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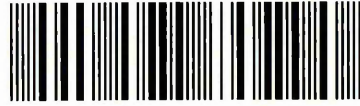
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How can sacred sites be interpreted to incorporate multiplicity?

An ethnographic study

Aimee Blease-Bourne

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

Sheffield Hallam University

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2011

Abstract

How can sacred sites be interpreted to incorporate multiplicity?

An ethnographic study

Aimee Blease-Bourne

Stanton Moor in the Peak District National Park, is a contested and multiple place. It is scattered with many meanings of past, present and future. Initially, this research discusses the main methodological techniques developed throughout the process of investigation, including the emancipatory approach of 'drifting'. Through being in the landscape, the researcher discovered five distinct yet interlinked 'place myths', constructed by: heritage managers; landowners; tourists; pagans; campers; locals and residents of the protest site. 'Place myths' are utopic idealised versions of the place. The thesis, outlines the ways 'users' interact with the place and others in the landscape, through the practices of guardianship- people interacting in ways to protect their place myths. The ways these multiple imaginings can be utilised, by official managers who attempt to promote care for sacred sites, is the focus for the final section. It suggests by incorporating the local community in the interpretative management of sacred sites, through creative consultation based techniques, the 'mindful visitor' can be promoted within formal interpretation strategies. This can ultimately create increased respect and appreciation of the multiple place for all involved, including managers and users of the site.

The thesis offers new and distinct ways of experiencing and managing sacred sites. It provides a platform for the users voices to be heard, creating a ground roots history of the landscape. It mediates between diverse understandings and presents the differing voices within one place.

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List of acronyms

PDNPA: Peak District National Park Authority

PDNP: Peak District National Park

SAG: Stanton Action Group

SLAG: Stanton Lees Action Group

SPPCM: Stanton in Peak Parish Council Meetings

MALC: Multi Agency Liaison Committee

RCHME: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England

CPRE: Council for the Protection of Rural England

ASM: Ancient Scheduled Monument

MPA: Minerals Planning Authority

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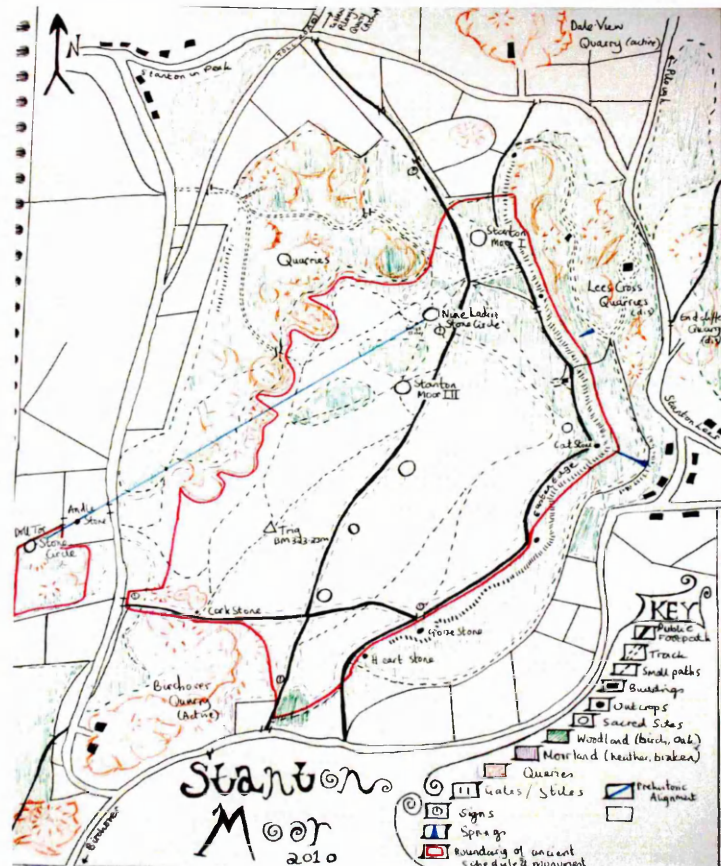
Much gratitude and thanks is given to all the participants of the research: the residents of the protest camp, especially, Rowena Bass, The 'Swiss Family', Ruth Franklin, Daz Nine Ladies, Graham Jenkins, Ben Hartley and Gaz Rye for your support, help and knowledge. The local residents living around or near the moor, who took part in the project, Linda Webb, Kath Potter, Jeff Henson, Jim Drury and Ann Whitlock. The landowners, who invited me into their homes. Peak Park Authority representative, who were always very friendly, interested and informative, especially Andy Farmer and Pete Bush and Jon Barnatt. To archaeologists Jon Humble, Anna Badcock and Pauline Beswick and to Sandra Wetton of the Derbyshire Police Constabulary. Thanks also goes to the many people on the moor, campers, walkers, tourists, who shared their stories with me. A final thanks to Jenny Blain, who inspired and encouraged the project from the beginning.

Candidate's Statement

This thesis has been written to provide a contemporary, ethnographic case study of Stanton Moor in the Peak District National Park. The thesis attempts to create a bridge between users of the site and managers of the site and to ask the question: how can the special qualities of the landscape, the personal values attributed to the place, be 'used' and represented by heritage management, within formal interpretation strategies. The work has arisen out of a personal commitment to Stanton Moor, a desire to create social change within the place which has become so important to me. All material consulted is referenced at the end of the thesis.

Introducing Stanton Moor...

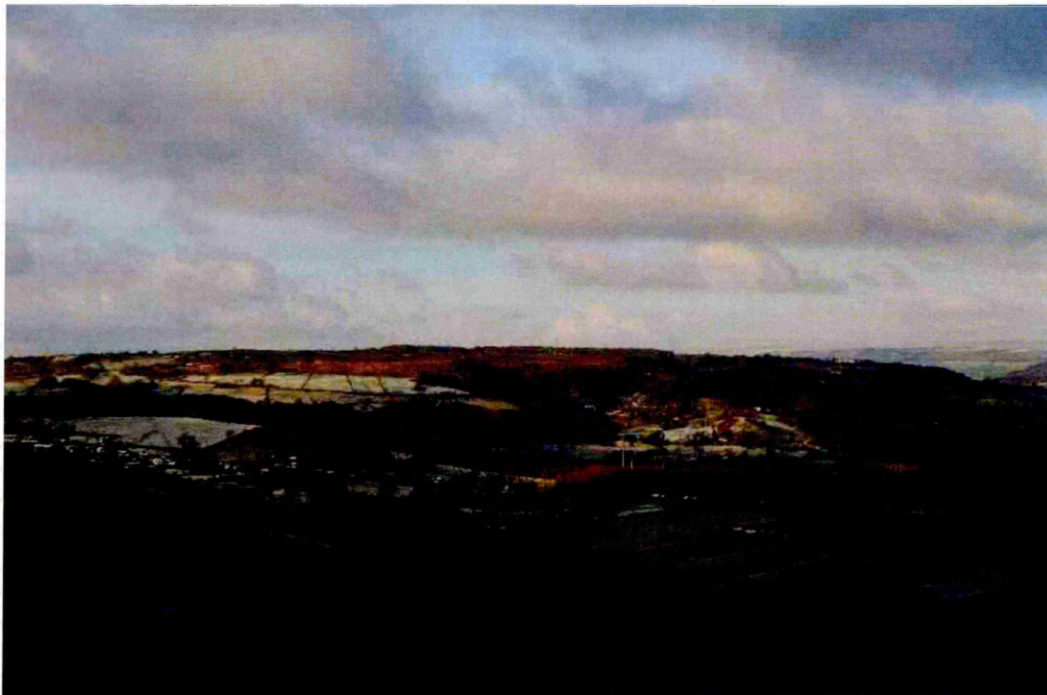
Stanton Moor, in the Peak District National Park (here after PDNP), is an isolated gritstone plateau, in a sea of limestone peaks. It is a particularly unique landscape which juxtaposes 'man-made' with 'natural' attributes. Each twist and turn on the sandstone paths, exposes signs to be read, not only visual, or intellectual, but also emotional, spiritual and sensual: multi-phased industrial quarry 'ruins' and the related protest site; exposed moorland habitats; small silver birch and oak woodlands, and a complex of Bronze Age sites (as can be seen on the map below).



Stanton Moor has come to an important cross road in terms of use and management: the end of the protest site and the 'battle' over Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries have recently concluded - this was an important historical moment in time for the moor. New management techniques are currently being employed by landowners. There is also increased visitor use and consequently damage. Changing sites, such as Stanton Moor continually need unpacking in order to impact social policy and inform new ways of managing sites to incorporate this multiplicity of values.

The research is therefore site specific, concentrating on 'sacred sites' within the area of the Peak District National Park, in particular Stanton Moor. The intent is to create meaningful results impacting all sites through-out Great Britain. The Peak District is the second most visited national park in the world, however, these landscapes have been relatively ignored and have received comparatively little attention in terms of social research investigating how and why people seek access to its 'sacred sites' - an access that is not only physical but also spiritual, emotional, cultural and educational.

This project unravels the layers of meaning that connect to the symbolic place of Stanton Moor from a very personal perspective that focuses on *being in the landscape*. Through an ethnographic framework based on the movement around the place, interactions between 'sacred' places and people are creatively explored. Over the last nine years of drifting the landscape of Stanton Moor, I have mapped my encounters, meetings, journeys, myths, photos and stories about the place and myself.



The thesis is separated into four main sections outlining:

1. the methodological framework
2. the construction and maintenance of place myths

3. interactions between people and places, and
4. formal interpretation measures at contested sacred sites

The first section outlines my personal motivating factors and attachments to the place. It goes on to uncover the main methodologies used within the research. Ideas of travelling or 'drifting' underpin the approach. Walking changes our relationships with the land: our movements, sights, feelings, smells, touch, memories and experiences create a journey through the physical landscape itself and inner, mental and spiritual geographies of the self. The main premise of the methodology is: to learn about a place by experiencing it.

There is not one Stanton Moor, but many. The variety of meanings are as fluid as the water that runs through the underground chambers of the gritstone plateaux. The second section of the thesis (chapters 2-7) outlines the distinct place myths surrounding Stanton Moor. Firstly chapter 2 unpacks the main theoretical ideas surrounding place myths. Chapter 3 defines Stanton Moor as a 'scheduled ancient monument' and charts archaeological engagements with the site since the late 1700s. Chapter 4 presents Stanton Moor through the eyes of the landowners from Stanton Estate and Haddon Estate, who see the place as a privately owned moorland. Chapter 5 outlines the use of the moor as an industrial resource, for the extraction of high quality gritstone. It explores the ways in which this industrial legacy impacted the communities surrounding the moor and the moor itself. Chapter 6 outlines the recreational use of the moor as a tourist destination, which as we shall see is based around the act of movement and walking through the space. Acts of recreation are very diverse on the moor. The final chapter in this section explores the spiritual attachments people have connected to the moor. The Nine Ladies stone circle in particular has become a symbolic centre and its meanings and associations have stretched over the landscape. I use the term 'fluid community' in this project to define the group of people from this broad perspective.

The third section investigates interactions between people and place. Chapter 8 exposes the ways people create 'others' in the landscape, people who do not conform to the

idealised place myths identified above. These others are created in relation to the self and impact the landscape itself and meanings surrounding it. Chapter 9 outlines the practice guardianship- actions to protect the utopic myths. The focus is placed on the Nine Ladies Anti-quarry Campaign, where locals, 'eco-warriors', pagans and environmental agencies worked together to create social change. Chapter 10 is constructed through participant observations made during 2008-2009 when I lived at the protest site as it was taken down. It provides examples of the attachments made to place, from this personal perspective. Chapter 11 explores issues surrounding power and responsibility on Stanton Moor, identifying three differing types of power on Stanton Moor. An example of management during the summer solstice is exposed.

The forth section focuses on the formal interpretation of sacred sites. It explores the ways Stanton Moor is presented on and off site. Other sacred sites in the Peaks and elsewhere are investigated, comparing interpretation of sacred sites nationally. The section goes on to offer ideas about the ways sites can be presented to incorporate the importance of sites in today's society.

Defining sacred sites

The concept of a 'sacred site' is complex. Research, throughout a number of disciplines, (e.g. Bender 1998; Ivakhiv 2001; Blain and Wallis 2007) has shown us the contested and negotiated nature of meanings and engagements with sacred sites, by numerous different interest groups and individuals. The term *sacred site*, in this document, refers to defined symbolic landscapes, considered as particularly significant and spiritual centres. Stanton Moor has become a symbolic place, through common memories, myths, traditions and collective and individual spiritual performances, that are constructed and maintained within the landscape. Concepts of 'sacredness', weave through the diverse 'place myths' (Shields 1991) (as identified in section 2) attached to the place. Sacred sites are therefore, highly contested and individualised, yet a common theme is witnessed: they are constructed as places to be preserved, protected and guarded from many different perspectives (see chapter 2 and section 3). The notion of sacredness, therefore, is used to cover all interest groups attachment to the place.

Stanton Moor was an important place in prehistory. Defined sites, were constructed over the moor, in the Bronze Age, for various ceremonial purposes. Today, values are added to the landscape, from these past, yet physically recorded events. Meanings are reconstructed in the present and become important within the construction of self and community identity. As such sacred sites are actively protected by numerous interest groups and individuals through acts of guardianship.

When we call a place 'sacred', we are inevitably implying other places are not sacred. They are therefore constructed in relation to other places. The wider landscape context of a place also becomes important within its construction. On Stanton Moor, for example, the high concentration of prehistoric remains; the flora and fauna; the views and other features, remind us that 'sacred sites' should not be investigated in isolation from the surrounding landscapes. Experience at sites becomes an important defining characteristic. The ruined quarried landscapes on Stanton Moor, appears to be incongruous within definitions of a sacred site, but have drastically added to and impacted the ways it has been defined and performed (see section 3).

Ideas about what constitutes 'sacred', are expanding due to the separation of religion and spirituality, in contemporary Western society (Timothy and Olsen 2006). Sacred sites are often linked with the unknown, they are constructed as places of silence and solitude (Trubshaw 2005: 4). Liminal experiences are often created that release the self, temporarily, from everyday life (Turner 1974). Sites, in this sense, become sacred- they are produced through the meanings we attach to them. Yet, sacred sites are also naturally powerful: they have a *genius loci* or spirit of place, created through the material topography and specific ecologies. The place itself therefore, develops its own identity through: the meanings we build onto the place *and* the other than human 'natural' attributes (Ivakhiv 2001). Using the term 'sacred sites' incorporates this relationship between people and place, in which the site is not only constructed by the self, but also the self is constructed through identifying with the place. 'Sacredness' is not simply a matter of joy in experiencing a beautiful or historic place, but a component which motivates people in how they interact with the self, the landscape and others within it

Section One:

Methodologies

This section outlines the main participatory techniques used within the study. The first few pages focus on my personal attachments to Stanton Moor, exploring the distinct relationships developed with the place over the last ten years. Without this, the context of my engagement would not be apparent. It is essential to locate the self in any type of research.

The second part of the chapter explores the specific aims and outcomes of the research. It uncovers the fundamental purposes of the research and goes on to outline the main methodological techniques to be performed. The third focus of the chapter plays out the ethical issues experienced and the ways they were overcome.

The final sections focus on the means of analysing the large amount of data, through developing themes, not only by sifting through transcripts, but also by experiencing them first hand on the landscape. The way the thesis and the data has been presented, using poetry and pastiche, is discussed.

Chapter 1

Entering Stanton Moor: a personal journey

Stanton Moor is an inspiring landscape. My first visit was at a time of change in my life. I was 18 and just about to move from home to begin university. My memory of this first visit is filled with confusion and a desire to find out more. The hour journey to the moor, from the inner city of Stoke-on-Trent, was a significant and transitional moment in the story, my thoughts moved from one state to another as we travelled from the city to the countryside. I remember stepping out of the car and feeling, like I was coming home.



Each twist and turn on the sandstone paths exposed signs to be read, signifiers, not only visual, or intellectual, but also emotional, spiritual and sensual: multi-phased industrial quarry 'ruins' and the related protest site, exposed moorland habitats, small silver birch and oak woodlands, a complex of sacred centres and the natural alters of different shapes and sizes, overlooking the surrounding countryside. Others in the landscape too, campers, walkers and the protest site began to create an idea of the significance of the

place. I remember bugging my friends with questions: what is this, why is this here, what are they protesting about? But at the same time I was asking these questions, I also began to answer them for myself from my own culturally specific background.

I came back to Stanton Moor every summer whilst I was at university, and spent many weekends camping in the wooded quarry ruins to the North West of the moor. During this time I researched the site through the internet and became more familiar with the landscape itself, using archaeological maps produced by locally born archaeologist J. P. Heathcote (1939) to guide me. The landscape was shrinking physically (on my first visit Stanton Moor seemed massive), but at the same time becoming more and more filled with meaning: I began linking the landscape through the attachments, names, symbols, meanings, associations and memories that other people had placed upon the features of the landscape. My sense of self became delicately connected to these sites and my experiences at them.

Moving back to Stoke temporarily in 2004 to complete an MA, my work turned towards landscape and identity. At the same time I began exploring other sites in the Peak District and my own spirituality, which has developed into paganism. I used Stanton Moor as case study within my MA dissertation, focusing on the Nine Ladies stone circle, investigating the ways it is used and represented. I visited the site on Saturdays and Sundays for about 10 weeks and sat at the stones, writing, talking to people and interacting with the landscape.

This research focused on the meanings of the Nine Ladies stone circle specifically- many other aspects, for example the protest campaign- were only briefly explored. Spending this time on the moor introduced me to many of the 'actors' who participated in meaning making in the landscape. Each weekend on my arrival I would be welcomed to the circle with the sounds of a Irish tin whistle flowing in the wind. All the worries of everyday life left me. Sat under an oak tree, a man with a long dreaded mohekan and a Staffordshire Bull terrier at his side, played folk songs. He was part of the landscape, his presence changed my experiences of it, the music created a very nostalgic feeling in me. I also watched him approach groups of people camping around the circle, befriending

them. He created discourses about the circle, the protest site (which he was a part of) and the act of camping itself advising people to take the rubbish home and to not chop down trees or burn living wood.

He was acting as a guardian of the site. This experience confirmed the importance of the place for many. Daz 'Nine Ladies', who I am describing, has been a very significant person on the moor and through out my research. He has become a key informant. The moor also directly impacted his identity and ways of looking at the world.

Through meeting Daz and others who 'loved' Stanton Moor, I became part of a large and dispersed community of people, who were linked by their associations with the place (see chapter 7). It became a place of personal belonging, a place I was able to express myself and be me. The place fulfilled my intellectual, spiritual, social, psychological and physical needs. I became closer to the diverse people I encountered and made friends. Stanton Moor became a key symbolic feature in the construction of my identity.

After graduating, I began working as a moors care assistant with Moors for the Future a partnership organisation with the Peak District National Park. I devised an audio trail for the moor, undertook many litter picks. I also developed new contacts within the Peak District National Park, this time, based on the management of landscape. I was also working with my local community in Stoke-on-Trent as an arts facilitator, using the environmentally-centred philosophy I had developed during my time on the moor. I actively used my way of seeing the world to create situations which gave 'something' back to my ancestral community and the landscape of Stoke on Trent. As environmental artist I worked with young people to explore ways of being creative, giving thanks and celebrating the local place of 'the Potteries'. I worked with children in after-school groups, play schemes, primary schools and participated in numerous local festivals and carnivals. We explored and celebrated our relationships to the land: we were alchemists, transforming our lives, and exposing things as continually connected, created and manifested.

Before the industrial revolution, my ancestors farmed land in the moorland fringes of

Biddulff. I walked these symbolic landscapes, now sub-urban landscapes and connected to the *genius loci*, or place 'soul' (Pennick 2000). This can be experienced everywhere by anyone. This 'soul' is often very personal but can also be localised: for me, walking the landscape connected me to my ancestors and to nature. The topography of the landscape was refreshed through my imagination. I felt a deep peace and oneness residing from within. The world became alive with interconnected webs or matrix of energy. By connecting to the place soul, my ancestral past and the landscape they farmed, added to my sense of self. It was a practice of my spirituality defining who I was.

In 2007, my partner and I made a major life decision. We had been so inspired by this new way of life which appeared to be deeply embedded in the moor, combined with our own dis-satisfaction with life in the Midlands city, we decided to rent our house, store or get rid of our possessions and move into a small 80's ambulance. This decision coincided with an opportunity to develop my research on Stanton Moor through this project. From September 2007 to January 2008 we travelled the West Country, searching for sacred sites, exploring the mythologies, meanings, associations and symbols people had placed on these landscapes. At the same time I continued to construct my spirituality and define who I was within the sacred landscape we explored.

I began to live and breath the research project. We came back to Derbyshire and stayed on the protest site. Daz introduced us to some of the residents. Previously I had only met those who came on to the moor, and only once or twice went down onto the site itself. On these occasions, there was usually no one around to talk to. Very slowly we began 'enter' the site and relationships began developing. At our entry time, the protesters were waiting for the revocation order to be fully agreed by all the relevant organisations. This according to the locals was 'imminent'. The signing by the Secretary of State, would confirm the revocation 100%. The protesters anticipated leaving within five months.

My motivations for staying at the site were multiple: we had always wanted to visit and be part of it, helping them as they helped us- to protect the moor. I also wanted to learn more about the campaign and desired to live as close to the moor as possible, to see the place in a new way, for academic, personal and social reasons.

This opportunity became real when we disclosed our desire to stay with the protesters, and were welcomed into the community. I became part of a web of interconnected relationships based on Stanton Moor, that exist outside of myself. I began to record and collect my experiences.

Aims and outcomes of research

The research is based on being in the landscape- a sensuous attachment that presents the world as it is experienced. The methodologies attempt to reflect the theoretical ideas outlined throughout the thesis, broadly:

- ideas surrounding place are always in creation,
- they are highly complex and delicately connected, a web that intertwines concepts of self and others, identity and difference, nature and culture and is surrounded by 'meanings, desires, images and power' (Ivakhiv 2001: 4).

Stanton Moor has been a focal point in my intellectual, spiritual and environmental development for the past ten years. During this time I have and continue to devote my life to understanding this landscape and the varied ways in which it is perceived, used and represented in the past and today's society. The method here is not seeking new landscapes, but experiencing familiar ones in new ways. Nature for me is like a mirror. What ever we put in front of the mirror, we get out a reflection or a perception of that same thing. As Knight (2007) states 'to go out is to go within'. So to learn about Stanton Moor is to learn about myself.

The research derives from a holistic approach to place, incorporating many disciplines such as sociology, human geography, psychology and philosophy. It encompasses a diversity of theories, methodologies and means of analysis that strive to:

- recognise humans as creative beings continually creating or 'making' themselves and the world surrounding them (Willis 2000)
- connect to the complexity and multiplicity of site use(s) and representation(s)
- celebrate the difference and multivocality of users' engagements the land and therefore incorporate the depth of human meaning

An alternative version or representation of Stanton Moor is created that delves into contemporary meaning making, identity construction and culture, exploring the relationships between self, place and space and the political processes surrounding it. The research creates history and geography of Stanton Moor on the praxis scale. It explores the personal meanings and symbolic content of the the landscape imagery, presenting a ground roots history, written with the words of those who use it.

The specific aims and questions of this research have developed and evolved through-out the first year of study. This was in a deliberate attempt to reflect the organic and synchronised aspects of life. The processes could be likened to the form of a spiral, the general ideas and questions in the centre, continually thought about, extended, analysed and directing future study. A flexible and fluid approach was maintained, changing as themes develop. The structure of the research was therefore created in process. The interactive approach changed with the landscape and my experiences of it. In many ways the research has become something outside of itself and led to social and personal change. As the main actor of this discourse, my interactions with the place impacted others experience, as do all who participate on Stanton Moor. This way of conducting research reflects the organic, synchronised, constructionist and 'creative' aspects of life explored by Willis (2000) in *The Ethnographic Imagination*. He uses the term 'art' to specify a particular quality of meaning making. This argument is particularly interesting as it highlights the ways humans survive by creatively and continually making sense of the world and identifying their place within it. He sees this as an expressive device and calls it 'cultural production', maintained by self-motivated 'cultural practices', the things we do to create our identity, the construction of the self. This is both an individual and collective phenomenon. Life becomes a work of art: continually working, re-working, like kneading clay to make it pliable to work with. The social context of the artist directly impacts the process of meaning making.

The main aim of the research is to provide guidance and contribute to social policy and practice through the exploration of how the 'sacredness' or importance of the landscape can be (re)presented and 'used' within formal and informal educational programmes and by heritage management.

To do this, I:

1. collected and interpreted perceptions of 'sacred sites' within the Peak District
2. creatively documented and theorised interactions and relations between site 'users' and land-owners within the specific landscape of Stanton Moor
3. and therefore, investigated complex ways in which identity is formed and politicised in relation to the landscapes of 'sacred' sites
4. finally I critically explored 'formal' interpretation measures at 'sacred' sites within the Peak District in comparison to heritage and sacred sites in England and Wales.

The research 'experience' created:

- opportunities for users of Stanton Moor to develop understandings, increase respect and take greater care of the landscape(s) and consequently the environment, linking with the 1995 Environmental Act
- a platform for voices of individuals who 'use' and visit stone circles to be heard, by giving participants including local residents, land-owners, campers, pagans and tourists, a chance to have their say about sacred sites and express feelings and thoughts
- new ways of exploring of the role of creativity within social research and within the presentation/management of the environment surrounding us
- a space for participants/users of the moor, to contribute to the overall aim of the research - to impact policy and the ways in which the sacred sites are interpreted by heritage management and the Peak District National Park Authority. Therefore the participants were given the chance to create positive change
- opportunities to challenge and be informed by heritage management perspectives and policies.

These distinct, yet interlinked outcomes have united to introduce ways of understanding the distinct and often fragmented perspectives surrounding sacred sites. Thus enabling pragmatic solutions (in terms of management and damage) within the area of the Peak District to be reached.

Ethnography

The ethnographic framework used in this study can be defined as an in-depth and participatory process located in time and space (Bauman 1973, Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, Davis 1999, Radstone 2000 and Willis 2000). I was a 'full' or 'active' participant, living and working in the field of study (Brewer 2000). As an ethnographic researcher my role is that of mediator and participator, gathering data through observation and watching, listening, asking questions and creating situations in which people have a chance to make a difference, be creative and celebrate place. This method facilitates understanding of the social meanings and activities, through the close participation and association with the setting (ibid). A two way relationship was developed with the participant, by the sharing personal and private experiences.

Ethnography is a form of research which acknowledges and utilises the subjective experience of both participants and the researcher (Davis 1999: 22). It acknowledges personal factors, culture and other external forces which all influence the selection of the research topic and responses to it. It therefore recognises reflexivity within social research and includes it within the process. Ethnography has been criticised for its lack of reliability and generalisability, due to results being so dependent upon time, space and culture (ibid).

The unique position of living at the protest site, from Jan 2008- April 2010 enabled me to take a very introspective, empathetic stance, not only towards residents of the protest site, but also more generally. It enabled opportunities for close contact with many of the different people involved, one way or another with Stanton Moor. The techniques used were flexible and appropriated to the individual participants, to reflect the naturalistic and free setting (Brewer 2000). I became part of the 'natural setting' and explored the meanings that myself and others apply to their own perspectives and experiences. To achieve this I positioned myself as an 'outsider', who was not necessarily part of any internal conflicts, but was able to react and sympathise with each side of the story equally, whether or not I saw them as right or wrong.

Although I aligned myself within the protest site (and my political views were possibly

seen as reflecting this) I continually maintained a diplomatic, tactful persona with all participants. The availability of contacts and 'insider information' achieved was extremely beneficial to the study. This was mainly accessed through attending the Stanton Forum, set up by the police to mediate between the protesters and locals after a 48 hour party (see chapter 9). I was able to attend and record meetings. I met many of the different players on Stanton Moor, including the Stanton Parish Council representatives, locals, the police, social workers, Peak District National Park Authority officials and the local landowners. I also walked Stanton Moor extremely regularly due to the close location. These shared experiences and communications enabled the development of relationships and a 'closeness' built on trust and respect. This act of participation led to increased access to participants.

Any claim of 'objectivity' within social science ignores the very existence of the self, which is so inevitably tangled up in all aspects of social research. My own location, not only physical but theoretical, political, emotional and spiritual positioning, specifically determines the issues chosen and the ways in which these issues are explored within any research or discourse (see Blain, Ezzy and Harvey (eds) 2004, and Ely et al 1991). I am presenting information to you in a way that not only establishes meaning but inherently creates the very reality experienced.

This debate about the 'situatedness' of the researcher has informed many theoretical and methodological discourses (see Ely et al 1991, Giddens 1991, Haraway 1989) throughout the history of sociology. It has developed into new dimensions with the rise of 'post-modern' and 'post structuralist' thinkers recognising the power of those who *read* discourses and continue to interpret and construct meanings and understandings beyond the text itself (Barthes 1979, Lyotard 1984). The agency, act of participation or experience itself, creates its own context, shared by the researcher and the participant.

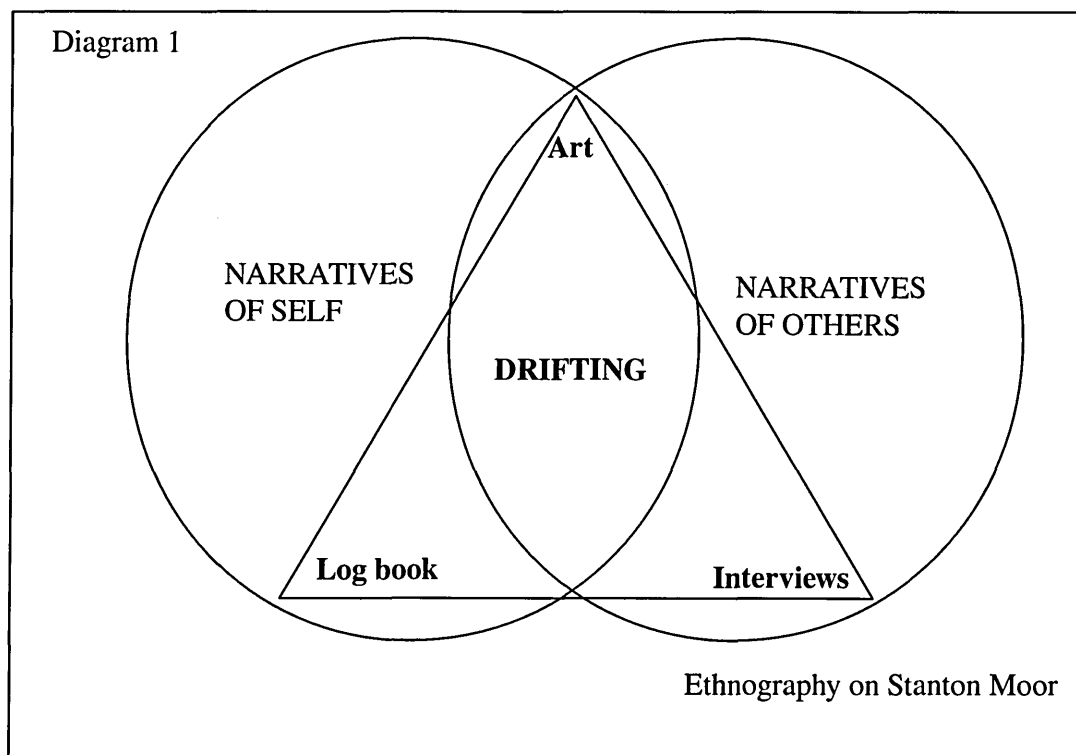
The apparent 'closeness' of the researcher to the research situation could also be used as a direct criticism of this study. Thinking about myself in new ways and writing continuous logs through-out the project (to be outlined below) enabled me to reflexively investigate the reasons and the decisions I made. It provided a platform in which I was

able to explore myself, the reasons I was doing the research and other ethical decisions.

As a researcher I took an active part in the dialogue, not just asking questions and analysing data, but also reflecting deeply on my own experiences (Kvale 1996). The process is not just about discovering the landscapes and sacred sites but also about exploring the self. As researcher, I assumed the role of a traveller who searched the landscapes, looking for interesting conversations, places and people. This creative act opened up new ways of thinking, experiencing, perceiving and creating the world surrounding us and our actions within it.

Triangulation

The research blends these inner, subjective and experimental processes with outward, and more 'objective' approaches and hence, recognises the ability to be *in* the experience as well as to comment *on* it (Blain et al, 2004). The research balances and interplays *narratives of self* and *narratives of others* through the act of participation, or specifically in this research 'drifting'.



Drifting the self and the landscape

A triangulation of approaches underpins the ethnographic framework adopted on Stanton Moor. A participatory drifting technique was maintained to reflect the ways in which users experience the moor, through walking the paths. As a drifter, I was pulled through the landscape by my senses and the signs I reacted with and recorded. Whilst drifting I watched others, spoke, listened. I became part of the moor and the moor became a part of me. I developed a very intimate relationship with the place, enabling deep understandings about the ways it was used. I walked over the moor at different times, each day, every month, all seasons. I witnessed the fluidity of the site, the changeable nature of the meanings and the landscape itself through the seasons. Reflecting and connecting to the landscape also became a way of connecting to my spiritual self.



The idea of travelling or moving through space as a method of inquiry is influenced by the emancipatory practice of psychogeography. Psychogeography, defined by Debord (1955: 8) is 'the study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviours of individuals'. He used psychogeography as a tool to politically and aesthetically transform urban life, to catch the textual run of the landscape: the signs, the graffiti, the litter, providing a counter-history of the landscapes of capitalism (Coverley 2006). The main characteristic of

psychogeography is drifting through the landscape. Psychogeographers 'drift' the landscape to search for pre-established signs and create new meanings. This is an act of subversion, to challenge official representations of the landscapes, enabling the complexity of social life to be meaningfully condensed into representational portraits of a place.

Drifting the landscape of Stanton Moor, creates situations in which participants (including myself) can explore landscapes we have no practical reason to be in. The drifting 'rules' (adapted from Home 1997: 3) used in this project were:

- one or more persons may undertake drifting
- displace the usual motivations for movement and action- the only reason to drift is to drift
- let yourselves be drawn by the attractions of the landscape
- record your distinct thoughts, feelings, wishes, emotions and interactions encountered within the different landscapes.
- the drift can last for as long or as short as is desired.

The landscape becomes a portrait that has and continues to be, created through condensing, compiling and contextualising the whole picture. These landscapes, develop their own genius loci or spirit of the place through our interactions with them. Drifting introduces specific themes or symbols or stories that encapsulate the identity or energy of the landscape(s). Different places in this sense have distinct spiritual qualities. They act as symbols, speaking on many different levels which provoke active interactions: a place is not only inhabited outwardly but also inwardly through the landscape of the imagination and the place itself.

'Drifting' the landscape of Stanton Moor, exposes the interconnected web of life that is continually created, negotiated, shaped and constituted. It can be a routine, yet also be used as a political tool: in demonstrations and strikes, walkers weave their way through space in ways that escape measures of control and in this sense challenge the existing social order.

The concept of 'detournement,' in English meaning diversion, can be defined as acts of re-creation, where the source and the meaning of original signs are subverted to make new signs (Grey 1998). This emphasises Barthes (1977a) concept, the 'death of the author', the author as controlling the origin or intention of the discourses. Rather, the reader or interpreter is born, who maintains an endless multiplicity of meanings derived from searching the landscape for signs. Social meanings, in this sense, are irreducible, and meanings cannot be fully dictated. As Marx expressed, 'men [sic] can see nothing around them that is not their own image. Everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive' (cited in Debord, 1958: 10).

This drifting approach is particularly refreshing. Creativity is seen to exist within everyone and is encouraged due to its transformative possibilities. The focus is placed onto generating creativity by being creative. Within this project, one main outcome of the research is to mediate between different constructions of reality and to encourage in our self and others, an understanding of people's different conceptions of the world. This type of approach is increasingly being played out within a number of different situations such as community arts and Participatory Action Research where the focus is placed onto the role and purpose of academic involvement in the public sphere, especially relating to facilitating community cohesion, social inclusion and re-generation (see Uzzell (ed) 1989). Such projects provide a space in which people can put forward their opinions and also generates a creative opportunity for people who don't always get the chance to find a voice.

More informations about drifting can be found on pages 39, 91-93 and 95-97.

Narratives of Self: Log Book

During my time living on site (January 2008- April 2009) I walked on the moor most days at different times. On warm sunny days I would sit at the stones, meet people and talk with them. Through using a log book I creatively recorded experiences using techniques such as drawings, notes and poetry, rather than writing in the traditional sociological way. This removed some of the restrictions language forces upon me when remembering and representing my thoughts, feelings, emotions and dreams. I

reflectively wrote about almost every experience, every conversation. I also sat at the stones on my own, which can be very rare at times, and wrote my feelings and thoughts within the specific localities (see appendix: 295).

The log book was also used through-out the research as a way of exploring my feelings and documenting my thought processes with regards to key issues such as access and ethical decisions. The log book became a place to re-map and re-negotiate my ethical judgements. It has provided a space to be reflective, ground myself and think as well as a place to note observations and conversations with others. I continually reflected on issues such as the possible effects caused by participation and throughout the process and recorded details about the decisions made, what things worked, experiences encountered, what didn't work and why (Davis 1999, Ely et al 1991, Lee-Trewick and Linkogle 2000, Radstone 2000).

Through participating on the moor in this way I have been able to witness to the 'true' histories or identities of the place, the interactive, multifaceted and performed 'truths'. The emphasis is put into a socially constructed gaze, and maintained through physical experiences. 'Truth' in this sense derives from the imagination. I do not wish to transcribe the 'truths' of the landscape I experience, rather I read it and interpret it. My presence creates the interpretations derived from my own cultural context, framing the meanings, movements, memories and the local and particular spaces I exist in.

Narratives of others: interviews

The interview experience provided new discourses about the landscape and the self. It enabled the development of an empathetic relationship between those involved, creating a snap shot of complex minds at that moment in time and space. Thirty semi structured interviews took place on Stanton Moor (see appendix: 297 for list of contributors). Themes and questions developed to explore: the meanings participants attributed to the moor; social interactions and management issues. Using the semi-structured approach encouraged participant to direct the interviews in ways that may not be explored by the interviewer. Participants are able to import any issues they find relevant and connected (Ely et al 1991).

My role as a interviewer was active: I engaged *with* participants. We discussed issues, I actively listened and continually and reflexively questioned the situation, the means of analysis and my decisions and choices (Gubrium and Holstein in Silverman 2004).

Almost every interview took place on Stanton Moor and involved drifting over the sandy paths. The routes taken varied with each participant who was given the freedom to decide which journey they wanted to undertake. Visual signifiers often provoked new discussions and acted as prompts of memory deriving from the landscape itself. Throughout the walks the complexity of 'issues' that surround the site were temporarily re-structured or re-placed into specific parts of the landscapes, to capture what has been learned over a period of time. These were used to introduce specific themes or findings that encapsulate what has been found through-out the fieldwork. We wandered the landscape, searching for pre-established signs and created new meanings. I took an active part in the dialogue- not just asking questions but also reflecting on my own experiences (Mantin 2004).

Walking on Stanton Moor in this research has been used as a tool to open up new sets of understandings. The act produces knowledge in and for itself. Interviews (whether they include walking or not) are a social encounter: the interview shapes the form and the content of what is said (Cicourel 1974). Meaning is actively and socially assembled through-out the encounter. The interviews therefore construct knowledge with, rather than about the landscape.

In contrast to the thirty formal 'drifting' interviews, short unstructured and semi-structured interviews also took place at the Nine Ladies Stone Circle, or for some campers, at their 'base' or tent. Many paths that flow over Stanton Moor go to the circle and people often stop and explore the stones. It has a central location on the moor, away from roads but is relatively accessible. Unstructured interviews or conversations often occurred purposefully but also accidentally. Sometimes when sat in the stone circle writing, people would enquire about what I was doing. This would lead to the discussion about the research project and often included an outline of their personal thoughts. People desired a deeper understanding of the place, sometimes I offered my thoughts.

Sometimes I listened. This links back to the ethnographic approach outlined above (see appendix: 295-301).

Participants were given the freedom to (re-) produce discourses surrounding themselves through re-telling, re-imagining and re-constructing their understandings whilst drifting the landscape. Participants were then provided with an electronic version of the transcripts and asked to edit if required.

Art: Video and photography

Video and photography was also used as a way of recording my experiences on the moor. The video camera was used as a tool to capture experiences in a visual way (Banks 2000). The main video was shot at the protest camp during the final stages (see chapter 11 and appendix: 302). Photographs taken throughout the project are also presented within the thesis. The photographs aim to illustrate and provide evidence for the issues discussed within. Sometimes photographs can say much more than words alone and invite participatory analysis. They can visually take the reader into the landscape to explore the site for themselves, yet they are also framed, from my own experiences and the ways I have chosen to represent them. The pictures are not labelled as such, rather placed strategically throughout the text and speak for themselves and so are interspersed.

Nine Ladies Protest Site archive

At the end of the protest site, I was given an archive collected over ten years by protesters. This had been made publically available at the time of the campaign through a small exhibition in a 'information caravan' on the site. The archive includes publicity materials; photographs; legal documentation including the eviction order; minutes of meetings and copies of letters sent and received. These documents aided greatly in the construction of chapter 9. In the future the information will be digitalised and provide information for others who desire to explore this area further (see chapter 14).

Methodological Issues

1. Entering the field in a known setting: the role of the research, researcher

and participants

My understandings of Stanton Moor, are determined by a number of factors including: my emotional attachments to the space; the landscape itself; the ways I construct it; my relationships with people; my personal identity and the ways I'm perceived by 'others'. My educational background and the social and cultural contexts also add to the ways the space is imagined and represented.

At the time of moving to the protest site in Jan 2008, I realised this experience would enable a personal exploration of the meanings people attach to the distinct environment of Stanton Moor, from the point of view of someone living within the landscape. Slowly, as I began working out the main aims and objectives of the study, I continued to form relationships with people from the protest site and others who used the moor. I was interested and intrigued by them. I would go up to the large marquee type communal area one evening, on the moor the next, share stories, laugh, walk, play games, eat with... be part of the community. How, I wondered, can I study these people and live with them? I needed to develop a framework that enabled me to live in this environment and also stand away from the environment and look with fresh eyes. I felt like an old weighing scale, erratically moving from side to side as more weights are dropped onto me: one side, Aimee the researcher, then the other side Aimee, me. I couldn't find balance so I dived into a sea of literature to look for an answer to approach this research problem. I was sure I was not the first researcher to experience this situation. Waves of ethics, risks, methodology, theory, crashed over my head as I bobbed up and down gasping for air, searching for a strategy. I questioned my own identity, my motivations and my own perceptions. I sat in the Nine Ladies Stone Circle and listened... and wrote.

My ambivalence towards entering the field due to the complexity of the situation was soon removed after sourcing advice from others. I found it useful to adopt certain responsibilities as a researcher (Ely et al 1991, Denzin 1989), such as honesty, developing clear aims, exploring any issues and defining the roles of the participants and researcher through out the process. These responsibilities encouraged the development of clearly defined aims, which explained exactly what the research was. I also found it important to be clear about what the research was going to be used for and

to make sure the participants are aware that they have the right to withdraw and withhold information at any time. This has been called informed consent (Miller and Bell in Mauthner, Birch, Jessop and Miller 2008 and Lee-Treweek and Linkogle 2000).

This particular fluid approach to methodology can be seen as a problematic research method (Mauthner, Birch Jessop and Miller 2008), as one can never predict the outcome: narratives are re-mapped and re-negotiated throughout the study. It is therefore essential the participants were a part of this re-mapping, to re-negotiate meanings. The participants are given the final power of the discourse and are offered an opportunity to review and edit the transcript before submission.

Increasingly 'technologies of self' (Foucault 1977), construct who we are and how we present ourselves. They are the self scrutinising regimes that govern all aspects of our inner and outer life, and affect the ways we communicate our ideas with others (Gubruim and Holstein in Silverman 2004). The self is (re-)invented through these processes. This can be exemplified throughout the interview methodology. As one participant said 'I am using words that I feel it is OK for you to hear, and you'll do the same when you are talking to me but it is just the way it is'. Interviews within this research were recorded using a dictaphone. It was interesting to hear what people said when the tape player is off. On a couple of occasions things were left out of the recorded discourse and re-communicated when it was turned off, especially by those acting in an official capacity, such as English Heritage representatives or Peak Park officials. As such this information has been omitted from the research however continues to inform my perceptions and understandings.

2. Consent

I have continually written field notes and sourced inspiration from the landscapes and people surrounding me. Does this constitute a covert approach? I cannot wear a sign that signals when I am or not collecting data. As Adler (1985: 27) notes most ethnographic research involves 'a delicate combination of overt and covert roles'. Formal written consent forms were not required. However, consent for the interviews was obtained verbally. Due to the unique nature of the relationships already established, I did not feel

it necessary to challenge or impose any formal regulations, as this may change the relationship or dissuade the participants from taking part. Most participants fully agreed to their names being used within the essay.

3. Access

An overt approach was taken with relation to access. Over the past three years I have developed relationships and made people aware of my research degree and the focus of the research. I have received a very positive response to the aims of the overall research, especially because it is perceived by many, to be working towards the same goals. There was occasional concern amongst some participants, that the research would not make any positive impacts, from their perception, on the moor and the way it is managed. Overall, most people welcomed more research in the academic and topographical area and were intrigued by the results and happy to share their stories. There were also unfortunately two potential participants who declined an interview, however this was due to personal circumstances.

Analysis of data

The log book and interviews were transcribed onto the computer and the process for analysis was influenced by the qualitative analysis outlined in Ely et al (1997: 206):

1. study and re-study the data, developing a detailed knowledge
2. writing initial impressions within the margins of the transcript
3. creating tentative categories
4. refining these categories by re-examining steps 1-3
5. group the data under categories and revise categories if needed
6. write data presentations by linking data across categories
7. interrogate findings
8. compare findings for commonalities, patterns, differences and unique happenings.

By working through the data in a personal, yet structured sense I continued to develop intimate knowledge of the lived experience I was a part of over the last ten years. Some of the information retrieved was confidential (as expressed during the interview). This

was omitted from the analysis, yet influenced my understandings and approaches in a broad sense. For an outline of the data analysis see appendix: 301.

Presentation of data

The data is presented using a number of different rhetorical devices which aim to invite the reader to interpret the data themselves. By presenting the data in numerous ways, my understandings developed and created a platform in which the reader can creatively interpret their own conclusions.

The main device used was 'pastiche'. Multiple states of minds, events, images and conversations are represented, forcing the reader to take the stance of each view point and then to stand back and reflect. It exposes juxtapositions, multiple telling, parody, and multiplicity of the social world.

The second rhetorical device uses poetry to encapsulate the essence of particular views of the landscape, using the words from the interviews and log books. Poems thus, 'follow the passes and inflection in the speakers speech in the form of free verse' (Patai 1988: 149 cited in Ely et al 1997). The story of the participants including myself is condensed and explored vividly through prose. By using poetry, I hope to provide a window into the emotions and mind of the participant, an insight into the experience. Therefore, the rhythms, pauses, narrative strategies, repetitions are brought out of the text, more than the quotes of the data themselves (ibid). For a small poetry anthology devised from interview transcripts see appendix: 309. These ways of presenting the data aim to reflect the layers of meaning that are inherent in social life and hope to complement the methodology. The focus is on experimentation, reflexivity, multiplicity and creativity.

The next chapter will develop an understanding of the Stanton Moor by looking back and recovering the ideologies that are linked to it. It is a site of number of different symbols, constructions, rituals, stories and understandings reflecting societal change (Bender 1998). Wider historical processes affecting the local specificities will be outlined exposing space as more than backdrop or a geographical area.

Section 2:

Place Myths

This section focuses on the ways Stanton Moor is perceived and represented through the examination of '*place myths*' (Shields 1991). In this project place myths are ideals inserted into the landscape about what a place is and what a place should be. Through these distinct but interlinked myths, we can construct understandings about the meanings people ascribe, not only to place but also the self. Meanings within this context are described as the *values* embedded into the fabric of the landscape (as explored in this section and consequently the ways people interact with the landscape and others who use it- see section 3). Through exploring the social relations surrounding the site we are able to construct ideas about the meanings of the place (Kuper 2003).

The first part of the section (chapter 2) introduces the key theoretical terms and debate to be adopted within this thesis, surrounding place and identity.

The second part of the section is separated into five chapters, each exploring the distinct place myths associated with Stanton Moor. They have been created from the analysis of the primary research. Relevant theoretical discussions are often interwoven throughout the chapters and each is written in a style and emphasis that reflects the myth itself and those who construct it. The main place myths for Stanton Moor are outlined in the table 1 below:

Table 1: Place Myths of Stanton Moor

| Values | Contributors | What? |
|---|--|---|
| Archaeologic-al important landscape (NATURE AS OBJECT) | John Barnatt (Senior Archaeologist PDNPA), Pauline Beswick (editor for the DAJ) Jon Humble (manager for the East-Midlands English Heritage). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A nationally important scheduled monument • A 'rare surviving example of a complex Bronze Age ceremonial, funerary and settlement landscape'. • Multi period features from Roman to present. • Sites as source of knowledge about the past. • Preservation ethos • Conservation. • Local interest- Heathcote and community • Legislation |
| Private Property (NATURE AS OBJECT) | Adrian Davey-Thronhill (landowner of Stanton Moor: Thronhill Estate); Lord Edward Manners (landowner of Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries: Haddon Estate) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From common land to private exploitation and gain • Private property and enclosures • Part of the Stanton and Haddon Estates • 'A place for locals and those with a keen archaeological interest' Thronhill, A (forum 10/08) and hunting and horse riding |
| Quarrying/industrial resource (NATURE AS RESOURCE) | Landowners (see above); Jim Druiry (local historian from Birchover); Jeff Henson (local from Stanton Lees) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From small scale delving to mass destruction • High quality and valued grit-stone • Impacts on local communities |
| Local and national recreational resource (NATURE AS RESOURCE AND AS SPIRIT) | Various occasional and infrequent users of Stanton Moor; 'Rachael' (from Stanton in Peak); Jeff Henson (from Stanton Lees); Kath Potter (from Stanton Lees); regular campers including John and Guybongo; Daz 'Nine Ladies' | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A open space to walk the dog, have a picnic, to explore in adverse weather conditions, ride on the horse etc, • Landscape used for Youth Orienteering Championships, Duke of Edinburgh scheme, Ultimate Frizbee Championships, • tourists or weekend walking groups/ramblers. • place of competitiveness • Aestheically beautiful landscape, • place of escape from the city, • maintain fitness and • (re-)connect to nature. |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| | (who lived at the protest site) Andy Farmer (ranger for the PDNPA) | |
| Living Landscape (NATURE AS SPIRIT) | Daz 'Nine Ladies'; Kath Potter; various campers; Lord Edward Manners; Steven Read (regular visitor to the protest site); Gordon MacLellen (environmental artist); Linda Webb (from Stanton Lees); Ruth Franklin (from Nine Ladies Protest Site). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A spiritual centre: a highly charged landscape where people come to: (re-) connect with nature and the past, communicate with spirits and celebrate/observe the cycles of nature and the seasons • A place of resistance against 'mainstream, consumerist society'. • A site of freedom, authenticity and occasionalism. • A place to escape the routinised systematic and instrumental domination exerted by the institutional arrangements of everyday life and reject (sometimes temporarily) the existing values of society. • For some, life and identity is based on the prehistoric past, a golden age of alternate meanings: a utopia of a free society. |

Chapter 2

Defining place myths

Searching for meaning

Sacred sites such as Nine Ladies Stone Circle on Stanton Moor, are particularly enigmatic. We have no direct understanding of why they were built. They have become a place to search for meaning (Blain and Wallis 2002a, Bender 1998). The underlying general confusion or lack of knowledge leads to many creative reinterpretations (both purposeful and accidental). People project specific ideals or utopia's onto the place about what a place could or should be. The site itself has eroded into fragments which draw together a transient past with the desire to remember (Stewart 1996), and the ruins (in the sense they are not being used by the original constructors) take on many compelling meanings.



This is echoed in the ways sites have been used over time. Many sites on the moor have been re-used and added to over hundreds of years (McGuire and Smith 2007). The designers voices are, however silent. It is now peoples experiences of being in the landscape, that has led to the construction of discourses and the 'invention of traditions'

(Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983). Many traditions surround sacred sites: the most prevalent today, the desire to preserve the special qualities of the site. They are deemed worthy of 'saving'. This is called the *preservation ethos*, and provides the main hegemonic discourse about sacred sites (Blain and Wallis 2007), or as Smith (2006: 11) describes an 'authorised heritage discourse'. This involves attempts to preserve for the site for future generations, in its condition now. Practices are then carried out to perform the 'traditions' related to this discourse.

Common themes

The place myths attached to the landscape are layered. They are continually supplanted by other sets of ideas coming from distinct, yet sometimes similar starting points. Although each place myth is diverse, discourses are united through common structural themes. Place myths on Stanton Moor are constructed within these following themes:

Defining the landscape through names

Meanings are often devised through defining the landscape. This process is often aided through naming a place or a feature. These representations help order and make sense of the world. No name is arbitrary, rather it is linked to social and cultural associations; communities; place; topography; people and stories (Trubshaw 2005). On Stanton Moor there are many distinct features that have been named. The name Stanton is Anglo-Saxon for stone town or dwellings near the stone (McGuire and Smith 2007). The Nine Ladies Stone Circle is constructed from an 'origin' myth that surrounds this circle. The myth changes with each telling, but in essence certain factors remain the same. Nine ladies danced on a forbidden day - the Sabbath or mid summer solstice. They danced to the sound of the fiddle, played by the the Devil or the King. All were turned to stone as punishment, thus creating the Nine Ladies and outlying Fiddler stone (also known as the Kings Stone). Some locals say they will come back to life if a Fiddler plays tunes on the mid summer solstice (Drury 2009- interview).

