

**More-Than-Representational
Archaeologies of Leisure in the Landscape
of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley
National Forest Park**

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Short Abstract

The thesis that follows is interdisciplinary in nature, bringing together the fields of contemporary archaeology, cultural and historical geography to explore the changing landscape of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Forest of Dean was a significant industrial region, a landscape dominated by pitheads, tramroads and railways, coal mines, ironworks, and quarries. However, the twentieth century saw the radical transformation of this landscape, from industry to leisure. In the chapters that follow, it is aspects of this landscape transformation that are examined through the lens of non-representational theory, as each chapter explores the questions: what might a ‘more-than-representational’ approach to contemporary archaeology look like? And, what can archaeological perspectives offer in terms of the development of non-representational theory?

Starting from the premise that contemporary archaeology is not just about the recent past, but about how we engage with the past from the perspective of the present, this thesis focuses upon those barely perceptible echoes from the past that have the power to move us in unexpected ways. As such, it examines not just the legacy of the past in the landscape, but its capacity to generate affective registers, to evoke and to unsettle. It develops a distinctly archaeological approach to considerations of materiality and time within non-representational theories, placing an emphasis on matter, memory and haunting, absence and presence. It focuses on new temporalities arising from the time of the ‘event’, new materialisms that are ‘more-than-representational’, and new ways of performing and practicing the archaeological.

Long Abstract

This thesis is concerned with ‘non-representational theories’ and the contributions they might make to thought and practice in the emerging field of contemporary archaeology. It addresses two key questions: what might a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology look like? And, what can archaeological perspectives offer in terms of the development of non-representational theory? These questions are important, not only because they provide a framework around which the theoretical and empirical elements of the thesis have been conceived and assembled, but because they also signal its original contribution to knowledge. For although threads of non-representational thinking can be discerned within the discipline of archaeology – utilising phenomenological philosophy within prehistory, and actor network theory (ANT) within symmetrical archaeology for instance – there has been little real engagement or debate within archaeology as to the nature of the non-representational or its implications for archaeological endeavour.

This thesis starts from the premise that contemporary archaeology is not just about the recent past, but about how we engage with the past from the perspective of the present. As such, it focuses not just on a past that is within living memory, but on the manner by which the past, whether contemporary or distant, influences the present. Archaeology is a discipline that has traditionally been concerned with a distant and ancient past. Historical periods, such as Medieval Europe or Colonial America, were originally the preserve of historians, and well beyond the purview of archaeology. However, since the 1960s there has been a growing interest in ‘historical archaeology’, as the utility of archaeological methods and modes of thought has been demonstrated time and again to provide a rich and complementary source

of evidence about the historical past. But it is only in the last few decades that this expanding chronological range has started to include archaeologies of the ‘contemporary’ past.

Contemporary archaeology is by definition concerned with the recent past – and, as such, it rubs up against a whole series of other disciplines. The starting point is often a focus on materiality and material evidence, yet matter and materiality are of interest to anthropology, sociology and human geography. As a methodological approach, it could be argued that archaeology remains distinct in its processes of artefact retrieval and cataloguing, in excavation, surveying and analysis, yet contemporary archaeology less frequently engages in such practices, utilising instead a whole range of sources and techniques familiar to historical geography, history and anthropology – from archival records to ethnography. By its very nature then, contemporary archaeology pushes at the boundaries of other disciplines. But this is no bad thing, for in doing so contemporary archaeology opens up a new space for dialogue on the past, and the role of the past in the present, and future. As such, the dawning of contemporary archaeology provides an opportune moment to explore the potential afforded by theoretical and methodological advances in archaeology’s sister disciplines – particularly what is perhaps human geography’s most exciting and controversial development in recent decades: non-representational theory.

Over the last 15 years, ‘non-representational theory’ has been used within human geography to examine the world anew. The result has been an explosion of new actors, forces and entities, new styles of writing, and new modes of performing geographical accounts. However, use of the plural ‘theories’ is perhaps more apposite here, as the non-representational project has many discernible influences and has developed several different

lines of inquiry. Thrift's (1996) initial outline of 'non-representational *theories*' identifies a diverse range of philosophical writers – from Wittgenstein to Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger to Deleuze, Lingis to Serres and Massumi – and influences from the field of science and technology studies – including the work of Bruno Latour, Karen Barad, Donna Haraway, John Law, and Isabelle Stengers. At the same time, threads of non-representational thought can be found, for example, in ANT, performance studies and performativity, phenomenology and post-phenomenologies. Despite this heterogeneity, non-representational theories share a commitment to the non-representational basis of thought, insisting that the origin of action is to be found more in embodiment and environmental affordances and less in deliberate contemplation or cognition.

Throughout the thesis I consider the possible impacts of non-representational thinking on archaeological conceptions of time, progress and change, on the objects of archaeological research, and on archaeological practice. In particular, I suggest that the Deleuzian concept of the 'event' provides us with a dynamic and uncertain notion of change that enables us to move beyond linear ideas of progress and succession. The event is a discontinuity, a break that presents to us the possibility of something new. It occurs entirely by chance, emerging out of a series of relations and encounters, the outcome of which cannot be predicted. At the same time, there is a sense in which the past is always-already present, for past events create an expectation in terms of what is yet to come, and have a habit of returning to the present. As such, the past has never truly 'passed', and past events have the potential to co-exist and interact, bringing about periods of stability or precipitating further change. This assertion, that the past co-exists in, and influences, the present, is particularly important for the kind of contemporary archaeology that I seek to develop.

More importantly perhaps, I argue that the very notion of ‘material culture’ is called into question by non-representational theories. For although archaeology deals with artefacts – with things, materials and matter – it has traditionally been the people behind these objects – their ideas and belief systems – that have been the focus of archaeological endeavour. Drawing on relational and performative approaches, non-representational theories reject traditional conceptions of material things as passive objects upon which representations are projected, or dead matter that awaits an enlivening human spark. Instead, matter is posited as lively and affective. As such, non-representational theories emphasise the emergent nature of our thoughts and actions, which are understood as relational phenomena that arise out of encounters with the material world. This processual understanding of thought and action also has important implications for archaeological practice, for non-representational theory involves bodily performances and enactive practices in its methods of knowledge-making. From walking to drawing, surveying to excavating, the emphasis is on ‘field-work’ and the co-production of knowledge arising from encounters with others in the ‘field’, be they things, people or even the elements. In turn, this ‘thought-in-action’ creates opportunities for experiments in narrative and new forms of scholarly writing.

Non-representational theorists discount the representational because it ignores those practices and habits that arise out of our relational engagement with the world. Yet the world is surely more complex than this simple divide between representation and non-representation would allow. As such, it has recently been suggested that non-representational theory is not ‘anti’-representational, and that representations can themselves be understood as performative presentations. Nevertheless, the term has created a sense of dualism, adding to a general feeling of unease about the venture. Instead, it has been suggested that the term ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer, 2005) may be more

appropriate, and more affirmative. I agree with this analysis, for not only does the term more-than-representational convey a better sense of the essence of the project – to explore what *more* there might be than representation – it also provides a better platform from which to consider the past and its role in the present.

Taking the landscape of the Forest of Dean as a case study in rural de-industrialisation, this thesis takes a first step towards developing a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology. It focuses in particular upon conceptions of materiality and time within non-representational thought, placing an emphasis on matter, memory and haunting, absence and presence. At the same time, bringing insights from non-representational theory into the field of contemporary archaeology allows us to examine not just the legacy of the past in this landscape, but its capacity to generate affective registers, to evoke and to unsettle. Focusing on new materialisms that are ‘more-than-representational’, new temporalities arising from the time of the ‘event’, and new ways of performing and practicing the archaeological, the thesis explores the temporality of the present through a series of encounters with always-already affective materials from the past. And, as an experiment in doing and writing, it emphasises the non-representational and ‘processual’ nature of our thought. By engaging with the Forest of Dean in a practical and performative manner – in walking its lost miners’ paths, in performing ‘heritage’ activities such as the charcoal burn, and in camping at its first campsite – I highlight a series of ‘becomings’, the ‘becoming-past’ of the present (Deleuze, 2004 [1994]), and the emergence of subjects and worlds through ‘backgrounds’, bodies and performances.

The thesis begins by examining an important precursor to non-representational theory within the context of historical landscape studies. Utilising archival materials, primary and

secondary sources and ethnographic research, it maps out a historical geography of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park. Focusing on the development of a new leisure industry during the twentieth century – in a landscape that had traditionally been dominated by primary industrial activity – it pieces together the events leading up to the National Forest Park designation, and subsequent developments in amenity provision. By adopting a ‘cultures of landscape’ (Matless, 1998) approach to writing, it hints at what more there might be than representation by exploring processes of subjectification brought about through new forestry practices, changing attitudes towards outdoor leisure, and the redevelopment of industrial remains.

The thesis proceeds in a distinctly *more-than-representational* style by exploring some of the examples of landscape transformation apparent throughout the Forest. In doing so, it demonstrates that the materiality of the world does not stand in opposition to an immaterial realm, that it is not the immaterial that produces those qualities that are assumed to animate matter, but that those qualities are internal to matter itself. In a series of case studies – on the modification of a spoil heap into a viewpoint, the re-use of a railway bridge as a viewpoint retaining wall, the development of a former colliery site into a sculpture trail, the conversion of railways into cycle-ways, and the re-casting of an abandoned mine as a ‘heritage’ site – it highlights the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of matter-in-relation. Drawing on repeated visits to these sites, I explore their tactility and topology, as well as their genesis. At the same time, I seek to reveal the power of these sites to evoke the past.

Drawing on the idea that matter is always-already affective, and thus has the power to evoke haunting intimations of the past, the thesis goes on to explore the ‘afterlife’ of this landscape

transformation through the landscape of the ‘Long Path’, a route connecting Lightmoor colliery with the nearby village of Ruspidge. Examining the more-than-representational nature of memory as embodied and haunted by the spectral, it draws on oral history ‘on the move’ during a walk undertaken in November 2008 that aimed to re-trace this old miners’ path. Developing the argument that alternative styles of writing are needed in order to reveal the true nature of memory and our haunting engagements with the past, I consider the work of Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald, which, through devices such as literary montage, biography and phantasmagoria, successfully unsettles, disrupts and enlivens. Taking inspiration from these great writers, I narrate the story of the ‘Long Path’ in a non-conventional academic style that itself seeks to displace settled orders of space and time, to disturb all sense of self and place, to reveal the revenant trace of the spectre.

This unsettling of time and space is continued as the thesis takes a performative approach to recount a day spent as participant-observer or ‘apprentice charcoal burner’ during a charcoal burn taking place over the late May bank holiday weekend of 2009. Charcoal was an essential component of the early iron industry, and by the late sixteenth century it was being consumed in vast quantities in the blast furnaces of large ironworks located throughout the Forest. Although from the mid-nineteenth century much of the Forest’s charcoal was supplied by chemical works, several families continued the tradition into the twentieth century. Charcoal burning is now carried out twice a year at the Dean Heritage Centre, as a demonstration of traditional Forest industry for visitors and ‘heritage tourists’, and as an opportunity for charcoal-burning enthusiasts to meet, to share knowledge, and to exchange stories. By documenting the charcoal burn as performative, as comprising a series of ‘events’, I seek to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce ‘affect’, to reveal a world of relations and movements that cannot be grasped by representation alone.

This process of documentation involves the use of archaeological drawings and photographic images, alongside an objective, but nuanced and detailed style of writing – for it is only when one takes a step back, adopting the role of detached observer, that it is possible to document the event-space of others. The overall goal is to reveal as much as possible of those fleeting sensations that occur before contemplation, to consider the emergence of relational ontologies, of beings-in-information and ‘becoming’, and the possibility that in our encounters with objects and situations from the past, we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past.

Finally, the thesis considers what more-than-representational thinking might mean for archaeological practice. Focusing on archaeological fieldwork undertaken in August 2009 at disused 1970s campsite, it presents a standard field report alongside a broader account of the fieldwork and its subsequent reception in public and academic spheres – an account that seeks to address all that is written out of the standard field report. By taking a more-than-representational approach to the fieldwork itself, and to its presentation in part two of this chapter, the thesis draws attention to the ‘processual’ nature of our thought. Engaging with the mundane and everyday aspects of fieldwork, I document a series of encounters that generate affective registers – in the field and beyond; encounters with things, people and places that have the power to evoke and to unsettle. By contrasting the activities of field walking and excavation with camping during the fieldwork period, as well as the subsequent reception of this work in academic and public spheres, I seek to convey a sense of the sites of academic practice, and the manner in which they are shaped by encounters with other human and non-human entities.

In conclusion, I synthesise some of the outcomes of this work, reflecting on four key concepts – matter, time, performativity and practice – and how they might be put to work in a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology. I go on to examine the contribution of this thesis to our understanding of the post-industrial landscape of the Royal Forest of Dean, its complex social history and its ‘pastness’. In doing so, I also reflect on some of the limitations of this work, including its failure to convey the ‘non-representational’. Finally, I consider the scope for further research that extends the reach of non-representational theories within contemporary archaeology, and the archaeological discipline as a whole.

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Chapter One

Introduction: Towards a More-Than-Representational Approach to Contemporary Archaeology

Let us begin with *the mystery of the missing half second*. During the 1970s, the neurophysiologist, Benjamin Libet, conducted a series of studies showing that there is half-second delay between the initiation of brain activity and conscious awareness of the event (Libet, 1985). This is a long time in cognitive science. It begs the question: what is happening in the space between perception and reflection, between the chemical and electrical movements of matter? If our thoughts lag behind themselves in a ‘thought-ogenic’ lapse, the logical conclusion is that thought has a ‘recursive duration’ (Massumi, 2002a: 195). Contrary to our own impression of our actions then, it appears that we are making decisions as to what to do before we are aware of them, before we are able to form representations of action in our minds.

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with ‘non-representational theories’¹ and the contributions they might make to thought and practice in the emerging field of contemporary archaeology. As Libet’s experiments (above) suggest, more often than not our engagements with the world have a non-representational basis. In other words, our thoughts and actions do not arise

¹ Originally outlined in Thrift (1996), but for a more recent treatise, see Thrift (2008).

from internalised processes of contemplation in the mind, but from a series of embodied and practical encounters with the world around us, encounters that force us to think and act differently. ‘Something in the world forces us to think’, writes Deleuze, and ‘this something is ... a fundamental *encounter*’ (2004 [1994]: 176, original emphasis). And it is this fundamental encounter with the world, and the thoughts and actions it induces, that this thesis seeks to explore in an extended case study on contemporary archaeologies of leisure in the post-industrial landscape of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Forest of Dean was a significant industrial region, a landscape dominated by pitheads, tramroads and railways, coal mines, ironworks, and quarries. However, the twentieth century saw the radical transformation of this landscape, from industry to leisure. In the chapters that follow, it is aspects of this landscape transformation that are examined through the lens of the non-representational, as each chapter arrows back to the same core questions: what might a ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer, 2005) approach to contemporary archaeology look like? And, what can archaeological perspectives offer in terms of the development of non-representational theories?

I am not interested here in constructing a detailed historical or archaeological account of the Forest of Dean and its industrial past. This can be found, for example, in Hart, 1971, 1995; Fisher, 1981; Meredith, 2006; Walters, 1992; Victoria County History (VCH), 1996; Small and Stoertz, 2006; also see the work of the Forest of Dean Local History Society, and the Dean Archaeological Group; and for recent work in the burgeoning field of industrial archaeology, see Casella and Symonds, 2005. Nor am I interested in presenting a case study on leisure activities in the region. For information about leisure activities from visitor surveys, see Colenutt and Sidaway, 1973; Ward, 1997; Snowling, 2004; and reports by TNS

Tourism and Leisure (2006), and BMG Research (2011); and for an overview of the manner in which art and ecology are used to promote the post-industrial landscape, see Reville, 1994. Instead, I mean to bring the past to life. In doing so, I will inevitably stray into the somewhat awkward and slippery realms of ‘heritage’, but these are not of central concern. Rather, my aim is to understand the power of the past to influence the present by focusing on the non-representational, those barely perceptible echoes from the past that have the power to move us in unexpected ways. In other words, I want to examine not just the legacy of the past in the landscape, but its capacity to generate affective registers, to evoke and to unsettle. As such, I seek to develop a distinctly archaeological approach to considerations of materiality and time within non-representational theories, placing an emphasis on memory and haunting, absence and presence. I focus in particular on new temporalities arising from the time of the ‘event’, new materialisms that are ‘more-than-representational’, and new ways of performing and practicing the archaeological. For it seems to me that these are the key areas for dialogue, on which non-representational theories can provide a novel perspective on archaeological thought, and archaeology has the potential to add something new to the development of non-representational theories. These themes are developed throughout the thesis, as each chapter explores the temporality of the present through a series of encounters with materials from the past – materials, I will argue, that are always-already affective. At the same time, each chapter itself is an experiment in doing and writing that seeks to emphasise the ‘processual’ nature of our thought.

The Forest of Dean provides a rich case study in rural de-industrialisation, and, as I mean to demonstrate, the always-already-present nature of the past. Lying in west Gloucestershire, in the angle formed by the rivers Severn and Wye as they approach their confluence, it was reserved for royal hunting before 1066 and survived until 1919 as one of the principal

Crown forests in England – the largest after the New Forest (VCH 1996: 285-94). Crown hunting rights provided the original motive for the Forest's preservation, and as a Royal Forest the Forest of Dean was successively exploited for its sport. By the mid-twentieth century, the Forest of Dean was again utilised as a leisure landscape; no longer the domain of the Crown, it was instead appropriated by the masses. Responsibility for the Forest, its natural and physical infrastructure, was conferred upon the Forestry Commission in the Transfer of Woods Act of 1924. Initially charged with developing a strategic timber reserve in the wake of the First World War, and later with safeguarding economic returns on industrial forestry, the Forestry Commission's objectives have more recently been focused on delivering the goals of 'multi-purpose forestry'. These changes have been so significant as to prompt the term 'post-industrial forestry' (Mather, 1991; 2001), 'in which the emphasis placed on timber production, is reduced relative to that placed on environmental services (such as biodiversity and recreation)' (Mather, 2001: 249). However, the Forestry Commission has long recognised the importance of its forests for recreation; in the 1930s it was forced to re-evaluate its responsibilities as a one of the UK's largest public landowners, creating a series of National Forest Parks. In 1938 the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park was designated the third 'Forest Park' in England, Scotland and Wales, and by 1939 the Forestry Commission had developed the first dedicated caravan and camping site in the Forest. However, the events of World War Two brought a temporary halt to the development of leisure infrastructure, and it was not until the end of post-war austerity that further plans for recreational improvements could be implemented. By the 1970s a significant new programme was underway. The 1970s-1980s saw the creation of Speech House Lake and Mallard's Pike, the construction of the Blaize Bailey and New Fancy viewpoints, and the development of the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail. All of these sites have a strong association with the region's industrial past. Mallard's Pike and Speech

House Lake were created with funding derived from open cast mining activities. Blaize Bailey viewpoint was constructed using stone from a dismantled railway bridge, while a spoil heap at the former New Fancy colliery was re-landscaped into a viewpoint in the heart of the Forest. Similarly, the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail is located on the site of the former Speech House colliery.

As we shall see, sites such as these generate swarms of potential that produce new ‘becomings’; they carry with them the continuity of their variations, the potential to become other, to become-spoil heap, for example. By engaging with the Forest of Dean in a practical and performative manner – in walking its lost miners’ paths, in performing ‘heritage’ activities such as the charcoal burn, and in camping at its first campsite – I seek to investigate these ‘becomings’, the emergence of subjects and worlds through ‘backgrounds’, bodies and performances. Yet the Forest of Dean it is not just a convenient peg upon which to hang a series of theoretical arguments in non-representational theory and contemporary archaeology. It is a place to which I have been warmly welcomed, where I have felt the pleasure and pain of new experiences and emotions. It is a place I have agonised over for the last six years, a place I have come to ‘know’. As such, it is a place to which I hope to be able to do justice. As Derrida puts it, ‘no justice ... seems possible or thinkable without the principle of some *responsibility*, beyond all living present ... before the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead ...’ (Derrida, 1994: xix, original emphasis).

As this is an interdisciplinary thesis – bringing together the fields of contemporary archaeology and cultural geography – I begin this introductory chapter with an overview of the disciplines of archaeology and geography, exploring their roots and common ancestry. I go on to trace various points of convergence in theoretical and methodological advancement

throughout the twentieth century, culminating with the development of post-structural approaches and the emergence of contemporary archaeology. As I will argue, now is an opportune time for dialogue. These interdisciplinary themes are continued in the next section of the chapter, as I explain the main tenets of non-representational theory, and explore their implications for archaeological thought and practice. Here I consider the possible impacts of non-representational thinking on archaeological conceptions of time, progress and change; on the objects of archaeological research; and, on archaeological practice. In particular, I suggest that the Deleuzian concept of the ‘event’ provides us with a dynamic and uncertain notion of change that enables us to move beyond linear ideas of progress and succession. The event is a discontinuity, a break that presents to us the possibility of something new. It occurs entirely by chance, emerging out of a series of relations and encounters, the outcome of which cannot be predicted. At the same time, there is a sense in which the past is always-already present, for past events create an expectation in terms of what is yet to come, and have a habit of returning to the present. As such, the past has never truly ‘passed’, and past events have the potential to co-exist and interact, bringing about periods of stability or precipitating further change. As we shall see, this assertion that the past co-exists in, and influences, the present is particularly important for the kind of contemporary archaeology that I am seeking to develop.

I go on to argue that the very notion of ‘material culture’ is called into question by non-representational theories. For although archaeology deals with artefacts – with things, materials and matter – it has traditionally been the people behind these objects – their ideas and belief systems – that have been the focus of archaeological endeavour. Drawing on relational and performative approaches, non-representational theories reject traditional conceptions of material things as passive objects upon which representations are projected,

or dead matter that awaits an enlivening human spark. Instead, matter is posited as lively and affective. As such, non-representational theories emphasise the emergent nature of our thoughts and actions, which are understood as relational phenomena that arise out of encounters with the material world. This processual understanding of thought and action also has important implications for archaeological practice, for non-representational theory involves bodily performances and enactive practices in its methods of knowledge-making. From walking to drawing, surveying to excavating, the emphasis is on 'field-work' and the co-production of knowledge arising from encounters with others in the 'field', be they things, people or even the elements. In turn, this 'thought-in-action' has created opportunities for experiments in narrative and new forms of scholarly writing in human geography, some of which might usefully be extended to the realms of archaeology. However, archaeology has its own history of experimentation with narrative and visual forms of representation. As such, there will be opportunities to explore the potential contribution of archaeological practices of representation to the development of non-representational theories.

I conclude this section of the chapter with an analysis of the criticisms made against non-representational thought, for any assessment of the potential contribution of non-representational theories to another discipline would be incomplete without some consideration of the criticism they have attracted from within human geography. Much of the debate about non-representational theory, and its apparent failings, is centred on its political commitment and credentials. The impasse is made worse, it seems, by the 'non' of non-representational. Non-representational theorists discount the representational because it ignores those practices and habits that arise out of our relational engagement with the world. Yet the world is surely more complex than this simple divide between representation and

non-representation would allow. As such, it has recently been suggested that non-representational theory is not ‘anti’-representational, and that representations can themselves be understood as performative presentations (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Nevertheless, the term has created a sense of dualism, adding to a general feeling of unease about the venture. Instead, it has been suggested that the term ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer, 2005) may be more appropriate, and more affirmative (Rose, 2010). I agree with this analysis, for not only does the term more-than-representational convey a better sense of the essence of the project – to explore what *more* there might be than representation – it also, as I will argue, provides a better platform from which to consider the past and its role in the present.

In the final section of this chapter, I explain how the thesis unfolds. I describe each of the chapters that follow and the manner in which they develop a more-than-representational approach to the Forest of Dean landscape, and its transformation from industry to leisure.

An Interdisciplinary Conversation?

The disciplines of archaeology and geography share many commonalities. An ancestry rooted in Renaissance exploration, chorography and antiquarianism helped to establish their credentials as important field sciences. British science during the early nineteenth century was largely a private gentleman’s affair, with London-based clubs, such as the Society of Antiquaries of London (est. 1717) and the Royal Geographical Society (inst. 1830), setting the terms of intellectual debate. But it was advances in evolutionary theory and geology during the nineteenth century that laid the foundations for the development of archaeology and geography as academic disciplines. Following the groundbreaking work of Darwin

(1859) and Lyell (1863), scholars had at their disposal the theories necessary to understand the origins of humanity and the processes of landscape formation.

As disciplines with common roots, archaeology and human geography have also converged in terms of theoretical stance. Since the middle of the twentieth century, those working in human geography and archaeology have adopted broadly similar theoretical frameworks; from empiricist traditions in the 1960s, which focused on regionalism and territory – to the positivist and functionalist approaches of ‘new’ geography and ‘new’ or ‘processual’ archaeology, which emphasised objective, scientific perspectives, quantification and modelling. For example, Clarke’s *Models in Archaeology* (1972) was modelled on Chorley and Haggett’s *Models in Geography* (1967), while Harvey’s *Explanation in Geography* (1969) found its archaeological counterpart in *Explanation in Archaeology* (Watson *et al.* 1971). Similarly, both disciplines have strong traditions in Marxism, structuralism and post-structuralism – this is seen particularly in the adoption of relational approaches such as Actor Network Theory (ANT), and a developing interest in continental philosophy, including phenomenology². Despite these common interests, instances of cross-disciplinary conversation are still relatively rare. Indeed, recent announcements that geography and archaeology will be brought together within the UK’s Research Excellence Framework under one unit of assessment appear to have surprised many within both disciplines. Yet I would like to suggest that the time is now ripe for dialogue between the two, particularly as the emerging field of contemporary archaeology offers a direct link into matters of current geographical concern.

² Although it is interesting to note that the development of relational approaches in archaeology has primarily been in the field of historical and contemporary archaeology (see Webmoor, 2007; Witmore, 2006, 2007; Webmoor and Witmore, 2005, 2008; Hicks, 2005; Olsen, 2007), while the use of phenomenological philosophy has generally been restricted to the realms of prehistory (see for example, Tilley, 1994, 2004; Thomas, 1996; Cummings, 2002a, 2002b; Cummings and Whittle, 2003; for an overview on the use of phenomenology in British prehistory, and its limitations, see Brück, 2005).

