and of the well-wooded banks of the Calder beyond' and 'views over richly-wooded country' (Blackburn Standard, 1896; The Field, 1865; Ormerod, 1906, p. 194). Very near to Whalley and at the eastern foot of the Nab was Moreton Hall – built in 1833 but now gone – which had views of 'pleasing and sometimes striking' steep and wooded hollows carved out

of the hillsides by the Calder (Blackburn Standard, 1891; Ormerod, 1906, p. 209).

An early nineteenth-century map (Figure 1) shows a wide view of the Nab from which details can be discerned. The very steep eastern side of the hill is clear and has a concave appearance, the underlying sandstone and shale having been eroded by glaciers (Harrison, n.d., pp. 3–5). The flat bank of the Calder at the foot of the Nab was fairly densely wooded and unenclosed. The Nab itself was mostly bare of trees, apart from a thin line of vegetation along the summit, that an enclosure award of 1791 identifies as 40 acres of oak and ash (Abram, 1873, p. 186), and thus it is unclear if the views of wooded hollows observed from Moreton Hall in 1891 would have been discernible seventy years earlier. A few buildings are marked on the top section of the Nab and the potential of the upland landscape for habitation, manufacturing, farming and wildlife is hinted at in a 1772 review of plans for the Leeds and Liverpool canal in which reference is made to the harvesting of water from the summit (Leeds Intelligencer, 1772). Newspaper reports of a bankrupt's sale of goods shows that the scattered buildings included farmhouses, barns, cottages and some workshops. There was also a mill used in the production of cotton for which water was vital (Murtagh, 1982, pp.4-7). A smithy and land that had been recently enclosed from the moorland at the top of the Nab was being rented out (Manchester Mercury, 1791).

However, a remarkable change is seen in just eleven years (Figure 2). In 1829, trees had been felled at the riverside and the remaining woodland there is marked as enclosed, perhaps to improve the view from Moreton Hall, the building of which had commenced. Furthermore, a wider expanse of what appears to be scrubland and possibly small trees covers much of the higher reaches of Nab. The insubstantial nature of the trees is confirmed by a report in 1822 of the downing of a hot-air balloon on a part of the Nab known as Billington Moor. The dangling rope of the balloon caught on a tree and as the inflatable took off again, the tree was 'instantly torn up by its roots' (Lancaster Gazette, 1822). The indistinct map symbols appear to show fir or pine trees as well as deciduous varieties and, given the acidic nature of the land, the scrub would be heather and gorse. Buildings are more widespread than earlier and some are given names. A farm named Butlers Clough is marked, for example, and the minimal houses near the word Nab in Figure 1 have increased in number and been given the name Whalley Banks. By 1838 the settlement even accommodated a pawnbroker (Blackburn Standard, 1838) and other occupations listed in the 1841 census include builders, labourers, a surgeon and a teacher. By far the greatest number of individuals were cotton weavers and spinners, being nearly equal to all the other occupations put together. (National Census, 1841).

Figure 1: Extract from Greenwood's map of 1818 (Lancashire County Council).

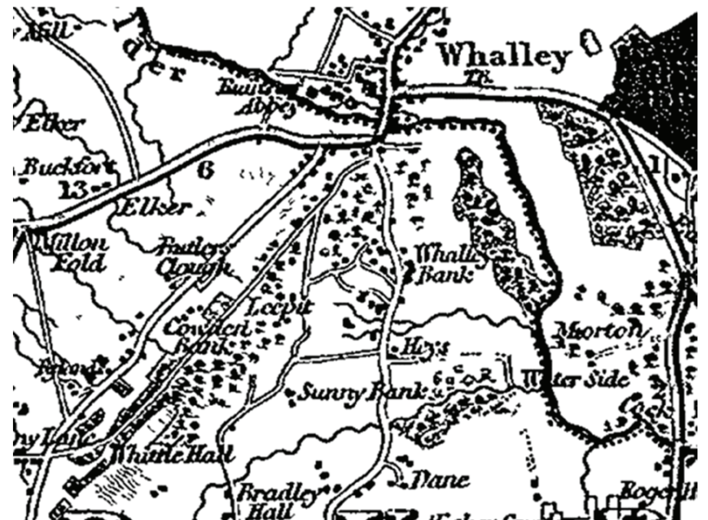

Figure 2: Extract from Hennet's map of 1829 (Lancashire County Council).

