MSc in Anthropology, Environment and Development Dissertation.

Hefting to the land: Environmental Perception, Temporality and Belonging on *The Pennine Way*

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Abstract

The Pennine Way is Britain’s oldest and perhaps most iconic of long-distance walks, running for 270 miles up the spine of Northern England - the broad uplift of hills known as the Pennines. Using a phenomenological approach, this dissertation explores how attachments to the Pennine landscape become manifest via walkers walking the path, and how these attachments tie into two broader movements that initiated The Pennine Way’s instigation. Firstly, a movement seeking a return to a more immediate and engaged sense of being, in reaction to the stagnancy of urban living and the modernist project more generally. Secondly, a movement concerning freedoms of access, which, although we may take for granted today, were reclaimed only through decades of hard-fought campaigning. Adopting a dwelling perspective, I argue that such attachments are generative of an increased understanding toward the landscape through which one walks and that this contributes toward a sense of belonging, not just to the Pennines, but perhaps to England and Britain more generally. Important to this is the path’s capacity to summon forth the past as it moves through richly temporal landscapes, so that a walker’s journey becomes something of an experience in lived history. The Pennine Way is a bridge between people, land and history; a bridge that is continually brought into being through its walking.
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\(^1\) This dissertation does not employ the use of photo figures embedded within the associated text. Rather, these can be seen in the Appendix in the form of a photo collage. I withhold their appearance so as to allow the reader greater space to form their own imagery, and so as not to break up the flow of prose. Some of the photos are referenced to within the text, whilst others are not.
Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Lewis Daly, for his invaluable support, guidance and advice as well as for the hours of enjoyable discussion shared during this dissertation process. I also thank the rest of the AED department for their teaching and guidance in what has been an eye opening year.

This dissertation could not have been done without the people I met, talked to and walked with on The Pennine Way, from fellow walkers of the path to generous farmers to everyone in between. The names of people and groups mentioned in this dissertation are but a fraction of those with whom I shared The Pennine Way with in 2018 and 2020 and I therefore thank all those unnamed others who do not appear on these pages. I have also to thank all the people who made it (and continue to make it) possible that The Pennine Way exists, most of all its conceptual originator, Tom Stephenson. As I hope emerges from reading this dissertation, by walking the path one contributes toward its continued existence, and thus is an act of remembrance to these people. Therefore this dissertation is likewise such an act of remembrance.

Finally, I would like to thank my Dad, for introducing me to the hills.
Introduction

Before introducing the themes of this dissertation, I provide an introduction to the Pennine Way, for brevity herein referred to as The Way, itself. Beginning in the small village of Edale, The Way keeps a high line through much of England’s most remote landscapes as it first strikes north through the High Peak region of Derbyshire and Lancashire, then the brooding moors of West Yorkshire, before wending through the greenery of the Yorkshire Dales, taking in numerous summits, like the winding stairs of Pen-y-Ghent, on the way. A reprieve is taken in the lowlands of County Durham before it is up into the high fells of eastern Cumbria and the Northern Pennines. Following Hadrian’s Wall east, it then goes north once more, into the depths of Kielder Forest, before a final push is made over the Northumbrian Cheviot hills and down into the village of Kirk-Yetholme just over the Scottish border.

Fieldwork was not carried out for this dissertation. However, it relies heavily on soft data based on the author’s background experiences, having walked two-thirds of the path in 2018 and in July of 2020 in the wake of the Coronavirus ‘lockdown’ ending, walking its entirety. This consisted of spending twenty-four days on The Way, with a roughly equal number nights spent in campsites and wild-camping or in bothies.

I begin close to where The Way starts: the churchyard in Edale. In it stands a sign entitled ‘Garden of Reflection and Remembrance’ (see Appendix, P1) that explains the placing of two large planters either side of the war memorial there, each of which have the Greek letters Alpha and Omega etched into them. The sign quotes from Revelation 22.13:

\[
I \text{ am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end.}
\]

Apparently, the letters are there to symbolize God’s ‘never ending love for you and creation’ as well as, curiously, ‘to acknowledge Edale’s position as the start and finish of the Pennine Way’ (it can be walked North-South as well). At the time in July of 2020, I remember thinking it slightly odd to be mentioning what was, after all, a recreational walk in the same place as a site of war remembrance. But the more I learnt about The Way through the walk and through reading, the less odd it seemed.

The Way was born through a desire for countryside freedoms of access and improved health and livelihoods in the wake of the suffering that both wars caused and the social changes they wrought. But, like those two Greek letters, there also appeared to be a certain cyclical nature to it and a sense of return. As I explore in detail in Chapter III, it was Rambling Associations made up predominantly of factory workers from industrial Northern cities either side of the Pennines who led the way in the freedom of access movements. However, most of these workers were the descendants of tenant
farmers from the Pennine hills, the industrial revolution and Enclosure acts instigating their urbanisation (Clarke and Clark, 2001). Amongst walkers of The Way today even, the majority I met in 2018 and 2020 were from the cities and towns straddling the Pennines.²

There was a sense of return in the experience of the walk as well. Leaving behind urban living and in constant proximity to, as the philosopher David Abram would term them, “native forms of the earth” (1996: 63), one might say a return to our senses and ‘being-in-the-world’. The modernist project, in its relentless drive for progress fuelled by an exclusory rationalist dogma, has alienated not only ‘the other’ from traditional livelihoods and engagements with the world, but so too it’s very ‘own’ people. The Way’s creation can thus be seen as a reaction against the forces of modernisation and the disenchanting effects these entail. It embodies the culmination of decades of campaigning for ordinary people’s liberties and access to open spaces for a better life, and paved the way for the creation of the UK’s National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Beauty (McCloy, 2016). Thus it does not seem so strange for the Pennine Way to be associated with the remembrance of those men, returned from foreign fields to the soil of the churchyard of their village. The beginning and the end.

My argument

Therefore to walk The Way today, for most an escape from the pressures of urban life and enjoyment of ‘the great outdoors’, is an act of remembrance toward the multitudes of lives and social forces that enabled its creation. Adopting a phenomenological approach, I argue that the walk involves an immersive bodily engagement with the Pennine landscape and that this creates attachments and a sense of belonging, not just to the Pennines, but perhaps to England and Britain more generally. Moreover, The Way itself is an entity, not truly existing separate from those who walk it. It is through walking, but also the stories that it creates and which are passed on along it and beyond, that The Pennine Way is continually brought into being.

To tie the strands of the argument together, I borrow from Olwig’s (2008) idea of hefting to the land. A sheep hefts to a particular grazing patch so that it becomes familiar with that patch and it likewise hefts to the social group with which it grazes (Gray, 1999). However, Olwig (2008) explains that the sense of the word is used for humans as well.³ For example, historically in Europe, villagers would ‘beat the bounds’ by walking their community’s edges. This reinforced their customary rights to the land whilst also creating communal attachments and a sense of belonging. Finally, a sheep,

² According to McCloy (2016), 48% of The Way’s walkers are from Yorkshire alone
³ This is seen more commonly in the term haft (Olwig, 2008).
especially a hill-sheep,⁴ hefts by learning from its fellow sheep, which in turn learned from those that went before (Gray, 1999). Thus a continuity with landscape often many centuries old exists. Likewise, a Pennine Way walker, through attending to the landscape, is walking both spatially and temporally. To walk The Way is therefore to heft oneself to what is commonly termed ‘the spine of England’ - to nurture a sense of belonging and to reinforce an ancient customary right of movement.

**Outline of the dissertation**

In Chapter I, I briefly explore why people walk The Way and the extent to which this fits into the narrative of walking for leisure as an extension of the Romanticist movement begun in the 18th century. Critiques of leisure walking framed only through representational ideas about the world set up Chapter II, where I outline background theory. In particular, the phenomenology of Tim Ingold (2000), accompanied by the new-animism of David Abram (1996) that seeks to heal the rupture between people living in industrialised societies and the natural world. Chapter III looks at the origins of The Way and how desires to reconnect with the English landscape relate to belonging. These are theoretically justified through Christopher Tilley’s (2006; 2008) theories on landscape and shared identity and the writer JRR Tolkien’s quest to unite ‘land and tongue’. Chapter IV explores how relations with the Pennine landscape become manifest through attention to the defining landscape feature of the walk – high moorland, and the immersive interchange between mind and matter that occurs during its walking. Looking at theories on language from authors like Eduardo Kohn (2013) and Merleau-Ponty (1962), I also consider what language may reveal about environmental perception. How relations with moorland have changed over time is explored through the lens of the relational epistemology of animism, and a discussion of wayfinding practices allows for an understanding of how landscape relations develop through a harnessing of semiotic resources. Ways in which people seek to integrate with The Way are explored in Chapter V with a specific focus on the body as the locus of relations, whilst in Chapter VI, the emphasis shifts more toward the agency of the landscape itself. Specifically, the power it holds in presencing the past for individuals, as overlapping theories on temporality presented by authors including Chris Gosden (1994), Alfred Gell (1998) and Barbara Bender (2002) are deployed. Chapter VII detours slightly to how this may compare to locals whose lives intersect with The Way, before returning to a further investigation of temporality amongst walkers. Ingold’s (2000) theories on reading a landscape’s gathered accumulation of past activities and Tilley’s (2008) concept of the phenomenological walk are specifically examined. I conclude with the importance of narrative and how passing on one’s own

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⁴ Contrary to popular opinion, sheep, at least the hill-breeds like the renowned Yorkshire Swaledale or Cumbrian Herdwick that populate the Pennine hills, are incredibly tough and resourceful, and must independently negotiate difficult terrain and extreme weather conditions.
experiences sustains the vitality of The Way. The reader will notice that chapter lengths vary significantly in their length and I hope this is not too jarring. It is, however, not altogether unintended. For many walkers, days also vary significantly in their length. Along with factors like the weather and the distribution of villages and points of interest, the nature of the terrain being crossed influences for how long and far one walks. Chapter IV, the longest chapter, directly concerns high moorland, which likewise makes up the bulk of the walk itself.

Before I continue, I should pass a note on reflexivity. Prior to the effects of the Coronavirus pandemic, I was originally meant to spend two months with an indigenous people, the Cofan, in the Colombian Amazon, with the intention of studying ethno-zoological knowledge. No doubt the reading I did in the build up toward it along with my more general interests regarding indigenous peoples’ perceptions of their environment, have influenced my approaches. However, the derailment of plans, as I know it did for innumerable others, resulted also in a greater attention toward things closer to home and a resurgent interest in the land of my country. The Way, running up the ‘spine of England’, offers perhaps the perfect means to develop such interests - indeed this was an important purpose behind its inception (see Chapter III). As the lockdown wore on, such sentiments heightened, so that by the time the easing of restrictions began in July, it seemed there had never been a time more appropriate for The Way to fulfil its role.
Chapter I: Why Walk?