Archaeology is a discipline that has traditionally been concerned with a distant and ancient past. Historical periods, such as Medieval Europe or Colonial America, were originally the preserve of historians, and well beyond the purview of archaeology. However, since the 1960s there has been a growing interest in 'historical archaeology', as the utility of archaeological methods and modes of thought has been demonstrated time and again to provide a rich and complementary source of evidence about the historical past (for a now classic example, see Deetz, 1977). But it is only in the last few decades that this expanding chronological range has started to include archaeologies of the 'contemporary' past. One of the most important and successful of the early contemporary studies has been Rathje's 'garbage project', which began in 1973. In *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, a collection edited by Gould and Schiffer, Rathje declared that archaeology had been redefined as 'a focus on the interaction between material culture and human behaviour, regardless of time or space' (Rathje, 1981: 52). However, this considerably broader conceptualisation of archaeology has been relatively slow to take hold. *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, edited by Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas, and published in 2001, was arguably the first real attempt at pulling together a volume of work in contemporary archaeology – for Gould and Schiffer's 1981 volume focused more on contemporary archaeology as a tool (as ethnoarchaeology, for example) than as an end in itself. Indeed, it was not until 2003 that Dan Hicks was able to proclaim archaeology's 'loss of antiquity'. 'Archaeology', he writes, 'has previously consistently chalked out a field of study separate from the present. As a diversity of archaeologies has proliferated around the world, "buffer-zones" of varying lengths between past and present have been established and maintained. ... However, in the past few years the end-dates of archaeological research have been extended, encroaching at an increasing pace upon the present. ... The loss of a delimited archaeological past, of that generalised disciplinary time bounded from the present, has occurred' (Hicks,

2003: 315). That same year marked the inaugural ‘Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory’ or ‘CHAT’ conference, held at the University of Bristol.

Yet there is a sense in which archaeology is *always-already contemporary*, for ‘although archaeologists can do work *about* other periods they cannot work *in* other periods’ (Holtorf and Piccini, 2009: 14, original emphasis). At the same time, it has been argued that the existence of archaeology is itself a reflection of the contemporary world and our often nostalgic preoccupation with the past (see, for example, Thomas, 2004; Holtorf, 2005). Paradoxically, one could suggest that the past has never been as important as it is today. The past is ubiquitous, pervasive, in museums and monuments, castles and country houses, popular films and fiction, period drama, documentaries and literature, heritage trusts and preservation movements, re-enactment societies, and even in hotels and theme parks (see, for example, Holtorf, 2005, 2007).

Starting from the premise then, that contemporary archaeology is not just about the recent past, but about how we engage with the past from the perspective of the present, I am not just interested here in a past that is within living memory, but in the manner by which the past, whether contemporary or distant, influences the present. As Ian Hodder suggests, ‘when archaeology is used to excavate the present we see that the discipline need not be confined to a pre-occupation with the past but that it can be defined as a particular mode of inquiry into the present’ (2001: 189-90). This mode of inquiry is defined, in part, by those methodological approaches and field techniques that define the discipline itself, but it is also a mode of thought, a way of engaging with the past from the unique perspective of the present. Yet as contemporary archaeology rubs up against and jostles with a whole series of other disciplines, it is somewhat inevitable that we should probe a little deeper, to ask

ourselves what is distinctive, or what it is about contemporary archaeology that sets it apart from say historical geography, for instance. As Holtorf and Piccini suggest, ‘materiality and material evidence usually are the starting point and focus of archaeological research, and the same applies to archaeologies of the contemporary period’ (Holtorf and Piccini, 2009: 11), yet matter and materiality are of interest to anthropology, sociology and human geography, from ‘material culture studies’ to ‘materiality’. As a methodological approach, it could be argued that archaeology remains distinct in its processes of artefact retrieval and cataloguing, in excavation, surveying and analysis, yet contemporary archaeology less frequently engages in such practices, utilising instead a whole range of sources and techniques familiar to historical geography, history and anthropology – from archival records to ethnography. By its very nature then, contemporary archaeology pushes at the boundaries of other disciplines. But this is a good thing, for in doing so contemporary archaeology opens up a new space for dialogue on the past, and the role of the past in the present, and future. As such, the dawning of contemporary archaeology provides an opportune moment to explore the potential afforded by theoretical and methodological advances in archaeology’s sister disciplines – particularly what is perhaps human geography’s most exciting and controversial development in recent decades: non-representational theory.

Non-Representational Theory and Archaeology

In this section of the chapter I explain the main tenets of non-representational theory, and explore some of their implications for archaeological thought and practice.

Non-Representational Theory: An Introduction

‘What has been identified as a deadening effect – the tendency for cultural analyses to cleave towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning – can, it is contended, be overcome by allowing in much more of the excessive and transient aspects of living’ (Lorimer, 2005: 83).

Over the last 15 years, ‘non-representational theory’ (Thrift, 1996) has been used within human geography to examine the world anew. The result has been an explosion of new actors, forces and entities, new styles of writing, and new modes of performing geographical accounts (see, for example, Amin and Thrift, 2002; Anderson 2004, 2006a, 2009; Bissell, 2008, 2009; Cloke and Jones, 2002; Crouch, 2003; Dewsbury, 2000; Edensor, 2005a, 2005b; Harrison, 2000, 2008, 2009; Hetherington, 2003; Latham, 2003; McCormack, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2010; Rose, 2002; Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000; Whatmore 1997, 1999, 2002, 2006; Wylie, 2002, 2006, 2007a, 2009; and in particular, Dewsbury et al., 2002; Dewsbury, 2003; Wylie, 2005). However, use of the plural ‘theories’ is perhaps more apposite here, as the non-representational project has many discernible influences and has developed several different lines of inquiry. In Thrift’s (1996) initial outline of ‘non-representational *theories*’, he identified a multiplicity of theorists. Drawing on the work of a diverse range of philosophical writers – from Wittgenstein to Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger to Deleuze, Lingis to Serres and Massumi – as well as the field of science and technology studies – including the work of Bruno Latour, Karen Barad, Donna Haraway, John Law, and Isabelle Stengers – threads of non-representational thought can be found for example in actor-network theory (ANT), performance studies and performativity, phenomenology and post-phenomenologies. These endeavours, and the questions they raise, are not just geographical. The plural ‘theories’ also recognises that non-representational thought has not been confined to human geography, with notable developments in political science for instance (see, for example, Bennett, 2001, 2010), in addition to those fields outlined above. Despite this heterogeneity,

‘non’-representational theories share a commitment to the non-representational basis of thought, insisting that the origin of action is to be found more in embodiment and environmental affordances and less in deliberate contemplation or cognition. There is a common interest in how ‘sense and significance emerge from on-going practical action’, how ‘practical action [is] organised in more-than-human configurations’, and how to attend to events, to the “‘non” that may lead to the chance of something different or a modification of an existing order’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 23-24).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, social constructivism was the primary mechanism of social and cultural analysis. Focusing upon the representational, or the structure of symbolic meaning, the ontological object was collective cultural representation – the symbolic order of ‘control mechanisms’, of ‘plans, recipes, rules, instructions ... for governing behaviour’ (Geertz, 1973: 44), understood as the means by which people make sense of the world. In other words, under social constructivism, our bodies, practices, and surroundings are viewed as an expression of ideas and meanings. This has important epistemological implications, for the premise is that culture consists of ‘transmissible knowledge, as distinct from the ways in which it is put to use in practical contexts of perception and action’ (Ingold, 2000: 161). The notion that the world is inherently separate from its meanings immediately sets up a Cartesian divide. On one side we have the world, the real, all objects and things, and on the other we have representations and signs, which give value and meaning; there is no sense of how meanings and values might arise from our practical engagement with the world. Instead, *non*-representational theories have a common approach to meaning and value as ‘processual’, as ‘thought-in-action’ (McCormack, 2008; Anderson and Harrison, 2010), or ‘knowledge-as-practice’ (Dewsbury and Naylor: 2002). The emphasis is on the ‘background’; those unconscious, barely noticeable activities and encounters with which we

are involved, and from which our conscious thoughts and reflections emerge. Non-representational theorists have therefore raised fundamental questions about what is intended by research practice, suggesting that our understanding of the ‘social’ must be expanded to accommodate ‘shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions’ (Lorimer, 2005: 84).

‘If thinking is not quite what we thought it was, if much of everyday life is unreflexive and not necessarily amenable to introspection, if ... the meanings of things come less from their place in a structuring symbolic order and more from their enactment in contingent practical contexts, then quite what we mean by terms such as “place”, “the subject”, “the social” and “the cultural”, and quite how “space”, “power” and “resistance” actually operate ... are all in question’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 7).

If we accept this non-representational basis for thought, we must also accept that action arises not from willpower or cognitive deliberation, but from embodiment and the world around us. We are in constant relations with our environment, such that our actions arise not from the mind, but instead emerge as ‘relational phenomena’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 7). In other words, the world is no longer ‘out there’, awaiting our discovery, nor is it a passive background of inert things upon which we project meaning. We are always-already in the world. And it is from the world that what we call subjects and objects emerge. This notion of emergent ontogenesis focuses on how bodies are actualised and individuated out of practical relations. It is from active, practical and performative encounters with a whole multiplicity of things that both we and our ‘worlds’ are made. These ‘worlds’ are not representations; rather, they are the background, each an ensemble of practices and relations that we inhabit.

If one of the main tenets of non-representational theory is that thought is placed in action, then another is a concern with ‘Life’, and the whole gamut of vital processes and things that constitute it. While practices and ‘worlds’ provide new ways for thinking through processes of ordering and signification, beyond the idealism of social constructivism, there remains a sense in which these practices are human practices, carried out in ‘human worlds’. However, the notion that we are not the only things active in the world is central to non-representational theory. As Massumi writes:

‘It is meaningless to interrogate the relation of the human to the non-human if the non-human is only a construct of human culture, or inertness. The concepts of nature and culture need serious reworking in a way that expresses the irreducible *alterity* of the non-human in and through its active *connection* to the human and vice versa’ (Massumi, 2002a: 39).

In comparison with phenomenological approaches and accounts, Deleuze and Guattari’s collaborative writings offer a broader, untamed ‘life’ (see, for example, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 2004 [1988]). *Immanence: A Life*, Deleuze’s last published work, describes a life as ‘everywhere, in all the moments that a given living subject goes through and that are measured by given lived objects: an immanent life carrying with it the events of singularities that are merely actualised in subjects and objects’ (Deleuze, 2001: 29). In other words, this is not the life of an already constituted subject, but *a life*, unattributable to our identifications as people or selves (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 13). Questions are therefore posed about the ‘complexity, and indeterminacy, of matter and about how qualities of liveliness are internal to, rather than in supplement or opposition to, the taking place of matter and materiality’ (Anderson and Wylie, 2009: 319).

Drawing on early experiments with ANT, non-representational theories proffer a ‘relational-material’ account of the social. As such, the ‘social is *nothing other than patterned*

networks of heterogeneous materials' containing people, but also machines, animals, texts, money, food, and so on (Law, 1992: 381, original emphasis; also see Latour, 1993). The social world is not simply human, and 'almost all of our interactions with other people are *mediated through* objects of one kind or another', so that social networks comprise human beings and endless other materials too (Law, 1992: 382, original emphasis). It is only by enrolling heterogeneous others in successful relations that action can be achieved. There is no distinct domain or material, no type of connection, to which we could ascribe the label 'social' (Latour, 2005). It is not something 'always already there', not a 'type of thing either visible or to be postulated'; rather, it 'is visible only by the *traces* it leaves ... when a *new* association is being produced between elements which in themselves are in no way "social"' (Latour, 2005: 8, original emphasis). In ANT, the 'social' is 'a movement, a displacement, a transformation, a translation, an enrolment. It is an association between entities', a relation (Latour, 2005: 64-65). These entities do not exist independently, nor are they separated into 'discrete ontological domains' (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 14). Instead, they co-exist on the same 'plane of immanence' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]). For in non-representational theory, materiality takes many forms (Anderson and Wylie, 2009). As Anderson and Harrison argue, 'non-representational theory is ... *thoroughly* materialist', for 'it does not limit *a priori* what kind of beings make up the social' (2010: 14, original emphasis).

'Hence a relational-material approach departs from understandings of the social as ordered *a priori* (be it symbolically, ontologically, or otherwise) in a manner that would, for example, set the conditions for how objects appear, or as an ostensive structure that stands behind and determines practical action' (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 14).

The Time of the Event

This commitment to a relational ontology is a commitment to being-in and being-of relation. The emphasis is on ‘the proliferation of diverse relations’, with a strong sense that ‘the resulting orders are open, provisional, achievements’ (Anderson and Harrison: 2010: 15). Everything, from places to identities, is ‘relationally constituted’. These relations are multiple and irreducibly plural, a key lesson from ‘after’ actor-network theory literature (see, for example, Callon and Law, 2003; Law, 1999; 2000; Law and Singleton, 2002; Lee and Brown, 1994; Lee and Stenner, 1999; Strathern, 1996). However, it is not enough to argue that phenomena are ‘relationally constituted’, or to apply the concept of a network; what is important is the ‘specificity and performative efficacy of different relations and different relational configurations’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 16). Following Deleuze, we see that these new potentialities – for being, doing and thinking – are brought forth by the ‘event’ (see, in particular, Deleuze, 1990b). The event is a key concept in Deleuzian thought and non-representational theory because it helps us to rethink the dynamism of change. Events are filled with solicitations, provocations, promises and threats that create transformations. Returning to the ‘background’ of our world – a background that is open to modification, in which diverse human and non-human entities are being brought into formation – the ‘event’ describes the effects or ‘affects’ of a ‘line of flight’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]). This is a world of ‘becomings’, in which events are happening all around. The event ‘does not resemble, conform, or reproduce *a priori* conditions’, and ‘it does not *represent* those conditions’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 22, original emphasis). Instead, the event is a discontinuity, a break from the status quo that ‘forces or invites us to think or act differently’ (Ibid.).

This dynamic and uncertain conception of change has relevance in terms of our understanding of the past. Indeed, it is suggested that our past, often characterised as ‘a linear advance up the ladder of progress’ (De Landa, 1997: 15), might more profitably be understood as the unfolding of a series of critical, threshold-crossing moments. De Landa does not view history as a linear process, but as a series of bifurcating moments in which one state of stable equilibrium is replaced by another. As such, he rejects the notion of linear causality, developing the idea that progress is made in the crossing of non-linear critical thresholds that are brought about by intensities of interaction, such as levels of energy consumption or densities of settlement. However, in common with broader conceptions of time within non-representational theory, these ‘phase transitions’ are not *passing* phases represented as progressive developmental steps, replaced in succession. Instead, they co-exist and interact, continuing to have an influence over the present. As such, this ‘non-linear’ approach to historical development has much to offer in terms of archaeological research, particularly the transmission of technology and ideas. Consider the field of cultural evolution for example, which draws on evolutionary concepts to explain changes in cultures and societies over time. For instance, Charlton (2009) and Charlton et al. (2010) adopted a cultural evolutionary approach to develop a new understanding of iron smelting technology in northwest Wales. They posited that the conditions required to successfully smelt iron were well understood, arising from the universal properties of the materials involved. Further, Charlton et al. (2010) suggested that although changes related to furnace operation could be accounted for by ‘cultural transmission’, at a certain point another effective procedure was more or less accidentally discovered, and a decision must have been taken to make use of the two distinct procedures, visible in different slag signatures. In terms of the forces acting on the technical knowledge and practices passed on from one iron smelter to another, it is easy to imagine some more or less random variation in

processes. As such, the development of iron smelting technology can also be understood as a ‘phase transition’, as changes in flows of matter and energy brought about differences in the repetition of the same smelting process. However, although there would have been a strong preference for those practices that were the most successful, given the complexity of the process and its many stages, it would not necessarily have been easy to identify precisely what produced a successful smelt on any given occasion. While each smelt might begin with the same materials, prepared in the same manner by the same individuals, it would never be an exact repetition. There would always be some difference. This variation would be inherent to the smelt itself – an event, emergent and unforeseen. And yet it might have the power to bring about a bifurcation, a threshold-crossing moment during which the process of iron smelting would henceforth be radically changed.

Materials as Affects

More importantly perhaps for a discipline such as archaeology, which is concerned with artefacts and human remains, non-representational theories provide a platform from which to consider both the present and *absent* entities that make up the social. The role of “‘objects” as affects, virtual memories, hauntings and atmospheres’ can be explored in ‘the enactment, composition and durability of the social’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 16). There is a refrain within non-representational work around affect, the capacity to affect and to be affected in human and non-human entities (see, for example, Anderson, 2006b, 2009; Bissell, 2008, 2009; McCormack, 2002, 2003, 2008, 2010). As Anderson and Harrison suggest, the term ‘affect’ remains contested, but is generally used to name ‘the aleatory dynamics of experience, the ‘push’ of life which interrupts, unsettles and haunts persons, places or things’ (2010: 16). According to Spinoza (1989), affect can be understood as a

movement or a modification. The concept of affect undermines any *a priori* or originary object of enquiry, such as a body or a subject, showing instead that they are emergent as durational and relational processes. Affect thus focuses our attention on the objects of research as they are enveloped in, and produced through, relations. As a process that traverses previously separate ontological and epistemological realms, affect adds to the social a radical new set of entities that are ‘both much less and much more than the present’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 17). Such ‘affective materialisms’, developed in the name of non-representational theory (see, for example, Anderson, 2004; Latham and McCormack, 2004; Wylie, 2005), ‘aim to...think outside the post-enlightenment bifurcation of matter into primary and secondary qualities that underpin the distinction between materialism and idealism’ (Anderson and Wylie 2009: 319). They ‘unsettle the self-evident actuality – or concreteness – of materiality’ and ‘complicate [any] attempt to define it against the ‘immateriality’ of images and texts’, memories, hauntings, and affect (McCormack, 2010: 643).

Exploring the affective dimensions of ‘materiality’ itself has further implications for the development of a non-representational approach to archaeology; for although archaeology deals with artefacts – with things, materials and matter – it has traditionally been the people behind these objects – their ideas and belief systems – that have been the focus of archaeological endeavour. Early evolutionist and ‘culture-historical’ approaches drew heavily on private and museum collections, amassed by explorers or those in military service overseas, to make claims about the diffusion of ideas. For instance, Pitt Rivers believed that the ideas of prehistoric people were conveyed in their material culture; he writes, for example, of ‘human ideas, as represented by the various products of human industry’ (Pitt Rivers, 1906: 18), and ‘ideas embodied in material forms’ (Pitt Rivers, 1906: 13). Similarly,

Childe argued that culture finds its expression in material remains, as it is maintained and transmitted through actions that create material culture; ‘some of the actions dictated by, and expressive of, culture effect durable changes in the material world’ (Childe, 1951: 33). All artefacts were ultimately representative of something else – be it ideas, thoughts or ‘culture’ – while behaviour, practices and objects were derived from ideas (Lucas, 2001: 171). During the 1960s, Binford developed a critique of culture-historical archaeology, which focused on behaviour rather than typology (see, for example, Binford, 1962), distinguishing between three classes of material culture: *technomic* – artefacts developed to cope with the physical environment; *socio-technic* – artefacts that facilitate social organisation; and, *ideo-technic* – artefacts that signify and symbolise the ideological facets of a social system (Binford, 1962; also see Hicks, 2010: 39-40). Binford argued that material culture was evidence of human behaviour, operating from the practical to the social, to the ideational. This ‘New’ or ‘Processual’ archaeology, paid little attention to the realm of ideas per se, but adopted a functional interpretation of material culture, which analysed the archaeological record for behavioural traces, and the manner by which artefact assemblages presented a systematic and understandable picture of ‘extinct’ cultural systems. Behaviour was no longer an expression of beliefs or ideas; rather, it was indicative of the activities required to maintain daily life and social systems. In particular, the variability in forms of material culture was no longer interpreted in terms of ideas, but was instead understood in behavioural terms as expressing different activities (Lucas, 2001: 172). Failure of the functional interpretation of material culture to address the ‘mental’ representations of culture generated a ‘post-processual’ reaction. Led by Hodder (see, for example, Hodder, 1985), the post-processual stance sought to re-assert the significance of idealism. For Binford, beliefs were part of a subsystem of material culture, but for Hodder, ideas and beliefs are integral to behaviour and material culture. The beliefs surrounding action – such as preparing food,

making pots or growing crops – affect how that action is performed and its outcomes. However, Hodder does not view material culture or behaviour as expressive or derivative of beliefs, but each as constitutive of the other. While new or processual archaeology focused upon behaviour at the macro-level, post-processualism emphasised the active nature of individuals and agency. Despite these considerable shifts in emphasis towards a more relational stance, Hicks (2010: 27) suggests that there are three lingering problems with the concept of ‘material culture’. Firstly, there is the somewhat essentialist concept of ‘culture’, which has been undermined by a range of post-colonial and feminist critiques (see, for example, Conkey and Spector, 1984; Gero and Conkey, 1991; Gosden, 2001). Secondly, there is the utility of a separate category of the ‘material’, which has been called into question, particularly with regard to the possibility, or indeed desirability, of defining some form of culture that is not materially enacted (see, for example, Olsen, 2006, 2007; Ingold, 2007). Finally, there has been a persistent tendency to reduce interpretation or explanation to the ‘human’ or the ‘non-human’ elements of this unhyphenated term, ‘material culture’ (Miller, 2007: 24). For example, Gavin Lucas suggests that there is still a sense that ‘material culture’ is supplemental to ‘culture’, that the subject is the origin of meaning and agency, ‘the absent presence in the archaeological record’ (Lucas, 2001: 176). As Latham and McCormack argue, ‘we cannot simply take the “material” and add “culture” (or the “symbolic” or whatever) and arrive at a neat balance between the two’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 718). ‘It is meaningless to interrogate the relation of the human to the non-human if the non-human is only a construct of human culture’ (Massumi, 2002a: 39). Instead, ‘non-representational approaches locate the making of meaning and signification in the “manifold of actions and interactions” rather than in a supplementary dimension such as that of discourse, ideology or symbolic order’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 2). The emphasis is on ‘expanding our once comfortable understanding of “the social” and how it

can be regarded as something researchable’, allowing us to ‘escape’ the ‘established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation’ (Lorimer, 2005: 84). As such, non-representational theory not only raises questions about the validity of ‘material culture’, it also forces us to rethink the practices of archaeology, the conduct of research and its presentation.

Practice and Presentation

If ‘non-representational theory has a *practical* and *processual* basis for its accounts of the social ... one focused on “backgrounds”, bodies and their performances’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 2), it depends upon a particular set of methodologies; an empirical stance that involves ‘repertoires of enactive practice ... through which the relational, processual and affective materialities of space and place might be apprehended’ (McCormack, 2010: 643). Such experiments in knowledge-making are seen in research on walking (Wylie, 2005), dance (McCormack, 2005), and cycling (Spinney, 2006), for example. Although this work is diverse in both its approach and conduct, it shares a common commitment to ‘field-work’, to the ‘co-fabrication of research materials rather than their excavation or discovery through techniques of representational exhumation’ (McCormack, 2008: 5). As such, the ‘field’ is ‘understood less as a site “out there” at which research takes place, but a space of distributed agency, action, and encounter within which research materials are not so much discovered as co-generated’ (Ibid.).

The notion of ‘thought-in-action’ (McCormack, 2008; Anderson and Harrison, 2010) or ‘knowledge-as-practice’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002) has also prompted novel approaches

to scholarly writing, often as personal experiments in narrative. However, it should be noted that although our experience is often given meaning through the representational rationale of language and signification, we are rarely able to convey a true sense of that experience of being in the world. Representation proves inadequate, for we have no language to express our 'becomings'. How we bring a world into being through performative practices is the crux of the problem, for this bringing into being is irreducible to language, and what narratives we produce will always 'fall short' (Harrison, 2007: 603) – for there is always something non-representational, always something in excess (Dewsbury, 2010: 150). This is the case for testimony too. Although 'in one way or another our informants speak, they signal to us, and in turn we contextualise, code, work-through and interpret', there are moments in testimony that 'confound, resist or simply withdraw from such engagement' (Harrison, 2010: 161-2); there are moments when we have things to say but simply do not have the words to say them. Accepting the challenge of representation, and even the propensity to fail, research in non-representational theory seeks to experiment with different means of presenting, it 'exhibit(s) that honest, anxious, and therefore artistic, endeavour to grapple with representation' (Dewsbury, 2010: 155). One example of this kind of work is that of John Wylie (2005) and his 'geopoetics' (Lorimer, 2007), which are used to describe a day walking the South West Coast Path. It is in this work that Wylie seeks to collapse self and landscape, to expose 'sensations of anxiety and immensity, haptic enfolding and attenuation, encounters with others and with the elements, and moments of visual exhilaration and epiphany' (Wylie, 2005: 234).

As disciplines predicated on fieldwork, the ontological claim that the world is processual opens up an important space for dialogue between archaeology and geography. This is particularly so as contemporary archaeology pushes the boundaries of what constitutes

archaeological fieldwork, and trends towards a more reflexive archaeology raise questions regarding the epistemological status of archaeological knowledge (see, for example, Hodder 1997, 2000). In reflexive approaches to archaeological fieldwork, greater attention is paid to the construction of knowledge and the role of on-site interpretation. However, these methods of working and modes of thinking are often seen purely as an aid to the interpretation of sites or archaeological remains, rather than an end in themselves – for the means by which knowledge is co-produced, either in the present or the past, has itself received little attention. Yet there is great potential to explore the processual nature of our world and thought-in-action, both in traditional forms of archaeological fieldwork and in those diverse forms of fieldwork adopted by contemporary archaeology – from archival research to ethnography, from walking the landscape to its excavation, from an analysis of finds to their use as objects.

It was post-processual concerns with representation that drew attention to the reflexive role of the researcher as writer in archaeology (see, for example, Shanks and Tilley, 1987a, 1987b; Hodder, 1989). With the advent of more reflexive approaches to fieldwork, excavation reports and landscape surveys started to include personalised accounts of the subjective experiences of those who carried them out (see, for example, Bender et al., 1997; Hodder, 1997). However, much of the innovation in archaeological methods of presentation has been confined to the field of prehistory. Drawing on phenomenological philosophy, specifically the work of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, prehistorians have attempted to illustrate the relationships they identify between features of the landscape in a number of ways. For instance, Cummings (Cummings et al., 2002) experiments with photomontages and line drawings to represent the visual fields of megalithic tombs; Chadwick (2004) tells narrative, fictional stories drawn from the findings of his analysis of the Mesolithic to the

late Bronze Age landscape of Cranborne Chase in Dorset; Watson (2004) experiments with artistic methods of presentation in the form of poems and art to illustrate some of the more subjective qualities of dwelling within the monuments of Avebury. Similarly, Tilley describes his interpretative accounts of ancient monuments and landscapes as a ‘creative response’ (2004: 225). While there have been some exciting experiments in writing within contemporary archaeology – I am thinking here of the work of scholars such as Angela Piccini and Jonna Ulin (see, for example, Piccini, 2009; Ulin, 2009) – I would argue that there is real scope for a more creative engagement with contemporary material in words and images. Similarly, there is great potential for non-representational theory to develop a more innovative and creative approach to its use of images, for engagement with visual forms of representation has to date been limited. This is understandable perhaps – given a desire to move away from the visual as the dominant form of representation in modern Western thought – yet the process-based nature of archaeological drawing as practice can provide an alternative perspective on how we grasp the world. At the same time, archaeology has established a broader dialogue on, and engagement with, artistic practice, including matters of representation, (see, for example, Renfrew et al., 2004), and there is much that non-representational theorists might take from such approaches.