A further collection of buildings is lying on either side of the road leading north east from Butlers Clough. This settlement was known as Painter Wood Row. Details from a twenty-first century property sale show a stone-built three-storey terraced cottage with two upstairs bedrooms and a coal shoot ending in a basement (Rightmove, 2022). The roof is low pitched, typical of northern cottages (Jones, 1985, p. 112). The 1841 census indicates that of a total of 47 persons giving an occupation in Painter Wood Row, 29 were cotton spinners. Ten years on, although the number of houses in the row had increased by only three, the breadth of occupations was much greater, and whereas in 1841 every resident was a native of Lancashire, in 1851 a range of origins was apparent. For example, John and Mary Ledgewidge were Irish-born householders who accommodated two Irish lodgers. Cambridge-born Charles Hewitt and Staffordshire-born James Robinson lodged in neighbouring cottages. It was work on the new railway that brought many of these incomers, and their customs and dialects will have introduced a new feel to the area as well as conflict. There were constant reports of criminal behaviour demonstrated by incomers as well as the pressure on resources caused by new arrivals (Blackburn Standard, 1850; 1853; 1855a). A dispute arose over toll gate fees when a farmer accused the new gate keeper, 'You've come into this country to rob people.' (Preston Herald, 1870).

A feature revealed by the 1861 census is that of 106 weavers and spinners on the Nab; about one third were handloom weavers who carried out their work within their cottages (Murtagh, 1982). Most weavers, however, were employed in a mill and the *Blackburn Standard* stated: 'The population had been gradually on the decrease since 1831 but during the last nine years Messrs Thompson and Sons having erected an extensive mill on the banks of the Calder, that decrease has been checked' (Blackburn Standard, 1861a). This supports Bythell's argument that the decline of handloom weaving was in place from the mid-1820s (Taylor, P. 1995, p. 32), and that it had virtually disappeared by mid-century for, by the time of the next census, only three such weavers were left on the Nab.

An example of the incomers attracted by the new mill was Elizabeth Woods, a Preston-born cotton winder whose 11-year-old son worked alongside her as a 'piecer' in the mill, leaning over the spinning machine to repair broken threads (National Census, 1861; Simkins, 2020). This child had been born in Preston too but his one-year-old sister was native to the Whalley Nab locality. The mill had enabled local man Thomas Ingham and his family to remain on the Nab; they were cottage-based handloom weavers in 1851 but workers in the mill ten years later. Not all fabricators of cotton cloth fared so well. An unknown man, thought to be from a neighbouring town, hanged himself from a tree on the Nab and was found by a passing labourer, his body covered with snow. The tools of his trade, a reed hook and comb, identified him as a weaver (Blackburn Standard, 1855b, 'Suicide').

The 1848 6″ Ordnance Survey map does not show any footpaths on the hillside. However, fifty years later, the corresponding map indicates a network of such means of access, mostly linking places of abode with sites of industry in nearby Billington (Figure 3). The map also shows the infrastructure that grew up to service the growing population including a Nonconformist chapel, a replacement Anglican church that was needed to accommodate the growing population, inns and new farms (Wikipedia, 2022, 'New St Leonard's'). There were two gasometers that were used for storing gas at two of the mills and so at these locations, at the base of the north-west side of the Nab, there were the cylindrical shapes of the gas tanks as well as smoking factory chimneys. A feature of the Nab will have been the usual sight of workers traversing the hillside, to and from employment in the surrounding areas.

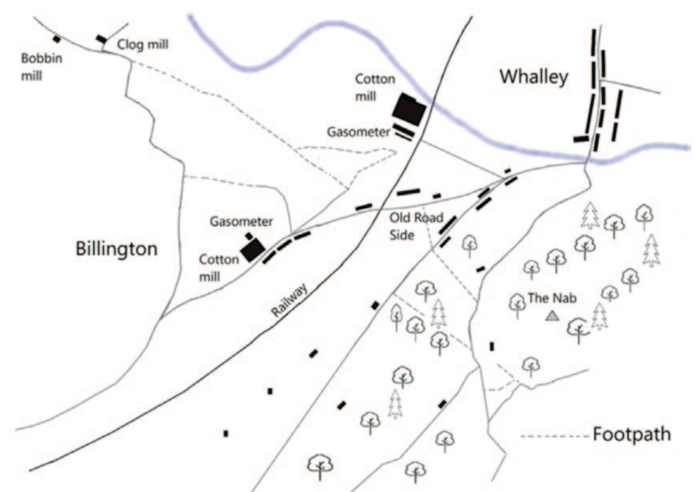

Figure 3: Footpaths near the summit of the Nab (redrawn from 1895 Ordnance Survey 6″ map).