Reasons behind why people walk The Way today have changed little from the motivations behind its original inception, as the same reactionary forces to modernism continue to exert themselves.\(^5\) People walk ‘to get away from it all for a bit’ and these sentiments appeared especially prominent in 2020 in the wake of the recent easing of the nationwide ‘lockdown’. The following quote is from David recording his thoughts on his YouTube Channel\(^6\) on the final day of The Way as he descended from the Cheviot Hills toward Kirk Yetholme. I was notified of his channel by his ‘guestbook’ entry at Greg’s Hut, a bothy\(^7\) I spent a night in on The Way.

“I’ve done nothing remarkable, just joined the ranks of the many thousands who have walked before me. It’s provided a fantastic opportunity to explore different farming landscapes, from the gritstone hills of the Peak District right through to the Cheviots. I’ll sign off by saying I needed this walk - after three months of lockdown I really wanted to absorb the hills. Going out for day walks is great, but to have a sixteen day journey like this has been fantastic - really reset my balance if you like. This is my favourite type of walking – a journey with a rucksack on your back and a destination many days ahead. It’s made me realise to not take for granted what we have.”

The fallacy of ‘the romanticised walk’

Of course, discourses surrounding returns to a more idyllic and ‘natural’ environment in which ‘nature’ holds the remedy for our personal and societal ills abound to the extent that it borders on the farcical (Conradson, 2006). However, whilst they can be satirised, they are impossible to reject or ignore (Cloke, 2003). I do not reject them, but an approach is required that goes beyond such familiar tropes.

As I see it, the fundamental problem with a number of discourses, both popular (e.g. Thompson, 2010) and academic (e.g. Bunce, 1994), surrounding returns to a more naturalised idyll (and rural walking in particular) is that they appear to construe it as purely a cultural phenomenon - an arm of

\(^5\) Albeit the pressures and living conditions of industrial urban work and living giving way more to the stagnancy of the digital age and information overload.

\(^6\) Morgs4Mountains - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-YjpeNR6hY

\(^7\) A small basic hut used as a mountain refuge and maintained by volunteers. Greg’s Hut was once accommodation for 18\(^{th}\) century miners. They are most commonly found in the Scottish Highlands, as repurposed shelters for shepherds or farm labourers.
the Romanticist movement as typified by writers like Wordsworth and Coleridge. This is the burgeoning movement originating in the 18th and 19th centuries in revolt against increasing urbanisation and industry, resulting in the placing of rural life on an “ideological pedestal” (Bunce, 1994: 17). But an approach that treats walking for leisure as entirely “shaped by performative or ideological conventions” (Edensor, 2008: 131), as if individuals have formulated ideas about landscape and then imposed them onto the world, in so doing side-lines the very importance of the materiality of landscape itself. These approaches tell us little about the land itself since this can only readily be perceived in relation to a person’s body.

The idea that walking for leisure, and a desire for a greater immersive relationship with the natural world, as something that is entirely based around romantic presumptions originating uniquely in 18th century Western Europe also outlaws the more-than-likely possibility that they are far more universal. The raking claw of modernity would have massively spurred reactionary and reappraising sentiments to untold heights, but they might better be reappraised as existing conceptually on an exponential curve. Widlok describes how the Akhoe Hai//om, a San hunter-gatherer people of Namibia, will walk as “a way of restoring peace and mind” (2008: 54). Rival (2002; 2012) relates how much the Huaorani of Amazonian Ecuador enjoy walking their forest trails, taking in the surrounding tropical biome. A view that advances the historical and geographical uniqueness of walking for pleasure itself appears to be a result of inattention to the sensing body, for indeed whilst representational ideas about the world are almost limitless in their potential, we all share a human body – our primary site of engagement with the world.

The Romantics’ creation of ‘ideal’ landscapes, most notably informed by the French word paysage, implied that landscape was something to be viewed and an aesthetic rendering of the sublime (Árnason et al., 2012). This encouraged a distancing between person and environment, between object and observer. The simplistic equation between the natural world and goodness, as shaped through ideological presumption (Conradson, 2006), actually lies in contradiction to the heart of this essay. Such a fallacy implies not only an irreducible divide between humanity and the naturalistic lifeworld, but it strips the landscape of its own dynamic nature and voice, subject to its own moods and temperaments. It is, in effect, another form of attempts to dominate the natural world and our distancing from it. The Way largely does not conform to the idealised landscapes of romantic art; it certainly does not have the cathedral like spires of the Alps and far less profusion of the striking forms of the Lakes. The bulk of the walk is over rounded tops of rather featureless moorland. Impossible as it is to capture the ‘general feelings’ during my time spent walking The Way on two
separate occasions, I would have to say both times I definitely felt better for having walked it. But that does not mean to say that I was not subject to a great range of emotions.

Having addressed some of the issues with representational forms of knowing, I now introduce the field of phenomenology, which forms the theoretical basis for this dissertation.
Chapter II: Background Theory

Phenomenology

Phenomenology seeks to describe how the world reveals itself to the observer, as opposed to explaining a fixed and determinate external reality. It aims to dissolve the boundary between subjective and objective phenomena, instead replacing this with subjective and intersubjective phenomena (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Thus phenomenology can, in the words of Abram, “give voice to the world from our experienced situation within it” (1996: 47). We exist in an enmeshed relationality with our environment; the lifeworld. The lifeworld is the world as it exists prior to any subsequent reflections (Ingold, 2000; 2006). We are all enmeshed in a lifeworld, but to pay closer attention to our surroundings is to be more alive to it – to be more in tune with other beings’ rhythms’ and aware of the inherent reciprocity of perception and interaction (Ingold, 2006). Merleau-Ponty (1962) stressed the body as the site of intersubjective relations and a being’s locale of awareness within the lifeworld; it is through sensation not abstract thought that beings bring not just themselves but others into existence.

Phenomenology and animism

I now turn to the concurrence between phenomenology and animism. This is necessary to engage with arguments I develop. Whilst anthropology has long since dispensed with Edward Tylor’s social evolutionism in which he saw animism as the first stage on a ladder toward monotheism and eventually scientific rationality, according to Ingold (2006), the conventional view is still that animism is a belief system attributing spirit to inert phenomena. However, according to Ingold animism is not a belief system, it is a condition of being in the world - by having a body and perceptually reciprocating with other beings is to be an animist (Ingold, 2006). The difference between most people living in industrialised societies and numerous indigenous peoples around the world is the depth of these relational interactions and the degree to which a person is “alive to the world” (Ingold, 2006: 10). That is, the degree of sensitive attuning and depth of understanding to a fluctuate lifeworld consisting of web-like relations.

Animism exists as the initiatory nature of experience to an unfolding and connected lifeworld, before any subsequent abstractive thought about it - whether that concerns invoking the agency of spirit or the deterministic cause and effect of the natural scientist as explanation (Ingold, 2006). In his critique of Descola’s (2005) ontological schema of praxis under which all human societies fall,
Ingold (2016) evocatively implies that all of Descola’s ontologies (animism, totemism, analogism and naturalism) are underlain by an animistic rather than a naturalistic framework. He imagines taking out the objects pertaining to each category from Descola’s dusty museum drawers and exposing them to the elements. The schematic diagrams and papers of the naturalist, seeking only to explain the world, would soon become sodden, swept away in the wind and useless. The masks and drums of the animist, however, would ‘come alive’ and perform best (Ingold, 2016). With animism, things are alive because one relates with them. The tree is not alive because of the vitality of its cellular structure but because we hear and see its leaves blowing in the wind (Ingold, 2006). As Abram (1996) explains, the ascribing of ‘sensible qualities’ to phenomena, whether to the wind, a tree or a stone is the most accurate method of description our perceptual interaction with them. Importantly in the context of my argument, Abram proposes that more direct exposure to, “native forms of the earth” (1996: 63), results in a gradual energizing and reawakening of the senses. This leads to a shift in sensory awareness so that we become more participatory and perceptive to these forms whilst the technologies with which we have merged ourselves begin to lose their distinctive appeal.

**Landscape and dwelling**

Bound up with all that I have discussed so far is the notion of landscape. I use an anthropological understanding of landscape - one formed through relational practical activities with the environment, what Ingold (2000), following Heidegger (1978), refers to as dwelling. Heidegger’s (1978) example of a bridge is useful in explaining landscape as the earth gathered. As already discussed, something can only exist through its relations with other things which bring it into being. For a bridge to be a bridge it must connect two banks. Árnason et al. (2012) use Heidegger’s bridge as a useful way of showing how there does not necessarily have to be a separation between something’s intrinsic essence and its existence as an expressive symbol: a bridge. As I explore, this is especially important for the Pennine Way - a vitally important symbol of freedom of access and heritage whilst also only being brought into sustained being through the lives and activities of those who walk it. Theory on the relationship between dwelling, belonging and shared identity, as outlined by Tilley (1994; 2006), is reserved until the following chapter so as to provide a more context specific understanding. Important also to landscape is temporality. At the risk of repeating myself, I reserve theoretical discussions of temporality until later chapters.

**Critiques**

Abram, and to an extent Ingold and Tilley, have been criticised in their phenomenological approaches for valorising indigenous peoples environmental perception (Wylie, 2007). Wylie (2007:
183) claims that in doing so they perpetuate a Western myth of such people as living more authentically and ‘naturally’ in an immortalised past. I would have to disagree. Ideas of living ‘naturally’ are indeed, just ideas. However, describing the fundamental importance of living animistically for all humans, Ingold states that “I am not worried that it would be somehow inauthentic if we ceased to do so. I am worried that we would all be dead” (2007: 33).\(^8\) I follow Abram in seeing ‘the return’ I outlined in the introduction not as a harking nostalgia but as part of the unfolding changes to an arbitrarily defined ‘Western’ society - a movement that realises the need to subvert the oppressive crush of a solely rational and objectivist outlook. Walking The Way is, perhaps unintentionally for many, part of this movement - one whose underlying sentiments led to The Way’s creation.

\(^8\) See Rival (2012) for how a greater emphasis on the immediacy of unfolding relations with one’s environment and the lifeworld does not entail an inability to deploy representational and objective forms of knowing.
Chapter III: Origins

O live if you will where the lowlands are spread,
With black city walls and contagion is fed,
But give me the heights where the plover is bred,
And health has her throne.