Criticisms of Non-Representational Theory: Towards a ‘More-Than-Representational’ Theory

Before turning to describe the rest of the thesis, I wish to pause for a moment to reflect on some of the criticisms levelled at non-representational theory – starting with its engagement with the political. Proponents of non-representational theory have sought to establish its political credentials from the very outset, seeking to expand human geography’s conception

of the political by supplementing the epistemological basis of traditional forms of social and political theory with a livelier, affective ‘politics of generosity’ (see, for example, Thrift 1997, 2000, 2004; Hinchliffe, 2000; McCormack, 2003; Anderson, 2006b, 2007). Yet it is the political potential of non-representational theory that has been the primary source of contention. Consider, for example, Thrift’s work on dance (1997), which attracted sustained criticism for moving against the tide of political thought within human geography during the 1990s. For instance, Catherine Nash (2000) argued that Thrift’s work paid insufficient attention to the social and cultural spaces within which dance was practised, thereby ignoring the politics of dance and of dancing bodies – a critique that was echoed by Gagen (2004), Revill (2004), and Cresswell (2006). Indeed, Cresswell (2006) sets out an alternative stance, drawing on bodily interactions in the 1920s English ballroom. Focusing on instruction in correct bodily movement, re-inscribed through varying forms of representational apparatus, such as guidebooks and step charts, Cresswell draws attention to the racialised morality of movement. As such, Cresswell points to the ‘social, cultural and geographical worlds that continue to ascribe meaning to mobility and to prescribe practice in particular ways’ (Cresswell, 2006: 59). In some senses, Cresswell’s is a broadly sympathetic commentary on the perceived shortfalls of non-representational theory. For in critique arising from the Marxist left (see, for example, Castree and MacMillan, 2004; Smith, 2005; Harvey, 2006), non-representational theorists have been accused of withdrawing from the sphere of political action altogether. Smith’s (2005) polemic is a response to Amin and Thrift’s (2005) article ‘What’s left? Just the future’ in which they argue for a plurality of Leftist thinking based upon a non-hierarchical or ‘heterarchical’ understanding of the world. ‘As best can be discerned’ writes Smith, ‘the central message of “What’s left? Just the future” is a beautiful promise that if we renounce past indiscretions, forget about any kind of radical social change, get with our ethical selves, embrace a playful

and pluralist agonism, and just let a hundred flowers bloom, the future will surely be rosy' (Smith, 2005: 892). 'It would indeed be nice if the world were flat and non-hierarchical. Many of us have long been struggling for just such a result ... The world may be flat for those who can afford a business class ticket to fly around it, gazing down on a seemingly flat surface, while for those gazing up at passing airplanes in Sub-Saharan Africa or the Indian countryside, the opportunity represented by London or Bombay or New York is an impossible climb to a destination visible only as mediated television or movie fantasy ...' (Smith, 2005: 894). At the same time, Tolia-Kelly (2006) raises concerns about the geography of affect and its 'universalist' and 'ethnocentric' tendencies. 'The literature on affect' she writes 'is particularly inattentive to issues of power; negated is a focus on geometries of power and historical memory that figure and drive affective flows and rhythms' (2006: 213). Tolia-Kelly is sceptical of an ethics of affect that is predicated upon empty spaces of encounter in which individual subjects are erased, and histories of the powerless are forgotten. Instead, she argues that it is 'critical to think plurally about the capacities for affecting and being affected, and [to recognise] that various individual capacities are differently forged, restrained, trained and embodied' (2006: 216).

And the debate lingers on; for although non-representational theory has offered some innovative and thought-provoking interventions in the realms of ethical and political practice, many of its critics, and even some of its followers, remain sceptical about its political commitment. For example, Rose writes, 'while I myself have great sympathy with the ontological positions of non-representational theory, and little sympathy with the social/theoretical reductionisms of structuralism in its various lefty guises, I cannot help but find myself aligned *not* with non-representational theory's critics but with the sentiments their critiques often suggest' (Rose, 2010: 341-2, original emphasis). Echoing Rose, in

some senses at least, I agree that while non-representational theory does provide a tantalising glimpse of what is to be gained by moving beyond the representational, the not insignificant loss accompanied by this move is seldom acknowledged. Advocates of non-representational theory discount the representational because it neglects a whole series of practices, dispositions and habits that arise in relation, from our engagement with the world around us. Yet surely the problem lies not in the *a priori* inertia of the ‘representational’, nor in the ontological matter-of-play liveliness of the ‘non-representational’, but, rather, in the assertion that there has to be a choice, that one cannot engage with the realms of the representational *and* the non-representational. Indeed, the assumption that one can choose to adopt a non-representational politics is something of a contradiction in terms, for as Rose (2010: 357) points out, this itself is a representational choice.

It has recently been argued that ‘non’-representational theory is not ‘anti’-representational; instead ‘what passes for representations are apprehended as performative presentations, not reflections of some *a priori* order waiting to be unveiled, decoded or revealed’ (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 19). Similarly, McCormack stresses the need for an ongoing relationship between the representational and the non-representational, so that representations are no longer the primary epistemological means by which we develop knowledge about the world. ‘That does not mean that representations are dispensed with’ he writes, ‘rather they are reanimated as active and affective interventions in a world of relations and movements’ (McCormack, 2005: 122). Nevertheless, the term itself has added to general unease about the project, suggesting a somewhat negative stance, and, as noted above, a dualistic tendency: non-representational versus representational. Instead, it has been suggested that the term ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer, 2005) may be more appropriate, and more affirmative (Rose, 2010). I certainly prefer to adopt the term ‘more-

than-representational', as I feel that it conveys a better sense of what I wish to achieve – a sense of what more there is than representation – without losing sight of the actuality that as human beings we do form representations. At the same time, it is my assertion that a more-than-representational approach provides a better way into the past, and the role of the past in the present.

So, before moving on, I wish to raise a final concern relating to non-representational theory – namely its relationship with the past, as much of the research undertaken under the guise of non-representational theory has been somewhat ahistorical in nature. Of course, there have been some notable exceptions. McCormack's (2005) work on the powers of non-representational practice and performance is one such example. Focusing on eurhythmics – a practice that emerged in Geneva in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to improve musical appreciation via rhythmic movement – McCormack argues that the historical and cultural geographies of eurhythmics can best be apprehended diagrammatically, in relation to the corporeal kinaesthetics of rhythmic movement, to practices of social and cultural transformation, and to architectures of performative potential. By drawing together a historical geography of the eurhythmics movement with recollections from a research residency in a performance art setting, McCormack's experimental practices of the past are animated through contemporary rhythmic affects. At the same time, it is interesting to note that a number of the more historical or 'historicised' accounts have been presented by those seeking to build bridges between representational approaches and non-representational theory. Cresswell's work on the 1920s ballroom (above) can be seen alongside Gagen's (2004) analysis of the early twentieth-century American playground and physical reform programmes, and Revill's (2004) apprenticeship in French folk dancing. For example, Gagen demonstrates that efforts to modify children's play drew on

psychological theories of consciousness and physical routine. She argues that the interventions of educational reformers are indicative of a broader movement within the realms of physical training; one that has been predicated on more regimented and ideological outcomes than non-representational theory has hitherto cared to acknowledge. Further examples of historical geography's engagements with non-representational theory include Merriman's (2005a, 2005b, 2006) work on the geographies of driving and 'automobilities', Merriman's (2010, 2011) work on architecture and dance, and Rycroft's (2007) study of the Californian 'countercultural' movement of the 1960s. For instance, Rycroft draws a parallel with 1960s experimentalism and current conceptions of non-representational theory, suggesting that attempts by artists and performers to 'evoke the full range of the senses' and 'to privilege more ways of knowing than the cognitive, oral and visual' were an early attempt to get at the non-representational (Rycroft: 2007: 628). To this growing corpus can be added the work of Hayden Lorimer (2003, 2006, 2010), who himself treads a more-than-representational line within the field of historical geography. For example, Lorimer's (2006) paper on the reintroduction of a Finnish reindeer herd to the Scottish Cairngorms in 1952 focuses on the relations between herders and herd. Lorimer successfully reanimates these entwined biographies through oral and archival histories, embodied experiences, and evocations of landscape, drawing together different 'registers of memory'. Taken together, these studies suggest that the past is a flourishing concern within the realms of non-representational theory. Yet this is far from the reality, for most of non-representational theory's leading theorists and proponents pay little attention to the past. Instead, attention is often turned towards the present or the future, without any reference to the past. For example, the work of scholars such as J.D. Dewsbury, Ben Anderson, and to a lesser extent that of John Wylie (see, for example, Anderson, 2004, 2006a, 2009; Anderson and Wylie, 2009; Dewsbury 2000, 2003, 2007; Dewsbury et al, 2002; Wylie, 2002, 2005,

2006, 2009), is firmly rooted in the here and now. As Rose suggests, ‘in many ways it is odd that [the] question of time has not been a central concern for geographers interested in Deleuze’ (Rose, 2010: 345). Instead, ‘the geographic implications of Deleuze’s work in the discipline have been thought primarily in terms of space’, yet ‘Deleuze’s concept of time is a far more central and necessary component of his ontology than space’ (Ibid.). The temporality of Deleuzian ontology can be understood in terms of ‘anticipation’ and ‘archiving’ (Rose, 2010). According to Deleuze (2004 [1994]), past events create an expectation in terms of what is yet to come, a series of habits and events that synthesise past and future. This expectation is not purely human, for many non-humans anticipate events, such as photosynthesising plants that anticipate the sunrise. Similarly, past events return to, or remain in, the present, while the present itself is always passing. As such, the past is always-already present. And it is concepts such as these that might enable contemporary archaeologists to develop a new theoretical framework around the role of the past in the present. It seems that there is a real opportunity for contemporary archaeology to stake a claim here, to occupy this space within non-representational theory, to deal with the complex temporality of the present, its past and future, and to make a valuable and unique contribution to our understanding of the world.

The Thesis as it Unfolds: Sources, Methods and Narratives

This thesis takes a first step towards staking such a claim, by exploring the development of a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology. Focusing on new materialisms that are ‘more-than-representational’, new temporalities arising from the time of the ‘event’, and new ways of performing and practicing the archaeological, each chapter

seeks to explore the temporality of the present through a series of encounters with always-already affective materials from the past. And, as an experiment in doing and writing, each chapter seeks to emphasise the non-representational and ‘processual’ nature of our thought. By engaging with the Forest of Dean in a practical and performative manner – in walking its lost miners’ paths, in performing ‘heritage’ activities such as the charcoal burn, and in camping at its first campsite – I seek to highlight a series of ‘becomings’, the becoming-past of the present (Deleuze, 2004 [1994]), and the emergence of subjects and worlds through ‘backgrounds’, bodies and performances.

However, the thesis begins by examining an important precursor to non-representational theory within the context of historical landscape studies. Utilising archival materials, secondary sources and ethnographic research, Chapter Two maps out a historical geography of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park. Focusing on the development of a new leisure industry during the twentieth century – in a landscape that had traditionally been dominated by primary industrial activity – it pieces together the events leading up to the National Forest Park designation, and subsequent developments in amenity provision. Although Chapter Two takes a lighter touch to theoretical concerns, it highlights a series of practice-based engagements required to bring about significant changes in the landscape. By adopting a ‘cultures of landscape’ (Matless, 1998) approach to writing, it hints at what more there might be than representation, by exploring processes of subjectification brought about through new forestry practices, changing attitudes towards outdoor leisure, and the redevelopment of industrial remains.

These themes are developed in Chapter Three, which takes a distinctly *more-than-representational* approach to some of the examples of landscape transformation outlined in

Chapter Two. As such, Chapter Three seeks to demonstrate that the materiality of the world does not stand in opposition to an immaterial realm, that it is not the immaterial that produces those qualities that are assumed to animate matter, but that those qualities are internal to matter itself. In a series of case studies – on the modification of a spoil heap into a viewpoint, the re-use of a railway bridge as a viewpoint retaining wall, the development of a former colliery site into a sculpture trail, the conversion of railways into cycle-ways, and the re-casting of an abandoned mine as a ‘heritage’ site – I highlight the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of matter-in-relation. Drawing on repeated visits to these sites, undertaken over a sustained period, I explore their tactility and topology, as well as their genesis. At the same time, I seek to reveal the power of these sites to evoke the past. Using the refrain: ‘movement, scale and speed’, I emphasise their lively, agentic and affective qualities. The ‘refrain’ is particularly important here; more than a recurrent theme, the refrain is understood as that which ‘fabricates time’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 384) by acting to alter the speed of such interactions.

Drawing on the idea that matter is always-already affective, and thus has the power to evoke haunting intimations of the past, Chapter Four explores the ‘afterlife’ of this landscape transformation. It focuses on the landscape of the ‘Long Path’, a route connecting Lightmoor colliery with the nearby village of Ruspidge. Examining the more-than-representational nature of memory as embodied and haunted by the spectral, this chapter draws on oral history ‘on the move’, and centres on a walk undertaken in November 2008 that aimed to re-trace this old miners’ path. Accompanied on my walk by local resident, Ron Beard, I was transported to the 1950s, to the landscape of Ron’s youth. Histories of the landscape unfolded as we walked, places rejuvenating old memories, giving them life. Yet Ron’s stories also reveal a haunting sense of loss, a fragmented remembering and forgetting

that is unsettled by ghosts from the past. Developing the argument that alternative styles of writing are needed in order to reveal the true nature of memory and our haunting engagements with the past – while at the same time accepting Wylie’s (2007a) assertion that spectral geographies should themselves be spectral – I consider the work of Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald, which, through devices such as literary montage, biography and phantasmagoria, successfully unsettles, disrupts and enlivens. Taking inspiration from these great writers, I return to the story of the ‘Long Path’, which is narrated in a non-conventional academic style that itself seeks to displace settled orders of space and time, to disturb all sense of self and place, to reveal the revenant trace of the spectre.

This unsettling of time and space is a theme that is continued in Chapter Five, which takes a performative approach to recount a day spent as participant-observer or ‘apprentice charcoal burner’ during a charcoal burn taking place over the late May bank holiday weekend of 2009. Charcoal was an essential component of the early iron industry, and by the late sixteenth century it was being consumed in vast quantities in the blast furnaces of large ironworks located throughout the Forest. Although from the mid-nineteenth century much of the Forest’s charcoal was supplied by chemical works, several families continued the tradition into the twentieth century. Charcoal burning is now carried out twice a year at the Dean Heritage Centre, as a demonstration of traditional Forest industry for visitors and ‘heritage tourists’, and as an opportunity for charcoal-burning enthusiasts to meet, to share knowledge, and to exchange stories. By documenting the charcoal burn as performative, as comprising a series of ‘events’, I intend both to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce ‘affect’ and to attend to the traces of human – non-human encounters. Following a broadly Deleuzian approach, I seek to reveal a world of relations, movements and affect that cannot be grasped by representation alone. This process of documentation

involves the use of archaeological drawings and photographic images, alongside an objective, but nuanced and detailed style of writing – for as I will argue, it is only when one takes a step back, adopting the role of detached observer, that it is possible to document the event-space of others. The overall goal is to focus upon relations, to highlight the spaces in-between, and to reveal as much as possible of those fleeting sensations that occur before contemplation. I consider the emergence of relational ontologies, of beings-in-formation and ‘becoming’, and the possibility that in our encounters with objects and situations from the past, which create ‘blocs of sensations’, we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past.

Although each of the preceding chapters is to some extent an experiment in doing and writing, these matters take centre stage in Chapter Six, which focuses on archaeological fieldwork undertaken at disused 1970s campsite in August 2009. This is a chapter of two parts. In the first, I present a standard field report that aims to provide historical and archaeological background, to document the fieldwork process, finds, and findings, and to offer some interpretation as to their significance in terms of the use of the site. In the second, I provide a broader account of the fieldwork and its subsequent reception in public and academic spheres, an account that seeks to address all that is written out of the standard field report. By taking a more-than-representational approach to the fieldwork itself, and to its presentation in part two of this chapter, I draw attention to the ‘processual’ nature of our thought, our ‘knowledge-as-practice’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002) or ‘thought-in-action’ (McCormack, 2008; Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Engaging with the mundane and everyday aspects of fieldwork, I seek to document a series of encounters that generate affective registers – in the field and beyond; encounters with things, people and places that have the power to evoke and to unsettle. By contrasting the activities of field walking and

excavation with camping during the fieldwork period, as well as the subsequent reception of this work in academic and public spheres, my aim is to convey a sense of the sites of academic practice, and the manner in which they are shaped by encounters with other human and non-human entities.

Finally, Chapter Seven reflects on the core questions of the thesis, on what a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology might look like, and what archaeological perspectives could offer in terms of the development of non-representational theories. As such, Chapter Seven arrows back to the kind of contemporary archaeology I am advocating here – a contemporary archaeology that aims to understand not just the legacy of the past in the landscape, but its capacity to generate affective registers, to evoke and to unsettle.

Chapter Two

Documenting the Past: Transforming the Landscape from Industry to Leisure

Introduction

The debt owed by architects of non-representational theory to the field of new cultural geography is rarely acknowledged (but see Wylie, 2007b; Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Yet there are significant elements of new cultural geography that establish it as an important precursor, especially in the context of ‘landscape’. The first wave of new cultural geography, developed during the 1980s, focused upon the visual ideology of landscape – as veil, text and gaze (Wylie, 2003, 2007b) – drawing on the traditions of cultural Marxism (see, for example, Cosgrove, 1985; Daniels, 1989; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988) and Barthean semiotics (see, for example, Duncan and Duncan, 1988 1992; Barnes and Duncan, 1992; Duncan and Ley, 1993). This visual representation of landscape established a clear Cartesian divide – between mental representations of landscape on the one hand, and practices of landscape on the other. As David Matless argues, ‘the problem with such a division of analysis between the “ontological” and the “ideological” ... lies not in possibly giving too much emphasis to one and not enough to the other ... but in the polarity of the categories themselves’ (Matless, 1992: 240). Recognising the deficiencies of a vision-oriented conception of landscape, a second generation of new cultural geographers, working throughout the 1990s, turned to post-structuralism, and in particular to the perspectives of Foucault (2002 [1970], 1991 [1977]) and Derrida (1973, 1976, 1978), developing a keen

interest in issues of power, discourse and practice. This shift in emphasis brought with it new matters of concern, as attention turned to debates over identity, citizenship and ethics. Consider, for example, the emergence of what Matless (1998) has described as ‘cultures of landscape’, which explore everyday landscape practices, such as walking, boating and rock climbing, as well as the cultural processes and regulatory regimes that influence their conduct (see, for example, Matless, 1992, 1993, 1998, 2000, 2003; Matless et al., 2010; Edensor, 2000; Lorimer, 2000; Merriman, 2005c). Overt reference to theoretical concerns is seldom to be found in these works (for an exception, see Matless, 1992). Instead, attention is directed to the development of comprehensive accounts of landscapes and their histories, to an analysis of the kinds of subjectivities and cultural formations that are at the heart of Foucault’s historical studies of power. A key example is Matless’ *Landscape and Englishness* (1998), which focuses upon the English landscape of the mid-twentieth century, on discursive practices, bodily regimes and new subjectivities.

As a precursor to the more-than-representational nature of the chapters that follow then, this chapter adopts a ‘cultures of landscape’ approach to document a significant transformation in the Forest of Dean landscape. Specifically, it focuses upon the development of a new leisure industry during the twentieth century, in a landscape that had traditionally been dominated by primary industrial activity. Taking a ‘light touch’ to theory and theoretical concerns, this chapter seeks to provide a comprehensive account of landscape transformation, occurring as the result of a series of social, cultural, political and economic upheavals and structural change in the period from the First World War to the present day. Drawing together for the first time a number secondary sources, along with primary sources and case studies, it provides a historical overview of the development of leisure activities, setting the scene for the chapters that follow. This historical geography of the Forest

acknowledges that landscapes are the site of economic, political, social and cultural values and concern, ‘a vehicle of social and self identity ... a site for the claiming of cultural authority ... a generator of profit ... a space for different kinds of living’ (Matless, 1998: 12). At the same time, its focus is on the changing Forest landscape and emergent subjectivities – brought about through new forestry practices, attitudes towards outdoor recreation, and the redevelopment of industrial remains.

The story begins by mapping the creation of the Forestry Commission, the body with official responsibility for the Forest, its natural and physical infrastructure. The Forestry Commission was awarded control of the Royal Forest of Dean in 1924, and has since been one of the greatest forces responsible for transforming this landscape. However, pressure from preservationists and amenity groups, coupled with the collapse of mining, quarrying and other forms of industrial activity during the course of the twentieth century, have also had a profound impact on this landscape and its effective metamorphosis from industry to leisure. This chapter charts the development of National Forest Parks, the Forestry Commission’s first tangible commitment to enhancing and promoting the amenity value of its forests, and the designation of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park in 1938. It also examines the role of industrial forestry and the changing aesthetics of the Forest, before considering the reconfiguration and re-imagining of the Forest as a post-industrial landscape. Each section seeks to provide an overview of the change from industry to leisure taking place within this landscape, demonstrating the complex connections that emerge between different places and times. For example, the very existence of the Forest of Dean is often attributed in no small measure to its status as a Royal Forest, to deer, boar, commoners, poachers, keepers, hunting lodges, spears, bows and arrows, taxes, laws, forest courts, verderers, kings’ tables, noblemen and kings – part of the ‘state apparatus’ of

medieval England, which sought to transform the earth of primitive society into land (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]). In the more recent past however, it is the Forestry Commission that has shaped the Forest landscape. An organisation responsible for 827,000 hectares of woods and forests in the UK (more than 1.4 billion trees), the Forestry Commission plants over 17 million trees every year and employs more than 3,000 people. It produces in excess of five million tonnes of timber each year, or 300 forty-tonne truck loads every day. It maintains 24,000 km of forest roads, the equivalent of seven times the total motorway network in Britain, and more than 2,300 bridges. It provides 2,600 km of cycle trails and has 55 visitor centres, almost 500 car parks and 155 easy access trails, and receives more than 50 million visitors to its sites every year³.

Creation of the Forestry Commission

The origins of the Forestry Commission can be traced in the events of World War One, to merchant ships carrying timber from Canada and Norway; U-boats in the German naval blockade; a series of treaties between Serbia and Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, France and Russia, Britain and France, and so on; Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Serbian nationalists. Woodland resources had suffered a steady decline since the Middle Ages, a process accelerated during the Industrial Revolution, so that by 1913, 93% of the UK's timber requirements were being met through imports from Europe and North America. With the outbreak of war, and the German naval blockade, it soon became apparent that Britain could no longer rely on timber imports, making it difficult to meet wartime demand. The Government assumed powers to fell mature trees on private estates for the war-effort, and it has been estimated that approximately 180,000 hectares of woods were felled during the

³ Forestry Commission website <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/forestry/hcou-4u4hzt> - accessed 25 June 2010

period (Tsouvalis, 2000: 34). In July 1916 Prime Minister Herbert Asquith appointed the Acland Committee, a Ministry of Reconstruction Sub-Committee, to examine the means by which woodland resources could be developed and to inquire into post-war forestry. The Committee was Chaired by Francis Acland, and consisted 13 members, among them Lord Lovat, who became the Forestry Commission's first Chairman (Ibid.). As one tree after another was felled, the Acland Committee collated evidence, deliberated over the depletion of timber resources, and started to re-imagine the future of state forestry. Papers and telegrams circulated, conspiring with committee secretaries, reports and meeting rooms. Trees became enrolled in the rhetoric of state defence, in which an alternative British landscape was envisioned, a new hierarchy imposed across the landscape. The Acland Committee reported in 1918, recommending state organisation as the most effective means of co-ordinating a reforestation plan. It argued that Britain was too dependent on imported timber; that many areas of the country contained large tracts of 'waste' land, which could be made more productive through tree planting; and that forestry could bring economic gains, stimulating wealth creation and thus increasing the power of the nation (Tsouvalis, 2000: 35). The Acland Committee's ambitious vision included the afforestation of 700,000 hectares of rough grazing land with softwood trees over the following eighty-year period. In order to achieve this aim, a central forestry authority was proposed that would have almost complete autonomy.

The Acland Committee's report was accepted by the Cabinet in 1918, after which an 'Interim Forest Authority' was set up to make preliminary arrangements for developing afforestation. The Authority had no power to purchase land but pushed on with the provision of plants, staff training, and land surveys. Its main work however, was the drafting and introduction into Parliament of a Forestry Bill, which became law as the

Forestry Act of 1919. Before 1919 all remaining Royal Forests were administered by the Commissioners of Woods, appointed on behalf of the Crown, but on 1 September 1919 the Forestry Act came into force. This established the Forestry Commission and its responsibility for woodland in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Eight Forestry Commissioners were charged with promoting forestry, developing afforestation, the production of timber, and making grants to private landowners. In 1923 the Forestry (Transfer of Woods) Act was passed, and the Crown Commissioners of Woods and Forests later transferred control of the Royal Forest of Dean to the Forestry Commission in 1924.