This myth conjures many different meanings in the minds of the visitors, one male participant noted 'those nine naked ladies were not here to meet us unfortunately'. For others the myth represents a 'christianisation' of the prehistoric site, an attempt to

demonise and curb nature centred religions (Reed- interview 2009). The myths remind us that others have created meaning here. They are often in direct competition with each other as will be explored. Socially constructed ideas, local languages and perceived social activities surrounding sites, all impact names that have been given. They are representations of distinct perceptions which inform social interactions.

Experiences on site and our sensuous reactions to them

When we visit or live near a place, myths about our localities are also created through personal experiences within the place, both past and present (Barthes 1979). Place is defined in relation to our own existence, from our personal and cultural perspective. We further perpetuate and represent these places through our performances on site. From this continuous interaction between people and places, these 'myths' perspire out of the landscape and the self. They go on to affect others within the web of life. Place myths or meanings are often linked to other spaces, in a web of 'tangled relations' (Ivakhiv 2001: 245). Places are also compared and constructed in relation to other people, they are contrasted and differentiated into categories of meaning, such as city or nature and us/them (Trubshaw 2005).

Social spatialisation: a post modern production of space

The multiplicity of the landscapes, their diverse narratives and representations, reflect the situation and history of events at each site, as suggested by Edmonds and Seaborne (2001). This is called *social spatialisation*: a site acquiring its own history, identity and symbolic meanings through the events and activities that have occurred (Shields 1991: 60). Over time users attempt to anchor their views onto the place and orchestrate the site (Ivakhiv 2001). Sacred sites are produced further through the articulation and contested claims to 'ownership' and the control of behaviour. There is much competition for the authority to speak for sacred sites and this is linked with claims of authenticity (see chapter 10).

Ways of perceiving places are culturally specific and therefore always in a process of becoming. They are re-worked and re-constituted in different ways by each 'user'. Like the edge of the shore on the beach, waves of engagements, uses, values and

representations crash onto landscapes one after another, creating layered depth of meanings. The place becomes sedimented and worked upon in thought and action and are full of earlier uses and meanings: some legitimised, some excluded. The multiple voices surrounding places, mobilise many different histories, a pick and mix, in which each discourse in the pot is differently empowered and fragmented by the individuals, groups, society and the larger global economy. This exposes social processes at work under capitalism, for example individualisation, alienation and innovation (Harvey 1989: 111). Sacred sites are political and contested. Technologies of power are therefore bound within place (Bender 1998).

Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics, it has always been political and strategic

(Lefebvre cited in Soja 1989: 80)

Post modern and human geography theories have reasserted the significance of place within social thought and practice and reflect the differential and fragmented ways in which people perceive place. 'Users' of these discourses: archaeologists; architects; sociologists; researchers; lecturers and conservationists, for example, have gone on to offer fresh, flexible and creative insights into their fields of expertise that re-entwines the making of history with the social production of space (Soja 1989). The PDNPA, for example, define places within the imagined boundary as a 'living landscape', in which people work, live and play (Christian 1976). The PDNPA, also promote a static, natural and wild landscape that people can visit from the near cities and towns to escape their work and life. Archaeologists are not only excavating the past, but also investigating peoples contemporary attitudes to place.

From investigating such perspectives it becomes clear that a place is not just a backdrop, but filled with power, ideology, meaning and experience. As Soja (1989: 79-80) wrote 'while the thing we call place may begin as a physical construct, its organisation and meanings are a product of social translation, transformation and experience'. Even the terms used to describe a place, such as nature, landscape and countryside are full of earlier uses and meanings, they are rich in meaning (Trubshaw 2005: 1).

For Jameson (1989) space is the fundamental organising principle and concern for social life. In his analysis of the 'cultural logic of late capitalism', he has shown how the re-shaping of our sense of space into 'post-modern hyperspace...has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself' (Jameson 1989: 45). Such theories, along with those from Anderson (1983), help us to consider space as a 'imagined' geography, in which the structures of meaning that are involved in the production and use of power, become incorporated into the production and use of space. What is imagined, by those who experience the site, is structured according to the place myths surrounding it (Shield 1991). These are linked to the ways we create and re-create reality.

New technologies, including websites have enabled complex and multiple amount of knowledge claims or myths to be increasingly made. These can undermine and reinforce existing power structures, a multiplicity of 'little stories' or 'truths'. Lyotard (1977: 65) states:

'people do not exist as a subject, but rather as an accumulation of thousands of little histories, futile and serious, and which permit themselves to be drawn together to constitute larger stories, sometimes to disperse again into wandering elements, but which on the whole hold more or less together to form what one calls the culture of a civil society'.

From this perspective to know oneself, is to understand the politics of spatiality surrounding us and the meanings we have attached to these spaces.

Foucault (1972: 107), used the term 'discourse', to describe the specific set of beliefs, ideas, knowledge and practices, that are ordered, according to the underlying rules and codes of society. Discourses change through-out time and are culturally specific. They are interrelated nodes, forming wider networks, a web of references with other discourses. The authors of the representations are the medium rather than the point of origin of ideas, mediating with and through other signs that have an effect on what is thought. Cultural order in this sense is created and sustained *through* discursive practices (Tilley 1990), which can be examined as representations of the social

processes.

Sacred sites, therefore should not be seen as closed and unworthy of searches for meaning, but rather should be recognised as open and plural, incorporating the readers into the production (Bender 1998: 23).

Foucault (1972) also highlights power is inherent in the discourses themselves. This can be illustrated using the example of archaeology. Archaeologists, as actors of the discourse, are given power and control over sacred sites and peoples interaction with them. Visitors of sacred sites are legally unable to have fires. for example, as it is seen to damage potential 'archaeological layers'. Yet archaeologists are given the authority to undertake excavation, due to the discourses that they represent and contribute to. Places however are not definitively a space of liberation or alternatively oppression: we are unable to fully guarantee certain practices at spaces. Discourses in this sense, cannot dictate meaning absolutely, as we shall see in the third section. They live outside of human consciousness, but at the same time, consciousness is also reproduced by discourse.

Production and consumption

Places, however are not only created by human interactions. The place itself, creates human reactions and interactions. The landscape has its own identity or '*spirit of place*' which impacts those who come into contact with it. The physical topography and meanings interplay to create the ways we perceive and represent the place. Ivakhiv (2001) discusses this alternative perspective which emphasis meaning as arising from the purposeful interaction with the environment. He describes sacred spaces as 'shaped through interaction, over time, between human and specific extra-human environments' (2001: 45). Based on these interactions there is much diversity of agendas over space and many meanings anchored.

Engagement with the landscape is therefore a process of: production (mutual becoming of the environment) and consumption (becoming of persons) (Ingold 1992). People create the environment and the environment embodies past activity, together with extra-

human qualities. Space is filled with distinct meanings which organise the self and landscape.

Heterotopia

Stanton Moor is a place where many diverse meanings have become united in one landscape. Foucault (1970: 263-279) termed a place with many different meanings competing against itself, as 'heterotopic'. 'We are in the age of the simultaneous, of juxtaposition, the near and far, the side by side, the scattered', he states (1970: 264). The heterotopia can juxtapose in one place, several distinct spaces which are in themselves incompatible.

Most places are heterotopic. They have different and competing meanings from each user/observer. They are constructed, as Foucault noted 'in relation with all other' places but in ways that 'suspend, neutralise or invert the relationships that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect' them.

The utopic unreal, perfected version of a space, is constructed with specific ideals in mind. In reality, when these utopias are played out, these meanings adapt, change, alter, grow or die. The utopia becomes heterotopic through the experience and performances within the spaces. They are 'a effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites... [are] simultaneously represented, contested and inverted' (Foucault 1970: 267).

Most cultures are made up of heterotopias. They take a wide variety of forms to the extent that no universal type exists. Heterotopia have functions in society, but depending on the community culture surrounding it, this function can change and adapt. Entrance to the heterotopia's can be relatively inaccessible. To get in one must perform certain rituals or gestures. They can be perceived as open to all by the fact that we can all enter and be present, however this is only an illusion. This is because the heterotopia is based on experience. Through shared experience, access to a heterotopic space can be achievable.

From outlining these principles we can call Stanton Moor a heterotopic space: a place of

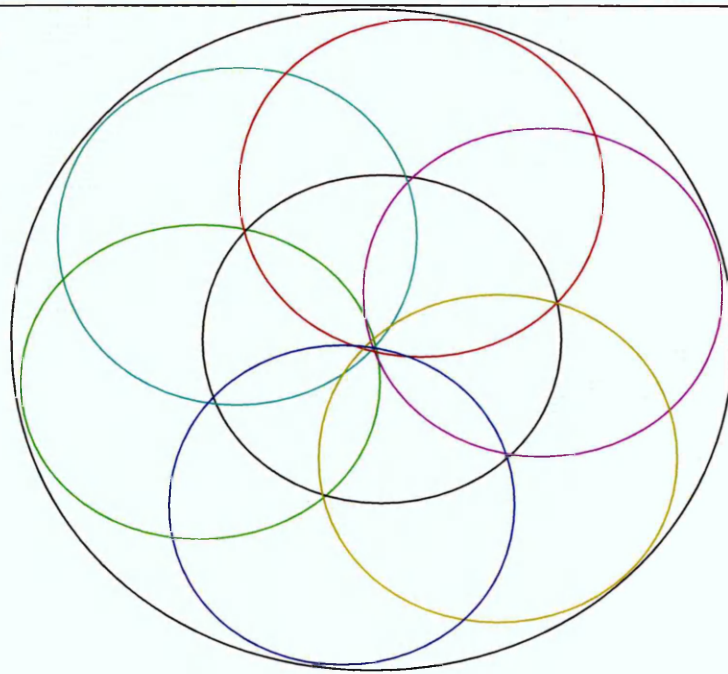
resistance linked to the 'romantic structure of feeling' (Hetherington 1998), and a place of ordering, industry and control. It is a marginal space that has been made significant by an attachment to a symbolism of otherness and difference. Heterotopic spaces are socially constructed; they have multiple symbolic meanings attached to them, they are based on *difference*. They do not only exist at the metaphorical edges of society, but as spaces in between. This exposes ideas of freedom and control as highly complex and simultaneously folded, crumpled and challenging.

Drifting the utopia

Within this research, drifting is used as a tool to explore these differing place myths. To drift, is not only to walk through a landscape physically, but also to wander the endless tapestry of ideas, concepts and ways of, being on Stanton Moor. Five main place myths have been identified from the primary research. Within this thesis the place myths have been pulled apart, to fully explore each individual character and to identify how these myths have come into existence. In reality these myths do not stand explicitly alone, as individual or solid meanings. People construct personal utopias through a pick and mix of different parts. People may take more from one than others. When writing about place myths I become constrained by language: what we see and the spatiality of life, simultaneously exists in space, but language takes place in time and is successive. It is in itself, an interpretation of the meanings surrounding the place.

Through the concept of drifting, as explored in chapter one, the self becomes immersed in difference. A relative objectivity is required, in a sense of putting oneself to one side, to achieve a mediated platform in which to explore the various place myths. Reflexivity, becomes the key to creating situations, in which multiple voices can be actively accessed, recorded and heard. Myself as a participator and researcher remains central to each place myth. Ultimately I have decided what information to include and what to omit.

Diagram 2



Six Stanton Moor place myths: unpacking the heterotopia

This diagram attempts to show the complex relationship between place myths. Five interlocking circles represent each myth identified, the sixth circle is the place myth I have constructed here within the thesis. This central flowering circle also represents a aim to be explored in section four: the creation of a 'mindful visitor' (Moscardo 1996, 1999, 2000 cited in Timothy and Stephen 2003: 175-178).

One main question remains: are all place myths equally valid? This question is left open to the reader. Ultimately this depends upon identity, the wider context and other social processes. The interactions between the users of the place myths, is explored in section three, as are issues of power and responsibility.

The remaining chapters within this section, aim to pull apart the distinct ways Stanton Moor is perceived and represented through discourses. The next five chapters explore the differing place myths, separated as follows:

- Chapter 3, takes a journey through time and place from the perspective of archaeologists and explores Stanton Moor as an Ancient Scheduled Monument.
- Chapter 4 highlights Stanton Moor as 'privately owned' and investigates this

place myth and its construction.

- Chapter 5 focuses on Stanton Moor as an industrial resource, used for the extraction of 'high quality gritstone'.

These first three chapters create the official or hegemonic perceptions of Stanton Moor. They derive from interviews with archaeologists, landowners, PDNPA representatives. The following two chapters, focus on the alternative, diverse, perceptions resulting from access, not only physical access but educational, emotional, spiritual and historical.

- Chapter 6 explores Stanton Moor as a national and local recreational resource within a national park
- Chapter 7 delves into the place myth of Stanton Moor as a living landscape, a place of power, a sacred site and a place of protest against mainstream consumer society

These chapters have been constructed from many sources and experiences, both first hand research: through observations; interviews; informal conversations and drifting, and secondary data: theory, conservation plans and legislation.

Chapter 3

Stanton Moor: ancient scheduled monument

This chapter explores Stanton Moor from an archaeological perspective. In the first part of the chapter Stanton Moor is situated within a broader context of late Neolithic and early Bronze Age Britain and Europe. The focus then moves back to Stanton Moor itself and outlines the main unique archaeological features, scattered over the landscape. The third part of the chapter, enters into an archaeology of archaeological perspective and emphasises its impacts on management, particularly of the very popular Nine Ladies Stone Circle.

The dark gritstone and white limestone contrasting geological features of the Peak District, have matched the distinct histories the two landscapes have witnessed over the years (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001). Many archaeological sites within the Peak District, have escaped the plough and other destructive activities. However it is still very difficult to find sites that have not been investigated and changed in one way or another.

Most of the archaeological knowledge of sites in this area, has been handed down by small number of antiquarians such as Thomas Bateman and Major Rooke, who excavated and recorded many sites through the social and cultural lens surrounding them in the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries. Over the past century, new techniques such as radio-carbon dating and geophysics, have continued to add to the ways we construct our understandings of these sites within the archaeological framework developed from antiquarianism (ibid).

The archaeological discourse adds layers to our understanding of Stanton Moor. The increasingly inclusive approach within prehistoric studies, that incorporates differing elements such as ecology, climate change and geology, has aided in the development of deeper understandings about the way people and place interact in and with the past. These understandings however, are still only an idea. Talking about the limitations of archaeological investigation, Jon Barnatt Peak District based archaeologist (2010) stated in an interview:

'there is no answers in big concrete letters, actually there are lots of answers for all sorts of different things. We have lost our innocence as archaeologists. We realise there are sometimes limitations of what you can say but it should not stop you speculating and coming up with ideas about the past, that is healthy, but they should come with health warnings: this is my idea and not the truth'.

Archaeology is a creative discipline: the past is viewed and constructed from the present.

Archaeological discourses, investigate the 'material conditions of the past' (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001: 18). It offers evidence that helps us to construct, not only the ways prehistoric people interacted with their environment, but also ideas about how we continue to put meaning into place. These ideas are distinctly connected to wider concepts of identity, community, power, nature and social change.

Time, within the archaeological discipline, is separated into distinct successive periods, based on the changes we witness in the present, from the material artefacts found. The technologies of the time, creates an idea of dramatic transformations between the societies. The discourse is one based on difference and opposition. Attempting to explain these differences can fix us into simplistic world-views, seeing them as a result of a progressing economy or influx of populations for example. Yet, the periods of time outlined below are not tightly packed units of practices or ideas, although the way they are presented may assume such a position. In reality communities of these times did not feel the changes, as we write them today. It was a gradual process, over many generations. Yet it is a contemporary way of devising, categorising, and communicating the past.

A archaeological site, should not only be viewed in terms of the distinct time frames attached to it. Bradley (1993), outlined the importance maintaining an awareness of prehistoric links and contacts within wider context areas, when looking at specific communities from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Wider social connections, outside of the Peak District are confirmed, through flints, axes and other items left with the dead,

which have been made from 'foreign', out of the area, materials (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001).

There were important similarities between the Peak District, Britain and Europe during the Neolithic and Bronze Age (see Bradley 1998 and Hunter and Ralston (eds) 1999). This chapter explores the relationships between people and landscape. The main similarity within this theme, from this time period, is: the creation of monuments. People began to make long lasting impressions on the landscape. They 'served to make permanent, anchor and draw out the connections between people, ancestral power and the land, for the first time' (Tilley 1994: 202).

From the early Neolithic (c.4500BC), people created enclosed spaces which have survived over many thousands of years: chambered cairns; henges; stone circles; embankments and enclosures made from earth and stone. It is believed by Edmonds and Seaborne (2001), these defined landscapes became a place where people could meet and share: time; space; ideas; stories; rituals; myths and items. People would gather, making new friends and meeting old. The sites create a space defined as different from the one outside. This idea was taken up by many communities throughout Britain and Europe, each in their own distinctive and topographically related way.

Table 2 below situated Nine Ladies Stone Circle within approximate construction dates for British monuments (Morgan and Morgan 2001: 11).

Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age- Stanton Moor context

The next section, draws on the interviews with archaeologists Jon Barnatt and Pauline Beswick, interviewed separately as part of this study. It focuses on a brief outline of the archaeological context of Stanton Moor in the Bronze Age, when many archaeological features were initially constructed here. This is a slow story of change. A wading through unknown moorlands, where glimpses of the past are only a temporary and unknown experience. The land is constantly changing and taking on new identities. The archaeological place myth open up this way of thinking.

| Table 2: Nine Ladies in context | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|---|---|
| Era | Year | types of monuments | Other British monuments in comparison |
| Early Neolithic | 4500 BC | Chambered cairns and long barrows Henges | West Kennet long Barrow |
| | | | Castlerigg Stone Circle |
| | | | Ring of Brodgar, Orkney |
| | | | Trilithons at Stonehenge |
| Late Neolithic | 2500 BC | | Avebury |
| | | | Arbor Low |
| | | | Bluestones at Stonehenge |
| | | | Nine Stones Close |
| Early Bronze Age | 2000 BC | Stone Circles Round Barrows cremation platforms | Minninglow |
| | | | Nine Ladies Stone Circle, Stanton Moor |
| | | | Uffington White Horse |
| Late Bronze Age | 1000 BC | | |
| | | | Castle Ring Harthill Moor |
| Iron Age | 500 BC | Hill forts | |

Up to the late Neolithic, community focus appears to be based around the White Peaks. This is seen to reflect the better quality soils found in the fertile limestone regions (Barnatt 2010- interview). In the early Bronze Age we see an expansion (rather than

replacement) of the settled landscape (Bradley and Hart 1983: 192), and communities begin to leave traces within the gritstone Dark Peaks. Differences of identity and tradition reflected the topography of region as suggested by Edmonds and Seabourne (2001: 169).

It is from this period we begin to see increased focus on Stanton Moor. It is believed the moor was then an open oak woodland, with good soils (Barnatt 1986). The earliest findings from this period are: a small number of polished axes; leaf shaped arrow heads; a Beaker shard; a mace-head; and saddle quern (McGuire and Smith 2007: 84).

Nearby, on the adjacent Harthill Moor, Nine Stone Close stone circle was constructed. Rock art at Rowter Rocks in Birchover and Robin Hoods Stride specifically cup marks and other engravings, are said to date from this time (McGuire and Smith 2007) and could be contemporary with some of the earlier monuments on moor (ibid). Although rock art is very difficult to date, it is seen to be common generally in this late Neolithic early Bronze Age time. Fixing a symbol on a rock, marks a place with meaning. It is an expression of self, identity and kinship/community (Edmunds and Seabourne 2001).

Connections with the landscape during this period, changed from tenure towards ownership.

'Tenure is what people called themselves, I have got a right to graze my animals here because my ancestors have and look I can prove it: my great great ancestors are buried in that chambered tomb there, but they are not saying they own it but they that have a right to use it and they happily accept that others have a right to use it as well' (Barnatt 2010- interview).

Evidence suggests a change in settlement. There were new sites constructed, new clusters of things found from this period which could point to a change in seasonal patterns of social mobility and/or increased occupation and therefore time spent at certain places. Tenure was becoming fixed (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001: 81). It is imagined, communities continued to move seasonally, but not as much as previously. The apparent change, from large communal sites such as Arbor Low, to

small individual family sites as on Stanton Moor signifies this social change for archaeologists (Barnatt 2010 interview).

Stanton Moor is particularly important in terms of the range and diversity of archaeological features (McGuire and Smith 2007: 85). The topography of the moor, as an isolated hill of gritstone in the sea of surrounding limestone, created a distinct way of using the moor for prehistoric communities. Lower, more fertile shelves surround the moor. Local archaeologist Jon Barnatt (2010 interview) believes these were used for farming, rather than the higher moor itself. The moor was a central point for the communities which surrounded it. Evidence suggests it was not significantly farmed or lived on (RCHME 1986). It may have become separate from everyday life, creating a distinct environment for the peoples of this time. This is comparable with other sites used at this time on the Eastern moors for example, where agricultural clearance, settlement and ceremonial structures were constructed on parts of the gritstone edges with wide swaths of land by the side. It is therefore the topography, in comparison with other sites that makes Stanton Moor different- the archaeological sites are not within the agricultural context, as seen elsewhere. There is, however, a small area to the West of the Nine Ladies, with prehistoric boundaries and clearance cairns in which stones are traditionally removed for agriculture. As Barnatt (2010- interview) states Stanton Moor is uncultivated but this does not necessarily mean it is un-farmed. For example, the moor may have been used to graze stock.

Features of Stanton Moor

The second important factor of Stanton Moor's archaeology, is the large amount of sites on such a small area. It is a nationally important ancient scheduled monument, a 'rare surviving example of a complex Bronze Age ceremonial, funerary and settlement landscape' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 15). It is possibly the largest in the UK.

Rock outcrops

Stanton Moor is surrounded by numerous rocky outcrops, named: the Heart stone; Gorse stone; Cat stone; Cork stone and Andle stone. All stand as silent memories of the ice age. They are thought to have been dropped off, by melting ice rivers as they carved

out the valley sides (Christian 1976). It is uncertain how prehistoric people would interact with these features. Although early records by Rooke in 1791, suggests the Cork Stone was once surrounded by a number of erected stones, creating a stone circle. Evidence of this, is now replaced by quarry workings, yet the Cork stone still stands and encourages us to search for meanings. Each stone or outcrop certainly has a character of its own . This could have reflected the types of activities which took place here.



Bradley (2000), shows how natural places acquired a sacred character in prehistoric Europe. This is often backed up by archaeological evidence found by or close to these sites.

Barrows

There are over 500 barrows remaining in the Peak District (Barnatt and Smith 1999). Evidence suggests they were constructed from around 2500 BC to 1500 BC, the late Neolithic, into the Bronze Age. The majority of barrows in the Peaks District are round (Morgan and Morgan 2000). Barrows, also known as cairns, are constructed using locally sourced stones, which have been placed within a roughly circular shape. There are no chambers, but human remains are often found on a kerb type platform.

There are many examples of barrows or cairns on the Eastern moors, which are the result of field clearance for agriculture: they do not contain evidence of burial (Barnatt 2010- interview). The story is different on Stanton Moor, the majority of cairns or barrows here, contain burials and have been carefully constructed, sometimes within complex interlinking structures (McGuire and Smith 2007). There are 40 known barrows with burials on moor. No other national site has been confirmed to hold such a large amount of burial sites (McGuire and Smith 2007: 86). It is referred to as, a 'funerary cairn field', although these places may have been important for other ceremonies and rites of passage, which have not left any evidence (Barnatt 2010- interview). One example on the moor is 'T2' (this is a classifying system devised by Heathcote 1939 to record the sites individually) and contains a large mound with an enclosed cist. The initial interment was 'a boys remains' (Heathcote 1947), these were found within the cist. Pieces of bronze and fragments of pottery were discovered in the tomb with the body. Barrows signify a change in burial methods (Barnatt 1978: 29) where individuals were buried in their own mounds. This may indicate a new elite social structure as often secondary burials are placed around the initial interment, with lesser grave goods and possibly importance. There were over 12 secondary interments in T2 and items included in the burials were flint knives, pottery and one arrowhead (Heathcote *ibid*). The site was used over many hundreds of years.



Evidence from the Peak District, suggests sites may have been openly recognised spiritual sites, defined by the kerbs and fences. The mounds containing the remains, may have not been raised until burials deposited (Barnatt and Smith 2004). Therefore, sites may have been used by the people who were eventually buried in them.

Embanked stone circles

Embanked circles are a type of stone circle, about 19 survive in region (McGuire and Smith 2007: 85). The majority are found on the Eastern moors and have a variety of circular architectures (Barnatt 1978). All circles are constructed of local stone. There are three circles on the moor fitting this classification and are close to each other on a North-North-East to South-South-West line, across the gently sloping moor. Embanked stone circles are relatively common to the Peak District. A forth circle called Doll Tor has contested classification- some consider it to be a embanked stone circle, or a kerb cairn (RCHME 1986, Barnatt 1997).



Again the focus for these circles, may have included practises for all parts of life not only death. However, death leaves the physical evidence for the future. The relatively small size and number of sites, gives the impression they were used and constructed by local extended families, rather than larger regional communal sites like Arbor Low

(Barnatt 2000).

Nine Ladies Embanked Stone Circle c.2000-1500 BC.

The Nine Ladies Stone Circle, now contains nine standing stones and one recumbent. The circle may have had more stones (10 or 11) originally (RCHME 1986). The stones are local gritstone and stand between 0.3 and 0.9 metres high. The recumbent stone is the biggest at 1.7 x 1.0 metres (RCHME 1986). 40 metres South West of the circle stands the Kings Stone. There is continued discussion about whether the stone is free standing or part of the Nine Ladies as an outlier. Both are built on a gradient of one in fourteen (Guilbert and Malone 1997). Nine Ladies is perceived as being in relatively good condition in comparison with similar sites.



Funerary traditions

Bateman (1848) was one of the first to document the differing funerary traditions of ancient sites in the Peak District. Bodies were often laid to rest and placed with items of the deceased as well as specific funeral items such as urns and incense cups. Stanton Moor has the highest concentration of collard urns in the region (McGuire and Smith 2007). Other items discovered within the funerary context include: a bronze dagger; beads; a jet ring and arrow heads. For a detailed exploration of items found on Stanton

Moor from this period see Barnatt (1984), Vine (1982) and Bateman (1848).

Relationships between sites:

The prolonged time period of use (from c.2200 to c.1500 BC), has left us with an accumulated landscape of seemingly unconnected sites. Time has compressed and shrunk for us, into the very topography of the moor. As such, it is difficult to discover any original design or patterns linking the sites. A line of embanked stone circles, however, stick out of the 'backbone of the moor' in a North-North-East to South-South-West line. The contemporary footpath connecting these sites may well have prehistoric origin. There is also an alignment from the Nine Ladies, through the Kings Stone, to the Andle Stone and onto Doll Tor on a North-East to South-West line (see the map on page 1).

The fading community

These ceremonial and funerary traditions continued for over 600 years, yet

'sites were permanent, only in the physical sense of their existence. No site was permanent in the way it was inhabited through different social practices, for practices began and ended as people passed through the landscape' (Barnatt 1988: 32).

In the Late Bronze Age, sites were no longer constructed on Stanton Moor, although people may have continued farming the land.

The moor continued to be used over the next 1000 years or so, however, there was little impact on the land itself. This could be due to the changes in climate and increasing acidity of the soil. It is possible that people continued using the land in various ways, for instance grazing which would leave little evidence. It is also possible in the Romano British times the stone was used for rotary querns (McGuire and Smith 2007). Stone from the prehistoric sites, could have been moved and re-used over this time as at the Cork Stone stone circle.



The high concentration of prehistoric 'sacred sites' on much of Britain's peaks, moors and highlands, creates an enticing picture that this region was held in special regard by the prehistoric population. However

'where monuments have survived so well, it is usually because they are in areas like the Peak District which have never been intensively farmed. So, the Peak District was probably not as important in prehistoric times as it would now appear to have been, from the surviving monuments... It is very difficult to get a complete picture. We are just getting 'bits' all the time, which, is one of the attractions of archaeology: every 'bit' is another major piece in the jigsaw puzzle'

(Beswick 2009- interview)

The survival of sites is linked to subsequent activities on the land. The main agricultural focus in this area has been grazing stock for many millennia (Barnatt 2010- interview and Edmunds and Seaborne 2001) and has impacted sites relatively little.

Reflecting back in time and space: An archaeology of archaeology

This next section focuses on the development of the ideas surrounding Nine Ladies Stone Circle specifically, within the wider landscape context of the moor, focusing on

the archaeological perspective. Nine Ladies, is well known within academic literature and has received much investigation over the past 250 years. The circle is central to the moor and is relatively well maintained when compared to other sites.

Antiquarian Interest

Very little was written about stone circles until only about 300 years ago. Anything before this usually focused on Stonehenge, Britain's most famous monument. Stonehenge was first recorded in 1130, by Henry of Huntingdon who was commissioned to write a history of England (Chippindale 2004). Since that time there has been much speculation regarding the architecture, purposes and ideas surrounding the site. Sites such as Stonehenge pose important questions about humanity, religion and nature within the frame work of the present. People actively sought knowledge and artefacts of prehistory as symbols of wealth, identity and nature (Derby 2000).

Born in Wiltshire, John Aubrey, in the mid seventeenth century began to take an interest in ancient sites. He was the first antiquarian to perceive sites as of 'prehistoric origin', suggesting they were raised by Druids (Burl 1979: 42). An imaginative understanding of the prehistoric landscape was fostered by Aubrey, which described the patterns within Stonehenge and rediscovered the Avebury complex in Aubreys home county. Although incorrect assumptions of the sites as Druidic origin were made, the shift of the perceived time scale of construction into prehistory, created changes in consciousness. This led to new academic developments (Chippindale 2004 and Trubshaw 2005) and increased interest and awareness of sites generally.

This was developed further by William Stukeley. In the 1720's he visited Avebury and witnessed the destruction of the stone circle during this period (Worthington 2004: 11). Carried by his keen eye, antiquarian imagination and desire to create a record of the things being destroyed, he drew sites with great detail and as such 'had it not been for Stukeley, it would be impossible today to write with any accuracy about Avebury.' (Burl 1979: 47). He was also first to record the Stonehenge North-East summer solstice sunrise alignment. Whether he or Aubrey were druids has become a contested issue (Worthington 2004: 50), however during this period there was a mystical romanticism of

nature within popular and high culture. This inspired the Druidic revival at the time. Running along side was the development of print capitalism, which enabled the mass dissemination of ideas/cultures surrounding landscapes, not only language as shown by Anderson (1983), but also pictures became more accessible (Derby 2000).

The search for ideas of past were mainly dominated by wealthy, white men. The increased consumption of Stanton Moor by gentry and aristocrats, occurred during the time of enclosures of common land (see chapter 4), although this does not appear to have restricted access or claims of authenticity over the ownership of the things found. Excavations were often unplanned, unrecorded and erratic. It became a hobby of the upper classes. Things found in sites were used as symbols of cultural capital and status appendages. They linked to a class system of differentiated access to symbolic goods, such as art and poetry (Bourdieu 1984). Collections linked with a desire of knowledge, for the past, a 'reflection of taste and an instrument of competition amongst aristocrats and gentry' (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001:10). By the late 1700's and early 1800's the antiquarian interest began to change into a focused discipline based on 'common principles and questions' (ibid).

From antiquarianism to archaeology

The earliest, recorded antiquarian interest on Stanton Moor occurred in 1782, by Major Hayman Rooke (although other disturbances of the sites had occurred as mentioned by Rooke). Rooke investigated sites, across the Peak District and drew the first published record of the Nine Ladies. He described it as a 'Druid temple'. He excavated sites and published his findings in the journal *Archaeologia* (Alton 1996). He described his excavations and declared the numerous stone sculptures, rock art, cup marks, seats and alters of the moor, of druid origin. The moor was seen as a druid headquarters (Heathcote 1947).



Rooke's drawing of the Nine Ladies was very bleak and barren, with no trees. This may have been artistic license or could point to the land owners of the time, the Haddon Estate who may have used the moor for grazing. The drawing highlights the old contours of the land which are now quarried. He draws no embankment to the circle but includes a very small mound in the centre. Work undertaken at these sites began to be published and 'excavators' became part of a learned society. The interests, as now, were varied, from local historical investigations to debates about history, evolution, civilisation and humanity. Collections found from sites, inspired ways of looking at and representing history (Urry 1990).

Some consumed antiquities for the home, as symbols of curiosity and power. In 1799, White Watson of Bakewell was employed to dig 'several urns from the tumuli of Stanton Moor' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 18) and no record apart from a few drawings of the finds were made of this (ibid: 35). Also local landowner Rev. Bache Thornhill of Stanton in the Peak 'opened several barrows' (ibid).

A second formal sketch of the Nine Ladies was produced in 1829, by Glover (RCHME 1986). Again this focused on the nine standing stones and the outlying stone. In 1848, Nine Ladies and Kings Stone, Cork Stone and T56 was sketched by local antiquarian Thomas Bateman of Middleton by Youlgreave (Bateman 1848). This is very different to Rooke's drawing, showing much more detail of the individual stones and gaps between

them. The central mound is particularly big, in comparison with Rookes drawing, although this maybe an idealised view. There is also a pine tree. He also draws what he calls a 'circle of earth', this may refer to T56. He did not excavate the moor as may have been expected, yet contributed to both the study and destruction of sites. He describes several cairns and barrows as already 'opened' (RCHME 1986).

By 1853, a dry stone wall (Alton 1996: 23), enclosed the Nine Ladies, isolating it from the wider landscape and its neighbouring sites, including the King's Stone. The wall was built by landowners, to prevent further damage to this part of the moor, due to increased quarry operations and forestry development (Thornhill 2010- interview, see chapters 4 and 5). The wall enclosed the circle, when General Pitt Rivers visited the site as the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments. He describes the Nine Ladies as 'a circle of nine small standing stones about 33 feet in diameter... the largest of which is 2 foot 10 inches in height... one of them has an ancient mark on it' (RCHME 1986: 15). At this time the scientific discourse of archaeology became truly established (Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 22). The moor begins to experience an implosion of order and science on the landscape: mapping; categorising; drawing; digging and enclosure. Knowledge and control was collected from sites in a visual, authoritative way, enabling the 'imagination to form the habit of feeling, through the eyes' (Hussey 1927 cited in Monk 1960: 204).

Sites as political

In the next few years, 'ancient monuments' became politicised, primarily because of the damage witnessed at many sites. They moved from being picturesque elements of a place, into a formalised national assets (Derby 2000) which needed preserving. John Lubbock (1834-1913), purchased land at Avebury to stop its demolition and became sponsor of the Preservation of Ancient Monuments Act (1882). This Act led to the official scheduling of ancient sites and challenged the landowners rights of ownership on monuments. They became sites for the nation (Derby 2000).

In 1883, Nine Ladies Stone Circle and the Kings Stone, were among the first 28 monuments in England and Wales to be included in the preservation act for 'ancient monuments' (RCHME 1986). This act of protection, recognised the risk of destruction

and decay over time. The state took responsibility in the management of such risks. The act however was fiercely challenged as infringing rights of ownership (Chippindale 1983) and was only a success due to the 'chance and social connections of the celebrated archaeologist A.H.L.F Pitt-Rivers, the first inspector of Ancient Monuments' (Isherwood 2004: 16). He attempted to persuade landowners there would be nothing to fear from including the sites on the schedule. As such he obtained the agreement from the landowners Thornhills of Stanton Hall (Barnatt cited in Isherwood 2004: 16).

In 1907, Andrew provides the 'most detailed early description [giving] significant details concerning the morphology and state of the monument (Andrew 1907 cited in RCHME 1986). He identifies a number of features:

- embankment measuring ten feet wide and two feet high
- entrances or gaps 'East by North' and 'South West'
- 8 standing stones and one fallen (this was re-erected sometime between 1907-1947 as Heathcote's discourse (1949) describes nine upright stones)
- central feature or 'cone of stones' in centre has been 'destroyed'

In 1913 the Ancient Monuments Protection Act was amended to include the granting of preservation orders (Darvill 1987). Monuments were placed under the protection of the Ministry of Works and this was the case with Nine Ladies (Heathcote 1939: 11). In 1931 the act was extended. Landowners were required to give three months notice of any work being undertaken that would affect the monument. This remained until 1979 (Darvill 1987: 2).

On Stanton Moor in 1926, a rescue excavation was undertaken by Storrs Fox, after quarry men exposed urns at New Park Quarry. Shockingly 'quarrymen declared that, in the ordinary course of work, numbers of fragments of pottery are carted away to the refuse tip (Storrs Fox 1927: 200 cited in McGuire and Smith 2007: 83).

Local interest

In the 1920's, as industrial developments increased over the moor (see chapter 5), local Heathcote family from Birchover, became interested in the archaeology of the moor

(Heathcote 1939: 11) and they began excavating the ancient sites. They started with the multi-phased T2 and this now provides the earliest example of 'modern' archaeological techniques (McGuire and Smith 2007). The first book written by J. P (Percy) Heathcote, published in 1926 and advertised 'routes for visitors to the moor seeking out ancient monuments' (Alton 1996: 19). The first edition sold out and this led to an updated edition published in 1939 (Heathcote 1939: 11). Between 1926 and 1980 Percy published 13 papers in the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal (Bartlett 1981).

The Heathcote collection was placed in a private museum in their home, which was also the Post Office at Birchover. They displayed many of the artefacts, viewed by appointment only (Beswick 2009- interview). The combination of the published work and the museum, led to increased local interest in the archaeology of the moor. Percy became president of the Birchover Archaeological Society. The father and son excavated 22 cairns in the 1930s.

'They were interesting methods he used, that would raise a few eyebrows now. He got the local school kids and set them digging on their own and paid them with sweets. He would set them off from the edge, but then when they found what looked like a curb or what ever, they would tell him and he would tell them to go home' (Barnatt 2010-interview).

Local archaeologist Pauline Beswick transferred the collection to the Sheffield Museum in 1979.

'Percy was getting old and was becoming concerned about the future of the collection. He came to an arrangement with Sheffield Museum about packing it off there. I was given the job of cataloguing it while it was at Birchover, before moving it. I actually did that over the course of several months. I just remember working in this tiny cold room, freezing despite an electric fire, cataloguing pots and then packing them up and sending them to Sheffield' (Beswick 2009-interview).

She remembers being inspired by the

'sheer size of the collection and how a lot of the pottery was actually complete because it had been found in a burial context and was not domestic working

ware. In burial contexts things are often carefully deposited and a lot of the pots had cremated bones in them, so they were protected by little stone boxes and in other ways. It was just amazing handling these complete things that were in such good condition and some of them so beautifully made' (2009- interview).

The Heathcotes have greatly added to our knowledge of these sites, maintaining the materials found in very good conditions and using discovery techniques appropriate to its day. However, very few records were kept outlining the methodology used or the things found. It is clear from the work of later field workers (Burl 1976, Hart 1985, Barnatt 1978, RCHME 1986), these early investigators without question damaged the sites. Increased 'investigation', therefore led to increasing destruction.

It appears at this time there was very little control over the access to the moor and who dug into the monuments (Alton 1996: 20), although the moor had recently been enclosed and placed under protection by the state.

Legislation- conserving, recording and preserving

In 1969, a report recommended local authorities to create a record of all known ancient monuments (Darvill 1987:3). In Derbyshire, these records began in 1974. Jon Barnatt (2010- interview), joined the team in 1989. He says

'everyone realised a lot of the archaeology out there wasn't in the archaeological record. Some of it had just not been discovered, some of it was known by local farmers and people, who assumed we knew about it but didn't. After a while we worked out, if we were to spend 5 minutes of time on each field or equivalent moorland, to survey it and do the usual record of what is there, very rapidly, it would take one person 36 years! We still have years and years of work to do. I find that wonderful, there is stuff out there that is not recorded and it is brilliant'.

In 1979 the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act was implemented and is still relevant today. It introduces a system of compensation for landowners and farmers, from loss of earnings when preserving ancient sites and provides opportunities to make management agreements with the landowner (Darvill 1987). It also outlines codes of

acceptable behaviour on scheduled sites, such as 'no fires', to preserve and protect against risks such as development (for an outline of this see chapter 11).

The official guardianship

It was not until 1983 with the National Heritage Act, which amended the 1979 Act, under the Thatcher government, that English Heritage, a 'quango' (a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation) was established for the guardianship, protection and scientific research of ancient scheduled monuments. They form the top of the management hierarchy today and provide the legitimated or hegemonic discourse surrounding sacred sites (Darvill 1987). Nine Ladies and the Kings Stone, together with three other sites on the moor, came under guardianship of English Heritage. For discussion about the official guardianship see chapter 10.

Heritage in action

By 1985, the wall was finally removed from around Nine Ladies. Isherwood's work in 2004 quotes visitor 'Groggy' who states:

'I'm rather proud to have started the demolition of the rather ugly surrounding wall back in 1985. Several over night stop later it was gone. Shortly after then, the DOE took what was left of it away' (Head heritage website HD, 2003).

In 1986-87, after a wide spread fire on the moor, a full field survey was undertaken by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) to 'collate all the earlier records and numbering systems for the monuments on the moor (including the identification of excavated sites), as well as provide a sound, metrically accurate large scale plan' (RCHME 1986). It also showed the ways the Heathcote's excavations changed the monuments structurally.

As a result of the survey, an increasing erosion problem was reported at the site. In 1987, English Heritage contracted labourers to deliver top soil to Nine Ladies and the Kings Stone to repair the heavy erosion, fire pits and scars of the wall. However, Guilbert (1988 cited in Alton 1996: 23) proclaimed:

'The result of dumping tons of bright orange quarry spoil over the circle and the Kings Stone by persons who obviously had little understanding of the site and

it's importance, did little to resolve these problems'.

The next significant legislation regarding the protection of prehistoric sites, was the planning Policy Guidance Note 16 in November 1990. It emphasised the main priority as: preservation of sites in situ (Hunter and Ralston 1993: 249). Also in 1991, the revised Code of Practice for Minerals Operations (C.B.I 1991), outlined the conditions for consultation and co-operation between: mineral operators; local authorities; archaeologists and landowners (Alton 1996: 22).

From 1993, Stanton Estates entered into the Peak Parks Farm Conservation Scheme, enabling a management agreement to be confirmed. After 1995, the Environmental Act gave the PDNPA the same powers as a local or district council. The planning authority were given the right to determine the status of quarries (see chapter 9) and English Heritage delegated the PDNPA to manage Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor. This was the first positive, responsible, and active management scheme. The board was accountable to: English Heritage, official guardians of the moor; the landowners and the general public. In this same year, the highest section of Stanton Moor was designated as a scheduled monument (McGuire and Smith 2007).

In 1998, English Heritage commissioned research to be undertaken to investigate the 'archaeological potential of Nine Ladies and the King Stone' (McGuire and Smith 2007) and this included a geophysical survey. The Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit undertook excavations at the Nine Ladies and King's Stone, for English Heritage. They surveyed the Western edge of the moor not covered in the 1986/7 investigation, to clarify the scheduled boundaries. The full results of this are still unpublished (June 2011). The initial results however, exposed the amounts of erosion, particularly the Nine Ladies, was facing. In 2003, conservation work was undertaken surrounding the circle to restore and renew the ground levels. Stanton Moor also became classified as a monument at high risk because of minerals extraction and visitor erosion. For current management from 2005- 2010, see chapter 10.

Conclusions

The archaeological discourse should not be seen as separate from history but as a form of history, consciously and unconsciously made. The value of the site is based on the past. It is a place to be investigated, a source for knowledge. In this sense, it is also seen as a place which needs to be protected for future generations, and consequently conserved in its present state- to reduce the impacts of change and use. As Timothy and Stephen (2003: 87) state 'heritage is not about the past. Rather it is a reflection of what exists in the present'.

Stanton Moor is valued, or valuable, due to the wealth of 'archaeological remains' or cultural heritage from multi-periods, within such a small space. Descriptions of the moor and the sites to date, consist of precise technical drawings and discursive, intellectual vocabulary. The discourse privileges the intellectual and visual engagement with the landscape. The archaeological discourse, as we have mentioned presents a particular version of history, based on the material items found, or the structures excavated. The place becomes a museum exhibit, a place to be consumed and observed, rather than a place of contemporary celebration (Bender 1998). It has become the main hegemonic discourse surrounding sites. Users of the discourse, particularly archaeologists and heritage managers gain authority to undertake investigations. This has been called an 'authorised heritage discourse' by Smith (2006) "...which acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and write about heritage. Consequently, this discourse validates a set of practices and performances, which populates both popular and expert constructions of "heritage" and undermines alternative and subaltern ideas about "heritage" (Smith 2006: 11).

Chapter 4

Privately owned moorland

This chapter explores Stanton Moor as a privately owned moorland. It investigates how claims of ownership, can frame our experiences of the place. The chapter provides a brief history of landownership and shows how this is linked with the development of capitalism. Alternatively, but also related to this, the moor has been constructed as a place in which locals can express their political rights, in response to the ownership claims. Finally, the moor has also become a place in which contemporary landowners have become *guardians* of their ancestral landscape and fostered management techniques as a practice of guardianship.

Defining Stanton Moor

Claims of ownership, sometimes intrusively, often subtly, frame the ways we initially access and consequently perceive Stanton Moor. The first physical experience (I use physical here as opposed to virtual in the sense that people can visit Stanton Moor through imagination, books, websites before even setting foot near the place) of the land called Stanton Moor is fences. They can be ignored on many levels of consciousness. Maybe you are very excited to be visiting the stone circle and the gate which you physically squeeze through, is just part of the background. Your gaze may be fixed on what lies ahead. Yet, the moor is cradled by circles of roads and fences, timber posts with connected barbed wire and dry stone walls, symbolising the mark of enclosures, of keeping stock, of ownership and physical containment, a zone of inclusion and exclusion. These boundaries and associated private property rights, although fixed onto the place by fences, do not complete or determine the areas of the plateau we define as Stanton Moor.

Ideas surrounding ownership claims, repeatedly became part of my experiences of Stanton Moor, over the years of study. Interestingly these experiences derived from living at the protest site and the consequent connections made at forum meetings. These

strongly differed from themes developed during research in 2004 as part of my Masters degree, in which I was a fairly regular visitor and camper on the moor but remained relatively on the outside of communities.



The official discourse of land ownership surrounding Stanton Moor, has developed in relation to wider social and cultural ideas which perceive nature as an object and resource to be used primarily. The history of the official ownership, reflects the changing social structures and relations of the time. The landscape itself acts like a mirror, reflecting back to us the uneven social relationships and the development of private property in the time of agrarian capitalism.

Common land

From the 9-11th century, Stanton Moor was at the Western fringes of Dane Law (McGuire and Smith 2007: 92). In the early 10th century Saxons gradually gained control of North Derbyshire. By 1086, it appears a small number of people were living and working on the surrounding slopes of the moor in what we call today Stanton in Peak and Birchover which was then based around Uppertown (Heathcote 1947). The land formed 'part of the extensive barony of Henry de Ferrers' (McGuire and Smith 2007:

Agriculture during this time developed into open-field systems. Typically, small clusters of settlements formed close together, 'with their own fields and access to meadow, pasture and wastes' (ibid). Stanton continued to grow with new settlements of Stanton Lees and Stanton Woodhouse. How these people used the moor at this time is now open to interpretation. The upper area of the moor was defined as 'common land' (where access is given to certain parts of the land defined as 'wastes' or non agricultural ground) and people may have exercised their 'common rights', to gather resources such as stone, sand, wood (Hey 1996), food such as bilberry, blackberry and nuts, and for pasture. It may have been used as a communal space and common resource, however, there is little archaeological evidence to show this.

Stanton seems to 'have undergone frequent changes in ownership from 13th - 19th centuries' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 96). By early 1600s, the moor and surrounding areas, excluding Birchover, formed part of the Haddon Estate and continued to be classified as common land.

In 1607, Stanton Moor was used as place to express local rights. Local lead miners bearing 'weapons', marched to Stanton Moor to declare themselves a barmote (free mining group) to the land owner, Sir John Manners (Lord of Haddon Estate), who responded with prosecutions for riot (McGuire and Smith 2007: 101). A play of power and politics was fought around the moor in the natural landscape. The common land was used as platform for social change. The moor was central to the mining villages and became a place people joined together with others. The moor was at the edge of each community, where no person dwelt, but legally owned by the person they were trying to send a message to. During this time throughout England, there was increasing social change and uncertainty (Derby 2000). The Moor appears to be used as a symbol of freedom and political power.

Enclosures

The history of enclosures from 1200's was varied across the country, with ebbs and

flows depending on differing social conditions and population growths, peaking for example in the 1600's with the increase in the value of wool. The land was enclosed to keep stock (Derby 2000). The Parliamentary Enclosure Award throughout the mid 18th and mid 19th centuries, enclosed half the parishes in Peak, and latterly dealt with the enclosure of the large areas of upland commons (Barnatt and Smith 1997: 87). Common ground was reclaimed for pasture, as prices of wool increased. Enclosing the land removed a dense network of traditional footpaths and open places where communities tended stock, grew food, attended fêtes, played sports, political rallies (Derby 2000).

Enclosures, were a source of dispossession for many across England, especially the smaller household farmer. People often responded by exerting political pressure, through riots and armed rebellion. By the end of the 18th century, in 1791, nine years after the first recorded antiquarian visit of Rooke, enclosure commissioners came to mark out the moor for division and were 'met by and mob and only allowed to depart on the promise of never coming there again' (Wood 1999: 16 in McGuire and Smith 2007). This evidence highlights the continued importance and meaning placed into the land, by people from the surrounding villages. In 1799, maps show the moor, still unenclosed, stretching from Pilough, around to Stanton Woodhouse, to the outskirts of Birchover then over to Eagle Tor and close to Stanton in Peak. This was classified as 'open moorland' (ibid). It continued to be open land until 1809, when it was allotted under the Stanton Enclosures Act of 1809, although not issued until 1819. The land owners used this opportunity 'to exchange lands, and separate the manorial rights: Stanton Estates concentrated the land around the Stanton village and the Duke of Haddon Hall, around Stanton Lees and Stanton Woodhouse' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 23).

Increased privatisation and enclosing of landscapes across the country, controlled movement through the land. This was deeply rooted within a structure of values that regulated both physical and social mobility, creating a deep change in the community life and families (Derby 2000: 93).

Reacting to: increasing urbanism; enclosures of the open countryside and growing geographical mobility, romantic ideals bloomed, with the emergence of mass tourism

(see chapter 5). Nature symbolised beauty, difference and freedom within a nostalgic framework. Ideas of nostalgia are often felt strongest in times of discontent, anxiety and disappointment (Harrison 1987 cited in Soja 1990: 178).

From common use to private exploitation

Through enclosures, a new focus and value was placed on the moor and the surrounding landscapes, by landowners the Thornhills of Stanton Estates. Stanton Moor moved from a place of personal and communal use to a place of commercial and industrial exploitation.

In the 18th Century, John Thornhill married Ann Bache and acquired Stanton Hall. Speaking of his ancestor, Adrian Davey Thornhill (2010- interview) recalled some interesting family history:

'John Thornhill was obviously very entrepreneurial and he realised there was lead beneath these hills. He started exploring those opportunities and he got miners to come in and actually work the lead. He became a capitalist, in fact and put in the structure to help them. I think the estate expanded significantly from this time and it went up to about 5500 acres at its peak. Lead was clearly in demand and there is such a high concentrations in these hills. Derbyshire became known for lead mining... and that really brought this part of Derbyshire up and many villages were financed by lead mining. So we rode that way and the going back to the seventeenth century John Thornhill really put the family on it's feet'.

Initially attempts to change the newly acquired moor by the landowners, occurred between 1808 and 1820's. The estate 'improved the wild wastes' with plantations of trees such as chestnut, larch, oak and fir (Rhodes 1824: 237). There was many accidental finds of urns during this time, possibly due to forestry. In the 1840's the moor was mapped as woodland.

By 1870's large scale quarrying operations began to eat into the North West edges of the moor in search of gritstone:

'there was a huge amount of stone quarries on Stanton Moor and we have got a

plan of 1880-1890 showing 18 quarries over the moor and the stone that comes from that side of the estate is very hard and good for engineering' (Davie Thornhill 2010 interview).

Both exploitations were sources of income for the estate:

'I think we did quite well out of the enclosure awards: who ever was the lord of the manor was allocated certain amounts of land through the enclosure awards, so Stanton Moor and the area around Stanton Moor was open ground before this' (Davie-Thornhill 2010- interview).

This way of viewing nature, relates to the organisation of society. In pre-medieval times, nature was seen as part of creation, by God, Gods or Goddess', of which we were a part of. As we come into the Renaissance, an increasingly secular and rational society, humanity is beginning to be defined as distinct from nature (Trubshaw 2005). This is highlighted in the increasing use of natural resources. Nature was seen as an object, something to be used, controlled and politicised.

On Stanton Moor the values of the landscape, as a resource and object to be sold and controlled, are diversified by the acts of the landowners to create ornaments on 'their' estates. On the Eastern edges, commanding spectacular views towards Matlock down the Derwent river, engravings of initials, dates and coat of arms were etched onto the naturally sculpted grit stone outcrops. A gritstone tower called Earl Grey Reform Tower was constructed. Willian Pole Thornhill, who was born around 1810 married a local heiress called Isabella Gell:

'For the 30-40 years they owned Stanton and pooled their resources. It was them who built most of Stanton village, they built the reading room, the church, the school and the vicarage at Birchover. So he was a very established chap and he was the MP for Derbyshire for a few years. He built the reform tower. The engravings on the Eastern Edge, the Duke of York made a visit here, but the question is whether it was commissioned by us or Haddon is unknown' (Thornhill 2010- interview).



The gritstone Reform Tower was once a viewing tower. Visitors were able to climb and take in the long views down the Derwent (Drury 2009- interview). Today it stands in a derelict state, unusable, yet not unimaginable. It was listed, Grade II in 1967 and a Listed Building at Risk in 1991 (McGuire and Smith 2007:63). Its straight edges and dark colour stand, out in the moorland landscape. The name and purpose appears to symbolise the support by William Pole Thornhill, for the 1832 Reform Bill and extension of 'suffrage'. These symbols of ownership, were strategically placed in the landscape on scenic routes (or rides). This allowed ultimate appreciation of the estates and the wider landscapes (McGuire and Smith 2007: 98), and acted as reminders of not only varied personal histories attached to the site but also the power or desire to frame ways of seeing the landscape through leaving messages.