–Ammon Wrigley⁹, 1938, ‘The West Wind in Spring’

Tom Stephenson’s ‘Long Green Trail’

In 1935, Tom Stephenson (1935), a journalist, lifelong socialist reformer and campaigner for access to open spaces, wrote an article in ‘The Daily Herald’ entitled Wanted – a Long Green Trail. Here he outlined his desire to create a long-distance walking route to allow people uninhibited access to some of England’s most captivating landscapes. He explained that “a century ago probably no country in the world had such wealth of pedestrian ways” but that now many have been closed to the public and fallen out of use in the wake of the Enclosure Acts. As access campaigner Howard Hill stated, “The struggle for the right to wander freely over these vast expanses of uncultivated moorland was not to establish a new right but to regain an old one” (Douglas, 2018: 99).

The first Enclosure Act of 1773, followed by subsequent others in the 19th century, led to the removal of rights of common access traditionally held by small-tenant farmers (Clark and Clark, 2001). Landlords - encouraged by the financial incentives of monopolisation - often appointed their own commissioners to sit on each land change judicial case, and bribed or cajoled the tenants to consent (ibid). Nowhere are the artefacts of this dislocation seen on The Way more than on the descent to Ickornshaw, where numerous stone houses stand long abandoned (see Appendix.P3).
Former tenants then migrated to the swelling cities and mill-towns either side of the Pennines (McColy, 2016). Their geography advanced their growth: the textile mills resourced the wool from the sheep farms covering the Pennines and the great watershed of those same hills provided the energy to turn the water wheels prior to the steam engine’s invention. Traditional packhorse routes over the hills increasingly fell out of use as the commons disintegrated, something compounded by the rise of steam train travel (Douglas, 2018). This worsened in the latter half of the 19th century as

⁹ Wrigley (1861 – 1946) was a cotton mill worker, poet and local amateur historian from near Saddleworth. He was affectionately known as the ‘Pennine Poet’ whose “love of his country shone in all his works” (Wainwright, 1974: 146). The Way passes his memorial stone at Millstone Edge on the Lancashire/Yorkshire border. Of his collated works, Songs of the Pennine Hills (1938), the publishers write “We feel sure that no book has ever been published that contains so much verse of the open air, the countryside and the moorlands of the Pennines”. Wrigley is used for all this dissertation’s epigraphs.
landlords converted grazing moorland into strictly no access grouse shooting moorland as it became more lucrative than sheep farming, influenced by the development of the breach loading shotgun and from 1882 the importation of refrigerated lamb from New Zealand (ibid).

As I skirted the reservoirs above Chelburn Moor on a bright morning of my walking The Way in July 2020, Paul struck up a conversation with me. Sporting a crumpled sports cap and wielding a long walking-pole, Paul was a very tall and charismatic man in his seventies who walked the hills around his village outside Rochdale every day. He had been in the cattle skins trade and told me that a business associate from Ethiopia had once wanted to know where the Industrial Revolution had started. “From this very spot, I told him look no further” said Paul in his broad Lancashire accent as he swept a ranging arm over the wide vista below, pointing out the distant urban sprawls. First Rochdale, then Bolton and finally the needling spires of Manchester’s few skyscrapers – the highest about a third of our current height - could be spied on the south-east horizon. Paul described how growing up as a boy in the 50’s, such a view would have been impossible owing to the density of urban smog, and how the sheep’s wool up here was darkly stained from lingering soot swept into the hills.

Three years prior to Stephenson’s article, ramblers from Manchester and Sheffield led by Mancunian mechanic Benny Rothman and the British Workers Sports Federation, made history when they staged a mass trespass on Kinder Scout (the vast plateau of peat moorland that overlooks Edale, then used as grouse shooting ground). This led to violent confrontation with its gamekeepers and the imprisonment of four of the trespass’ leaders (Douglas, 2018). For Stephenson, Kinder became the ‘cockpit’ in the battle for the Pennine Way’s establishment (McCloy, 2016). Douglas (2018) describes how the Kinder trespass may have been instigated by factory workers, but it was an extension of a longer campaign for access. Many of the early ramblers were middle class intellectual Radicals, themselves a foreground to the conflict between landowners and poachers stretching back to the punitive anti-poaching ‘Black Act’ of 1723 - in which someone could be punished for standing in a forest at night (ibid).

The impact of war

It was the compound effects of war that catalysed The Way’s go ahead. In 1942 a government rural affairs commission concluded that “there are good reasons for believing that after the war rambling will be still more popular, and it will be very regrettable if young people find themselves barred from the wild and lonely places...The Pennine Way would meet a very real need” (McCloy, 2016: 68). The Dower Report in 1945 laid the blueprint for The Way’s and first National Parks’ creation. In 1947
three prominent MPs – including Labour ex-Chancellor Hugh Dalton - walked part of the route with Stephenson, in the wake of growing demand for health and social reform (McCloy, 2016). From this point people began to walk The Way. However both World Wars would have been significant in cultivating the shoots of consciousness that led toward its beginning.

The enormous sense of loss, private pain and grief was something it appeared outdoor recreation would help alleviate. Joe Roper was one of Britain’s pioneering post-WWI climbers and lecturer for the Workers’ Educational Association. He admitted the war had inflicted upon him a “divine discontent...a search for an escape from the drab and troubled world” (Thompson, 2012: 136). In 1918 Lord Leconsfield donated Scafell Pike, England’s highest summit, to the National Trust in memory to the “men of Borrowdale” and this was shortly followed by 12 more Lakeland summits by private organisations (National Trust, 2018).

**Belonging to the land and theoretical justification**

More than rights of access and social reform, Stephenson’s Pennine Way vision was above all about allowing people, and young people in particular, to understand and enjoy their country’s land. The Way would enable people deprived of access to the great outdoors to develop attachments to the rural British landscape, in particular its remote regions of moorland and mountain (McCloy, 2016). The 1935 article describes the landscapes and historic places one would encounter on The Way before concluding:

> It would be a worthy and enduring testimony – bringing health and pleasure beyond computation, for none could walk it without being improved in mind and body, inspired and invigorated and filled with the desire to explore every corner of this lovely land (Stephenson, 1935).

Tilley outlines how identity, memory and meaning find a “generative source” (2006: 21) in the landscape. Identity must be embodied, so that landscape features anchor the perception of a community and inform a common understanding. Tilley (1994) also explains how topographical naming accompanied by the embodied perception of such places acts as a vector for identity as sheer physicality is transformed into socially and historically meaningful places.

Exploring the complex notion of Britishness, Tilley (2008) seeks to move away from forms of identity construction based in ‘flag-waving’ and overt demonstrations of nationalistic pride. Rather, notions

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10 It in fact took until 1965 to become fully official due to small sections continuing to face local opposition, but by this point thousands had already completed walking The Way and a guide book had even been published (McCloy, 2016).
of Britishness may emerge through practical engagements with the material world such as gardening (Tilley, 2008) and walking (Tilley and Cameron-Daum, 2017), leading to the notion of ‘banal nationalism’ as borrowed from Billig (1995). In this sense, Britishness (or Englishness) does not appear as a free-floating ideational construct, easily latched onto and manipulated by power-interested individuals and then disseminated in bombastic sweeps of fervour. Rather a sense of place, identity, fellowship and belonging emerges through a bodily relationality with one’s environment. This concurrence between dwelling and belonging elucidates Olwig’s (2008) contention that to walk is to heft oneself to the land.

JRR Tolkien was a writer whose work is permeated with his concerns of a society increasingly ambivalent toward the natural world and the disenchanting effects of the modernist project. His classic work, The Lord of the Rings (1954), was likewise an attempt to reacquaint the English people, who he felt struggled with a sense for their own identity, with their landscape and oral myths. Tolkien saw the fault lying with Alfred the Great’s drive to rediscover Roman learning and oppress the Anglo-Saxon myths in the 9th century, causing the English language to be especially ruptured from its oral and mythic roots (Cook, 2014). Rather than, like the American people, dangerously “retreat into a pseudo-myth of race and cultural identity” (Mortimer, 2005: 120), he wanted his work to unite “land and tongue”. By rediscovering the lost Anglo-Saxon myths and poetry, and distilling the English landscape in narrative, he sought to map out a sacred geography for the English people and nurture a sense of belonging. Considering the argument that all language resonates and derives from the earth’s natural forms (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) but that this has been ruptured in literate societies throughalphabetisation (Abram, 1996), and the unity of myth, language and landscape evidenced in ethnographies of numerous indigenous oral societies (e.g. Basso, 1988; Legat, 2008; Townsley 1993; Thornton, 2008), it reveals the scope and magnitude of Tolkien’s mission.

To summarise, The Way’s inception cannot be isolated on any chronological point in time. Stephenson’s (1935) article where he expressed his desire for a route that encouraged individuals “to explore every corner of this lovely land” may have been the foundling seed, but the soil in which it grew had been maturing there for a very long time, tilled by hands from across the societal

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11 A thorough account of Tolkien’s aims are well described in his letter to Milton Waldman in 1951, including his misgivings concerning the Arthurian legends and their explicit association with the Christian religion (despite Tolkien himself being a follower of Christianity). The letter can be found here: [https://www.tolkienestate.com/en/writing/letters/letter-milton-waldman.html](https://www.tolkienestate.com/en/writing/letters/letter-milton-waldman.html)

12 It is important to note that ideas of race or hereditism were completely absent in Tolkien’s mission. Indeed he abhorred the fantasies of the 20th century’s ideological movements (Cook, 2014).