Forestry policy in the 1920s was focused on rebuilding and maintaining a strategic timber reserve. Stocks were so depleted by the demands of the First World War that the new Commission was given almost complete freedom to acquire and plant land. The Forestry Commission sought to create a modern and highly productive form of forestry, but to achieve planting on the scale required demanded a radically different approach. The high yielding softwood timber plantations of Germany provided the necessary inspiration, and modern, industrial forestry was born. New plantations contained conifers of identical age, in an evenly spaced monoculture environment. Traditional practices for the management of woodland became obsolete and were replaced with the latest silvicultural methods and techniques. A modern breed of forester was also needed to realise the vision, one capable of undertaking production under the principles of Taylorism (Tsouvalis, 2000: 53). Using the results from various time studies, forestry activities were divided into different component tasks, which were linked together in carefully coordinated and supervised processes (Tsouvalis, 2000: 51-53). Foresters were often ex-soldiers, unemployed rural labourers or miners, transformed through the Forestry Commission's Forestry Schools and performed into being as modern forest workers – new subjectivities emergent in the performance of forestry

objects and skills, the bodies, tools and techniques required to create a national timber reserve. During its formative years the Forestry Commission gathered together money, land, seeds and saplings, staff and expertise. By the end of the first year, the Commission had amassed a trained staff, acquired 645 hectares of land, surveyed another 261,000 hectares, initiated a programme of scientific research, and established a series of Forester Training Schools (Richards, 2003: xxxiv). In the sections that follow, I will pursue some of the changes brought about by the Forestry Commission to create a landscape of leisure in the Forest of Dean. As I mean to demonstrate, these changes have their roots in the Commission's early post-war planting policy and the drive towards industrial forestry.

National Forest Parks

The Forestry Commission's first tangible commitment to the provision of recreational facilities was realised through the establishment of National Forest Parks. Large-scale post-war afforestation of previously open moorland and heath had resulted in landscapes that were regular, efficient and utilitarian, and within a few years these new landscapes began to be criticised. Loss of public access to open moorland, coupled with the change from 'wilderness' to landscapes managed for commercial gain, brought widespread condemnation from bodies such as the newly formed Council (now Campaign) for the Preservation (now Protection) of Rural England (CPRE). And, as Revill and Watkins suggest, 'it is within this broad debate between afforestation, public access and landscape that we need to set the invention of National Forest Parks' (Revill and Watkins, 1996: 100). The creation of National Forest Parks is a moment that brings together the global, the national and the local – from the development of National Parks in North America and Europe, to conflict over access to the English countryside; from emerging environmental concerns and criticism over

the Forestry Commission's industrial planting regimes, to advancements in travel technology, which laid the foundations for mass recreation.

In 1929, the Addison Committee was set up to examine the feasibility of designating National Parks and improving public recreation in the countryside. The first National Parks had been established in Switzerland, the United States and Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Calls for the designation of National Parks in England and Wales originated from a growing interest in nature conservation and landscape preservation, and demands for greater public access to the countryside. The Commons Preservation Society (later 'The Open Spaces Society') was founded in 1865 by John Stuart Mill, Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter and others. Similarly, in 1884 the National Footpaths Preservation Society was founded (later to merge with the Commons Preservation Society in 1899); by the late nineteenth century there was mounting pressure on the government to open up access to mountains and moorland. Also important in the development of the modern conservation movement was the founding of the National Trust in 1895, conferment of the Royal Charter on the Society of Birds in 1904, and the establishment of the CPRE in 1926.

But the establishment of the Addison Committee can also be traced locally, in the Forest of Dean. Lord Bledisloe, who held extensive land near Lydney on the edge of the Forest and was Senior Verderer of the Forest Court, was a significant campaigner for the creation of National Parks. And, in his attempts to have the Forest of Dean designated as the UK's first National Park, he was instrumental in securing parliamentary approval for setting up the Addison Committee. In 1925, when Bledisloe was Parliamentary Secretary for Agriculture, he visited Yellowstone, Banff and Jasper National Parks, reporting that they not only provided protection to wild plants and animals, but 'a most perfect holiday for persons of all

classes' (cited in Adams, 2004: 85). By September 1928, Bledisloe's ideas had crystallised; he wrote to the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, proposing that the Forest of Dean should become a National Park 'for the benefit of the tired brain-workers of the country who have no quiet country home to retire to as you and I have' (cited in Mair and Delafons, 2001: 294). On 3 October 1928 the Prime Minister's Office sought advice from the Forestry Commission, which, in a reply of 10 October 1928, drew attention to the complex mining, quarrying and common rights enjoyed by inhabitants of the Forest; the area was described as disfigured by mining and quarrying operations, heaps, tips and unsightly buildings, and with the exception of magpies, bird life was said to be 'conspicuous by its absence' (Mair and Delafons, 2001: 295). The response further explained that of the 19,000 acres of land constituting the Forest of Dean, at least 8,000 acres were already accessible to the public. No further action was taken. The General Election of May 1929 saw the establishment of a Labour Government and the appointment of a new First Commissioner of Works, to whom Lord Bledisloe again advocated his scheme for the creation of a National Park in the Forest of Dean. A reply of 20 June 1929 reiterated the Forestry Commission's reasons for opposing the establishment of a National Park, but floated the idea of setting up an official enquiry to consider whether a National Park was desirable, where it would be located and how it should be administered and financed (Mair and Delafons, 2001: 296). In a letter of 10 July 1929 to the Office of Works, the Forestry Commission expressed its conditional agreement to the establishment of fixed camping sites in the Forest of Dean (Ibid.). However, the letter also drew attention to the physical differences between England and those countries where National Parks already existed, expressing some doubt about the applicability of the term in relation to what Lord Bledisloe had proposed (Ibid.). On 23 July 1929, Bledisloe wrote to James Ramsay MacDonald, pressing him for a Parliamentary announcement. Three days later, on 26 July, MacDonald replied to an arranged

Parliamentary Question put down by Mr Vaughan, the Labour MP for the Forest of Dean, indicating that he was asking the departments concerned to examine Lord Bledisloe's proposal and to report 'as early as possible' (Mair and Delafons, 2001: 296). The Prime Minister's formal minute appointing the Addison Committee was later issued on 26 September 1929. However, Forestry Commission internal reports indicate that there was concern about the potential conflict between increased public access and the preservation of flora and fauna. It was felt, for example, that:

'The erection of Hutment camps around the Forest of Dean might tend to destroy the amenities of the neighbourhood and the process might be completed by ill-disciplined visitors, charabanc parties etc; the institution of a camp for children might imperil a Bird Sanctuary, and so on' (PRO F18 162 Forestry Commission Mimeograph 1929 – cited in Revill and Watkins, 1996: 101).

This mimeograph also reports Lord Bledisloe's ideas for National Parks 'where people of all walks of life can enjoy under protection and with reasonable comfort attractive natural surroundings'; his proposals included 'permanent camps provided with water and sanitation, refreshment and entertainment, bungalows, car parks, and, if possible, open air swimming baths, bowling greens, tennis courts' (cited in Revill and Watkins, 1996: 101). However, such ambitions were never realised. The National Parks Committee (Addison Report) reported in 1931; although it supported the idea of National Parks, no clear mechanism for their establishment was identified⁴.

The idea of National Parks continued to be debated throughout the 1930s. To the trains and bicycles of the nineteenth century were added cheap motor cars, motor cycles and omnibuses. People could explore the countryside on day trips and holidays, to hike or camp, to picnic, or just to take the air. Open expanses of countryside were promoted as peaceful

⁴ 'Report of the National Park Committee' Cmd 3851, HMSO, London, April 1931

havens of tranquillity, where office and factory workers alike, used to the hustle of town and city living, could now find escape from the shadow of confined space. Here was an opportunity to enjoy alternative experiential encounters, to swap the roar of machinery and traffic for the gentle murmur of flowing water or the rustle of autumn leaves, and to replace the cold solidity of brick, concrete and stone with the softness of emerald moss or the drifting warmth of a summer breeze. New bodily regimes could be developed through the channelling of processes, organs, flows and connections to create the leisure subject, the assemblage of body, map, guidebook and walking shoes, networks of roads, pathways, stiles and gateways, sun, wind and rain, trees, birds and all manner of life; affective intensities that emboldened the call to the great outdoors. Pressure grew in 1930 with the establishment of the Youth Hostels Association, while in 1931 the National Council of Ramblers' Federation was formed from 11 regional federations. Anger at the failure to push through the recommendations of the Addison Committee culminated in 1932 with the mass trespass on Kinder Scout in the Peak District. Groups of leisure enthusiasts and nature conservationists, including the Ramblers' Association, the Youth Hostels Association, and the CPRE rallied together to lobby the government for measures to allow access to the countryside for the benefit of the nation. In 1936, they formed a voluntary sector Standing Committee on National Parks, which argued the case for National Parks, urging the government to act.

In the context of mounting criticism of its commercial planting activities (particularly in the Lake District), demands for public access to the countryside, and the realisation that much of its upland assets were largely unproductive, the Forestry Commission began to consider the possibility of designating 'National Forest Parks'. In March 1935 the Forestry Commission appointed a committee 'to advise how the surplus and unplanted land' on Forestry Commission property in Argyll might be 'put to a use of a public character' (cited in Revill

and Watkins, 1996: 102). This was the first National Forest Park Committee and its report was published later in 1935. During the period of its deliberations the Committee met representatives from youth hostelling and other associations and societies. The hundred square miles of largely unplanted moorland was felt ideal for 'the Rambler, whose main object is to get into the country and away from the traffic' (Forestry Commission, 1935: 3, cited in Revill and Watkins, 1996: 102). The Committee was keen to point out that the term National Forest Park was 'deliberately intended to denote something different from a National Park' as described in the Report of the National Park Committee (Forestry Commission, 1935: 2, cited in Revill and Watkins, 1996: 103). However, in a debate on National Parks in the House of Commons in December 1936, the Argyll National Forest Park was cited as 'a useful way out' (Hansard, 9 December 1936, 2105) of the problem of establishing 'national reserves' (Revill and Watkins, 1996: 104). To this end, it was suggested that the work of the Forestry Commission, the National Trust, the CPRE and 'various youth movements and youth hostels' should be co-ordinated (Ibid.). The existence of the Argyll National Forest Park thus provided an opportunity to further delay the establishment of a new authority to oversee the formation of National Parks (Ibid.). At a meeting of the Forestry Commissioners in January 1937, one month after the debate, Sir Roy Robinson, Chairman of the Forestry Commission (1932-52), proposed the establishment, subject to agreement with the CPRE, of a National Forest Park in Snowdonia. Although the proponents of National Parks expressed concern, it was agreed that a Snowdonia National Forest Park should be established, and in the next year a National Forest Park was proposed for the Forest of Dean.

Creation of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park

By tracing the origins of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park, I wish to emphasise the expertise, materials and bodies brought to bear on the issue, and, at the same time, to hint at hopes for the future, by considering some of the changes viewed as necessary to achieve the central aim of developing a landscape of enhanced amenity value. The Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park had great potential to create a new leisure space, but the project was halted, almost as soon as it began, by the events of 1939. The Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park was the third National Forest Park to be designated, in 1938. The National Forest Park Committee (Forest of Dean) was appointed by the Forestry Commission on 25 March 1938. Its terms of reference were simply to ‘advise as to the suitability of the Forest of Dean as a National Forest Park’ (Forestry Commission, 1938: 2)⁵. Business at the Committee’s first meeting, held 8 April 1938, included a proposed visit to the Forest on 20 - 23 May, and the ‘various persons and bodies who might be asked to give evidence’ (PRO: F19/33), to be heard at the Speech House on Monday 23 May. The Committee’s visit was organised by Mr Harris. In a letter dated 9 April 1938, he reports to Mr Hinds:

‘I am obtaining prices from two local firms for the use of a small charabanc. They usually quote by mileage, but in this case I am asking for a quotation for time – hourly rate for vehicle and driver, and a rate for mileage as well. This is because a large proportion of the time may be occupied by waiting’ (PRO ref: F19/33).

The Committee Secretary subsequently wrote to a number of interested parties, including the Automobile Association; the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland; the Royal

⁵ Esteemed members of the Committee were, as Chairman, Lt. Col. J. C. Wynne Finch, J.P.; The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Gloucester; Sir Lawrence Chubb; Sir Henry Pelham, K.C.B. (Physical Recreation Committee); Colonel L. Ropner, M.C., T.D., D.L., J.P.; Captain Kenneth Shennan; Sir John Sutherland, C.B.E.; R. E. Westaway, Esq., J.B.; Mr Hinds, Forestry Commission, as Secretary; and Mr Harris, Assistant Secretary (PRO: F19/33).

Automobile Club; and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, stating that the Committee 'would be pleased to consider any evidence you may wish to offer'.

'I suggest that your evidence be on similar lines as for the Snowdonia Committee i.e., that you submit a written statement as to any additional facilities required by Campers and Ramblers and later send a representative, if you so desire, to a meeting to be held in London, probably in June' (PRO ref: F19/33).

The Committee held four meetings and made a survey of the sites under review. Evidence was eventually submitted by a number of societies, councils and individuals, including the Automobile Association; Boy Scouts' Association; Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland; Council for the Preservation of Rural England; Cyclists' Touring Club; Girl Guides' Association; National Cyclists' Union; Pedestrian Association; Ramblers' Association; Wye Valley and Royal Forest of Dean Publicity Board; Youth Hostels Association (Forestry Commission 1938: 8). The Report states that the Verderers of the Forest of Dean did not tender formal evidence, but that the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bledisloe, as Senior Verderer, had on their behalf informed the Committee 'that the formation of a National Forest Park had their entire endorsement and approval' (Forestry Commission, 1938: 3). Other interest groups had similarly informed the Committee that they did not find it necessary to give formal evidence. These included the Freeminers' Association, on the assumption that their mineral rights would not be affected, and the Commoners' Association, wishing only to accentuate the need for greater care in 'the driving of vehicular traffic, owing to animals grazing near the unfenced roads through the Forest' (Forestry Commission, 1938: 3).

The primary role of the Forestry Commission – to produce a timber reserve of national importance – was never in doubt. As the Committee's Report states: 'we have in mind the fact that the production of timber is the main consideration of the Forestry Commissioners

and our recommendations do not envisage curtailment of forestry operations' (Forestry Commission 1938: 2). However, the Committee's Report also demonstrates strong advocacy and support for a National Forest Park. For example, the Report refers to the region as 'exceptionally rich in historic remains', including within its bounds 'the Symonds Yat Rock and the Buckstone, both famous viewpoints of natural beauty which already attract many visitors' (Forestry Commission 1938: 3). The Report also states that 'the climate is mild and the natural scenery of rare beauty', with 'already open to the public wide, wooded stretches interspersed with many charming glades and forest clearances', while 'the whole area is pleasantly undulating and offers many attractions to visitors' (Ibid.). It later goes on to state that the Forest is 'well served by road and tracks and is freely accessible to the general public' (Forestry Commission 1938: 4). Although there were some sensitivities, public access to restricted areas of the Forest was not generally an issue of contention: 'although there is not public access to the inclosures, the Forestry Commissioners, subject always to the need for special precautions for the protection of young plantations, have no objections to controlled access provided care is taken to shut gates and to avoid damage' (Ibid.). The Committee's Report noted that all evidence provided was 'in favour of the establishment of a National Forest Park' and 'reached the unanimous conclusion that the Forest of Dean [was] eminently suited for the purpose' (Ibid.). Furthermore, the Committee made a number of recommendations as to the provision of facilities for visitors, including the creation of dedicated campsites.

'We are informed that visitors to the Forest are drawn mainly from the Midlands and it would accordingly seem desirable to set up the first camp in the northern part of the Forest, particularly as Symonds Yat, a well-known beauty spot, and the Wye Valley would be within easy reach. We therefore recommend that an area should be set aside at Christchurch (Berry Hill) on which light campers, caravans and motor cars could be accommodated. This site has good access and water is available' (Forestry Commission, 1938: 5).

The National Forest Park Committee's report also suggested the need for a separate site specifically designated for youth organisations. Although it was not expressly mentioned in the recommendations as a possible site, the Biblin's Youth Camp was later created at Whitchurch, and quickly became the most popular of eight such youth camps. Further recommendations suggested the erection of log huts 'sited, designed and laid out to harmonise with their surroundings' to remedy the 'shortage of places for refreshment' (Forestry Commission 1938: 5), and the appropriation of abandoned spoil heaps as viewpoints:

'There are a number of abandoned mining tips of varying sizes some of which, we were glad to observe, are partly covered by vegetation. Certain of these tips would make excellent view points and the provision of means of access to the tops would add to the present rather limited number of view points; it would also be an advantage if steps were taken to render these tips less unsightly' (Forestry Commission 1938: 6).

The Forestry Commission recognised that a significant number of visitors to their Forest Parks would be independent day-trippers, particularly those who were travelling by motorcar; in the Forest of Dean they highlighted the importance of providing 'pull-ins for motorists'. They also acknowledged that in some areas it would be difficult to get people off the beaten track and out into the woods, recognising the need to construct roads and footpaths to provide increased access and leisure opportunities for visitors; this had been highlighted in the report of the Forest Park Committee for the Forest of Dean with particular reference to woodland along the valley of the River Wye:

'These areas are on hilly land and the paths are rough and, generally speaking, the public do not wander far into them although the area is available to those who desire it ... These valleys, beautiful in themselves, lead to high ground with an elevation of as much as 1,000 feet and we think that the public will, in the course of time, wish to explore these places and that consequently improved access will be necessary' (Forestry Commission, 1938: 6).

Many of these recommendations were adopted, but were not implemented until several years after the Report was published, primarily due to the intervening Second World War. The Committee's recommendations were of great importance in plans to attract visitors to the area, as the local economy was beginning to suffer the effects of declining industrial activity, with the closure of several of the main collieries during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1937, the Coleford District Improvement Association wrote to the Forest's Deputy Surveyor to 'put forward ... that it would be desirable to investigate the possibilities of providing log cabins in certain parts of the Forest of Dean for the purpose of attracting more holiday makers to the district ... It is considered that if such a proposal were adopted, it would afford an unique appeal to a certain class of holiday maker and would do much towards popularising the Forest as a holiday resort' (PRO F19/33). The Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park offered hope for a future-yet-to-come, in which the Forest was re-imagined as a holiday destination, where spoil heaps that despoiled the landscape could be transformed into aesthetically-pleasing viewpoints, where campsites and youth camps could attract tourists and bring a welcome boost to the local economy, where log cabins could offer refreshments and pull-ins could provide a place to park, and where forest trails and waymarks could direct visitors to explore all that the region had to offer. This kind of hope often arises from circumstances of despair, and as the decline in primary industry began to bite in the Forest, the District Improvement Association reached out for an alternative future, imagined as the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park. However, hope often necessitates a break from the past, a 'letting-go-of' the Forest as a centre for primary industrial activity.

Industrial Forestry in the Forest of Dean

Despite the National Forest Park designation, the Forest of Dean remained an industrial landscape. The only recommendation to be acted upon before the onset of war was the creation of Christchurch Caravan and Camping Site, the first substantive example of leisure infrastructure to be developed in the Forest in 1939. As I mean to show, the activities of forest workers in wartime and post-war Britain were firmly directed towards the production of timber, initially to meet the demands of the Second World War, and later to develop an economic return on state investment. This was a period of innovation, with investment in scientific forestry to achieve maximum rates of return, bringing together new assemblages of knowledge, practice and material. However, this spirit of experimentation was also extended to the creation of new leisure infrastructure, when, towards the mid-1950s – early 1960s, recreation was back on the agenda. These changes brought about radical shifts in corporeal potential and material arrangements.

Emergency plans were put into effect in the autumn of 1939. The Forest was to become an integral part of the war-effort, as wood cutters went into action in force under the auspices of the Home Timber Production Department. The research, education, and publications sections of the Forestry Commission were subsequently evacuated from London to Whitemead Park in the Forest of Dean, and the chief research officer, W. H. Guillebaud, became Deputy-Surveyor (Sanzen-Baker, 1970: 115). The War created an insatiable demand for pit-props, mining-timber, railway sleepers, and timber for defence works and other purposes; even poor quality hardwoods found a ready market. Some 2,500 hectares were cleared during the War and the immediate post-war period (Ibid.). Most wartime fellings were replanted with oak and other broad-leaved species, occasionally mixed with

conifers. Much of the wartime work was undertaken by the Women's Timber Corps (or the 'Lumber Jills'), formed in 1942; a total of 6,000 women were sent to work in the UK's forests, many of whom continued to serve until 1950. In the years after the War, the Forestry Commission focused on re-building its timber reserves, leaving few resources to develop the amenity value of the National Forest Park. However, this period came to have an important impact on the aesthetics of the Forest.

For almost a decade the emphasis in forest management was on the *conservation* of existing timber stocks, coupled with the redevelopment of devastated woodland and the afforestation of suitable bare land. However, the central pillar of post-war forestry policy, to create a strategic reserve of timber in case of war, was revised in 1958 – probably in recognition that timber would provide no line of defence in the new age of nuclear warfare – when emphasis shifted to the economic and social objectives of producing timber for UK industry and the provision of employment in rural areas where jobs were scarce. With the change in national forest policy, from conservation of timber stocks to the production of timber as an economic crop, came economic experts to demonstrate the most effective means of generating income from national forestry. A new age of 'scientific' forestry was born. It was shown for example that Douglas fir, grown on suitable sites to an optimum size, could be extremely profitable and that other conifers such as Norway spruce and Corsican pine could also be grown for profit. On the other hand, broadleaved trees, more especially oak, could not provide economic returns. Even European larch, which had been so widely planted and which grew so well in the Forest of Dean, could only be grown at a financial loss. However, this anticipated loss could be made less severe by mixing in some of the money-making conifers. A forest comprising 75 per cent evergreen and 25 per cent deciduous varieties was now envisaged (Sanzen-Baker, 1970: 116).

The Commission produced almost all of its trees in its own forest nurseries. In 1965 the rate of planting was noted to be some 22,000 hectares each year, involving the raising and planting of around 120 million saplings (Forestry Commission, 1965: 8). The Alice Holt Forest Research Station, Surrey, was key to the success of the Commission's planting programme, where research was focused on silviculture, but also included work on genetics, pathology, entomology, the development of machinery, and the utilisation of forest produce. Experiments and field trials were carried out at locations across the country in order to account for differences in topography, soils and climate. Thirty graduate forest officers were employed full time on such research, with the results enabling, for example, the length of time needed to develop plants for planting to be cut, from between three and four years, to two years, thus reducing both cost and the land area required for nurseries (Forestry Commission, 1965: 15). After trials of around 100 softwood species, 15 were eventually selected for growth on a commercial scale (Ibid.).

By the mid-1960s, tree planting in the Forest of Dean – partly to make good the area clear-felled and partly to extend the land under timber crops – was proceeding at an average rate of around 365 hectares a year, requiring 1.5 million young trees (Forestry Commission, 1964: 21). Norway Spruce, found to thrive on poorer ground, was being used at the rate of 450,000 trees each year (Ibid). Other species planted in large quantities were Scots and Corsican pines, European and Japanese larches, Douglas fir, and oak. Most trees were raised from seed in local nurseries. Foresters were trained to select the age, kind and size of plants for any given site, seedlings or transplants, in accordance with plant height, soil, aspect exposure, and competing vegetation. Correct planting was an 'art', practised to give each tree the 'best chance of survival and vigorous early growth' (Hart, 1967: 63). Roots had to be moistened and spread naturally, seedlings planted upright and at the appropriate

depth. Planting could be accomplished using the 'notch' method, with a spade or mattock, or using a machine such as a 'Pilling Planter' (Hart, 1967: 63-64). Either way, plants needed to be handled with care in lifting, grading, packing, unpacking and 'heeling-in' (Hart, 1967: 64). For those dedicated to the cause, this was a labour of love, a tangible investment the in the future, embodied and enacted.

As well as planting, weeding, thinning and felling, staff were employed to construct and maintain roads, drains and fences, and to control the various animal, insect, and fungal foes of the trees. Rabbits and deer were rare, but young broadleaved crops had to be protected from grey squirrels, and in one year over 10,000 of these 'destructive rodents' were destroyed by shooting and trapping (Forestry Commission, 1964: 21). However, fire remained the greatest threat to the growing timber; constant watch was maintained from several hilltop fire towers in dry weather, and workers were specially trained to handle fire pumps and similar equipment. Around 150 people were permanently employed on the management and maintenance of the Forest, while many others were in related work at timber merchants or in local sawmills or turneries. Those employed by the Forestry Commission included forest officers, supervisory foresters and foremen. While many of the workers lived in nearby towns and villages, about 150 houses were owned by the Forestry Commission, many of which were sited at strategic points so that staff were constantly on hand to deal with emergencies, such as fire. The local administrative centre, the District Office, was situated at Parkend before it was moved to Coleford in 1969. Each year the Forest was visited by parties of students from universities and by professional foresters from overseas. A forestry school, established at Parkend in 1904, graduated around 20 'young men' each year, who took up supervisory posts, either with the Forestry Commission or on private estates.

And as the new plantations developed, the aesthetics of the Forest were transformed. Young blocks of bright, year-round colour gave way to mature stands, towering upwards, smothering the landscape, creating silent and dark, unforgiving places. As time went on, and the aesthetic implications of plantation forestry came under further attack, the Forestry Commission grew increasingly interested in the notion of 'good landscaping' in the gradual replacement of existing crops. In attempts to maintain an attractive yet economically viable Forest Park, the Forestry Commission sought the guidance of an eminent landscape architect, Miss (later Dame) Sylvia Crowe. Crowe was a strategic appointment made by the Forestry Commission in reaction to a statement made in the House of Commons by the Minister of Agriculture, Christopher Soames, on 24 July 1963, emphasising the importance of public access and recreation considerations and the need to create aesthetically pleasing landscapes. Crowe had attended Swanley Horticultural College in 1920-22 to study fruit farming, but after travelling through Italy was inspired to turn to garden design. After returning to England in 1926, she became a pupil of the landscape gardener Edward White. From 1945 she practised landscape architecture in London, where a series of small projects eventually led to her appointment as landscape consultant to the new towns of Harlow and Basildon (1948-58) and the Central Electricity Generating Board (1948-68). It was in 1964 that she became the Forestry Commission's first landscape consultant, a post she held until 1976. Crowe regarded aesthetic and ecological principles as inseparable, and believed that forestry planting should relate to landform, developing principles to make plantation forests appear more natural, by blending planting schemes with existing landscape features. Crowe drew on the compositional principles used by Italian painters, following the landscape tradition of 'Irregular Style' developed by Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, and John Claudius Loudon in the eighteenth century. She visited several of the Commission's

plantation forests before publishing her recommendations in *Forestry in the Landscape* (1966).

While industrial forestry remained the focus of economic and manpower resources throughout the 1950s-60s, the recommendations of the 1938 National Forest Park Committee were not completely forgotten. By 1959 the Forestry Commission's 'Working Plan' for the Forest included the following objective: 'to pay particular regard to the amenities of the Forest for the enjoyment of the public ...' (cited in Hart, 1966: 239). Although the improvement of facilities at Christchurch Campsite was the main priority, a number of innovative new schemes were also put into action, including a new 'refreshment cabin' at Symonds Yat Rock, and a system of waymarked paths.