Surprisingly there does not appear to be a restriction of access onto the moor during this time. From looking at the archaeological records, many people were exploring the landscape. In the 1840s, Stanton Moor was promoted as a scenic destination- Adams guide to the area around Matlock Bath promoted the beauty of the 'rides', through the

pine woods, the 'lofty crags' and the scenic views (Adam 1840).

Current land ownership

Most of the upland moor remains in the Thornhill family today. The Eastern edges, allotted to the Duke of Rutland, were separated into two or three parcels of land (McGuire and Smith 2007: 23) by the enclosures. In 1920, one of these parcels Stanton Moor Edge, was put up for sale and by 1934 the National Trust brought this part of the moor from William Twigg of Matlock (ibid) and the other parcels owned by Lord Edward Manners of Haddon Estate. For designations and responsibilities of landowners and managers see chapter 10.

The management of Stanton Estates including Stanton Moor, is now the responsibility of Adrian Davie Thornhill, who has lived on and off at Stanton Peak since he was a child.

'Stanton Moor forms part of the estate owned by the family trust called the Thornhill Settlement. I am a trustee, a part owner and a manager, so I know it quite well. The Thornhill Settlement Trust owns various estates, but Stanton is the core family asset owned by the Thornhill's since the 1600s so has become the centre of all the family interests. We basically acquire agricultural land and residential property and develop opportunities on the land with the view to long term ownership. The estate has about 4,500 acres, which goes from Dale View quarry and North to Elton cross roads, so within that there are a dozen farms of various sizes about 40 houses and the stone quarries as well'.

Adrian is surrounded by images of Stanton Moor. Paintings, books, maps, records, talking to his grand-father, and father, Adrian is 'absorbed into the history of the place'.

Today Adrian's wife 'rides round there and loves it, I mean really loves it and gets what ever solace and comfort people get from it'. But for Adrian:

'my problem you see because I am so closely involved with the management, I walk round and see problems, so it is difficult to remove myself from land ownership to enjoy the place for what it is'.

He goes on to say however, 'it is a wonderful place 250 acres of unspoiled land in a crowded spot in Derbyshire. It is wonderful to have it there'.

Lord Edward Manners is the owner of the Haddon Estate which encompasses approximately 4000 acres of land surrounding Stanton Moor and includes Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries on the North/East edges of the moor. 'We have farms, woodland and residential and commercial properties. Sports such as fishing and shooting and also the quarries'. Lord Edward has recently taken on the role of manager of the estate. Edward expressed the responsibility he takes, to act as guardian of the land of his 'ancestors'. He said (2009- interview):

'I have a very deep sense of responsibility to look after this little patch of earth I have got. We go out of our way to maintain it. What you see round here is 900 years of my family looking after it, so I certainly intend to continue that'.

Conclusions

For the landowners, a very distinct relationship has developed towards the place, based on the ancestral connections, forged to the land, over centuries of official ownership. The inherited birth right and the ways the land has, and continues to be used, informs the practices of ownership undertaken at the place. The landowners feel they have the 'best interests of the moor at heart' (Thornhill 2010- interview), this is based on preserving the place for future generations. The main strategy of management employed, echoes this attachment. It is seen as a 'constant duty, we have had this responsibility for a long time' (ibid). The physical make up of the land, it's use as a resource, the hard gritstone, to be sold and consumed, impacted the practices and meanings developed. The place became a literal resource to be exploited for capital. It becomes a reflection of the industrial and consumer society that surrounds it. As we shall see the definition of ownership is not straight forward, people have different ideas about what can and cannot be owned. These link with the values we place onto nature, the past, the self and others.

Chapter 5

The industrial resource

This chapter charts the development of quarrying on Stanton Moor. It outlines the ways the extractive industry impacted: the landscape, archaeology, communities surrounding the moor and visitors today. The key informant in this chapter is local Jim Drury, who has lived in Birchover for all his life, over 80 years.

A little history of quarrying on the Moor

The distinct geology of Stanton Moor has dictated its use over history. Small scale delving has been practised since Romano-British times (McGuire and Smith 2007). Initially the stone was used locally to meet the needs of the communities. It was used for: querns; walling; buildings; gateposts and graves (ibid). In 1819, a piece of land near Stanton Lees was used 'for the purposes of getting stone, gravels, and other materials for building and rebuilding or repairing of houses, bridges, walls, fences, drains and other works' and this was used within the close locality (Badcock 1998: 9).

Large scale quarry operations, have eaten into the moor since the late 19th century. The landowners promoted their (relatively) newly acquired commons, for the extraction of high quality gritstone (McGuire and Smith 2007: 23). As shown in the previous section, the estate owners benefited financially from these operations. Following the trend of the wider market, Stanton Moor became a commodity or resource to be used and exploited (Merchant 1990). The arrival of the railways at Rowsley in 1849, connected Stanton Moor to the wider and increasingly industrial cities of England and 'must have provided a massive boost to the potential of the Stanton areas quarries (McGuire and Smith 2007: 102).

Stanton Moor stone is very dense and of 'outstanding' quality (McGuire and Smith 2007: 74).

'The stone is very hard and good for engineering. If you were to get a train from Chesterfield to London [Great Central Railway], it is very likely that all the

cutting and the bridges on the Midland Main Line came out of Stanton Moor because it is very high quality, and can carry loads. The Parliamentary building was made out of the stone. The strength of the stone can actually handle the structure and carry the weight of the structure on its own without metal frame. It is strong and fine grained' (Davie-Thornhill 2010).

The stone also has an aesthetic appeal, being pink in colour. The stone was (and continues to be) very sought after. At this time, there was little restriction over the development of land.

The stone was carried to Rowsley on 'large four-wheeled carts' (Christian 1976) drawn by horses and later steam lorries. 'There was a tale about the first steam lorry' said local historian Jim Drury (2009- interview).

'They set off with what you call 'pull stones' that were exported to Norway. They set off with a load to Grimsby, on their own lorry. The whole of the village came out to watch. They were so excited. They had to send a telegram, which was the only means of communication, to inform their progress. So the telegraph person came on his bike from Winster and he read the telegraph and said, 'all is going well, they have reached Stavelly', which is only about 4 miles out of Chesterfield. That was a whole first days progress that was! It used be a regular saying that did, 'all going well, Stavelly'.

Many generations of local people (from land owners, investors and workers), gained a living from the quarry operations. Quarries became part of the histories of the communities surrounding Stanton Moor. They were a part of everyday life: a play ground for the children; a place to work for the adults. 'It's just always been part of life up here' said a local from Birchover.

'I know when I was a kid there used to be mason shed and we used to run in through the quarry hole. There was a ladder up to the crane and we used to call it 'the big ladder'. We would climb up this ladder and run round what we call the Moor End and back out at Druid Corner. It used to be a regular run that did when the quarries were shut and locked up for the night, it was a regular

occurrence that was, it was part of life' (Drury 2009- interview).

He goes on to recall a time he was walking to school past a working quarry: 'there was a quarry hole right by the side the path, at the top, I remember crawling round, it was that windy we had to crawl round it case we'd blow down the hole'.



The quarries were a place of fun and play for the children, but for the workers quarry work was dangerous: 'cranes would fall down the hole and take the workers, they weren't that substantial' commented Birchover resident Jim. He goes on:

'There was old Ray Tyfords. The day of his funeral they were quarrying at the top of Barton Hill and the crane at the top of the hole just gave way and crashed down on its own. They said it was in sympathy with Ray, but he was a tyrant to work for I believe. You could hear him shouting all the way down to Birchover, when he used to have a whistle, he wanted to get the attention and whistle and shout 'come here... go there' (Drury 2009 - interview).

In the early 1900's there was a strike by the quarry men of Birchover across the moor to bring out other workers in the local villages of Stanton in Peak and Stanton Lees for extra pay.

'They started at Birchover and they marched round, and there were quarries at Stanton Lees and Pilough and Stanton in the Peak. There was one man at Stanton Lees, he was deaf and dumb [sic] but he was marvellous at cutting a grindstone out of a lump of stone. He was marching with these strikers and the owner of the quarries, I think he was called William Deally. He said to this lad walking with the strikers 'you can understand what this rabble are talking about, but you can't understand a damn word I say to you'... They stuck it out for so long, for extra pay, but gradually they drifted back to work. In my day the 1930's, they still talked about it. It was a like a blight leg, there was still a bit of ill feeling even about 30 years after or more' (Drury 2009- interview).

The moor was used again as a place to express local rights, concerns and issues. It had social centrality to the workers of the quarry.

Quarry operations also impacted Bronze Age remains. Through-out this intensive industrial phase many urns, incense cups, other items and sites themselves were discovered and often destroyed. Local amateur archaeologist Jim said

'there was one quarry on the road near Twopenny Loaf [Andle Stone] on the moor side and that was quite a deep quarry hole and they were carrying the stone off to extend the quarry. They found lots of urns, Bronze Age urns, and we always knew it as the Urn Quarry. The archaeologists came from all over the place going through this stuff they found in case there were any more remains like, but it all quietened down' (Drury 2009- interview).

The war years also impacted Stanton Moor, which until c. 1915 the moor was wooded. From 1915-1919 the Canadian Army Unit, mostly women (Ainsworth 1990), felled the woodland for trench timber in the first world war. It is also thought this team constructed a animal hauled light railway across the moor and a sawmill near the Cork Stone (McGuire and Smith 2007: 103). By the 20's and 30's, the quarries 'swung between doom and gloom' (Drury 2001:40), with weather conditions and decreasing demand for the stone affecting it's production:

'The snow in 1937, got workers out of the quarry... the council set them on

cutting roads out and they were sorry when it thawed cause they were on better pay, better hourly rates than the quarry was. They were sorry to see the snow go, I mean it lasted for about three months' (Drury 2009- interview).

After the second world war many of the quarries were closed (Willies et al 1989). The market for grindstones collapsed due to the new legislation to protect people from silicosis (derived from the dust of gritstone) (Barnatt and Smith in McGuire and Smith 2007: 103). New mass produced and marketed alternatives available elsewhere. However, in 1947, a single planning application was submitted for the working of stone at: Dungeon and Barton Hill; Stanton Park; Endcliffe and Lees Cross; Palmer's Pilhough; Pringle Wood and Stanton quarry (Derbyshire Country Council 1952). In 1952 mineral permissions were granted by Minister of Housing and Local Government to these quarries as one single permission, for a 90 year period with no output limit.



In 1952, only months after the permissions were allowed, the Peak District was designated a National Park. The land was protected, under planning systems and legislation, to ensure the conservation of the area for future generations. The impacts of the national park imagined boundaries on 'development' was felt by landowners.

'You have to remember, up until 1952, when Churchill was re-elected, people could do literally anything they wanted at Nine Ladies. They could open a quarry, my grandfather would just dig a hole in the ground and say 'you can have a quarry here get the machines in', it was that unrestricted. After the war because of the sacrifices that had been made, it was felt sensible to democratise land ownership. You had rights of income, but when it came to development, it had to be subject to planning. This was incredibly confiscatory if you think about it, it is a massive transfer of wealth from Nine Ladies, to the state and by way of compensation the landowners were allowed to apply for extensions of existing quarry workings' (Thornhill- 2010 interview).

In 1995, the Environmental Act enforced consents granted at that time, were to be subjected to formal submissions to the relevant Minerals Planning Authority (MPA) who would determine the appropriate modern working conditions in order to protect the environment. The act created fundamental changes to the system of care and control of the National Park. The MPA were able to impose more stringent controls over the dormant sites, without the quarry operators demanding high levels of compensation. On Stanton Moor itself, archaeological appraisals investigated the quarries on the South-West, West and North-East edges to bring the old mineral permissions up to the standards set out by the 1995 Environmental Act.

From this time, the value of stone began to increase once more. New proposals were submitted by various quarry companies to work the existing quarries surrounding the moor, one being the highly contested Endcliffe and Lee's Cross (a history is outlined in chapter 9). In 1999, after proposals were submitted, locals, environmental activists and larger environmental organisations began an interwoven process of protest which included squatting on the land; raising public awareness and commissioning an independent investigation.

In 2000, following consultation with community groups, the quarry company and the Peak District National Park Planning Authority devised the Stanton Moor Principles (PDNPA: 2009). These would be considered in the event of any planning applications

received for Stanton Moor. The main points of the principles are:

- There is an understanding that quarrying for stone will continue in the area, however this should be 'adequately controlled and mitigated'.
- The authority would like to see quarries from the central area of the moor including Endcliffe, Lees Cross and Stanton Moor quarries disused. Therefore the focus would be on the Northern and Southern quarries.
- Any proposal or extension should put forward 'acceptable means of minimising the impacts of working and traffic on the local residents.

After a six year battle, in 2005, Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries were classified as 'dormant'. Thus enabling modern conditions to be imposed on future quarrying. This led to the voluntary revocation of these two quarries, for a extension of the existing quarry, Dale View. There are similar, but less contested examples of these land-swaps, and extensions around the moor. There are three working quarries surrounding Stanton Moor. Birchover quarry, working under conditions imposed in 1952 with no limited output or working hours, New Pilough, which has recently been extended for the revocation of Stanton Moor quarry for five years and Dale View.

Bargaining and Extending: A Case Study: Stanton Moor Quarry and New Pilough

Jeff Henson, local resident of Stanton Lees has become an active campaigner against quarrying in the area. During personal communication with him, Jeff offered an interesting understanding of the quarry process on Stanton Moor post 2000, after the Stanton Moor Principles were created.

According to Jeff (2009- interview) Stanton Moor quarry, although assuming a central position on the moor, is still classified as active. 'Blockstone can open that up when ever they want, there are no restrictions'. However he feels the gritstone is not high enough quality, 'they can take as much stone as they want, but they know the stone on Stanton Moor quarry is not the stone they want. They want a high quality stone which they can export'. Jeff feels they are using the old quarries as a bargaining tool: 'It is a dubious way of getting rid of the old quarries, the Peak Park say, "oh, we stopped them

quarrying”, yeah, but you are letting them desolate another part of New Pilough.

This was also felt by another local who stated in an interview:

'one of the owners of Blockstone actually stated that the Peak Park Authority had told them to buy old consent quarries with which to trade and we were horrified. But that is why they brought Stanton Moor quarry'.

Although the amounts of stone to be extracted are fixed through the planning application, Jeff feels the quarry companies have been 'over producing right the way along'.

Drifting through the quarries

I am particularly drawn to and enjoy drifting around the numerous areas of Stanton Moor that have been quarried. They look out of the ordinary and my senses are triggered by a set of stimuli that contrasts the everyday mundane world. The dichotomies of natural/man-made, country/city, inside/outside, order/disorder and work/leisure, usually pushed far apart are brought together in this space of past but remembered itineraries. The effects of capitalism pile up on the landscape. The ghosts of the industrial order, once pressed upon the landscape continue to be experienced. Stanton Moor evokes a nostalgia for a time and place apart from cities and industry, yet it is still a place of industry.

As I wander these quarried landscapes, alone, actively and improvisationally reading the space for signifiers of certain pre-established signs derived from the discourses surrounding me, my body feels almost disorientated. I experience the world through a new physicality, based on contorting and disordering my regulated movement through space. I am faced with a number of 'challenges' within the landscape that need to be overcome: big blocks of sandstone that have been ripped from the ground; old pieces of machinery overgrown with ivy and grass; sheer drops of 50 foot or more with silver birches growing from the base, suddenly approach you. The topography of the space, organises possibilities in terms of selection, movement and interdictions. Walking changes, privileges and abandons these elements through transforming the spatial

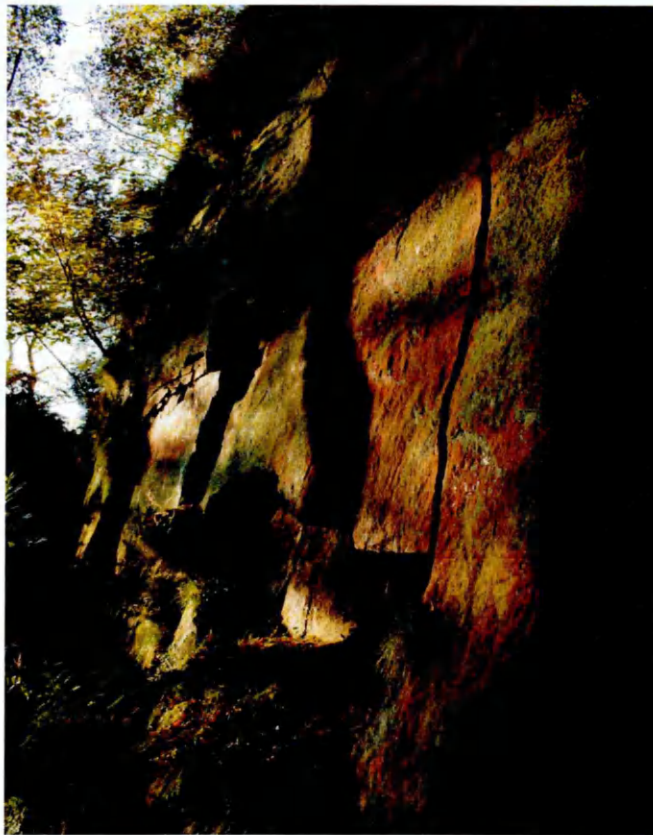
signifiers into something different.



The quarries make excellent temporary homes for people and animals, providing sheltered areas below the ordinary surface of the ground. People have made rope swings coming down from steep cliff sides. There are a number of examples of rock art or graffiti onto the cliff faces, some dating back to the 17th century. Such transformative activities changes the way the space is perceived and consequently represented.

The layered sandstone looks like a painting of the sunset: a water colour pallet with colours of red, yellow and purple. The idea of nature as 'that which has not been produced' (Smith 1984) is put into question: despite Stanton Moor's initial appearance as a natural landscape, part of a national park, protected and separated through lack of social intervention, the moor is filled with politics and ideology. It is produced socially, subjected to a wide range of modernising principles through-out the ages. Specifically, the exaction of mineral and stone from quarrying, but also through agriculture.

Similarly to other places on the moor, these markers in the landscape indicated some event or experience has previously happened on this spot. Everyday obligations are inverted. The spaces signify playfulness and permissiveness but at the same time signify globalisation and the rape and pillage of the earth.



Conclusion

Quarrying around Stanton Moor has impacted the place itself and all the lives of those who live around it. The industrial place myth clashes with planning rights within the national park borders; the archaeological place myth and the next place myths to be identified; recreation and the living landscape. Industry within this perceived 'natural' and 'ancient' setting create conflict, tensions and adds to the various meanings which construct the contested landscape. Quarrying today on the moor by many is seen as destructive to the idea of nature and sacred sites. Zimmerman (1951: 15 cited in Christian 1976) wrote resources 'are not, they become; they are not static but expand and contract in response to human actions'. Therefore stone is not a resource until it satisfies our needs.

Over 20 small disused quarries on the moor have now come to symbolise other meanings. New topographies have been created from the use of the moor as a industrial landscape.

Chapter 6

The tourist destination

This chapter outlines the place myth of Stanton Moor as a *tourist destination*. The main concepts used within this chapter, such as recreation; access and tourism are outlined. The main themes developed from the research are then presented, outlining the reasons people visit Stanton Moor: to walk; to visit sacred sites; to camp and to participate in sporting events. It also discusses the ways people interact with sacred sites, particularly the Nine Ladies stone circle. The final concluding part exposes ideas of increased popularity, felt by many interviewed.

The Peak District National Park

Through-out the eighteenth and nineteenth century, wide spread reactions to enclosures and industrial developments, highlighted in Chapter 4 and 5, inspired the exploration of the ethical and artistic debates surrounding the availability of open land, for those working in the cities (Derby 2000). Some saw access to outdoor recreational spaces and the countryside, as a moral right: access was particularly meaningful, to many people.

The increasing industrialisation of many towns and cities surrounding the Peak District, issued much concern about the threat of industrial and urban development. The rural landscape required protection and maintenance, against the threat of destruction (Christian 1976). Organisations such as the National Trust set up in 1895 and the charity, the Council for the Protection of Rural England, marked this growing appreciation of 'natural' landscapes in relation to it's perceived threats of urban development. They campaigned to open national parks across England:

'CPRE has been around (well our office in Sheffield) since 1924 and that really started because of the concern that Sheffield was beginning to sprawl out into the countryside and there was no planning laws in those days' (Tickle 2009-interview).

Today, the area defined as the Peak District National Park, means different things to

different people. It embodies ideals of nature, due to this perceived lack of development, in comparison with the urban landscapes surrounding it. Visual features help to define the space: the large stretches of limestone walls running over the contours of the grazing land; the symbols on all roads as one enters its imagined boundary as a circle of stone (a rotary quern); the bleak heather moorlands. It is also a farmed landscape and used within extractive industries, utilising the high quality limestone and gritstone.

In the UK, national parks are not wilderness areas set aside to escape development as in the USA. They are living, working landscapes which support farming, extraction industries and tourism. Most of the land in the Peak District National Park is privately owned (Christian 1976). National parks were a post war creation, celebrating nationalism and defining who we are. They were part of a programme of post war reconstruction (Derby 2000). The definition of a national park, defined in the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act of 1949 (from the government legislation website, see bibliography) is: 'an extensive area of beautiful and relatively wild country which, for the nations benefit and by appropriate national decision and action:

- a. the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved
- b. access and facilities for public open air enjoyment are amply provided
- c. wildlife and buildings and place of architectural and historical interest are suitably protected,
- d. while established farming use is effectively maintained'

Part five of the act entitled the public to open access (the right to wander freely over upland areas), but what it actually provided was that:

'where an access agreement or order has been made, an individual who enters without breaking or damaging any wall or fence and who complies with the relevant by-laws and extensive restrictions contained in [the other sections] is not to be regarded as a trespasser' (Barker and Parry 1996: 3 cited in Derby 2000).

Access is therefore limited and controlled, due to interference with private property rights.

Defining recreation

An exact definition of recreation is difficult, because it can easily be over or underestimated: there is much variety (Fennell 2008). For many, recreation is an activity apart from work and everyday life. Yet recreation is also interwoven into the fabric of economical, social, cultural and environmental realities. Recreation is a practice of an activity- an act of involvement- walking for example, is an active involvement with the landscape or 'nature'. In most cases, activities chosen, in some sense, refresh the mind and the body (ibid).

Recreation has developed into a commodity, a consumerist good, it is no longer about citizen rights but more about questions of means. As Ravenscroft (1994: i) remarks:

'access to active living is no longer a societal goal for all, but a discretionary consumer good, the consumption of which signifies 'active' citizenship. It furthermore signifies differentiation from the growing mass of 'deviants' who are unwilling or unable to embrace this new construction of citizenship and are, therefore, increasingly denied access to active living and hence active citizenship'.

Access, in this sense is often privileged and controlled.

Recreation and nature

The National Park, is also a place one can feel closer to nature, in the countryside. These spaces embody ideals of a lack of development, technology and industry, in other words, a lack of human intervention. The 'utopic' desire for these places is related to ideas of otherness and difference from 'normality' (Foucault 1969).

These social factors and ideas are associated with the development of capitalism and the expression of economical, political and ideological power (Soja 1989). Space, like society, exists in many forms and as sets of relations between individuals and groups. Nature is socially reproduced despite it's appearance of separatism and difference. As highlighted through-out the thesis, conflicting layers of images and meanings surrounding nature impact one another, pull apart, occupy and excavate the space.

In this increasingly secular society, there has been an explosion of discourses surrounding nature. Some say this obsession with places perceived as natural, is linked to the disillusion with present: modernity; rationalism; science; bureaucracy; Christianity; private property; capitalism and related concepts of 'progress', have served to alienate, disenchant and estrange humans from the natural world. A cultural consciousness that cuts us off from nature, others and ourselves. This disenchantment or estrangement from the natural world is described by many researchers and theorists (Blain and Wallis 2007, Darby 2000, Greenwood 2006, Michell 1974, Pearson 2002, Starhawk 1982 and 1990) and are often used within new age or eco-spiritual beliefs.

A disillusion with the present, has re-asserted the significance of a constructed past that is imagined as enchanted, a simple time when connections with the earth and nature were closer (Lambrick 2001). This perception links place, with people and time. Sites such as Stanton Moor and the Nine Ladies, often represents the past and become places delicately connected with nature (see chapter 7).

The next part of this section will briefly define the concepts interwoven through this discourse such as access, and tourism. The second part will explore the varied ways people have used the moor over the course of this investigation as a recreational space, ranging from locals to international visitors, with evidence received from participant observation, drifting and semi-structured interviews (as outlined in chapter 1).

Accessing place:

Access, in this thesis refers to the ability to acquire an 'experience' from a geographical place. Each visitor experiences these places as apart from everyday life. We leave our homes, admire the scenery, explore the cultural differences and then go back home. Access in this sense can be:

- Physical, involving movement and status through places
- Intellectual, what people know about places, what things they exclude or ignore. How information is accessed, the availability of information and educational materials about the place, at the site itself or through books, journals, internet, personal communications. This is also linked with ideology.

- Emotional: the emotions felt when at or thinking about a place, how this is expressed. Experiences can provoke responses on emotional levels, especially if physical access is restricted or denied.
- Spiritual: the availability of sites for spiritual purposes such as ceremony, prayer, trance, connecting to higher spiritual beings or the self.
- Cultural: access to social connections and communities. Differences with regards to gender, ethnicity and class
- Aesthetic: relating to the ways in which we react to and recognise a 'beautiful' landscape, in response to the increasing threat by industry and development. Its concepts are defined in relation to its difference. It is also the way it looks, based very much on sight.

Access is not just physical but also the access of ideas and consequently ways of perceiving and performing. Access is contested, political and politicised.

Tourism: identity and others

Increased tourism relates to the processes of globalisation: the ease of travelling, long distance communication (mobile phones and internet) and global networks have made the world a smaller place. For Bourdieu (1984) tourism is a form of symbolic capital. The trick is knowing where to go. The tourist experience often involves a search for authenticity (MacCannell 1992) in times and places away from everyday life. The tourist eye is fascinated in 'others' and constructs ideas about the lives they experience from a personal position. New cultures are invested, remade and recognised.

Acts of tourism are alternative experiences to everyday life. They are saturated in concepts of escapism and difference. A tourist place is often defined by its relationship with other places. A 'holiday' or day trip, breaks up the usual routines and practices of everyday life. An opportunity is created which allows the self to become immersed and stimulated by difference (Urry 1990). There are many different types of tourism. On Stanton Moor, the term 'eco-tourism', could be used to describe the relationship between tourists, places and cultures visited. For Boo (1990: xiv) (cited in Fennel 2008) eco-tourism is defined as 'travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural

areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and it's wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas'. This would therefore include the non consumption based tourism we see on Stanton Moor.

Urry's (1990) 'minimal' characteristics of tourism are:

- leisure as opposed to work
- movement of people through space to various destinations and at the spaces when they get there
- outside normal place of work or residence
- desire to look at curious and interesting things and the response to this 'gaze' by 'new socialised forms of provision'
- anticipation of intense pleasure (reinforced through discourses such as mass media)
- gaze directed to out of ordinary features of landscape which are objectified and recorded through video's photo's, paintings etc. The gaze is reproduced and re-captured.
- The tourist gaze is constructed through signs
- professionals develop to reproduce new objects of desire of tourists gaze

Stanton Moor: tourist destination

Using these characteristics of tourism as explored by Urry (1990), Stanton Moor can be described as a place where people experience tourism through accessing the site. It is estimated that 40 000 people visit the moor over the year (McGuire and Smith 2007). From my research, the weekends are the most popular time for a visit, especially when the weather is fine. Most of the research for this section took place during particularly sunny or significant weekends in 2008, 2009 and 2010. In addition to the thirty formal drifting interviews, I undertook short semi-structured interviews with 28 people, from visits to the moor over 12 weekends. Participants were questioned at different places, but usually at the Nine Ladies Stone Circle as many of the paths meet at this point.

I also undertook participant observation and watched the dance of the visitors around

the stone circle. My stillness contrasted with the movement of the colourful people standing, looking, searching, moving through the site. The in-depth interviews also added to this discourse, particularly those of the locals, who use the moor recreationally, and have developed a different, deep understandings of the place through their continued experiences.

My first impression of the popularity of Stanton Moor on the day of the visit is initially indicated by the amounts of cars in the lay-bys: often these are full and overflowing on busy weekends like Easter or when the weather is good. At certain times of the day too: lunch times is very popular.



Reasons for visiting Stanton Moor

There are varied ways in which people use Stanton Moor as a tourist destination. The research discovered four main practices: sacred site seeing, walking, camping and sporting activities. By looking at the ways Stanton Moor is used, we can explore the meanings people put into the landscape.

Sacred Site Seeing

The landscape of Stanton Moor, homing over 70 Bronze Age sites, including four stone circles, attracts visitors who desire an experience in the past. Purposes are often very individual. When asked why people had come to Stanton Moor a number of people said they came to 'see the Nine Ladies' or, to 'dance around the nine ladies'. One man in a large walking group of 18 said: 'the ladies wouldn't take their clothes off to dance around the stones', another man asked 'where are the virgins?' These ideas of the stone circle come from the name attributed to it. Others notice the Nine Ladies Stone Circle marked on most road maps and chose to visit because of its close proximity to other places of interest. One family living near Ashbourne, for example, were looking on a map for something to do in the evenings. They saw the 'Nine Ladies Stone Circle' and decided to go and see what it was.

Some people visit the distinct sites on the moor and elsewhere as amateur archaeologists, investigating, taking photos, following a tradition popularised by the Julian Cope's *The Modern Antiquarian* (2000). People search for deeper knowledge about the sites. They may come onto the moor at certain times of day or night, to record astral alignments, earth energies, ley lines and archaeo-acoustics.

Some visit the vast network of sacred sites across the country and journey to the moor as part of a spiritual association. One woman came to the Nine Ladies and has visited many circles across the country. She finds Nine Ladies 'very peaceful and calm'. Her husband's ashes were scattered around the circle and she brings flowers to the circle as an act of remembrance. She stated 'anything I leave is bio-degradable'. She sees stone circles as energy points within the earth, connected through ley lines. (For more about about this spiritual association see chapter 7).

Walking

Many people, including locals and those visiting at the weekend, walk the dry sandy paths of Stanton Moor and experience the landscape in a fluid way, based on their movement around it. These experiences can be very different depending on how much you know about the landscape and if/how you have accessed it in the past.

Experiences of the place are therefore derived from the ways we physically and metaphorically move around them. This is reflected within the methodological technique of drifting used in this study, as defined in chapter 1. De Certeau (1988), described the act of walking through landscape, the same as speech is to language- it transforms the spatial signifiers. As we walk, the heart begins to beat faster. We select and make choices about the way forward, we negotiate routes through spatial signifiers, we construct and obliterate, extrude and intrude, incorporate and expel meanings. The spatial images are chaotic and stable at the same time. These acts transform the place and the individual. Some walk on the moor on their own and search for a stillness of consciousness, a chance to escape society and seek spaces of solitude. Others walk in large groups and the focus is based on the communication between the walkers, rather than the place itself. Consciousness here, is based more on practicalities: getting fit and socialising. The idealised textures of the landscapes change when we encounter alternative 'situations', such as adverse weather conditions like snow and the seasons. The landscape is alive with meaning, and so the body and place are indistinguishable.



The differences between walking and drifting, are based around the motivations for the visit. Often if one walks on Stanton Moor, there are clearly defined routes and reasons

for visiting. Alternatively, to drift, is to displace these motivations and be pulled by the attractiveness of certain micro landscapes. The focus of drifting, connects to multiple, fragmented and chaotic signifiers. Drifting, in this sense, creates intense interactions between place, others and the self.

Regular users

Local Kath Potter (2009- interview) says she 'does not wait' or stay still very often on Stanton Moor, only when she goes Bilberry picking. 'I love picking Bilberries, last time I picked 51 pounds and ten ounces'. The moor for Kath is a place to escape everyday life she has her summer holidays up there:

'because if I am doing Bed and Breakfast I cannot go away, so I go up there every day for at least a week and feel at one with nature. I love to go up when the wind is blowing, and I feel it on my face and on my skin. I get it when I go Bilberry picking'.

Long term protest resident Rowena Bass has also developed a very intimate relationship with the moor, she walked up there most days while she was living on the protest site to watch the sun set or chase the sun when the rays had left the protest site. She has many memories attached to the place giving it extra meaning.

'I go up there most evenings to watch the sunset... I really like this type of moorland... you know big mossy boulders and trees, oaks, rowans, birch and I just love being so close and just go up there' (Bass 2008- interview).

Rachael of Stanton in Peak walks the moor most days with her dog (2009- interview):

'I always walk at the same time and tend to bump into the same people, so I have dog walk acquaintances. It a social thing really, but if your up here and it is quiet, like now, you can still find the magic, especially if you walk off in that direction. My favourite time is when it is pouring with rain and it is just fabulous up here, it is so Wuthering Heights isn't it'.

Jeff, local of Stanton Lees poetically explored his experience of Stanton Moor as a place to wonder in nature. He describes his journey (2009- interview):

'in the autumn, walking up through the beech trees and kicking the leaves. You see the squirrels and you see the robin singing away. You actually come up through the trees and as you come up to the top, you have all the gorse breaking out over the moorland'.

He is particularly attracted to the peace and quiet. 'You can walk across the moor and never see anyone else'. Being a local, Jeff exposes the increased access, use and knowledge of the site to the people who live closest to the moor. He commented:

'if you go on a Wednesday eve, St Helen's church is doing the bell ringing. Ringing the bells, what more do you want? You go up in the evening and you see the sun setting, it comes up over here in the East and sets over the other side there in the West and if you have gone up all day it goes right over the top of you'.

Infrequent users

Many people observed and informally interviewed at the weekends, were visiting Stanton Moor as part of a larger walk, from Rowsley to Winster and back for instance. A continuous reference was made to walking websites on the internet. Walks on Stanton Moor were selected due to the varied ecology and scenery available within a relatively short distance. Discover Derbyshire website was mentioned the most. Distinct historical attributes were often seen as a 'bonus' to the walk. None interviewed had previously looked into the historical/archaeological/spiritual aspects of the moor, whether this was their first visit or not.

Attraction to the moor was based on the perceived beauty of the 'natural' landscape: the scenery; woodlands; trees; heather and rock formations. The moor offers a very accessible and various terrain topography to explore moorland, woodland, long views, points of interest, flora and fauna and farms and villages. As one interviewee stated: 'you've got a small almost like a sort of nature park round here where you can see a bit of everything'. The moor has become a place of exploration and is connected by the main public footpaths which weave together with serpent like smaller paths which traverse over the topography. When talking of the paths used a man replied: 'there is

nothing I wont do as long as there's a path'. One group were attracted to the area to do a long pub crawl of local beers from the Miners Standard in Winster, to Druids Inn, the Red Lion in Birchover and then over to the flying Childers in Stanton in the Peak via the moor.

Interacting with the stones: walkers and the Nine Ladies

Through-out my observations at the stone circle I recorded the ways the visitors interacted in the space surrounded them. This including counting amounts of people, mapping individual routes around the stones, noting directions of travel and behaviour at the sites (see page 97 and 98). I watched over 300 people interact with the site and recorded my observations. Most people spend relatively short amounts of time at stone circle, unless planning a stop to have a picnic, for example. It is a place that is experienced as part of the journey, as well as the reason for the journey by some.

When I sit near the stones, alone for prolonged periods of time a deep feeling of stillness engrosses me. I become a stone, watching, waiting and being as the visitors quickly come and go. The world continues around me, as I sat and waited in an almost meditative state. This stillness becomes contrasted with the movement of those I observed. My drift becomes visually orientated. The observed however, upon arriving at the unknown space of Nine Ladies enter into an almost drifting state. People are pulled by the senses and emotional responses to the place. They become intrigued and begin to ask questions. The site is explored intellectually, physically and aesthetically.

Almost half the visitors observed at the stone circle took photographs of the Nine Ladies, snap shots to take home and keep in collections. Most photographs observed were taken with someone in the circle. An interesting example springs to mind. At Easter weekend in 2010, a group of 18 people sat eating lunch on the heather edge near the stones. A man gets up and says "Oh! We have nine ladies on this walk to the Nine Ladies". He then asks them to go to the stones. They each sit on a stone and the males crowd around desperately seeking the perfect position to take a photo. The photos are taken, then nine males go to each stone. One said "look we're sitting on the ladies now!" They all sit and pose for another photograph, there is lots of laughter. They then notice

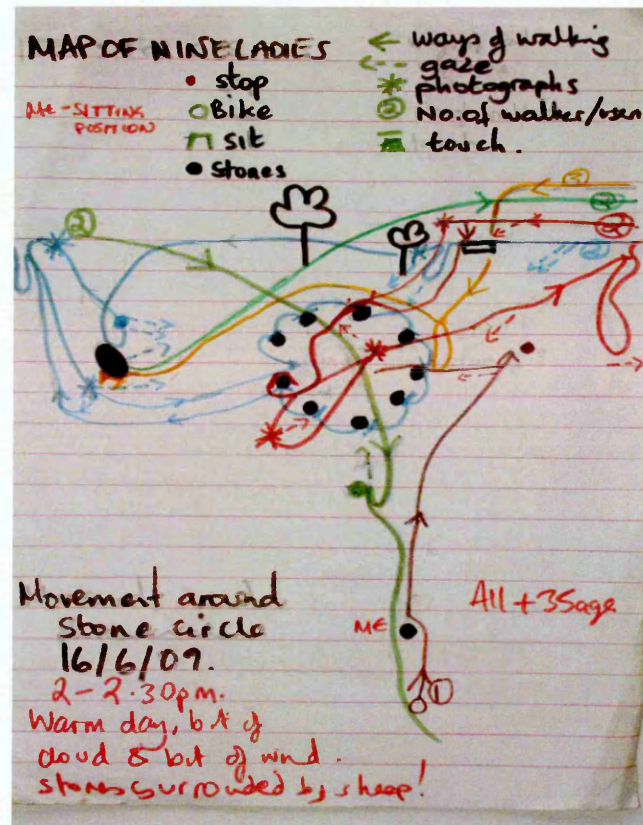
the Oak tree on the way 'out', tied with ribbons and other offerings. One man says "look this is a bit of paganism here... the site is probably used for pagan worship and they leave things here on the tree". The walkers used the evidence surrounding them to construct ideas about place.



A small number of visitors asked others to leave the circle, to enable of person-less photograph. Although most people moved I also observed one women who politely refused. When I asked why she replied 'at that moment I was trying to have some special time for me in the stones. I was meditating. I found it very rude to be asked to removed myself'.

Interactions with the stones themselves are easily presented through the use of percentages. 38% the people I observed did not go into the circle of stones itself, preferring to stand back and take in the construction from a distance. 15% of people walked straight past the stones without looking or acknowledging them, although some of these may be locals. 57% went into the stone circle. Of those who entered, 80% of people sat on the stones. 6% touched each stone as they walked around, 4% hugged the stones or one stone. The remaining 10% walked around and counted the stones. Only 13 % of people visited the Kings Stone to the South West of the Nine Ladies. And 42 %

read the near by interpretation panel. Most people stayed for a couple of minutes and moved on. Below is an example of a map, drawn on site, during observations. It shows the ways people move around Nine Ladies.



Lee and Ingold (2006: 67) discuss the significance of lines and walking. They state, 'walking around is fundamental to the everyday practice of social life [and to] much anthropological fieldwork'. Movement enables understanding of a place through the routes taken and created. Knowledge about a place is therefore created through the bodily relationship with it (Tilley 2004: 11). The above map, constructs the Nine Ladies through a representation of the routes people take and the things they do in the space. Each route has its own narrative and agenda. The map draws attention to the multiplicity of a landscape, it presents in one place, multiple viewpoints. These paths become like a text. As we drift we write the self into the landscape. The act of writing or drawing the map through observation, is also an act of participation.

Camping

For many, Stanton Moor is regarded as a free camping spot. Users often make 'base' within 200 yards of the stone circle, yet some prefer the quieter locations in the sheltered quarried areas. One regular camper (2008 interview) noted:

'I have never camped on the moor- for me it is not private enough. Here I am not effecting anyone else. Over there, it's too close to the ancient monument, it doesn't feel comfortable. But here the quarries have been re-claimed by nature, and we have a resident squirrel who steals food from our camp!'

Each person interacts with and constructs the landscape in many ways. Experiences of the place often derive from the interactions people have with the landscapes and others using it (see section 3). The diverse reasons or attractions to camping and the subsequent meanings have been separated into four distinct categories. Each is taken up on its own, or in combination with others.

1. Creating community

Numerous people camping on the moor have visited for many years. Some recall the wall that once surrounded the stone circle and its destruction in the 80s. The landscape is a part of their lives. One camper proudly exclaimed, 'I am a forth generation of camper on Stanton Moor!' He values Stanton Moor as a 'safe and beautiful place', where he can 'meet like minded alternative people'. On the previous evening, he mentioned, his fire pit became the communal space. Over 12 people came to share the warmth. They 'sung, talked. There was no trouble'. Nine Ladies has become a well known meeting place, where like minded people can (re-)unite and create a wider community based on the place itself and the reasons for visiting.



2. Exploring the outdoors

People visit Stanton Moor for the camping/outdoor experience itself. I met a family in one of the quarry ruins. They visit the Peak District from Leicester to 'walk the hills and camp in remote places'. The Peak District is particularly accessible to them being only two hours away at the most. They first heard about Stanton Moor, through a programme on the TV, which showed the Nine Ladies at solstice time. From this, they went onto Google Maps and looked for potential camping spots. They were aware there was many local camp sites, but wanted an 'authentic outdoor experience'. They are attracted to the moor because of it's flora and fauna, especially the heather moorlands. They mentioned how the old quarry ruins create 'enclosures perfect for camping- they are secluded and out of the way of the elements'.

3. Free parties

The moor also attracts people, because it has become a well known free party space. People celebrate birthdays and other special occasions. Often these people are unaware of the significance of the sites from other perspectives. One young male camper asked me on Samhain/Halloween in 2008: 'what's going to happen up here tonight, is it gonna be all Blair Witch Project?' The identity of the moor and the actions of others is in this

sense constructed through associations with popular culture, especially horror movies set in the woods. There have been many occasions when undertaking participant observation in the stones, young groups of people have come over and asked questions about the moor. Some people show a real interest in the stone circle and desire to find out more. They ask about its original use and purposes within the specific location. Many of these people have never visited a stone circle before. This element is strongest during the summer solstice celebrations. Stanton Moor has recently been 'advertised' on the internet and social networking sites such as Facebook.

4. Sacred space

The moor is seen as a 'safe haven' where people are able to camp: a site belonging to all. One participant said, 'people have always camped here and been free to have parties and fires on solstice mainly but also at other times'. For many of these people, the moor is not 'owned', rather people *belong* to it. One lady said, 'no body owns the land'. Many people come to Stanton Moor and develop connections to nature and the sacred sites. John, a regular camper (2008- interview) explained:

'we want a fire, so where else could we go? We find comfort, solitude in this place. It has a climate of its own and is filled with archaeological monuments, there is no where else like it. We spend all night walking from monument to monument, there is no one to hassle us. It is exciting also, camping has always been something I was into as a spiritually peaceful atheist. But being up here I have become more spiritual/pagan and I have found out I was pagan all along'.

Percieving the moor as a 'free space', to 'escape everyday life' and explore an ancient landscape, has created an identity of the moor. It has become a place people can experience an alternative consciousness, based in nature. John goes on (2008- interview):

'It is free, it is spiritual and very relaxing especially when you come on your own. I camp more than anyone else, almost every other week, less in winter though, I love it in all weathers'.

His friend added:

'I believe in a power, a force of good in nature. Like when you climb to the top of

a mountain and you feel energised inside. I am able to communicate at the stones with people who I think guide me: my mum; grandma and dad. I go into a meditation for 5, 10, 15 minutes. It is so special to me. I have a high pressured life, my holiday is here. This is where I find peace, it's so relaxing. The stress I feel leaves me as a walk up the track with my heavy rucksack, like a pilgrimage, the harder it is the better. I enjoy the slog and feel the pressure release as I come up. The moor has changed me, it has made me clean up'.

By spending increased time on the moor, these campers developed increased environmental and spiritual consciousness. They began to recognise the impacts they were having on the place.

The sacred landscapes of Stanton Moor also symbolises and represents an idealised past when people were 'at one with mother nature'. This idea is usually made in comparison with a estranged feeling of today's consumer society, which serves according to one camper to 'alienate and divide us from anything around us'. For more discussion about this place myth see chapter 7.

Sporting landscape

Stanton Moor is used by groups and individuals as a place of competitiveness and exploration. This is often experienced individually or as part as a team. At Easter weekend in 2010 I met two women and one girl, who are regular visitors to the moor and participate in treasure hunts. They like Stanton Moor because it is so close to many other places of interest within a days walk. Often people visit the moor as it is mentioned on many websites as a place for climbing, utilising the many rocky outcrops and other places close by like Robin Hood's Stride and 'Druids Cave' at Rowter Rocks.

It is also used by groups such as the local orienteering teams. In 2008 the moor was used for the Youth Orienteering Championships. I was sat at the Nine Ladies experiencing the event and wrote a poem:

Spirals of revelation
Searching perspiration
Running over the land

Seeking with maps in hand
Sun is shining
Hares are bounding
Escaping the crazed brightly coloured folk.
But the footpaths are eroding
The Stones are being ignored
With hearts pounding
And mass confusion

The moor is often visited by 16-18 year old people undertaking the Duke of Edinburgh scheme.

Conclusion

Increased Popularity?

Locals and others with a prolonged attachment to the space, believe Stanton Moor to have increased in popularity over the past 10 years. Kath (2009- interview), for example understands the moor to have become popular due to the publicity received during the anti-quarry campaign.

'I think a lot of that is because of the concerns, the eco-warriors that didn't want it damaged, and it has been highlighted, you have been on TV. There has been a lot of publicity about protecting it. I think it has been because of that. We are not just talking local we are talking national and international'.

From the increased awareness of the Nine Ladies site itself, through the discourse of protest and protection, people considered the landscape as under threat. These themes framed ways of perceiving, using and valuing the place. Official guardians English Heritage put Stanton Moor on the high risk of damage list, due to the potential threat of quarrying. Many people went to see the Nine Ladies to assess the risks for themselves. The idealised image was also broadcast on TV in 2005, when a Midlands based programme visited Nine Ladies at the summer solstice. The Nine Ladies became part of popular consciousness, especially locally.

Kath, local ranger Andy Farmer and Daz from the protest site also thinks the impact of the restricted access at Stonehenge from 1985-2000 at the summer solstice 'had a knock

on effect and more people come here, it is not just here... there are 650 stone circles I think in the country and it has had a knock on effect on them as well' (Potter 2010 interview). For more discussion on this see chapter 7.

Participants have also suggested the popularity is due to the close proximity to many cities: 'Manchester, Stockport, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Nottingham, Stoke, Derby, they are all round and all within an hours drive'. One local believes the moor is popular because 'to people coming out of the cities, it is a very romantic place really, a wild moorland'.

The moor is easily accessible, especially due to increased transportation. One participant states 'it is very simple to jump in the car and drive up, you have motorways now if you want to get here from Leicester and places like that'. There is a regular bus route through the local villages around the moor from Matlock to Bakewell. There are buses from Manchester to Derby running along the A6 which goes through Rowsley, about a mile away from the moor.

Although increased accessibility combined with the histories attached to the space, and the distinct environments of wooded, quarried, moorland and sacred landscapes, the moor is often considered as a 'wild' landscape, especially to those who are occasional visitors. The amount of time and energy people invest in the space greatly alters perceptions. For locals, landowners and others who regularly visit, the moor is not seen as 'wild'. One local commented, 'it is not wild at all. I mean I feel I know every inch of it, it doesn't feel wild to me, in fact it feels a bit like a park'.

Everyday obligations and actions are inverted on Stanton Moor. It is a place of play, escape and stillness. The difference from everyday life produces the liminality of the experience. Tourists search landscapes for signs of aesthetic beauty, of past use and pre-established meanings. This is a characteristic of post-modern consumption (Campbell 1987) and involves imaginative pleasure seeking from discourses and the competition between them. '[The] motivation for consumption is not just materialistic. Rather they seek to experience in reality the pleasurable drama's they've already experienced in the

Chapter 7

The Living Landscape

The land is alive,
It breathes, it feels,
Full of energy,
the matrix flows.
Down into the roots,
and places of unknown.
Upon the surface,
marked with standing stones.
Patterns of energy,
as above, so below.
And into the stars,
the leaves of all existence.
Shine brightly down
giving us guidance.
All create the web of life,
life is the energy inside us.
Energy flows through everything,
nothing can divide us.

Stanton Moor as a living sacred site

This chapter explores the emergence of the dispersed group of people who create a *fluid community* on Stanton Moor. The distinct ideas, which unite to create an understanding of the moor as a spiritual, living landscape to be utilised, will be outlined. The chapter also explores the ways people interact with the sacred sites themselves, specifically drawing on observations and participation at various times over the past three years. These ideas are linked with both the archaeological place myth in chapter 3 and Stanton Moor as a tourist destination in chapter 6. Main factors of these myths have combined here and influenced the development of ideas surrounding the 'living landscape'. This myth is often contested by landowners, heritage managers and quarry companies as we shall see in section 3.

'Sacred sites' have become symbolic in this era of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000). There are many people who visit Stanton Moor and recognise the earth as a living and

breathing entity. For some, the circle radiates a power or energy which we can connecting with and transform our personal consciousness (Timothy and Conover in Timothy and Olsen 2006: 245). The moor provides a place to escape normality (Turner 1974), to escape everyday consciousnesses (Greenwood 2006) and re-construct new ways of seeing the world surrounding us, based on nature.

Sacred sites on Stanton Moor have become places people experience new or distinct feelings and reflect on life. They act as an emotional, spiritual, mental and physical gateways to other/new possibilities. If one walks through this gateway, new awareness' can be created (Greenwood 2006). Some believe the moor is a part of 'mother earth' and/or 'creation', a place of natural power which people can tune into, in a spiritual way.

It is not only pagans who practice this engagement with nature or sacred sites. Christians, Buddhists and others who are not specifically aligned with any direct 'path' , link to the land in a spiritual way, as shall be explored.

Consciousness, can be defined as the relationship between our private intimate experiences of the world and the real objective world, that exists outside of ourselves but at the same time we create. Consciousness, is a continuous and ever changing process, that depends on our unique histories and embodiments. Smith (1987) calls this 'bifurcated consciousness', the idea that people see things differently due to their individual awareness and position in society. Consciousness is related to our ways of being in the world and what we deem appropriate from our personal perspective. Things exist outside ourselves that influence this, such as parenthood, school, partners, work, sexuality and religion. These 'structural' forces exist independently but at the same time are constructed by us and our reactions to them.

Often people embark on a 'pilgrimage' to sacred sites, to consciously search an altered consciousness or change of awareness (Eliade 1961 and Lloyd 1998). Meanings are based in the experiences they enact. Turner (1974) undertook analysis of pilgrims and outlined three 'rites de passage' involved in the movement from one space to another.

- social and spatial separation from normal space of residence and work

- 'liminality': being out of time and space, social ties are suspended
- re-integration: returning to community or group with new or different status.

These stages reconfirm the idea that Stanton Moor provides a place to escape everyday life. The usual roles and modes of consciousness are removed. Experiences create a change for those participating: re-entering usual life after a pilgrimage creates different ways of looking at the surrounding world. The term 'living landscape' is used to represent the ways sites are utilised to create changes within the self. The people who share this quest of pilgrimage on Stanton Moor are defined here as the *fluid community*.

Defining the fluid community

The emergence of the fluid community on Stanton Moor is understood to be a relatively recent phenomenon over the past 50 years. The community can be defined as a broad, diverse dispersed group of people, who have developed strong social, emotional, spiritual and psychological attachments to Stanton Moor and the Nine Ladies Stone Circle most specifically, understanding it to be an ancient yet living landscape (Edmonds and Seabourne 2001: 168). Three main themes underlie these expanding ideas surrounding sacred sites according to Ivakhiv (2001: 18). Firstly the idea as mentioned, the 'earth is a living organism or being of which we are a part of' (ibid). Secondly, the earth is seen to have 'energies' which create vast networks over the earth and meet at particular significant places. The third idea is the 'widespread belief' (ibid) that prehistoric or ancient communities in the past were attuned to nature and natural energies. Significant places or energy centres were recognised and marked with structures. These ideas are seen as lost or forgotten in today's society but something we are available to reconnect to. These three themes are brought together on the landscape of Stanton Moor.

Other researchers in this area such as Blain and Wallis (2002: 3) have used the term 'neo tribes' to describe this dispersed group of people who have 'shifting and fluid fragmentary associations [with place] within which today's denizens of post-modernity live their lives'. They point out that the people within this 'tribe' are found in 'all walks of life. They are not a homogeneous category, they are mixed, fluid' (2002: 4-5).

Landowners, tourists, locals, pagans, the free festival scene, travellers, wild campers and lately protesters (Isherwood 2004: 24), all help to create this fluid and always changing community. Many of the members of this group would not necessarily associate themselves with 'others' or indeed to the group itself, yet all contribute to this specific way of perceiving and representing the moor. Acts of spirituality are site specific. The place itself and the symbols attached to the moor, nature and 'sacred sites', brings these people together. For some, Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor continues an already existent strong attachment to nature, for others it is the moor itself that perpetuated this attachment and led to increased interest in other 'sacred' sites and nature.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, many factors have impacted the ways sacred sites are perceived and used: increased social mobility; the attachment of the sublime values of inspiration into nature by the romantic movement; increased industrialisation; struggles over access; the increased spread of images and information through the mass media and raising academic interest in the meanings of sites. Another factor defined by Worthington (2004: 20) is the phenomenon called 'event consciousness', the 'desire to witness significant solar events' such as eclipses and sunrises and sunsets at times such as the summer solstice. He considers 'event consciousness as the 'innocent precursor to today's globe trotting cultural tourism' (ibid). These factors brought sites such as Stonehenge, most famously, into popular consciousness. In the years following WWII, the number of people visiting Stonehenge increased dramatically 'from an estimated 20,000 a year in 1920's to 124, 000 in 1951 and 337, 000 in 1961' (Worthington 2004: 22). The number of people attending the summer solstice celebrations also steadily began to rise from an estimated 1000 people in 1953, to 2000 in 1956, 3000 in 1960 (ibid).