13 Anyone reading Tolkien cannot miss the sentience and wilful attributes of the natural world he depicts, something Evans (2019) explores in depth.
spectrum, composted and fed through a variety of co-interacting historical and environmental forces. This included disillusionment with a world wrecking itself with industrialisation, mechanisation and war. A future was desired of greater freedoms of access, enjoyment in ‘the great outdoors’, developed interests in landscapes richly layered in human history there to be seen and felt, and ultimately, the development of a sense of belonging to “this lovely land”. Perhaps also, it was hoped The Way would inspire even more. With an eye to the future in a world not far from descending into turmoil, Stephenson wrote in 1937 of The Way and the next generation: “We shall give them a new life and a new philosophy” (McCloy, 2016: 227). I now turn to relations between walkers of The Way and the Pennine landscape.
Chapter IV: Moorland and wayfinding

Queer old legends told by shepherds
Driving sheep across the fells,
How they heard the mountain fairies
In the twilight ring their bells!
Ammon Wrigley, ‘The men of “Churchside”’

I begin with a particular form of landscape relation that has perhaps defined it amongst its fraternity. The majority of The Way passes over high moorland, and in a number of sections this may be classified as bog, most challenging of which is peat bog. Of course, the amount of recent rain drastically influences the severity of bog. Keeping your feet dry soon becomes a walker’s top priority, especially if camping and so without an easy way to dry boots. Until the 1990s bog was an even more serious challenge, especially in sections such as the route over Kinder Scout, Black Hill and on The Cheviot summit. The amount of walkers in the ‘70s and ‘80s was leading to severe erosion in such sections and these were becoming almost impassable with tales of people sinking up to their thighs in peat (McCloy, 2016). Alfred Wainwright, the idiosyncratic author and illustrator of The Way’s most popular guidebook, The Pennine Way Companion, described Black Hill as “a desolate and hopeless quagmire. Nature fashioned it, but for once has no suggestion for clothing...there is no root hold in this sea of ooze” (1974: 156). In reference to first few days of The Way a long-distance walking veteran in 1975 described the peat as “softer, stickier and deeper than any I have ever encountered” (McCloy, 2016: 35).

The phenomenology of a peat bog

In 1987 National Parks and the Countryside Commission decided to place flagstones along the sections most in need. Today 22 miles (8%) has been flagstoned. Additionally, the route over the vast Kinder Scout plateau has been changed to follow the old packhorse path skirting its edge. In

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14 These were sourced from the floors of abandoned mills from the surrounding towns and cities, the flagstones themselves originally having been cut from Pennine stone (McCloy, 2016). It is striking the way this mirrors the political ecology of the Pennines themselves – displaced tenant farmers moving to urban areas in the wake of the industrial revolution, followed by a desire to return to the hills as seen in the rambling movements of the 19th century onward, rights of access movements and indeed the provenance of the majority of people from the towns walking The Way and the hills today.
2020 I decided to use the original route out of personal interest.\textsuperscript{15} The following anecdote describes my crossing.

Having crested the southern nib of the Kinder plateau, I follow Crowden Brook until it disappears into moss and then strike a bearing toward a small lone tree. An enveloping fog quickly descends, a thin rain whips at my side and I don my wet weather gear. Reaching the tree, there is enough visibility to head for a small green mound on the same bearing, but I spend more time looking down than I do up so as to avoid deep pools of ooze or to leap down from the peat hags (peat overhangs up to two metres deep) that fissure the landscape. Now I am doubtful if I am headed toward the same mound originally aimed for. I decide to plunge north-west into the fog, hoping for the best. I look up, the fog lifts and The Kinder Gates reveal themselves; two large rocky heads that funnel the River Kinder on the way to Kinder Downfall and the exit point from this great table-top of such notorious acclaim. Heading toward certainty, I reflect that the time between leaving the brook and the fog lifting could have been ten or twenty-five minutes - it seems but a haze now.

The crossing of difficult moorland terrain forces an engaged relationship with one’s environment. Ingold (2015) describes the kinaesthetic nature of movement and thought. The sensed terrain and ground surface enmeshes with thought processes in a constant dialectic, dissolving mind and matter boundaries. Vergunst (2008) describes the tacit knowledge that hill-walkers must deploy in an intruding environment. Representational and reflective forms of knowing collapse toward a more engaged sense of being, in a continual readjustment and adaptation of the body to the environment. Leaping between patches of vaguely solid looking ground and down from peat hags whilst trying to not be de-stabilised by a heavy backpack, it was a case of “my body being realised in landscape” (Vergunst, 2008: 116). Indeed, the necessity of grappling with the terrain meant that the schematic rendering of my ‘external’ environment in the form of taking a precise bearing using map and compass soon lost out to a vaguer plum toward north-east. Walking over difficult ground is to engage with a landscape that is, as Wylie describes in his phenomenological exploration of walking the South-West Coast Path, “inhabited and processed rather than beheld” (2005: 239).

Moreover, the atmosphere itself – the fog and the rain – engenders an immersion into a weather-world bearing directly on my being (see Ingold, 2015). Ingold (2015) describes the dual, or rather unified, meaning of ‘atmosphere’. It is both the air’s elemental nature – it’s shades, density, movement and capricious changeability - in which we are immersed, and the atmospheric quality of

\textsuperscript{15} These moorlands are entirely open access and no longer suffer from erosion. Sustained heavy footfall is required over a finite section of vulnerable ground for this to occur (McCloy, 2016).
Kohn (2013) describes how words that exist as iconic sign vehicles, like onomatopoeia in which we feel the word as it re-presences the thing it describes, show us that not all of human language is restricted to symbolic thought and the interdependent Saussurean web. Kohn’s (2013) multi-species ecosemiotic approach, however, would confine such words’ relevance to their semiotic capacity to communicate between humans and animals not necessarily human, capable of hearing sound. Whilst language does not mean thought, for Kohn human language is largely separate from the rest of the natural world. However, Merleau-Ponty (1962) would say that language is a part of the world’s woven fabric and that words give voice to at least something of an inherent essence of the very thing itself as this presents itself to a human body. Alphabetisation and the distancing technologies of modernisation have meant that language is increasingly ruptured from its oral roots that are closer expressions of this being-in-the-world (Abram, 1996). Nonetheless, the onomatopoeic qualities of numerous words are still revelatory. Thus I reflect on how fog, an elemental force capable of obscuring and causing confusion as it pervades the awareness of numerous beings, presents itself to my person. The fo- sound resembles a descending and enveloping hush. A softness, but not a comforting one, as if one is feeling with arms outstretched forward, trying to grasp onto something tangible and known, without falling back into the bleak whiteness of forgetting.

In 2020 I got talking to an English couple living in Switzerland, during The Way’s final section crossing the lonesome but charismatic Cheviot hills. Julia reflected that they had enjoyed their walk, but that she preferred tackling the steep ascents of the Alps to the marshy bogs of the Pennines. “I don’t like them – I don’t like not knowing what’s in them and I don’t like the smell. It doesn’t make for easy walking”. Indeed, prior to the days of mobile phones, Mountain Rescue, high-performance clothing, availability of maps and compasses, metalled roads and vehicles, along with a generally lower density of population, high moorland areas were dangerous places, as occasionally they still can be if unprepared. Douglas (2018) describes numerous incidents from history of people dying from exposure on moorland, usually in winter, in the Peak District. For example, Elizabeth Trout died

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16 In Kazuo Ishiguro’s Arthurian mythic *The Buried Giant* (2015), set during the murky Dark Ages of post-Roman Britain, a strange fog covers the land which causes people to forget their past.

17 Heidegger (cited in Gosden, 1994) argued that technology had lost its original (Greek) meaning of ‘bringing forth’, instead now it existed as a challenge to the natural environment. Perhaps the digital age reflects to an extent a yet further disconnection through total lack of engagement and into the realms of detached ambivalence.
crossing home from Tideswell market. “The legendary shepherd boy”, Abraham Lowe, died whilst trying to rescue his sheep following a storm on Black Tor (ibid: 38). Ingold (2004) describes the rhythmic nature of walking, but I would argue negotiating difficult moorland terrain is the antithesis of this. Through sensory experience, difficult terrain “invades the body” (Edensor, 2008: 131), and the materiality of the environment has the potential to not merely challenge but, as the above examples and accounts of walkers in the 70s and 80s give, literally swallow one up. In The Roof of Lancashire, Herbert Collins (1950) interviews a local farmer of Saddleworth moor, whose boundary lies a mile east of The Way’s crossing of Dean Head Moss.

“I asked if he believed in the old boggarts and witches. “Nay” he answered, smiling broadly. “Not these days what wi’ electric milkers and motor cars, but they did in the old days…the farmers had witch sticks.”” (1950: 28)

The farmer then lists several notorious boggarts according to the old tales, each topologically identified with a certain location such as ‘The Blater of Old Tame’, Tame being a local river. Here I introduce the notion of the ‘supernatural’, or as Ingold (2006) might challenge, merely the natural personified. In agreement with Ingold is Bird-David (1999), with her concept of a ‘relational epistemology’ operating amongst the Nayaka, hunter-gatherers of India. For the Nayaka, personification of various beings is not as a case of an application of prior knowledge such as alive or not alive, or person or not-person, in a before and after representation, but as personification because they get to know them through the way these beings appear to their unfolding perception.

Thus the farmer’s response indicates that – speculatively sometime in the mid to late 19th century - in these high remote hills, local people to some extent still emphasised a way of knowing based on the immediacy of their unfolding environment. Therefore, it was perhaps less a question of belief for these farmers (who often spent days living at height in crude shelters tending their sheep in all seasons [Douglas, 2018]), but more a different emphasis concerning ways of knowing. These differences can be inferred to originate from being more isolated from the influences of an objective rendering of the world, the lacking of intermediary technologies, and working in a highly uncertain environment which necessitated a close attuning with their environment. Returning to language, it is unlikely to be incidental that overhangs of peat are known locally as hags, whilst the double –gg in

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18 Two miles east from The Way’s intersection with the A635 before White Moss lies ‘Boggart Stones’. OS Map 1:25000 – OL1.
19 It is interesting that ‘superstitious’ beliefs are commonly associated in recent history with fishermen in Western society, the sea being one of the few remaining highly uncertain environments that people work in. Indeed, in their capriciousness and vast potentiality, sea and moorland appear similar. When outboard motors amongst Portuguese fishermen came into use, reports of witches drastically declined (Acheson, 1981:288).
boggart as opposed to bogey perhaps belies the formers association with boggy areas, denoting the sensation of being sucked down. I have attempted to sketch how walking The Way involves an embeddedness between body and dwelt landscape that, although not always ‘pleasant’, is certainly involved. However Wylie (2005), whilst acknowledging the engaged character of walking and its contributing to being-in-the-world, also critiques an overly simplistic integration of the two. A walker is both ‘in’ the landscape, but when negotiating challenging terrain, is also “pressed up against it” (Wylie, 2005: 240). You are increasingly aware of the bodily self as you are at once immersed and also necessarily distinct from landscape through self-preserving actions. This can be conceived of as a process of ceaseless knotting and unknotting (ibid). Indeed, the otherness of moorland is archetypally manifest in the form of the boggart. To be totally absorbed or subsumed would to be swallowed up by the bog, to be consumed by the other and perhaps - like in the extreme cases from history - never to return. I argue that an at times more wary relationship with landscape, that acknowledges its powerful capacities, allows for the variation in the tones, moods and qualities of the environment to increasingly be discerned. This is more conducive to a true sense of belonging than notions of a predominantly visualised sublime awe. It entails a respect for environment borne through dwelling, and as is the case with any human relationship, an awareness of when to move closer and when to distance yourself.