The log cabin refreshment chalet at Symonds Yat Rock was constructed in 1956. An experiment in architectural design and amenity provision, it was built by Forestry Commission staff using locally grown logs of Western Red Cedar. The design followed the log cabin principle that was traditional in Norway, Switzerland and North America, but at that time had rarely been seen in Britain (Forestry Commission 1964: 64). Described as 'a remarkable refreshment pavilion', it was constructed using '78 logs, holding 287 cubic feet of timber ... while cedar planking was also used to build the public conveniences nearby' (Ibid.). Two years later, in 1958, the Dean Forest Head Forester (F. Watson) proudly explained the construction method in the *Journal of the Forestry Commission*. The chalet comprised 'a covered verandah with a sixteen foot serving counter, display and stock section and behind this a kitchen and store' (Watson, 1958: 83). Materials used in the construction were logs 'obtainable from a normal thinning carried out during the previous November of forty-year old *Thuja plicata*' or Western Red Cedar (Ibid.). Watson's article is accompanied

by a series of sketched diagrams that show, step-by-step, the interlocking of the log poles, construction of the gabled roof, and the fitting of window frames.

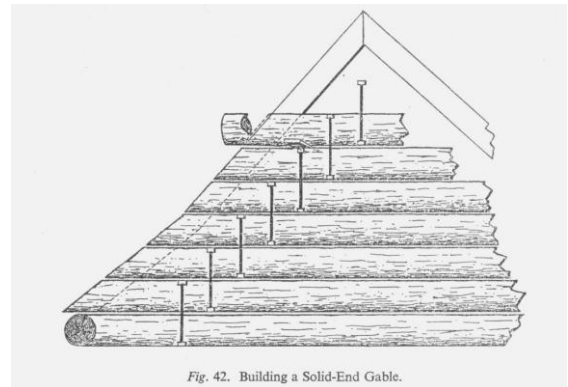
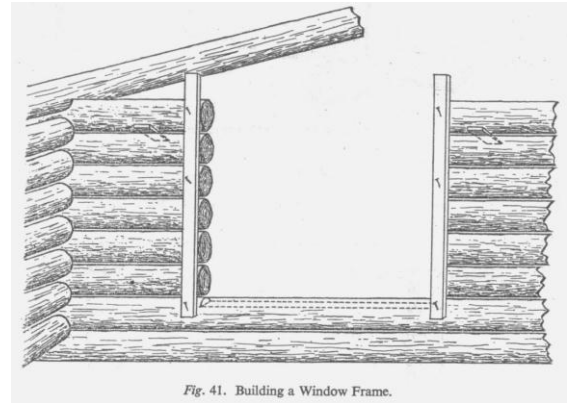
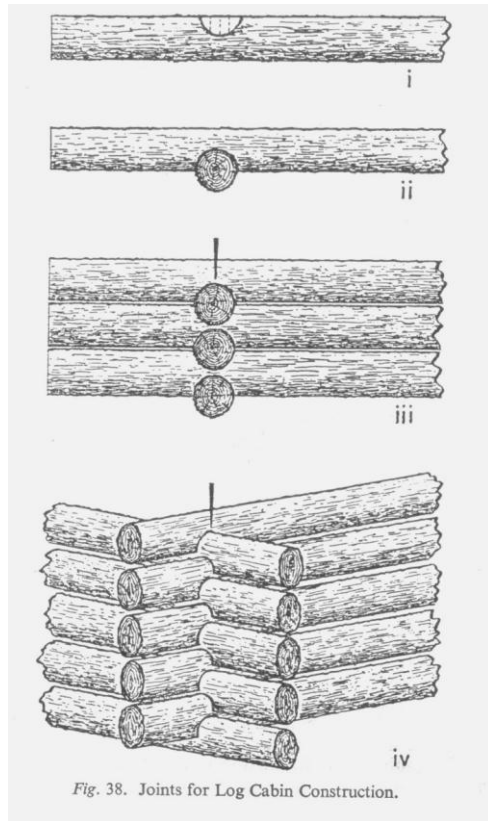


Figure 2.1: Diagrams from Watson's (1958) article explaining the construction of the refreshment chalet at Symonds Yat Rock

Attention to detail was particularly important. For example, it was 'felt desirable to have all poles ... of equal size with a uniform taper', both to simplify the construction process and to enhance the aesthetics of the completed chalet (Watson, 1958: 84). However, the natural variation in materials meant that some compromises had to be made. For example, it was originally decided that poles of eight inch butt with a six inch diameter were preferable, but 'in selecting these poles it soon became apparent that a half inch deviation ... would have to be accepted' (Ibid.). Careful preparation of the logs was essential. After they had been cut

to the appropriate length, they were ‘tushed out’ to a level site and ‘placed on dunnage⁶ ready for peeling and dressing’, where they were left to dry for four months (Ibid.). Peeling commenced in March. A three or four inch strip was prised up at one end of the pole, allowing the bark to be torn off in long strips of up to ten feet. In order to create a good finish ‘all knots were trimmed flush and swellings pressed down’ (Ibid.).

Off-site construction was started in June, at the site on which the seasoning logs were being stored; ‘being well off the beaten track’, this site ‘allowed the workers to keep their attention on the job without interruption’, as might have been the case on-site at the popular visitor spot at Symonds Yat (Watson, 1958: 86). Almost the entire structure was built off-site, with each individual log being numbered before it was dismantled and transported to the permanent site at Symonds Yat, where a concrete base had previously been prepared. Building on site was thus rapid and straightforward, a case of following the numbers to position each log appropriately. Logs were interlocked through a series of semicircular notches, made ten inches from the ends. The width and depth of each notch was determined using callipers on the log to be fitted. Logs were interlaced with their notches turned downwards to ensure that rainwater would run outwards (Watson, 1958: 86).

⁶ Term for off-cuts or spare pieces of scrap wood.



Figure 2.2: Log cabin refreshment chalet at Symonds Yat Rock, which is open every day during the summer and at weekends in the winter; the 50th anniversary was celebrated in 2006.

The next innovation came in the 1960s, when a series of walking routes were created for the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park Guide, necessitating the first programme of waymarking in the Forest – led by Tony Drake MBE, Secretary of Gloucestershire District Ramblers' Association (1949-2008). The main problem encountered in making footpath information available in the locality was that despite the area being broadly open to public access, there were no designated footpaths or public rights of way. Even a cursory glance at a contemporary Ordnance Survey map reveals the large number of footpaths that end at the Royal Forest boundary. As a result, routes had to be devised and conveyed to the public, along with the introduction of a system of waymarking. However, the issue of waymarking caused considerable controversy within the Ramblers' Association, where it

was not seen as part of the ‘walking ethic’. As a result of the scheme introduced by Drake, the Chairman of the local committee resigned; ‘He thought we were spoon-feeding the rambler’ (Drake, interview 14 January, 2006; also see Hill, L. J. 2007). Undeterred, Drake argued that in the absence of a system of waymarks to guide people on selected routes, there was a danger that people would not venture into the Forest at all for fear of getting lost. The introduction of waymarks was not about discouraging people from wandering where they liked, but was instead designed to encourage those who might otherwise never consider doing so to explore the landscape on foot. Writing on the concept of waymarking in 1978, he further argued:

‘Our heritage of public paths grew in an age when travel was essentially local and when knowledge of the public rights of way was passed on from father to son. How different is the situation today, when many of those living in the country have no roots there and are nearly as much strangers as the millions from the cities who flock out at weekends. These folk, let loose on land which provides someone’s livelihood, need to have their right to pass and repass over other’s land artificially guided if the rights acquired in a different age are to be continued without undue “aggro” between farmer and walker’ (Drake, 1978: 21).



Figure 2.3: Original wooden waymarking signpost (Source: Tony Drake)

Without a precedent to follow, Drake and his colleagues were responsible for designing the first waymarking symbols to be painted directly onto trees. Many of the older waymarking systems had used blobs of paint, or coloured stripes, still popular in alpine regions of

Europe. However, it was realised that such symbols, like cairns on mountains, provided only partial information for navigating the landscape, for while they confirm that one is on the right route, they do not indicate the direction of travel. The obvious solution was therefore to create a series of arrows in a bright colour to attract attention. A network of 37 miles of painted yellow arrows, on trees, posts, and stones, was eventually developed, which is still maintained by the Ramblers' Association. The first route was devised in 1960, from St Briavel's to Micheldean, through the centre of the Forest, including the Speech House. The Highmeadow circuit was created and waymarked in the following year. This early waymarking experiment was instrumental in the development of a national system of waymarks, a key enabler for the mass recreation that proceeded in the 1970s. The 1968 Countryside Act made waymarking compulsory for County Councils, while in 1974 the Countryside Commission published the first set standards for a national system of waymarking. According to Latour (2005), the circulation of such 'immutable mobiles' is essential for the communication of information from one agent to another – for the creators of walking trails or the custodians of footpaths to guide walkers on safe, designated routes. Latour (2005) suggests that 'standards' in particular solve the question of relativity, ensuring that sites are commensurable.

The Ramblers' practice of waymarking was, and remains, a mundane activity involving a bucket of paint and homemade stencils. Routes developed by the Ramblers' Association continue to be waymarked using these traditional methods, based on the standard waymark arrow developed by the Countryside Commission. Although parts of the routes are signposted, waymarking arrows are painted directly onto trees. This is still the preferred method of choice for the Ramblers' Association.

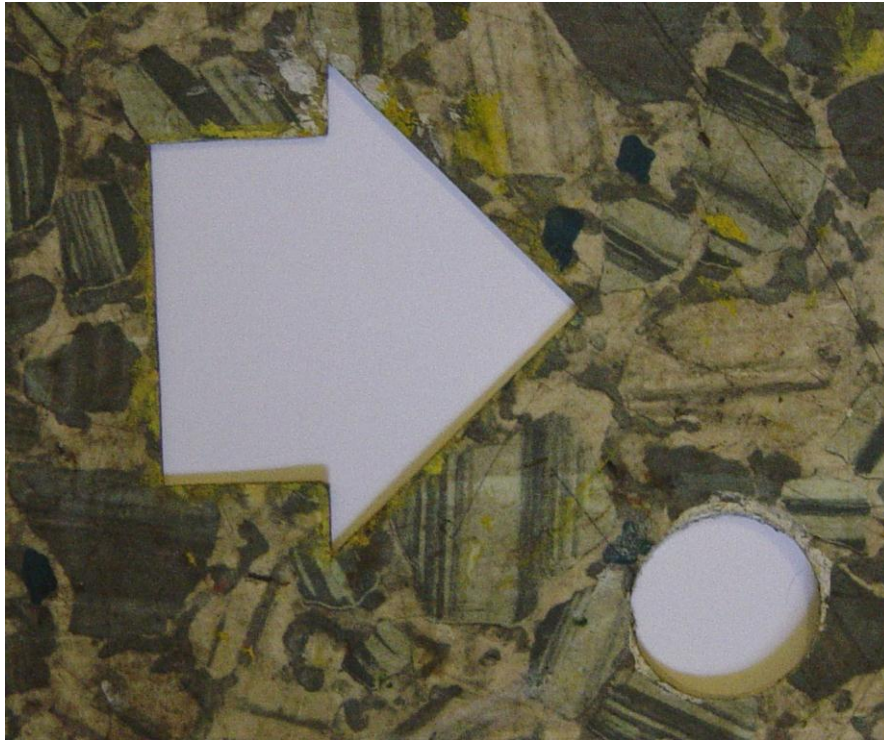


Figure 2.4: Lino stencils for waymarking (Source: Tony Drake)

The Forest of Dean as a Post-Industrial Landscape

Change was now on the horizon. The Forestry Commission published its first Recreation Policy in 1971. Its goal was to ‘develop the unique recreational features and potential of its forests’ (Forestry Commission 1971, Appendix II, cited in Tsouvalis, 2000: 133). Although the Commission’s primary objective remained the production of timber, the provision and enhancement of recreational opportunities was now a recognised obligation. A series of Regional Recreation Plans were developed, taking advice from local authorities, organisations such as the Countryside Commission, and the Forestry Commission’s own Regional Advisory Committees. Access on foot was to be permitted in all forests, with the exception of areas of forestry operations. The use of forest walks and picnic sites was to be provided free of charge. Car parks and information centres were to be developed, and

wherever appropriate a levy was to be charged. Caravanning and camping facilities and large-scale visitor attractions were also to be provided and were expected to be self-financing. Forest Park designations were to remain, and those areas where recreation was to be encouraged were to be carefully signposted, with signs of a consistent good quality and design. By 1976 the Forestry Commission's Recreation Policy had been revised to focus on the needs of day visitors, with the provision of facilities such as car parks, picnic sites and viewpoints, providing information for visitors about the forest and local area – to improve public perception and, ultimately, appreciation (Tsouvalis, 2000: 135).

Played out in the Forest of Dean over the following decades, we see the creation of Speech House Lake and Mallard's Pike, the construction of the Blaize Bailey and New Fancy viewpoints, the development of the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, and the railway to cycleway project. All of these sites have a strong association with the region's industrial past. For example, Mallard's Pike and Speech House Lake were created with funding derived from open cast mining activities. Blaize Bailey viewpoint was constructed using stone from a dismantled railway bridge, while a spoil heap at the former New Fancy Colliery was re-landscaped into a viewpoint in the heart of the Forest. Similarly, the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail is located on the site of the former Speech House Colliery, while the Forest of Dean Family Cycle Trail follows the former Severn and Wye Valley Railway line.



Figure 2.5: Creation of Speech House Lake, c. 1976 (Source: Forestry Commission)

The popularity of Forestry Commission sites grew during the 1970s; 1.5 million ‘camper nights’ were recorded in 1976, and in 1977 a Day Visitor Survey estimated that 24 million visits had been made to Forestry Commission resources that year (Tsouvalis, 2000: 135). This trend continued in the 1980s, as the Commission expanded the scope of its facilities and the range of leisure activities provided. But the 1980s heralded a new era, characterised by the privatisation of state assets. The Forestry Act of 1981 allowed ministers to dispose of Forestry Commission land in order to improve efficiency and to reduce the budgetary burden on public funds. In 1989, it was announced that the disposal programme would continue, and the Commission was tasked with selling off 100,000 hectares of its estate by the end of the millennium (Tsouvalis, 2000: 136). Approximately 100,000 hectares had been sold by 1991, but it was envisaged that a further 100,000 hectares could be sold during

the decade; the possibility that all state forestry could be privatised under the Conservative Government started to look like a real possibility. However, public access and environmental concerns surfaced an interesting coalition of support for state-owned forests, including ramblers, environmentalists and private landowners. Pressure and criticism from these diverse interests eventually led to the notion of ‘multi-purpose forestry’, which first appeared in 1991. The Forestry Commission’s Annual Report of that year demonstrated recognition that the scope of its work would need to be broadened, with greater emphasis on the social and environmental benefits to be derived from UK forestry. Government pressure to achieve the goals of multi-purpose forestry mounted as the 1990s progressed. By 1999, the Forestry Commission’s mission had been transformed: ‘to protect and expand Britain’s forests and woodlands and increase their value to society and the environment’. The changes brought about under the banner of ‘multi-purpose forestry’ have been so significant as to prompt the term ‘post-industrial’ forestry (Mather, 1991; 2001), ‘in which the emphasis placed on timber production is reduced relative to that placed on environmental services (such as biodiversity and recreation)’ (Mather, 2001: 249). This ethos was recently tested by the Coalition Government’s proposals to sell off our state forests, which were met with such strong opposition from the general public that the Government was forced shelve its controversial plans⁷.

If trends in UK forestry point towards a new post-industrial landscape, this is reinforced in the Forest of Dean by the loss of primary industry during the course of the twentieth century. For example, in terms of coal, flooding halted production at Trafalgar Colliery in 1919, which later closed in 1925, while Crump Meadow stopped production in 1929, and Foxes

⁷See, for example: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/feb/11/english-forest-sell-off-on-hold> accessed 28 September 2011

Bridge was abandoned in 1930 because of flooding from disused mines. The number of jobs in the industry fell from 7,818 in 1920 to 5,276 in 1930 (VCH, 1996: 336), although at the same time several mines on the north side of the coalfield were deepened, such as Northern United, north-west of Cinderford, which offered new employment opportunities. Further jobs were lost by the closure of Lightmoor and New Fancy Collieries in 1940 and 1944 respectively, but jobs were also created at the remaining large mines, so that coal mining remained the principal source of employment in the Forest, providing jobs for 55 per cent of the adult male population (Ibid.). Following nationalisation of the coal industry in 1946, the National Coal Board operated the principal mines and awarded licences for working smaller ones. Annual production, which including the output of the free miners' workings was 777,000 tons in 1948, continued to decline as rising costs, reflecting particularly drainage problems, led to the closure of most mines (Ibid.). Of the main collieries, Eastern United, and Arthur and Edward, shut in 1959, Cannop in 1960, Princess Royal in 1962, and Norchard Drift and Northern United in 1965, marking the end of deep mining in the Forest. From 1965 some coal was extracted by opencast mining, under licence from the National Coal Board and the Forestry Commission, including a scheme at Woogreen during the late 1970s, where land reclamation created a large lake.

Most of the area's iron mining and large foundries had disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the decline of the quarrying industry was keenly felt. On the west side of the Forest, three of the four main stoneworks had shut by 1937, with the principal stoneworks, at Parkend, closed in 1932. Several stoneworks, including one at Fetter Hill, remained in use after the Second World War and the Forest's quarries employed at least 92 men in 1950 (VCH, 1996: 338). In the 1960s limestone was quarried in several areas, including Shakemantle, but by 1992 quarrying continued on a large scale only at

Bixhead, where four men extracted sandstone mostly for restoration and monumental use, and 17 men were employed at the works south of Cannop ponds, where stone from outside the Forest was also dressed (VCH, 1996: 339). The decline of mineral traffic as a result of the closure of the larger collieries from the later 1920s led to the abandonment of branch lines and tramroads, and, after the Second World War, to the virtual disappearance of the railways. Closure of the main lines was piecemeal, the line between Serridge Junction and Cinderford being closed in 1949, that between Mirystock and Stowfield in 1956, and that between Speech House Road and Mirystock in 1960, while the Lydbrook viaduct was demolished in 1965 (VCH, 1996: 354). The loop line track was lifted north of Pillowell in 1951; the northern end was abandoned in 1953 and the southern end carried coal until 1957. The Coleford-Parkend Railway, which was used by traffic from Whitecliff quarry in Coleford, was abandoned in 1967. The Forest of Dean Railway, on which the extension from Whimsey to the Drybrook quarries closed in 1953, was abandoned in 1966 when Cinderford station was closed to freight. The last working section of railway in the Forest, from Parkend to Lydney, carried stone ballast until 1976, and was purchased in 1983 by the Dean Forest Railway Preservation Society (later the Dean Forest Railway Co.) (Ibid.).

To counteract the large-scale loss of mining and quarrying jobs, a committee representing local government, employers, and trade unions was formed in 1938 to foster industry in the Forest – with some success. In 1941 British Acoustic Films Ltd. established a factory at a former brewery in Brook Street, Mitcheldean, making anti-aircraft devices and firefighting equipment there during the War. The factory later made cinematic equipment as part of the Rank Organisation, and from 1948 it was run by Rank Precision Industries Ltd. In 1965 it became the main manufacturing plant for Rank Xerox Ltd. To relieve pressure on its Dursley works R. A. Lister and Co. Ltd. established an engine assembly plant in Cinderford

in 1944 and built a factory at the bottom of Station Street after the War. The factory manufactured a range of machines, including diesel engines from 1952, and its workforce had risen to 582 by 1969 (VCH, 1996: 349). However, further job losses in mining from the late 1950s, coupled with the closure of a cable works near Lydbrook in 1965, prompted renewed initiatives to increase industrial employment in the Forest. Ex-miners found work in established concerns, such as Lister's factory in Cinderford and Rank Xerox's factory in Mitcheldean, both of which were enlarged at that time. However, with economic recession in the early 1980s many jobs in the Forest disappeared, notably at Lister's Cinderford factory, which closed in 1985, and at Rank Xerox, which closed parts of its factory and reduced its workforce from around 4,800 to 1,200 employees (VCH, 1996: 186). In the early 1990s other established businesses shed jobs and, although the Forest has retained many small employers in traditional and newer industries, its inhabitants have increasingly been forced to find work elsewhere.

In sum, the Forest of Dean has undergone rapid and widespread change during the course of the twentieth century. As industrial activities declined, the region began something of a rebirth, transformed into a leisure landscape designed to maximise the amenity value of Forestry Commission resources. However, the character of industrial areas and their communities is often inextricably linked to the industrial past, and this is strongly evident in the Forest of Dean. Creating their own institutions, clubs, churches, chapels and sports teams, they fostered an independent and self-contained sense of identity. Mining in particular was hard, physical, often dangerous and almost exclusively male work, and the bonds formed through such distinctive forms of labour forged a cohesive but enclosed community. The customary rights of the Forest reinforced these bonds, drawing a clear

distinction between those born in the Forest and so-called ‘foreigners’ or ‘outsiders’⁸. And there is still some resentment towards ‘outsiders’ and the changes wrought on the landscape to encourage them ‘in’. Moreover, there is a great nostalgia for the past, a sentimental yearning for a former time to which there can be no return, evidenced in part by the many commemorative spaces that have developed in the Forest in recent decades – such as the Miner’s Memorial at the New Fancy Viewpoint, the Hod Boy Memorial on the Blue Rock Path (Upper Soudley), and the Miner’s Memorial Topograph on Ruardean Hill. Similarly, there are heritage projects led by the Forest of Dean Local History Society, archives and displays at the Dean Heritage Centre, and activities such as charcoal-burning demonstrations, heritage walks and mining tours that take place throughout the Forest. At the same time, many industrial features remain in-situ; too vast and too costly to be removed, they persist as part of the ‘industrial heritage’ or are adapted for recreational purposes, enrolled in the new leisure-oriented landscape of the Forest. As Edensor notes, ‘matter is often more difficult to eradicate than imagined’ (Edensor, 2005a: 316), and there are sites in the Forest where the sheer material presence of the region’s industrial past continues to dominate the landscape. Spoil heaps are appropriated to form viewpoints, railway lines are overlain with cycle tracks, and former colliery sites are levelled to create picnic sites.

⁸ To be considered a true ‘Forester’, one must be born in the Hundred of St Briavels. Males born in the Hundred who are over the age of 21, and who have worked in a mine for a year and a day, can register to be a free miner. Residents of the Hundred who are over the age of 18 can also graze sheep and pigs in the Forest.

Conclusion

As a precursor to the more-than-representational nature of the chapters that follow, I have adopted a ‘cultures of landscape’ approach to this chapter, focusing upon the landscape of the Forest of Dean and the changes associated with its transformation from industry to leisure. The story began with the creation of the Forestry Commission in the wake of the First World War, the shifting role of national forests and forestry, and their enrolment in state defence. As the Forestry Commission took up the challenge to develop a strategic timber resource, the UK forestry landscape was transformed. Plantations of regimented conifers marched across the land, occupying upland moors and heath. Time management studies heralded new methods of working to create modern and efficient forms of industrial forestry and forester. However, the efforts of the Forestry Commission to rebuild national timber stocks were not appreciated by all. Controversial planting in upland areas and the subsequent loss of amenity brought widespread criticism from preservationists and lobbyists. As one of the UK’s largest landowners, the Forestry Commission quickly became embroiled in wider debates over access to the landscape and the creation of National Parks – and it was not long before it was forced to act. This was the dawning of an era of mass recreation, new leisure-oriented subjectivities emergent in the practices of walking, hiking and the spaces in which they were enacted. In response to increasing pressure to provide public access and enhanced amenity, while at the same time spotting an opportunity to improve its image, the Forestry Commission took the bold decision to create a series of ‘National Forest Parks’, beginning with Argyll in 1937.

The Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park was the third Forest Park to be designated in England, Scotland and Wales, in 1938. Plans to improve the amenity value of

the Forest included the development of dedicated caravan and camping sites and youth camps, the conversion of spoil heaps into viewpoints, the development of picnic sites, car parks and waymarked paths. These plans soon became part of wider initiatives to ameliorate the effects of declining industrial activity in the Forest. However, the events of 1939 brought an abrupt stop to the development of leisure infrastructure, and it was not until the 1950s that efforts could be resumed. The Second World War also brought about a renewed emphasis on industrial forestry but, as the post-war decades wore on, it soon became apparent that timber resources were no longer an imperative for state defence. Economic concerns soon became the priority, and the Forestry Commission used the findings from scientific forestry, its knowledges and techniques, to re-orient its planting regimes towards financial gain. These changes had an important impact on the aesthetics of the Forest.

By the mid-1950s, the provision of leisure infrastructure was back on the agenda, and a number of novel ideas were put into practice, such as the development a Scandinavian-style refreshment chalet at Symonds Yat Rock, and an innovative programme of waymarking throughout the Forest. However, it was not until the 1970s that recreational provision became a core policy for the Forestry Commission. Several major initiatives were implemented in the Forest during the 1970s and 1980s, many of which focused on the redevelopment of industrial remains, transforming spoil heaps into viewpoints, railway bridges into viewpoint retaining walls, and railways into cycleways. Subsequent restructuring within UK state forestry eventually led to the notion of ‘multi-purpose’ forestry, which placed an emphasis on the environmental and social benefits to be derived from state forestry. These changes have been so significant as to attract the label of ‘post-industrial’ forestry. While changes in UK forestry point towards the development of a post-industrial

landscape, the collapse of iron, coal, quarrying and manufacturing industry in the Forest supports the broader interpretation of this landscape as ‘post-industrial’.

Taking a ‘light touch’ to theory and theoretical concerns, I have sought to provide a comprehensive account of landscape transformation, occurring as the result of a series of social, cultural, political and economic upheavals and structural change in the period from the First World War to the present day. Drawing together for the first time a number of secondary sources, along with primary sources and case studies, I have provided a historical overview of the development of leisure activities, setting the scene for the chapters that follow. At the same time, I have tried to hint at what more there might be than representation, by exploring processes of subjectification brought about through new forestry practices, changing attitudes towards outdoor leisure, and the redevelopment of industrial remains. These themes are picked up in the next chapter, as I highlight some of the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of this landscape transformation.