Free Festivals: revolution and exclusion

Stonehenges contested history, meanings and associations with the free festivals, the Druids, and other pagan groups, provides us with a interesting example to briefly highlight and attempt to fill in some of the gaps present with specific reference to the emergence and reactions to the fluid community at the Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor (for a in-depth history of Stonehenge see Chippindale 1994 and Worthington 2004).

The two sites have become interlinked with meanings, associations and representations specifically due to this emergence of the transient, 'counter cultural', alternative community at both sites. However there has been very little written about this emergence on Stanton Moor comparatively.

Discourses surrounding Stonehenge summer solstice access can be traced to the 1850s, when observations of Stukeleys solstice sunrise began to flourish. Stukeley was the first to observe and record the astronomical alignments of the summer solstice with Stonehenge in the 1700's. By this time the solstice sunrise had become the 'principle annual event at Stonehenge' (Chippindale 1994: 156), attracting antiquarians and lately the Druids. The popularity of the event was influenced by the structures of the working week and celebrations or observations were most popular, when the solstice fell on the weekends (Worthington 2004: 18). This pattern continued through-out the first half of the twentieth century. Similar tensions to today were experienced. For example, 'many of the young people were there for a night out rather than for more cultured reasons' (Harper 1899 in Worthington 2004) and 'for some years past the gatherings at the grand ruin have been degenerating and has reached a pass which calls for interference to preserve the peace and evidently interference of an energetic character' (ibid).

After the Second World War, the attendance of the summer solstice event became more sustained and people began to arrive on any day of the week it fell. In 1953, 1000 people gathered for the sunrise and this could be called the first free 'people's festival' (Worthington 2004: 22). As the amounts of people began to increase, so to did the restriction of the actions and access to the site. Temporary, policed barbed wire fences were installed to keep the 'organised parties of hooligans' under control. Yet this attempted control added to the 'temples growing role as a counter-cultural icon' (Worthington 2004: 27).

From 1950's, running parallel to this 'event consciousness', new free music festivals exploded onto the scene. New youth cultures began resisting against the rules of the older generations (ibid). They were fuelled by the dissatisfaction with life, growing stress levels and the fast pace of social life (Aldred 2000, Lengfelder and Timothy

2000). The liberating social impacts of the festivals, based in environmentally experimental, communal living which rejected many social constraints, became entwined with various strands of revolutionary social theories that questioned private property rights (Worthington 2004). The counter-cultural groups became dedicated to political protest and social change. These ideas became part of the history of Stonehenge and subsequently Nine Ladies Stone Circle, the sites began to symbolise these meanings.

'The largely youth based, anti-establishment position – against the tyranny of the church and state... developed into anarchy, psychedelia, free love and violent political protest... [which] also evolved into a multitude of searches for a viable new religion' (Worthington 2004: 30).

Earth mysteries: alternative archaeology

Ancient sites symbolised 'sacred' places in these changing times. A new type investigation began to flourish which questioned the scientific 'modernist' archaeological techniques. The new ideas challenged excavation as a way of making sense of the sites. Michells *The View Over Atlantis* (1969), pioneered the approach and introduced concepts of sacred geometry and other types of earth mysteries, bringing together many distinct fields. Michell perceived the earth as a living being, with natural power centres interconnected by ley lines and marked by ancient sites such as Glastonbury, Stonehenge and Avebury (Michell 1969). The past became important, and symbolised a lost golden era, that could be re-connected to through sacred sites.

Alfred Watkins (1855-1935) in his book *The Old Straight Track: it's mounds, beacons, moats, sites and mark stones*, (re)discovered the invisible alignments of sites, including churches and prehistoric sites over many miles. He called these alignments 'leys'. Watkins work led to an explosion of ideas surrounding alignments and the purposeful placing of monuments in the landscape, in relation to other sites. The leys according to Michell (2001: 8), writing many years later, are 'energy streams across the earth... [that] renew all of life on this planet'.

Other ideas began to advance perceptions of ancient sites and civilisations. Gerald

Hawkins *Stonehenge Decoded* (1965), investigated astro-archaeology, the study of the relationship between prehistoric site. He 'the observed positions of the heavenly bodies at the time of it's construction' (Ivakhiv 2001: 23), at Stonehenge. He discovered both sun and moon alignments. Stonehenge was recognised as a 'observatory' and 'ingenious computing machine' (Hawkins 1965). The growing interest in sites, as something that could be decoded and contained deeper meanings, supported the growing view that 'prehistoric societies were more sophisticated than previously thought' (Ivakhiv 2001: 24) and led to an explosion of theories and discussions in a time labelled by Jon Michell in 1982, as megalithomania.

In the early 1970's John Barnatt started studying the stone circles of the Peak District as a fine artist, as someone who had no formal archaeological training.

'Coming at it from a different direction allowed you to see the woods from the trees, so to speak. I had been very interested as an artist by some of the ideas that had been put forward about stone circles, to do with geometry and astronomy. I had been interested in ley lines and things, I was part of that scene' (Barnatt 2010- interview).

In 1979, Barnatt produced a very interesting discourse about the geometry of stone circles in the Peak District. He explored the complex relationships between people and the environment in the times when sites were constructed. He felt the circle builders lived in harmony with nature. The circles represented this harmonic relationship. Stone circles in the Peak District, have 'sophisticated geometric designs' (Banatt 1979). They have been constructed to achieve maximum accuracy. Such perceptions of the past, opened the way for a more radical change in common consciousness towards nature and the environment. For a detailed exploration regarding the growth of the debate within alternative archaeology, earth mysteries and new age philosophies see Ivakiv (2001) and Trubshaw (2009). After increased study of sites across the country, using more scientific techniques, Jon had a change of heart, as little proof could be discovered for these types of thing.

In 1974, the concepts of the free festivals and earth mysteries became one through the vision of Phil Russel, who 'wanted to claim back Stonehenge (a place he regarded as sacred to the people and stolen by the government) and make it a site for free festivals, free music, free space, free mind' (Rimbaud 1981 cited in Worthington 2004: 38). The festival took place on the by-way called the 'drove' to the West of the stones and about 500 people gathered.

In 1975, the festival moved to the field near the King's Barrows. Over 3000 people attended over the 12 days. There was music, food and the promotion of the importance of freedom and sacred sites (Worthington 2004: 42). In 1976, the location moved back to the original spot and the celebration was attended by over 5000 people. The stones and the original vision of Phil were becoming 'enshrined in the national consciousness' (ibid). Stonehenge became a place to escape normalities of everyday life and practice alternative lifestyles without the threat of prejudice. Free festivals began to flourish across the country over the next few years, fusing libertarianism, eco- politics and pagan spiritualities. By 1981, the free festival at Stonehenge had become a large event attracting over 35, 000 people over 2 weeks (ibid). The festivals provided an alternative experience for some of the politically dis-satisfied people under Thatchers regime. Thousands of people brought buses and travelled from one festival to another and created identity based the on nomadic experience (Reed 2009- interview).

Nine Ladies: increased social centrality?

Whether numbers of visitors increased at Stanton Moor at times of the solstice or for 'spiritual' purposes in parallel to the evidence from Stonehenge, is difficult to say, as there is very little documented. The only account was created in 1980 by Heathcote (1980:16) and states 'the site has over the past ten years repeatedly suffered excessive damage from witchcraft fires and associated drinking ceremonies'. The lack of further investigation by Heathcote as to the particularities of the 'ceremonies' or gatherings, provides very little information with regards to this engagement. Locals interviewed remember people coming to the Nine Ladies at the solstice and other times in the summer, for many years 'but, not in the numbers we see today' (Potter 2009 interview).

The Battle of the Beanfield

The impact of the 'Battle of Beanfield' in 1985, is a possible significant factor for the emergence of the fluid community on Stanton Moor, as outlined by a number of participants including locals, protesters, rangers and landowners. Members of the nomadic 'Peace Convoy' heading to Stonehenge for the summer solstice celebrations were forcibly prevented from entering the 'exclusion' zone surrounding the site by the police. Increased methods of surveillance, bullying tactics and control through road blocks and physical attacks, prevented access to the sacred temple of Stonehenge. The site was enclosed from the perceived threat of the increasing numbers of 'revellers' and anti-social behaviours.

The celebrations were banned. The sacred site of Stonehenge, became a literal and symbolic battle ground, in which differing utopias clashed and conflict resulted. This continues to this day. Conflict arose between the free physical, spiritual, emotional and educational access dreamed by Phil Russel and the preservation of the site itself and the nationalistic values associated with it by English Heritage. For a detailed account of the 'Battle of Beanfield', see Worthington's (2005) collection of discourses surrounding the 'battle', including the police logs, interviews with travellers and local landowners. The fight over access, was not only about this engagement with Stonehenge itself, but also served to stamp on the new movement of people defined as 'new age travellers' who were seen as a 'threat to the state' more generally- they provided self-policed social alternatives to the norm (Hetherington 2000)

From 1985 to 2000, the summer solstice celebrations were forcibly banned at Stonehenge, although groups of people still attempted access, often resulting in more tensions. Over the years, the stones began to take on symbols of this control. Many people would seek less contested alternatives at other sites such as the Nine Ladies stone circle and Avebury.

The Battle of the Beanfield has become an icon of power struggles and continues to be used as an example of state power and manipulation, attacking the alternative sub-culture. It reconfirms notions of the self verses the state, constructing an identity for

those who connect to it. This history and identity of Stonehenge and its consequential meanings has therefore become important in defining other sites, like Nine Ladies. Long term Nine Ladies protester Daz (2008 interview) says

'people have been coming to Nine Ladies for ages, to these stones, because they have to fight the coppers to go to Stonehenge, instead of going down there and confronting them, they would just rather come here and chill out'.

He also makes reference and distinction between Stonehenge and Nine Ladies with regards to the control exerted over visitors. He compared the topography and land use and how this affects his perceptions of the sites.

'At Stonehenge, in Wiltshire in the middle of no-where, the stones are surrounded by the army [Salisbury Plain military defence], fields of nothing. But here at Nine Ladies the stones are surrounded by Manchester and Sheffield and Derby and Nottingham and concrete jungles full of nutters who are willing to come up and say 'fuck em' I am going to Nine Ladies'.

The impact of Stonehenge free-festivals and the media coverage of the events, encouraged more people to see sites as an alternative focus for spiritual purposes and free party space.



Local Kath Potter (2009 interview) also thinks the impact of the restricted access at Stonehenge from 1985 at the summer solstice 'had a knock on effect. More people come here, it is not just here. There are 650 stone circles in the country and it has had a knock on effect on them as well'.

Did the numbers of people visiting the moor increase during this time? There is very little evidence to expose the full impacts the 'Battle of the Beanfield' had on the Nine Ladies, but the media attention that followed the tensions and the wide spread anti-establishment youth movements across the country, brought prehistoric sites into public consciousness. They became part of a national memory and highlighted the diverse and conflicting ways of identifying with place.

Local site

There was local use of Nine Ladies during this time. One interviewee from Matlock Bath proudly told me he was the third and his daughter the forth generation of his family who have camped on the moor. He recalled the stories his grandparents had told him about coming up in the early seventies for the summer solstice and 'having fires, singing songs and telling stories'. Another participant from Derby recalls his first time he visited the circle in the early nineties.

'June 1991. I'm in Kev's car driving around the Peak District in the dark, looking for Arbor Low. I knew it was summer solstice and I'd seen hippies on the TV celebrating in stone circles and it had always appealed to me. Now we're lost, with no phones, in the dark, in the countryside, with no map. After a while we find an old red box and I call up my old mate Jon and ask for advice. "Try the nine ladies on Stanton Moor, it's near Matlock". OK, we're on. Much driving around later and we accidentally stumbled on Birchover and followed our noses. This was the first time I walked on the moor. The night seemed darker than usual and it seemed that we walked for miles... when we started to hear drums and the smell of wood smoke. Back then there was more trees around and as we walked into the trees I could see wee little fires and I felt like I had stepped back in time'.

In the early 1990s the King's Stone on Stanton Moor was damaged. At this time vehicle access to the moor was relatively easy and a van, belonging to 'travellers', reversed into it, snapping it in two. During the same decade, in 1994, Doll Tor was 're-organised' and both these activities were seen as the result of pagan or traveller communities by some (Barratt 1997)

The increased impact of the use of the moor as a 'free camping' social, celebratory landscape, together with growing tourism opportunities in the area, the site was beginning to suffer from erosion. From 1988-1997 the Nine Ladies and King's Stone was monitored for the rates of erosion and visitor impact by English Heritage.

At this time there was a revival of the new acid house movement, which brought the free-party scene back into the lives of the youth (Worthington 2004: 155). The Nine Ladies continued the tradition and through word of mouth knowledge of the site as a living, free camping and party space continued.

Paganism: nature and 'survival'

Running parallel to the free festival scene was the pagan movement and increasing environmental awareness. These differing, yet complementary forms of consciousness also attained specific values onto Stanton Moor, the Nine Ladies and other 'sacred sites'. A complete history of this growth, is outside the remit of this study (for detailed history see Harvey 1996, Trubshaw 2008 and Worthington 2004), however, by offering a brief account of the contemporary 'pagan' attachment to prehistoric sites we will be able to understand the development of the 'fluid community' at Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor specifically.

Paganism, can be defined as a 'variety of allied or associated 'paths' or 'traditions' which focus' on direct engagements with 'nature' as deified, 'sacred' or otherwise animated and containing 'spirits' (Blain and Wallis 2002). The four main traditions have grown into Druidism, with an explosion of interest in the late 1980's early 1990's, Wicca, which has continued to develop in popularity since it's Gardnerian roots and subsequent offshoots in the 1960's, Heathanism, draws from Anglo-Saxon and Norse mythology, and Goddess

Spiritualities. Not all pagans however, would fit themselves within these categories and may engage with several different paths with the result that 'there are as many different types of paganism as there are pagans' (Trubshaw 2008: 93).

By the late 1990s, paganism continued to grow. Hutton (1999) estimates 10 000 initiated witches and 6 000 initiated Druids in Britain 'with a further few thousand drawn from other kinds of initiatory paganism- working with Germanic, Scandinavian or Egyptian deities, ceremonial magic or shamanistic traditions' (Worthington 2004: 241). Hutton also added 90, 000 to 120, 000 non-initiated Pagans 'who have an active pagan identity, honour Pagan deities and make an effort to attend Pagan ceremonies, but are not inducted into particular Pagan traditions' (Hutton 1999: 401).

More people continue to be drawn to paganisms: the role of the mass media (for example television programmes and websites), increased environmental awareness of human impact on the earth and feminism have played an important part in it's growth. 'It's a religion that meets modern needs. Traditional religions have so many prohibitions: Thou shalt not do this or that. But Paganism has a message of liberation combined with good citizenship' (Hutton 1999: 248).

Engagements with sites

The investigation and discussion of pagan attachments to prehistoric sites has received comparatively little attention in terms of public consultation or research in the area (Blain and Wallis 2001). Blain and Wallis' work on the Sacred Site, Contested Rites/Rights Project (2002: 4-5) explored this engagement, asking the question: 'why do pagans engage with sacred sites? The research project indicated a variety of reasons and diversity of approaches which were brought together by the common themes: 'some sense of ancestors, and some sense of the past as important for the present. [They] seek to make connections with ancestors... which directly relate to their everyday lives and concerns today'.

'Pagan' engagements with prehistoric sites are not innately prescribed, some prefer private ceremonies at home or elsewhere, others prefer the pre-marked and identified

'sacred space' of stone circles. Not all the people who undertake personal ritual or participate in the social gatherings at the sites such as Nine Ladies are pagan. Thus 'spiritual' engagements with the sites, are often highly personalised, complex and multiple expressions of identity. There is no single 'pagan' relationship with the Nine Ladies circle. Ideas range from the adoption of the preservation ethic, to moments of divine inspiration to acting as 'guardians' of the site.

From the early 80's pagan communities became increasingly involved in eco-protest and the protection of prehistoric monuments (Trubshaw 2005: 106). Sites were seen as under threat from destruction or unacceptable management. Many worked to counter the threats and stood from the distinct point of view of the landscape as living and sacred centre. Sites became a symbolic battle ground which needed active protection. 'Pagans and earth mysteries enthusiasts combined to form groups such as Save our Sacred Stones, the Cornish Sacred Sites Protection Network, and the Ancient Sacred Landscape Network' (ibid). People began to act as guardians of sites, especially Stonehenge which had an unfair distribution of threats. Various campaigns began, surrounding open access to the stones, the new road proposals, reburials of human remains taken by archaeologists and some have fought for the reconstruction of the site to its former glory, including the removal of fences (Pendragon and Stone 2003).

Sacred sites have become symbolic battlegrounds of access and identity for many. For further discussion about the threats to the each place myth, see chapter 8.

Emotional experiences of place

The values developed, surrounding the Nine Ladies and other sites, derives from the personal feelings and emotional responses we have with the identity of the place. Steve describes Nine Ladies as a 'warm and welcoming place'. He feels a lovely atmosphere and thinks of the moon and femininity when he is around the stones. Edward Manners of Haddon Hall, also connects to the landscape because of the feelings he has when he is walking around it. 'It is an extraordinary place... it has a very strong energy about it'. He also thinks the moor is a symbol of the heritage and history of England. He is attracted to it on this basis. He tends to follow his 'own instincts', he has not actively

searched information about the place, rather the things discovered have come from his own experiences.

This connection to the landscape, was expressed by many during the research. A number of people stated their use of the moor and the circle depends on what they are doing, the reasons for the journey, the mood, the personal motivations and who they are with. It is a place to be alone and a place to celebrate with others. There is no fixed way of being or practice associated with the site. The feelings people experiences at the site also depends on the mood visitors are in and the things we come in contact with. Emotions range from anger, peace, relaxing and inspiring. One local commented:

'it depends what day of the week, sometimes it makes me angry, if I come up here and there are tents everywhere and people are shouting and screaming and music, then it makes me angry, if they are people sawing trees down. And that makes me angry. Often it is very peaceful, I have a teenage son, so if he and I have parted on the usual shouting terms, then a walk up here can be very relaxingly. It is a good place to come and think, but again it depends on who is up here with you. On weekends, on Sundays for example, when there is loads of people up here, it doesn't mean much at all does it. It's just a place to walk, but it is a thinking place for me'.

Stone circles for Daz (2008- interview), hold a power that it difficult to describe, the meaning comes from the experience: 'there are no books that can tell you, no words that can be written about it, you just go to stone circles and find out yourself... there is something there'. To know about the living landscape, is to experience it.

Ten living myths

The next part of the chapter, outlines the specific values and uses of Stanton Moor within the living landscape place myth. Ten main themes, have developed from the research undertaken. The section is written to fully immerse the reader into this place myth. I use poetry, interview quotes and log book examples to construct the ten distinct themes. The meanings have also developed from observations at the stones. To sit at the

Nine Ladies is to wander into the unknown possibilities of our imagination.

1. Celebrating nature: seasons and cycles

The Nine Ladies and other stone circles often create a marked central space for the celebrations of nature, the seasons and the turns of life. The most popular celebration is the summer solstice, one of the eight pagan festivals in the wheel of the year. Celebrations at significant pagan festivals times, although often presumed as of ancient origin may have more recent roots. The festivals were brought into popular awareness (some say created) from the work of Gerald Gardner in the 1960's who used folk law, mythology and anecdotal evidence to construct rituals surrounding these important moments in the year (Carr-Gomm 2002). The festivals occur at significant dates within the calendar, and follow the seasons and natural cycles of the year. The four main cross quarter points are the winter and summer solstice when the sun rises and sets on the shortest day in the winter and the longest day in the summer. Day and night is of equal length at times of the spring and autumn equinox. These 4 quarters have been further separated with the fire festivals of Imbolc, Beltane, Lughnasad and Samhain, each constructed with different meanings, based on nature and the seasons of the year (Kindred 2009) (see diagram 3).

Although widely celebrated throughout the pagan communities on the 1st for the fire festivals and on the 21st for the solstice and equinox, the exact dates of each festival often causes much debate and can create tension, especially for example at Stonehenge when open access is determined for a few hours of one day only.

At the Nine Ladies the summer solstice is most widely celebrated, as previously outlined. Other significant dates are recognised by celebrations here, although not in as many numbers, and often depends on weather conditions, the day celebrations fall and school holidays.

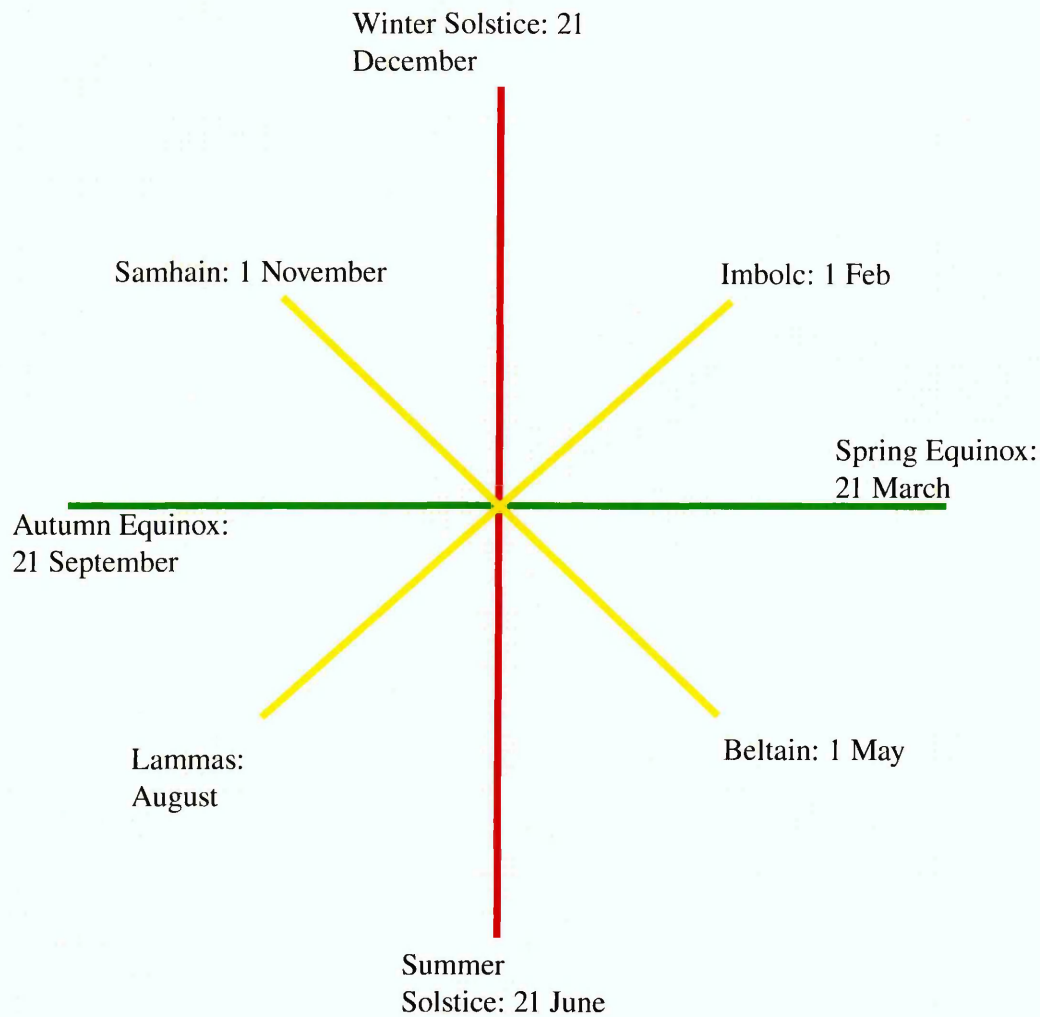


Diagram 3: The Celtic Festivals

There are formalised pagan rituals and ceremonies held on Stanton Moor. These usually take place in or near the Nine Ladies stone circle. Weddings or hand-fastings, pass-overs, naming ceremonies and other personally significant times are often practised through rituals on site. On the eve of summer solstice in 2008, a hand-fasting took place under the 'wish' tree near the Nine ladies Stone Circle. The setting under the oak tree represented to the couple a place of 'strength and knowledge'. The groom especially had a strong ancestral connection to the stone circle and wanted to be in the presence of the elements, the spirits of the place, to celebrate with those before him his love for the bride. Together, with the priestess and the audience they performed a situation that created meaning. The ceremony was delicately connected to the environment

surrounding them. At times of the summer solstice over 200 people gather at the stone circle to celebrate the longest day. Many of these people unknown to the couple joined the circle under the tree to participate in this 'cultural production' of space.



Personal moments of celebration, organic rituals, inspired by being in the landscape are also practised. Simon for example has set his own spiritual path, as Bev his wife says 'you like to celebrate things in your own way don't you, not follow any book or anything that is set out, but you just did it in your own way sat in the middle of the circle'. Here she is referring to an autumn equinox celebration Simon performed in the stones.

Playing music, strumming guitars, banging drums, and whistling has become a part of the experience on Stanton Moor from many, during these celebratory times. Daz learned how to play music from his time of living on the protest site. He plays by the stones, usually the tin whistle and creates an atmosphere or experience for those who hear it. He is inspired by the landscape 'it is a nice place to play, just go up and play the tunes you know and the ones you are learning'. Daz has spent much time on the moor, at the stones, and has met many different people. His very presence altered the ways the moor was perceived by others.

I also enjoy playing music at the stones. In 2007, I wrote

'sometimes when I play the drums I enter into a trance like state. I am removed from everyday thoughts, feelings and mind sets. It's like an escape from life, into the realm of now. For me, playing music is a tool of expression, celebrating nature, using the landscape as inspiration. I tell associated stories using sound, using the soul. The rhythm of the Earth is felt and releases a melody for the spirits'.

2. Energy Centre

Many believe stone circles were purposefully erected at specific places on natural 'energy centres, like a plug' (Read 2009-interview). Ancient civilisations recognised this energy and carefully constructed stone circles, henges, barrows and other structures onto the surface of the landscape, to tune into it's power. This way of perceiving the landscape has been influenced by the writings of John Michell, Guy Underwood and others as mentioned in the first part of this chapter. The creators of the site, are therefore seen to have a deep knowledge and awareness of the earth. This is viewed in comparison with our lives today, which are seen as distant and apart from nature, estranged and therefore unhappy. It has become a ever-lasting desire to reconnect with the earth. This is seen to bring a new consciousness.

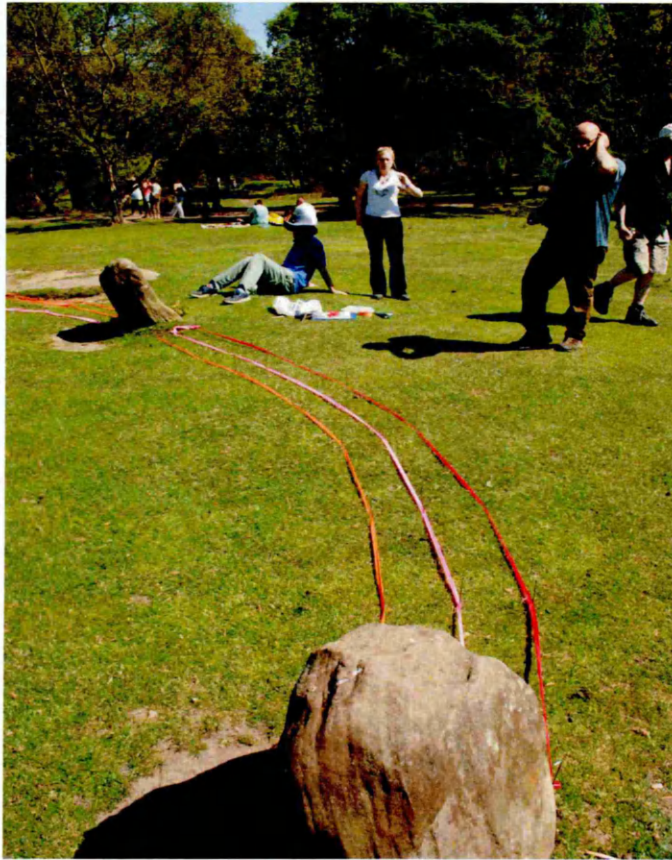
Sometimes people visit Nine Ladies and undertake dowsing in order to feel, learn about or explore the site and its meanings. As a dowser myself, dowsing can be described as the search for hidden targets. The targets are believed to have distinct energies in which we are able to tune into through the use of our mind in combination with certain tools. Most people use dowsing rods or pendulums to assist them. According to expert dowser Dennis Wheatley (2000), dowsing can be split up into two principles: the mental and the physical. The mental principle involves 'visualisation... if you do not know what you seek, you will never find it!' (Wheatley 2000: 11). This involves getting into the right state of mind, almost a meditative state of relaxation, eliminating all stray thoughts, worries and preconceptions. A state of 'relaxed concentration' (ibid). The physical principle refers to the physical reactions one has when a target is found. The found

position is indicated on the tools used, by a pre-confirmed sign. For example before entering into the search mode, the dowser asks for a found response- the pendulum gyrates, the rods swing inwards- this is the sign, pre-confirmed to wait for. The physical principle also involves the physical movement around space, the searching of the signs through wandering over the landscape- almost like the drifter described in the methodology section.

Stanton Moor provides a interesting place to dowse. It attracts groups from all over the country due to its high concentration of prehistoric sites. It is commonly believed Nine Ladies has a number of ley lines running through the landscape. In June 2009, I worked with a group of dowsers, who were visiting Stanton Moor for the first time and hoping to uncover some of the Nine Ladies hidden mysteries. Although some research had been undertaken by the organiser of the visit, there was not much awareness of the other sites on the moor, the approximate dates of the site. Participants were able to reconstruct meanings surrounding the site for themselves through this way of being in the landscape. I agreed to talk at the end and answer any questions raised.

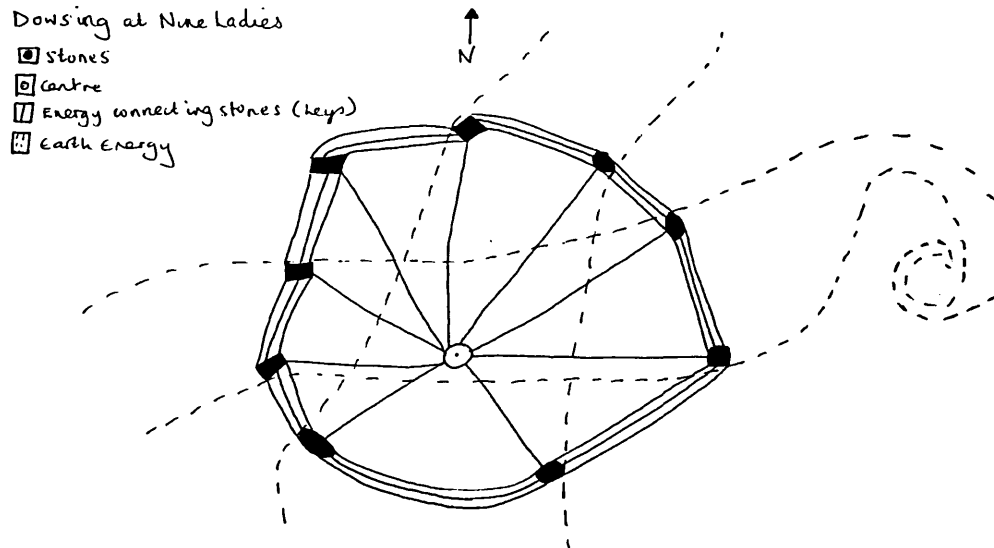
We began by seeking entrance to the space by going into a short meditation to ask the spirits of the place if we were able to explore the stones. Everyone had positive reactions. We split into groups and began dowsing. We searched for earth energies and ley lines. The distinctions between these can be very confusing. Ley lines are generally seen as a construction by the prehistoric peoples- the stones themselves emit natural 'aerial energy' to other sites in straight lines over the topography of the landscape. The lines are marked through standing stones, dolmens, long barrows, stones circles and cairns (Wheatley 2000, Devereux 1991). Earth energies are the patterns and geometric shapes that interweave the earth. Underwood (1969) discovered these complex patterns of the earth energies and called them 'the geodetic system'. The system includes 'energy rivers' that have a positive and negative or male and female magnetic currents (Miller and Broadhurst 1989) and 'geospirals' (Underwood 1969), usually associated with underground springs. Both of these examples are often found running through or in the centre of stone circles.

We searched for the energies between the stones that connect them. We investigated the different meaning each stone represents. The experience was particularly interesting for me. I had never explored the site in this way before, it created new ways of constructing the place. We marked the patterns found in the circle using tent pegs and ribbons. The ground was decorated with lines, spirals, interconnecting rivers of meanings, usually hidden from view. I noticed other visitors- there was a group of unknown people watching under the near by oak tree for most of the day, the weather was hot and sunny. People stood back from the stones, watched but did not enter. Some asked what we were doing, but most continued and walk past.



I wrote down my discoveries, yet struggled with the biased nature of the process of investigation. Responses within the group were so subjective. My interactions with the tools were reactionary. Dowsing is a unscientific approach, however, provides a creative meaning making experience and way of drifting the landscape. It creates a power within the self, based in knowledge and experience and the ability to uncover hidden 'truths'.

I have returned to the moor to conduct my own dowsing research, searching for ley lines and energy lines. I walked the moor, with rods in hand, following the paths I was being shown. I sketched these onto a map. This can be seen below.



3. Stanton Moor signifies the past

Sacred sites are full of ideas about the past, specifically on Stanton Moor the Bronze Age past. Through connecting with the past, people create new memories and narratives and add to the construction of identity (Urry 1990), or in other words, re-constructing the past is always an attempt to understand the present.

A nostalgic desire for a time based in nature, a time of increased environmental consciousness is sought. This utopic time was seen to exist when the circle was originally built, these ideas are transfixed onto the circle. One participant states,

'I think the circle symbolises a desire for spirituality which a lot of us have lost. Not everyone who wants to be spiritual, wants to be Christian, I certainly don't. There isn't much else is there, if you don't want to be part of an organised religion. I think the stones are a great symbol, perhaps a past life that was more spiritual and more focused and more in with the seasons, it think it is it's ruggedness, it's changes with the seasons and I think that is important to the

people and I think it symbolises a longing to connect with the great unknown'.

This reconstructed past, is an attempt to make sense out of today's society, through the environmental and identity crisis we experience. The past is used to critique the present.

Lord Edward Manners (2009- interview), landowner of Haddon Estates also sees the prehistoric features of the moor as symbolic of this past when connections to the land were perceived as stronger.

'The whole contact of the earth and the energy of the earth, the pre-modern religions that are coming back now and are much less taboo than they have been in the last 2000 years. I think it fascinates people. The concept of ley lines, the early religions and their particular connection with the earth and the power of nature, all really fits into this debate about how we look after the earth going forward. To me it is very important. People should know more about it and should be encouraged and the realisation that many of the festivals and significant dates around the world are very much connected with the ancient religions and the more modern religions such as Christianity have been grafted upon the ancients. So it does have a connection, definitely... and I think only now that people have become more liberal with religion that people seem to be able to connect to the old ways'.

He identifies stone circles as symbols of a prehistoric golden age, an age where people had an increased relationship with the earth and nature (as seen in the previous point 2). For Edward these ideals are searched for in the current era and this is why Stanton Moor is so popular. He thinks by looking back we will be able to move forward with relation to conservation and nature management, so it is a very important tool for investigation. The past is used in this sense to tell us about the present and the future, it justifies and critiques social life.

Daz (2008 interview), long term protest site resident sees stone circles as a sacred centre of past religions. He said:

'words have changed over the years, but it is like a church, without a roof, without someone hung on a cross... it is just rocks, it is simple. You can believe whatever you want to believe but it is a focus place for an old type religion. It is also on ley lines... and is very simple and left for anyone to think anything really'.

For Jane, a visitor to Nine Ladies, ancient sites are 'a place to come and think. They each have different energies... when you go into a stone circle it is like opening a door to a room, the energies change, I can feel it through my feet'. She goes on to say, energy is fluid, it changes at different times and is connected to the past but also the future. Circles were the focus for ceremonies. Today, they provide opportunities to re-connect to the ancient ways. This forgotten past helps us move on in the future. The circle embodies ideals of humanity, civilisation, nature, origins, past and history. The identity of users is often based on this understanding of the past, a golden age of alternate meanings: a utopia of a free society. This is desired in the present.

4. Sacred as freedom, sacred as power

Events at other sites through-out history have impacted the ways the sacred sites have been perceived, managed and used, as previously outlined. Regular visitor to the protest site, Steve, (2009 interview) visited others 'sacred sites', such as Stonehenge in the early 80's. He clearly shows that ideas about Nine Ladies are linked in the mind with other sites. Experiences at Stonehenge, framed perceptions of other sites. For Steve, stone circles are symbols of freedom, nature and peace, specifically at the Stonehenge free parties in the 80's during the summer solstice. From this experience, Steve saw sites as a gateway to a new consciousness, an understanding that 'there is something different and still free in the world- people power!' The meanings attached to the free parties and activities, were inserted into the topography of the landscape and the monument itself.

After the 'Battle of the Beanfield', the fight over the contested meanings, access and the subsequent exclusion zone, the icons of the site changed for Steve into 'control, order and war'. It is now a place of ordered access: it has set times of opening (defined by English Heritage). Spontaneity is discouraged, movement is managed and restricted.

Steve remembers the affect also on legislation, when the 'laws came to combat the hippies'. Here he is referring to the Criminal Justice Act. For him Stonehenge is a 'sun temple of testosterone', in comparison with Nine Ladies, which he sees as a 'feminine landscape'. The meanings of the sites therefore are not viewed in isolation, but compared with other places, and the experiences and feelings in the places.

The main theme underlying the contested meanings, was the issue of power and control over movement and meanings. Stonehenge and the Battle of Beanfield had a direct impact on ideas surrounding sacred sites and issues of access. As mentioned Daz and others think these events, led to increasing use of the Nine ladies at the solstice time as it is a place to 'chill out' away from the control. The struggle also relates with ideas of identity and human rights, especially within the alternative/traveller scene. Sacred sites have become part of an alternative history, culture and lifestyle. They symbolise resistance, they are 'counter-structural' (Turner 1974).

5. Accessing other-worlds

The pace at the Nine Ladies is slow. The fast mundane realities of life do not exist here, they can be forgotten, if you allow them. The stones signify time, not only linear time but other aspects of cyclical and spiralling time of the underworld, a place in ourselves of spirits and ancestors. We frame and construct the ways we perceive the world ahead, behind and now within our histories. Yet our linear time confines us.

Sacred sites are often seen as a place to access other worlds and the supernatural, a place of potential escape from the mundane world and to seek help or guidance from forces bigger than the self. Stone circles have been described as a 'place inhabited by supernatural beings and itself exhibiting supernatural characteristics' (Carey 1987: 1). They are seen as portals to these other worlds, especially at significant times of the year such as Samhain, when the veil between worlds is thinnest (Kindred 2004). Generally people who access sacred sites in this way are seeking an alternate state of consciousness.

Social factors and personal histories influence the ability to act consciously and also

define ideas of consciousness. Andy visits the stone circle to commune with people who have left his world. 'I have to go to the circle and have spiritual guidance, to talk to my ancestors, the people in my life that have gone, but I can only do this inside the circle, no where else'.

Stanton Moor and the Nine Ladies also symbolises creation and nature, a place to be close to 'what ever spiritual forces you believe in', said Linda, a local (Webb 2009 interview). For some people the natural world is alive with spirit. Gordon MacLellen (2009 interview), the Peak District based shamanic environmental artist describes this:

'I live in a world that the spirit imbues everything. Everything around you has the potential for communication. It might not be on a individual level, you are not interesting enough to be shouted at. It is a consciousness of being aware of the connections between things and how you are part of that interaction. For me that world is a spiritual one and is very much intuitive pulling one and within that you do meet other contributors who are best described as spirits'.

For Gordon, it is not only defined sacred sites which embody the spirit, but any place, any living thing, has potential for communication.

Local retired RE teacher Kath Potter (2009 interview) feels 'animism features strongly, not only in stone circles but... surely that is the point of the national park as well... it has a spiritual and environmental connection'. To Kath:

'there is something very spiritual and special about the landscape full stop. There are different elements that mean different things to people, I mean look at a tree, it speaks of so many things doesn't it, but for me it [speaks of] the creator. The fact these stones are there, God put the stones there. He put the ideas into early people's minds to make these stone circles. They are on ley lines across the country, so to me it is all part of god's creation, that it doesn't matter who you are, or what you are, they are here for you, and to recognise this is the important thing'.

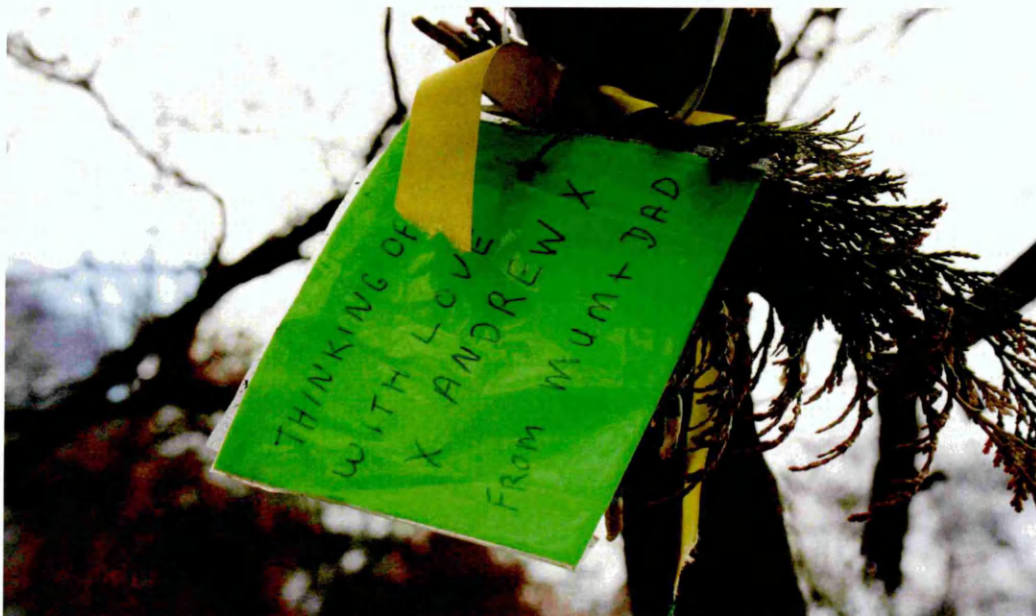
Stanton Moor is a spiritual and sacred place for local Linda (Webb 2009- interview):

'from my Christian perspective of creation, you can feel, it feels a spiritual place because you are so close to nature and it just feels like the beginning of things. You are open to the elements and you have got that peace and clear air.'

6. A place of remembrance

Stanton Moor provides a place where people come to lay their ancestors and families to rest, to pass them on to the other word. Over the three years of research I witnessed a number of signs, that showed me someone had scattered ashes at the circle. Sometimes the ash can still be seen on the ground but also flowers or cards left by the nearby oak 'wishing' tree remind us that this place is special to many.

On the anniversary of her husbands death, Jane came to specifically visit the Nine Ladies Stone Circle. They had both loved the circle and visited many others across the country. She finds Nine Ladies 'very peaceful and calm'. Her husbands ashes were scattered here. She sees stone circles as energy points, connected by ley lines. She enjoys walking the land and being close to nature. She likes that Nine ladies is busy but doesn't like people disrespecting the stones: she mentioned how walkers often sit on the stones or walk straight past them with out looking at them or experiencing them. This disrupts the place myths she inserts into the landscape.



7. Place of healing

For some the Nine Ladies symbolises a place of healing. Reed, environmental protester in 2004 said 'the Nine Ladies has a very healing and feminine energy. It is said that Robin Hood brought Maid Marion here after a battle when she was very ill'. Many other stone circles across the country have come to symbolise healing.

One family interviewed, first visited Stanton Moor a few years ago at the summer solstice. Since then, the circle became an important place for the family where they felt they were able to talk over any problems with each other. It became a place where dialogue would open up between them. One of the initial motivating factors for visiting the moor was the family were going through a troubled time. They wanted to find a place they could spend time together, 'somewhere... peaceful and serene, away from the madding crowd... a chance to think... to be with nature and get away from materialism'. The perception of natures were seen as apart from world. For the family it was the beginning of a transformation, 'a changing of mind-set'.

Some people enter into the circle to meditate, to switch off from everyday things and to connect with the self and nature. Tez, visitor to Nine Ladies for over 10 years regularly enters into meditation at the stones. Initially she cleanses the space by imagining a bright, white light, radiating from the centre. She then begins her meditation. Tez wrote this poem for the research, to represent the process she goes through.

The stones surround me,
My breathing slows down,
My mind is cleared,
Energy sent below...
As the stillness surrounds me
I feel the silence
I feel the energy
A connection to the earth, mind, body and spirit.

Tez then thanks the stones and the guardian of the place and re-fills the space with white light, again to cleanse the stones.

8. Place of protest

Nine Ladies and surrounding quarries have become a centre of protest against industrialisation, capitalism and consumerist society. Protesters have used the nearby land to defend the Nine Ladies and surrounding areas, from quarrying and raise the public profile of the battle.

The identity of the Nine Ladies Protest Site, as a do it yourself culture of resistance, has led to associations being inserted into the Nine Ladies stone circle itself, creating a distinct identity. This has not been the first 'protest' on the moor as shown above, the moor has a history of political protest since 1798. The circle symbolises a place of resistance against mainstream society. A site of freedom, authenticity and occasionalism. A place to escape the routinised systematic and instrumental domination, exerted by the institutional arrangements of everyday life, and reject (sometimes temporarily) the existing values of society. For more on this see chapter 9.

9. Protection

This idea of protest, also confirms perceptions that the stone circle and the wider moor, is a place to be protected from development. During the protest campaign, many people visited Stanton Moor and the Nine Ladies, to assess the situation/threat and to do their bit. Angela says

'I first heard of the Nine Ladies from a programme that was on TV saying quarry manufacturers were going to disrupt the site and quarry close by. I had to come here and see what I could do. I went to the protest camp first and spoke with the protesters. Then I came to the circle and asked for the site to be protected'.

This poem below, has been constructed from an interview transcript of Ruth, who lived on site for five years. For Ruth, the Nine Ladies is a place of celebration, it represent natures cycles and authenticity. It has a power of its own but is also a stage in which cultural practices and performances are often in direct competition. Over the past nine

years of living the 'on site', some protesters have adopted the Nine Ladies and regularly clear and re-seed fire pits close to the circle, undertaking unofficial management (day-to-day visits and litter picks).

My Asylum

Nine Ladies helped us to save the woodlands.

It makes me smile

It means so many things

It has done for a while

Me personally...

It's difficult to describe,

You feel proud, not that it's ever mine

But memories are strong

With superstition in our souls,

Some kind of something that taps into,

and means that people can't just go

'Oh, it's just some stones, rip them up',

You know.

For Ruth sacred sites are everyone's. Her view directly questions people's right to own the countryside. There are a number of preconceptions surrounding 'others', who claim ownership of the site including archaeologists and 'managers' who disrupt the natural order of things and the authenticity at the site. In 2000, the Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit at Nottingham University excavated the stone circle and a 'protester' camped on the moor to 'keep an eye on them and protect the stones from negative influences'.

Local, Kath and her husband used the Nine Ladies as a place of worship to connect with God on the eve of the millennium.

'We had some pagans staying here and they were going up and we said, "yes we will go up" and that was our celebration. We both went up there, to thank God for the heritage for this very important site and to thank him for his presence, now we have this terrible threat to quarry. So we went up there quietly and prayed and asked God if he would keep site in perpetuity and take care of it for the next millennium, for all to still enjoy and so we got pagans and all sorts, but it was so meaningful. And of course, because there was only a few of us and

Keith was the only one wearing a watch he counted it down to midnight and of course because we were so elevated, we could see for miles and miles fireworks, it was just incredible'.

The Nine Ladies was used as a place to connect to god and insert Christian values onto the landscape, to protect the stones and the moor from quarrying.

10. Meeting Place

The moor and the circle provides a place in which people can 'meet like minded folk' and connect to others. This is especially prevalent during the summer solstice celebrations. Through the shared acts of imagination, camping at the stones and witnessing the sun-rising on the longest day, community and friendships are often made and a broad collective consciousness created. The value is placed on a celebratory ethic. Being in the landscape, camping around the circle, having fires, playing or listening to music and celebrating with others in a temporary community, creates an organic type of ritual for many people. People are brought together in a place of perceived freedom, harmony, peace and equality.



Long term protester at Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries, Ro, believes Stanton moor and

the Nine Ladies has become popular during the solstice because 'a lot of people have a history of coming up here'. People have attached meaning to the place through their experiences and memory.

At other times too, the moor is seen as a place that attracts spiritual conversation, according to local Linda Webb (2009- interview), especially in comparison to city:

'There are amazing conversations with people about spiritual things, people to come up to me and say 'what are you doing?' They would not dream of doing that in a city on a bench in a park. Where there are lots of people, people do not interact, but when there is just one or two people you feel rude not reacting, so when you walk past someone walking the dog you almost always speak... and the whole body language thing, it is quite interesting. It wouldn't happen at all walking down in a city'.

Conclusions

Stanton Moor is a symbolic landscape- it provides meaning to people. The over arching theme of the living landscape place myth is: sacred sites are places that transform consciousness. They are perceived to hold a power, they enable 'magic', or the changing of consciousness at will (Greenwood 2006). The relationship between people and landscapes, the self and the place, is an active engagement. People see reflections of the self, their utopic ideals and continually react to and interact with, the ancient and natural landscape surrounding them. The symbolic place becomes part of the self. These utopia's or myths surrounding the sites are then performed within the site and the self, in very individualised ways. Stanton Moor in this sense is constructed through the ways in which we imagine, explore and use it. We search for meanings and continually construct them through our interactions.

Practices within the living landscape, often highlight the personal quest of enlightenment or spiritual transformation. This is an individual type of spirituality based

in place, the self and the landscape is in the centre. Within these 'individual religions' according to Durkheim (1995: 44) '... the individual institutes for himself [or herself] and celebrates for himself [or herself] alone'. Acts do not bind society rather the opposite, there is a 'rejection of the world and any kind of authority beyond the self' (Tucker 2002: 50 cited in Timothy and Olsen 2006).

Section 3

Interactions

As we have seen, the landscape of Stanton Moor is compacted with many place myths, a endless tapestry of meanings, woven together. In many cases, the distinct place myths attached to the Moor remain in the realms of the imagination. When it comes to *engaging* with sites, there has been many tensions resulting from the multiplicity. The utopic myths are often seen as 'under threat', 'damaged', 'disrupted' and 'disturbed' by 'others' in the landscape. 'Others' act in ways that cannot fit with the idealised versions of the place and question not only the meanings associated with Stanton Moor but also ideas about society and the self.

The previous section drifted through each interconnected place myth. This sections explores the ways place myths come together on the physical landscape through investigating interactions and engagements people have *with* the sites and *between* users, locals, land-owners and guardians (official and unofficial) and the landscape. This section weaves through interactions and creates a unique exploration of the ways in which people interact with place.

Chapter 8 highlights 'others' actions and engagements with the landscape that threaten the main utopia's, showing the tangled web of social relations. Chapter 9 explores acts of 'unofficial guardianship' on Stanton Moor, people acting in ways to protect their utopic versions of the place, specifically focusing on the Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries debate. Chapter 10 provides a first hand account of the 'tat down' of the Nine Ladies protest site from Jan 2008 to April 2009. Chapter 11 explores power and responsibility on Stanton Moor. This is the core part of the thesis as this is where my personal involvement and emotional investments lay.

Chapter 8

Guarding threats

This chapter introduces the interactions section of the thesis. It offers a mixture of theory and personal experience, derived from the being in the landscape itself. It outlines the ways in which people perform space, through practices of guardianship. This chapter therefore unpacks the relationships between a place, others who use it and the self. The final part highlights the specific threatening factors for the main place myths outlined previously.

Identity and place

The wide range of values and place myths circulating and adding to the identity of the Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor, the multiplicity of voices and actions surrounding the place has led to conflict, tension and contestable use. Continually derived from the place-myths or utopia's surrounding the site, conditions are consciously and unconsciously constructed about the appropriate behaviour and treatment expected at the sites and are further represented by our own actions. When elements of these conditions and behaviours seemingly stand at opposing sides, conflicts and tensions often become apparent.

I have witnessed many events or circumstances that I and others would perceive as threatening the qualities I have attributed to the place. My initial concern over six years ago was the amounts of litter that collected at popular camping spots. Bright coloured bottles, broken glass, fouled toilet paper and bottle tops, all created discourses or signs to be observed, things in the landscape that should not be here. The items are out of place, and signified to me people who do not care for the landscape as I do- creating ideas of others. These things reminded me of the life I was trying to escape by visiting this place. I collected the rubbish, filled black bin bags and two at a time carried them down to my car, at the bottom of the hill. When I was doing this I remember thinking, 'why do people come to enjoy this place but leave it in a mess' and this question

continues to be asked by many of the participants in the study. It is a wider environmental concern, plastic packaging, consumer society, waste producing machines we have become. So the moor became a place that I began to feel somewhat responsible for. At the same time as this, I was aware of the protest site and met a few people who lived 'on-site'. Their actions in the place also sustained this idea of protection and maintaining the landscape. My main concern at the time, therefore was the lack of respect shown by some 'campers' on the moor, who 'damaged' my idea of nature and natural on the moor.



As I began spending increased time on the moor and through becoming involved with the protest site itself in 2007 I began to witness other activities, as potentially threatening or damaging to the place. My re-positioned sense of self became consciously aware of the threat of mis-management. In February 2008 I was walking on the sandy Eastern edge path and was greeted by a JCB and two contracted labourers working for Stanton Estates, re-fencing the moorland perimeter. In the bucket of the JCB I noticed a large boulder which they were using to weigh down the bucket to knock the fence posts in the ground. I recognised the stone from the Conservation Plan, it was thought to be a boundary stone from the time of enclosure. A piece of significant history

in its own right. Here it was the official managers who posed the threat (see chapter 9 and 11 for a detailed discussion of this).