Biodiversity, agriculture and the rural environment

The landscape was transformed by enclosure with the creation of discrete hedged, walled or fenced fields (Finch, 2007, p. 367). The 1848 6″ Ordnance Survey map shows a hillside crisscrossed by field boundaries, many lined with trees which will have contributed to the Nab's later notable wooded character and provided habitats for birds, animals and insects (Figure 4). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Whalley Agricultural Show was established and included prizes awarded to the landowner who planted the most forest trees and hawthorns as a means of establishing the area as a beauty spot. Prominent winners were the residents of Moreton Hall, who also owned the hunting rights on the Nab (Haslingden Gazette, 1911). These endeavours promoted wildlife as hawthorn leaves are eaten by over 80 different species of moth and the spiny branches provide protected nesting sites, especially for long-tailed tits and thrushes in the lower branches and jays and wood pigeons in the upper reaches. The shrub's autumn berries enable a feast for, notably, blackbirds and winter visitors such as redwings and fieldfares (Beames, 1991 p. 98). Fruits also form the diets of mammals such as mice and voles, which in turn are eaten by predators including owls, buzzards and kestrels. An 1879 painting of part of the Nab near Whalley Bridge, shows a pasture with cattle and reveals both a wide expanse of short grass and longer-stemmed varieties which probably included fescue grass, widespread throughout England and especially suited to damp meadows (Satterthwaite, 1879). The picture shows a few well-established deciduous trees near the edge of Nab Wood, a perfect habitat for game to supply the sporting needs of landowners and more fundamental needs of poachers (Blackburn Standard, 1862a; 1866a). Criminal cases indicate that rabbits, hares and pheasants were present all of which will have thrived in the hedges and farmland (Blackburn Standard, 1861b; 1861c; Beames 1991, p. 108; 109-116).

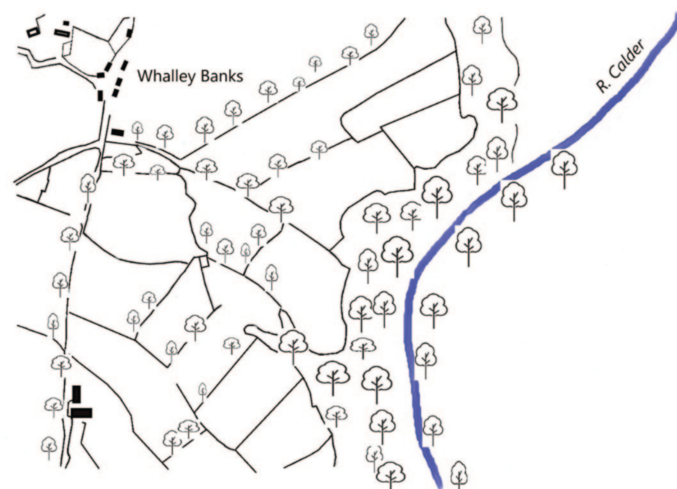

Figure 4: Extract from 1848 6″ OS map, redrawn from 1848 6″ Ordnance Survey map).