Chapter Three

Re-Materialising the Past? Exploring the Affective Qualities of Matter

Introduction

As a departure from the emphasis on ‘cultures of landscape’ taken in the previous chapter, this chapter takes a distinctly more-than-representational approach to the landscape of the Forest of Dean. Focusing on those remains of the industrial past that have been transformed into leisure infrastructure, it draws on a series of case studies to demonstrate that the materiality of the world does not stand in opposition to an immaterial realm, that it is not the immaterial that produces those qualities that are assumed to animate matter. Instead, I will argue that such qualities are internal to matter itself. A block of stone, for example, ‘is no more (or less) “real” than apparently “immaterial” phenomena like emotion, mood and affect, although it has a different duration and threshold of consistency’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 705). A block of stone is not only ‘brute matter’; it is also ‘a particular aggregate organisation of process and energy’ (Ibid.). The ‘materiality’ that I seek to explore reaches beyond the concrete, ‘real’ world of objects and physical ‘stuff’. This is an approach to materiality that takes seriously the liveliness and creativity of matter, and its capacity to influence our daily lives.

I pursue these ideas through the site of the former New Fancy Colliery, where a spoil heap has been transformed into a viewpoint; the Blaize Bailey viewpoint, where a retaining wall

has been constructed out of stone reclaimed during the removal of the disused Fetter Hill Railway Bridge; Beechenhurst Lodge and the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, both located on the site of the former Speech House Colliery; the Forest of Dean Family Cycle Trail, which follows the line of the former Severn and Wye Valley railway; and, the site of the abandoned Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, which has been re-cast as part of a ‘Mines Trails’ heritage walk. Drawing on repeated visits to these spaces, undertaken over a sustained period, I explore their tactility and topology, as well as their genesis. In doing so, I seek to demonstrate that materials are always-already affective, that matter possesses its own modes of self-transformation, self-organisation, and directedness. At the same time, my aim is to reveal the power of these sites to move us, to make us think and act differently, and to disclose something of their capacity to evoke the past.

The chapter begins by interrogating the notion of the ‘material’. It critically examines recent calls in human geography and archaeology to ‘rematerialise’, or to ‘return’ to the concrete world of things – expressions, I will argue, that wrongly and reductively equate the material with an obdurate, grounded reality. The chapter goes on to outline an alternative perspective, which emphasises the emergent, processual and affective qualities of matter. Drawing on the work of writers such as Giles Deleuze, Elizabeth Grosz and Brian Massumi, I experiment with these ideas in a series of case studies that seek to highlight some of the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of landscape transformation outlined in Chapter Two. Focusing in particular on examples of industrial remains that have been re-appropriated and redeveloped as leisure infrastructure, I use the refrain ‘movement, scale and speed’, to demonstrate that these ‘immaterialities’ are intrinsic to matter, rather than its antithesis. I also use the ‘refrain’ as that which ‘fabricates time’, acting upon its

surroundings to alter the speeds and slowness of interactions, augmenting, amplifying or eliminating (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 384).

Re-Materialisation?

Our world is a material world. We ourselves are composed of matter, and we depend upon it for our survival. However, ‘there is an apparent paradox in thinking about matter’ for ‘as soon as we do, we seem to distance ourselves from it, and within the space that opens up, a host of immaterial things seem to emerge: language, consciousness, subjectivity, agency, mind, soul’, all of which are ‘fundamentally different from matter and valorised as superior to the baser desires of biological material or the inertia of physical stuff’ (Coole and Frost, 2010: 1-2). Indeed, many of our ideas about matter and materiality remain closely aligned to the Cartesian mind-matter divide. In the seventeenth century, Descartes defined matter as inert, as a substance that has the attributes of length, breadth and depth. In doing so, Descartes laid the foundations for Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics. For in accordance with this model, material objects are individually distinct, detached and disconnected, moving only as the result of contact with an external force or agent, and according to a linear cause-effect. This is the ‘real’ world of ‘objects’ that move and behave in a predictable, controllable, and replicable manner because they obey the fundamental and invariable laws of motion. The corollary, of course, was the thinking subject: the *cogito*, identified by Descartes as ontologically other than matter. Human beings were understood as free, self-aware and autonomous agents; subjects capable of measuring and classifying a passive and inert material world that could be manipulated and reconfigured at will.

However, this separation of mind and matter, so entrenched in modern Western thought, has been challenged in recent years by a new brand of ‘materialism’ (Coole and Frost, 2010). Drawing in part upon advances in the natural sciences, this ontological reorientation is post-humanist in nature, in the sense that matter itself is understood as lively or as exhibiting agency. ‘New materialists’ insist on describing ‘active processes of materialisation of which embodied humans are an integral part’, as opposed to ‘the monotonous repetitions of dead matter from which human subjects are apart’ (Coole and Frost, 2010: 8). This is an affirmation of a new ontology – a project that recognises the productive and inventive capacities of materiality itself. Consider, for example, Jane Bennett’s ‘enchanted materialism’ (Bennett, 2001), in which there is a renewed appreciation for the innate vitality of objects in the world and their power to enchant us in unexpected ways.

And there is a sense in which this reorientation could not have arrived at a more opportune moment. As Anderson and Wylie (2009) note, calls to ‘rematerialise’ human geography have of late become widespread, so much so that it is now possible to speak of a ‘materialist turn’. Materialist literature has focused on, for example, urban geographies (e.g. Latham and McCormack, 2004; Lees, 2002); science, technology and nature (e.g. Anderson et al., 2007; Bingham and Hinchliffe, 2008; Hitchings, 2003; Whatmore, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2006); geographies of consumption (e.g. Jackson, 2000; Gregson et. al. 2010); encounters with objects and environments (e.g. DeSilvey, 2006, 2007 on a homestead in Montana; Edensor, 2005a, 2005b on industrial ruins; Hill, J. M. 2007 on the museum); emotion and affect (e.g. McCormack, 2003; Wylie, 2005; 2006). At the same time, archaeology, once ‘the discipline of things *par excellence*’ (Olsen, 2003: 89) has itself witnessed in the last decade or so something of a re-materialisation, a return to things – a reaction to what has been described as an ‘increasing discomfort ... with the dominant anti-material conception of culture and

society within the human and physical sciences, but also with the way archaeology and the “new” material-culture studies (including landscape studies) ... have moved away from thing’s materiality’ (Olsen, 2003: 87-88). Such a re-materialisation would thus stand in opposition to those ‘archaeological studies from the mid-1990s onwards [that] seem to be founded more on people’s practical being-in-the-world’ (Olsen, 2003: 91).

Yet, as suggested above, ‘the distinction between the “material” and the “immaterial” is not so straightforward, [and] any effort to articulate a “rematerialized” ... geography [or indeed archaeology], will of necessity not be realised until the complexities of this relation are addressed’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 702). There is a sense in which these rematerialising calls tend to ‘complicate and multiply rather than consolidate the reference points’ by which such work might proceed (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 703). From the obdurate to the ephemeral, from material fetish to material culture, from entanglement to enactment, there are many materialities at play (see, for example, edited volumes by Hicks and Beaudry, 2010; Knappett and Malafouris, 2008; Tilley et al. 2006; Küchler and Miller, 2005; Buchli, 2002; Miller, 2001a, 2001b; Graves-Brown, 2000; also see Hodder, 2011; Miller, 2005, 2008; Ingold, 2007; Gosden, 2005; Knappett, 2005; Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Olsen, 2010; Tilley, 1999, 2007). The issue is further complicated by a series of ‘onto-epistemological orientations’ grouped together under names such as actor-network theory, non-representational theory and symmetrical archaeology. Emerging primarily through the work of scholars working with Michael Shanks at Stanford (see, for example, Shanks, 2007; Webmoor, 2007; Witmore, 2006, 2007; Webmoor and Witmore, 2005, 2008; but also Hicks, 2005; Olsen, 2007) ‘symmetrical archaeology’, for example, borrows heavily from actor-network theory and has some resonance with non-representational theory. Based on the premise that human and non-human entities should

not be treated as ontologically discrete, symmetrical archaeology seeks to move beyond the ‘asymmetric dualisms’ that characterise modern Western thought, those of ‘thought and action, ideas and materials, past and present’ (Witmore, 2007: 546). ‘Symmetry’ is thus a ‘levelling’ (Witmore, 2007: 547), which attends to the manner by which humans and things become entangled, and create and maintain a multiplicity of interactions and associations with other distributed collectives. By offering a definition of ‘symmetrical archaeology’, Witmore describes ‘a new “ecology” packed with things, mixed with humans and companion species (Haraway, 2003) ... which prioritises the multi-temporal and multi-sensual qualities ... of the world’ (Witmore, 2007: 547). Yet it is not clear to me that writing in symmetrical archaeology really grasps the potential of this ‘new ecology’ or achieves the ‘levelling’ it purports to deliver. Consider, for example, Witmore’s 2006 article on sound. While it would be difficult to disagree with his assertion that greater attention should be paid to the sound of material objects and the acoustic properties of place, he leaves a series of questions unanswered as to how a focus on sound constitutes a symmetrical manoeuvre of the kind that places human and non-human entities on an equal footing. Despite making claims about their ontological consistency, there persists in Witmore’s article, and a good many others, something of the mind-matter divide. While it is clear that objects are accorded their own agency, there remains a sense that the concrete world of things stands in opposition to the immaterial, that it is separate from human thought. The problem lies in the fact that the immaterial, and any theorisation thereof, is absent from this work.

Following Kearns (2003), Latham and McCormack (2004), Anderson and Wylie (2009), McCormack (2010) and Rose (2011), I wish to argue for a notion of the material that incorporates the immaterial, not as something defined in opposition to the material, but as

that which ‘gives it an expressive life and liveliness *independent* of the human subject’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 703, emphasis added). Rather than ‘grounding’ the immaterial, as many of the rematerialising calls seem to suggest should be our goal (see, for example, Olsen, 2003; Lees, 2002), it is argued that a focus on the material instead ‘demands that we begin to take seriously the real force of the immaterial’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 704). This is a project that seeks to challenge the tendency to define the ‘material’ as solid and real, in opposition to the abstract and unreal realm of the ‘immaterial’, offering instead a monological account of emergent, generative being (Coole and Frost, 2010: 8). It draws inspiration from a diverging set of philosophical influences that set out a series of alternative ontologies, all of which might be described as ‘agitations’ or ‘animations’: ‘agitations insofar as they unsettle materiality and animations insofar as they explore the lively excess of materiality’ (McCormack, 2010: 642). McCormack identifies three such agitations or animations. Firstly, following Latour (1999, 2005), matter is understood as emergent, as the outcome of associations and relations between any number of different actors and agents. Secondly, matter is ‘processual’; the very stuff of which materials consist is itself in process. In other words, materiality is always ‘turbulent’ (see Anderson and Wylie, 2009). Finally, matter is affective. It is increasingly understood that affectivity is not a subjective interpretation that we project onto material things. The material force of affectivity is defined – following the work of Spinoza (1989), traced through Deleuze (1990a), and later Massumi (2002a) – as the intensity of pre-personal relations immanent to the world. Such relations are not necessarily separate from matter; they are, rather, an ongoing array of potentials in excess of actuality. Affect is like an aura, invisible but sensed.

Many of these ideas are linked to advances in the natural sciences. As the models of classical physics are overturned, we encounter a new understanding of matter that is very different from the material world we inhabit in our everyday lives; black holes, hypothetical particles, wave-particle duality – all suggest an ontology that is markedly different from corporeal Cartesian or mechanistic Newtonian accounts of matter. While scientific theories cannot simply be imported into philosophy, or indeed the social sciences and humanities, our theoretical discourses can be transformed by the concepts and analogies of which they are suggestive. It should come as no surprise then, that ‘forces, energies, and intensities (rather than substances) and complex, even random, processes (rather than simple, predictable states) have become the new currency’ (Coole and Frost, 2010: 13). If advances in particle physics have changed our conception of matter, it is developments in applied and theoretical mathematics that are transforming our understanding of its patterns of movement. Chaos theory and complexity theory both undermine the idea of a stable and predictable materiality, revealing in their wake a material world that is complex and unstable. Everything is material by virtue of its composition as a series of physiochemical processes, but at the same time, nothing is reducible to such processes. ‘For materiality is always something more than “mere” matter: an excess, a force, vitality, relationality, or difference that renders matter active, self-creative, productive, unpredictable’ (Coole and Frost 2010: 9). Consider, for example, Massumi’s brick:

‘When you place a brick against a brick, you are not rubbing hard matter up against hard matter. The electrons and nuclear particles making up the molecular aggregates are separated by voids many orders of magnitudes larger than they are. A brick is a sparse little universe. Nothing actually touches. The brick’s “surface” is pitted by emptiness. Nor is there anything solid within each atom. Subatomic innards are a quantum soup of intense, virtual elements, some occurring faster than the speed of light (quantum tunnelling), some enjoying experimentally verified recursive causality (complementarity). The effective stability of the brick emerges from the interrelation of those intensive, incorporeal movements’ (Massumi, 2002a: 203).

It is no longer adequate to use the 'material' and 'materiality' in such a way as 'to invoke a realm of reassuringly tangible or graspable objects defined against a category of events and processes that apparently lack "concreteness"' (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 704-5). To grasp the complex realities of apparently stable objects we must take seriously the fact that these realities are animated by processes excessive of form. At the same time, our understanding of the immaterial must be expanded to accommodate a multiplicity of non-representational forces, practices and processes through which matter is brought into being, to draw attention to the 'virtual' dimension of the material (Massumi, 2002a; Deleuze, 2004 [1994]). 'To speak of the material is ... to have already invoked the excessive potential of the immaterial'; to argue for the importance of materiality is therefore to argue for a focus on movement, speeds and slowness, as opposed to any argument for paying greater attention to objects per se (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 705). Again, let us consider Massumi's brick:

'When you place a brick next to another brick you are not placing matter against matter. You are placing effect against effect, *relation against relation*. You are building a conglomerate economy of movement. You are hinging molar stabilities to build larger molar stability. What we think of as Euclidean space is a mutual holding in relational stability of incorporeal event-spaces, relative to a kind of movement, scale and speed. Incorporeal: abstract' (Massumi, 2002a: 204, original emphasis).

'When you place bricks together to build four walls and then put a body inside, something similar is happening. The memories, habits, and tropisms the body carries with it in the associated, intensive event space of incorporeal or abstract movement ... constitute an aggregate of relation. All the goings-on and passings-by around the building constitute another aggregate of relation: a sea of movements, each of which has a potential effect on the body, capable of modulating which determinate threads are pulled out from the relational continuum it carries. Which threads the body re-expresses is regulated by the modulatory sense-interfaces that the walls, doors, and windows ... let pass. Certain tendential headings, perceptions, and cognitions are backgrounded, peripheralised, or blended out by the synesthetic economy of movement-across that is regulated by the architectural regime' (Massumi, 2002a: 204).

The ‘virtual’ is the relation of possibility or potentiality for morphogenetic processes, where matter is in flux – a corporeal materiality, inseparable from both ‘processes of deformation or transformation that operate in a space-time itself inexact and that act in the manner of events’ and ‘expressive or intensive qualities’ such as weight, colour, hardness (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 450). There is ‘an ambulant coupling, *events-affects*’ (Ibid., original emphasis). To this formed, forming and formable matter must be added ‘an entire energetic materiality in movement, carrying *singularities* or *haecceities* that are already like implicit forms that are topological, rather than geometrical, and that combine with processes of deformation’ (Ibid., original emphasis). At the same time must be added the ‘*variable intensive affects*, now resulting from the operation, now on the contrary making it possible’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 451, original emphasis). By way of an example, Deleuze and Guattari direct us to ‘the variable undulations and torsions of the fibres’ guiding the splitting of a piece of wood, as well as the qualities of the wood itself, which might be ‘more or less porous, more or less elastic and resistant’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 450-1).

Taking this incorporeal materiality seriously, I explore the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of the objects and spaces of landscape transformation found at the New Fancy and Blaize Bailey Viewpoints, Beecehnurst Lodge and the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, the Forest of Dean Family Cycle Trail, and the abandoned Moseley Green New Engine Colliery. Drawing on the work of Deleuze (1990a, 1993, 2004 [1994]), Deleuze and Guattari (1994, 2004 [1988]), Grosz (2008), and Massumi (2002a, b), I use the refrain – ‘movement, scale and speed’ – to help demonstrate that such affects or ‘immaterialities’ are internal to, rather than in opposition to matter. I use the idea of the refrain in two senses – first as a simple repetition or a recurrent theme in my writing – and second, as ‘a prism, a

crystal of space-time' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 384). For Deleuze and Guattari, the refrain 'acts upon that which surrounds it ... extracting from it various vibrations, or decompositions, projections, or transformations'; the refrain also has a 'catalytic function: not only to increase the speed of the exchanges and reactions in that which surrounds it, but also to assure indirect interactions between elements devoid of so-called natural affinity, and thereby to form organised masses' (Ibid.). 'The refrain fabricates time' (Ibid.).

The New Fancy View: Movement, Scale and Speed

'It may be difficult to imagine that for a hundred years this picnic place and viewpoint was a dumping ground for colliery waste. Between 1832 and 1932, shale and other waste from the New Fancy Colliery was brought here from the pitshaft by tramway and deposited to form ... a typical flat-topped pit heap of some 750,000 cubic yards and standing much higher than the present viewpoint.'

'About two thirds of the tip was taken away in 1961 for use along with shale from other tips in the forest, as foundation material for the Llanwern steel plant near Newport. A further contract enabled the Forestry Commission, under the guidance of Dame Sylvia Crowe, to landscape the remains of the unsightly tip into its present and pleasing form.'

(Forest of Dean New Fancy View - booklet, date unknown)

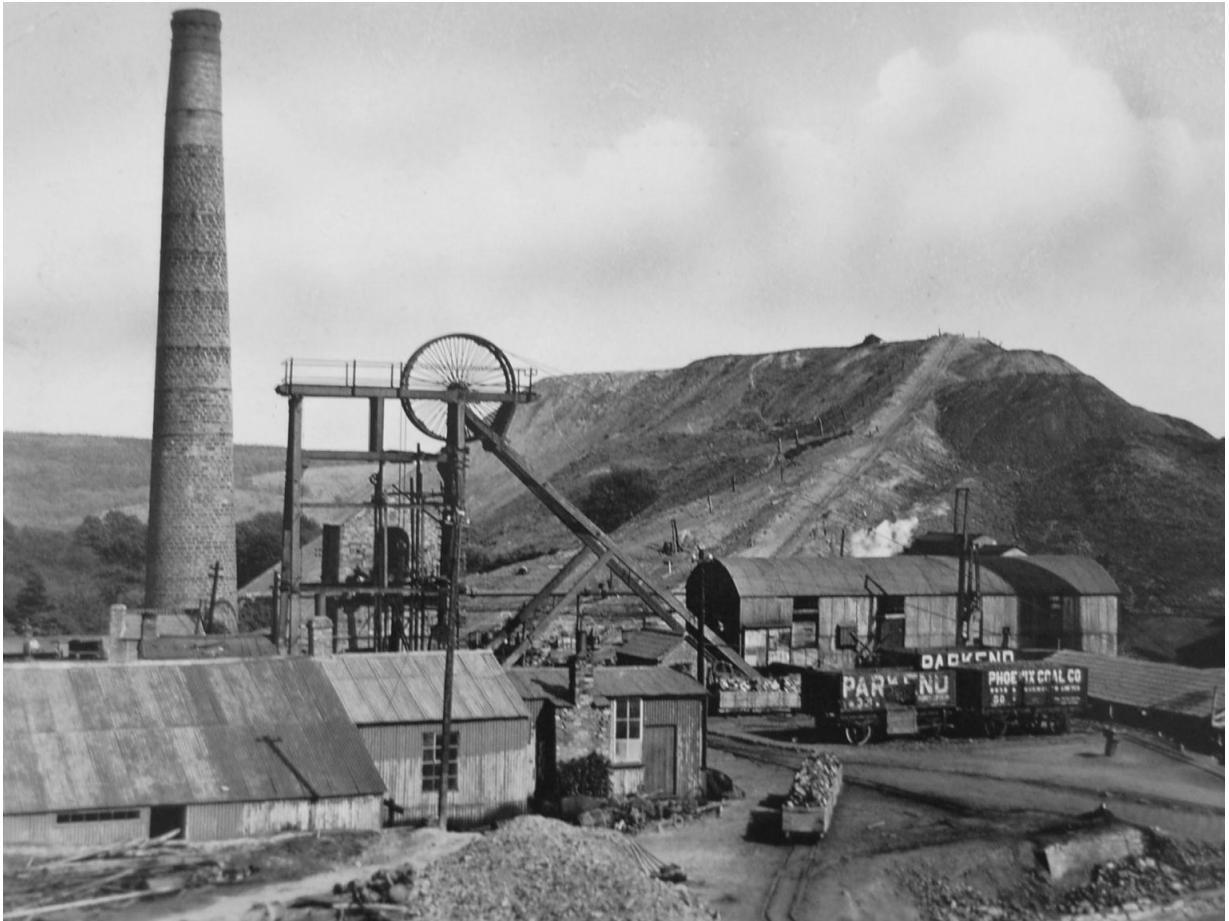


Figure 3.1: New Fancy Colliery, 1936 (Source: PRO D3921)

In 1938, the National Forest Park Committee (Forest of Dean) recommended the appropriation of abandoned spoil heaps as viewpoints to ‘add to the present rather limited number’ and to ‘render these tips less unsightly’ (Forestry Commission 1938: 6). However, it was not until 1976 that this recommendation was implemented with the conversion of a colliery tip into a viewpoint at the site of the former New Fancy Colliery. Shale removal in 1961 for the foundations of Llanwern Steelworks near Newport – itself now a relic of the industrial age – had created an imperative to re-landscape the area into a more aesthetic form. Most of the spoil on the New Fancy site was burnt to remove the combustible coal material, leaving a residue of burnt shale, while the remaining unburnt waste was removed to ensure stability. Movement, scale and speed. If unburnt material remains, coal spoil is susceptible to the spontaneous slow combustion of residual hydrocarbons. Spontaneous combustion results from self-heating caused by processes of oxidation, the ‘swarming micro-movements of matter occurring in insane velocity’ (Massumi, 2002a: 203). Coal reacts with atmospheric oxygen, even at ambient temperatures, in a reaction that is ‘exothermic’. If the heat liberated during this process is allowed to accumulate, the rate of reaction increases exponentially and there is a further rise in temperature until there is ‘spontaneous combustion’ – the crossing of a threshold, a critical moment or ‘bifurcation point’ in the physical system that induces irreversible change. For even apparently obdurate materialities, such as spoil heaps, are more or less precarious achievements, enacted through finite alliances in a tensed world brimming with ‘bifurcations, divergences, impossibilities, and discord’ (Deleuze, 1993: 81).

A small proportion of the spoil material was boiler ash, upon which it is difficult to establish good vegetation cover, so in order to provide rapid cover and thereafter slope stability, a special mix of grass seed, wood pulp, bitumen and fertiliser was developed and sown over

the site. Movement, scale and speed. This unique experimental blend both encouraged growth and prevented the seed from being washed downslope. The effects of unpredictable movements occurring at the interface between soil, air, seed and water were settled into a reliable configuration of motion and inertia, a configuration that could resist the effects of gravity and withstand the erosive power of the elements. It was the uncertain movement's 'aggregation' that had to be depended upon or its 'manner of massing' (Massumi, 2002a: 203). The solidity of the spoil heap was brought about under experimental conditions that created a stable mass at a macro scale, 'a *molar* relational effect' (Ibid, original emphasis). The effective stability of the spoil emerged from the interrelation of intensive, incorporeal movements – a regulated regime of movement, a relational effect relative to the movement that comes to pass, its scale and speed.

On 5 May 1976, the site was opened as a viewpoint with the unveiling of a stone to commemorate the planting of two million acres by the Forestry Commission in England, Scotland and Wales between 1919 and 1976. The stone was sourced from the nearby Barnhill Quarry, and was unveiled by Lord Taylor of Gryfe, Chairman of the Forestry Commission. The Forestry Commission, its national planting programme and its Chairman were brought on site, and are traced through the stone, the stonemason, his skill and tools. As the stonemason's chisel struck the stone, he did not hit matter against matter, but effect against effect, '*relation against relation*' (Massumi, 2002a: 204, original emphasis). The hammer transmitted energy through the chisel, exciting the stone with such force that it could not hold itself together. There was a rupture, a breaking-free, as grains of rock exploded from the surface. Movement, scale and speed. Memories and habits of the stonemason's body were carried in the intensive event space, as lines of narrative were cut into the stone. As the stonemason chipped away, he drew on extensive processes of trial,

error, revision and reinforcement, repetition and difference. Neurons conducted electrical impulse signals – or ‘action potentials’ – that activated muscle fibres; habits residing in the matter of the body.



Figure 3.2: Commemorative stone at New Fancy Viewpoint, October 2005



Figure 3.3: Viewing platform at New Fancy Viewpoint, October 2005

It is on visiting the site that eyes are cast upwards, drawn towards the summit, for the viewpoint promises perspective and elevation; its steep slopes gesture and beckon the climb. On reaching the top, a vast expanse of forest stretches out, vibrant and green. All the footsteps, the ascents and descents, the gazes – they constitute another aggregate of relation: ‘a sea of movements, each of which has a potential effect on the body, capable of modulating which determinate threads are pulled from the relational continuum it carries’ (Massumi, 2002a: 204). Those threads that are re-presented by the body are determined by the sensory effects of the spoil heap, the viewpoint, and the view. Movement, scale and speed. While some perceptions and cognitions will be pushed into the background, marginalised or expunged, others will be brought to the fore, internalised and accentuated by the movements, speeds and slowness that are regulated by the spoil heap and its view. The

spoil heap functions ‘topologically’, enfolding a series of relations, influencing potential experience – as such, it is capable of bringing to formal expression something of the intertwined life of body and world. A gaze, a gasp, a gesture. Habits and memories of the body course through the flesh; its muscle fibre and micro-social skills, a single visual neuron (Massumi, 2002a: 205). The body holds together these viscera as they ‘fold out’, durationally, in the present, ‘always provisional because always in becoming’; these are the ‘abstract-real processual dimensions’ of the body and its lived experience (Ibid).