Footprints on The Way

It is interesting to speculate on what effect the adding of flagstones have had on walkers’ relationship with The Way and the environment writ large. No doubt they were necessary and have averted ecological harm. Although easier than it was, it is still regarded as a challenging long-distance walk (McCloy, 2016). But in both 2018 and 2020 I met some people who complained about the lack of signage and even some who wanted more flagstones and an easy trackway to follow. But this would undermine Stephenson’s (1935) vision of a “faint line on OS maps that over time grateful pilgrims would engrave on the face of the land”. Indeed Ingold (2004), laments the modernist project’s drive toward destination orientated travel. We desire a uniform planar surface to enable

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20 See Widdowson (1971) for the remarkable cross-cultural association of the /bu-bo-/ semantic cluster with fear inspiring entities.
21 In The Shepherd’s Life, hill-farmer and author James Rebanks (2015) conceives of the person-environment relationship of tourist season day-trippers walking the Lakeland fells as a ‘summer-fling’. His compares his relationship with the landscape to that with his wife, a seasoned maturing of increasingly mutualistic knowing that adapts with the comings and goings of all weathers and moods.
speedy movement so that negotiation of a variegated earthly ground can be bypassed. In doing so we “merely skim the surface of the world”, our thoughts free floating and detached (ibid: 329). It is in the leaving of tracks in the ground that we return to our senses and in the tracks that we follow that our lives, or rather the lines we trace, entangle with those that have gone before (Ingold, 2015). I was occasionally grateful for the flagstones when they appeared. But to be able to cross all the difficult ground the Pennines has to offer whilst in a way floating above it, detached from full bodily engagement, would not seem right.

Crossing Hartleyburn Common (County Durham), I returned from wandering thoughts to realise I had lost the path in the tussocky wet ground. I then gratefully found what looked to be tracks and soon I crested a small hill and came across an Irish couple also walking The Way. However, they too were lost and had been following tracks they soon realised were sheep’s. We laughed, spent some time with the map and reoriented ourselves. It is in these kinds of moments where I reflected it would be a great shame were The Way converted into a pedestrian motorway. Getting a bit lost, looking for tracks, trading stories about mishaps, all these things co-mingle to make The Way what it is. The necessity of knowing where you are also forces an attentive visual engagement with terrain. Tuck-Po (2008) details the attentiveness to small sensorial cues amongst the Batek, hunter-gatherers of Malaysia, as they navigate forest trails. The legendary Lakeland fell-runner Joss Naylor, who at 73 was able to run 35 miles over 18,000 feet of climbing in under 15 hours, is said to partly attribute his success to his occupation as a shepherd. In the fell-running film Iron Man (2009), a friend describes Naylor’s uncanny ability to find the best line up a mountain because “he kens the lie of the land…where the sheep like to go he follows”. Takada (2016) elucidates way-finding practices amongst the G/Ui (a San hunter-gatherer people) of the Kalahari as they make their way through the thorn bushes and long grasses of the bushveld. By following the tracks of animals, often sparsely distributed, they formulate a line through the terrain by connecting these points together. However, tracks’ sparse distribution and the difficulty in determining them mean the G/Ui must ‘read between the lines’, in a process of projecting themselves into the subjectivity of the animal’s tracks they imagine to be following (see also Liebenberg [2006] and speculative tracking, also amongst the San).

In 2018 I remember having trouble finding the way across Dean Head Moss. The grass tussocks here are dense and peat hags open up before your feet amidst the deceptively flat horizon. Then I would see a few tracks in the peat of a fellow walker and I would find myself imagining their thought

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22 In July of 2020 the record for completing the whole Pennine Way (the infamous ‘Spine Challenge’) was broken twice, first by John Kelly and then by Damian Hall (61hrs), two independent runners. The previous record had stood for 37 years. I now realise I saw Damian and his pacers at Laddow Rocks, but was unaware of the significance!
processes. Were they like me looking uncertainly for the way ahead or were they striding forward forthrightly, confident in their location on the map? This was not merely out of passing interest but happened intuitively as a method of determining the wisdom of continuing to focus attention on looking for tracks or returning to map and compass.

Edensor (2008) explores the effect of regulated urban space in encouraging a habitual way of living that desensitises one to their environment. If the senses are not challenged or motivated to be in parlance with the world, they switch off, further emphasising the mind/matter and indeed nature/culture split endemic to the modernist perception. Moreover, a mass consumerist society leads to regulation of those senses remnants. In shopping districts, loud noises or repugnant smells are kept out, whilst fragrances are used to lure us in. Such examples are but a part of moves toward an increased arbitrary and planned ordering of space, as autonomy is overtly and discreetly taken out of one’s hands, or rather feet (Edensor, 2008).

Wayfinding practices thus involve a harnessing of semiotic resources via an attuning of the sensing body. However, wayfinding also involves more ‘zoomed-out’ modes of perception. Identifying named topographic features like hills and rivers is both practically necessary but also enjoyable. A common practice is to look back from promontories to where you have walked, linking named summits. Summiting Great Shunner Fell in fine weather I could see fifty miles in all directions and pick out features of the Yorkshire Dales, Northern Pennines and The Lake District. Following from Tilley (1994) and the importance of topographical identification, this generation of awareness toward the landforms that shape northern England informs an understanding of landscape and a shared sense of identity.

I have considered how walking The Way often necessitates a greater degree of involvement of the sensing body than in one’s day-to-day life, and how this relates to an increased understanding of the Pennine landscape. This occurs with both a ‘close-up’ material engagement and a more reflective knowing based around prominent topographic features. I now turn to how walkers themselves may seek to further integrate themselves with the unfolding landscape.
Chapter V: At Home on The Way

I roam the hills and I feel the wind,
I hear the bird and the bee,
They’re all the wealth I shall ever seek
In my hill country.
– Ammon Wrigley, ‘The Hill Country’

In July of 2020 whilst relaxing one evening in the pub at Malham - the village at Malham Cove’s feet where the exposed limestone that marks the start of the Yorkshire Dales rears up in a great wall of rock, I got chatting over a drink to Robbie and Nathan, two students from Sheffield also walking The Way. This was the first pub they had been inside in two weeks they told me, as their eyes lit up as their pie and chips were brought over. I was astounded that they had taken two weeks to walk the eighty miles from Edale. With laid back enthusiasm they said how they had “gone feral” during their two weeks of wild camping and would often stay for a couple of days at a particular place they liked. Recounting tales of improvised earthen ovens, mishaps with dogs in forests and attempts at foraging using a survival book they had picked up, they clearly relished just being on The Way. Nor could they understand why more people weren’t walking it23. For both, the destination was completely secondary. “To be honest, we probably won’t finish it this year at the rate we’re going” Robbie laughed. I met up with both the next day on a short excursion to Gordale Scar, where the Gordale River cleaves through steep limestone canyons culminating in a cascading waterfall. Both had walking sticks (Nathan referred to his as his staff) fashioned from wooden branches they’d found and Nathan had strapped a sheep’s skull to his backpack. I now take a brief look at some of the ethnography that has emerged from Amazonia, because it may provide a clearer image of the role of the body in relating to the environment of The Way.

According to Viveiros de Castro (1989), Amazonian societies emphasise the social fabrication of bodies in order to define the borders of the human body so as to prevent an ontological blurring and sickness if non-human agents were to invade it. The body is thus seen as merely a masking boundary to the shared interiority (and ultimately shared humanity) of all beings, a boundary that most

23 Despite this opinion being voiced multiple times in 2020, by all accounts less people were walking The Way in the wake of lockdown ending than would usually. This was most likely due to almost all the hostels being closed so that people had only the option of camping (and carrying all necessary gear) or staying in more expensive B&B’s.
persons seek to constantly reify, largely through the shared flow of substances between members of a community (Vilaca, 2002). However certain individuals like shamans seeking to adopt the perspectives of nonhuman animals, or hunters desiring to imbue their bodies with attributes like the keen eyed vision of the harpy eagle, ingest or adorn their own bodies with said animals to accommodate varying degrees of ontological blurring (Viveiros de Castro, 1989; Kohn, 2013). To be clear, I am not seeking to conflate the theoretical field of Amazonian perspectivism grounded in ontologies vastly different from our own with walkers of the Pennine Way relishing (somewhat tongue-in-cheek) a casting off of their associations to urban ‘civilisation’. Rather, the examples from Amazonia can be seen as superlative cases of the way in which a body forms the site of relational interaction and entanglement with the nonhuman lifeworld. A host of sensory stimulants that result from adornment, ingestion or other sensory engagement provide an indexal cue for the imagination (by imagination I mean the journeying of the mind, not the Westernised notion of ‘not real’) to enmesh with said being or what that being might stand for. Botanic and landscape artist Roger Banks, interviewed by anthropologist Griet Scheldeman (2012), describes how he aims to paint the experience, not the view. To do so he explains “you must become a part of it...eat it, swim it, climb it, you get to feel it” (ibid: 44). Robbie and Nathan’s sheep skull, along with the haptic tactility of their wooden walking sticks, are not therefore merely symbolic associations with the way. They are also ‘mind-ware’, providing sensory indexal points of reference for their bodies and minds to form closer ties with the Pennine landscape. Perez describes corporeal appropriation as the surest means of memorising landscape. He relates how during the pilgrimage of Arizona Hopi on the ritual salt path, pilgrims “taste salts, drink from different sources and dress in its (landscape’s) colours” (2012: 91).

Ways of walking

In 2020 I met Ben, a retired doctor from Skipton, who was walking in the lush greenery of the lowland fields before Gargrave. During a long chat he told me that he had walked The Way last year and it had been a profound experience. He encouraged me to take my time and gave me the specific advice of climbing down into High Cup Nick, a vast valleyed amphitheatre of rock (see Appendix, P15) and not to not skirt its edge as The Way dictates. “You need to get a real feel for it” he told me. Douglas’ sentimental attachments for Kinder come across when he talks of the Downfall’s “graphic energy” and “walls that seem to embrace you, to wrap around your back” (2018: 4).