The fields were used – sometimes illegally – for working-class sport too, for example the pastime of 'knurr and spell' in which a small missile (the knurr) was launched from a trap (the spell) and hit with a stick (Wikipedia, 2022). Crowds of people would gather for these events during which damage could be done to property including the trampling of meadows. On an occasion in 1862, some 300 mill workers from nearby Great Harwood found the ideal situation for this pursuit at the southernmost part of the Nab. This was on land occupied by a wealthy farmer, one of the largest ratepayers in the area and, with the distinctive name Ottiwell Ward, easy to follow in the sources. Ward was an individual of a litigious mindset, prone to pursuing legal cases and his personality may have led to the course of events, which included violence (Blackburn Standard, 1862b; 1865; 1866b; 1863). Most of the farms on the Nab were classified as 'dairy' and kept fairly small numbers of animals. Ottiwell Ward's farm, however, was over hundred acres and the contrast between Ward's prominence and his neighbours' will have been remarkable, for the adjoining farms were all smaller than 30 acres and older children helped family finances by having jobs in the cotton mill.[1] Whereas Ward was able to devote some of his land to vegetables, his fellow farmers had to devote their fields to providing for their livestock. Furthermore, Ward clearly wanted to improve his lot. In 1861 he was working Whittles Farm which was 159 acres. By the time of the 1871 census, the farm had been demolished, replaced with a barn and Ward and his family were now living at 220-acre New Whittles Farm, a few hundred yards away, in a much bigger farmhouse. The 'knurr and spell' match may well have been a protest against Ward's personality and practices, as sporting tournaments have been used as protests against enclosure with the matches sometimes being pretences for planned destruction of property (Neeson, 1993, pp. 187-220). Furthermore, throughout the 1860s in central Lancashire there were many concerted campaigns launched to preserve what would in the 21st century be called 'the right to roam', as factory operatives demanded access to clean air. In 1864, a similar violent confrontation occurred nearby in an attempt to re-open a blocked-off footpath (Taylor, H., 1995, pp. 25-28). At some point between 1875 and 1880, Ward moved

1. See for example in the 1871 National Census.

to a distant part of Lancashire and the 1895 6″ Ordnance Survey map shows his former farm on the Nab intersected by public rights of way.

Landowners' efforts to beautify the Nab were shown to be talking effect by the mid-nineteenth century when passengers on the train from Blackburn to Clitheroe observed 'picturesque plantations' in 1850 and the hillside being 'beautifully wooded' in 1864 (Blackburn Standard, 1850; Preston Chronicle, 1864). By the later 1800s, walkers were enjoying the benefits of the environment. A ramble over the hill would meet with the scent of honeysuckle and sweet briar and the convenience of the railway as a means of an easy journey one way, preceding or following exertion, made the Nab a focal point for a day out (Manchester Courier, 1880; Burnley Express, 1884; Blackburn Standard, 1898; Burnley Express, 1894). Published accounts of these excursions give more details about the fauna that was observed. There was yellow hawkweed and purple knapweed, yarrow, speedwell and herb Robert, bramble, dock and silverweed. One writer identified oak, sycamore, ash, holly, alder and willow and noted that under the canopy was 'an almost tropical undergrowth of grasses, ferns and other plants' (Burnley Express, 1894). The readily available water supply contributed to the magnificence of the vegetation, but this could also prove to be a danger as in 1875 when three boys playing on a west-facing slope met with tragedy in a deep stream (Blackburn Standard, 1875). A plan of the location of the misadventure shows the evidence of several watercourses including the fatal flow that began at the sole spring in the area around Hollin Hall (Figure 5). In subsequent maps, however, that stream is missing. Investigation shows that it was covered over, presumably a human intervention to avoid further accidents.

Figure 5: The location of the 1875 drowning (redrawn from the 1848 6″ Ordnance Survey map).

Clitheroe resident and artist Tom Worrall spent leisure time on the Nab, walking and enjoying the surroundings and sometimes sketching or painting, with friends or alone. In 1896 he recounted in his diary that he and his brother William 'had an afternoon on Whalley Nab' and a month later after attending a funeral service in Whalley, he and his fiancée walked back to Clitheroe 'across the Nab' (Worrall, Diary, 23 May 1896 & 23 June 1896). Worrall's painting of Whalley from the Nab shows a mature tree that is starting to die back and shows some bare branches providing both a habitat for beetles, fungus and lichen and a cultural and a 'historic connection to the past' (Figure 6; Woodlands Trust, 2008, p. 3). His painting 'Whalley Nab from Stonyhurst' captures the north-west facing hillside, the trees at the highest point of the Nab and some of the field boundaries (Figure 7). William Worrall was a designer for the Accrington

Figure 6: 'Whalley from The Nab' by Tom Worrall (c. 1895), author's collection.

Figure 7: Tom Worrall's 'Whalley Nab from Stonyhurst', c. 1895 (in author's collection). Whalley is in the centre, middle distance and the Clerk Hill estate is on the left in the distance.

cotton print works, Steiner & Company. The Victoria and Albert Museum has a sample of Steiner fabric dating from 1902 showing a design of hills, trees and wildflowers, and although the designer is not named, it could be that William Worrall captured an image of the Nab that has been preserved in the cloth (National Census, 1901; Worrall, Diary, biography;[2] John Simpson, 2019; V&A, 2022).