On Sunday 11th September 2005, a miners’ memorial was unveiled at the site. The Roll of Honour sculpture was commissioned by the Forest of Dean Local History Society as part of a wider project to honour those who worked and were killed in iron mines, coal mines and quarries of the Forest. It consists of three elements: stone, iron and coal. Coal is represented by carved and blackened Dean Oak. Iron is represented by fabricated steel, which has been pre-rusted. Stone is represented by Forest of Dean sandstone. Each element has a number of stainless steel discs set into the inside face, as the ‘Checks’ or ‘Tokens’ carried by miners to determine who was below ground in the event of an accident. The apex points skyward, piercing the blue with a clarity that seems to orient the world, reaching for the celestial resting place of those remembered here. It gathers its surroundings. Coal. Iron. Loss. Spoil. Darkness. Light. Movement, scale and speed. This is an ‘affective materiality’, an intensity of relations that is always ‘more than personal’ and is always ‘playing out before the reflective event of thought kicks in’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 706). There is an impulse of virtuality, the force of potential. Affect is that which ‘operates prior to the personal quality of emotion, in both an ontogenetic and temporal sense’, forcing us to think and act differently (Ibid.).



Figure 3.4: Miners' memorial at the New Fancy Viewpoint, October 2005

Blaize Bailey Viewpoint: Affect I

*'The Blaize Bailey viewpoint was constructed using stone from a disused railway bridge from Fetter Hill in the Forest. The viewpoint looks over a horseshoe bend in the River Severn and on a fine day, you will be able to see Gloucester Cathedral, Newnham and the Cotswold Hills.'*⁹

Where the Family Cycle Trail crosses the Parkend to Coalway road once stood the Fetter Hill Railway Bridge. Dismantled at the end of the 1970s, it was too low for the large lorries and heavy machinery that had become a feature of modern industrial forestry. By the 1970s many forestry activities were undertaken by machine; traditional logging tools were replaced with lightweight chainsaws, and horses with articulated lorries. The size of lorries used for the transportation of timber grew from about five tons to 32 tons by 1980 (Tsuovalis, 2000: 55). Bridges that had previously supported trains carrying raw industrial materials were now redundant, or, worse still, an impediment, and had to be removed. As many of the old railway bridges were taken down, funds left over from the reclamation of open cast mining sites enabled the Forestry Commission to create a holding wall for a new viewpoint, providing views over the famous horseshoe bend in the River Severn.

⁹ (Forestry Commission website, accessed 25 June 2010:
<http://www.forestry.gov.uk/website/ourwoods.nsf/LUWebDocsByKey/EnglandGloucestershireNoForestForestOfDeanSoudleyPondsBlaizeBaileyForestDrive>)



Figure 3.5: Retaining wall and seating area at Blaize Bailey Viewpoint, June 2006

Movement, scale and speed. Each stone placed upon another is not hard matter placed upon hard matter. The hardness of the stone is a surface-effect determined by its mineral composition, the tight spacing between its molecular aggregates, which blocks and restricts movement. The effect is relational in terms of the movement ‘that comes to pass, its scale, and speed’ (Massumi, 2002a: 203). These properties provide strength, from which structural stability can be achieved through the placing of effect against effect – ‘a mutual holding in relational stability of incorporeal event-spaces’ (Massumi, 2002a: 204) relative to *movement, scale, and speed*. The holding wall operates on geological time-scales. Leaning against the retaining wall, its apparent solidity gives an impression of timelessness, masking for a moment the great fluidity and flux of the world – for nothing stands still for long.

As Massumi suggests, we tend to think of our bodies as being in the present, a present that progresses from moment to moment, ‘from one point on a line to the next’ (Massumi, 2002a: 199). The past is ‘a point somewhere behind on the line’, the future ‘just a point ahead’ (Massumi, 2002a: 199-200). Yet the body is not all and only in the present. The body is always falling out of what it ceases to be, and into what it will already have become before it registers that something has happened; it is like a Doppler effect. ‘The past and future resonate in the present’ (Massumi, 2002a: 200). However, it is not the present that moves from the future to the past; it is, rather, the ‘future-past’ that moves through the present. Following Bergson (1991 [1896]), Deleuze (1991, 2004 [1994]) asserts that the past and future are continuous dimensions contemporaneous to every present, which is in a process of becoming. The present folds into the past as it folds out its futurity. Past and future are in a process of mutual folding; ‘the present is the crease’ (Massumi, 2002a: 200). What is important to a body is not its present, but its potential – or the future-past that is contemporary with moments of change. The point is that our conceptions of linear time exclude the reality of change (Massumi, 2002a: 201). Things that we interact with do change, do ‘coincide with their potential’ (Ibid.). Consider the stones that comprised Fetter Hill Railway Bridge. They carry with them the potential to become other, to become-retaining wall, to become-viewpoint. Although traces of their former use are absent, the stones bear the continuity of their variations. Look back, and the viewpoint is becoming-railway bridge, for all that endures varies, and all that varies carries with it the continuity of its variations. ‘A thing cannot be understood without reference to the non-present dimensions it compresses and varyingly expresses in continuity’; dimensions that are ‘abstract yet real’: virtual (Ibid.). It is all a matter of movement, scale and speed.



Figure 3.6: Retaining wall at Blaize Bailey Viewpoint, June 2006

Standing there at Blaize Bailey is a curious experience. The panorama opens out as a vast scene unfolding, an excess of vision that provokes an overwhelming sense of impossibility, a failure to grasp the world. This inability to know, to take hold of the landscape laid out before us, gives way to fear and horror, to the precipitous nature of the situation in both a very real and abstract sense, for immediately the instinct is to reach out for the solidity of the retaining wall, to touch it, to know it. The intensity of relations between us and our surroundings, near and far, reveals the ‘force of affect’, which ‘operates prior to the personal quality of emotion, in both an ontogenetic and temporal sense’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 706). In other words, affect occurs prior to a cognitive emotional response and is not therefore reducible to emotion. Affect is a felt but impersonal, visceral but not neatly

corporeal, force of intensive relationality (Massumi, 2002a). ‘Such corporeal sensings and articulations of affect are ... important [for the] way in which the excessive expressiveness of the material becomes implicated in [our lives]’ (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 717).



Figure 3.7: View from Blaize Bailey Viewpoint, June 2006

Beechenhurst Lodge and the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail: The Monument

'Formerly the site of Speech House colliery, Beechenhurst is now the ideal base for a family day out with walking trails, cafe facilities and a play area.'

*'Beechenhurst is the starting point for the famous Sculpture Trail, the walk features pieces by famous artists set in beautiful woodland surroundings.'*¹⁰

First opened in 1992 by the Duchess of Kent, Beechenhurst Lodge is located on the site of the former Speech House Colliery, which was cleared in 1969 to make a picnic area to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Forestry Commission.



Figure 3.8: Site of Speech House Colliery, October 1945 (Aerial Photograph: RAF/106G/UK/879)

¹⁰ (Forestry Commission website, accessed 14 June 2011:
<http://www.forestry.gov.uk/website/recreation.nsf/LUWebDocsByKey/EnglandGloucestershireNoForestFo restOfDeanBeechenhurstLodge>)



Figure 3.9: Site of Speech House Colliery, June 1969 (Aerial Photograph: OS/69205)

Speech House Colliery was opened in 1841 and was closed in 1906, although the main shaft was maintained as an emergency exit for Lightmoor Colliery until 1937 (Gloucestershire SMR: 10712). The site now comprises a car park, climbing wall, play area, designated barbecue and picnic areas, and the lodge building itself – housing a gallery and shop, cafe and function room, visitor information and toilets. The ‘Gavellers Cafe’ was opened in October 2008 in a new extension to the Lodge, and is named after the office of the Gaveller, who was responsible for leasing gales on behalf of the Crown. It is here that visitors congregate, chatting quietly, idly, hands clasped around cups of hot chocolate, coffee and tea, resting before or after their walks around the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail. Centrally located in the Forest, Beechenhurst is a popular destination. The car park is located among the remaining heaps of spoil, where several paths lead off to the Sculpture Trail – now

occupying an area of land that stretches from the former colliery site to Speech House Woods, through the New Beechenhurst Inclosure.

The first phase of the Sculpture Trail was laid out in 1986. The sculptures have been added to, from time to time, with whole new phases, as well as individual artworks – the most recent of which is *Echo*, by Annie Cattrell, installed in 2008. Cast from Kensley Quarry, *Echo* is located in front of its source. Like a three-dimensional photograph, the resin cast captures a moment in the life of the 310 million year old pennant sandstone; as if frozen in time, every detail is there to discover in the surface of the sculpture. Process: soil and stone, ferns, lichens and root systems, burrowing worms, and colonies of ants are captured and immobilised. Movement, scale and speed. Contrast this with Cattrell's earlier works that focus on the evanescent: *Capacity* (2000) solidified human breath in lamp-worked glass; *Brink* (2001-2003) mapped the nanosecond electrical flicker of brain-registered sensation, and it appears that *Echo* is a break. Yet *Echo* is more continuity than break, for in capturing a moment in the evolution of a landscape, it too captures that which is fleeting. Four metres long and one and a half metres high, *Echo* stands sharp-edged, an aluminium wall made using topographical laser scanning, by a team of fabricators specialising in large-scale silicone moulding, from polymer resin mixed with aluminium dust.



Figure 3.10: *Echo*, Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, May 2010

Stone has been quarried in the Forest for many centuries; grey, blue, and red sandstones, worked principally for grinding, building, and paving, and limestone burnt to produce lime. It appears that early quarrying activity was modest in scale, characterised by small, scattered workings. The Forest of Dean National Mapping Project conducted by English Heritage recorded a large number of sandstone and limestone quarries, ‘appearing as individual pits or groups of pit, as linear quarries following narrow bands of a particular rock type, or as large amorphous holes in the ground’ (Bishop, 2006). Like mining, quarrying in the Forest came under statutory regulation in 1838, so that men with the same qualifications as free miners as to birth, residence, and age, and having worked a year and a day in a quarry in the Forest, were deemed to be free miners but only with the right to quarry stone. In *Echo*, the relative fixity of stone is suggested by the durability of the resin cast, which does not readily decompose, and as such there is a marked contrast between this piece and some of the original ideas behind the Sculpture Trail; the intention being that the sculptures would be in

a state of flux (Martin, 1990: 18). For example, Neville Gabie's *Raw*, located in 2001, has begun the process of graceful decay. An oak tree planted in 1810 and felled in 2001, *Raw* comprises different sized wooden cubes representing the mass of the tree; working with a tree surgeon, Gabie converted the volume of the tree into pieces before reassembling them. Over time, *Raw* has been colonised by insect life, fungi and moss, all contributing to the slow decomposition of the piece. Movement, scale and speed.



Figure 3.11: *Raw*, Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, January 2006

Yet there is also a sense in which *Echo* accentuates these actions. Recreated in photo-sculptural exactitude, *Echo* underlines those processes of transformation that act upon the face of Kensley Quarry. As Anderson and Wylie note, there is ‘an excess that is of matter whatever the state or element matter is enacted in’ (Anderson and Wylie, 2009: 330). There is an ‘openness to the new, of different types, [that] is the product of the autonomous relation from which the immaterial and material fold with one another’ (Ibid.). Movement, scale and speed. As Deleuze and Guattari stress, ‘sensation is not realised in the material without the material passing completely into sensation, into the ... affect’; all the material ‘becomes expressive’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 166-167). It is by means of the material that the aim of art is to extract the percept from perceptions, the affect from affections, to render ‘a pure being of sensations’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 167). ‘If resemblance haunts the work of art, it is because sensation refers only to its material’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 166), the percept or affect of the material. Artworks of the Sculpture Trail might evoke, for instance, the advance of polymer resin – its solidity and strength, the cleave of oak – its splinter and warp, the decay of damp wood – its degeneration. It is the affect that is metallic, stony, woody, sylvan or decomposing. This is not a resemblance, but a pure sensation.

Similarly, ‘memory plays a small part in art’; while ‘every work of art is a *monument* ... the monument is not something commemorating the past, it is a bloc of present sensations’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 167, original emphasis). ‘The monument’s action is not memory but fabulation’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 168). Each artwork, each sculpture ‘creates’. ‘A monument does not commemorate or celebrate something that happened but confides to the ear of the future the persistent sensations that embody the event: the

constantly renewed suffering of men and women, their re-created protestations, their constantly resumed struggle' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 176): the refrain.

Family Cycle Trail: The Refrain

*'A waymarked circular route mainly on former railway lines with connecting routes to villages and picnic sites. This route has been especially surfaced and is suitable for all ages and abilities. The trail starts at the Cycle Centre in the Cannop Valley. It takes you along the old Severn and Wye railway line passing former stations at Drybrook Road, Cannop Wharf and Speech House. Remnants of former coal mines can be seen at Foxes Bridge, Lightmoor and New fancy. A route card is available from Pedalabikeaway, Beechenhurst Lodge or the Forest of Dean's Coleford office for 60p.'*¹¹

A partnership project between the Forestry Commission and the Forest of Dean District Council, the 'railway to cycleway' scheme was developed in the early 1990s, transforming some of the Forest's abandoned railway network into family-friendly cycle tracks. The old Severn and Wye Valley Railway line now provides a 17 kilometre circular cycling route around the heart of the Forest. Popular cycle paths in the Cannop Valley offer a safe, off-road and traffic-free cycling experience, with an exhilarating extended downhill section through 'Burnt Log' and 'Three Brothers'. Links to and from the circular family cycle trail can be followed to the local towns of Coleford, Lydbrook and Cinderford, and to Mallard's Pike Lake. Reusing a gradient ideal for steam, the cycle trail incorporates signs made from railway sleepers and track. Together they provide a glimpse of the industrial past, presenting a now absent but once vital transportation network. Collieries served by the Severn and Wye Valley Railway included Norchard, Princess Royal, Pillowell, New Fancy, Parkend, Speech House Hill, Cannop, Trafalgar, Arthur and Edward, Crump Meadow and Foxes Bridge.

¹¹ (Forestry Commission website, accessed 24 June 2010:
<http://www.forestry.gov.uk/website/ourwoods.nsf/LUWebDocsByKey/EnglandGloucestershireNoForestFor estOfDeanCannopCycleCentreFamilyCycleTrail>)



Figure 3.12: 'Burnt Log' signpost, August 2008

Here it is possible to get lost in the rhythms of pedalling. As signs for 'Cannop Wharf', 'Three Brothers' and 'Burnt Log' flash past it is as if the world is in free-fall. The refrain: movement, scale and speed. As Grosz suggests, it is the rhythms of the body, along with those of the earth that 'are the conditions of the refrain, which encapsulates and abstracts these rhythmic or vibratory forces into a sonorous emblem, a composed rhythm' (Grosz, 2008: 55). Movement, scale and speed. The bicycle orients its rider to the world. It structures movement, channels energy. The bicycle carries feedback from the ground, up through the frame, into the body of the rider. Changing topography creates a new rhythm, new affects, new muscular efforts and vibrations, new sensations. For the refrain is 'fundamentally constructive: it brings together a series of disparate elements all fundamentally vibrational – sights, sounds, rhythms, material objects, geographical features,

found objects, its own bodily reactions – into an organised synthetic totality, a territory that now contains or locates excessive qualities – colours, textures, tones, tempi – all made into a kind of assemblage’ (Grosz, 2008: 56). Such ‘vibrations are oscillations, differences, movements of back and forth, contraction and dilation: they are a becoming-temporal of spatial movements and spatial processes’ (Grosz, 2008: 55). For again the cycleway carries the continuity of its variations. Movement, scale and speed. The gentle sound of bicycles freewheeling has replaced the clatter of wagons being shunted together, the crash of steel chains being thrown onto hooks, the slow rhythmic chuffing of engines being fired up for departure, and the steady rattle of a long coal train as it passes under a bridge. The heavy bladed wheels of a steam train bearing coal have been replaced with the light rubber tyres of a bicycle bearing cyclist. The energy required to stoke an engine, to build up and maintain a head of steam necessary to provide locomotion, has become pedal power. The scent of grease and coal, sweat and smoke is now tree pollen carried on the breeze, the earthiness of leaf litter. Yet the cycleway is perpetually ‘becoming-railway’. Its gradient, its twists and turns, the places, sites and spaces it connects – they are all part of its becoming: Trafalgar, Crump Meadow, Foxes Bridge, Lightmoor, New Fancy and Cannop collieries; Drybrook Road, Cannop Wharf and Speech House stations.

Moseley Green New Engine (or 'Brick Pit'): Affect II or 'A Shock to Thought'

'Moseley Green New Engine gales were granted in 1842-3, and there was a brick pit here by 1855. The early history of the colliery is uncertain, but it was connected to both the Birches and Kidnalls Mills branches of the Severn and Wye tramroad, and later (after 1874) to the Severn and Wye Railway's mineral loop. The period 1860-1895 was a chequered one, and by 1883 the colliery was idle. In 1895, when it was purchased by Messers Johnson and Shepherd, it had two shafts and three steam winding engines working six gales. ... After several changes of ownership, the gales were transferred in 1915 to the Parkend Deep Navigation Colliers Co. Ltd., owners of the nearby New Fancy Colliery, who installed a new electric winding engine. ... Extensive tips, stone retaining walls, and the remains of several brick buildings survive, as does the top of a large, brick-lined shaft...'

('Walk No. 2 New Fancy: The Mines Trails' Forest of Dean Local History Society and the Forest of Dean Group of the Rambler's Association, date unknown)

Where there was once industry, labour, energy and noise, now there is decay, abandonment, stillness and peace. In 2004 Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service were commissioned to carry out archaeological recording, during the demolition and backfilling of a mine shaft at Moseley Green. An entry in the Sites and Monuments Record describes the shaft and its capping: 'The mine was visible as a mainly red brick built, rectangular structure about 10 metres in length (NNE - SSW) by 7.5 metres in width (WNW - ESE) and standing about 1.5 metres in height above ground level. This structure had been capped with concrete' (Gloucestershire SMR: 27589). The site is now part of 'The Mines Trails' walk, produced jointly by the Forest of Dean Local History Society and the Forest of Dean Group of the Ramblers' Association. Starting at the site of the former New Fancy Colliery, the five and a half mile walk includes the former Wellington and Howbeach Collieries, Morse's Level, Castlemain Mill, and the Parkend, Standfast and Brookall Ditches Colliery sites. The walk and accompanying leaflet are part of the Local History Society's project: 'Memorial to victims of mining in the Forest of Dean' supported by the Local Heritage Initiative, a

partnership between the Heritage Lottery Fund, Nationwide Building Society, and the Countryside Agency.



Figure 3.13: Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, February 2010

The Mines Trails Walk leads visitors to the remains of Moseley Green New Engine Colliery through a series of small heaps of colliery spoil believed to originate from earlier horse engine pits. The fabric of brick and iron are smothered by undergrowth; ivy, brambles, grasses, mosses and lichens, wantonly enveloping and overwhelming. A dusting of mould clings to bricks in the damp atmosphere, and a thick crust of minerals and bacteria coats walls that are exposed to the elements. It is a site choked in decay. Yet traces of past labour are there to be distilled, invoking a sense of diligence and drudgery, redolent with the aroma of coal dust, sweat and grime, an olfactory hallucination. As Edensor suggests, ‘ruins are sensually charged with powerful smells, profuse and intrusive textures, peculiar ...

soundscapes, as well as perplexing visual objects, juxtapositions, and vistas, all at variance to the sensually ordered world' (Edensor, 2005b: 836). If affects are generated through such entanglements, they are also unpredictable and unforeseen. Different sites and spaces, their energies, have differing capacities to affect and to be affected. Movement, scale and speed. Sites such as Moseley Green New Engine Colliery create a 'field of potential'. This potential is 'the *immanence* of a thing to its still indeterminate variation' (Massumi, 2002a: 9, original emphasis).

The remains of Moseley Green New Engine Colliery beckon with a sense of exploration. Its mine shaft draws the gaze, inviting a descent into the darkness of the underground. Crumpled metal entices the touch, walls motion to climb. The mine shaft itself is a 'technology of movement', the site a 'technology of transposition', functioning 'topologically', 'folding relational continua into and out of each other to selective, productive effect' (Massumi, 2002a: 204). This is a space which operates in abstraction and reality to inflect perceptions of potential experience (Ibid.). Movement, scale and speed. It is from here that the world unfolds. Each step, each touch, every turn of the head, every reach of the hand – reveals the site and its potential, its past and future. 'Before the flash [of the event, of movement, scale and speed] there is only potential in a continuum of intensity: a *field* of charged particles' (Massumi, 2002b: xxiv). Deleuze tells us that the body does not 'choose' to think; it is, rather, 'forced' to think in its movement (Deleuze, 2004 [1994]: 176; see also Massumi, 2002b: xxxi). Thought strikes like 'lightening', writes Massumi, with 'sheer ontogenetic force' (Ibid.). Movement, scale and speed.



Figure 3.14: Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, February 2010

Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter, I argued that recent calls in archaeology and geography to ‘re-materialise’, or to ‘return’ to the concrete world of ‘things’, have wrongly and reductively equated the ‘material’ with an obdurate, grounded reality. By contrast, I have outlined an alternative approach to materiality that does not draw a distinction between mind and matter. Emphasising the emergent, processual and affective qualities of matter, I have focused on active processes of materialisation, matter-in-formation and matter-in-relation. This is a world of material forces and agentic capacities, in which the domain of unintended or unanticipated effects is considerably broadened. Matter is no longer passive or inert, but possesses its own modes of self-transformation, self-organisation, and directedness. Matter is indeterminate, constantly forming and reforming in unexpected ways. ‘One could conclude, accordingly, that “matter becomes” rather than that “matter is”’ (Coole and Frost, 2010: 10).

In a series of case studies – on the modification of a spoil heap into a viewpoint, the re-use of a railway bridge as a viewpoint retaining wall, the development of a former colliery site into a sculpture trail, the conversion of railways into cycle-ways, and the re-casting of an abandoned mine as a ‘heritage’ site – I have sought to highlight the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of landscape transformation. I have used the refrain: ‘movement, scale and speed’, to emphasise the lively, agentic and affective qualities of matter-in-relation. Drawing on repeated visits to these spaces, undertaken over a sustained period, I have explored their tactility and topology, as well as their genesis. Consider, for example, the New Fancy View, where spoil material was burnt in a controlled manner to remove high-energy hydrocarbons that are prone to spontaneous combustion. The sheer ‘materiality’ of

spoil heaps suggests on first glance that these structures are permanent and steadfast, yet they too are highly contingent and unpredictable. Slope stability was further achieved using an experimental blend of materials comprising grass seed, bitumen and fertiliser, which promoted a surface covering of grass to protect and bind the spoil heap, preventing erosion from rainfall and the effects of gravity, a new configuration of matter-in-relation. A different assemblage of relations gave rise to the commemorative stone that was laid to mark the opening of the viewpoint and to celebrate the planting of two million acres of forest. Consider, for example, the carving of the stone. The stonemason's hammer and chisel excited the stone with such force that grains of rock exploded from its surface. The stonemason drew on bodily regimes, developed through processes of trial, error and refinement. Neurons coursed through his body, carrying a series of 'action potentials' to activate individual muscle fibres. These 'immaterialities' do not stand in opposition to a fixed, passive and inert 'materiality'; they are intrinsic to matter in all its varying forms.

Such affective materialities arise in the fold of relations between subject and viewpoint, or between subject and monument. Caught in the gaze, a swarm of potentials produce new perceptions, and new becomings. Think once more of the stones that comprised Fetter Hill Railway Bridge. They carry with them the potential to become other, to become-retaining wall, to become-viewpoint. They carry with them any number of future becomings, the potential to become-dust for instance, to succumb over time to the ravages of the elements. Their apparent solidity is an illusion. Yet when confronted with the unknowable, such as a vista stretching out before us, we instinctively reach out for the safety of the retaining wall, for the stability of that which we feel we know. It is interesting to contrast the apparent solidity of the retaining wall at Blaize Bailey with the snapshot in time presented by Cattrell's *Echo*. As the face of Kensley Quarry is changed by weathering, root action and

the day-to-day enterprising activities of worms, ants and other invertebrates, *Echo* stands relatively still, and, in doing so, it accentuates those processes of transformation. However, the apparent resemblance between *Echo* and its source is an affect of the material, a pure sensation. As Deleuze and Guattari (1994) suggest, artworks do not ‘represent’, nor do they commemorate the past; artworks create affect, a bloc of sensations: stoniness, solidity, time.

It is all a question of MOVEMENT, SCALE and SPEED: the refrain. Cycling creates a new set of rhythms on the Forest of Dean Cycle Trail. The rhythmic and vibratory forces of body and earth create a refrain. Movement, scale and speed. Movement, scale and speed. It is easy to get lost in the refrain, lost in the rhythms of the body, in the pedalling motion that propels us forward, as faster and faster the world around us speeds past. According to Deleuze and Guattari (2004 [1988]: 384), the refrain fabricates time, altering the pace of interactions: amplifying, intensifying and strengthening, or terminating, eradicating and erasing. ‘The refrain decomposes elements in order to recompose new totalities that amuse, protect and enhance’ (Grosz, 2008: 56). Consider the cycleway itself; once railway, its rhythms have become cycleway. The daily labour of coal trains has been replaced by leisurely weekend bicycle rides. The rhythms associated with trains upon tracks, the combustion of coal to create steam – they have been superseded, overlain by the whirr of bicycle wheels upon gravelled trails, as the processes of human bioenergetics now generate the energy required for locomotion. Industry becomes leisure. Yet the cycleway carries the continuity of its variations, relations to past and future. Its gradient, its twists and turns, the places, sites and spaces it connects – they are all a part of its becoming. Becoming-cycleway. Becoming-railway.

Sites such as Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, as well as New Fancy, Blaize Bailey/Fetter Hill, and the other spaces of post-industrial transformation outlined above, have the power to create intimations of the past. They function topologically, carrying the continuity of their transformations. Understood topologically, these sites are dynamic and highly variable. During the process of transformation, their forms were open, co-dependent, part of a shared field of deformation. Now they stand as the passing of a process, enveloping in their stillness a deformational field of which there is a trace: at once a monument of their passing and the potential to be repeated. The variation, as enveloped past and future, is the virtuality of their appearance. This virtuality cannot but be felt, evoking an intelligible sense of the past. It is particularly apparent at the site of Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, where the transformation from colliery to leisure site and heritage space has been less pronounced than at the former Speech House Colliery / Beechenhurst Lodge and the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, for example. Nevertheless, all of these sites have the power to generate affect. They beckon, offering to us new potentials that force us to think and act differently.

In conclusion, I have sought to develop an approach to the ‘materiality’ of landscape transformation that engages with the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of matter itself. In doing so, I have sought to demonstrate that materials are always-already affective, that matter possesses its own modes of self-transformation, self-organisation, and directedness. For, as I have suggested, ‘in this monolithic but multiply tiered ontology, there is no definitive break between sentient and non-sentient entities or between material and spiritual phenomena’ (Coole and Frost, 2010: 10). At the same time, I have sought to reveal the power of these sites to move us, to make us think and act differently, and to disclose something of their capacity to evoke the past. These topics will be explored further

in the next chapter, which examines aspects of the ‘afterlife’ of this landscape transformation. Focusing on the more-than-representational nature of memory, Chapter Four considers the recurrent manifestation of the spectral, which disturbs, displaces and conditions our understanding of space and time, absence and presence.