In 2020 whilst walking through the silent green rows of Wark Forest, part of the vast Northumbrian Kielder Forest plantation, I got chatting to Graham, a very affable school caretaker from

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24 A former mill-town about 5 miles from The Way.
Littleborough. He was mostly wild-camping and we reflected on its differences with those staying in sheltered accommodation. I think there is a certain unspoken mutual respect and heightened comradeship between walkers who are camping and especially those wild-camping. Perhaps this is because it is simply more challenging. With only seven places where you can buy food on The Way, unless you divert off it, it makes for significantly harder walking carrying enough food as well as sleeping bag, tent, gas and cooker, clothing and whatever other accompaniments deemed necessary. But wild camping also means you end up exploring and literally bedding in with the landscape of The Way to a significantly greater degree than someone staying in B&B’s. Patches of woodland slightly off route provided some of the most memorable nights for me personally. Most guidebooks I thumbed through, with the exception of Stephenson’s (1972), focused little on the flora and fauna encountered and the changing of the seasons. Sites of historic interest and prominent geological formations seem to be the main points of focus. However, I believe such sites exist just as prominent nodes, not the undercurrents of sentiment which make a walker’s journey.

Borrowing from Ingold, I conceive of the Pennines, with its valley heads coiling round one another, as an interwoven meshwork of lines - ever “active constituents of a world-in-formation” (2007: 11). Passing the raging torrent of High Force as it crashes over the many-hued rocks of the Whin Sill and crossing the countless gurgling cloughs, you observe one aspect of a landscape in continual generative flux; the remnants of the last glacial retreat 14,000 years ago continuing to carve out the dales. The Pennine landscape is a flowing entity of entangled order, not something “assembled, enchained and contained” (Ingold, 2015: 18). As a walker you do not hop off the tour-bus at specific ‘sites of interest’, but follow river, hill and dale in a fusion of unfolding experience as subtle differences in landscape gradually give way to one another. For example, leaving the green banks of the Tees you then scramble over the boulders astride Cauldron Snout (another waterfall). This marks the start of the “Pennines loneliest crossing” over stretches of “shaggy, swarthy moorland” (Stephenson, 1972: 56) leading toward the high fells of Cumbria.

Wylie describes the South West Coast Path as exerting a “muscular consciousness” (2005: 241). This appears even more apt for the Pennines, its ancient rocks rearing up from the more elementally and

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25 Graham also told me about a “youngish chap” he met near the start of The Way who was walking barefoot, who had a ‘backpack’ fashioned from branches of willow and who slept under goat-skins. He apparently walked the trails of the UK permanently without fixed abode.

26 The Way passes through very little woodland except for the vast “gloom” as Wainwright (1974: 29) termed it of the (plantation) Kielder Forest of Northumberland.

27 Stephenson was someone clearly highly attuned to the rhythms of The Way in all its seasons having spent his lifetime walking its sections and campaigning for its right to exist.

28 England’s most voluminous waterfall

29 Cloughs are small waterways. Further north they are termed ‘burns’.
geologically muted rural and urban wash below. Especially in 2020, there was a sense of The Way dictating my movements. As a camper a host of factors like the availability of food, changing weather, suitability of site, level of fatigue and general mood dictate where you will strike camp, as opposed to being constrained by your B&B or hostel booking. In both German and English (Árnason et al., 2012) as well as in Batek (Tuck-Po, 2008) the word *way* means simultaneously a physical path and manner of performing something. To adapt to the rhythms of your body and the landscape as they come into mutual parlance is to feel a sense of The Way as a being in itself, encouraging you to slow down or speed up. Prior to setting off in 2018 I had been impelled to ‘beat’ my dad’s time of nine days when he was younger. I never made it beyond Hadrian’s Wall. A bout of severe stomach poisoning probably compounded by general fatigue forced me to bow out.

A walker’s journey is thus never merely a subjective experience, but an intersubjective one as walker and landscape increasingly exert their presence on one other. I now further investigate the agency of the Pennine landscape, specifically its potency in summoning forth memory and the past.
Chapter VI: The Power of Place

And where the wind-song shakes the grass
And all the hollow fills,
I lie and hold communion with
The spirit of the hills.
– Ammon Wrigley, ‘On a Yorkshire Moor’

Douglas, finding it trouble to do justice to the range of individual experiences which Kinder Scout inspires, ponders how “people have enjoyed, endured, suffered or celebrated in this strange, expansive, opaque what...?” (2018: 2). Bleak and desolate for some, the Pennine hills and moorland in particular are places of wild beauty for others. Descending to the hamlet of Ponden crossing Wadsworth moor in Yorkshire, The Way passes a ruined house named Withins – supposedly the inspiration for the infamous house in Emily Bronte’s (1857) *Wuthering Heights*. Landscape permeates the work. Just the character’s name Heathcliff resounds with some of moorland’s qualities, in contrast to the passive and delicate Edgar Linton of the valley country manor. “I’m sure I should be myself were I once among the heather on those hills” says Catherine Earnshaw as she lies dying by her bedroom window (Bronte, 1857: 474). Upon completing The Way, one woman summed up what made it for her as: “the people...and the views. I’ll never forget those majestic skies and their changing light”.

The following is my description of a moorland encounter I had in July of 2020.

It is early evening and the sky still bright. A light wind sweeps along the moorland tops at 1,500 feet. About a half mile North the way crosses the metalled road and old trackway between Littleborough and Halifax, where a hot dinner at the inn there beckons. On either side lies an expanse of grass tussocks and heather, interspersed with the occasional boulder or sheep, gently rising East and sloping down West toward their respective horizons. I hear a cry to my left but continue on. The sound comes again but I see nothing. A forceful chanting now rolls toward me and I turn off the path to find its source. Descending further I see a

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30 Of course, ‘wild’ is a misnomer. Most areas of moorland have been moulded through human interaction – largely sheep grazing – for millennia.
31 According to Heywood (2013), Bronte’s moorland is associated with regeneration in the individual and society.
32 Read in the signing book at *The Border Hotel* in Kirk Yetholme for all successful walkers.
person; a hooded white robe gleaming amongst the green. Prostrate on the floor now they raise their hands to the sky, exclaiming in a language I don’t recognise and I see it is a woman who looks to be of African descent. Then I see others similarly clothed, strung out in a line, but one’s robe is a bright azure blue and he clutches a shepherd’s crook. He lifts it skyward and his voice is louder and deeper than the rest and marked with arresting power. I loop well below so as not to interrupt before continuing north. Not fifty yards on I suddenly find myself above a large hollow lined with rocks. Two women are sat there on picnic blankets and I call out, asking if I can say hello. As I make my way toward them, those seen earlier appear from behind hillocks and gather toward us. We keep a respectful distance, and they tell me they are all members of The Twelve Apostles Church of Africa, based in Manchester, and have come here to pray since their church is currently closed. I tell them I am walking to Scotland, and so we appear to get on well in a way that perhaps only such unusual encounters can help to engender. The pastor, the man in blue who speaks now with such assured calm, asks whether I would like to join them for their main service. Like them I remove my boots and kneel, a little behind the arrowhead shape the seven of them have formed. And there, amongst the grass and the heather and the wind that swells above the rocks, with the occasional bleating of sheep encircling beneath the falling sun, I listen. The pastor’s voice is steeled with controlled energy; his words in the Zulu language (for most of the assembled were born in Zimbabwe) crescendo skyward, followed by the entire group coming together in chorus. After about an hour the service ends and we chat casually as we walk toward the inn where their cars are parked.

The following interpretive account is highly speculative. However, Geertz describes the importance of ‘finding one’s feet’ in stepping into the realms of co-knowledge and interpretation - “Anthropological writing...encompasses very much more than talk” (1973: 316). The Twelve Apostles had driven a significant 25 miles from the centre of Manchester and walked half a mile to be here, whilst I had been walking the High Peak for a few days already.

Bender underlines the “plurality of place” (2002: 107) as landscapes mean different things to different people. A landscape as relatively sparse as moorland could arguably possess even more heterogeneous potentiality due to fewer discernible features from which to draw collective association. With that said, there is something about high moorland, as Douglas (2018) struggled to explain. Like the sea, moorland provides a vast tableau for the atmospheric elements to gather and cast their grand performances. Ingold describes how we have forgotten the indivisibility of earth-sky, the weatherworld, as we attribute physicality toward the earth and not our immersive elemental atmosphere. Being high up amidst the currents and closer to the “moisture-laden folds of the crumpled sky” (Ingold, 2015: 90) perhaps the earth-sky division and the mind-matter division is

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33 On a reflexive note, I do not follow the teachings or beliefs of a particular religion.
somewhat bridged. In their coming together of choral song, the group were knotting vocal lines with one other (see Ingold, 2015) and with the totalising synesthetic qualities of the environment. Using the language in which they were brought up provided a heightened degree of somatic resonance (see Abram, 1996).

**Bringing forth the past**

However, the Twelve Apostles Church are not alone in being drawn to the Pennines for religious reasons. The associative potential to Christians of gathering on a high place, surrounded by sheep and the vocal use of scripture as a way of connecting with a (mythic) past is immediately apparent. One-hundred-and-ninety miles north on The Way, overlooking the vast Kielder Forest that stretches below in a grand dark green sweep, you pass over Padon Hill (1240ft), atop which stands a 15ft high stone monument (see Appendix, P12). This is no rough hilltop cairn but a work of craftsmanship consisting of interlocking stones. According to Wainwright (1974) it commemorates the 17th century Presbyterian dissident, Alexander Padon, who in secret sermonised here. Thus I speculate that for both groups, such places allow the felt quality of a presencing of the past. Being in a particular place may conjure memory, but that memory does not have to be of the same place (Bender, 2002).

I now look at how the idea of past and future being external to our perception is an erroneous one and how a look at indigenous oral cultures can help better understand this presencing of the past. For Heidegger (cited in Gosden, 1994), time can only be perceived through our involvement with the world. Past and future are felt qualities, not independent existences. Indeed, “different times nest within each other” as they interrelate (Bender, 2002: 104). Gell (1998) further explains with his concept of A-time. This kind of time, real time, does not exist as series of fixed points on a chronological line, but rather as a summation of past retentions and future protensions drawing us backward or forward. This allows a better understanding of ancestral presence, or myth being unfolded in the present, amongst numerous indigenous cultures not being ‘unusual’.