Into the twentieth century: changes to farms and woodland.

A major change was seen in the first quarter of the new century. Although most of the field boundaries remained and are shown on the 1913 6″ Ordnance Survey map, the trees that had punctuated their progress across fields were almost all gone. Inspection of the map reveals that all the boundary trees shows in Figure 4 were now absent, as well as the trees lining the road leading south from Whalley Banks. Several new fields had been created by insertion of new fences or walls and a few such structures had been removed creating larger fields. Most of the individual pieces of woodland were intact but at Nab Top Farm, a short distance south west of Whalley Banks, a half-acre section of mixed coniferous and deciduous trees had been removed and in its place was the sole wooded boundary present on the Nab. The change will have been striking. The views from Billington and Whalley were hugely altered, with a detrimental effect on bird life. The tree-rich ravines still held a fascination for the naturalist and in 1911 a botanist listed the species of plants on show, some of which such as the marsh marigold and golden saxifrage, owed their lushness to the moist surroundings. In 1915 a naturalist wrote: 'this delightful spectacle of the Calder gap owes much of its beauty to the presence of an abundant and variable flora which lends colour and a greater diversity of outline to the view' (Haslingden Gazette, 1911; 1915).

But further changes were afoot. In 1931 a cyclist described the Nab as 'thickly wooded (Todmorden Advertiser, 1931) but two years later a correspondent, when writing of a different part of the area said, 'The right-hand slope as one approaches Sale Wheel [rapids on the Ribble] are being rendered as bare as Whalley Nab' (Clitheroe Advertiser, 1933). The key to unlocking this comment lies in the depiction of Nab Wood in Ordnance Survey maps. This 24-acre woodland lies at the north-easternmost part of the Nab and covers a very steep slope. This thickly covered section was an outstanding feature and contributed to the 'richly-wooded' views from local mansions at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the maps show how, while the wood was thick with evergreens and deciduous trees throughout the period 1848 to 1913, by 1933 all the coniferous types had gone and in their place was rough pasture. The same fate fell to Horse Bowers Wood, eight acres of an originally mixed section south of Whalley Banks. The woods near Ottiwell Ward's New Whittles Farm similarly changed from mainly coniferous trees in 1848 to a preponderance of deciduous varieties in 1933. The writer in 1933 put forward that landowners were felling trees for financial gain, and it is possible that the coniferous trees on the Nab were larches. This type of timber was commonly used for railway sleepers and fences, and their energy content made them ideal for charcoal (Loudon, 1853, esp. pp. 954 & 1056; West Cumberland Times, 1908). There was certainly this variety at nearby Dinckly, in a steep area adjoining the river Ribble, where mixed woodland containing oak, ash, chestnut, larch and Scots pine was reported in 1861 (Preston Chronicle, 1861).

Times were changing in other ways that affected the landscape and interfered with enjoyment of nature. In 1915 a newspaper contributor wrote:

> 'An enthusiastic party of over a score of naturalists participated in a ramble to Whalley Nab. The day was a glorious … [but] we experienced some discomfort owing to the dust frequently raised by passing motors' (Haslingden Gazette, 1915).

In 1921 a correspondent wrote:

> 'The bluff at the valley's end is Whalley Nab …. The white road between Sabden and Whalley is too evidently visible as a motor waggon, piled high, sweeps on leaving a nimbus of dust behind' (Nelson Leader, 1921).

The advent of the motor vehicle resulted in road improvements, which also facilitated other road uses. A cyclist reported of a nearby route:

> '… lately the road has been subjected to the latest form of "road improvements". Fortunately, this has not distracted from the charm of the pass [which] divides Pendle from Clerk Hill. This latter overlooks Whalley and is directly opposite Whalley Nab …The way down to Whalley was now made without loss of time and soon we were in the midst of bustling traffic and the soul-destroying odour of the poisonous gas from it' (Fleetwood Chronicle, 1932).

A Nab farm sale advertisement stressed the convenience of the road (Lancashire Evening Post, 1934) and an account of a team cycle ride indicates the genesis of the Nab as a challenge to be overcome:

> 'We were led on a route that was new to most of us … A long climb out through Salesbury … we were still climbing and beginning to wonder if the road would be uphill all the way when the warning "watch your brakes" came and we were freewheeling. The valley below lay wreathed

2. Tom Worrall's diary is in a private collection but there is a transcript in Accrington Public Library.

in mist which however could not deter from the beauty of the scene … the road called for our attention and a headlong descent with eyes streaming followed. [Later] we were informed that the hillside we had traversed was Whalley Nab' (Fleetwood Chronicle, 1930).