Perceived threats and conflicts therefore depend on the relationships one develops with the place itself and the emotions experienced in relation to the signs observed. The conflicts or threatening factors perceived therefore relate to one's identity and memory. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) outlined how the practices of dealing with place are inseparable from the mental processes involved in forming ideas about the self. This maybe at unconscious, subconscious or conscious levels: the experiences at the sites are caused by the stimuli and sensations of the place itself. The cultural apparatus' in our mind (instincts, concepts, emotions) refracts these stimuli into meanings that move through time, place and culture and transform the self as we come into contact with them. We wander from one concept to the other, some we take up, others we conflict, yet all add to our sense of self and the identity of who we are. Place creates and affirms our sense of self and tells us about our place in the world. Our ways, ideals and fundamental attachments emerge out of the places we are in and they become spaces of desire or utopia's as we have seen in the previous section.



Ways of seeing the landscape of Stanton Moor are culturally specific. There is never one

Stanton Moor, rather there are many. This could also be said of identity. Personal identity is not a static thing set in stone, it is a flowing, organic entity that moves through space and time often above and below its own existence within the self. Places are sites for the performance of identities, and identities are created through identifications with place (engaging, protecting and contesting parts of the landscape). Location and identity are inseparable as Keith and Pile (1993: 26) stated, 'to know oneself is an exercise in mapping where one stands'.

Guardianship

One of the ways identity is played out on Stanton Moor is through the practice of *guardianship*. Based on the one hand with the hegemonic discourses of ownership rights, legislation and private property, with responsibilities falling to the Peak District National Park Rangers and the local land owners, and on the other with 'alternative' or heterotopic claims of freedom and nature. Practices of guardianship here relate to pagans who guard the moor from negative energies or protesters guarded the site against industry and locals who regularly tidy up after campers and tourists. These categories are not simple clear cut distinctions but overlap, merge and fold onto one another exposing a high complexity of issues.

Claims of guardianship are maintained by utopia's of authenticity: ideals of the landscape that never truly exist apart from in the mind (Foucault 1969). These utopia's are different for individuals. They are played out and acted upon through memories, knowledges and experiences at the sites- a personal discourse of encounters. Such discourses of guardianship can create a sense of belonging, but also exclusion. Practices become political and often lead to the attempted regulation of:

1. The space: defining acceptable behaviours, clearly marking entrances and exits and the footpaths,
2. The meanings: the perceptions and understandings of the site, and
3. The consumers: who can or cannot access these sites

These practices are performed not just by heritage managers, but others to have specific ideas about what should or shouldn't happen on Stanton Moor. 'Others' practices within

the landscapes, often create reactions in the self, especially when own utopia is put into question. The landscape is a mirror, reflecting a picture of the self: so defend the landscape is also to defend the self. For many users of the moor, the place is a site to begin or continue a personal journey/pilgrimage that defines who they are: the landscape is empowering and people develop a sense of personal responsibility. Interactions with others who use or guard the space, also affects the ways in which identity is managed and understood. Ways of perceiving the place therefore influence the ways they are managed and controlled. The landscape becomes like a person, affecting things and is affected by things. It is constructed socially but we are also constructed by it and our existence ultimately depends on it.

Memory

Multiple contestations over the possession and interpretation of place and identity, reminds us there are many ways in which remembering places is practised (Stewart 1996). Places are made significant by the meanings attached and sustained within them, which is then retained and remembered. This is not only mythically or structurally but also at mundane, everyday levels- for example the naming places- no name is arbitrary, rather they are linked to people, stories, myths, events, 'by adding narratives, memories materialise as myths' (Trubshaw 2005: 2).

Memory is revised as soon as it becomes secondary to the first experience. It is like a text, actively and creatively producing meanings through a signifying system. The memory itself is never a pure experience or event, rather it is mediated and complexly reproduced (Radstone 2000: 11) with every re-call. Memory embodies both union and fragmentation, it is 'overlapping, merging, fragmenting, dividing, hybridising, uniting and enriching' (Kuhn 2000: 23). Memory in this context can be defined as 'an active production of meanings and interpretations, strategic in character and capable of influencing the present' (Passerini 1983: 195).

Memory is often articulated and re-produced through individual and collective performances, of different social activities in specific places. The place act as prompts for memory. The signs in the landscape, remind us of our individual past feelings,

thoughts and events within our lives on site or elsewhere. These memories and associations are described and played out in different ways by distinct people and in turn, understood individually by any audiences. The past is separated into selected and contrasting memories. Urry (1995a: 18) writes 'with the realisation of the increasing flows of images, ideas, information and people across borders, so the process of social remembering becomes even more disjointed, speeded up hybridised and fractured'.

Newspapers and other forms of 'information processors', such as television programmes, have a huge role and assume positions of power by creating knowledges, experiences and framing memories for many within the imagined community. The media in this sense, occupy a key site and perform a vital role in the representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power. Through these representations, the audiences construct a sense of who we are, in relation to who we are not, and create categories of 'us' and 'them', 'insiders' and 'outsiders' and 'citizens' and 'foreigners' (See Cohen 1973). Such discourses are invariably inscribed with power. They become bound together with histories that are narrated and told. In this sense, culture is performed and re-imagined through the practice of re-telling. These narratives mediate the forms in which meaning must pass, altering depending on who is telling it to whom (Stewart 1996).

Threats

The distinct threatening factors- 'others' actions and memories of the Moor which are deemed as incompatible- are complex and diverse. The main factors are outlined below and often overlap. Also see below a table briefly outlining the main threats.

PAST and HISTORY: An Archaeological important landscape

The history of the moor, it's past, the features made in prehistory, are continually seen as threatened by contemporary activities such as:

- Erosion to the paths and the sites themselves caused by increased visitor pressure and tourism
- Vandalism (whether purposeful or not) including fires, moving stones and graffiti. All are damaging to the 'potential archaeological layers'.

- Destructive vegetation such as birch whips, gorse and rhododendron bushes,
- Quarrying on and around the moor: the moor was classified as at High Risk by English Heritage in response to the increased threat and classification of the site,
- Litter left by visitors including campers, tourists, landowners and 'pagans' specifically include items such as coins, crystals, ribbon, flowers, candles, bottle tops, cigarette ends. Some items are left unintentionally, others are left as offerings, buried into the earth or hung onto near-by trees, often described as 'ritual litter'
- Lack of knowledge of acceptable behaviours can sometimes cause unintentional damage. The interpretation panels present the official code of behaviour and has been written with a desire to prevent some of the actions it outlines as an offence. It attempts to raise awareness of the site and visitor impacts. Activities such as re-arranging the stones, lighting fires, camping, sitting on the stones, damage cause by agricultural or industrial development can potentially cause damage to the 'archaeological important landscape'.

PRESENT, SPIRIT and NATURE: the living landscape

The contemporary sacred site which can be utilised is threatened by:

- Power and authority of official discourses and information: activities such as excavations by archaeologists who have been given the hegemonic power and authority to excavate the sites and remove what they find, threatens and challenges the authenticity of the site within the living landscape domain. Many people feel these items should remain on site where they have been placed originally.
- Sites on Stanton Moor are sometimes seen as desecrated by harmful activities. A general lack of respect for the place is often felt, for example, 'campers' leaving a mess, chopping down live trees, 'spoiling it for others'. The landowner is also seen as threatening the natural sacred energy of the place by cutting down trees. Vandalism in this sense occurs on many levels from the psychic to the physical. Quarrying is also seen as vandalism.
- There is also a perceived threat of restricted access. In 2008 new measures by the landowner to 'take control' of the moor, included erecting signs and placing

boulders at the entrances to the moor, are seen as an 'antagonistic' way of saying 'get off my land'. This opposes the ideas of freedom embodied into the landscape itself and threatens this way of perceiving the place. There is a general theme of potential exclusion (remembering an important part of alternative culture, the restriction of access at Stonehenge, in which many references were made) and a general lack of understanding by the landowner towards the fluid community.

- Legislation, now represented on many signs around the moor stating for example, the 'no fires on a Ancient Scheduled Monument', threatens the perception of Stanton Moor as a free and sacred place in which people can experience 'heritage'. For some people the act of lighting a fire and maintaining it through the night, is a spiritual and practical necessity.

RESOURCE and STATUS SYMBOL: Private Property

The 'privately owned ancient scheduled monument' is threatened by a number of factors:

- Increased visitor pressure and publicity: the status of the National Park and the promotion of the area in the media due to the protesting campaign has created increasing visitor attention which leads to erosion, litter, camping, fires and parking issues. The way to 'control' this threat is by 'minimising it' (Thornhill 2010 interview).
- Vandalism to the moor and the specific sites, includes dogs scaring sheep, cutting down the parameters fencing, cutting down trees, lighting fires, calving the stones.
- Changing legislation and planning laws and restrictions threatens the private property rights.
- Camping on the moor challenges the status as a privately owned monument. It causes damage to the personal property, encourages others and creates anti-social disorder.

RESOURCE and SPIRIT: local and national recreational space

A number of factors threaten the use of the moor as a recreational space. This can often

be different for those people who spend more time on the moor such as locals. These include:

- Increased visitor pressures: for the locals this is evident at particularly popular times such as the solstice, when a large amount of people park around the moor within villages. The increase in visitors is seen to cause anti-social behaviour as outlined below.
- Camping is often seen as spoiling the atmosphere of the natural landscape, tents, litter, drunken people are the stereotypical assumptions, often derived from personal experience or local gossip.
- Quarrying is one of the bigger threats, and has become a well known issue on the moor due to the recent Endcliffe and Lees Cross case, which brought the local issue into a wider national debate. Quarrying threatens not only the aesthetic qualities of the moor but also the physical access to places that have been used over many years.
- Restricted access also poses a threat, especially by those who have physical impediments and by those who use the moor as a camping spot.

RESOURCE and OBJECT: Quarrying and Agriculture

The final value to be explored is the industrial emphasis placed on the moor, though the contemporary activities of quarrying and agriculture. The things which threaten this economic value are:

- Damage to the flock and/or property: the popularity of the moor and the Nine Ladies has led to increased visitors and dogs who 'often leave the gates open or have dogs who scare the sheep and damage the fences' Thornhill (2010-interview).
- Anti-quarrying protesters due to environmental and aesthetic consequences. These include not only the more publicised protest camp but also the locals and others acting in ways to prevent the quarry and its perceived destruction.
- Changing legislation through out the classification of the national park over the past 50 years and the opportunities for development. (to be explored in the next chapter).

| Table 3: Guarding perceptions of Stanton Moor | | |
|---|---|--|
| Values | Threatened by... | 'Protected' by... |
| Archaeological important landscape | Erosion | Conservation ethos: maintaining paths and monuments: PDNPA and English Heritage |
| | Vegetation (birch whips) | Removing whips from moorland areas: PDNPA |
| | Quarrying | Legislation and consultation |
| | Fires | Creating 'fire lanes', legislation and education (signs): PDNPA and English Heritage |
| | Vandalism | Legislation and monitoring: PDNPA and English Heritage |
| | Litter, including 'ritual litter' | Monitoring and removal: PDNPA and Thornhill Settlement |
| | Lack of understanding | Erecting interpretation signs: PDNPA, English Heritage, Thornhill Settlement Estate |
| Private property | Camping and related fires | Erecting signs, 'confronting', boulders, removing trees to encourage heather regrowth, legislation: Thornhill Settlement Trust, police |
| Quarrying/industrial resource | Anti-quarrying protesters due to environmental and aesthetic consequences | Compromise: quarry in less sensitive sites that surround the moor: Stancliffe Stone |
| Local and national recreational resource | Archaeological legislation | Claiming compensation |
| | Quarrying | Creating action groups, write letters, attending consultations: Locals and protesters |
| | Trees (restricting long views) | Maintain eastern views by vegetation 'management': PDNPA and English Heritage |
| Living landscape | Vandalism including graffiti | Daily monitoring, reporting and clearing up: protesters, pagans, locals |
| | Restricted Access | Talking to people on site, education, communicating with the spirits of the place, reporting: protesters, pagans |
| | Fires | Talking to people on site, education: protesters, pagans |
| | Lack of understanding (particularly by land-owner) | Creating and erecting temporary signs, letter writing: Locals, protesters, pagans |
| | Quarrying | Direct action including occupation of land, letter writing, demonstrations: Eco groups, protesters, pagans, locals |

Conclusion

Moral Panic!

By constructing ideals about the landscape, what is appropriate and what is acceptable, the self construct 'others', those who do not fit into the idealised place, deviants. These deviants reconfirm what the place should be, what a place cannot be and what a place is. The deviants are turned into scapegoats, who exemplify dis-functional society as a whole (Cohen 1973). Moral panics (ibid) are created and fears become centred around the folk-devils, others or scapegoats. There has been many examples of moral panics since the second world war, including reactions to New Age Travellers in the 80's (Hetherington 2000). A threat to order is therefore perceived, but what 'order' is, remains a question of the reality constructed.

Two main stories in the history of the moor have influenced many of these perceived tensions and conflicts (Isherwood 2004: 45). Firstly the increased visitor use and perception of the site over the past 40 years as a living landscape which is a 'free', natural and sacred place, creating a 'fluid community' as outlined in chapter 7. Secondly, the decision to re-open Endcliffe and Lees Cross Quarries in 1999 by Stancliffe Stone. This is the focus of chapter 9.

Chapter 9

Eating up the Sacred Landscape: Development and Protest in the National Park

One of the most significant factors influencing the ways we perceived and consequently use Stanton Moor today, is the impacts of the proposal to re-open Endcliffe and Lees Cross Quarry by Stancliffe Stone in 1999. This chapter outlines the varied and sustained protest over almost ten years. It focuses on the relationships between communities surrounding the moor. This includes the transient community, developed at the protest camp, when people came to 'squat' on the land, in order to protect the site. The main research explores identity and meaning making. Specifically: the role of nature; the motivations for the protest; feelings within the landscape and perceptions of 'sacred sites'. The story begins with an outline of the history of quarrying within this location. It emphasises the main reasons *for* the re-opening of the quarries by landowner, Lord Edward Manners. A brief history of the protest begins with reactions from locals, who were the first to raise oppositions to quarrying in the local community. These oppositions were supported by other 'protesters', who moved onto the quarry landscape itself. The differences between tactics and oppositions by the differing protesting communities are highlighted.

The chapters use a variety of primary and secondary data: observations, interviews, documents and participation inform this first formal record of the campaign process.

History of Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries

The land of Endcliffe and Lees Cross on the North East edge of the moor, was used to quarry sandstone for over 130 years before it went into disuse in 1939.

'It went into disuse just before the WWII. It was only about 10 years ago when the value [of stone] went up, the tenant at the time Stancliffe [Stone] decided they wanted to re-open. (Manners 2009 interview).

Planning permissions for the quarry were granted in 1952.

'The Minister for Housing, gave an extra 90 years, for all the dormant quarries in the area, so it had planning permissions to go on until 2042. There are a number of quarries now that still have that permission' stated Jeff Henson of Stanton Lees (2009- interview).

Many locals immersed themselves in information and discourses surrounding the history of Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries as we shall see. An intimate knowledge of the history of the quarry application process was gained.

In 1995, the new Environmental Act gave the PDNPA the power to determine the status of quarries as dormant or active.

'The Peak Park had to take a decision of which quarries were active and which ones are dormant. They decided that Endcliffe Cliff and Lees Cross were dormant because they hadn't been worked since the 1930s' (Henson 2009 interview).

However, in December 1998, an application was made to re-open Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries on the North-East edges of the moor, by Stancliffe Stone, 'to take out 2.3 million tons of stone out of the two quarries' (ibid), under the terms of the planning permissions given in 1952.

According to Jeff, the 'Peak Park were horrified to think that so much stone to come out. So they said to them, "right where is all your technical data?". This information would determine the 'conditions' under which the stone could be extracted. This included: the size; the management; the amounts and the time scale. These conditions, under the 1995 environmental act, would need to be confirmed before the quarry commences. The confirmation was continually stalled for over a year. In Jeff's view (2009- interview) this was because Stancliffe Stone were prepared to enter the site, begin quarrying and pay a fine rather than determine conditions.

The main reasons for the re-opening of the quarries as outlined by Lord Edward

Manners (2009- interview), landowner, were:

1. Opportunity to raise money to for the Haddon Estate for 'heritage costs'
2. There is a local historical connection to quarrying- it is a part of the areas 'heritage'
3. Creates employment
4. Short term destruction is overcome by long term diversity and beauty:

'It is a big hole in the ground but from a nature point of view it actually creates this amazing new eco system... Peregrine Falcons nesting the clearance and all sorts of other birds in particular. When it gets restored it will be a wonderful new eco-system. Even though there is destruction... in one way, but in 20 years time it [would] be looked on as a very beautiful spot'.

He goes on to say:

'Nature does heal these quarries. Lees Cross and Endcliffe were quarried until 40-50 years ago and if there hadn't been quarrying, you wouldn't have all the characteristics of it now'.

5. There would be no direct impact on the Nine Ladies Stone Circle
6. The initial concerns about the proposed scale of the quarry was overcome by the way it would have been managed:

'it would be over quite a long period of time and... a part would be excavated and restored and then [they would] move onto another bit and that would then be restored and so on and then it wouldn't create a massive hole like some of the ones around Buxton'.

7. Finally he saw it as a 'right of our particular tenant at the time to explore that opportunity'

These reasons expose a complexity of perceptions relating to nature and landscape. The main theme running through this discourse about nature is human intervention, the use of nature as a resource to be exploited for economic gain. What is ignored from his

discourse was the disruption caused to not only the locals but also the visitors to the moor.

Local concerns and local tension: setting up the action group

Even before the Endcliffe and Lees Cross proposals, communities surrounding the moor were feeling the impact of the already existent quarries on the hillside. Inter-community tensions between Stanton in the Peaks and Stanton Lees were apparent. Kath Potter (2009- interview) of Stanton Lees states:

'In 1989 on the 11th September the Stanton Parish Council, behind our backs, had a meeting with three quarry operators to take all existing quarry traffic out of Stanton Peak and send them through Stanton Lees to Darley Bridge and through Pilough to Rowsley. When we found out what was happening we were absolutely incensed, and so we began fighting Stanton Peak to reduce the amount of lorries coming through Stanton Lees and to have a fair and even distribution of quarry traffic'.

A small number of locals shared concerns about the impact the quarries were having on the local community. They decided to set up the Stanton Lees Action Group (SLAG) in 1992. Initially this began as a reaction to the increased quarry traffic as mentioned above. But when the new proposals to re-open the Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries on the doorstep of Stanton Lees became known in 1998, other local people became involved, the group grew and momentum gained. The main local protester Kath Potter retired from teaching to concentrate full time on the campaign to protect her local environment which had been part of her families life for generations.

SLAGS oppositions to quarrying

The three main oppositions to the re-opening of the quarries outlined here, derive from interviews with three members of Stanton Lees Action Group in 2008 and 2009. These were based, firstly on the impact the quarries would have on the local community including: noise and dust pollution, disturbance to the water supply and dangerous

traffic on the small roads. Secondly, the impact to the much loved local environment and the moor. Finally the attitude of the quarry company, who were using 'dirty tactics'. The details of the oppositions are outlined below.

1. Impact of quarries on the local community: disrupting the rural idyll

The proposed size and conditions of the quarry was a major concern. After attending an exhibition put on by Stancliffe Stone, member of SLAG, Linda Webb realised 'the actual size was just horrific' (Webb 2009- interview). 'They put in a crazy application which really would have wrecked this hillside' (Tickle 2009- interview).

Due to the proposed size of the quarries, the number of large articulated lorries on the small country roads surrounding the moor houses would be highly disruptive, dangerous and unhealthy bringing dust and noise pollution. '80 loads of stone a day was anticipated to come out' (Henson 2009- interview). He goes on to say 'what if someone is taken ill, if there is a fire the engine couldn't get through, who would give way. It was dangerous' (ibid).

The proposal would also cut off the water supply:

'the most important thing is our water supply because all these eight houses are on natural water supply, what you are drinking there, is off the moor, it is not out of a Severn Trent pipe or anything, it comes off my field there and it literally bubbles out of the ground then down a bit of a pipe and into the tank, we don't know where it comes from' (Henson 2009- interview).

The final factor was the potential decrease in property value: 'what is it going to do to the valuation of the properties? I mean that doesn't bother me but, they were just getting too greedy' (Henson 2009- interview) and 'one chap in the village, he is very high in the planning and he said, our properties will more than likely be reduced by 50% if those quarries open' (Potter 2009- interview).

2. Impact of quarries on the local and wider environment of the moor: defending nature in a National Park

The proposed quarries lay within the National Park boundaries and many of the locals believe this park belongs to everyone. Quarrying puts this idea of a national park into question. 'I said to people, this is your park not just mine, this is your park. I said, would you be happy to see your park decimated, your garden... it is a big garden, you can roam about it as you want, do you want to see it decimated' (Henson 2009- interview). He goes on to say:

'where else do you have a national park that allows stuff to be taken out of the park to be exported? You certainly wouldn't get anything out of Yellowstone National Park yet we export it to help build a church. There are plenty of places that are not in the national park, like across the valley there' (ibid).

Quarrying in this sense is seen as 'incongruous' to the National Park status:

'[yet] there is more quarrying in Derbyshire than in any other county. At the moment there are 41 active quarries and the hole are getting bigger. If you look into the Longcliffe one, I don't know how many housing estate you could put in, it is enormous, you will never be able to infill these, but I just feel that this is a national park as well as the most quarried county in Britain and this is incongruous to the designation of the National Park' (Potter 2009- interview).

She believes quarrying is aesthetically distressing:

'I am appalled, absolutely appalled and to go up to Stanton Moor and see that huge huge hole it is soul destroying, to think this is a National Park, you know it just wipes out the designation, the eye sore (ibid).

The quarries also posed a threat of destruction and disruption to the historic landscape of Stanton Moor itself:

'Is this what we will leave for our next generations and our children's children? A

big hole in this sacred site? It is horrendous. It is supposed to be the largest Bronze Age site in Britain, there are about 100. When you look at all this archaeology it is just amazing. To think what they were trying to do here' (Potter 2009- interview).

She goes on to say: 'we really have got some strange ideas about what is worth keeping and what isn't' (ibid). The actual sites on the moor were also seen as under threat from potential erosion as Kath explained:

'if they made the quarry any nearer to the Nine Ladies or the Tower, precipitation on exposed surfaces would create erosion and the Earl Grey Tower would have gone first and then the Nine Ladies Stone circle and lots of other stuff would go'.

3. Attitude of quarry company: loop holes, trade off's, back handed deals and bigger holes

Development rights were given in the 1949, before the creation of the National Park status. Many locals believed the only way the quarry company could open the supposed 'dormant' quarry was because this loop hole. Linda from Stanton Lees Action Group declared (2008- interview) 'it is so unfair that some of these rights were given in the 1950's, but that still gives people the right to develop'.

The capitalist attitude of the quarry company was also questioned: 'they have not got the land and the future generations in mind, they just have the need to get money' (Webb 2009- interview). During the campaign, members of SLAG witnessed the admitted illegal over production in other areas on Stanton Moor. There was a large amount of suspicion and dis-trust about the quarry companies in the area and towards the National Park Authority. One example of this is from Blockstone quarry. One member of SLAG claimed:

'Blockstone have been given planning permission for 2,000 cubic metres which is 5200 tons but they admitted, it only took them ten weeks. Well, if you take ten weeks and they work 49 weeks a year they admitted over quarrying for 39 weeks every year. They have done for years and the Peak Park keep letting them get

away with it and get away with it'.

The threat of quarrying challenged the meanings inserted into the landscape by the locals. The 'others' who performed the threat- the quarry manufacturers, the landowners and to a certain extent the national park Authority- were constructed as greedy and money grabbing.

SLAGS tactics

The group developed multiple tactics to prevent the commencement of quarrying and guard the landscape from the threat. They acted in ways to deter and prevent the exploitation of the landscape surrounding them. Each member of the group performed different roles at different times in the debate. These ranged from attending planning meetings to working with the press. The main defensive tactics used were:

1. Raising public profile of the campaign

SLAG raised the public profile of the plans to quarry to users on the moor. Jeff Henson explains:

'Stanton Moor is very popular with visitors. It attracts 40,000 visitors every year most of which come at the weekend. So what I did, I used to go up and say to people "do you understand what is happening up Stanton Moor" and they used to say "no" and I said "you know all this quarrying that is going to take place" and they replied "where?" So I used to show them, just off the top of the moor from the Nine Ladies and we looked down over the cliff... We just got our facts and figures together and told people that is what is going to happen' (Henson 2009-interview).

The group manned the stiles and enthused others to write letters and become involved:

'I said "here is some information for you, if you would be kind enough to write to the managing director". I gave them a list of the directors, I gave them an envelope and all they had to do was write the letter and send it and they obviously had a heck of a lot of letters' (ibid).

Linda Webb (2009- interview) remembers:

'we did things like... at one point we blocked Peak Parks emails so much they had to take on extra staff. It was really good and we got the legal people involved and lots of people in the village were involved in different things you know. We did mail shots, we did all sorts of things, we all put money in and we did all sorts of things'.

The group also put on their own exhibition in Rowsley, outlining the concerns and often invested their own money into the defence.

The locals who formed SLAG believed their actions could make a difference. They used these defensive tactics to protect their local landscape. Through these differentiated tactics, the group gained the support of a number of environmental agencies which gave their argument increased power and authority. Linda (2009-interview) said 'it got two or three of the agencies involved to do with protected species and the CPRE were involved and the National Trust had an interest in what was happening. I think Kath even had a conversation with the man who was something like the director of RSPB. So a lot of the people were horrified about what was happening and saying 'well why don't we know about it',

2. Involvement in the planning process

SLAG attended planning meetings held by the Peak Park and made their concerns known. As Jeff (2009- interview) states

'you have to submit an application if you want to do any development, not just quarrying but even an extension to the house. It is put to the committee. We would go to the committee meetings and you only get three minutes to speak and then you have to shut up, answer any questions but you can't talk after that, even when you hear people say things that are blatantly wrong you are not allowed to say a word'.

The charity, the Council for Protection of Rural England (CPRE) and Stanton Lees

Action Group forged connections in 2002. They began to attend meetings to plan the defensive tactics which included commissioning an independent report. Andy Tickle (2009- interview) of CPRE recalled:

'I came over and met them I was shown the plans for the quarry. We realised that we needed to do something about it particularly because the Park were playing, well a bit poker faced on it really and we were not really getting anywhere. SLAG and ourselves came up with the idea that we would commission an independent report as we were not experts. We needed something authoritative to make a serious impact on the debate' (for the results of this commissioned report see page 187).

3. Personal protests

Kath Potter felt a personal responsibility to devise defensive tactics to prevent destruction.

'I've lived in this village longer than anyone else, so I really felt it was incumbent of me to stand for what I believed and as you know I used to sit in front of lorries and all sorts. They would come out and call me 'that bloody woman'. I would keep a newspaper in the car so if I met a lorry I just switch my engine off and just sit and read, because if you can't reverse you shouldn't be on the road'.

She feels 'the more you shout the more they can't shut you up' (2009- interview).

Kath was determined to act as a Steward of God. She has a deep Christian commitment to the environment. She said:

'I am a devout Christian and in Genesis you read where we are called to be Steward of God's world. I believe it was incumbent upon me to put my Christian beliefs on there and that I should be a steward for this world round here. This is why I gave up [my job] and why I fought as I did' (Potter 2009- interview).

Kath felt empowered by her spirituality and believed she could make a difference:

'I love my landscape and it is my Christian commitment to the landscape that

keeps me going and I don't care what anyone says to me. I will stand up and fight for what I believe in, even if I am the only person stating one thing in a meeting I will still state it, because my commitment is there' (ibid).

Protesting: guarding and living in a 'sacred' landscape

The application to re-open Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries was received in February 1999. Members from the action group raised the public profile on site through manning stiles, as mentioned. One summers day in 1999, a group of people who regularly camped and visited the moor, heard from one of the members of SLAG about the plans to re-open the quarries. They 'couldn't believe what was happening. We got Daz, Andy and Lee and Zoe... and [when they] realised what was going on they were just horrified... that is when some people decided to come and stay (Webb 2009- interview). These people have been linked with a protest site in Derby City Centre said Kath Potter:

'there was some land in Derby that had been left for the people but the council was going to develop it and there was a big protest. I think these eco-warriors were there, and while they were there they must have seen about the threat to Stanton Moor, I think that is how they came to be here'.

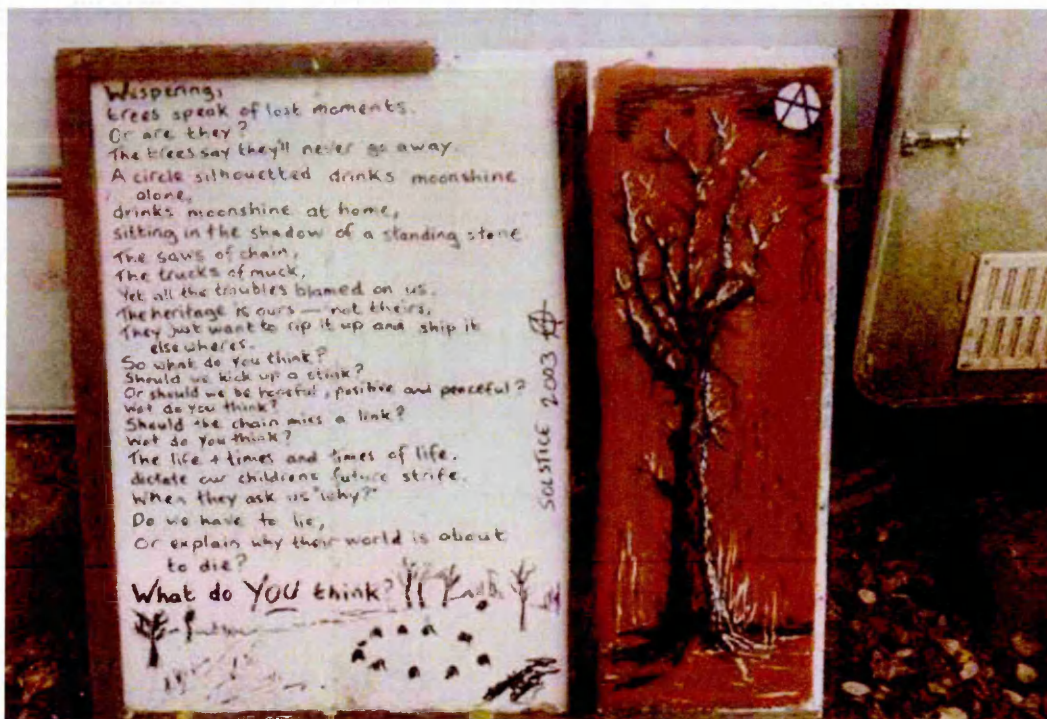
By September 1999, this small group of four people moved into Lees Cross quarry (aka 'site'). They began a direct action based defensive tactic of living on the land in order to protect it. They named the protest as Nine Ladies Anti Quarry Campaign. In November 1999, Daz Nine Ladies also heard the site was under threat so came up to the moor and joined the group of protesters. 'I just came to help' said Daz in an interview in 2008. He was one of the early group of people to move to 'site'. He had visited the stones for many years previously and wanted to stop quarrying. Daz was willing to 'die for mother earth'. He sees the earth as part of himself as he is a part of the earth and as such it should not be 'ripped up'. He feels very passionately about this to the extent that he should protect it with his life.



Direct action

For Daz, stone circles hold a power which can be explored through experiencing them. They represent nature and are very important to him. He felt the need to protect the proposed quarry landscape, due to its close proximity to the stone circle. He sees the protection or guardianship of the moor as his job, as a 'defender of mother earth'. For Daz, the quarry proposal directly impacted: the Nine Ladies stone circle, its ambiance, the moor itself and the area of the proposed quarry, which had grown into a woodland.

The emergence of the direct action protest movement had been growing through-out the 90's and demonstrated this 'raw, untutored paganism that... [embraced] the concept of the whole of the earth as a sacred landscape' (Worthington 2004: 199). An empowered sense of environmental awareness impacts the self and ways of making sense and dealing with the world. Life was based on a have a-go-mentality, risking life for the earth, using the body as a weapon and as a political statement.



Direct action based protest sites began with the anti-road movements in 1992 (Worthington 2004). The Dongas set up a protest camp on the Area of Outstanding National Beauty and SSSI on Twyford Down, to prevent the new M3 being driven through it. The actions inspired many others. New sites began to emerge on other proposed road projects across the country such as: the Bath by-pass that would run through an Iron Age hill fort; the M65 Blackburn by-pass which was set up to protect ancient woodlands and the A34 Newbury bypass where 'radical anarchist vegans, to animal rights activists to drop out losers to spaced out mystics to free party people [and] reincarnated Arthurian Knights (Pendragon and Stone 2003: 140) gathered to protect the ancient woodlands. Many of the people who participated in such protests embraced concepts of the earth as sacred and opposed the 'carving up of the Great Mother' (Cryer 1993).

For some, the protests were an extension of the eco-paganism of the 1980's. While for others, it was a pro-active response to the destruction of the environment which was perceived to belong to everyone. Its potential devastation signalled the raping the land (Worthington 2004: 203). Many of the protesters attachments to the earth were inspired by the pagan and earth mysteries movement as outlined in chapter 7. Some experienced

spiritual, physical and emotional responses to the perceived threats. The earth was an extension of the body itself.

Right time, right place

In November 1999, two months after the Lees Cross protest site began, five people lived on 'site'. An attempt was made by the quarry company to enter Lees Cross and begin work. Linda (2009- interview) of SLAG recalls:

'probably in a way the quarry operators shot themselves in the foot because they knew people were squatting the land but they brought heavy machinery in, up the path against the stop order'.

To a number of local people, this attempt to start work on the site by the quarry operator, confirmed occupation was not only needed but desirable. As one local states:

'I was unsure at first, but when the quarry operator went in and you worked out they just work on paying the fines, regardless of being told they can or they cant or whatever, I soon changed my mind'.

This event led to a different understanding, not only within the protest camp, but also within the local communities. There was increased need to have a presence on the land 24/7 in order to restrict illegal access and work. A mutual understanding developed, as did personal relationships.

The key factor surrounding the occupation of the land was, protesters came at the beginning of the process in September 1999, only a few months after the application had been made. The quarry operators illegal entrance to Lees Cross:

'proved to people, who had this idea that the State will look after us and what is good will happen: this is not the case at all. The realism of that hit home when the quarry company went in after the stop order had been issued' (Linda 2009-interview).

A nationalistic ideal of England as safe, ethical and moral was put into question by the illegal attempt to enter the quarry by the operators. This was seen as, wrong and

immoral.



Linda often visited protesters whilst walking her dog. She recalls one particular time she went to 'site' on Christmas Day in 1999:

'[site] was up on Flanders. We climbed the rope. It wasn't well trod and it was pouring with rain all day. Me and my mum went up and did this massive dinner and carried it up. There was only 3 or 4 guys there and they were so miserable. Some kind of World War One thing, with their big coats in the rain and a bottle of vodka and tin mugs. They were really miserable and fed up. I said "do you want to come down a bit?", and they said, "we better not they might expect us to go". You see a lot of time, we were expecting to be evicted at any time. There always had to be people there, they made sure they didn't tell anyone the amounts of people on site. The feeling was quite tense, stressful and under pressure, they couldn't come to our house or whatever, because they thought people would come in and evict.'

The tense, pressured and stressful early times, were reactions to the quarry companies illegal entrance, which confirmed the importance of the presence on the land, and the

secrecy over information such as the numbers on site and the defences in place. This act by the quarry company set a precedent to which the consequent actions and relationships of the protesters, in the widest sense of the term, were organised and displayed.

Living on site

After the winter, with the promise of better weather, word of mouth and advertising through leaflets and the internet, more and more people were encouraged to come to Stanton Moor. According to Ro, who first visited site in 2000, the summer brought an influx of new people. The site 'opened up', expanding physically over the landscape and mentally in the minds of the protesters. Defences developed and utilised the distinct topography of the wooded quarry ruins. As more people moved to site, places to live and places to defend were increasingly needed. As the numbers and skills increased, defences became more tactical and secret (see below). By Autumn 2000 the site had become well known across the alternative scene.

To explore the ways people lived on the protest site, I offer the discourse created by Rowena Bass (2008- interview), who lived on the site from Sept 2000 until April 2009.

Ro first heard about the protest, from a leaflet produced by the camp, to raise public awareness and numbers during the summer. She came in the autumn for the year anniversary and thought 'I'll just stay a bit. I kept going down South and back up... and eventually just never left!' Ro saw site as a temporary experience 'because we thought it was going to either be resolved or we were going to be evicted, you think, well I am only going to be doing this for so long'. These ideas of a temporary existence framed experienced for many.

Initially when Ro moved to site, she lived in a tent, then she moved into a tree house: 'that was amazing! I really loved it and it was a really high one as well'.



Unfortunately, after a few months, she broke her leg during winter. Although she stayed on site, her time in the tree house was over, for now, anyway. She moved into the 'womens bender', then onto a small bender on 'Flanders' which was 'really small but really warm with a burner in it'. After recovering she moved back into another tree-house, until eventually she with the help of others made her own home in 2005. Attachments to these places were fluid, and Ro's experiences on site, like breaking her leg, led to her living in different 'gafs' and experiencing the place in new ways.

People moved onto site to make structural defences within the trees and under the ground. These were available for visitors and others to stay in and 'squat', if not already in use. Many defences were communal spaces, although not all. There were also a number of 'benders' created on site, out of tarps, bender poles and ropes. These were living spaces, although some had defences attached either on top or under. Places and individual gafs were named, this eased discussion and created a sense of familiarity, almost shrinking the landscape, by knowing it and naming it. Often the names were based on the experiences people had in the place, for example 'Flanders' near the

entrance to Lees Cross is named because in the first year it rained so much it became very muddy.



Certain created spaces had social centrality for the new and transient community. The communal, for example became a place of socialising, celebration and community. Ro developed emotional attachments with many of the other 'defences', especially tree houses: 'I loved it' she said, 'the feeling of being cradled by the tree'. However, she also commented tree houses are not always practical to live in: you need to have good physical mobility and the spaces are small therefore you can not have much personal belongings.

The protest site became a focal point in many peoples lives. It was a place to confirm and create identities, a place a community and belonging. A community was created by the diverse people who gathered to protect the site from quarrying. As a community the cycles of life were reflected:

'people died here but there has been kids conceived and born here, and friendships forged. All sorts of people have come here who didn't have any kind of experience of living like this and they have really gained from it... and left with skills' (Bass 2008- interview).

According to Ro 'site' was open to everyone and had a voyeuristic element attached to it, 'it's like, you're here, enjoy yourself!'. In reality, access was sometimes more difficult, not physically, but emotionally as I experienced (see chapter 10). Access was not based on the past, what you had done, but rather, what you are doing here and now.

Relationship with landscape

For Ro and many others the landscape became a home. The residents protected the landscape but the landscape also protected their existence. Many felt the trees, the size of site and the quarry ruins topography would make it very difficult and expensive to evict. There was a mutual relationship with the landscape.



The protesters presence in the landscape created differentiated feelings and experiences that became attached to the place. At the beginning of the protest site, Ro explained:

'it felt really dark and nasty... ghosts and spirits... There were lots of experiences, that lots of people had. Some people came and performed a clearance up at the stones [Nine Ladies]. Everyone at the time was a bit dismissive but then people actually started saying how the atmosphere felt different afterwards. I have not heard any one have those sorts of experiences since' (Bass 2008- interview).

Interestingly the clearance was performed at the stone circle. The Nine Ladies were seen as a energy point, linking with the rest of the moor. The feelings and sensations people have in the specific places, unexplainable events, became attached to the landscape. As time went on, ideas altered and changed. The site became more familiar and less scary.

Certain distinct uncontrollable factors, such as the weather, also directly impacted the ways the site was used, perceived and remembered. Living in the woods, being closer to the elements, each gust of wind making the tree house sway. You become part of the land itself.

'...me and Ru were in his tree house really high in the valley and we had windows (we didn't have windows for ages then all of a sudden people began to get windows) and absolutely amazing... we were watching the snow drift around the valley and I think Once in Royal David's City was on the radio and coming to Christmas... and we couldn't leave the tree house' (Bass 2008- interview).

The practical routines of everyday life changed in these extreme conditions.



Ro also described spending a long time in a place, can create familiarity that can sometimes lead to complacency 'but you only have to go away for a short period of time

and come back and you appreciate it again'. For Ro the steep cliff faces 'strike me the most, especially at the communal... and I would just stand there gazing at the cliff, being like, wow this is where I get to hang out!'

Identity

Ro never lived this way before. She saw the Nine Ladies Protest Site as an opportunity to experience a different lifestyle based on self-sufficiency within nature. Living on the site gave Ro a sense of self-reliance: 'I get my water and collect wood'. The practical experiences of living in nature, delicately connected with the ways she identified with herself and others. The practicalities of everyday life became a way of life, defining life. This links with the do it yourself ethic (DIY), as outlined by Hetherington (2000). A sense of self developed through living on site, creating own homes and by being part of a community. Living in this way became a discourse of self-improvement. An authentic natural experience of living in the woodlands, apart from civilisation was maintained and a marginal community created with attachments to alternative expressions. This picture of Ro and her home was taken in 2008.



Adding to this discourse, is Daz, who lived on site from November 2000. During the interview, he recalled how he met lots of new people and became part of a wider community of protesters and visitors to the moor. Someone once referred to him as the Bob Geldoff of site: he inspired many people to join the protest and enthused many people (like myself) into a different way of life. Part of the protest campaign involved sharing of discourses and raising the public awareness. This developed a sense of self-identity with the teller and listener, but also added to the identity of the moor. The discourse based on protection of the landscape promoted unofficial guardianship.

There was also a certain amount of secrecy in the life of a protester. When sharing discourses, acts of self-censorship were essential to maintain the defensive ethic. Daz (2008- interview) outlined 'we started to build things under the rocks, building them without no one knowing, we kept them hidden'. For the first 6 years there was a constant threat of eviction, therefore a defensive lifestyle was adopted within the defensive landscape. Meaning and identity was created in peoples lives.

The place and the self was changed through participation on site. The landscape became a mirror, reflecting back impacts made. Ro said, for example:

'you change the energy of the place by living there and putting your own things into it- just the soap opera that has become our life living here'.

The woodland became a home. The industrial landscape became a defensive landscape.

Defences

The development of the defences at Endcliffe and Lees Cross, related to the amounts of people on the site:

'Originally it was just a lock-on on the path, we had just one tree house and a walk-way. There was nothing else to build because there was not enough people, only 5. So we didn't need anything else until other people turned up' (Daz 2008-interview).

As more people arrived, structures developed. Topographical features in the landscape, such as trees and quarry ruins, were utilised. The use of defences had already been

established at other sites such as Newbury.

The body was used as a weapon, this is called 'manufactured vulnerability' (Doherty 2000). The idea is to create layered and interconnected tactical, defensive structures over the threatened landscape, a web of different defences. Protesters place their bodies in strategic positions within the defences, such as in tree houses at the tops of trees or in tunnels deep within the earth, to prevent being evicted. An eviction would ultimately mean work resuming. Each defence was adequately supplied with water, food, clothes, books, torches, matches, paper, wood, gas and other essential items. Things were collected into these spaces over time and were very important to the survival of the protesters and the wider campaign. Ro recalls (2008- interview) 'everything was stashed in the defences... and you had to make sure that anything that would be needed was up there, for as many people as might come in'. She also states that many people living outside of the protest would have come onto site if an eviction was taking place, using mobiles phones to contact people.

The materials used to build the defences, were sourced from many different locations. Some materials were donated by local people and businesses and often left at the information caravan, in the barn or at the entrance to the Lees Cross site. This often included food, clothes, water butts, and other essential equipment such as tools. Other things were 'tated' from skips and collected with cars or vans.

Natural tunnels

The old quarried waste piles, created ideal landscapes for Daz and others to turn into defensive structures. The holes in the rocks created perfect resources to use against eviction. Daz states (2008- interview)

'under the rocks, yeah, because it is easier than digging a tunnel, it is ready to use... just climb under the rocks and they can't get you out... it saves time because you have already got 500 tunnels sat there'.

The unstable nature of the piled rocks, created defences that would be very difficult to evict. The movement of certain rocks may have caused a landslide and potentially harm

protesters. This theory has never been tested however. Extra care was taken when preparing these spaces for potential evictions.

The size of the site itself and the secrecy of the small holes would enable people to 'sneak' into the defences if an eviction was taking place:

'you could even not be on site when they would evict, but you would be able to get in site and sneak under the rocks. There was no way of *them* finding all these holes under the rocks... but *I* have' (Daz 2008- interview).

An optimism was maintained due to the intense and intimate knowledge of the landscape.



During the interview, Daz refers to a time he sat in his tunnel, preparing for the eviction threat. This was not only a preparation for the practicalities of the eviction, but also a mental preparation. He says (2008- interview),

'I was under the rocks. I thought, well I am willing to die for mother earth, would she die for me? I instantly just knew. I got answered, yes of course she would, because she is just a dot in space like a speck of sand, she is nothing just tiny, the same as what I am to her'.

This quote emphasises Daz's connection to nature or mother earth which is maintained through developing a mutual relationship. The relationship gave him strength at a time of massive uncertainty: it re-confirmed meaning and identity to him. Daz philosophically raises questions of relativity. For Daz, mother nature is made up of small things, which come together to create life. For him mother earth is a living thing, which should be protected (see video in the appendix: 302 of Daz and his tunnel).

Digging For Victory

Numerous tunnels weaved under the Lees Cross site although disguised on ground level. These included: a deep tunnel near the entrance to the site on the path/road. This was created to prevent large vehicles entering site. The Tower, a wooden Tee Pee type structure, disguised a tunnel underneath, half way up the path, near the hanging caravan, The Beast. Defences were built with eviction possibilities in mind. Potential eviction strategies and paths were discussed. Tunnels were often surrounded by other strategically placed structures, that would be targeted by the eviction team first. This would give people in the tunnel, time to dig deeper and maintain the defence. The tunnel entrances were surrounded by 'tat'. Golf sticks, barbed wire, scaffolding bars or large tree trunks stuck into concrete, created a defensive barrier surrounding the entrance that would need to be removed before attempting an eviction.



The picture above was taken by Punk-Bitch during the tat down. It shows one of the sites most well made tunnels. Understandably, there is much secrecy with regards to the amounts and exact locations of the tunnels. There were rumours a rabbit warren of tunnels and chambers ran under the site along with the more visible tree house and walkways.

Tree houses and platforms

Over 25 tree houses were constructed around the Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarry sites. They created the most visible defensive structures. Natural shapes in the trees were used as anchor points for beams, that were wedged across (Roberts 2009- interview). A platform was then created. From this platform, walls and ceilings were constructed, using anything from wooden frames, to bender type structures with blankets and tarps. Whatever the tree houses were made from, they were mostly warm containing burners and were well insulated. Platforms and nets were placed higher than the tree houses, providing other layers of defence. They were usually only accessible by a rope ladder or walk way which would then be cut during eviction. A small platform extension from the tree house, was often used as a toilet if needed. Tat lines were connected to the tree, for pulling up heavy things such as water or batteries into the structure.



'Punk Bitch', resident of the protest site since 2006 describes living in his tree house (Punk-Bitch 2008- informal interview):

'it's brilliant, I feel so safe. I have this place where I can escape from the world, into the trees, and have space for me. When it's windy I get rocked to sleep like a baby. I feel uneasy sleeping on the ground now. There are not many places in the country where you don't have to lock your door. I use a bit of curtain for my door. If people are coming to visit me and start to climb the tree, I can feel the tree move. It's a good alarm system!'

Walk-ways

Each part of the site was accessible by aerial walk-ways (two horizontal parallel ropes pulled tight approximately 5 feet apart). Protesters clip onto both ropes and traverse across. Some of these covered relatively long distances of up to 50 feet. They connected the whole site therefore people in theory were able to get anywhere without touching the ground (Bass 2008- interview).



The Sky Raft

On Endcliffe site, the main defensive structure was the Sky Raft. Suspended from the

trees by webbed poly prop rope, over a deep quarry hole, the Sky Raft consisted of a bender type structure with two levels, one for living and one for sleeping (Jenkins 2010- interview). A platform with a lock on was held above the bender, for further defence. A walk way was used to enter the structure. This was created in 2004 during the 'imminent' eviction threat and was also used as a visitors gaf.

A 'spectrum' of defence:

Andy Tickle from CPRE (2009- interview) saw the protest site as the public front to the campaign:

'if visitors didn't know what was going on, they would tend to ask people on site what was going on and they would learn more about the quarry campaign'.

The protest site symbolised the wider battle over the quarry application and led to increased public awareness. The site provided information to visitors in the 'Info Caravan' which contained all the relevant details and documents for the campaign. The public profile was raised in unison with the attempts from the locals, especially members of SLAG. The protest site became a symbolic defensive strategy where people could visually see something was happening and to show people where the quarrying would take place: 'I used to show them', Jeff from SLAG states (2009- interview):

'just off the moor from the Nine Ladies and down. We looked over and of course you could see the benders that people had put up. People would always ask 'what are they for' and I would reply 'well they are objecting to it and rightly so, they don't want it they are going to decimate this hillside'.

Andy from the CPRE (2009- interview) views the protest site to be part of a:

'spectrum of people all linked together, from the local community, to the CPRE who were doing the desk based planning, writing quite polite letters and trying to get press involvement and so on, to you guys on the ground and that's great.'

This collaboration of different discursive consciousness created a strong and robust defensive wall around the site, which became increasingly newsworthy. Andy recalled the time he asked John Vidal, the Guardians environmental journalist to:

'come up here for the day, and I picked him up off the train. You guys offered him personal and exclusive access to the tunnels and that picture, you got the front page of the Guardian on a Saturday and it emphasised the campaign so it was a really good hit'.

The protest campaign was maintained through this spectrum of defence. Andy from CPRE stated (2009- interview):

'my attitude and our attitude is not explicitly but certainly implicitly was that we wanted the eco's here on the ground we thought that they were part of the whole campaign spectrum we all needed each other'.

2003 Disrupting the Rural Idyll

Members of the protest site became part of the wider community. They interacted with the wider communities of Matlock, Stanton in Peak, Bakewell and Birchover in many distinct ways: selling the Big Issue in town, busking, visiting the Yew tree, shopping, using the swimming pool for showers, local pubs, local shops at Birchover and Stanton in Peak. Children brought up on site also attended the local school. The presence within the local community was not always harmonious.

Rachael has lived in the area for around ten years. She moved to Stanton Peak from Sheffield in 2000, in search of a 'better way of life' for her son.

'I didn't want him in the Sheffield school. The school he was designated to go has drug problems, violence, it wasn't a good place for him to be going... so we moved to the Peak District... so my son could have a better quality of life' (Rachael 2009- interview).

Life in the Peaks for Rachael was defined in relation to the city. The protest camp disrupted this 'ideal' of the countryside as a 'safe place'. She says:

'within a year [the site] had grown and we were becoming aware because we had to be. There started to be a lot of anti-social disorder problems and the two communities were not mixing to say the least...'.

The protest camp was defined as a different community, something separate from her own community. She defines anti-social behaviour as '...drunkenness... people peeing in gardens and throwing stones at windows all kinds of things'. She states: 'I came here to protect my son from really all of that stuff and here it was in the quiet village of Stanton Peak'.

The camp contradicted the ideals placed in the rural idyll of Stanton in Peak:

'of all the places I have lived I don't think I have lived any where as ultra conservative as Stanton Peak but here we have an alternative lifestyle of people just over the hill and really they were never going to mix, they were a poor fit'.

The protesters were constructed as 'alternative', displaying 'anti-social behaviour'. They became the deviant other. Members of the local villages, on the other hand, were seen as 'ultra conservative' and 'normal'. The two sides were set up against each through the use of the terms 'normal' and 'alternative', creating two opposing identities, which are distinct, yet linked through this attachment to otherness, each confirmed by the identities of the other. Rachael felt this type of 'alternative' identity is not 'normal' within the rural idyll as it challenged the ideals that she placed into the village, that of safety, away from drugs and violence of the city, for a better quality of life.

Issues with the protest camp:

The main issues with the protest site and its residents were: the perceived anti-social behaviours; the site was seen as a permanent threat of a 'traveller' site; local residents felt ignored, and finally, to stop the re-opening of the two quarries would bring quarrying closer to the village of Stanton in Peak.

Anti social behaviour

There has been many perceived 'anti-social behaviour problems' with the protest site. These range from threatening behaviour; drug dealing; the 'unsightly' mess created by

the protesters in the natural woodland environment; people living off benefits; the loose dogs and the 'bad eggs'. These perceived stereotypical behaviours acted as the main concerns to locals.

Unfair and Uncontrollable

These issues were further exemplified when a group of residents reported the anti-social behaviour to the police and were told according to a local of Stanton in Peak, 'the camp is self policing' and a 'no go area'. This increased the divisions between the two communities. It was seen as 'unfair' that locals were treated differently and subject to planning laws.

'There was a poor old farmer who put a caravan in his yard for some worker to live in and he was made to remove it. But here you have a caravan hoisted up a tree. It was unfair and it was inequitable and this is how we saw it and this is how I do see it actually'.

This response from the police also created fear, because the protesters were perceived to be 'out of control'.

Rachael states (2009- interview)

'once it became apparent that no local government agency was going to take any action what so ever, I think we all felt extremely helpless, there was no help. It is going to stay, unless they decide they are going because they want to go. It is going to be there forever and we are going to be stuck with this for ever and that was the main thing, I think we felt abandoned by the authorities'.