A feature of the collapsing of time and space amongst numerous indigenous peoples is the role of language. To cite one example (see also e.g. Legat, 2008) Western Apache place names combine evocative descriptions of these places’ environmental features with ancestral wisdom regarding stories that took place there (Basso, 1988). By speaking these place names in common parlance, the wisdom of the ancestors and the landscape itself can speak in the present, wherever that person happen to be. Basso describes how the Apache find this soothing, especially if brought to bear on resolving a “disturbing situation” (1988: 114). To be clear, I am not trying to associate the space-time beliefs of a 17th or 21st church group with those of indigenous oral cultures. However, in his
exploration of Athabaskan hunter-gatherers dream trails and narratives, Brody (2000) explains how we all collapse space and time with the stories we tell and the memories that take us to other places or times. Differences with indigenous oral cultures are of kind, not of type. Objective orderings of time and space and resultant disbeliefs in the ‘actuality’ of such travel merely influence the degree in felt quality of such translocations.

Bender (2002) elucidates the multi-vocal nature of landscapes as they are constantly reshaped by individual’s perceptions, in each of whom landscapes bring forth memory which informs their attachments toward it. Crucially then, landscapes do not offer some kind of ‘mind-portal’ to abstract one away from place, but rather gather memories, often of other places and times, in a binding of sentiment toward the very landscape with which one is practically engaged (see also Lund [2008]). The Twelve Apostles, aided through their use of voice and gesture, were doing just this with regard to the Pennine landscape. This kind of coalescion, generative of familiarity and indeed belonging, is likewise found amongst walkers. Books read, films seen, stories told, all are both gathered up and disseminated onto the unfolding landscape of The Way. No wonder Robbie told me in the pub at Malham that he sometimes felt like “he was walking through Middle-Earth”. And this from McCloy (2016: 172) describing the “resonance” of his own Pennine journey is especially revealing.

“Several times on the walk, I even had the odd sensation of almost knowing what was round the corner, even though I’d never physically set foot on that particular patch of ground...the path really did exert a positive power”.

The solitude of walking for many hours in vast landscapes perhaps allows a sense of ‘inner space’ for this steady gathering of sentiment to occur. Walking a path may be especially conducive to the generation of meaning. Aware to one’s surroundings, knowledge unfolds in situ as elements in the landscape are linked together (Ingold, 2015). Hodolgy, the study of paths, illustrates their prominence as a universal trope in human consciousness and their epistemological embeddedness as they link space and cognition (Turnbull, 2007). This concurrence is exemplified by Townsley’s (1993) study of Yanesha Amazonian shamanism. He describes how the healing songs and myths that shamans sing are described by them as the patterned linking of environmental cues in the forest that make up a hunter’s path.

The gathering of sentiment and memory along The Way involves a steady accumulation, but it may find crystallisation at certain nodes. For example, Kirk Carrion, overlooking Middleton-in-Teesdale, is a prominent hill lined with a circlert crown of Oak and Scots Pine and home to the burial tumulus of a Bronze Age chieftain. When the toponym of ‘Robin’s Rocks’ - where Hood would hide out as he
thrived on the East-West baggage trains (Bennet, 2011)\textsuperscript{34} – was pointed out to me in 2020 I was reminded me that the inscribing of myth and legend into the English landscape is not lost\textsuperscript{35}. The rocks combined a mythic narrative I had grown up with, embedded in the historical consciousness of England, with the very landforms I was now walking.

Gosden (1994) explains how material culture acts as a vehicle for recursion, as the past is pulled into the present, thus allowing life and mind to extend beyond an individual’s biological life. Gell (1998) elucidates this with his example of a Maori meeting house. A family’s ancestry is embodied in the rafters, walls and standing poles of its architecture. Houses are not passive reflections of the past, but its active agents - “to enter a house is to enter the belly of an ancestor” (ibid: 253). As a physical body for the familial line, it is a collective index for its agency – ‘an extended mind’ reaching through time. The house allows a collective Maori ancestral consciousness to power through time as it exerts its agency in the present through an expansion of that present, drawing one’s perception towards it and the past (ibid). A-time is immanent in the unfolding, with past and future as a perceived patterning. Therefore at times along The Way, walkers may be drawn toward different ‘entry points’ in time’s flowing currents, as collective minds of the past are brought forth by the landscape itself. Taking inspiration from Ingold’s (2015) linealogy, to walk the Way is perhaps to become increasingly aware of one’s own thread in the carrying forward of memory in the continual weave of history.

Therefore walking The Way provides an opportunity to ignite the feelings of familiarity and attachment that Tom Stephenson (and indeed many others like Tolkien) desired for everyone sharing the inhabitancy of “this lovely land”, and for whom the accessibility of rural landscapes, but especially the ‘wild-places’, was far from a given (Stephenson, 1935). In the next chapter I continue with a walker’s temporal perception, but focused more on the summated practical activities of the past. But first I ‘detour’ to how landscape interactions of walkers intersect with locals of The Pennine Way. Although not the main theme of the dissertation, this cannot be ignored.

\textsuperscript{34} According to Bennet (2011), Hood was actually from South-West Yorkshire and some evidence indicates Robins Rocks has likely been a repurposed site of ritual for millennia.

\textsuperscript{35} See Santos-Granero (1998) for a discussion of the toponymical inscription of myth and history into the landscape amongst the Yanesha of the Peruvian Amazonia, that involves comparisons with modern literate societies for such performative action.
Chapter VII: Stories of the hills

And I, a bit of fashioned stone,
Left on this moorland bleak and lone -
Hath seen all these hills have known.

-Ammon Wrigley, ‘A Flint Arrow-head on Pule Moor’

Walkers and locals

I begin this chapter with a recollection from 2020.

After a long day of walking I arrive in late evening to Dufton, the small village nestled at the foot of the eastern wall of the North Pennines. High above, the dark outlines of the great bastions Great Dun Fell and Cross Fell can be made out, silent and watchful. At The Stag’s Head, two groups of walkers huddle around tables in the middle of a dark wood panelled room. In a corner are sat three hill farmers, arms hung loosely over chairs. Despite their position they appear to be at the room’s centre, their booming voices drawing in its dim light toward them. Martin, who I later was told goes by ‘Greengrass’ after the lovable rogue from the rural comic-drama Heartbeat, plants down a bottle of “Romanian Red” between him and a younger lad Jack. Still in their muddy work-boots, the two are celebrating after a day of shearing, one of the longest and most tiring in a sheep farmer’s calendar. Not long later, the third taps the bottle. “You two finished that faster than a tup (male sheep) in’t field” he remarks dryly and they break out in laughter. I chat with them a little across the room and Martin relates a story about some of his sheep getting spooked one morning above High Cup Nick. Two walkers were camped there and the scattering sheep pulled up the guy ropes of their tent causing it to collapse, to which the walkers were not amused but Martin very much was.

To generalise about the attitudes of farmers to Pennine Way walkers is impossible. Many farmers’ livelihoods depend on walking tourists; farming in marginal lands has always meant livelihoods have been combined, whether with cotton-spinning, mining or now tourism (Douglas, 2018). Some are positively welcoming. One farmer south of Bellingham in Northumbria diverts walkers off route with signs to his barn where he puts out an array of snacks, comfy chairs and blankets and even a shower and toilet for walkers to use (see Appendix, P14). The unofficial ‘guestbook’ there held a trove of stories from grateful walkers describing how it summed up the community and spirit of The Pennine Way. Although not a farmer, I will always fondly remember the charismatic and bearded Geordie

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36 The highest point reached on the Way and the highest in England outside of the Lake District.
Ralph, and his bulldog Ziggy, regaling me with stories as we drank mugs of tea outside his battered old caravan in his garden south of Greenhead. However, as was related to me by, remarkably, a professor in anthropology from a London university visiting her mother in her Cumbrian village, many farmers grow weary of walkers leaving gates open or litter. Thought of as an intersectionality of interests, this presents itself both psychologically and geographically; The Way runs south-north and hill-farming, more or less, runs east-west (and vice-versa). However, Gray describes how hill-farmers in Scotland separate between the “rational and quadrantile” space of the lowlands and the “wild and meaningful hills” (1999: 440). Using this perspective, there is substantial overlap in sentiments.

A walker passes thousands of sheep on The Way and they soon become a permanent, largely passive, backdrop to the walk. But Convery et al. (2005) show how the well-being of Lakeland livestock is deeply embodied in the well-being of their farmers. They document the devastating emotional consequences of the foot-and-mouth epidemic on farmers, not attributable toward economic loss alone. Moreover, for locals of the Pennines, the topography that walkers pass through will mean a great deal more to those whose daily lives are bound up closely with it. Sue Lewis (2012) describes how landscape features for Isle of Man residents act as vehicles for identity as stories collapse people, place and time as they bring forth a host of emotional, social and historical associations. Two miles from where The Way passes Tan Hill Inn, the highest pub in England and itself the seat of a fascinating history as a mining way station, lives Amanda Owen, author and now TV personality in *The Yorkshire Shepherdess*. I quote from Owen (2019: 286) describing some local rocks known as Iveson’s Trap after a famous incident there.

“It was history that you could relate to and reach out and touch. Stories of the everyday common people, people that left their mark on the landscape. These places remained long after their namesakes departed the world, permanent memorials albeit with no physical epitaph, just an everlasting story passed down generation to generation”.

Paul, who I mentioned in Chapter III, took me a few hundred meters off route to some rocks where he had painstakingly carved deep into the rock the name of the woman he ended up marrying. Clearly with a soft-spot for tales of legendary rogues, it was Paul who pointed out Robin’s Rocks,

37 As a kind of borderlands running through England’s middle, The Pennines have long been associated with those living on society’s fringes. Paul’s mentions are just a host of names and tales one comes across during the walk. For example in Heptonstall village lies the grave of ‘King’ David Hartley, an 18th century leader of a counterfeit coining gang that almost bankrupted the country. The pub in Mankinholes celebrates the revolutionary and writer Billy Holt, who would frequent the hills in the 50’s atop his horse ‘Trigger’. More darkly, further north in Northumbria, fortified houses like Thirley Castle bear testament to the ravaging and
and he described a sheltered valley nearby where an unofficial hamlet named Hades, inhabited by 19th century bandits, once lay.

For walkers leaving Dufton and tackling Cross Fell, their guide book will tell them of the legendary Helm Wind, England’s only named wind that every few years will blow for days at speeds of 140mph and can tear off barn roofs. But it will not tell them how it feels to see the long dark bar of cloud that presages its arrival. Veale et al. (2014) document the effect of rational enlightenment values on locals’ perceptions of the Helm Wind. Adopting Ingold’s (2010) ‘weather-world’ conceptualisation, they conclude that its powerful effect on local livelihoods mean that ways of knowing weather as a synesthetic experience persist strongly today, and is a formative power in the shaping of place and identity.