By 1970, the trees in Nab Wood had all but gone. The original stone cottages at Painter Wood had new neighbours, which can still be seen with their 1960s character and some later extensions. A group from Accrington Naturalists Society in 1986 walked around a southern section of the Nab that was now a dedicated nature reserve, and observed a wealth of wildlife (Accrington Observer, 1986). That location is still a biodiversity refuge and elsewhere there is an abundance of trees and vegetation. There are rights of way that allow walkers easy access to spectacular viewpoints, and twenty-first century published guides indicate that wildflowers still provide a wonderful display (Great Harwood Civic Society, 2009, pp. 15-28). Ottiwell Ward's New Whittle Farm is now surrounded by a nineteenth-century reservoir, an 18-hole golf course and an off-road motor-cycle racing track. This area of steep banks, hollows, woods and stiles is ideal for orienteering and some major events have been held here (Lancashire Telegraph, 2022, Mytton Fold Golf Club, 2022; Amateur Motor Cycling Association, 2022, Pendle Forest Orienteers, 2022). Since the 1970s there has been a scout camp at the southern end of the Nab, which hosts multifarious groups looking to undertake team-building exercises, conferences or activities such as tomahawk throwing and air-rifle shooting. Events that involve the local environment for example tree identification and hiking, are also laid on for participants (Bowley Campsite and Activity Centre, 2022).

Discussion and conclusion

Whalley Nab is an imposing topographical feature that is part of a range of hills dominating the north-central part of Lancashire. This article has shown that from the beginning of the nineteenth century the Nab was recognised as a feature that could be altered to improve views. Landowners made efforts to do so and the local population and visitors alike benefitted from the changes in terms of attractive vistas to observe and to enjoy physically. Farming practices had made a significant difference by the late 1800s when Tom Worrall was painting in the area. His view from Stonyhurst shows purple heather in the Clerk Hill park, but this ericaceous plant was gone from the Nab where land was needed for pasture and meadow. Nab Wood gradually disappeared and a recent photograph shows it as mostly green pasture (Figure 8) although its name remains on modern maps. Early interventions removed some habitats, notably the heather with its associated insect life, in order to increase grazing potential, but the changes provided alternative opportunities for wildlife. Already advantageous to animals and plants because of an abundance of water courses, the planting of trees, meadows and hedges encouraged nature, and summer visitors to the Nab were surrounded by the sight, sound and smells of manifold species and human activity. A typical scene was of bright meadows, alive with insects, and shaded cloughs where rushing streams and rustling leaves mixed with the scents of flowers. There were farm workers and cotton weavers crossing the fields on their way to work in a mill or taking a short break from home working. At night there were the calls of owls and nightjars and maybe the low voices of poachers conversing in undertones.

Figure 8: Nab Wood in 2020. The hill above the farm was covered with trees in the 1890s. (photo: Phillip Platt, used under Creative Commons licence).

Figure 9: A remnant field boundary on the western side of the Nab (© Google Earth, 2022).

Some of the sights and beauty can still be seen. There are mixed varieties of tree although the numbers are much reduced. There are remnants of walled field boundaries occasionally, some tree-lined sections and patches of gorse which are helpful food sources for invertebrates. The Billington Moor area is particularly attractive (Figure 9). Nevertheless, it is of note that the Government's Department for Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) has designated only two tiny sites on the Nab (near Nab Wood) as priority habitat (DEFRA, 2022). However, work has been done to enable conservation and enjoyment of biodiversity in places. The Scout Association and other groups have identified the Nab as an ideal location for activities but the golf course, racing track and infrastructure such as reservoirs and new housing have drastically changed the Nab's appearance. While wildflowers have been observed on the hillside, in the twenty-first century it is of note that reports by ramblers are not fulsome in their descriptions unlike their counterparts a hundred years ago, but instead are more enthralled by distant views (Clitheroe Ramblers, 2022). However, with current initiatives to increase biodiversity – especially to reinstate meadows and to increase awareness of the threat to wildlife – it is possible that some of the richness of the Nab's past will return (Wildlife Trust, no date; Natural England, 2015; Floyd-Bosley, 2019).

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