PC Sandra Wetton, not involved at policing site during this time, outlined in 2009 how the topography of the landscape itself affected the ways the protest site was policed. Sandra defines the landscape of the protest site as:

1. dangerous quarry landscape with sheer drops
2. intricate network of structures designed for defence
3. unknown landscape: don't know what to expect therefore intimidating
4. unsafe as there is a lack of contact with outside world

'In terms of the protest site itself, the words 'no go area' have been bandied about on numerous occasions. It has never been a no go area but has been a case of use your common sense, you know, you wouldn't come onto the site on your own, which is understandable, there are a lot of sheer drops about, you know, a straight forward risk assessment, use your common sense' (Wetton 2009-interview) .

There was no formal policy for site but rather each incident was dealt with as it came along, in this sense it was treated as any other village. Contact would be made through an assigned liaison officer who would come and visit site if any problem arose.

Permanent Threat

The third issue was the threat of a permanent site at Endcliffe and Lees Cross and this was aired by many, especially towards the end (this was partly due to legislation and the amount of time spent on the site by the protesters. In Sept 2009 this would have been 10 years therefore protesters would be legally allowed to claim rights of occupation). The protesters had, however, always stated they would leave when the rights were revoked. One participant from Stanton in Peak stated 'I thought they would never go, I honestly didn't believe that they would go I don't think anybody thought they would go' .

Ignored

Rachael also thinks more 'resentment' was generated because she saw the protest site as detracting from the main issues, which for her is quarrying and its impacts for the wider area, not just in one specific location.

'When that haul road application came in we couldn't get any publicity generated... because all the press wanted to do was go and drink tea with the guys at the camp because you were very news worthy. The press was not interested in talking to middle England like me about the issue that we have got because every parish in Britain have got proposals to build a road through the village. We were not sexy enough for them, you guys were hyper-sexy so everything got fixed on, you know, Lees Cross, Endcliffe and Stanton Lees. That

stupidly caused more resentment because it's like, 'hey guys over here, we've got issues over here' and we would get the press over to talk to us and they would just disappear over the hill and we would never see them again'.

The quarry is coming

Rachael saw the protest site as being specifically beneficial to the residents of Stanton Lees, due to the closer proximity of the proposed quarry to them. There was a wide spread perception from the beginning that the occupation and protection of Endcliffe and Lees Cross, would lead to some sort of compensation for the quarry company. Locals from Stanton in Peak believed this would inevitably lead to a quarry extension closer to the village of Stanton in the Peak. As one local from Stanton in Peak states 'if Endcliffe and Lees Cross was to be protected from quarrying then it was going to be closer to us, it was coming... and there was a lot of pushing and pulling' between the two villages.

Responding to the Protest Camp

Awareness of the camp grew, due to the perceived anti-social behaviour problems highlighted above. In September 2002, the protest site residents were becoming increasingly worried about the threat of eviction. The decision to grant the planning permissions for the quarry, were continually stalled by the PDNPA. This was partly due to the quarry company not providing the relevant information and conditions for the workings. The protest site continued to grow physically over the landscape, as did the numbers of people.

Elsewhere on the moor, in April 2002 an extension was granted to Blockstone Ltd at Pilough Quarry near Stanton in Peak, in exchange for relinquishing the rights of Stanton Moor quarry. Plans were agreement to build a potential haul road around Stanton in Peak. A small amount of people from the site (and without site's 'blessing' see appendix page 305) set up a new camp on the proposed haul road route, considerably closer to Stanton In Peak. In the next two months a number of incidents involving people from the site. Cars on the protest site were smashed up and someone was arrested.

In November 2002, the proposed haul road fences, between the farmers field and the haul road, were cut down by one member of the anti haul road site. When questioned by the farmer and a local, the protester responded with threats. This act was condemned by members of the Nine Ladies site, however brought continued anger from the Stanton in Peak community towards the main protest site.

By mid November, the haul road camp disbanded. However, by the beginning of December a small group of locals from Stanton in Peak decided to 'do something about the camp'. They formed an action group (Stanton Action Group) and sent letters and questionnaires to the local villages. A member of SAG commented:

'what we were trying to do was to establish whether or not we had a remit to act on behalf of the village. What came back from that questionnaire was quite shocking. The number of people who said they had bad dealings with people of the camp and talked about drunkenness, and a lot of anti-social behaviour, you know, people peeing on gardens and throwing stones at windows and all kinds of things'.

The letter from SAG to local villagers of Stanton in Peak, Birchover and Stanton Lees can be found in appendix: 303-308. The group wanted to put pressure on the PDNPA to enforce an eviction to remove the protesters. The way the questionnaire was written however, was hugely bias against the protesters. A moral panic was whipped up, creating folk devils who attacked the utopic ideal of the countryside, the rural idyll, with their 'alternative', 'anti-social' behaviour'. A few days later members of the protest campaign responded to this by writing and sending out a reply letter to the residents of the local villages- see appendix: 305-308.

Enforcing eviction

The group did everything they could to remove the protesters. They wanted the 'camp gone urgently' (Rachael 2009- interview). The results were presented at a local parish meeting in Jan 03. The Stanton Parish Council agreed the issues needed to be resolved and went on to present a notion of enforcement to the PDNPA. The Environmental Heath department of the Derbyshire council were also called in. The results of the

questionnaire were seen as a 'fair representation' of the local communities fears about the site and displayed 'overwhelming public concern'. 'We went to every authority we could think of', local member stated, this included: reporting a mother living on site with her child, for neglect, a case that was subsequently dropped as no evidence was found, and reporting the community to environmental health for polluting the water system which again after investigation was dropped.

The results of the questionnaires provided examples of specific 'incidents' with which the protesters had said to have been involved. They decided to take the evidence to the police but were told, according to Rachael they were 'prejudice'. At the parish council meeting (SPPCM: 02/02/03) the police said no crimes had been committed or reported during this period and that people needed to 'move on'. However, during this time, Councillor Deborah Reed set up a Multi Agency Liason Committee to attempt to address some of the perceived issues. The PDNPA, members of SAG, Stancliffe Stone, Haddon Estates, the Stanton Parish Council and the police were all represented, however, the protesters were not invited.

Under pressure from these groups (SAG and MALC) the PDNPA held a planning meeting on the 28th Feb 03 to determine the planning application regarding Endcliffe and Lees Cross, to decide whether or not enforcement should be taken out on those 'trespassing' on the disused quarries. The authority was unable to determine the application with the absence of the relevant additional information from the quarry company. However, the PDNPA were very concerned about the structures, both above and below ground, which at the time were illegal but after four years occupation, could become lawful (four years in September 03) and would impact the proposed planning application. A proposal was made by the authority to enforce an eviction notice on the landowner and the quarry company. However, a number of protesters were present at the meeting. They suggested the structures were not permanent and moved around over time. As such they would not legally retain this four year status. It was agreed that regular site inspections were to be made ensuring this. No enforcement action was taken. The site however, in early March was accused of more criminality. At a local council meeting (SPPCM 10/03/03 and 24/03/03) Deborah Reed stated they would re-

approach the PDNPA, asking them to reconsider their decision, making a formal complaint (PDNPA- PCC 23/05/03: 1).

Folk Devils and inter-community disputes

During 2003, the protest site came under continuous attack, not only from SAG but also in April there were numerous egg attacks. It was not only members of the protest site who received the 'outcast' or 'folk devil' status, but people associated with site, including locals from Stanton Lees, began to feel unwelcome in Stanton in Peak.

'Attitudes to me became harsher and it stepped up a bit around that time. I have always been perceived by Stanton as being on your side, and I am you know, I think you do have to declare your colours' (Webb 2009- interview).

Jeff from SLAG feels people of Stanton in Peak did not give the anti-quarry campaign support. This included members of the Parish Council who became 'desperate to get Lees Cross and Endcliffe opened. That is why they were after the protesters, they did there damndest to get you off'. The main issue according to Jeff was the closeness of the quarries to the villages. The potential quarry location therefore created divisions in the ways the protesters were perceived: for the good of the community or for the detriment of the community. This debate brought conflict and division between the two villages. Jeff saw the eviction threat (which was aided by the local parish council and SAG) and the re-opening of the quarry as 'in the interests of half a dozen people from Stanton in Peak', to prevent quarrying coming closer to their back yard. Jeff feels because the Stanton in Peak residents were attempting to remove the protesters, 'they were helping the quarry company, because the protesters were the only thing standing in the way... so Stanton in Peak residents were bitter because you were there'. The protesters became symbolic in the tug of war over the closeness of the quarry and the protection of the villages. They were given a position of power and authority. For Stanton Lees Action Group, the protest site was seen as the only thing preventing illegal access and therefore opportunity to reopen the quarry, whereas the Stanton Action Group saw the site as disrupting everyday life and essentially bringing the quarry closer to them.

According to Linda, over time other 'perceived fears' developed throughout the local communities. From her experiences she states:

'when you are fighting against perceived fears, they become actual fears, because you cannot prove that they are not real for you. So the fear of site becoming a traveller site, has become terrible, because nothing can be said and no papers signed, for people to be persuaded otherwise. A lot of people felt the same thing and they were underlying it in each others hearts really all the time. They were convinced that a traveller site was going to be here at Stanton Lees which was going to effect all the villages and it was going to be very dreadful, because of what people had been seeing all over the news'

Planning in the Park

In May 2003 the MALC sent a second report to the Peak District National Park Authority, in order to attempt to persuade an eviction. On 23rd May 03 the Planning Control Committee met and discussed the issues once more. A site inspection was agreed to fully assess the 'physical circumstances of a particular development or where major difference have arisen' (letter from PDNPA to the protest camp dated 30/05/03). This would allow the Peak District National Park Authority to decide whether they had opportunities to reconsider all issues including enforcement. Local district and Parish councils representatives, the landowner, quarry manufacturers and the local liaison officer from the police, attended the inspection. A detailed report was written. In the mean time the protest site residents commissioned a report from a legal representative. This was sent to the PDNPA planning committee providing evidence for the structures to be classified as temporary. It also highlighted the reasons for the occupation of the land - to prevent proposed quarrying – which, if resolved the site would be removed and all protesters leave. Five protesters wrote a written and signed a statement to confirm this. At this time, decisions about the quarry proposals were deferred until August, and then again, whilst waiting for the quarry company to apply for the conditions.

Environmental conditions

By 12th December 2003, almost five years after the initial proposal, Stancliffe Stone

submitted the Environmental conditions to the PDNPA. The previous submission in 1999 was superseded by the new statement. According to Stancliffe Stone the submission 'demonstrates the viability of extracting building stone from Endcliffe and Lees Cross and addresses all relevant key areas of landscape, geology, archaeology, groundwater, ecology, traffic, noise and dust' (letter to locals from Stancliffe Stone Dec 03). These proposals brought a considerable amount of criticism. In response SLAG and CPRE joined forces and commissioned an independent report, using the geo-technical information available. The report raised two main questions:

1. What did the 1950's permissions allow?
2. Is the outlined plan 'workable'?

The results were:

a) 'the plans weren't workable because as you start to dig a hole you have got to have somewhere to put the waste. They didn't have anywhere to put the waste really. There wasn't sufficient volume. Basically you get to a point where you just have no space to put it so you cant go any deeper. So we said their plans really really wont work' (Tickle 2009- interview).

b) therefore, if there is no where to put the waste 'it doesn't accord with the way in which the permissions were written in 1952' (ibid).

According to Andy (Tickle 2009) this 'had quite a big impact actually, just moving things on. It got us involved, you know with the company [because] when we produced it, they wanted to see us'.

High court battles

At this point, two forces stood in the way of the quarry operators: the planning authority and the protesters on the site itself. The creation of the anti-protester discourse by SAG and the MALC gave the tenants of the Endcliffe and Lees Cross, Stancliffe Stone, an

opportunity to make a case for a possession order. The case was two-fold. Firstly based on the trespass of land by the protesters and secondly, the perceived anti-social behaviours which were 'defined as actual/threatened assault and actual/threat to property' (High Court Claim Form 2004). The judge made an order *for* the possession of the land at Endcliffe and Lees Cross on 22nd January 2004. The order would have the effect of removing individuals from the land due to trespass rather than the claimed anti-social behaviours. The judge Pam Alton stated:

'it would appear that those incidents alleged, some of which undoubtedly are serious, were scattered over a longish period. There is little direct evidence that the current occupiers were responsible. Indeed Mr Hartley and Mr Dixon [members of the protest site] make it plain- in particular, in Mr Hartley's additional statement- that they challenge and would wish to challenge totally the veracity of what is said. But it does not seem it is necessary for the court to decide, on the rights and wrongs of that'.

The possession order was granted. Eviction was imminent. This affected the ways people living on site managed their lives. As protester, Ro states:

'we tended to gravitate around our own defences and didn't go anywhere else... [unless] you could make sure people were going to be there... Everyone was walking round with their harnesses on all the time... so you could go up to the defences where ever you were'.

There was a constant state of alertness and awareness, a waiting game. The eviction threat was felt not only for people living on site, also others who had been watching and waiting for the eviction were ready to join the campaign, when the time came. The world waited with anticipation.

Yet the status of the quarries as dormant, still prevented Stancliffe Stone from being able to 'open' the site. On 29th March 2004, Stancliffe Stone made a High Court claim, which sought the following declarations from the court (High Court Claim Form 2004):

- the minerals site comprises all the quarries granted planning permission by the Minister in 1952,

- the minerals site is active,
- the planing permissions from the 1950's remains alive,
- Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries can be worked in accordance with the 1952 planning permissions.

The court however, gave the Peak District National Park Authority the right to determine the status of the quarries as dormant.

'The judge decided and said to them don't appeal, there is no point of appealing and it would cost the PDNPA, but they took them to appeal so we had to wait another 15 months'.

Jeff from SLAG commented (2009- interview). In July 2005, the High Court ruled the Peak District National Park Authority was justified in classifying Lees Cross and Endcliffe quarries as 'dormant' under the terms of the 1995 Environment Act.

2006: a year of compromise

The varied and sustained protest, especially the occupation of the land, created an increased desire for the agencies involved to find a solution. If quarrying could be stopped at Endcliffe and Lees Cross, this would also remove the protesters. 'The protesters sharpened everything up a bit really and made everybody work towards finding the solution', commented Lord Edward Manners (2009- interview). In 2006 a planning application was received by the Peak District National Park Authority from Stancliffe Stone (now owned by Marshalls PLC) for further extraction of stone at the Dale View Quarry. This included proposals to swap the much contested Endcliffe and Lees Cross, for consent to a reasonable and relative extension of Dale View (PDNPA: 2007).

Lord Edward Manners, states (2009- interview):

'this opportunity for the swap at Dale View came along, which is obviously a much better situation for everybody and meant everybody won. We got the something, Stanton Estate got something and you got something, so it worked. But it secured some income for us and some income for Stanton'.

Agreeing the terms of the conditions, most specifically the amounts of stone available for the swap was a very complex, difficult and time consuming process. The outcome had crucial bearings on the approach taken by the PDNPA towards the protest camp. Although the occupation of the site was in breach of planning control, the committee resolved to

'defer any formal enforcement action, as this was not judged the most effective way of resolving the issue. This largely reflecting the Authorities view that the main issue at this site was the proposal to re-open the quarries- if there was no longer any risks of quarrying there would be no need for the protest to continue' (letter from PDNPA to protest camp 05/12/06).

According to Andy Tickle (2009- interview)

'what really worked in the end, or allowed us to come to a conclusion, was when we finally got everyone on the hill to understand, there was only one answer to this: no quarry here and a reasonable extension at Dale View. Some were still not happy with that, but they recognised to move forward and finish things off, we had to compromise'.

Andy took a major role in the negotiation between the two villages:

'I went over to Stanton Peak and sat down with the people who were the influence formers and the opinion shapers. [They are] part of that process and unless you can bring them round or at least tone them down, nothing was going to be delivered. I suppose they all realised we just had to go with a compromise to end it. It was a planning blight on everyones lives. The villagers started to talk and then we formed a formal coalition. From then on, almost every letter we sent, not just about Endcliffe and Lees Cross, we moved it out to the other sites as well, had four names on the bottom, Jeff SLAG, myself CPRE, Julie, SADE (formally SAG) Alan Martin Chair of Stanton in Peak Parish Council. When that happened we really increased our influence. We could very clearly say to the Peak Park, we are all acting together, we all want the same thing, we are the

voice of the community and there isn't as such a division. These are the points we agree on and they were enough to give us a solid position. I think we did a very good job in bringing down the tonnage that was proposed at [the extension site of] Dale View' (Tickle 2008- interview).

The quarry company also changed their tactics and realised community consultation was needed and desirable, although details not always agreeable:

'we need to give Stancliffe their due as well, they realised that bashing people around with high court threats wasn't going to work. They had to give way slightly. They changed their mineral agent to someone who again realised they had to work with the community and so on, and they had pre-discussions on what would be the shape of the extension at Dale View' (Tickle 2009- interview).

The Stanton Moor Forum: A Long Term Solution to Anti-Social Behaviour

As the details of the revocations were being discussed, in October of 2006 the protesters held a site birthday party over the weekend of 7th and 8th. Residents of Stanton Lees made a number of complaints to the police, regarding anti-social behaviour issues such as loud music; amounts of vehicles making the road impassible and also the lack of a police presence over the weekend. The residents asked for a meeting with the police. PC Wetton (2009- interview) states:

'we had a meeting in the church of Stanton Lees. A lot of residents turned up from both Stanton Lees and Stanton in Peak. There was a lot of bad feeling and a lot of angry people. It was down to us really to try and justify ourselves because we had done very little over that weekend. We turned up and we couldn't hear any noise but there was a lot of cars and it obviously caused a lot of problems for those who had been kept awake all night, there was a lot of anti-social behaviour reported' .

As a result the Inspector agreed to chair a forum, the Stanton Forum. Sandra states:

'He appreciated the weight of the feeling and thought it was a long term issue at

the moment, it is not going to go away so it needed a long term solution. The best thing was to get all the organisations together who had a vested interest in the area. Everyone had to take responsibility for their own little bit. That was the key, to ease the atmosphere between: the residents; the site; the parish council; the police and the Peak Park. Once everyone had a perspective and knew what their responsibilities were, it all seemed to gel and then it would all blow up and we had the odd exchange of words on occasions but that was cathartic in itself, but it was controlled, in a controlled environment' (Wetton 2009- interview).

The Stanton Forum was set up as a Community Multi Agency Group, based on inclusion, personal responsibility and accountability. The aims of the group were 'to better manage and reduce crime and anti-social behaviour in the area and to improve quality of life for all' (SFM 21/11/06). Sandra believes:

'it wouldn't have worked if we hadn't invited people from the protest site to come along as well, it would have been incomplete. We needed the full picture, we needed everyone there so people could listen to everybody else's opinions and views. So everyone could do their bit, so everyone could live in harmony. Some of the issues being brought to us were not police issues, so we got environmental health involved, the Peak Park, the landowners and initially social services. All the partners came along and I think it worked and was very effective. It certainly helped me get a different perception of the moor and the protest site'.

Through this first hand experience with the protesters at the forum, Sandra developed different ideas about them and the moor. The personal contact with the 'eco-warriors' enabled those attending the forum to conjure their own ideas. This may remove some of the myths surrounding them and also created new ones. The forum facilitated opportunities for people to share thoughts and feelings. Issues could be personalised through communication. Initially the forum was set up as a response to the party, but over time, other issues developed, 'we became only one item on the agenda... it has become a place where the villagers have got a voice they wouldn't normally have about Stanton Moor', protester Ro stated (2008- interview). The forums helped people on site

to become aware of some of the issues with the protest site, such as rubbish. The forum gave people an opportunity to talk issues through and put a face to the communities of the site and the village: 'I am the sort of person that gets worried about things like that but now I am going to these forums I am much more aware' adds Ro (2008- interview).

Ro's idea of the moor, also changed as a result of dialogue at the forum with the landowners/managers and locals, and through her personal experiences on the site: 'I thought how amazing it is that people can just come up and camp and have a fire, but now they have shot themselves in the foot for leaving so much litter'. Living in the close proximity to the moor, Ro was able to witness the accumulated impacts of the campers, which occasional or infrequent visitors often do not often recognise or see: 'it has got disgusting now... and people who camp practically on the stones and they make new fire pits'. Increasing awareness of issues inspired a new consciousness and ideas about 'appropriate' behaviour in specific places.

The forum increased understanding about how people can impact others. It enabled a means of contact and discussion. For example, the game keeper had direct contact to a site phone,. If there was any problems site residents could be rung straight away and the issue resolved. Landowner Lord Edward Manners states: 'he respected you and you respected our management and operation of the estate totally and were very co-operative' (2009- interview). The dialogue created by the forum was based on co-operation and discussion, as opposed to the fear and anger, which was seen in 2003-2004.

A small number of protesters attended the meetings regularly. It was assumed by others at the forum, these were the 'leaders' of the group, although it was continually stressed there was no leaders. The forum process encouraged sharing of discourses. The responsibility to communicate this with the rest of the site, fell to those attending. Often meeting notes were posted on the communal door. It became apparent to me during the time I spent on site, often those attending the forum felt more empathy about the relationships with the wider community, than others who did not attend. Disagreements

and conflict on site sometimes erupted surrounding this.

2008 Coming together

Initially Rachael from Stanton in Peak, thought the forum meetings were 'the most stupid idea ever heard but after having come out the other end, it was probably, I am hesitant to say the word... a stroke of genius' (2009- interview). She found them 'very stressful to attend, there was an awful up and down thing all the time and you would never know who was going to come under attack'. However, she saw the meetings as an opportunity in which everyone was able to air their views. This was particularly significant she states, in 2008 when I showed evidence to Adrian Thornhill about the damage labourers had caused on the Ancient Scheduled Monument (see below).

Rachael recalls:

'you did that master stroke on Thornhill and that was the irony... because it was the first time we had become united, and using different tactics we were all basically having the same aim, which was to fight the quarry, to fight the Thornhills and to fight Lord Edward Manners. We were all on the same side but we got so screwed up in the beginning that we lost sight of that, you know with all the bickering and nastiness that had gone on... but I think ironically the forum actually, I wouldn't have believed it possible but it actually got us to the right point' (2009- interview).

Sharing my concerns about mis-management at the forum brought the distinct sides together. It emphasised a connection, essentially that we were all fighting for protection of the place. The forum enabled this shared experience and an opportunity to be reflective. It created unity, albeit temporarily, but at the same time precious.

Creating Change?

The opportunity of dialogue did occur between distinct people at the forum, but the extent to which change was created is questionable and depends on personal biases, identity, the ability to listen, legislation and other factors. To continue the example brought out by Rachael, the damage witnessed by myself on the ancient scheduled

monument by labourers contracted by Stanton Estates, was significant. This damage was illegal under the 1979 Archaeology Act. It became apparent that the people working on the moor were not aware of the whole area of Stanton Moor as an ancient scheduled monument, not just the Nine Ladies. They removed a large engraved marker stone from within the ASM with the bucket of a JCB when renewing fences around the ancient scheduled monument. The labourers then used the stone to weigh down the bucket and hammer in the fence posts. I recorded this, using photographs which I then presented to Adrian Thornhill at a forum meeting in March 08. The PDNPA and English Heritage had also been made aware of this. How this impacted management from the perspective of the landowner is questionable. Stanton Estates responded by saying it was not the managements fault, but rather the 'quality of the labourers which has reduced over the past years' (SMF minutes 03/08).

Relationships with Stanton Moor

Throughout the nine years of site, residents of the camp developed a very intimate relationship with Stanton Moor and Nine Ladies Stone Circle. The circle provided a escape from the pressures and politics of site. In summer, the leaf coverage created a dark and often damp environment in the disused quarries. People would chase the sun and spend time at the stones, talking, drinking and being. People would also walk over the moor to buy food and other items from the local shops.

Whilst living on site, Daz visited the circle regularly. For him it was a place of escape but at the same time he was close in case he was needed. He brought the ethic DIY culture and guardianship to the Nine Ladies through his unofficial management: re-seeding fire pits, collecting rubbish and talking with people about their impact, in ways which almost make you believe he is speaking from the land. Others from the site would often go onto the moor and act as unofficial guardians, or for moments of relaxation and stillness.

Daz and others, believed they could make a difference on Stanton Moor. Daz (2008-interview) proudly claimed 'well I'm in a museum now you know, in Derby. So if

anyone is reading this, they would need to go to the museum and see me sat there with the Nine Ladies'. He refers here to a photo taken of him that is also in Prehistory in the Peaks (Edmunds and Seabourne 2001). The moor and the Nine Ladies created meaning in Daz's life, it defines who he is. Although the proposed quarry site and the upland moor are two distinct landscapes and 'owned' by different people, for Daz they were bound together. His desire to create change was inspired by the personal connections made with the place over his life and the symbols attached to it: freedom and nature. When Daz says 'no one owns the land... they belong to it' this points to ideas of identity: belonging to something creates a sense of who we are in relation to others. It is in this sense that Daz and other people from the protest site would often clear up much of the rubbish from the summer solstice celebrations. It was his responsibility, as it is everyone's. The wider community at the stone circle, the *fluid community*, also links with the way we create self and place. The focus of the Nine Ladies and other stone circles, creates a basis for community and communication.

Daz recognises some people who camp on the moor and 'spoil it for others' by leaving rubbish, playing loud music and being 'dis-respectful to the stones'. The acts disrupt the utopia's of the landscape, as a spiritual centre, challenging others ideals put into the place.

The protesters presence on the land also affected the ways other people who visited Stanton Moor perceived the landscape and its threats. In March 2008 I was sat with a group of 'protesters' on the moor. I wrote:

'today we were standing, talking to a group of people from site. We were up at the newly named 'moon stone', basking in the cool evening spring sunlight. A fire had been lit and was used to warm water for a few cups of tea. A male walker approached and began to question 'why are you having a fire up here?' One protester said 'to have a cup of tea, would you like one?' 'No I would not', he replied repulsed by the idea. He went on to say 'fires damaged the landscape' and made the place look as 'untidy, it's like litter'. He was not very open to some of the responses he got from the group, who claimed 'we clean up here on a regular

basis and will remove all evidence that there was a fire'. The man obviously loved this landscape and felt very passionately, enough to confront a group of seven people and three dogs'.

The presence of the site residents at the stone circle impacted users experience of the natural landscape.

Nine Ladies under threat?

PC Sandra Wetton (2009- interview) feels the name of the protest site, often just called 'Nine Ladies' or officially the 'Nine Ladies Anti-Quarry Campaign', created confusion for many people.

'People seemed to put it all together, Stanton Moor and the protest site instead of differentiating between the two. It was assumed that people were actually living at the Nine Ladies, which wasn't necessarily the case. I think there was some ignorance about the area and I think there still is'.

By using the Nine Ladies name, the protest site created a specific identity for the stone circle itself. This has received both positive and negative reactions. Landowner Adrian Davie-Thornhill (2010- interview) states:

'Nine Ladies and the Bronze Age burial ground was jumped on by those people who disapproved of the quarrying at Endcliffe and Lees Cross. It was a very successful campaign, but it was nonsense. The Nine Ladies was not under threat, but you tell enough lies often enough and people believe you- it was propaganda. Stanton Moor from being relatively unknown 20-30 years ago went to being well up there in peoples consciousness and the Peak Park have encouraged it as well. This is ultimately damaging for the monument itself. There was a surge in publicity to promote a anti quarry argument' (2010- interview).

Rachael (2009- interview) from Stanton in the Peak also believes the protest site had a negative impact on the identity of the moor:

'When I first came here the camping wasn't a big problem that just really didn't

happen that much. It has been declared a free area for anyone to come and camp here, because as we have all discovered, no one will come up here and chuck you off. It is as if it is open season up here now'.

The idea of protection associated with the Nine Ladies, through the Endcliffe and Lees Cross anti-quarry campaign, has increased the visitors who specifically saw the Nine Ladies as under threat. Media attention surrounding Endcliffe and Lees Cross focused directly on the threat to the Nine Ladies Stone Circle. This, according to many, increased numbers of people visiting, to see for themselves or help. In a small survey of websites searches related to the 'Nine Ladies' 90% are dedicated to the quarry campaign, whilst the others to alternative and conventional archaeology. The campaign increased visitor pressure and influenced the ways in which people reacted to the place and the people visiting. The proposals to quarry at Endcliffe and Lees Cross not only created a new part of the history on the moor but also impacted the perceptions of the site as something to be saved. Free party, pagan, traveller and protest sites associations combined into a melting pot of meanings based on enjoyment, nature, celebration and protection. It did not create but added to the meanings of the fluid community (see chapter 7 and chapter 11).

Success!

By June 2007, the PDNPA approved the revised planning proposals, to revoke the quarry rights of Endcliffe and Lees Cross for the extension at Dale View. The plans were supported by the local groups. The total proposed output was reduced, lorry movements restricted to 36 per day and there was an agreement to contribute to road maintenance costs (Matlock Mercury: 15/06/07). The protesters agreed to leave the site within 2-3 months after the 100% confirmation, from the secretary of state. They begin the slow 'tat down' of the site.

In the summer of that year the numbers on site had fallen to about 20-30 people. However new people were joining the protest site with the intention to help to take it

down. A local family who in 2005 first meet protesters from the site during their first celebrations at the Nine Ladies during solstice. When one of the protesters was 'doing his diablo' they went over to him and began a conversation about the site. He invited them to come and visit. Each time the family came to the stones, they also began to visit site. Entering site for them was 'intimidating', especially as they felt they were from a 'different sort of background':

'we would come up in the dark and walking up that track to the communal and everyone sat round a fire and us four just walking into that environment, with those people, not knowing anyone' (Swiss 2008- interview)

Yet they persisted and the unknown became more familiar to them as they got talking to people on site. The communal building was a central place in the community, visitors would tend to gravitate here. It had a central location near the entrance to the Lees Cross site, with easy access, on flat, hard-core ground.

The family then moved away from the area, but still visited the moor and the site. They would come in the day and walk over the moor, then go down to site and not really see anyone apart from Daz. They moved again, to North Wales and were becoming increasingly interested in nature, celebrating the turning of the seasons, through the equinoxes and solstices and 'doing more and more things outside like camping'.

Lifestyle changes- moving to site

As the family spent more time on the moor and meeting protesters, their life began to change. It was a transitional moment in their lives, as Bev stated (2008- interview): 'we wanted to live more and more like that, getting away from the cities and towns... and we sort started realising that this was the life for us and a better life'. The place itself, and the practices experienced on the moor, defined a new identity and lifestyle. The Nine Ladies stone circle became a place they felt relaxed, and able to be open with each other. The identity of the protest site itself became a representation of living an alternative or different life based in nature. This developed to such a point that instead of

'celebrating Christmas... we made it a thing that we went to a stone circle to watch the sun rise on the winter solstice, and we all would go... and then we

would take the kids somewhere and let them choose a present. It started to mean more and more to us... this place more than any' (Bev 2008- interview).

They began to learn more about nature. This increased the importance and appreciation of Stanton Moor itself, the moor was seen as a representation of nature.

The family came to a cross road in their lives, due to the death of a parent. They were presented with a choice, as they had inherited some money. 'We thought, we can either carry on with what we are doing, looking for work in the private sector with accommodation... or we can take a step back and live life like this and try it out and see how we are accepted here' (Bev 2008- interview). In the next few weeks they moved onto site with a caravan.

Living on site

At first, the time on site felt like a holiday. It was leisurely and the family would walk up to the stones frequently. They stayed for a few weeks and decided they would like to help with the tat down. Initially they had to 'sort their old lives out' and went back home for a few weeks. During this time a protester visited them and explained the site was being taken down, it was not a place to live permanently. They returned, to help with the taking down, and give something back to the landscape. It took them a 'while to settle in', in fact at the interview time (2008) they state 'it is getting better all the time, we are just starting to settle in and enjoy it more'. Over the time of living on site, the family learned much about sustainable self-sufficient living. It was a complete change in lifestyle for them and took much adjusting to.

Living on site and helping to clear up was a chance to 'give something to this place, tidying up, that sort of thing'. They always knew their time on the site was temporary but wanted to have the opportunity, the experience. They thought it 'would be nice if we were at the Nine Ladies when they are taken down to see it all down and put back to have it was originally without all the benders. We never thought we would actually end up here' (Bev 2008- interview).

Visitors to site

Over the nine years many people visited the site: people from other protest sites; campers and visitors to the moor itself; students from schools, colleges and local universities; locals offering donations and old friends who had visited the site for years. Steve Read for example, first heard about site when meeting one of the residents at a demo in London. He lived relatively close to site so decided to go up and have a look for himself. The site reminded him of the old convoy's of the 1980's. For Steve, it was like he was returning to the old scene he had once been a part of. He recognised the political aspects, the anarchists and the link with the environment, but Steve claims he went to the protest site for 'the people', whom he considered to be like-minded (2009-interview).

Identity and lifestyle

Site for Steve was associated with an alternative lifestyle based in political protest and freedom. Going to site reconfirmed these ideas for the self. He had been 'out of the scene', in a marriage with children for many years, living in a city, feeling powerless. Experiencing the site, its defences and people showed him a new way, a different way of being, a new consciousness was available to him. Steve desired socialisation with like-minded people who had 'woken up to a new consciousness'. This identity of 'others' reconfirmed him self identity. At a time of change in his life (a marriage break up), he came to site for a week or so. During this time he began to develop a deeper connection to nature. This developed not only through talking to people, specifically Daz but also through taking part in everyday routines, like collecting water. On one occasion he had a 'life changing experience' and saw the world as an 'interconnected organism, breathing, pulsing, alive' (Reed 2009- interview). Being in the place, doing something so routinised and basic created a change of consciousness and a new awareness.

Steve saw the defences on site as a symbol of what people were prepared to do. Increased respect was given to the site residents, as he felt unable or uncomfortable with going into the defences himself. He felt the 'protesters' were 'special people willing to risk their lives' (Reed 2009- interview). This contributed to the construction of the identity for the place and the people. For Steve this was based on a 'nature centred

paganism and more widely a type of nature based spirituality' (Reed 2009- interview).

Issues of trust were also observed by Steve - people would not show 'others' the defences and much remained secret to those not part of the group. The tat down of the site really surprised Steve, the trust people placed in the defensive structures and the risks they were willing to make, just to clean up. He thought it was a strong message to give out and very impressive the time people put in. He also saw this act as 'very spiritual, giving something back to the place that has been their home'.

Recording and studying the protest site

Over the history of site, many people came to study the moor and the protest campaign. University students, college and high school groups visited. This increased during the final stages- it was the last chance- many were aware of the temporary nature of the site. In 2008 local archaeologists Anna Badcock and Robert Johnston were invited by Sarah Whiteley from the Peak District National Park Authority and Jon Humble, the English Heritage representative for the region, to undertake an archaeological investigation of the protest site. In an interview with Anna (2009- interview) she recalled 'they felt the camp itself was part of the landscape, the history of the landscape, albeit temporary. It was an important part of peoples feelings about the place'. The main aims of the investigation was to 'make a record of the structures, to record what it was like and the feeling behind it, focusing on the structures and the layout and the physical aspect of the camp'.

The methodology used to complete this combined constructing a map to present the structures within the landscape topography- this included plotting the course of the walk ways, tree houses, benders and towers. They worked with the protesters undertaking informal interviews and photographs on site during and after site had been cleared. This approach is based on a new movement within archaeology called 'contemporary archaeology'. This is concerned with:

'landscape and people's attitudes to the landscape. It is an interesting new development to archaeological practice. Everything is archaeological really you

don't have to dig it up and it doesn't have to be old' (Badcock 2009- interview).

The investigation uncovered some very interesting conclusions and was published within the 'Archaeologies' (Badcock and Johnston 2009).

Conclusion

The proposals to re-open Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries has become a very important factor influencing the ways we use, perceive and interact with Stanton Moor today. This chapter highlights the importance of the place for many: locals, pagans, visitors, environmental agencies all acted in emancipatory ways to protect the place and their utopic ideals inserted into it. Acting as guardians on many different discursive levels- from on ground defences, to desk based planning- the protesters in the widest sense of the term, created social change. These actions not only impacted the quarrying debate but also wider perceptions of the moor and the 'desirability' of certain visitors. As we have seen, moral panics have been created surrounding the residents of the protest site. The alternative ideals enshrined within the protest camp were seen as 'anti-social' and threatening to the surrounding villages. The fear created became a literal battle, during the high court eviction proceedings in January 2004.

Over the nine years of existence, the Nine Ladies protest site became a new community within the area: the site had its own post box and address, residents utilised the landscape to create homes and defences. Meanings were invested into the place and symbols of the wider campaign were created, defences that utilised the topography of the quarry ruins. These visual signs within the 'natural' landscape of Stanton Moor also impacted other users of the moor. People responded in both positive and negative ways, reacting to this new, alternative settlement. For some the protest site promoted an attractive new way of life to be explored and adopted. For others it was seen as a vital attempt to prevent quarrying. Others felt the protest site promoted camping and fires on the moor, a declaration of the area as free land. This was seen to impact the experiences of visitors and the archaeological features of the moor in a detrimental way.

My own experiences of the protest site and a further conclusion can be found within the next chapter which focuses on the final stages of the protest site, the 'tat down'.

Chapter 10

The Tat Down

This chapter was created primarily from the log book entries maintained through-out the time I was living on the protest site. It has been written to create a empathic, participatory experience for the reader. The personal account of my experiences are shared, from moving to the site, the 'tat down' process and my interactions with the place and the residents and finally the last three intense months of site.

Entering site: changing identities

My own experiences of site also began during the final stages of the protest site, when myself and my partner Tez moved onto site in October 2007 in our small 80's ambulance. We began living on the side of the road and offered our help to take down the defences.



Although we had visited the site before and knew a few protesters from previous visits, we wanted to enter the established community and be part of the community itself. It was a new, exciting but also scary experience. It involved changing our lifestyle, our home, and our identity. We packed up everything from our inner city home, sold most of our possessions and headed for our spiritual home. This initially brought a mixture of raw emotions, which revolved around questions of identity: where do I fit within this group? How do I behave? Will we make friends and be accepted? My notes also mentioned that 'people seem to be keeping themselves to themselves, not sure why?' There was a perceived distance between myself and the protesters. Throughout the day there would not be many people around, they were often in their own 'gafs', or during the evenings in the communal playing cards, listening to the radio with the burner trying to fill the large draughty space with heat.

Occasionally we visited others in their gafs, mostly those we had known previously, Ruth, The 'Swiss Family', Daz, and walked through site towards the moor. Slowly we began to build relationships. We gathered the courage to socialise in the communal, and started to feel welcomed and part of the community. This was cemented on my birthday in January 2008 which was celebrated with a small group of protesters in the communal. I wrote:

'I can feel a change is at hand! It was my birthday today and I saw a real positive and friendly side of the people who live here. We went to the communal and Gaz and Ruth made sure we had a good time. Graham bought me a bottle of wine. We are both starting to feel like we fit in. Its strange as this has never been that important to me... fitting in. I have always held a certain perception of these people, always wondered what it would be like to live here and be part of the landscape.' (log book 2008).

Priorities on site are different. People were focused on living in the now - tomorrow we are leaving - you do not know what is going to happen day, after day. As one protester said to me after living on the site for seven years:

'I always wanted to plant a garden, but I didn't see any point... I might not have

been here to harvest... until one day, I realised, I just need to plant the seeds and if I'm not here then that's that!

Site has a temporariness, it is transient, floating, organic.

Life and identity becomes a political statement on Stanton Moor. Many people have chosen to live an alternative life, separate from the mainstream consumerist society. Activities and ways of living confirmed this. For example, reducing participation in consumerism by sourcing items (including food) out of skips. The focus becomes a self-motivated resourcefulness, a do it yourself mentality... re-cycling and re-using the old and turning it into something new, an act of diversion or drifting itself.

Living on site

For myself, living on site was a mixture of working towards the research degree, tating down, and socialising during the evenings. Others combined working during the summer and living on site through the winter, some were musicians, playing in bands or busking, some saw their job as being on the land itself, as guardians on the woodlands.

The informal 'rules' of the community, the general codes of acceptability in the space, often became clear through discussions with people on site. These included: the disposal of rubbish and re-cycling in the correct bins; the fresh water spring needed clearing of leaves occasionally; dogs to be kept under control especially at the road. These were agreed generally through group meetings. The presentation of site was also a issue for some of the protesters who would often clean on Fridays, before the 'tourists' came through on the weekends.

During my stay, I experienced an exclusion from the group, of a unknown visitor who was causing concern amongst the residents due to his anonymity and behaviour. It was generally agreed that he should be asked to leave. There were three options the community usually adopted: to ring the missing persons helpline; to ask him to leave and failing this, to physically remove him. It was decided to call the police and ask if there are any missing persons. The police were called and the man was picked up in a ambulance and taken to hospital. We never saw him again.

I often socialised with people in the communal, spending time in the community. We shared personal discourses, arranged purposefully to fit or playfully antagonise the group. Meanings surrounding the site and self were often constructed through the discourses exchanged. These discourses or stories added to the identity of the teller, listener and the place. We talked, shared stories, wrote graffiti. Stories tell us who we are and who we are not. They create a self and group identity. Without these representations we cannot explain who we are and where we fit into the world. They create identities that are fluid and in transition, living within and outside of us. Like the landscapes that surround us, discourses help us to gain an understanding of the processes (both social and political) behind the person and the place.



We are continually constructing stories through our experiences with others within specific places. Stories help us make sense of the world and to discover our role within it. They tell us of the past, the present and the future, of nature, of the spirit. They are ways of connecting with others. A number of stories in this environment seem to be based on adventure and excitement of everyday life. Danger, nature, parties,

environmental issues and protests. People share discourses, others replied through a comparable event. Experiences and stories on site also aided with the naming of places. They were named by the people who lived there and were often based on the particular experiences at the place itself.

Experiencing the tating down

The defences at the protest site became part of the landscape on Stanton Moor and were inhabited not only by humans, but also nesting birds and bats and insects and the *meanings* we had put into them. They became symbols of: the time spent on site; the experiences; the people who built them and the campaign.



On the 25th March 08, the Sky Raft was emptied of all it's resources. Things so carefully packed and stored were coming down and spreading around site. Some collected little mementos, cups, lighters that still worked. The smell, the touch, the look and the feelings provoked acts of empathy, a nostalgic longing of the danger, the life, the fear of those times when every day counted and every day could be the day for eviction. I remembered and reconstructed these past times myself and idealised the people who

built them. This added to my own identity. It took two weeks for the sky raft to be brought down and cleared, by a group of five people.

The defences were always made to be brought down, they were temporary, reflecting the transient nature of the community, yet emotions were entangled within them. Lives and stories were intertwined into them. They were homes, sites of belonging and sites of the self.

In April 2008, we had news, the revocation order had almost been completed and only awaited a number of signatures. A realisation suddenly hit me: I don't want to leave, but I have to. Even after such a short period of time I had begun to love the woodland as a home. I developed emotional attachments with the place and the community. The experience helped me to remember how lucky I was to have the opportunity to live so close to the moor, yet as every day went by I was reminded by a feeling deep within my stomach, that this, one day very soon, was going to come to an end. I was scared, yet happy, relived, yet sad. I needed to give all I could and take all I could from this once in a lifetime experience. Though-out this emotional time there was a number of incidents regarding vandalism on site, stones thrown through van windows, fireworks set off under vans and van rocking.

The tat down increased as the weather became warmer. An effort had been made throughout winter and spring to remove most of the tree houses before the summer growth and leaves, nesting birds and other fauna had returned. Yet contestable debates arose on site, surrounding the order of the tat down. Some members of the group felt defences should be preserved on site until we had received 100% confirmation of the revocation. Some people just wanted to have 'one last [nostalgic] session on the net', whilst others felt 'we should just get on with it' and 'we've won'. At a site meeting in April, structures were classified based on the best defences. Walkways and (ex) living benders, were classified as less defensive and agreed should be taken down. Then tree houses and platforms, should be taken down (many of which had already been taken down) and finally the tunnels. It was agreed the tunnels should be the last defence to go, together with the benders or caravans that people were living in.

On 25th September 2008, the terms and conditions for the revocation had been reached and agreements reached. The document was sent to the secretary of state for the final confirmation. The protesters would leave two to three months after seeing the fully signed revocation. This agreement had been made from the very beginning of the process. The time scale however, caused much concern with the locals and the Peak District National Park Authority. Fears escalated about the threat of a permanent site.

On site however, we finally had a time frame to work towards and anticipated the signing within 12-15 weeks plus the two to three month, ending push. At this final stage of the campaign we were visited by a number of reporters from television, including the Politics Show, BBC Country Tracks (see picture below), the radio including Radio Derby, and newspaper including the Sheffield Star, and the Independent (a reporter stayed on site for the evening in Billy's gaf).



Pressure mounted from afar. This was felt within the group. Inner community divisions were increasingly sustained and emotions ran high. The physical act of tating down however, was cathartic: it helped the self to conquer fears and eased the emotional attachments to the defences and the connected feeling of loss. Gaz (2008- pers. Comm)

who removed many of the walk ways from site, spoke of the way the tree exhaled when being released from the poly-prop ropes. He felt the trees relaxation and freedom. The 'tat down' became not only a physical taking down, but also the removal of the meanings surrounding the place of protection, defensive and alertness.

There was no formal arrangement agreed, regarding who was going to be doing the tating down (apart from the general order discussed). As Graham from the protest site continually outlined at the forum meetings, the tat down was a 'organic process'. Some, however, developed deep emotional attachments to the structures. As such these specific defences were left for the person with the highest emotional bid. This caused tensions amongst the group.

There was a strange energy on site, which echoed the dark winter months. It was very wet and the trees lost their leaves (which makes a perfect time to tat down as everything is noticeable). We entered the dark period. It was the time to gather in all we have achieved and take it into our very existence and move on (Kindred 2009). The impact of seeing places where something had been, suddenly empty, empty of the meanings inserted so carefully into it, created a totally new landscape. A shock to the mind was experienced. The memories attached to the place were temporarily removed. New stimuli shine out, things are noticed that did not catch the eye before. The defences had been the focus, but now new things stood out, things never seen or heard before. The protest site was disappearing, nature was returning.

On 28th November, the PDNPA planning officers came to site and surveyed the progress. Only 6 tree houses out of the 24 in 2005, were still assembled. Two of these were lived in. Many of the walkways had been removed from site over the last year. Most of the benders were now removed apart from those still inhabited. The caravans, on the other hand had increased as many people began moving into them from their structures.



This is 'Glitter Hall', before the tat down in April 08, during the tat down in March 09 and after the tat down in May 2009. If you look closely in the final picture you can still see the marks made on the trees by the tied poly prop rope.

VICTORY!

After a very cold and snowy winter season, reaching -12.c degrees on one occasion, we were still waiting for the news of the signing to come through. We started to relax and became a closer community, working together. In the back of my mind I knew we were coming into the final stage of the tat down. Every moment counted. Many people spent increased time at the communal with others from the community and the tat down continued. The Beast, the Info Caravan and another tree house came down.

On the 16th January local Jeff Henson tapped on my door exclaiming 'it's been signed, we've done it!' he had spoken to the PDNPA who had received a copy of the signed revocation order. My belly filled with butterflies! Finally this is it, a date has been set, we are victorious! We immediately text everyone from site and our friends and family. I wrote in my log:

'so this is it. By mid April there will be no site at the Nine Ladies. As I write I tear rolls down my cheek. But the landscape is free, we are free... the first day of the rest of our lives' (Log book 09).

Over the next couple of weeks the rate of the tat down increased once more. The red and white tree house, Serenity- Gaz's tree house, also the bender at the old Forge was taken down in these weeks. By the next site inspection from the PDNPA on 29th Jan 09, only 19 structures remained and most of these were lived in at the time. We were told 'we are happy with the progress'.

On the 1st Feb the snow fell from the biting Easterly wind. We had a fun filled week of freedom, quiet, peace (the road had been inaccessible to cars) and sledging! We made numerous different sledges out of tated down junk. I wrote this poem:

Falling snow,
excited hearts.
A sublime beauty,
transforming the old
into something new,
something different.

A stillness resides,
in the landscape and mind,
a peace that turns life upside down.
Cries of laughter echo,
through the night skies.
The snow falls,
the thrill calls.
An exhilarating plunge
onto the contours of the land



The extreme weather also aided with the tat down. Heavy items could be dragged on fashioned sledges rather than carrying.

Increasing momentum...

The weather began to warm up slightly as February ended. I helped Daz to 'tat' down the tunnel he created. I asked him if he would mind recording the experience. He agreed (to see the video please find attached DVD in the appendix: 302). What became apparent after speaking with Daz, was the danger faced by going into the tunnel. He was

noticeably worried about his safety when re-entering the tunnel, now the quarry threat had been resolved. The only reason he was going back underground, was to remove all the things he collected in the chamber over the years, to clear the site of any evidence of defense. I do not wish to analyse the video. I ask the viewer to make and re-create meaning for themselves.

In early March the residents of the protest site invited locals and other friends to help to de-construct the tower/tunnel on the path towards the spring. Graham made preparations for a momentous tat down. A tower of congregated metal stood upon a wooden Tee Pee like structure. Locals and site residents climbed the opposite rubble bank and grabbed ropes attached to the top of the tower. After counting to three we heaved the tower which crashed to the floor with one pull! We worked together to disassemble the tower over the afternoon and then went back to the communal for refreshments. There continued to be a celebratory and positive feel within the community.



At this stage, with six weeks to go until the final deadline (agreed as the 18th April) it was still unclear about when the heart of the community, the communal should be taken down. Some felt it should remain as accommodation for visitors or others whose houses had been taken down. Others felt, whilst there was a communal, people would be

encouraged to stay. The perceived threat of a permanent site was felt by many and was echoed within the protest site itself. There was suspicion that certain people would not leave. This added to the tensions and inner community disputes.

The landscape continued to hold memories. The things happened on this spot, made a mark on its identity, the spirit of the place. When I visited the old sites there were nostalgic memories, emotions, feelings and thoughts attached. The landscape provokes a response/a physical reaction. I imagine what is now unknown. I linked the spaces to a time gone by and feel a sense of belonging which creates a oneness within. It was like connecting to a sensual being, a living thing that communicates in subtle ways and sends me into a transitional moment of peace. Yet in the back of my mind I felt a sadness for the loss... 'how will I cope when we elope? What will I be when I'm not in the trees?' I wrote this poem:

A cross facilitation of emotion,
Re-awaken, come into motion.
Seek the one inside,
Who hides from the pain,
But knows all the same
An end has to come.
An end to a battle fought for over nine years
For a sacred landscapes and beauty untold
and memories forgotten
from years of old.

It is not only the place itself, that caused feelings of sadness and loss, but also the loss of the community or group of people. Yet there seemed optimism too, about creating a new space and a new life. This mixture of emotions felt like I was living in a dream, feeling empowered yet a deep sense of fear and loss washed over me. I wondered how the final few weeks would happen. There was no formal 'exit strategy' and still much uncertainty about who's gaf will come down next, and when the communal will come down. This continued to cause tension within the community and people seemed to be holding on tightly to every final day. Time began to speed up. People continued to visit, ex-

residents, locals all wanting to be part of the site before it goes forever. Some of these people helped tating down, whilst others socialised at the communal.

At the penultimate Stanton Forum meeting on 30th March, discussions were entered into with the PDNPA planning representative, the landowners and locals. These included:

- The time-scale: the PDNPA were concerned the protesters had originally stated they would take 2 months to leave, but now they are saying 2-3 months. He was interrupted by Lord Edwards Manners who said 'no, they have always said 2-3 months'. It was therefore confirmed that by 18th April the site would have vacated.
- Progress: Graham from the site stated there were now only six structures left on site, including the communal, plus the caravans. He maintained that 'we are on target'.
- Health and safety: there was some concerns voiced about the tunnels and how they had been dismantled, however Graham explained they had been back filled and secured so they could not be used again.

As a result of this, Haddon Estate requested a tour from Graham and his 'associates', to highlight all the hazards and dangers on site, such as cliff edges. It was agreed that all representatives should attend and the date was agreed for 21st April 09. Lord Edward also stated the area of Endcliffe and Lees Cross, was going to be a 'wildlife sanctuary and left to nature'. He sees Lees Cross as a place that leads to the 'public amenity' of Stanton Moor and Nine Ladies. 'We are just going to leave it really, just leave it... I mean there is not really much we can do with it... there is a new public footpath going straight through it'. Edward has a very interesting attitude towards the protest site. He felt 'it was always an incredibly peaceful settlement' (2009- interview).

Edward was very impressed by the structures created on the site, he saw them as 'rather ingenious' (2009- interview). For Edward, the protest camp was a situation in which he felt he 'could do nothing about' but:

'knew, and trusted that it wasn't going to be turned into a smelly camp that

would never go away and impossible to get rid of or whatever, I thought that was not going to be the case, it was very peaceful and valued protest'.

This idea was represented in the actions of Lord Edward and observed by myself at the forum meetings: he treated the residents of the camp in respectful ways, often whilst other agencies were attacking them.

The Final Push

Into April. The weather was glorious, the buds began to swell. The most intense two weeks of my life so far, began. The only structures remaining were peoples homes, bottom site caravans and the communal. There was still litter picking to be done at already tated down sites. At one point the numbers on site drop to five, others were demonstrating in London at the G20 protest.

Many begun to reduce the personal belonging in their gafs and carted it off to the next destinations. Mel was the first out of the last group to take her gaf down. It was a lovely sunny day. Mel worked on her caravan and within one day she had taken it down to the platform. She then set up her temporary home - a tent with tarp and outside kitchen area with fire pit.

On Sunday 5th April, after a final small party the night before, the first tarpaulin of the communal came down (see picture below). Over the next few days many people visited site and came to do their bit to help out. By Thursday the structure has come down. The poles were unleashed as the full moon rose. Over the following weekend a group of people from a housing co-op in Sheffield came to site. They swooped over the hillside, helping us with small but time consuming duties like litter picking- bottle tops, nails, poly prop, Scrabble pieces were picked up. Another night of celebration and another night of arguments. Stress levels were high. I was finding it very difficult to sleep but continued to work intensively.



Into the last week. I was still not sleeping well. Almost everyone was working hard. Julies gaf is taken down to it's platform on Monday. Graham's gaf is emptied and taken down on the Tuesday. By Wednesday Ruth and Barbies gafs have come down. We continue to litter pick at the communal and all round. People tended to revolve around their own spaces for the first part of the week, taking in the last moments, burning the wood that had been the homes for the past few years, feeling it warmth once more.