Clearly, relations with landscape features are far more involved between locals of The Way than they are between walkers. Perhaps a sense of impingement on their own community is felt by some who see the walkers as not really belonging, since they do not dwell in alike manner. Further discussion deserves a separate paper however, and I return to perceptions of walkers on The Way with further recourse to temporality.

Reading the story of the past

For Ingold (2000), landscapes are “pregnant with the past”, a summated accumulation of past activities and enmeshed lives whose traces can be picked up and read. Through embodied perception in the present, one commits an act of remembrance to those who have shaped and been shaped by the land through practical activities. Ingold (2000: 189) intimates that it is native dwellers that can read the story of the past, but with a careful ‘educating of attention’ I do not see why a walker can to some extent do likewise. Ingold’s temporality, like Gell’s (1998), is a lived history. It is felt in the present rather than pinpointed chronologically. This is evident to a walker as they pass through farming landscapes dotted with stone barns and houses and imbued with the remnants of pre-enclosure farming. Ruined houses and tiny fields marked by dry stone walls are commonly encountered. All landscapes are temporal, but walking through hill-farming landscapes is to gain a greater feel for temporality. Hill-farmers (often aided by government grants) are managing the murderous raids of the borderland Reivers of the 16th and 17th centuries, for whom the remote Pennines proved ideal.

38 “For both the archaeologist and the native dweller, the landscape tells – or rather is – a story” (Ingold, 2000: 189).
landscape with a greater degree of continuity with their forbears than lowland monoculture. Following Tilley’s (2008) notion of banal nationalism, farming, especially traditional hill-farming, likely plays into some sense of national identity. But it is through walking that a fuller understanding of landscape and its “sedimented layers of meaning” (Tilley, 1994: 28) can be arrived at. This is not just due to the kinaesthetic nature of walking, but because walking a path involves the linking of place and the generation of meaning in the form of a spatialized narrative (ibid).

Rival relates how it is like “walking through a living history book” (2002: 1) for Huaoarani trekking through the forest, as they discover food plants and trees planted by their forbears. Peach-palm groves mark inter-generational continuity because of their slow growth periods and their planting by grandparents (Rival, 1993). But such notions of temporality for walkers on The Way are subtle, so that most walkers, knowing of history as something obvious to be read or looked at, do not mention history directly from my experience. I refer the reader to the two statements made by Robbie and McCloy (2016) at the end of the last chapter, but I also add one more. In 2018 I walked for a few miles with a man walking The Way with his dog and he said to me “There’s something about when you step into the Dales (Yorkshire)...a kind of old familiar feeling” and right there, I knew exactly what he meant. Such an anecdote may appear minor, but the fact I remember this one sentence, over two years later, is testament to the impression it made on me.

Tilley (2006) outlines the importance of the invisible – places always mean more than what their visible aspects signify. Tilley (2012) also describes a particular research strategy he has developed for investigating the past, what he terms the phenomenological walk. By deploying prior knowledge and paying careful attention to sensory experience, a person can insert themselves into the past to speculate how past lives would have interacted with the landscape. Tilley (2012) proposes that such a walk is totally separate from everyday experience. However, I would contest this – at least if you are interested in the place and are aware of its history - this I think is done habitually, at least to some extent. Whilst many small sites of ‘historic interest’ like burial tumuli, old packhorse bridges, abandoned mines, evidence of ancient roads and a couple of small castles are all encountered on The Way, none is more obvious or famous than Hadrian’s Wall (including the Roman fort at

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39 It is common on The Way to see sheep fields in reasonably close proximity to one another with starkly different vegetation. One may contain rushes, heather and various grasses that resemble a patch-worked quilt and which provides the base for a diverse ecosystem including ground-nesting thrushes, plover and small mammals. The other a bright verdant wash of monocultured green, achieved through nitrogen enriched soils. Rebanks (2015) provides a popular, however detailed and informative, account of the renewed interest in more traditional hill-farming practices.

40 The British Olympics 2012 opened with a scene entitled ‘Green and Pleasant Land’, billed as “a reminder and a promise of a once and future better life” (Koreen, 2012).

41 In addition to Thirley Castle there is the relatively intact Bowes Castle (built 12th century) near Barnard Castle that defended the Stainmore gap – a lowland pass through the Pennines.
Houseteads) which is followed for about nine miles. In contrast to most walkers I met, the wall did not hold as much appeal as I thought it might. I could appreciate it in an abstract manner; the scope of the ambition and as feat of engineering, and I reflected on this physical manifestation of the codification of power through demarcation and arbitration which the Romans brought with them.\textsuperscript{42} But crowded with tourists on a sunny weekend, I felt I could not relate - the past held little meaning. Rather, I felt a sense of freedom as I left the wall and the patrolling columns of day-trippers for the sparse borderlands of Northumbria and the Cheviots, and the sense I was on to the final legs of the journey.

One place that does stand out in terms of historic presencing was Greg’s Hut (named after a local climber), the bothy on the north-eastern face of Cross Fell. In 2020 I made an impromptu decision in late afternoon in Dufton to spend the night there. I pushed hard on the successive climbs up Great Dun Fell, Little Dun Fell and Cross Fell. Nonetheless my timing was poor and I made it to the bothy (see Appendix.P17), waiting solemnly on the mountainside, just as night was closing in. In a case of highly fortunate timing, the skies suddenly erupted in a thunderous maelstrom of rain as I closed the door behind me. I read up on its history on a notice on the wall inside, whilst cooking up some pasta. The hut served as the quarters for miners extracting lead during the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries. With the outline of the pit-quarry just visible in the dying light, the room took on a new feeling as I settled in to my sleeping-bag. I did not feel alone in that stone hut at 2,300 feet.

Weiner (1991) describes coming across an abandoned house with the Foi in the Papua New Guinean highland forests. Such houses do not lose their ability to speak of their past inscriptivity by the Foi who lived in them. He recounts how Foi poetry, expressive of a reduction in distance between person and environment, serves to reanimate the vitality of such places. He thus concludes with a call from Heidegger for Western society, which has severed life from art and perception from reality, to reawaken our sense of place and being generally. Only by re-learning not just to listen, but to speak our experiences in the world, can we shake ourselves from the staleness of a repetitive, insincere and monotone use of language and return to authentic discourse.

\textsuperscript{42} See Gosden (1994) for the historic trajectory of this more generally in Europe and Britain.
Conclusion

Old tales to tell when old friends meet
Round homely hearts on merry nights,
To loll at ease in old arm chairs,
While at the door the cold wind bites.
—Ammon Wrigley, ‘All I Ask’

The passing on of one’s own stories of The Way forms the final element to this dissertation. In 2020 I got to know a few individuals quite well over a few days as we leap-frogged each other between Hawes in the Yorkshire Dales and Middleton-in-Teeside in County Durham. Unsurprisingly, we bonded over sharing stories about The Way itself; which sections people found difficult, challenging weather, other people they had met, general feelings about places and other interesting or unusual occurrences. Shared experiences are also passed between people on The Way in the unofficial ‘guest-books’ to be found at various points on the way such as at Greg’s Hut, the famer’s barn near Bellingham and at the pub in Kirk Yetholme. Conceived of as entangled traces of memory and meaning (see Ingold, 2015), stories serve to thread together the lives of walkers of The Way. As personal as the walk is, one’s own experiences are continually supplemented and re-shaped by those that have gone before.

Narratives are not just contained along The Way but disseminated to friends and family back home. In both 2018 and 2020 I met a number of people recording their walk in vlogs. In 2018 I myself produced an annotated and illustrated map as a means to sum up my walk. Perez (2012) describes how the condensing of journeys into miniature worlds not only renders them intelligible, but also corporeally memorises them. Initiated members of the secret Wuwtsim society narrated their journeys across landscapes that crystallised Arizonian Hopi mythology to younger initiates about to embark out (see also Legat [2008] amongst the Athabaskan Tlch). Since stories and places mutually reproduce one another (Tilley, 1994), recounting them further brings The Way and the landscapes it passes through into being. Returning to the theme of threading, narrative unites and thickens the thread of The Way itself so that it is preserved both physically through its walking and in memory.

Returning to Olwig’s (2008) idea of hefting to the land then, walkers heft with their feet, in so doing creating attachments to landscape, but also through telling stories. Olwig (2008) explains how -scape in landscape is cognate with –ship as in relationship, friendship and fellowship. I have argued that
walking the Pennine Way is generative to a sense of belonging, perhaps not just to the uplands of northern England but the wider community we share that is at once present and historical. To be proud of one’s national identity is seen as something of an undesirable idea amongst many in England today. If, however, like Tolkien envisioned, we can find a unity in the language that we can speak and the land forms we all have a right to share in, not in ideologies of hereditary descent or in political movements, perhaps we will be taking a step to moving beyond the various social, economic, political and historical forces (increasingly) threatening to divide us further. The healing of divisionary lines within one’s own country does not entail a self-absorbed isolationism, but rather is necessary to operate coherently and cooperatively with the rest of the world.

As argued in the forgoing, if the Pennine Way exists as a bridge between people, land, and history then it also exists as a symbol: of both freedom and a return to a more engaged and intimate sense of living. A bridge that is continually brought into being only through people continuing to walk The Way and telling their stories; both acts that serve to remember the people who, through fighting hard for the rights of the common man and woman, allowed the path to exist. By walking The Way one redraws this line, footprints impressed ever deeper into the landscape, this spine of England, another contributor to the gathering of memory embodied in but a humble path. This is especially important today. McCloy (2016) describes how today only half a dozen people completing The Way each day in high season is normal, significantly down from the numbers in 1990.

I remind the reader of Gell’s (1998) Maori meeting house from Chapter VI. Such houses, embodied presences of a family’s past, also exist as a series of sketches toward greater houses in whose descendant’s lives will become manifest. Like a familial line, they are never complete. Likewise, the Pennine Way is a space-time entity. It too powers through time, but existing only so long as we make it so.
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Photo references

1. Sign in Edale Church Garden of Remembrance and Reflection (Author’s own, 2020).
3. A ruined pre-enclosure house above Ickornshaw (Author’s own, 2020).
5. Crossing Kinder Scout (Author’s own, 2020).
10. A track in Yorkshire Dales, south of Fountain’s Fell (Author’s own, 2020).
14. ‘High Cup Nick’, Northern Pennines (Author’s own, 2020).
15. Robbie and Nathan, Gordale Scar, Yorkshire Dales. Photo reproduced with subject’s permission (Author’s own, 2020).
17. Greg’s Hut, Northern Pennines (Author’s own, 2020).