Towards the end of the week we gathered as a community once more. Linda held a evening party for site residents and members of SLAG on the Wednesday. Linda did not like the thought that the protesters, who had become part of her family, were going to leave:

'I am not happy, I am not happy that my friends are moving on, but I will have to make sure I come and visit... It will be sad for me, once everything has grown back it will be lovely but equally I have no-where to have a cup of tea now and rest me rickety hip, it will be sad because I will miss you all so much. Your life comes in different seasons and I hope we just keep in touch and don't drift apart' (Webb 2009- interview).

Linda's attachment to the people from site has impacted her life, identity and ideas about herself, to the point that she moved from Stanton Lees after the site had gone, to be with a new community.

A mixture of feelings journeyed through my mind in the last week. I was scared. I questioned what will come next? I was happy: it was over the battle was won. I was sad: I love the landscape, it's was fun living on site. There was so many lasts: last time at communal; last fire; last time with friends here; last time living here and walking to the moor. This scared and worried me the most, but it has always been sad to leave Stanton Moor even when I know I am coming back. I wrote:

'I feel deep inside like my identity is being removed. Yet as the leaves on the trees grow and we see the buds open, we know it's the best time to move on. The season reflects what we are going through, reflect the way we are feeling, the change, the opportunities ahead of us. But I will miss the bird song, the easy access to the moor, the chances of creating change because we know exactly what is going on up there. The pheasants, the people who have become so close, like a family to me. The drama, the spontaneity, the support, the dogs, living in the woods'.

I also felt anger towards those who hadn't done as much work as me. The camp was divided on some levels between those who, during the final stage hardly contributed,

and those who have worked very hard. I wrote:

'there are 12 people left. Out of this 4 have done nothing as far as I have witnessed, 5 have been solidly working for the past 5 weeks. The other three have taken down their own gafs and helped occasionally with communal tating'.

By Thursday one structure remained on site. Bottom site (Endcliffe) was cleared of all the caravans and vans and made ready for the final litter pick. By Friday, my last full day on site, all structures had been removed from the site. We had a large fire where the communal once stood. We laughed, cried, reminisced and celebrated.



The day to leave arrived. I cleared up around the skip. The last load of metal was taken to the scrap yard. By lunch we started our engine and made the familiar journey to our friends home in Stone.

On Tuesday 21st April, I return to site for the health and safety 'tour' with protesters, police, landowners, quarry company, environmental health and PDNPA planners. The meeting was dubbed by protesters as an 'inspection'. This was primarily due to the timing, the Tuesday after the site is ended. At the forum it was expressed that the

meeting was to assess, with the local authorities, what needed to be done to maintain high levels of health and safety for those visiting the area. This was instigated by Graham who was concerned about the paths created. It also seemed at the meeting they did not really know what was left on site and what the land was going to be like. We met on the road and Graham was asked to lead us. Visitors were desperate to see the tunnels, 'where are they?' we were continually asked. All traces had been removed: the tunnels were backfilled, tree-houses and benders removed. All that remained was the scars of the rope on the trees.

We took them round the site and were continually applauded for the ways we cleared up 'this is the cleanest woodland in the peak district' one person exclaimed. They wanted to ensure as much as possible that visitors would stay on the main path through the site and not de-tour into perceived dangerous territory. It was agreed a few way markers should be put up together with two small fences. The walk around was a significant moment, it became the official hand over of the land, back to the 'owners' but also back to nature.



Returning to site and the re-emerging self

It is a strange experience, returning to the site after everything has gone. After about a month from leaving, I first returned. As time went on, my visits became more frequent. I was alone, I had a chance to think, a chance to display my emotions. Initially I noticed that many of the paths had over grown. I walked around and saw the places where things used to be. I saw the ghosts of the past events, things that have stuck in my mind. For example one time I walked past where the tower was and I instantly went back to the time it was pulled down with the locals. I remembered how I was feeling.

The spring, used for fresh water, also provokes a nostalgic response. The spring symbolised life on site. It sustained the protest, it made the job easier, through the easy access and availability of the resource. I really enjoyed collecting water from the spring. It added to the sense of isolation and other worldliness of self sufficiency to some extent. Living on site also made the beauty or sublime become familiar, almost mundane and expected. Yet the mundane realities of everyday life like watching TV or a film, became exciting, life in some ways was turned on it's head.



After drifting the landscape over the summer it became apparent people have begun using parts of the site for camping. It is very disheartening to find rubbish, piled waste, bottles and cans, after we spent so much time and effort removing our lives from the space.

The removal of the protest site has also affected others experiences of the place, both those who live locally and those who visit the area. One local found walking though the protest site intimidating and as such avoided the area for ten years. She commented

'when I first went up to the site after they had left, do you know I cried. I didn't dare to go in at first. It was like walking into a war zone. We walked in through the top of the moor and felt so nervous and quite frightened actually as if we were doing something that was forbidden. To feel able to walk along that road was immensely liberating. I thought they would never go I honestly, didn't believe that they would go I don't think anybody thought they would go and I think there has just been a huge sigh of relief'.

Residents of the site continued to visit the moor over the past couple of years since the tat down. Some visit at the summer solstice to meet with old friends and celebrate in the familiar way. Others do not want to go back. It would not be the same without others there. One participant felt the Nine Ladies had lost it's magic 'it has become any old bit of land now, there is no one making it breathe, making it live. I don't visit any more'. When talking with campers on the moor a perceived difference is also felt at the Nine Ladies stone circle. One participant claimed 'the place has changed now the site has gone, there always used to be people here day or night, rain or shine'.

Conclusions

Participation in the tat down process enabled close contact with the moor and it's users. Through personal and first hand experience, the research process delicately connected with the place and the people. I helped to create the community as I became part of it. The community and the place also contributed to the construction of my identity and

has greatly impacted my life subsequently.

The defences on Stanton Moor became symbolic of the wider battle, an alternative way of life and the memories people have invested into them. Emotions too have become entangled within the space. The protest site was a place of belonging, but also a place of exclusion. It was a place of order and chaos. The protest site provided an ideal 'liminal' place in which to explore 'meaning making' in this era of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000). It was a distinct space in which 'traditional' social structures were challenged: the rules, norms and accepted social identities have playfully been renewed and reproduced. Living in this landscape, 'going back to basics' defines ways of perceiving and managing identity. Therefore to describe the landscape is to describe the self.

Pre-conceptions, stereotypes and assumptions made from within the site, about 'others' who use and visit the moor were often made. They were based on gossip, evidence and experience. For example 'others' including quarry manufacturers and heritage management (including archaeologists) were seen to disrupt the natural order of things and the peace and tranquillity of the place. The identity of self and the site was often constructed in relation to the others. People actively anchored meanings onto others, to explore the self. These are confirmed and added to by actions and performances. Site was seen as a place at the edges and apart from 'mainstream' society. A space to make a political statement and 'live life, for life'. The protest was not only against quarrying but also against the world. Issues of power are inevitably bound within this process. This is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 11

Power on Stanton Moor

This chapter explores issues surrounding power and responsibility on Stanton Moor. It outlines three differing types of power: power from within, power over and power with others. It raises the following questions: Who holds the power and what is controlled on site? There are many people who claim to take responsibility for the site. What exactly does this entail? The chapter goes on to investigate the the main 'management' focus from a variety of perspectives including the landowners, the PDNPA rangers and English Heritage representatives and locals, and ways these partners or stakeholders are they trying to resolve the issues, through long and short term strategies.

For Lefebvre (1991), the capitalist society produces space through a triadic process:

1. spatial practices (social relations associated with capitalist production and reproduction)
2. representation of space (types of ideology/representations and semantic codes associated with how to understand society)
3. representational spaces (spaces of resistance, directly lived through, symbolic use and space of the users, the realm of the imagination)

A similar separation of space is argued by de Certeau (1983) between: strategies, the power and truth games made in institutions, and tactics, the practices carried out in the every day, routines of life, that resist the strategies of society- they are expressive and a part of identity.

Therefore questions of power on Stanton Moor are dependent on questions of

1. Ontology (what defines reality)
2. Epistemology (how we come to know that reality)
3. Discourse (constructing knowledge and constructing others/constructing the self)

In other words to understand power on Stanton Moor, we must understand the ways in which places are taken over, temporarily colonised by discourses or place myths, that

come define the reality.

Power on Stanton Moor is a moving equilibrium between those participating on site and those not on site. This could further be separated into those with hegemonic power over the users and place, those who have power with others in the landscape and those with personal power from within. This power structure was first utilised by Starhawk (1990), through her investigations with authority. The concepts are further defined below, in relation to Stanton Moor.

Power over

Power over Stanton Moor and its users is exerted through the main hegemonic discourse. On Stanton Moor this is the *preservation ethos*. The preservation ethos is provided by those who officially manage a site and is based within the archaeological place myth as outlined in chapter 3, yet others to who have close connections to the site also practice this ethic. It privileges the intellectual and visual engagements with sacred sites, whereby managers and archaeologists have the final authority. Within the preservation ethos, the past is often seen as closed and unreachable and the value of sites is placed into the original culture (Blain, Letcher and Wallis 2003).

Contemporary use of sites is often seen as 'invalid'. The implications of this as suggested in the Sacred Sites, Contested Rites Project (Blain and Wallis 2004) are that contemporary activities are often seen as 'threatening a sites stability and continuity therefore creates a situation in which sites are seen as continually and permanently under threat' (ibid). The preferred engagements with the sites by those advocating the preservation ethos is visual: sites have become a 'cultural landscape' rather than a spiritual, emotional or tactile one. This discourse has power over those visiting the site and exerts domination through legislation, official representations/interpretation on site and methods of self-surveillance (Foucault 1977). The discourse is usually played out officially by archaeologists, heritage managers, Peak Park rangers. It is also filtered to varying degrees to the fluid community and locals engaging with site and the landowners (for more information see Smith 2006).

Power is maintained over nature through the management of the ecology, specifically the maintenance of the moorland habitat. Power over visitors, is exerted through the regulation of behaviours and meanings, as will be explored. Power is also exerted over the landowner, through the legislation regarding planning permissions on the ancient scheduled monument and within the Peak District National Park.

There is always possibility of resistance and alternative ways of ordering social life. This is seen as a contradiction of the processes surrounding globalisation and power (Harvey 1989: 260-307) - time and space becomes compressed- this is sometimes seen as a force of homogenisation but also increases communication which provides heterogeneity and subversion. Power is created from above and also from below. Domination and resistance are both expressions of power (Tilley 1993).

Power with

Knowledge and understanding about sites are often derived from the intimate experiences people have within the landscape. These understandings can take many forms. For the landowner they may be very different than a locals, yet many people have a shared vision of preservation or protection, especially because they have witnessed 'damage'. Knowledge of the site, therefore brings elements of responsibility to the users. People often undertake acts of unofficial guardianship in response to the threats, as outlined in the previous chapters. These acts could be defined as social *power with others*. People working together to create social change.

There are many visitors or users of Stanton Moor, who have responsibility for the place, not only protesters. For regular campers, locals and others who have developed a deep set love and respect for the place, knowledge and experience has led to people creating change in the landscape, by speaking with people on site, engaging in a discourse, and informing others. Attempts are made to regulate meanings, understandings and behaviours of 'others' through sharing discourses on site itself. The quarry campaign, is an excellent example, where groups of people from many different backgrounds joined forces to create change. 'Others', within the landscape disrupt the 'natural order of things', such as campers who leave rubbish or quarry manufacturers or landowners.

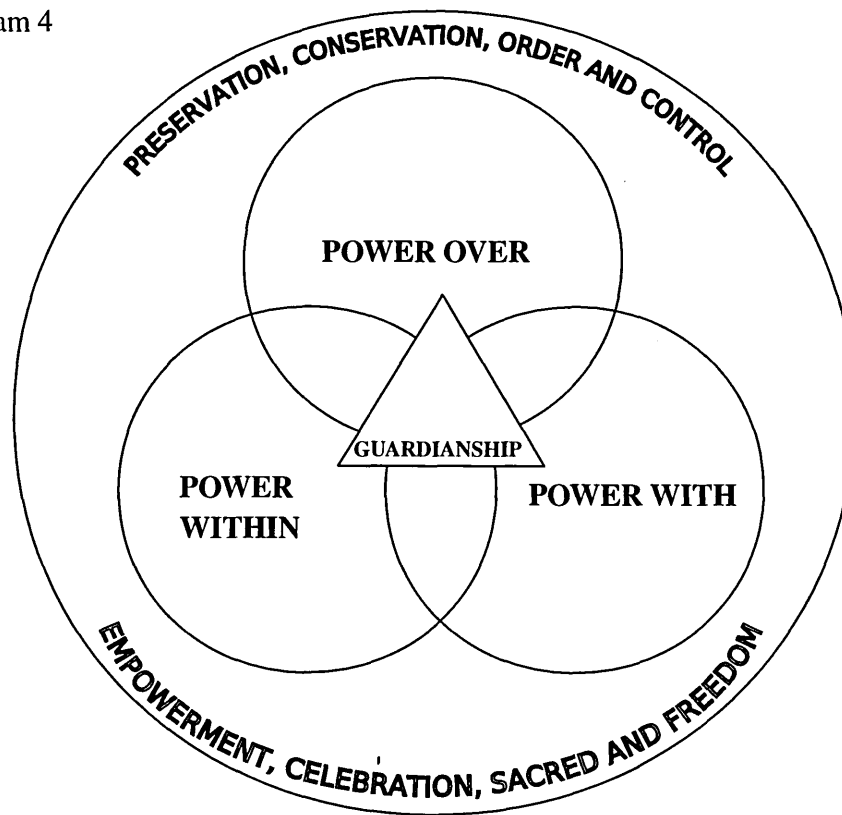
Power from within

The third type of power that emerges from the two way relationship between the self and the place, is power from *within the self*. Often through experiences on site, peoples deepest abilities and potentials are realised. Stanton Moor is a place of empowerment, a place of stillness, quiet, peace and escape. It has become a place where people who have strong connections with nature and the 'ancestors', meet and celebrate. For these people the moor is a living and sacred landscape, which has natural power centres and living energy (as outlined in chapter 7). Often people with perceived power over the landscape, such as the landowners and heritage managers disrupt this reality.

This type of power can lead to power with others, when users unite. Power is derived from the places and the reactions created within the self. This is often disrupted by official ownership claims. During the summer solstice in 2008 I interviewed two men who camp on the moor most weekends. They came from Sheffield and have very 'respectable' jobs, one is a dentist, the other a manager. They had been particularly inspired by Ray Meers Survival programmes on the BBC in early 2000. They wanted to experience nature, so visited Stanton Moor for free camping. They would visit the moor, have a fire in the secluded quarry ruins and drink much alcohol. But these people would leave their rubbish behind and display very little respect for the landscape. Spending increased time on the moor, however, developed a 'personal pagan spirituality'. Experiences on Stanton Moor transformed their consciousness. They realised what they had been doing and changed their actions. They went on to talk to others and spread a sense of responsibility to others visiting the site (see chapter 6).

These three types of power are played out on Stanton Moor in competing ways. The next section provides a case study outlining the distinct ways in which Stanton Moor is managed within these differing types of power. It focuses on the information gathered from participant observation during the summer solstice celebrations specifically and interviews with English Heritage, the Peak District National Park Authority and Thornhill Settlement (Stanton Estate) representatives.

Diagram 4



Power relations on Stanton Moor

Day to day management of Stanton Moor

In 1994, a Local Management Agreement was set up between Stanton Estates and Peak District National Park Authority working on behalf of English Heritage. A number of strategies have been devised which 'protect the ancient scheduled monument' and conserve the internationally important moorland character.

These included (McGuire and Smith 2007):

- thinning the birch on the moor
- providing information to visitors which promotes its value of the site and also the types of activity which may cause damage
- working with the estates to prevent vehicle access to the moor

The agreement created a positive and sensitive management approach to camping (as witnessed by many participants to this project including myself). For example the ranger

services attempted to prevent damage to the site, specifically the Nine Ladies Stone Circle by approaching campers, introducing them to the acceptable codes of behaviour and handing out metal sheets for the fires and black bin liners for the rubbish.

However, the local agreement ran out in 2006. Currently Stanton Estates have backed away from entering into a new agreement, although many of these actions implemented by the PDNPA, have continued, especially the ranger presence at busy periods. The Stanton Estates have taken on increased responsibility of the moor, this has included renewing the tenancy themselves.

Adrian (Thornhill 2010- interview) of Stanton Estates outlines one of the reasons for this lack of a formal agreement:

'I am slightly wary of tying myself into a ten year agreement with the National Park Authority. I feel that their agenda is at odds with my own. I feel as though they actively encourage people to come here because they want to promote the Peak Park, for people to come and visit in their own right and I don't agree with that. I feel it is the wrong way to manage national parks and if I concede to much control to them, that is what will happen and it will be too difficult to reverse.'

(Thornhill 2010-interview).

Adrian is concerned the active promotion the Nine Ladies and Stanton Moor will increase visitors and therefore 'damage' the site.

Adrian believes:

'it has always thrived by being a relatively unknown monument and has very small provisions for car parking. We don't charge people for going or open ice cream kiosks or try and have a camp site, we intentionally try to keep it low profile. We feel we have got the best interests of the moor at heart. It is also a constant duty, we've had this responsibility for a long time and we will have for a long time, everyday we are living and breathing these problems, so when someone falls down a hole it is us they contact. Maybe we were not as proactive as we could have been, maybe the 80's-90's, because it was tenanted we took a

bit of a back seat, but that was a mistake and we are trying to recover the lost ground from that'.

Official guardians

The status of the majority of the moor as a scheduled monument, attempts 'to protect and conserve nationally important archaeological sites and monuments, for the benefit of current and future generations, and is the highest form of protection afforded to such sites under English law' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 62).

The guardian, English Heritage is 'given full powers of control and management, subject to any conditions specified in the Deed of Guardianship' (ibid : 63). The actions of the landowners on the land is therefore 'controlled' to a certain extent by legislation related to the the 'preservation of the monument' under the 1979 Archaeology Act.

Over 85% of England's scheduled monuments, are in private ownership. As such a very careful relationship is maintained between landowners and official guardians. Adrian Thornhill (2010- interview), of Stanton Estates states:

'we have meetings, we communicate with them perhaps three or four times per year. I really support what they are trying to achieve, so I hope we have a strong relationship with them. Some of our interests are greatly aligned but to some extent they are government sponsored bodies and I feel they are bound to have a political agenda in terms of opening up the countryside. Which to an extent is fine, but to another extent is not what I am trying to achieve for this place. Our relationship is constructive but there are areas in which we disagree.'

Liaison meetings with Peak District National Park, English Heritage and the landowners are held to review the current management strategies, including the management of the scheduled area. English Heritage are currently producing a protocol specifically for the management of pagan events on guardianship sites. The author of this has used the Stanton Moor conservation plan to inform the process (Humble- pers. comm).

This relationship, however, is difficult to maintain if these perceived political agendas

appear to contradict with the landowners. The future of the management in this sense could be seen as a potential threat to the moor and the monuments. What happens if the landowner does not comply? Who has the power? The Peak District National Park Authority and English Heritage are seen as encouraging access, which opposes the landowners desire to keep the moor relatively unknown. As such the Estates management strategies have begun to reflect this desire, and are outlined below.

Current management (2008 onwards)

From speaking with Stanton Estates representative, Adrian Davie-Thornhill (2010-interview), the Peak District National Park Authority Rangers (Bush 2008 and Farmer 2009) and personal observations on site over the past three years, the main strategies of management have fallen into three main focus': the ecology of the moor, agriculture and the prevention of the use of the moor as a free camping space.

1. Ecology

The internationally important resource of the heather moorland continues to be preserved through the control of birch whip growth through burning. This is mainly undertaken by the Peak District National Park Authority.



In recent years however, the removal of birch whips has ceased and consequently large swaths of moorland has been conquered by the birch. The estimated cost for the removal is around £20,000 (Bush 2008- interview). The moorland landscape is also maintained through grazing animals. The land is now tenanted now by the Stanton Estates.

2. Agriculture

Stanton Estates currently farm that area as their 'own'. Adrian (2010- interview) states:

'five years ago the tenant was so worried about the dogs harming the sheep and people cutting the fences, which was happening, he just gave it up and it was very sad. We have subsequently re-fenced the whole perimeter and we have much more of a presence up there with our shepherds. We do seem to be getting to the top side of it with regards to vandalism'.

In 2008 the perimeter fence on the top section of the moor was renewed to contain sheep. During the renewal, contracted labourers caused illegal damage to the Ancient Scheduled Monument, due to their lack of knowledge as discussed in chapter 8. Dogs also cause a problem on the moor, scaring sheep. The Peak District National Park Authority and Stanton Estates have put signs on entrances to the moor to advice people to keep 'dogs under control' on the Peak Park signs or 'on a lead at all times' on the estate signs.

3. Contested engagements in the sacred landscape: threatening preservation

The use of Stanton Moor by those who see the site as a camping, free, living landscape, has impacted the ways others interact, associate and manage the place. Activities, as outlined in chapter 6 and 7, have received much contested debates due to the perceived impact they have on the conservation and preservation of the monument. In the case of Stanton Moor, these tensions have arisen due to increased erosion and damage observed at the site over the past 30 years, caused by fires and increased social gatherings around the Nine Ladies stone circle. This is often attributed to 'pagans', 'hippies' and 'campers' especially at the summer solstice. Landowner Adrian Thornhill (interview- 2010) commented:

'a lot of the larger trees have been cut down to provide fire wood for the solstice

camps. The stones are gathered together for fire or barbecues so then you get the piles of stones and the scorched ground and tins and lighters there as well. So if you want to discover some unknown part of the moor, where can you go where there isn't a sleeping bag or a tent that has been left? It is very difficult to avert the process'.

Long term protester Daz in contradiction to this statement, when interviewed in 2008 showed how discourses surrounding this use of the moor have often been constructed to fit the purposes of the author. We were looking at the conservation plan and he said:

'look at this picture here look, trees right close to the stones and a person with an axe. They would put that on their wouldn't they. It was actually the warden who chopped all the trees down around the stones... we were trying to stop them cutting them down'.

He goes on to say it was assumed by many visitors that those camping were responsible for the felling. He highlights how users and managers of the moor attempt to construct their own meanings, for their own purposes, by the evidence and signs available to them. The managed ideal, has often come into competition with the ideals of the natural and free landscape. Conflicting discourses, and attempts by the users (in this case the residents of the protest site) to create change, exposes a multi layered discursive consciousness and the diverse power relations played out on the moor. Discourses compete through interactions on the moor itself.

Unintentional 'damage' is also seen to be caused at sites such as the Nine Ladies, Doll Tor and other sites in the Peaks by those perceived to be 'pagans', who leave offerings. Local Sharon states (interview- 2009):

'poor old stones. Did you see there was about 30 witches who came up on the 09 09 09 and me and Claire saw them. In the next morning, they had planted four yellow Chrysanthemums [in the middle of the circle] and there was a fire pit in the circle, which was still smoking and yellow flowers in the soil here... just shocking! I sent an email to English Heritage and got no response. On the

entrance to the moor they had put up a picture. It was an alien, they said it was beaming down on the 9th of the 9th. Come to the circle but please don't put petrol station plant pot flowers and fires in the middle, it's mad'.

The Derbyshire Pagans, a locally based group, when interviewed also discussed the worries they have that the damage, such as litter, fires and camping is seen attributed to 'pagans'. One stated 'if they were true pagans they wouldn't leave anything that is not decomposable'.

Desecrating the circle- ideas surrounding the summer solstice

Many regular visitors, including locals, residents of the protest camp, campers and pagans, are also concerned about the close proximity of parties and tents to the Nine Ladies, especially during the summer solstice, and other busy weekends. This is seen as disrespectful towards the stone circle, which are seen as something to be revered. 'It used to really bother me to see people camped, with fires in the circle, camped really close to it with the radio's blaring and I found that so disrespectful', one local claimed.

For some, the circles character and energy has changed due to this 'desecration'. One local participant commented:

'shall I tell you something really sad now, I think this circle has lost it magic. I think so many people have desecrated it that I don't think it has got the magic it once had. To me it is just like any old bit of land now and that is horribly sad. I feel it is regularly desecrated and ironically by people who's intention is probably the absolute opposite. The solstice is just a mess and that used to be a quiet celebration for interested parties who would come and sit quietly and watch the sunrise and that is great. But now it is Derbyshire's biggest free party isn't it, and that is not what it is about'.

These comments reflect the ways many participants feel after witnessing certain events or things, like rubbish left behind and the loud noises at the place she came for peace. The reactions are provoked by the stimulus surrounding us. Continued access to the site over a prolonged period of time, and living locally, encourages this experience.



Many locals and others who participated in the research identified two distinct types of people who visit Stanton Moor and camp at the Nine Ladies at the solstices, based on the motivations for their visit:

1. Visiting to party: many people perceive an increase in the numbers of people coming up to the moor as a place to party. It is understood the Nine Ladies has gained a reputation amongst local 'youths' as an alternative party space. Local Kate stated, 'I am just worried what they are coming for? Are they coming for a booze up? We even saw kids in high heels struggling up with cans, with beer and I think if they are coming for these wrong reasons we don't want them'. These others in the landscape are perceived to be responsible for much of the damage and threats on Stanton Moor. These people are considered ignorant of the place and its multiple meanings.
2. The second type of visitor to Stanton Moor during the solstice has been identified as those visiting for a sacred experience, defined by many participants as pagans. These visitors are more welcome than the previous group, as can be seen from this comment:

'I think people who want to go up with their pagan ideas, they should be allowed but it is the hangers on and the amount of rubbish'.

It is also believed by some, these people do not tend to camp so close to the stone circle, rather in the quarried areas or not at all. These visitors are not seen to impact the site and the place myths as much as those in the first group.



These are further highlighted by PC Sandra Wetton's interview. She particularly enjoys seeing the stones when it is quiet and not many people around. For her this is threatened by days like the summer solstice when:

'[the stones are] surrounded by hundreds of tents, and loads of people, most of whom have had too much to drink... If they want a rave they should go to the middle of a field somewhere or they should go to a disco, why come here and do that?'

The special qualities of the place as defined by Sandra, are put into question by the amounts of people; the way they celebrate and the 'the ones who come up and drop litter... why come here and drop litter and spoil this place, I can't get my head round that. People come to the Peak District to undermine and spoil it in such a way'. Those who have regular and sustained experiences of the place, seem to have developed these ideas

about others in the landscape.

Authenticity is given to those celebrating in a 'spiritual' way, in comparison to others who may 'just' want to 'party'. Clear divisions have been drawn between these different types of visitors. In reality, such divisions are not so easy to distinguish. Blain and Wallis (2004: 252) raise questions about what constitutes 'sacred' and 'non sacred' partying, arguing no clear dichotomy exists (for more information see Blain and Wallis 2004 and 2007).

Control and power- reacting to the solstice threat

In June 2008, large, red, plastic signs were erected on the three main entrances and exists to the moor by the Thornhill Settlement Trust. The signs are an attempt to 'reclaim the land' and force symbols and the intentions of ownership onto the landscape, ultimately giving the landowners more permanent presence in the landscape (Stanton Forum Meeting 07/08). The sign states:

'Stanton Moor is a privately owned ancient scheduled monument. No camping. No Fires. Offenders will be prosecuted'.



When speaking of the solstice celebrations, Adrian of Stanton Estates stated (2010 – interview):

'this is not a camp site and we do all we can to discourage them. We try and have a presence there to encourage people not to stay and not have fires, it is an offence to have fires. You get some very unpleasant side effects, the environmental health issues, drug abuse, alcoholism. Our employees go around picking up needles afterwards and that is clearly unattractive. There are dogs and children running around out there and this is the threat of the solstice party. Whatever we think we can do to discourage it we are going to do. They can go any time, they want they just cannot camp there'.

He continued to outline his preferred engagement and user of Stanton Moor:

'I would like to see local people, who don't have to drive up and people with genuine archaeological knowledge, going and using the moor. I think the visiting it for its own sake and jamming up the roads is a new phenomenon and just causes, apart from the damage of the monument, it just causes problems in terms of parking and congestion elsewhere'.

Contemporary engagements threaten his idealised view. The landowner used his position of power, to act in ways to reduce the 'anti-social behaviours'.

The signs provoked a response in many. For some they were seen as highly antagonistic. They have continuously been removed and vandalised over the past 2 years. One family, who often visit the moor for camping said, the signs symbolise the landowners view 'get off my land'. They could not see any reason to be excluded, as they do not feel like they are doing anything wrong or hurting anyone. The signs symbolise an idea of power over and authority. Visitors have begun to perceive a change in the way the moor is being managed. Signs challenge illusions of freedom, that have been re-confirmed through the acts of protesters, who unofficially managed the moor, teaching acceptable behaviour through talking and leading by example. The unofficial management, echoes the DIY culture used at the protest site. The emphasis was sharing knowledge and skills and protecting nature.

One group of campers interviewed felt 'verbal interaction' between the managers and users, is a better tactic than the signs to get the message across:

'someone who can actually educate people and say these are the guidelines... and please try to abide by this: use the stones around the fire, put metal thing under, don't burn live wood or cut down trees, it is pointless all you are doing is hurting the trees'.

Other people are concerned the signs 'spoil the natural beauty of the moor, they are ugly, out of place and look cheap' (SFM 2008- notes). The signs also provoked acts of defiance for some, they have been vandalised frequently and some campers interviewed felt increasingly determined to camp, especially because they knew the landowner was opposed to it.



In the same year, three days before the summer solstice, Stanton Estates arranged a number of large boulders to be dropped off and placed on all the lay-bys surrounding the moor. This was to reduce the amounts of parking spaces available to summer solstice celebrants and send out a message of authority. An attempt to prevent high numbers of visitors. Adrian Thornhill (2010- interview) said 'we have been putting boulders on the

lay-bys to try and dis-courage people from doing it. This has been very popular with people from the village'. The Estate felt they had the legal right to do this as their land was either side of the road.

Derbyshire County Council Highways Agency was informed by a resident of the protest site. After an inspection concluded the boulders were 'illegal due to the potential harm caused through impact', and were seen to 'block the highway' (SMF 07/08). The Estate replied 'we are influenced by the locals', 'to protect the land and protect the locals'. A local parish councillor from Stanton in Peak added, the boulders were a 'master stroke'. She believed this and the high police presence at the solstice, seemed to deter the 'bad eggs'. There was a 'better class of reveller', she said. The village felt 'safe', there were no 'midnight disturbances'. Locals 'love' the boulders.

The number of visitors this year, did not appear to decrease. The boulders, however, removed all the parking places, forcing people to block the roads and park elsewhere on the small country roads. Cars circled the moor from the Andle Stone, into Stanton in Peak and down to Stanton Lees. When questioned, many campers believed the boulders were almost a declaration of war, over the access to a 'sacred place'. People on the moor, who created the fluid community, were talking about them. Some people from the protest site made posters and put them around the moor, encouraging respect of the landscape. They handed out bin bags, cigarette butt bins and shared knowledge about the attempts to prevent celebrations, as discovered from attending the Stanton Forum where plans were discussed. They encouraged everyone to take personal responsibility for their camps and litter. To not burn live wood and to respect the stone circles. A power with others was evoked, as a reaction to the power over attempts. It was based on communication, listening and influencing.

The Peak District National Park Rangers, also have a presence on the moor during the solstice celebrations, handing out bin bags, asking people to take their rubbish home and extinguishing fires. After the event, Stanton Estates take a trailer onto the moor and collect all rubbish left. The protesters, locals, some campers and others also often litter pick and undertake unofficial guardianship, this includes re-seeding of fire pits.

The combined tactics of the boulders and new signs, attempted to take back control over the solstice and inform people of the illegality of actions. The Highways Agency, however asked for the boulders to be removed. Over July, August and half of September the newly created stones, circling the moor, stood unmoved. By the end of September, the stones were finally removed. At the next forum meeting in early October 08, the Highways Agency claimed if this happened again they would prosecute (SFM 10/08). However, in 2009 the boulders reappeared 2 days before summer solstice but were removed within one month. In 2010 and 2011, no boulders were placed around the moor.

Policing the summer solstice

The solstice celebrations are officially managed by the Peak District National Park Authority rangers, on behalf of English Heritage, Stanton Estates and the police. Over the past three years, the police have made Stanton Moor a priority profile, after all the complaints made in 2006 about the protest site party. The area has been given more resources to deal with a 'long term problem' (Wetton 2009- interview). Local police officer Sandra Wetton recalled during a walk on Stanton Moor, 'this is never going to go away, it is a long term situation'. She emphasises the main reason for this is because the police 'have no power', they are unable to enforce the 'no camping' because Stanton Moor is privately owned. They are, however, able to enforce the 'no fire and no damage to the moor' due to the ancient scheduled monument status. The solstice operation develops with each year, changing fluidly, learning from previous years.

The main remit is, 'to keep the road going and making sure the highways don't get blocked', according to Sandra. Over the last couple of years this has been made difficult by the landowner placing boulders around the moor.

'It is difficult for us as police, as it blocked off a lot of the natural parking areas. People then park in silly places and even when the cones are put down, they just move the cones and park there anyway. So they park in all areas of the road. People are still going to come and park. The boulders won't deter them'.

The police are 'based pretty much at the entrances and exits' unless an incident occurs. Last year however for the first time 'police officers [went] onto site, onto the Nine

Ladies themselves... to see how many people they had there and what the situation was. They told a few people to put fires out. If the police do go onto the moor they are required to have officers waiting on stand-by for 'health and safety reasons'. This is because it is 'quite an isolated place quite a long way from the road' and there are large numbers of people.

Sandra has written a protocol for the police officers who may have contact with the campers:

'we don't just go rushing on there and arresting people for lighting fires. We may also speak to people and tell them it is an offence, asking them to put the fires out. If we are rung by someone, we get in touch with the landowner or the Peak District National Park Authority. When they go up, if they get resistance or abuse they then phone us and we will go up. We are not first port of call. This is because the landowner would have to report it to us, because it is on private land and that is the protocol we have decided to follow' (2009- interview).

Management: some thoughts from the visitors

Many people visiting the moor, have their own perceptions about the ways it should be managed. Steve, for example, wishes for stone circles to be remade and come from the category of a ruin. For him, sacred sites are a living thing that should be celebrated, not capitalised upon. He thinks they are 'built for people and by people'. We should be allowed, 'as long as there is no damage and people leave no trace'. Steve feels, because people are prevented from doing what they want, access, becomes an issue of power. He believes people feel they have human rights to celebrate their beliefs in their chosen place.

From another perspective, I interviewed a family group on the moor on solstice in 2008. Experiencing the police presence on the moor, during the solstice (which has become a very important spiritual occasion for the family), threatens their experience and fundamentally opposes the ideas of freedom that create the place, for them. The formal management of the solstice opposed the religious right to celebrate in a sacred space, especially because, for some, having a fire is part of the spiritual celebration. This rite is

based on experiencing 'heritage', a natural heritage explored through having fires and taking part in something the circle builders would have experienced. Fire, is a very important element in this. It is 'a place you can get back to nature and have a fire... that is part and parcel of the heritage, of being up here... a night without a fire is not used as it should be' (Swiss 2008- interview).

A local from Stanton in Peak, does not think the moor is managed at all. She feels, the only people contributing to the management are the rangers and the general public,

'who go up and collect litter in bags. I think we all do that, all of us who feel we have a stake in it. In terms of the authority and the owner taking care of it, I just don't see that'.

She believes the landowner is not interested in the land:

'there was that terrible time when they were cutting that Birch, do you remember. They were bringing the vehicles through here and you couldn't walk this path, it was carved up with mud. It was horrendous. That is not respecting the land is it, and that is the land owners. Well when that happens, who do we complain to? It is his land, when I suppose all is said and done, but I don't feel they have any love of this land, or any respect for it. That is to the moor's detriment because the solutions and the problems lie with the landowner'.

Here the landowner is perceived as a threat to the moor. She highlights the uneven power distribution as a potentially major concern.

Lord Edward of Haddon Hall (2009- interview), believes the solstice celebrations should be managed although he perceives people have developed:

'a fear that if it is allowed, it will turn into some massive great festival at the turn of the solstices. That is the general view, but personally I don't agree with this'.

The main issues according to Edward are:

1. Anti-social behaviours
2. Parking issues
3. Landowner responsibility

These issues, could be overcome through positive management approaches, creating a dialogue between all interested people. Edward states:

'I think there should be a dialogue, but it still needs to be organised. Then who is it going to be organised by? There needs to be someone who is responsible for it probably from a festival organisation point of view. Then, there should be a dialogue, like with the protest site, there was always a dialogue. There will always be celebrations at the Nine Ladies, that is a fact, whether it is controlled or uncontrolled... so if we have these people, we could contact and who are keen to keep things going in terms of management. If there could be some sort of committee, a communal thing, but it needs somebody to manage that, rather than us going, "no no no, I'm not having any of it" and calling the police. Unfortunately this just encourages more people and it would make it more unruly and less controllable. I think there should be open access, they should be allowed to celebrate'.

This discourse raises many important questions about the ways in which solstice could be managed. The main place myth surrounding Stanton Moor, for those who celebrate at the solstice is: freedom. How could a management committee sensitively organise this? The key issue is responsibility: who sets this up? Who manages the celebrations and from what perspective are they coming from?

Future management- the conservation plan

Many of these issues have been discussed in the conservation plan (McGuire and Smith 2007). The authors offered numerous action points to improve the management. English Heritage commissioned the report. It 'provides a long term framework for conservation management of the Stanton Moor Scheduled monument and its setting' (ibid). The plan

highlights the significance of the multi-phased monument and has described the impacting factors or 'perceived threats' the monument is facing, such as: erosion caused by visitors due to an increase of accessibility, fires and water damage, quarrying and camping. The plan emphasises the increased need to develop 'formal interpretation and education measures', as well as creating ways of engaging visitors to reduce potential impacts (for more about the conservation plan see chapter 12).

Research in this field, has shown although conservation plans for contested sites are useful, as they outline and raise concerns over the damage caused by visitors, they offer little or no strategies for addressing the situation (Blain and Wallis 2007). On Stanton Moor, the conservation plan did outline a number of strategies, however the extent to which these are then taken up by the landowner or official managers, is questionable. A local from Stanton in Peak stated:

'Guess what? Not a single strategy has been implemented, and that is a great shame. There was a lot of talk about stake holder groups and how we should all be sitting down talking it through together, but I don't see it. I saw it at the forum, where that did work even though we didn't enjoy it at the time. I think that would be an excellent way forward. But again, it is really only the Estate who has got the power to implement that kind of a meeting and they are not interested'.

Stake holder meetings, sometimes called steering groups, multi agency liaison committees, or round table meetings (at Stonehenge), have been adopted by official and unofficial 'guardians' at other sites, with those who have a vested interest in sacred sites. They provide a platform, where key people from all sides can meet and discuss issues and problems and reach resolutions.

I asked Adrian Davey- Thornhill (2010- interview) his thoughts about the possibilities of setting up a steering group. He replied:

'we have thought about it. The problem is, you have to be fairly careful about who is classified as a stake holder, because you are blurring the rights and responsibilities. It is clearly apparent the pagans see the moor completely

differently to how I see it, because they have none of the responsibility and that is great. They go for free and camp there and have fun, great fun, I can see that. But we have to be there at the end of the day to deal with the issues. So, I am wary of giving equal status to those stakeholders, who have absolutely no responsibility to the place, who may enjoy it for a week and go back to wherever and never come here again. I have to deal with the long term consequences. That is why I think the steering committee falls down, because it feels terribly one-sided. I have this responsibility and the cost of keeping it and then you have a whole set of other people pressurising me to act to everyone's standards and meet their own objectives. I just don't think it is responsible site management. The site is deteriorating and I am very wary of the whole idea. The locals are firmly on my side about what I want to do and we all want to keep it looking clean and tidy and safe, for us and our children'.

Contrary to this, the locals interviewed within this project have raised concerns about the lack of communication between landowners and the Peak District National Park Authority. For example, Karen from Stanton Lees (2009- interview) said:

'the tenants have been kicked off by the Thornhill's and they have stopped communicating. I am very concerned about that. The agreements have fallen and I would like to think they would start again soon. Just a couple of years neglect could create much damage'.

A number of local people interviewed felt the landowners do not put the same values into the landscape as they do.

Conclusion

Power within a heterotopic space is related to consciousness: the ways we construct ourselves, the world surrounding us and others. Power relations are therefore fragmented, yet interrelated. They are constructed through illusions of control and freedom. The mixed claims of ownership on Stanton Moor require a sensitive management approach

based on co-operation. The management of a heritage site without co-operation, can lead to the 'over use of resources on one side, creating severe ecological problems as well as having an impact on the quality of built attractions within the neighbouring region' (Timothy and Stephen 2003: 140). This is explored in the final section.

Section 4

Interpreting Sacred Sites

This final section explores the ways sacred sites have been formally interpreted and (re)presented to users of the sites in the Peak District and through-out England and Wales. It asks the question: how can the complexity of Stanton Moor and other sacred sites, as shown within this thesis, be utilised and interpreted by heritage managers and others who have formal responsibilities for a site? The main issue and concern surrounding Stanton Moor, as outlined in the previous section, is the unwillingness of official landowners, to enter into the formal management agreements with the Peak District National Park and English Heritage. This is the main problem with private ownership: one person has control over the site. How can sacred sites be managed to enable fair and representative care.

This section is separated into three chapters:

- Chapter 12 outlines interpretations of Stanton Moor, both on and off site, questioning, who has the voice of authority on Stanton Moor?
- Chapter 13 investigates interpretation at sites from England and Wales, from a personal perspective. It addresses three main questions: How does interpretation inform experiences? How are sites presented? What types of interaction does this lead to?
- Chapter 14 explores ways of creating the 'mindful visitor'. Formal interpretation at sacred sites can encourage greater care and respect for the landscape. This chapter asks: how sites can be sensitively presented to incorporate contemporary engagements and meanings to create a 'mindful visitor' (Moscardo 1996, 1999, 2000 cited in Timothy and Stephen 2003: 175-178).

Chapter 12

Interpretation and Stanton Moor

Interpretation, is a way of providing information about the landscape to others. It is a educational activity, that reveals the meanings behind historical sites, the communities surrounding them and the stories (Timothy and Stephen 2003: 4). Interpretation, is site specific: the topography and the ways the place has and continues to be used informs the information presented. This is distinct for each place. 'Site interpretation is the core of interpretation, for it is where the subject began' (Aldridge in Uzzel 1989: 64). Culturally bound interpretations of the place, often tells us how areas are protected, how sites are represented and what, who, and why they are important within the present. Often formal interpretation may not communicate the excluded or marginalised engagements. Rather the primary aim, is to preserve monuments (ibid).

According to Burgoon et al (1994) (cited in Fennell 2008: 5), interpretation requires four main components in order to work efficiently: a sender; a medium; information content and a receiver. On site interpretation, for example, combines both passive and active engagements with the landscape, because interpretation measures are usually found within the landscape context. Information passes from the sender to the receiver, via the landscape context. Ideas are also passed from the receiver to the sender, as information is presented for a specific audience.

The main aim of interpretation creates a desire for landscape protection (see Tilden 1957). Deeper knowledge about the place may, therefore increase peoples respect and understanding. This model of the 'educational process of interpretation' constructed by Freeman Tilden in 1957 has been used by formal interpreters to preserve and conserve sites across the UK and America (see O'Riordan, Shadrake and Wood 1989).

Investigating places, can help to strengthen or revitalise community identity and a sense of place, through demonstrating shared pasts (Bramwell and Land 1993 cited in Timothy and Stephen 2003). As we have seen within in previous chapters, those with greater

understandings and experiences of the site, are often more inclined towards 'protecting' or conserving the landscape.

Providing interpretation that encourages deeper understandings, can also bring about new interests and knowledges, gained through increased investigation. Local heritage projects, which involve the wider communities surrounding a place, provides opportunities for people to share their voice. The interpretation of the sites, in this sense, arises from being in the place on a day to day basis (see Dowling 1993, Uzzel 1989). This will be explored in the final chapter.

Signs and other interpretation strategies, often attempt to control behaviour at sites. Appropriate behaviours are defined, which provide the basis for which the interpreter would like users to interact with the site. The main hegemonic discourse surrounding interpretation at sacred sites, is the archaeological place myth, as outlined in chapter 3. It presumes a position of authority and power in the landscape.

The next part of this chapter, describes the main interpretation strategies on Stanton Moor. These have been classified as: on site interpretation and off site interpretation. Within the conclusion, critical engagements with the interpretation measures are outlined.

On site interpretations on Stanton Moor

Interpretation Panels/signs

Whilst walking over the moor, visitors are welcomed by five interpretation panels, strategically situated in distinct locations (see map on page one), on or near to the main entrance and exist points. Each panel has its own theme: 'The Nine Ladies Stone Circle' situated approximately four metres to the East of the circle, near the main footpath; 'Stanton Moor- thousands of years of activity', near to the Stanton in Peak Northern entrance; 'Life and Death in the Bronze Age', near the Cork Stone Entrance; 'Stanton Moor- A Resource Through the Ages' close to a dis-used quarry near to Birchover and 'Stanton Moor- tracks through time', near the Gorse Stone. They each present different aspects of the moor: the way it has been used, including quarrying; cultural heritage

from the Bronze Age; ecology and management. Each panel includes coloured illustration of the main streams of information. At the Nine Ladies, for example, the picture illustrates the use of the site by Bronze Age communities.



At the Nine Ladies, the main focus is the Bronze Age, the past. The first fifty word section, identifies the origin myth of the Nine Ladies and the Fiddler. This is then corrected by the archaeological place myth and classified through its categorisation as an embanked stone circle made in the Bronze Age. In the next, approximately, fifty word section we are told Nine ladies *was* used for 'rituals' of life, death, fertility and seasons. The next small section (17 words) identifies the Kings Stone and provides information about its location including the distance and direction from the circle. The final written section, to the right, slightly longer than the previous, discusses the circle within the wider context of the moor and its use through out the Bronze Age. The sign includes a small map, identifying the main public footpaths, the Cork Stone and the Nine Ladies. It also shows the 'Stanton Moor quarries' but interesting, does not identify another single circle or barrow.

Each panel offers the acceptable codes of behaviour and asks the visitors to respect the site:

Stanton Moor is a Scheduled Monument because of its national importance.

Please help us to look after it by:

- respecting these ancient sites and the beliefs of the people who built them
- avoiding any damage or disturbance
- keeping to public rights of way as shown on the map
- keeping dogs on leads.

It is an offence to damage a Scheduled Monument. This includes removing stonework, digging holes, lighting fires, felling trees, all of which would harm the archaeological layers.'

The signs were erected in 2005, by the Peak District Interpretation Project in association with English Heritage. In 1998, the Peak District Interpretation Project (created in 1997) produced a plan for the moor (Local Interpretation Plan) and recommended new interpretation strategies should be put in place. At the time, the moor had very little provisions. The strategies were designed to:

'promote understandings of the special archaeological and ecological qualities of the moor and to enable better visitor management, in order to conserve and protect those special qualities' (McGuire and Smith 2007: 143 citing Bowmer 1998).

During my participant observations at the Nine Ladies Stone Circle, I recorded the amounts of people who used the sign. Just under half of the visitors, who came through or past the stone circle, stopped to look at the sign. All campers interviewed, read the sign at least once, some often read the sign on each visit. This was similar to the locals who participated in the study. There have been many positive comments made such as: 'I enjoy reading signs and always read them even if I've read them before' and 'the signs are useful and we are glad they are very low key with wooded frames'. Local of Stanton Lees, Jeff Henson (2009- interview), has not explored the history of Stanton Moor himself, but feels 'the signs give you an idea any way. They are a good way of informing people about what has happened, if they are interested'. Kath Potter of Stanton Lees

likes the signs and thinks there should be:

'more signs, but very very tastefully done... I think if people saw what each of these places were, they would have more respect, you could be standing on something that is very sacred. So I think it ought to be sensitively noted what all the different sites are'.

The signs according to Kath should be sensitive, tasteful and informative. She feels it will increase respect if more information is available.

There are also many criticisms of the signs, especially the Nine Ladies panel. Some emphasised they 'read the sign, but find them irritating as they are very basic'. Linda from Stanton Lees, always reads the signs when she goes onto the moor, although she feels they lack depth:

'when people come to stay here and we go for a walk, we always read them, which I think is quite interesting that we do that. I think they are O.K, but they only go so far. I am not sure how much more you can do with signs, they are like junior school signs, but maybe that is all that is needed, they have big writing but they do have limited information on'.

This longevity of use, the coming back to the signs again and again is powerful. Different conditions could all change the ways information is sought and signs interpreted.

Local Rachael and others interviewed, believe the signs 'definitely detract from the wildness of the place'. She sought further information on this, speaking with the local ranger, to gain deeper knowledge about the reasons they were put up. She commented, 'the Peak Park saw that as the intention really, to make it less attractive to the wild man country hunting types!'

The signs also ignore the contemporary spiritual use of the sites. Some people, including members of the protest site and pagans, have found the sign 'offensive' as there is no mention of the significance in today's society. Some believe if the site was seen more like a church and celebrated in today's society, this would increase people's respect or understanding of the site.

The signs create an understanding of the site in the past. The past itself, becomes closed and unreachable through this discourse. The stone circle becomes an object to be consumed, rather than a living landscape to be utilised.

Distrust about the information on the signs was also mentioned. Stone circles are often interpreted in individual ways, based on our feelings and experiences on site. Steve a regular protest site visitor, brought books and talks to friends about stone circles, but takes information panels with a 'pinch of salt'. He said 'history is written by the capturers'. Steve reads the signs, but doesn't necessarily believe them.

The panels therefore invite discussion. This is based on what is deemed as appropriate in the place, at the sacred site of the Nine Ladies specifically. Whether liked or not, new opportunities are created to question the landscape and the myths we place onto it. In this sense, the signs create new discourses, which are interpreted, from many distinct points of view. The extent to which they change behaviour, in terms of that which is seen as inappropriate or damaging, such as lighting fires and leaving rubbish, is however questionable. Local Rachael (2009-interview) states: 'I don't know if they are doing any good because I think plenty of people walk past there with the camping gear'.

Audio Trail

In 2005, Moors for the Future produced a downloadable audio trail for Stanton Moor on their website (see www.moorsforthefuture.org.uk). The trail was written and performed by myself and encouraged greater appreciation and care of the landscape. Users download the trail from the internet, onto a personal MP3 player and print out a map with the route and the key places of observation (such as The Cork Stone, the Eastern outcrops, the Nine Ladies, the quarries and the heather). Files are played at the key landscape features during the walk. The audio trail presents varied discourses surrounding the geology, archaeology, ecology, industrial and sacred aspects of the moor. The trail is aimed at members of the public who have already visited and those who have never used the moor, because they do not feel confident without a guide. This new and award winning approach, combines current technology, with nature. It is very successful, along with a number of other Audio Trails developed by Moors for the

Future throughout the moorland Peaks. Although adding another important layer of interpretation, that is environmentally friendly and makes no visual impact on the landscape, the trail is only available for those who actively seek for either a guided audio trail or for information about the moor via the internet. The potential audience is therefore restricted.

Guided Walks

A number of walks around Stanton Moor are organised by many different groups and aimed at different audiences. Rangers from the Peak District National Park Authority run walks and often discuss management issues and ecology. In 2010, the moor was used as part of a Ranger Training programme by the Peak District National Park Authority, to highlight the contested meanings one place can have and the impacts on management. Other group walks include photography walks, ran by Derby City Photography in April 2010 and dowsing walks/talks in which a group of 20 people walked and dowsed around the moor in May 2010.

Educational visits

The moor is used by schools, colleges and universities as an landscape to be interpreted. Primary schools in particular are drawn to the area due to the educational resource Zig Zag, filmed at Stanton in Peak in the eighties, as part of the Contrasting Localities curriculum in Geography (Key Stage II). Schools from outside the area, usually inner cities, focus on the moor as a contrasting locality. At secondary school level, the moor was used within the citizenship curriculum as an example of conflict over land use (McGuire and Smith 2007). Colleges and universities use the moor to teach archaeology, ecology and geography (ibid).

During participant observation at the Nine Ladies I witnessed a number of school visits. The typical visit would include the teachers/staff leading the group of children to the edge of the stone circle. They would describe the prehistoric links to the stone circle. On one occasion I was inspired to write a poem about a group of children, who gathered on

the path and silently one by one, in a serpentine manner, came into the circle, sat down and surrounded me, whilst I was sat in the centre of the stones.

I sit in a circle of endless cycles,
Youthfulness surrounds me.
'What do you feel?'
Asks the teacher.
They sit still for minutes
in silence
with eyes shut tight...
'Nothing else exists'.
'I never want to leave'.
'All my troubles are gone'.
'My body tingled'.
'I can feel the energy all around'.
'There are women dancing in the circle'.
They stood up one by one
and silently weaved like a serpent out of the circle.
I was left sat in the stones,
alone.
Re-birthed,
re-energised.

There are many possibilities of interpretation for educational purposes. This way of inviting participant interpretation could inspire work within art, geography and creative writing.

There are other types of interpretation on Stanton Moor. Sometimes these can be less structured and informal. Often the best type of interpretation involves empowering others to experience the place themselves and come to personal meanings.

Off site interpretation

Academic interpretation

Many archaeological features on the moor, have been analysed and interpreted by

archaeologists and continue to be. The main discourses are: Heathcote's work (1947) available on the internet through the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal; the RCHME investigations in the 1980's, only available in the Peak District National Park Authority archaeological records department, and the Stanton Moor Conservation Plan, providing a detailed history of the site and its uses, published in 2007 on the Peak District National Park website. Much of this work has been used in subsequent discourses in one form or another.

The conservation plan was written by Stella McGuire, an independent archaeologist and Ken Smith from the Peak District archaeology team, with contributions from Ann Whitlock, an independent writer. The report, commissioned by English Heritage and the Peak District National Park Authority, outlines the significance of the moor and its impacting factors, its threats. It also developed policies to enable the significance of the place to be sustained and enhanced. The authors worked with local groups, parish councils, the National Trust, Natural England, local landowners, quarry operators, local residents and visitors to the site.

Within the Conservation Plan, the Local Interpretation Plan of Stanton Moor was identified as in need of a revision, to incorporate interpretation measures that explore the variety of ways the moor is valued, in particular the spiritual value of the moor, (see policy E2: 175) as well as other multiple understandings of the ancient scheduled monument (see policy E1, E3, H1, H2: 175-180).

The conservation plan also asserted there was a lack of formally available interpretive material for Stanton Moor, for the non specialist (McGuire and Smith 2007: 52). This is interesting when compared with other sites in the Peak District, as Stanton Moor is one of the most interpreted sites.

The plan draws upon concepts of sustainability. Stanton Moor is understood as a 'non renewable resource' and identifies sustainable modes of change 'which preserve the essential character of the past and allow future generations to re-interpret history

(English Heritage 1996: 9). The past is important in this document. Stanton Moor is understood to form an irreplaceable resource and record of the past which contributes to our understanding of the present and the future. 'Modern human activities' are seen as threatening the site and are seen to have major and irreversible impacts (for more information about issues of sustainability and sacred sites, see Letcher, Blain and Wallis 2009). The plan was based on concepts of 'inclusion' and recognised the diverse engagements between people and places. The variety of voices gathered through out the research stage, however, has been lost within the presentation of the work (Whitlock 2010- interview). The plan ignored the variety of spiritual dimensions surrounding the place (although offers a very brief outline).

There is currently no guide book to Stanton Moor, although references are made in: the Modern Antiquarian by Julian Cope (1998); A Guide to the Stone Circles of Britain and Brittany by Aubrey Burl (1979); Rock Around the Peak by Victoria and Paul Morgan (2001) and Stone Circles of the Peak by John Barnatt (1978), along with other books. Some books focus on the most popular or well known site, the Nine Ladies, whilst others offer more in depth interpretations including the wider moor including the other 70 plus sites. All of the books focus on the archaeology place myth of the sites. Some briefly mention the contemporary spiritual engagements with one or two sentences.

Web based interpretation

There are many different web pages with reference to Stanton Moor, although again, there is not one specific site. From 2000-2004 stantonmoor.co.uk, provided a fantastic web resource for Stanton Moor, with links to other sites of interest. It outlined the main discoveries at each Bronze Age site, from Heathcotes work (1947). However this was shut down in 2004 due to abusive language on the forum pages.

Web sites at the time of writing (April 2010) can be split up into five main categories:

- Guided walks: information is provide on the web sites. This is then printed out and used with other aids such as OS maps to guide the walkers over the moor.

The most popular sites are: Explore Derbyshire, Walking Britain and Car Free Walks.

- Megalithic gazetteers: in depth information, photographs, field notes and drawings of 'megalithic' sites on Stanton Moor are recorded on different websites focusing on the traditional archaeology to earth mysteries. These include personal interpretations such as poetry and (sometimes heated) debates. These sites include: The Megalithic Portal (where many interesting debates have been played out about the protesters campaign, camping and the solstice), Henge.org, The Modern Antiquarian, the Hedge Druid and Stone Circles.org.
- Tourism: Stanton Moor is promoted through tourist websites and often draws upon the mythology surrounding the Nine Ladies. Such sites include: Peak District Information and Peak District Online.
- Social Networks: there are currently four pages on facebook with over 300 members, one includes 'I lived at Nine Ladies'. There are over ten videos on YouTube, including music videos featuring the Nine Ladies, protest videos and comedy.
- Protest: plans to re-open the quarries near to the Nine Ladies from 1999 brought increased interpretation of the landscape as a place which needed protecting. This idea came to the world wide web. The protest site had a website which specifically focused on the place and the campaign. Other sites including Heritage Britain, Druids Network, Indi Media, and others, focused on Nine Ladies as a place under threat from quarrying. This received the most attention on the internet.

Conclusion

Who speaks for Stanton Moor?

From this exploration of interpretation measures, it becomes clear that power structures not only impact experiences on Stanton Moor (chapter 11), but also ways of interpreting sites. The main hegemonic theme surrounding interpretation on Stanton Moor, is *the past*. The scientific study of archaeology, provides a justifying discourse, with power,

which reconfirms the importance of the information used. Certain key players or 'experts' are given authority to write or construct the information, and speak for Stanton Moor, most specifically PDNPA officials or archaeologists. The voices of others, everyday users, locals, pagans, and campers, who construct the landscape through personal experiences, are mainly ignored and sometimes marginalised.

There are, as always, alternatives to the main discourse. For interpretations of Stanton Moor, the internet provides the main platform, where users can have a voice and share subjective meanings and investigations. On the internet, the multiplicity of the landscape can be witnessed on a virtual level. Contestable debates and arguments have erupted on chat based forums that expose the diversity of place myths and interactions. New authorities are created. Characters concoct pseudo-powers in cyberspace. Web based interpretations are therefore fluid and contradictory when viewed as a whole. Elements of seduction are also apparent, especially within tourist discourse, where Stanton Moor is a place is being promoted.

Chapter 13

Drifting sacred sites: interpretation and experience

This chapter enters into a reflexive drift of sites across England and Wales. It explores formal interpretation measures and its impacts upon personal experience. An interpretive, ethnographic, case study. From October 2007 to August 2010, I visited over 100 prehistoric sacred sites, ranging from: stone circles; caves; barrows; henges; ancient springs and villages. I recorded formal interpretation measures, through note taking and photography.

Many factors influenced the meanings emerging on a site: the views; the weather; the approach; the company; the place itself; the mood; feelings; experiences and seasonal differences. Each site provokes different thoughts and ideas. To journey through the country and visit the sites, was a sacred pilgrimage to the realms of self-discovery. Our experiences define who we are personally and can impact others.

The ways the sites are formally presented, also informs us about place. A small number of sites visited had old, vandalised and damaged signs. What kind of message does this give to visitors? Most sites in England and Wales have very little formal interpretation and visitors are left free to wonder through infinite possibilities. This creates distinct understandings. Some sacred sites, particularly in Cornwall, have been sensitively interpreted and encouraged others to take greater respect and care of the sites.

Leaving Stanton Moor

Whilst standing on the highest point of the moor, 323 metres above sea level, the views stretch out over the sculpted limestone valleys in the South and West and high gritstone edges in the North-East. Certain features in the distant landscape, become the focus: isolated plateaus creating perfected, almost human like contours, please the eye; high mounds inviting the observer to discover; serpentine valleys surrounded by trees create paths of life. I am no longer looking at the moor and its micro environment. The mind, and the soul becomes focused on the shapes on the horizon. While I stand physically

grounded on the moor, I am transported to other places in my minds, and connect to them through sight lines of interconnectivity.

Many of these places have been visited by others, physically and imaginary. They have been recognised as important places for generations. On many of the surrounding hills of Stanton Moor, prehistoric people have left their marks. Chambered tombs, barrows, stone circles and henges stand as silent sisters, communicating subtly in unknown ways. The meanings of such sites have been washed away from my consciousness with the passages of time. A continuous desire arises: to be in the landscape; to walk over the paths; to listen; to search for deeper meanings; to silently contemplate and to re-connect with the life surrounding me; to interpret the place.

Harboro' Rocks

The limestone outcrop, known as Harboro' Rocks, stands a few miles to the South of Stanton Moor, near Brassington. The summit of the hill protrudes on the horizon skyline and creates a distinctive yet complementary focus. There was once a chambered cairn near the summit (Bradley and Hart 1983). Now, after the climb I am greeted by a trig point and 'rock' chair or alter type feature and a number of interestingly shaped limestone outcrops. I stand and face the moor. I see the phone mast spike out of the earth. The views are remarkable, only challenged by the industrial works just below. The Rocks are also home to a natural cave, called locally, Giants Cave. This has been used for shelter for many thousands of years and was a home in the 1720's, when Daniel Defoe visited the area and met a woman who lived with her husband and children in the cave (Defoe 1727 cited on the Modern Antiquarian Website).

People use the outcrop for walking, and many of the cliff faces are decorated by brightly coloured climbers vertically traversing up to the highest points with rope. All create the landscape as a place to be explored and enjoyed. To the South I see the edges of the Peaks and into Southern Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire. Harboro' Rocks is a place in-between, a place which is part of a journey. It's distinctive geology and

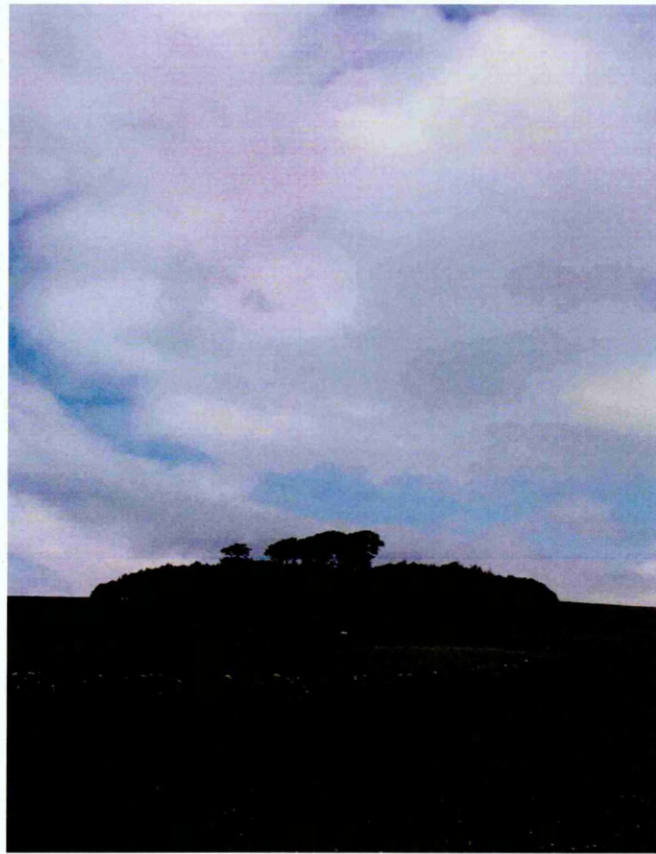
topography attracts exploration.



There is very little in terms of on site formal interpretation, yet the mind does not stop asking questions and searching for answers. Each stone has a story to tell, if you listen. A personal interpretation based on each experience is constructed.

Minninglow

Minninglow can be seen from many miles away. It is a particularly distinguishable hilltop due to the trees circling and protecting the prehistoric site. Tall beech trees in the centre are surrounded by lower hawthorn bushes. The site is situated upon the high limestone plateau of Minninglow Hill to the South South West of Stanton Moor. This is the main orientation of the back bone path of the Stanton Moor, where many of the larger sites sit. North North East-South South West is also the orientation of the Stanton Moor plateau itself. Barnatt's geometrical line or axis of balance (1979) from the Nine Ladies is also orientated, if extended over the landscape, towards Minninglow. These connections or shared meanings and understandings may have existed for others, maybe even the builders of the sites, but more importantly they exist for me. I am making the connections. I visit the site with this in my mind.



Access to Minninglow is restricted. There are no public rights of way. Signs on the old railway, now the High Peak Trail, informs visitors access is 'permissive', and arranged with landowners, Natural England and farmers. The signs have been produced by English Nature. They briefly describe Minninglow itself, the 'Bronze Age barrow and Neolithic chambered cairn'. The sign has a large map, showing the permissive footpath and outlines the reasons that it is an environmentally sensitive area, which requires respect and protection.

After reading the sign, and diverting around the cows in the field, I reached the summit of the hill and began to enter the enclosed site. Although positioned on the top, the views are restricted due to the bushes surrounding it. The focus is brought onto the site itself. Minninglow is the largest chambered cairn in the Peak District, consisting of at least four main chambers (Morgan 2001: 104). Today, this is visible by the large passage stones, which are now scattered over the landscape. The site has been irreversibly

damaged over the thousands of years since its first used. In the late 1970's, it was so badly disturbed, the site was filled with quarry waste to prevent its collapse (ibid). Despite this, the site is intriguing and has a very individual character. I wandered around, searching, exploring, reading the landscape through my movement and my feelings. The trees have graffiti engraved into their trunks and remind us that others have been to this spot to see the stones.

Arbor Low and Gib Hill long barrow

Arbor Low stone circle, stands about eight miles to the West of Nine Ladies Stone Circle on Stanton Moor. It is a very popular place for many to visit and is often called the Stonehenge of the North. The site is privately owned. There is a £1 admission charge. Upon arrival at the small, uneven car park, visitors are welcomed by a silent guard, a long, tall, black sign made by English Heritage. The sign displays:

1. The name of the site and four main information points about the site, one interestingly 'site of early archaeological investigation'.
2. A map highlighting the route to the site from the car park.
3. Safety notices: 'please take care historic sites can be hazardous'.
4. Codes of acceptable behaviours: dogs on leads, damage is an offence, metal detectors are prohibited and no commercial photography allowed.
5. The sign also provides management details and a phone number for English Heritage.

After walking past the farm and paying the entrance fee into the honesty box, a smaller sign points me in the direction of the henge. The circular ditch of the henge stands out from the landscape and contrasts sharply with the darkening sky above me. At a gate before I entered the henge field, I was greeted by another less obtuse sign, created by the Peak District National Park Authority, in association with English Heritage and Peak Experience. The sign hosts: a large and colourful reconstruction of the site within its context landscape; a time line; small map; some information relating to the 'ceremonies of the early farmers' and 'early heritage protection'. On the fence post next to the sign is

another small English Heritage sign.

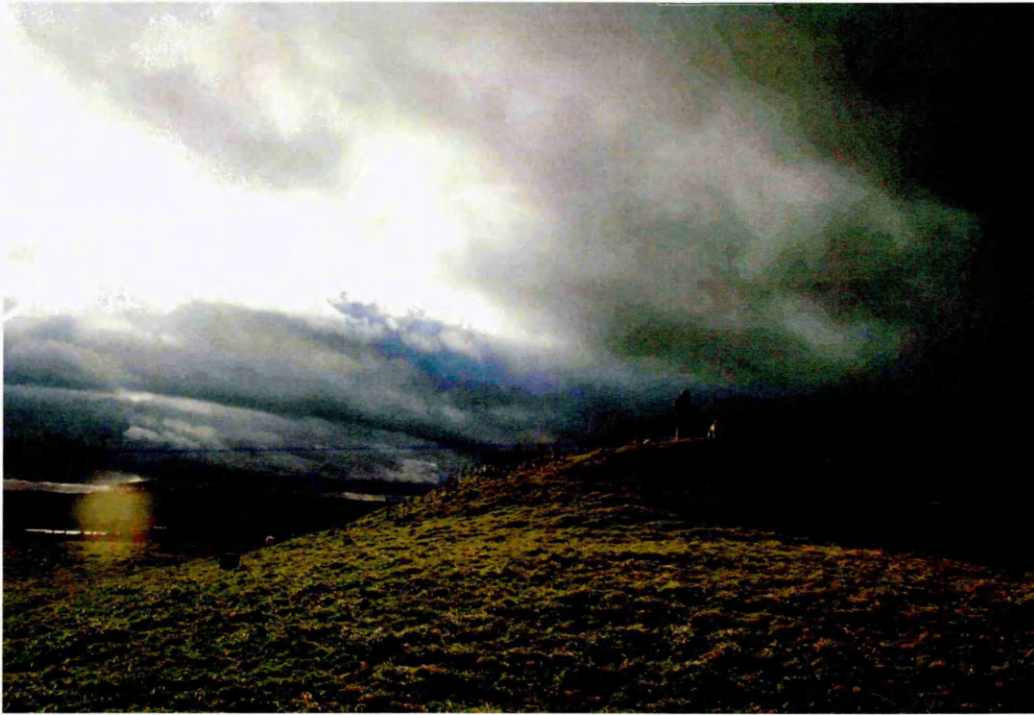


Signs behind now, the henge in front, I drift through the henge. I see the stones, now fallen, yet positioned like the numbers on a clock. Surrounding a deep ditch, filled in places with water. Each stone has its own character, they have been shaped, contorted and delved by erosion for thousands of years. A local myth of Youlgreave tells of the Romans who came and knocked down the stones (Connely 2009- pers. comm). The views over the landscape are spectacular... Stanton Moor visibly rises to the East. To the North the high dark peaks stand tall and distant on the horizon.

During an interview at Nine Ladies, one participant described an experience at Arbor Low.

'On my first visit to the stones over six years ago I was unaware a charge would be required. I gave all the change I had and continued walking. After visiting the stones on my way back to the car I was verbally attacked by the lady from the farm, stating the money I had given was not enough, they needed the money and I was not welcome again until I had the correct fee. She spoiled my day. She was

rude, intimidating and disrespectful to me. I will not pay her a penny ever again'.



These factors create ideas about the place. These are often maintained through the information and experiences on site.

Wet Withens

Initially, I was surprised on this first visit to Wet Withens. There was no public footpath going to the site, in fact it seemed to feel very unknown. There were no signposts or information on the moor. We followed the direction derived from the Dark Peak OS map which marks the circle. We walked over the ridge and saw the circle in front of us. It commands excellent views to the North, East and West. It became an exciting exploration, discovering the circle for ourselves. My first point of physical and emotional orientation, drew me to the barrow on the right as I approached it. Now deeply damaged, it had a air of mystery about it. The stones were rounded and smoothed through erosion over the past thousands of years. This caused some very interesting circles in the stones. I then turned back to the embanked circle. I was particularly drawn to the North/North East stone, it felt warm to touch. I asked questions: why was the

circle positioned here, what it overlooked and what it aligned to?



I walked around the circle my heart rhythm slowed down. I looked outwards. I was intrigued why the monument was placed in this specific position, sheltered by the Southern swaths of Eyam moor. The horizon line towards the North was an integral feature of the circle as can be seen above.

A case study of good practice: The Cornish Ancient Sites Protection Network

During November and December of 2007, I visited Cornwall and investigated the ways groups, including archaeologists, locals and pagans and other individuals have come together to create the Cornish Ancient Sites Protection Network. CASPN is 'a charitable partnership formed to look after the ancient sites and monuments of Cornwall' (CASPN website 1/09/10):

'We work closely with local communities and official organisations to protect and promote our ancient heritage landscape through research, education and outreach activities' (ibid).

CASPN representatives come from a wide range of organisations and community

groups that share an interest in Cornwall's ancient sites, including: the National Trust, Cornwall County Council's Historic Environment Service, Cornwall Archaeological Society, English Heritage, English Nature, Cornwall Wildlife Trust, Cornwall Heritage Trust, Penwith District Council (Sustainable Tourism and Community Regeneration), Penwith Access and Rights of Way, Penlee Gallery and Museum, Madron Community Forum, Zennor Parish Council, Cornish Earth Mysteries Group, Pagan Federation, Pagan Moot, Meyn Mamvro and the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (ibid).

The website offers interpretations from three different perspectives: 'pagan'; 'English Heritage' and the 'Cornish Archaeological Society'. The website also produces guidelines about the 'responsible use of the sites': 'we promote the responsible use of ancient sites through adopting the motto: don't change the site, let the site change you' (ibid). As part of this work, small, sensitive signs have been placed at access points to key sites in the region. They provide contact details for people to report any damage. The group organises monthly clear-ups at sites, they offer a membership scheme for the Friends of Cornwall's Ancient Sites, and provide opportunities for people to become official guardians, through the adopt a site scheme where sites are systematically visited and looked after. They also organise walks and talks to many sites in the area. They offer locals a chance to manage ten sites within the Penwith area of Cornwall.



The work is mostly carried out by volunteers. In 2000, the group received a Area of Outstanding National Beauty grant, which provided money for the making and erection of local granite signs at the entrances to the sites. These replaced others signs which could be destroyed. The signs have the name of each site and state: 'don't change the site let the site change you'. They include phone numbers for reporting misuse or vandalism at sites. This strategy encourages openness, inclusiveness, multiplicity and is inspiring.

Conclusions

Each site has its own very distinctive identity and as such formal interpretation greatly differs between places. What does this tell us about interpretation?

Firstly, formal interpretation is most prevalent at sites with contested meanings and that have become popularly used. The now highly sanitised landscape surrounding Stonehenge for example, is highly formally interpreted. Visitors are excluded from entering the circle, unless formal agreements have been made. After paying an admission charge, visitors are guided anti-clockwise, around the henge, on defined paths. Signs, information booklets and audio trails aid the visitor and provide interpretation of the landscape. Benders work in 1998 and Blain and Wallis (2007) highlighted, this interpretation often privileges the archaeological place myths. Stonehenge is presented as a singular entity and ignores the diversity of contemporary engagements with the site, as we have also seen on Stanton Moor. Through the guise of preservation, order and control is presented to the visitors.

Secondly, sites within the Peak District are relatively un-interpreted. Some sites have none or very little interpretation, other places like Arbor Low and Stanton Moor have more. Experiences at these sites differed as a result of this. Interpretation at sites with no formal measures invited the 'audience', 'explorer' or participant to search for their own meanings. Signs, however promote an informed active engagement with meanings attached. Nine Ladies is one of the most interpreted landscapes in the Peak District, this is due to the contested uses of the site.

Thirdly, on site interpretation usually informs to 'users', acceptable codes of behaviour, including marking rights of way as outlined.

Finally, the CASPN, provides a useful example of how sacred sites can be presented, to incorporate contemporary engagements with place. Based on a local level, this approach identifies and includes stakeholders or those with a vested interest in sites, into its presentation and management/guardianship.

The final chapter goes on to outline ways of going forward on Stanton Moor, illustrating the importance of offering alternative and representative modes of interpretation, that incorporate all users into the reconstruction of a place.

Chapter 14

Towards an inclusive approach to interpretation

This final chapter proposes two strategies to adopt, when formally interpreting a sacred and contested landscape. It emphasises the need to develop a holistic approach, that incorporates multiplicity. The chapter is separated into three parts: the first outlining shared responsibility for sacred sites is required, at a local level, to enable effective management and interpretation; secondly, creative techniques and approaches can be used to reflect users subjective interactions with the landscape. Thirdly, a combination of these factors can create a 'mindful visitor' (Moscardo 1996, 1999), who understands the consequences of their actions and acts in ways to minimise impacts on site. The concept of the 'mindful visitor' is an aim of interpretation.

Sharing responsibility

Working with members of local communities, can be a useful tactic to develop when presenting sacred sites, not only for the locals, who may develop new emotional ties to the place, but also others who visit the place from outside the area. Locals have a presence on the land on a day to day basis and often inform visitors about sites, as we have seen in section 3. Guardianship, inspired at this local level, can be maintained through creating a shared sense of responsibility for the place. This can be achieved by:

1. **Setting up a steering group to manage the site**, as proposed in McGuire and Smith (2007: 187). Policies and strategies of management, would be implemented, by a steering group 'to be drawn from those responsible for the care and use of the scheduled monument... and the wider moor' (ibid). This would include English Heritage, the PDNPA, the police and landowners. It is also important to include representatives from the local communities and other users of the moor into this decision making. The success of an inclusive approach, was highlighted in chapter 9, with reference to the Stanton Forum, set up in 2006 to create a point of contact for all relevant parties surrounding the moor. Unfortunately, this disbanded in 2009, as the protest site was taken down. There are a number of factors deterring a new group being set up. As

outlined in chapter 11, the moor is privately owned by the Stanton Estates. Decisions to create a steering group ultimately depend on the willingness of the Estate to comply. Currently, the Estate is against any notion of 'sharing responsibility' in this way, as they feel, it is fundamentally the Estate who will have to deal with any issues and problems. It is essential, therefore, to maintain a positive relationship with landowners. Decisions could be achieved through creative and dynamic decision making processes, such as 'consensus decision making' (Seeds of Change 2010: 3). These processes aim to find ways to 'balance the needs and desires of every individual with those of the closer community and the wider world' (ibid).

2. Creating a database of information with a variety of perspectives represented. This could include poetry, songs, stories and performances, shared on a website. The approach would invite the reader to interpret the data themselves. An accessible dialogue, that presents information in a creative way and impacts the ways people interact with the landscape, incorporates the depth of human meaning apparent on Stanton Moor.

This way of presenting information aims to reflect the layers of meaning that are inherent in social life. The focus is on experimentation, reflexivity, multiplicity and creativity. A platform is created where the reader can conclude their own interpretations and highlights the complex and multiple understandings of a single place on a map. The wealth of information collected within this project, will be digitalised, particularly regarding the protest campaign.

3. Consulting wider users. Information and ideas gathered from consultation with a variety of users, can inform decisions and interpretation strategies at a management level. Creative techniques, in particular should be employed here (for an outline of creative techniques see the next section). Gillian Banks chapter in Uzzell (1989: 194) draws on the importance of interpretation based on the place: not only physically, but the meanings; values and attributes people put into it. These, create a sense of identity for the place and the self. Assuming an outreach role in the local communities, is vitally

important, when trying to reflect and encourage a shared sense of place. She states:

'what is interpreted about these sites and how they are interpreted to visitors, requires sensitive understanding and delicate negotiation, between people who own them in a cultural context, of which others have little or no conception' (Banks in Uzzell 1989: 194).

The common concern highlighted around interpretation at sacred sites, is the interruption of the personal experience, visitors may stand back from the stone circle, for example and read the sign rather than directly experiencing the place itself. Through community involvement, working from the ground routes level upwards, such issues can be addressed and meaningful interpretation (for the visitors themselves) could encourage the promotion of care through understanding.

Rachel Kerr, Moorland Discovery Officer for the Peak District National Park (2009-interview) outlined, for successful interpretation:

'you must know your audience and fit the interpretation around what they want and are interested to find out about'.

On Stanton Moor, however, no consultation took place to identify where, what and how sites should be presented to locals and visitors. Jon Humble (2008- interview) commented:

'the text for this was put together about ten years ago, well pre-dating the Conservation Plan. It was done on a sort of expeditious basis... we had a small amount of money at English Heritage and the work was commissioned through the National Park Authority'.

Creative techniques and approaches to managing sacred sites

How can the complexity of meanings surrounding a place, be represented, through formal management and interpretation? This question is difficult to answer. There is no easy solution, there are many. Each site has its own specificity, each visitor, their own preferences. Such issues are faced by environmental educators, archaeologists, heritage

managers, landowners, those who provide information for others on a regular basis.

Creative techniques and approaches can be utilised, to develop strategies of management. Not only to discover users engagements with the sites (which can influence management through consultation), but to inform and influence managers, landowners and others with key responsibilities. Using the term, creatively, does not only relate to specific artistic techniques, such as drawing or sculpture. Creativity in this thesis, refers to critical thinking, using the imagination and diverse problem solving techniques (Seeds of Change 2010).

Gordon the Toad, works with people across the country as a environmental artist, to find ways of celebrating place. He facilitates the exploration and renewal of creativity, by developing a creative relationships with people, self and the land. This opens up new ways of relating, thinking, receiving and creating information. Celebrations are 'frivolous, but there effects maybe profound' (2009- interview). The outcomes of this approach are often unpredictable, but can generate confidence and direction. Most of Gordon's work is face to face, 'which can be limiting in terms of long term interpretation' (2009- interview), however, creative experiences can facilitate the exploration of formal management and interpretation. For example, schools and community groups could undertake projects to create new information panels, or to undertake weekly litter picks.

Creative techniques such as writing or reading poetry, invites 'a different way of looking and experiencing the landscape' (2009- interview). Adopting artistic approaches, languages and expressions, increases understandings of a place. Ways of experiencing place, based on the senses, emotions and the imagination are encouraged within this platform (Dungey in Uzzell 1989: 234).

The key to meaningful interpretation, therefore, is providing experiences that people will remember and take away with them, a message, a memory or a change of consciousness. As we have seen in section 3, those with these experiences, often undertake acts of unofficial management.

'Interpretation should be engaging, but it isn't always. Adding creatively written stuff as well as factual written stuff is a really valuable way of getting people to engage with a place, it gives them something to take away' (Gordon 2009-interview).

Creating the 'mindful visitor'

Creative and community based management strategies, aims to create a 'mindful visitor' (Moscardo 1996, 1999), who drifts over the landscape with a state of openness, seeing the world from multiple perspectives. This is a utopic aim rather than conclusion. The mindful visitor can see the consequences of their actions and act in ways to minimise personal impacts (Timothy and Stephen 2003: 176). Ways of encouraging 'mindfulness' for Moscardo (1999) involves:

1. helping visitors find their way around through maps
2. making connections to visitors by comparisons with own life
3. offering variety and celebrating diversity
4. telling a good story that is clear, well organised and common ground for the audience
5. knowing the visitors, through consultation

I therefore add two further points to this:

6. sharing responsibility of the site
7. using creative techniques and approaches to develop the above.

The mindfulness of participators, should not only include the visitors to site, but also managers, landowners and police could adopt this technique.

The main factors effecting this approach are:

1. Resources, who would pay for this type of management strategy?
2. The ability to reach agreements with all key stakeholders, including the landowner, English Heritage, PDNPA, pagans, locals and other users, as

outlined.

Conclusion

By defining key terms and outlining the main interpretive strategies employed on Stanton Moor, this chapter addresses the question posed at the beginning of the thesis: how can the sacredness or the importance of the sacred site be used within formal interpretation, to encourage greater respect for the environment. After undertaking ethnographic exploration of many sites through-out England and Wales, I have suggested a flexible, sensitive, creative, broad minded, consensual approach to formal interpretation of sacred sites is therefore required which focuses on landscape change and multiplicity. Exploring the context surrounding sites, enables people to gain insights into the social meanings and overall structures. Thus enabling an *active* engagement which promotes care, respect and responsibility.

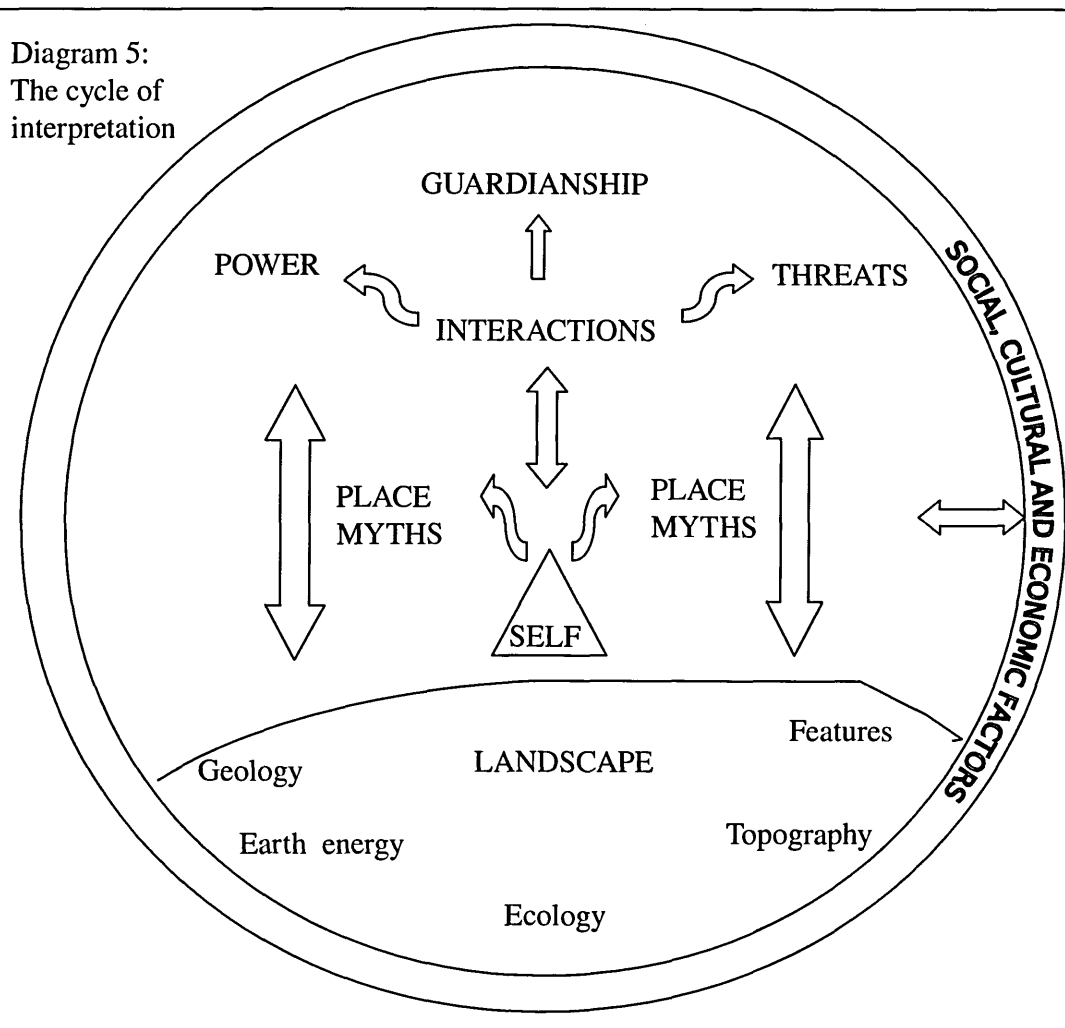
Chapter 15

Conclusion: Leaving Stanton Moor

Seasons change, the earth spins, time cycles on. A new chapter begins, a new phase in my life. Looking back over the past few years, a whirlwind of experiences filter through my mind, like a butterfly dancing in the sunlight on the moorland heather. My love for the place remains strong. The mixture of emotions described throughout the tat down at the protest site, come back to haunt me. Leaving Stanton Moor, stepping back from the place feels like the loss of a person. It has become not just a physical backdrop, but a symbolic landscape alive with meanings and part of the construction of my identity.

This thesis itself could be defined as my place myth. It is constructed through being in the landscape, drifting over the sandy paths and creating new experiences. Each place myth has much diversity within it. There is no fixed meaning, rather fluid meanings depend on the personal biographies of those participating on the moor, the time in which we live and the particularities of the social, economic and political processes. Experiences of Stanton Moor are often framed by our physical movement through the landscape. The utopic idea of the place, becomes heterotopic, changing and altering depending on the experiences we have. The utopia and the heterotopic exist simultaneously. They are part of a two way relationship constructed from the other (see diagram 5).

Engagements with places and others, often creates tension and conflict, primarily because people are often reluctant about change at sacred sites. Responding to specific threatening factors which challenge the utopic place myth, multiple claims of guardianship are made. This act of defining the self and others within the landscape, is both the medium and the outcome of interactions. This type of engagement impacts identities of the self, others and the moor. Drawing on the concepts of guardianship, issues of power and responsibility become a major theme.



Power on Stanton Moor, as a heterotopic space, is fluid and complex. It is experienced in differing ways, within a tripartite structure. Power is exerted over Stanton Moor and its users, through the hegemonic discourses of preservation and conservation. Power is also constructed, with others, on Stanton Moor. Individuals, groups and other agencies have come together to prevent quarrying at Endcliffe and Lees Cross. The third power on Stanton Moor, is the emancipatory power derived from within through the personal interactions with sacred site itself. These three types of power are delicately woven, a web of fragmented, yet interlinked cycles of power. Each are utilised distinctly by every player.

Categories constructed about 'others' within the landscape re-confirms the divisions of the discourses that surround the place. The thesis attempted to bring the diverse

approaches together, to create a 'mindful' experience for the reader or visitor of Stanton Moor. A 'mindful visitor' is able to see the landscape from many different perspectives, to reflect on ones own participation and impact on the place (and others) and therefore have greater landscape appreciation and respect. The key issue in this debate is formal interpretation: how can a site with multiple and passionate meanings be presented to encourage this greater respect. I suggest those with the official responsibility of guardianship or management, should adopt local community based management technique which creatively identifies what, how, when and where people want to know about sacred sites.

Some participants within this study suggest any type of formal interpretation on Stanton Moor detracts from the personal experiences on the site itself. However, formal interpretation continues to be an important part of the management strategies. While it remains a part of the experience of sacred sites, it is essential that academics, users, landowners and managers actively seek for the best ways forward to enable a fair, diverse, contemporary representation of the place. The thesis provides a useful case study to approach this issues.

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Appendices

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Participant observation of the Nine Ladies Stone Circle, in Derbyshire.

The format used to record observations on site included separating my log book page into two sections. The first half of the page investigated the observed actions of others, the 'concrete' performances. The second half of the page explored my own personal reflections of the activity, the 'intuitive' and emotional aspects taking part within the research: from the researcher's perspective. The Nine Ladies Stone Circle is a site of resistance, a sacred landscape connected to the ancient Bronze Age. I am interested to explore how do people interact with sacred spaces? What performances do people who visit sacred sites undertake?

| Observed Actions of others | Personal Reflections |
|--|---|
| 1pm A man and woman appear from the tower They stand and read the near-by sign. They look from a distance at the stone circle. They continue towards Birchover. | It is 1 o'clock on Saturday 1st March. After a night of wind and rain the wet has retreated for the moment. It is very cold though and the wind blows from the North West. As I approached the stone circle from the East, I felt a desire to enter the circle and ask for their approval of the activity! It sounds silly doesn't it, talking to the stones, making them feel like a participant: asking for informed consent! Maybe this is madness, maybe intuition, or maybe it was a grounding exercise that was needed to focus myself and feel at one with the landscape I am about to investigate. So now I am sat at the 'moon stone' about ten meters from the circle. Does my presence, at this spot affect the reactions and performances of the observed? What would I feel or think if I saw a woman sat scribbling away in her notebook? |
| 1.05pm A man and woman approach from Stanton in Peak. They are about 20-30. They walk straight up to the stone circle and stand on the outside by the flat stone. They look into the stone circle, they are talking. They walk over to the fiddler stone. They look back towards the circle and continue in conversation. They come back to the circle, again standing on the edge and then continue their walk towards Birchover. | |
| 1.10pm A man and woman about 40-50 approach from Birchover. They are talking, they approach the sign. The woman is staring at a near by fir tree, she walks around it, then pulls out her camera and takes a photo. She heads back to the sign to reunite with the other man. She appears to be reading the sign. They walk off towards Stanton in Peak. | I am very aware that I feel like I am spying on people. I am sat here in the open, watching people, there every move is recorded and they do not know I am doing this. It would be difficult for me to obtain consent, without me changing the actions and performances of the observed. |
| 1.16pm 7 people, five women and two men and one dog approach from the fiddler stone. They walk through the circle and go straight for the sign. They | It is interesting to note that none of the |

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>observe the circle from a distance. 1.17pm. A man, woman and male child with three dogs approach from the North East and head to the sign where the other group of people are still looking at the sign. They are playing Frisbee with their dog and throw the disk into the stone circle. The two groups interact and discuss the dogs. They go over to the stones and the child shouts 'this is perfect for me to play in', referring to the circle of stone. He runs around them, he jumps onto and off them, he sits on them. His parents are deep in conversation and continue walking past the Fiddler stone and beyond.</p> | <p>people I have encountered during my time observing have actually entered the stone circle. Why? What does this mean? The sign however is used a lot. It offers a particular view of the landscape that is focused on the past. The stone circle is viewed as a museum exhibit, a ruin to be gazed at, rather than a living, vibrant centre of energy. I am very cold now... Brrr. Time to move.</p> |
|--|---|

Interviews

| List of participants for semi-structured interviews | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| Group | Who | When |
| Residents of protest camp | Rowena Bass: lived on site for nine years Daz 'Nine Ladies' Brooks: lived on site for eight years Swiss Family: joined site at the end to help 'tat' down Ruth Franklin: lived on site for five years Steven Read: regular visitor to the protest site Tez Roberts: moved onto the protest site in 2008 to help take it down. | Jan- April 2008 |
| Locals | 'Rachael' resident of Stanton in Peak since 2000. Involved with parish council and SAG Kath Potter lived in Stanton Lees for all her life. Member of SLAG and PDNPA. Jeff Henson Resident of Stanton Lees for over 40 years. Lives close to the protest site and member of SLAG. Linda Webb, from Stanton Lees. Valued member of SLAG, close friend to the protest site. Jim Drury, resident of Birchover for over 80 years. Local historian and amateur archaeologist. | April 2008- July 2009 |
| Archaeologists | Anna Badcock, independent archaeologist who studied the protest site Jon Barnatt, from the PDNPA. Jon has added greatly to knowledge about archaeology within the Peak District. Pauline Beswick, now retired, worked at Sheffield Museum. She worked with Percy Heathcote to transfer his collection to the museum. | Jan 2009- Jan 2010 |
| Heritage Manager | Jon Humble, East Midlands Officer at English Heritage. | 01/08/08 |
| Peak District National Park Rangers | Andy Farmer and Pete Bush who have worked on Stanton Moor for over 10 years, undertaking official management strategies. | April 2008-April 2009 |
| Council for the Protection of | Andy Tickle, worked with local | 01/05/09 |

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|------------------|
| Rural England | communities to prevent quarrying at Endcliffe and Lees Cross. | |
| Landscape Interpretors: 2 | Gordan 'The Toad' MacLellen, shaman and environmental artist. Rachael Kerr, Moorland Discovery Officer employed by the PDNPA for the National Trust. | June- July 2009 |
| Police | Sandra Wetton took minutes at the Stanton Forum and wrote a protocol for officers policing Stanton Moor and the protest site. | 01/07/09 |
| Landowners | Lord Edward Manners, of Haddon Estate, owns Endcliffe and Lees Cross quarries and surrounding areas. Adrian Davey-Thronhill of Stanton Estates, owner of Stanton Moor. | Nov 09- April 10 |
| Campers | 'John', manager from Sheffield. Camps on the moor regularly in all weathers 'Andy', dentist from Sheffield. Regular camper. 'Guybongo', loves stones and drums. Paul 'TP', from Derby, camps on the moor. | Jan 08- Jan 10 |
| Pagans | 'Jane' visits Stanton Moor often to celebrate nature through personal ceremonies. 'Reed', environmental activist and political pagan. | Jan 08-Jan 10 |
| Writers | Ann Whitlock, contributor to the Conservation plan | 04/05/10 |

Interview Brief (verbally communicated)

Firstly, thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. The project is part of a PhD research degree in sociology at Sheffield Hallam University and focuses on the ancient sites of the Peak District, such as Arbour Low and Stanton Moor. The main aim of the research is to develop new ways of understanding and promoting these landscapes that take into consideration lots of different points of view. The project attempts to give you a chance to have your say about the landscapes and the findings will be presented to heritage management.

Methodology and Ethics

This projects promotes a joint collaboration between the researcher and participants. If at any point through-out the process you need to ask questions or to question intentions or have any suggestions, please do! This is seen as a positive thing within the project. Our roles as the researcher and participant will continually be re-mapped and re-negotiated through-out the process.

Through this research, I am creating a story that begins with my personal experience of and within the landscapes, like a traveller, I am searching through the landscapes for conversations with interesting people. So I am not just seeking knowledge but also exploring the process of change that I undergo as I journey: creating a auto-biography.

Any information gathered will be kept completely confidential and in accordance with the Data Protection Act. All the names will be changed unless otherwise agreed. You will be given the chance to review the transcripts of the interviews and make any necessary amendments or comments. You will also be offered the chance to read the final report. At any stage you can withdraw from the project and you have the right to withhold any information you desire.

Do you confirm that you consent to the data collected from this interview to be represented within the research project as an example of a particular way of looking at the landscape?

Interview Questions

The general themes were used and adapted for each participant and by each participant.

| Themes | Questions |
|---|--|
| Introductions | Brief and outline of research Role of the PhD research: collections of alternative discourses based on creative interpretations of the landscape. |
| Personal Histories and relationship with Stanton Moor | When How Why Stories Emotions Memories |
| Landscape of Stanton Moor: Values | What does S.M mean to you Activities Roles Interactions Stanton Moor is regarded as sacred: what do you think a sacred landscape is? Have you visited others? What do you think the stone circle and other monuments are? What do they symbolise? How do you feel when you walk Stanton Moor (emotions)? |
| Threatening Factors | Threats Challenges Reactions Actions |
| Management | Putting policy into practice: roles and responsibilities Next steps after conservation plan Ownership |
| Protest Campaign | History of quarrying What did you think initially about quarrying? Feelings Living on site What was your role? Community reactions? Did the camp change the moor? |
| Interpretation | Have you ever tried to find out more about the landscape? What do you think about the ways the moor is presented? (E.G. signs) Do you think it could be improved? Effective interpretations |
| De-briefing | Any questions Ethical Responsibilities |

Developing Themes

Following steps 1-8 on page 27 of the thesis, categories and sub-categories have been created by reading, thinking, trying out, changing and checking the data. Themes were developed from these categories, statements of meaning that ran through most or all of the data, or in minority that carried much impact on the wider story (Ely et al 1997). Each transcript was pulled apart individually, then brought together within the wider themes. The raw data was then linked to the categories through the use of narratives, poetry and photography and presented in the thesis.

The presentation of my findings at seminars, lectures and other events, also helped me to develop themes through-out the research process. It enabled a fresh look at the data and a re-thinking of ideas to fit the purpose of the presentation. This fed back into the final presentation, the thesis. Other factors impacting the development of themes including experiences on the landscape itself, which often became examples of the themes I was creating, or indeed, refuted them, and forced a deeper investigation into the complex, always becoming data.

Letters

To villagers from Action Group members (2003). Unpublished.

Dear householder,

For some considerable time, local residents have been expressing their concern and frustration at the unchecked anti-social activities of the 'eco-warriors' squatting on property at Stanton Lees.

In recent months, the behaviour of these vagrants seems to have deteriorated further. Acts of intimidation are now commonplace, and have escalated to threats of physical violence. They are frequently drunk, disorderly and foul mouthed, even around our children- indeed, after one child was grabbed by the throat on the school bus, the bus stop in Bakewell had to be policed for the children's safety. Their drug ridden lifestyle attracts more and more undesirables and we see increasing levels of theft and damage to property where previously there was none.

They have effectively closed public footpaths and rights of way and have made the people reluctant to use the public roads through the 'camp'. Their habits are dirty, their camp is alive with rats and they seem- strangely, for 'eco-warriors' to value our environment not at all, cutting down trees for firewood and turning parts of the corner of the Peak District into little more than garbage dumps. And recently they have attempted to annexe still more local land.

Supposedly the 'eco-warriors' are here to prevent quarrying at Lees Cross. But police believe that the original, well-intended protesters have been infiltrated by a hard core of sub-criminals and criminals wanting only a free place to doss away from the eye of the law. **Many of us are very firmly against the quarry extensions, but the pressure of these people is now seriously damaging that cause, as the feeling grows that life with the quarries would be preferable to life with 'eco-warriors' on the doorstep.**

For this reason, a pressure group has recently been formed with the intent of persuading the authorities to take firm control of the inhabitants of the 'camp'. A meeting with the Derbyshire Constabulary has confirmed their full support for us, and we are already starting to see commitment to action on their part. However, they are currently chronically under- resourced.

Stanton Lees is the largest protest site in Britain. In spite of it's size, at present only one officer is assigned to police it, on a part time basis on top of his normal duties. We are therefore petitioning the Chief Constable to provide strong, full time policing for this 'camp' to bring its residents to the point where they, like us, are subject to every law of this land. In this we need your support.

We have attached a letter addressed to the Chief Constable which we would ask you to sign, or if you prefer, please write your own letter voicing your concerns. You will also find a sheet where we would ask you to give us your views. If you have had any negative contact with the 'eco-warriors' which you would like to relate, please do so. You do not have to give your name on that sheet unless you wish, but we do need to quantify the true size and nature to the Chief Constable, and eye witness accounts are an invaluable part of that.

We will be collecting the signed letters and questionnaires during the evenings of Monday 2nd December and Tuesday 3rd December.

As a pressure group we are fully committed to restoring these parishes to the peaceful, untroubled villages they so recently were. Support in large numbers at this stage is crucial. Please stand up and be counted.

Action Group Members

Campaigning to Reclaim our Countryside

Letter to villagers from Nine Ladies Anti Quarry Campaign (2003). Unpublished

Dear Residents

We are writing in response to a letter and questionnaire that has recently been circulated around the villages surrounding Stanton Moor. We have experienced some problems and there are some matters about which most people who live on the camp are equally concerned and frustrated. Therefore we submit our viewpoint in order to provide more information and opinion and communicate clearly with local residents.

To these ends we would like to extend our sincerest apologies to those who have been wronged in some way by ourselves or visitors to the camp. It is unfortunate that there is occasionally the odd person who causes a disproportionate amount of trouble which reflects upon the good nature and efforts of regular camp residents. This is a problem with every community and it is most distressing when someone associated with us causes problems for the locals surrounding the moor. We have enjoyed living here for three years now, and find the locals friendly, decent and warm. We have, by and large, had a good relationship with the local people and experienced widespread support. We hope this can continue and grow stronger in the future. We are often the last to find out about problems which are, or appear to be connected to us.

Whilst we may appear different, we are mainly from conventional backgrounds and have a cohesiveness of action and intent. There are many visitors but we are a community with centralised discussion, rules and general decision making. Therefore we welcome the input of anybody's concerns or considered criticisms and we strive to address problems that may arise. We cannot stress enough that we are peace loving people. We abhor violence and we have a policy of asking anybody who behaves in this way to leave site permanently. It is impossible to prevent such people visiting as the camp is open to the public, but if situations arise we would appreciate being informed as quickly as possible, so we can deal with them immediately.

There have been a couple of extremely regrettable incidents lately which we are very annoyed and upset about. In the case of the damage to motor vehicles parked by the road

near Stanton in Peak, the person concerned immediately handed himself into the police, is currently being prosecuted, and is permanently barred from site. One of the damaged vehicles belonged to us. The other recent incident involved the fencing which was cut down by the new haul road. This was not condoned by the camp regulars. If we had known it was to happen we would have made attempts to stop it. The people concerned have left, and we hope to make an effort to repair the damage done. Aside from these two recent incidents, we are not aware of threatened or actual violence committed. If anyone has experienced these things then we particularly want to know about them, as we consider it to be highly unacceptable, and will act on the matter. If you could write to us supplying as many details as possible, particularly a description of the person and the date, then we will take action. Alternately, contact the local police, who will inform us.

We would also like to address some of the inaccuracies within the letter circulated by the pressure group. We are sympathetic to local people concerns, as we share them.

On the subject of cutting down trees for firewood, we don't. We have wood donated every month in the winter, and we gather dead wood. We are aware that campers have damaged trees on the moor and we have put signs up asking people to be considerate.

On the subject of rubbish, there have sometimes been delays of months before the council have collected rubbish. The issue was raised to the Stanton Peak village Council, who sent a team of representatives to inspect the camp. They were positively impressed by what they found here. We accept that the general main gate area, there is always stuff lying around which looks messy. We are making a renewed effort to keep this area as tidy as possible. When this campaign is won, we are committed to leaving the sites spotless, as we have done on other campaigns.

We feel it is fair to mention that the site has been used for fly-tipping before we arrived, and we have been cleaned up large areas of dumped asbestos, glass and rubbish. When we leave, the place will be tidier than when we arrived.

The pressure group state that the police believe that the camp has been 'infiltrated by a

hard-core of 'sub-criminals'. We are surprised that the police have not notified us through our continuous and regular liaison with them. Could this be because the assertion by the pressure group be untrue?

On the subject of footpaths, a large number of tourists and walkers use the path to the moor. Many people call in at our information caravan and sign petitions, read information and pursue photographs. Many also stop to chat to us and lend moral or practice support.

We are not living here because it is a free place to 'doss'. Living here is not an easy option and we are committed to living through another winter with the knowledge of how difficult the last two were. Most of us are young people with ambition, drive, ideas and are actually putting many aspects of our lives on hold in order to support the campaign.

We are worried that the result of the pressure group's questionnaire may be open to manipulation, and we are unsure as how they intend to guarantee objectivity in the tallying process.

Improvement of communication is an essential issue in maintaining good relations. We feel that a lot of the apprehension felt by local people is due to not knowing what goes on at our camp. Locals are always welcome at the site and we are planing to hold an open day for people to have a guided tour of the site and see for yourselves how we live.

We are educated and reasonable people. Let us address the problems with open lines of reasonable debate. We are happy to co-operate in continuing liaison with the police as well as sorting out within our community. We are all accountable to the law, wherever we live. On most occasions where the crime was committed by some associated with the camp, the police have succeeded in prosecuting them, as you may see in the local papers.

We thank you for your time in reading this and hope it clears matters up a little.

Poetry Anthology

This is a collection of poetry made from the interview transcripts with the protest camp residents. The transcripts are edited to create a poetic representation of the words spoken.

Mundane Madness of Modernity

The Iraq war (was) kicking off,
my disillusioned life,
Informed by all this 'terrorism',
and Third world wars,
and this instant mentality:
Have it now
Two for the price of one
Have it big,
Have it now,
Have it better, have it
Have it ...
People started saying,
'Well, you could live here' ...
So, I cancelled the pension plan,
It was time to live my live as I really enjoyed
and live for that rather than jobs
They are blowing the world up,
so I'm going to live in the woods.

Living with Nature: 'Don't worry bout a thing'

Now, I am a home owner!!
It feels like living like a millionaire,
But without any money to worry about.
I built it, my gaf,
It's a permanent buzz!
I feel very lucky and so blessed to have been able to...
Slow down to this extent.
Every day I wake up,
There is at least three birds singing really loudly,
'don't worry bout a thing'.
I think,
I feel...
Lucky
...it's a privilege...

Dirty Drunken Hippies

Dirty drunken hippies
Living in the woods.
swinging from the rafters

Eating young people!
I dread to think,
The circulating stories...
They would be very disappointed
To turn up
To find us playing back gammon or Yatzee,
Listening to Radio 4.

The Communal

I will miss being able to go out in a nice space
Like that which is our space.
I so love that place,
The communal,
I'm so proud of that space, the art work
and I still see it,
and I still see it.... You know
If you live in a city
Concrete blocks and housing,
Roads, cars, buses
And you just walk around in a blind state
And it just becomes all routine
And you don't see anything any more.
But here,
I still see it,
I still look for what feels like the first time,
I still go wow
And I never get that blasé thing with it.
I think it is because
We have room in our head
Because it isn't full of TV
Or stuffed full of adverts
And we live in environments that are worth seeing
Rather than the ones
That perhaps,
You block out of seeing the concrete mess,
You know,
In a bloody city.

Words for the land owners...

Manage solstice do not ban it
It has been happening forever
People have been coming here
With their beliefs forever.
Design a leaflet
Educate people
Manage it not ban it
Organise a massive litter pick!