Chapter Four

Re-presenting the Past: Landscape, Memory and the Spectral

Introduction

The previous chapter sought to demonstrate that the materiality of the world does not stand in opposition to an immaterial realm. Instead, matter can be understood as emergent, processual and affective, and, as such, it can evoke haunting intimations of the past. This chapter seeks to build on these ideas as it examines the more-than-representational nature of memory as embodied and haunted by the spectral. It focuses on the landscape of the ‘Long Path’, a route connecting Lightmoor Colliery with the nearby village of Ruspidge. Taking inspiration from writers such as Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald, I narrate a walk undertaken in November 2008, with local resident and member of the Forest of Dean Local History Society, Ron Beard. The purpose of our walk was to re-trace the Long Path. As we walked, Ron talked of the landscape of his youth, of his father, and of the region’s industrial past. Histories of the landscape unfolded, places rejuvenating old memories, giving them life. Yet Ron’s stories also revealed a haunting sense of loss, a fragmented remembering and forgetting that is unsettled by ghosts from the past, ‘the ceaseless becoming-past of the present in all its inescapable revenance’ (Wylie, 2007a: 176). For the time of memory complicates any orthodox separation of chronology into ‘then’ and ‘now’; in memory, time becomes tangled, it twists and ruptures. Memory is born of strange and uncanny associations, inexplicable connections between times and places that erupt into the here and

now. As such, memory demands new ways of writing; narratives that better cope with our ephemeral and unpredictable recollections, disclosing the haunting presence-absence of the spectral in all its shapes, apparitions and phantasms.

I begin this chapter by pursuing the idea that memory is more-than-representational. Drawing a clear distinction between ‘practices of incorporation’ and ‘practices of inscription’, I emphasise the embodied nature of our recollections. I go on to explore the recurrent manifestation of the spectral, which disturbs, displaces and conditions our understanding of space and time, absence and presence. Developing the argument that alternative styles of writing are needed in order to reveal the true nature of memory and our haunting engagements with the past – while at the same time accepting Wylie’s (2007a) assertion that spectral geographies should themselves be spectral – I consider the work of Benjamin and Sebald, which, through devices such as literary montage, biography and phantasmagoria, successfully unsettles, disrupts and enlivens. Taking stylistic inspiration from these great writers, I return to the story of the ‘Long Path’, which is narrated in a non-conventional academic style that seeks itself to displace settled orders of space and time, to disturb all sense of self and place, to reveal the revenant trace of the spectre.

Memory as ‘More-Than-Representational’

Of late, there has been a growing interest in memory among those writing on landscape. Indeed, Ingold argues that ‘to perceive landscape is ... to carry out an act of remembrance’, and that such acts of remembering are not ‘a matter of calling upon an internal image, stored in the mind’, but arise through our ‘engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself

pregnant with the past' (1993: 152-3). While some accounts offer personal recollections (see, for example, Jones, 2005; Pearson, 2006), others have focused on re-presenting the memories of others (see, for example, Lorimer, 2003, 2006). A number of scholars have also sought to explore the more material aspects of landscape and memory (see, for example, DeSilvey, 2006, 2007; Till, 2005; Edensor, 2005b, 2005c; Tolia-Kelly, 2004), and the relationship between landscape and memory has attracted great interest as a topic within archaeology (for an overview, see Holtorf and Williams, 2006; also see Jones, 2007; Olsen, 2010). Yet what is often the object of archaeological work on memory is not the act of remembering, or what is being remembered, but a representation of memory; a material feature of the landscape constructed for commemorative purposes (see, for example, Mytum, 2006 on gravestones), the 'inscription of memory on space' (Edensor, 2005b). As Jones (2007) suggests, this stems in part from the distinction drawn between 'memory' and 'remembering'.

'Memory ... is often conceptualised as a representation ... When we speak of material culture as a surrogate or carrier of memory then we treat objects as a form of representation ... Remembering, however, is the process of recall, which is produced less at a contemplative distance and more in the current of quotidian activities' (Jones, 2007: 31).

The concept of memory has long been understood to hold active and passive elements; the act of remembering, that requiring conscious effort, can be contrasted with memories that are passively experienced, or impressed upon us. For Plato, processes of recollection, and the associated transmission of cultural traditions, were focused upon oral, conversational practice rather than writing or inscription. Aristotle emphasised the role of the senses, and the manner in which the materiality of the world is perceived and remembered. Unlike Plato, he suggested that recollection works 'by laws of association', which can be strengthened by repetition, or habit, and everyday experience. Indeed, central to the modern

concept of memory is the distinction between so-called practices of ‘incorporation’ (embodied action) and practices of ‘inscription’ (physical entities that store or carry information) (see Connerton, 1989; Nora, 1989).

The notion of ‘collective memory’, or ‘social memory’, emerged through the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1952 [1925], 1980 [1950]), who focused on the imperfect and incomplete nature of our memories of the past. Acknowledging that our powers of recall do not emanate from internal processes in the mind, he suggests that they are instead conjured by the reanimation of past experiences caused by external mnemonics, such as dinner with an old friend. Even in childhood, our world is filled with others, and we are always part of a social group. The group provides a framework for our memories, and various encounters stimulate processes of recollection. Extending Halbwachs’ model to account for collective memories that continue beyond the lifetime, Connerton (1989) argues that habit is central to processes of transmission, that our experiences of the present depend upon past knowledge sustained by ‘ritual’ performances. It is here that Connerton draws a distinction between ‘incorporating’ practices and ‘inscribing’ practices. Incorporating practices are largely traceless, but paradoxically they are a particularly effective system of mnemonics. And they ‘depend for their particular mnemonic effect on two distinctive features: their mode of existence and their mode of acquisition’, he writes; they ‘do not exist “objectively”, independently of their being performed’, and ‘they are acquired in such a way as not to require explicit reflection on their performance’ (Connerton, 1989: 102). At the same time, ‘we preserve versions of the past by representing it to ourselves in words and image’ through commemorative ceremonies and events, ‘re-enactments of the past, its return in a representational guise which normally includes a simulacrum of the scene or situation recaptured’ (Connerton, 1989: 72). In ‘Between Memory and History’, an introduction to

the first volume of *Realms of Memory*, the French Historian, Pierre Nora, also differentiates practices of incorporation from those of inscription. Like Connerton, Nora suggests that ‘modern cultural memories’ are contained within *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory), in rituals, monuments and specific sites designated for remembering, but that ‘true memory’ is associated with unintentional recall, brought forth by the body in everyday experience, in habits, traditions and reflexes.

However, memory has long been associated with the body. For Bergson (1991 [1896]), there were two distinct forms of memory: ‘habit memory’, stored within the body and developed through repetitive action; and ‘pure memory’, the survival of personal memories in the subconscious. Habit memory is an automatic functioning of the body, based on past experience. Conversely, pure memory is a spontaneous, faithful preservation of the past, which is less associated with everyday, practical aspects of life, and thus more contemplative. Central to this argument is Bergson’s assertion that we prioritise the perception and retention of experiences and information that will be useful for future conduct. As such, it is often contended that Bergson’s work has much in common with Proust’s concepts of ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ memory (see, for example, Warnock, 1987). For Proust, voluntary memory is partial, and is therefore accorded the secondary status of Bergson’s habit memory. By contrast, involuntary memory reveals every aspect of the past, including sensations and emotions; it shares the impulsivity of pure memory, in the manner by which it surfaces without conscious thought. However, where Proust’s account differs from Bergson is in the importance attributed to the body in processes of memory recall. Unlike Bergson, Proust stresses the role of physical sensations as fundamental to processes of involuntary memory; *In Search of Lost Time* is loaded with references to physical sensations as the source of involuntary memories, the most famous of which is the

taste of the madeleine. Moving beyond the Bergsonian concept of habit memory, Proust demonstrates the role of the body in recalling the past, from bodily postures and sensations. Taking the example of the madeleine, we begin as the narrator considers previously unsuccessful attempts to conjure his childhood home through voluntary memory, all of which prove wholly unsatisfactory, revealing only fragmented elements of the past. Yet we see that an involuntary memory, called forth by the madeleine dipped in lime blossom tea, evokes a vivid childhood memory reawakened by the sense of taste.

If it is through our bodily engagements with the world that memories are brought forth, the landscape itself will play an important role in evoking the past. As Jones suggests, the materiality of the landscape embodies retentions from the past that speak to future actions and events – partly through its physical endurance, which offers a means of experiencing, and thereby presencing, past events (Jones 2007: 56). Jones argues that people and things ‘resonate’ temporally and in relation to each other in two ways: firstly, ‘because material culture endures while people change, objects have the power to affect us as a kind of material “echo” from the past’; and secondly, because objects change through time they offer a means of evoking remembrance ‘from the of view of the ontological constancy of the person’ (Jones, 2007: 57). Further, he stresses that ‘memory is experienced precisely because of the temporal disjuncture between people and things’ (Jones, 2007: 60). However, it has recently been argued that we should expand our accounts of landscape and memory beyond the mere *presence* of objects and materials, places and people, to focus instead upon *absence*, on distance, loss and ‘haunting’ (see Wylie, 2007a, 2009).

A growing interest in spectrality has recently emerged within cultural and historical geography, as scholars begin to rethink the manner in which different spaces, events and

practices disrupt our ideas of presence and absence (see, for example, Edensor, 2005b; Till, 2005; Wylie, 2007a; McCormack, 2010). The concept of the spectral has value, it is argued, because it suggests that our experience of the world is haunted by a space-time in which past and future co-exist, and interact, in uncertain and unpredictable ways. Understood in these terms, the spectral is not a ghostly spirit hovering over a concrete world of real objects and living bodies. Instead, the spectral is integral to our experience of the world; it is the enduring and unsettling capacity of place to haunt (McCormack, 2010: 642). This interest in spectrality is part of wider efforts, within geography and beyond, to engage with a broader conception of materiality. As we saw in the previous chapter, a growing number of scholars argue that to oppose the real, tangible and concrete world of material objects and things with that of an intangible, immaterial world of representations, affects, and emotions is wholly inadequate. Understood as the impossibility of the fullness of presence, spectrality complicates and unsettles our understanding of the material as the taken-for-granted obdurate and concrete elements of our world.

According to Derrida (1994), the spectral is always 'revenant'; it is incessant, gripped in a continual process of returning, without ever arriving. Derrida's spectrality acts as a 'hauntology', both displacing and conditioning our understanding of space and time, absence and presence; 'the spectral is thus the very conjuration and unsettling of presence, place, the present, and the past' (Wylie, 2007a: 172). For Derrida, the self is always-already haunted, for 'there is no *Dasein* without the uncanniness, without the strange familiarity (*Unheimlichkeit*) of some spectre' (Derrida, 1994: 100). In other words, the self is constituted by the incessantly returning, the haunting spectres that cannot be exorcised. However, the spectral is not simply spiritual or invisible; 'what distinguishes the spectre or the *revenant* from the *spirit*, including the spirit in the sense of the ghost in general, is

doubtless a supernatural and paradoxical phenomenality, the furtive and ungraspable visibility of the invisible'; it is also 'the tangible intangibility of a proper body without flesh, but still the body of *someone* as *someone* other' (Derrida, 1994: 7, original emphasis). More importantly perhaps, the spectral unsettles any linear understanding of time, disturbing our sense of place and self through the arrival of haunting memories. According to Derrida, as long as we perceive time as 'a general temporality or a historical temporality made up of the successive linking of presents identical to themselves and contemporary with themselves', we are unable to grasp the true nature of history and memory (Derrida, 1994: 70). As Derrida explains, 'if there is something like spectrality, there are reasons to doubt [the] reassuring order of presents and, especially, the border between the present, the actual or present reality of the present, and everything that can be opposed to it: absence, non-presence, non-effectivity, inactuality, virtuality, or even the simulacrum in general' (Derrida, 1994: 39). 'Before knowing whether one can differentiate between the spectre of the past and the spectre of the future, the past present and the future present', writes Derrida, 'one must ask oneself whether the *spectrality effect* does not consist in undoing this opposition, or even this dialectic, between actual, effective presence and its other (Derrida, 1994: 39-40, original emphasis).

It is interesting to note that Derrida's spectrality has a strong ethical dimension – a point that is often overlooked in the literature (this point is missing in, for example, Wylie, 2007a; McCormack, 2010). 'If I am getting ready to speak at length about ghosts, inheritance, and generations, generations of ghosts, which is to say about certain *others* who are not present, nor presently living, either to us, in us, or outside us', writes Derrida, 'it is in the name of *justice*' (Derrida, 1994: xix, original emphasis). Derrida's concept of justice is intergenerational; it is a justice for those no longer, or not yet, 'present'. 'No justice ...

seems possible or thinkable without the principle of some *responsibility*' he writes, a sense of responsibility that extends 'beyond all living present ... before the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead' (Ibid., original emphasis). In other words, Derrida urges us to be more 'just', to look 'beyond the living present in general – and beyond its simple negative reversal' (Ibid.). We must search for a 'spectral moment', a moment that no longer belongs to time, a moment that corresponds to 'past present, actual present: "now", [or] future present' (Ibid.).

Representing the Past

Much recent work on memory, matter, haunting and identity draws attention to the constitutive role that margins, memories, ghosts, phantasms and disorderings of various kinds play in the affectivity of place, the politics of memory and the performance of historical identities (see, for example, DeLyser, 1999; Edensor, 2005c, 2008; Matless, 2008; Till, 2005). However, when constructing non-representational or indeed more-than-representational accounts of the past, we must take extra care to remember that the act of writing is, of course, an act of inscription. The challenge is to construct a narrative of the past that attends to the discursive and embodied conditions of its existence in the present, to highlight the matter that brings forth memories, and to make visible the invisibility of the spectral – 'beyond the phenomenon or beyond being' (Derrida, 1994: 100). For example, Wylie asserts that 'as well as exploring forms and fabrics of spectrality, spectral geographies should themselves *be* spectral' (Wylie, 2007a: 184, original emphasis).

Experiments and commentaries on writing about landscape have recently become popular, particularly within cultural geography (see, for example, Edensor, 2005b; Lorimer, 2003, 2006; Lorimer and Lund, 2003; Matless 2010; Rose, 2002, 2006; Wylie, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2009, 2010; Lorimer and Wylie, 2010). In responding to calls for a non-representational style – one in which human beings are engaged participants rather than detached observers – many writers have focused upon the lived experience of landscape, accessed through phenomenological approaches (see in particular, Wylie, 2002, 2005), in which human being is defined as embodied ‘being-in-the-world’, which both precedes, and ultimately levels, the distinction between ‘internal’ self and ‘external’ landscape. And there is little doubt that such experiments have been incredibly successful, demonstrating great potential to think and write landscape anew, in a way that exceeds the vision-oriented qualities of landscape and the always-already scripted nature of representationalism. However, for me there is also something unsettling about this work, something that stirs a sense of unease. It relates in part to Blacksell’s (2005) comments on Wylie’s 2005 paper about walking the South West Coast Path, to accusations of solipsism, to a self-centred and introspective academic style, but it also goes beyond this. Upon reading Wylie’s work I find I lose all sense of place, all sense of the specifics of place, of history, memory, and landscape; the landscapes he describes in such lyrical prose could in fact be anywhere. The reader is left with the overall impression that Wylie’s landscapes are little more than a convenient peg upon which to hang a series of theoretical arguments, engagements with the likes of Gilles Deleuze, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Luc Nancy, and Alfonso Lingis. At the same time, I find it difficult to accept Wylie’s tendency to write others out of his accounts, to mention his companions in passing without further reference, or to relegate them to footnotes (see, for example, Wylie 2002, 2009). While I understand the nod

towards 'absence' in Wylie's 2009 paper, I remain sceptical of a writing style that allows only the author's thoughts, feelings and memories to have a voice.

In contrast, this chapter aspires to create a narrative style that remains 'sensitive to the ways in which individuals ... experience memory as multi-sensual, spatial ways of understanding their worlds' (Till, 2008: 99), as embodied acts of remembering. As Holtorf and Williams suggest, 'this kind of "looking back" is not ... about accurately recalling past events as truthfully as possible: it is rather about making meaningful statements about the past in [the] context of [the] present ...' (Holtorf and Williams, 2006: 238). It is also about revealing something of the manner in which the past erupts into the present, and the future-present can be found in the past. To explore these issues further, I turn to consider some of our greatest literary figures, in particular, the work of Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald.

While Proust's search for lost time is an escape into the past from a world filled with danger and the spectre of death, Walter Benjamin seeks to understand the future-present in traces of the past. Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* comprises a series of vignettes, marking a step towards the dialectical method of 'montage'. For Benjamin, memory forms 'the horizon of perception' (Eiland, 2006: xii). Unlike Proust however, Benjamin 'does not wish to see things in their ahistorical essence'; rather, he 'listens for the first notes of a future which has meanwhile become the past' (Szondi, 2006: 19), those moments of the past in which a token of the future-present lies hidden. Benjamin's 'literary montage' is seen most emphatically in the fragments that make up the *Arcades Project*. Benjamin was strongly opposed to writing history in a way that suggested development, unfolding, or progress. Indeed, the meaning Benjamin sought to disclose in his materials was to be found in many sudden 'illuminations' triggered by his juxtapositions and 'dialectical images'.

Benjamin placed great value on discontinuity in his method, both to destabilise the particular features in view and to prevent their being reinserted into conventional, uncritical pictures of the world. The *Arcades Project* is a history of Paris in the nineteenth century, with a complex temporal layering of brief accounts of bits of the past and more recent observations (see Dubow, 2007). Temporal sequence is not the organising principle; instead, he develops a kind of dialectic between past and present, in which the present can recognise itself in a segment of the past, and the past yields up its meaning as it is read from the vantage point of the present¹². Taking Baudelaire's concept of the flâneur – one who strolls the streets to understand, participate in, and portray, the city – Benjamin adopted the concept of the urban observer, both as an analytical tool and as a lifestyle.

W. G. Sebald was heavily influenced by Benjamin. In his 'travel writing', the act of wandering through landscape is crucial to the evocation of memory. There is a redemptive quality to Sebald's work, the imaginings of landscape invoked – assembling and chronicling, piece-by-piece, places, experiences, life, all that will eventually pass beyond human memory. In the decade leading up to his death in December 2001, Sebald published four remarkable books: *The Emigrants*, *The Rings of Saturn*, *Vertigo*, and *Austerlitz*. All four of these works open with a date and a journey: in *The Emigrants*, October 1970, and a trip by car to a village outside Norwich in search of a house to rent; in *The Rings of Saturn*, August 1992, and the start of a walking tour of the Suffolk coast; in *Vertigo*, October 1980, and a journey, part-sabbatical, part-rest-cure, to the northern Italian cities; in *Austerlitz*, the late 1960s, and a series of voyages to and through Belgium. In *The Rings of Saturn*, Sebald narrates a deteriorating landscape, surrendered to the forces of nature and the legacies of the

¹² Also see Allan Pred's (1995) montage-style case study on Sweden, which, drawing on Benjamin, re-layers multiple pasts with the on-going present.

past. But what is so revealing about this landscape and its mysterious narrator is not so much the melancholic, borrowed-timeliness of landscape and life; rather, it is the hopelessly impossible and yet wonderfully chaotic manner in which fragments of past, experience and land intertwine, it is how the stories are traced and told. The initial impression is perhaps that it is composed of a series of unlikely incidents and recollections. And yet, as improbable as these associations might seem, the somatic nature of memory suggests that they might powerfully, and in some senses accurately, demonstrate the manner of our engagements with the temporal and material dimensions of our world. The walk along the Suffolk coast might at first appear linear and topographically sensible, traceable, but this is not the case. Our protagonist instead traverses improvised paths, scales fences, and finds himself lost in an intricate tangle of mind and world. The labyrinthine character of the mind is echoed in the landscape and reverberates in memories and stories of the past. The apparent ruptures and discontinuities evident in Sebald's writing reveal the fragile and contingent nature of our recollections.

At the same time, Sebald's innovative, oblique and multi-faceted literary form – which combines existential memoir, autobiography, travel writing and phantasmagoria – presents us with a world that is haunted by the past. As Wylie (2007a) argues, while Sebald reflects upon those made spectral through exile and displacement, his work is also inherently spectral in style and composition (also see Dubow, 2011). All four of Sebald's main works have a first-person narrator, and are narrated in what might at first appear to be a factual style. However, there is much ambiguity as to whether the narrator is Sebald himself, and whether the events he describes are indeed factual or fictitious (Dubow, 2007; Wylie, 2007a). Visual evidence in the form of photographs and documents lends an aura of authenticity, yet most of Sebald's work is fictional. Interruptions of surreal and

phantasmagorical digression, along with changes in mood, topic and tempo, combine to further disrupt and unsettle. Sebald's work proceeds via the oscillation and repetition of echoes and coincidences, images and reflections, resonances and paradoxes. Narrative movement is achieved in all four of Sebald's main works via the act of travel. Providing a structuring principle, the narrator's wanderings conjure past times, places and people, which by association lead to stories of other lives and journeys. At the same time, this ambling figure creates a 'restless background of ebbs and flows', out of which arises the 'very condition of possibility for apparitions and visitations of place and memory' (Wylie, 2007a: 176). Places are '*the past itself*, the ceaseless becoming-past of the present in all its inescapable revenance' (Ibid. original emphasis). Time is 'an unquantifiable dimension which disregards linear regularity, does not progress constantly forwards, but moves in eddies, is marked by episodes of congestion and irruption, recurs in ever-changing form, and evolves in no one knows what direction ...' (Sebald, 2001: 143, cited in Wylie, 2007a: 176).

The emphasis upon travel and exile within Sebald's writing also conveys a sense of the un-homely, *unheimlich* or uncanny. More importantly, Sebald's work is itself haunted by the spectre of fiction. His testimony is blighted by questions over the reliability of narrative voices and the authenticity of encounters, places and happenings. The blurred boundaries between testimony and fiction offer a new model for fictional work that makes use of factual evidence and testimony, and a radical approach to scholarly writing that incorporates all of these modes: objectivity and distance, fact, document and fiction. Texts and images, both fragmented and dislocated, draw attention to the impossibility of writing that purports to document the truth, highlighting the deception that belies such work. As Wylie suggests, the power of Sebald's work is that it 'allows itself to be haunted' (Wylie, 2007a: 184). 'This is not just a matter of style and format', he argues, but a commitment to work 'within a

hauntology that unsettles narrative and subject, that reveals the shaping of place through haunting rather than dwelling, that dislocates past and present, memory and visibility, through forms of documentary experimentation', it is a commitment to bear witness 'at once direct, oblique, haunted' (Wylie, 2007a: 184-5).

Drawing stylistically upon the work of Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald, I set out below an account of walking the Long Path. This is an account that seeks to reveal traces of the future-present in the past. Borrowing from Benjamin's literary montage, it includes a series of juxtapositions and discontinuities, standing in opposition to linear and progress-oriented views of history. At the same time, it is designed to unsettle, drawing together an authentic, testimonial style with a series of digressions, as well as changes in topic and tempo. This is scholarly writing that incorporates objectivity and distance, fact, document and fiction, seeking to narrate a journey through the landscape of the Long Path that is itself haunted. As Wylie argues, 'spectrality – the unsettling of self, the haunting taking-place of place, the unhinging of past and present – is an irreducible condition that demands new, themselves haunted ways of writing about place, memory and self' (Wylie, 2007a: 172-3).

The Long Path

It was an afternoon spent at Beechenhurst Lodge with members of the Forest of Dean Local History Society that led me to the 'Long Path'. I had allowed my interest in walking to permeate the conversation: paths that were rendered impassable during the outbreak of Foot and Mouth in 2001, and the creation of the first official walking routes by the Forestry Commission developed in collaboration with the Rambler's Association. Out of this came the Long Path, a tantalising opportunity to follow an old miners' path through the Forest, from the village of Ruspidge to Lightmoor Colliery.



Figure 4.1: Ruspidge Halt, November 2008

On 21 November 2008, we met to retrace the Long Path. We stood in the car park at Ruspidge Halt on that cold November morning, poring over maps pulled from the boot of

Ron Beard's car. Referring at once to both cartography and landscape, we discussed the location of railway lines and tramroads, collieries and iron mines. Up on the top was Buckshaft Iron Mine, with a tramway leading down over the far side of the church. Another tramway brought ore from Shakemantle Iron Mine and coal from Lightmoor. There was a railway line stretching towards the nearby town of Cinderford, with branches and sidings off to Crump Meadow and Foxes Bridge Collieries. And another branch wound its way to Lightmoor, joining up with a line running through the centre of the Forest – part of the Severn and Wye Railway, or the 'mineral loop', as it was known locally. To our north was Bilson, one of the first big collieries in the area, then Trafalgar, Crump Meadow, Foxes Bridge and Lightmoor. You can't quite see the tip now the trees have grown, said Ron. It was while we were standing there at Ruspidge Halt, that I experienced what could only be described as some kind of palpitation, like an echo from the past. For a moment I was sure that I could smell coal dust drifting through the valley, while the faint clattering sound of wagons winding their way out of the collieries seemed to hang in the air. I thought I saw a puff of steam discernible on the horizon, later realising that it must have been smoke rising from a chimney on the hillside, carried upwards on the breeze.

I was eager to get going, to catch a first glimpse of Lightmoor Colliery and to see what could be traced of the Long Path, but instead we lingered a while longer, speculating about the names of the mines. 'Trafalgar' conjured such a sense of triumph and grandeur. The Trafalgar gale was granted in August 1842. Decades earlier, on 21 October 1805, the British Royal Navy had been victorious in a battle against the combined fleets of the French and Spanish at Cape Trafalgar, off the coast of Spain. The battle was the most decisive of the Napoleonic Wars; the Franco-Spanish fleet lost 22 ships, without a single British vessel being lost. Timber from the Royal Forests had helped to secure the victory, and Admiral

Lord Nelson himself had visited the Forest of Dean in 1803 in an effort to safeguard supplies for his fleet. In October 2005, on the 200th Anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar, 200 oak trees were planted to form a commemorative avenue in the Forest. Planters were each offered a bottle of ‘Trafalgar Ale’ donated by the local Freeminer Brewery, and named after the Trafalgar Colliery.

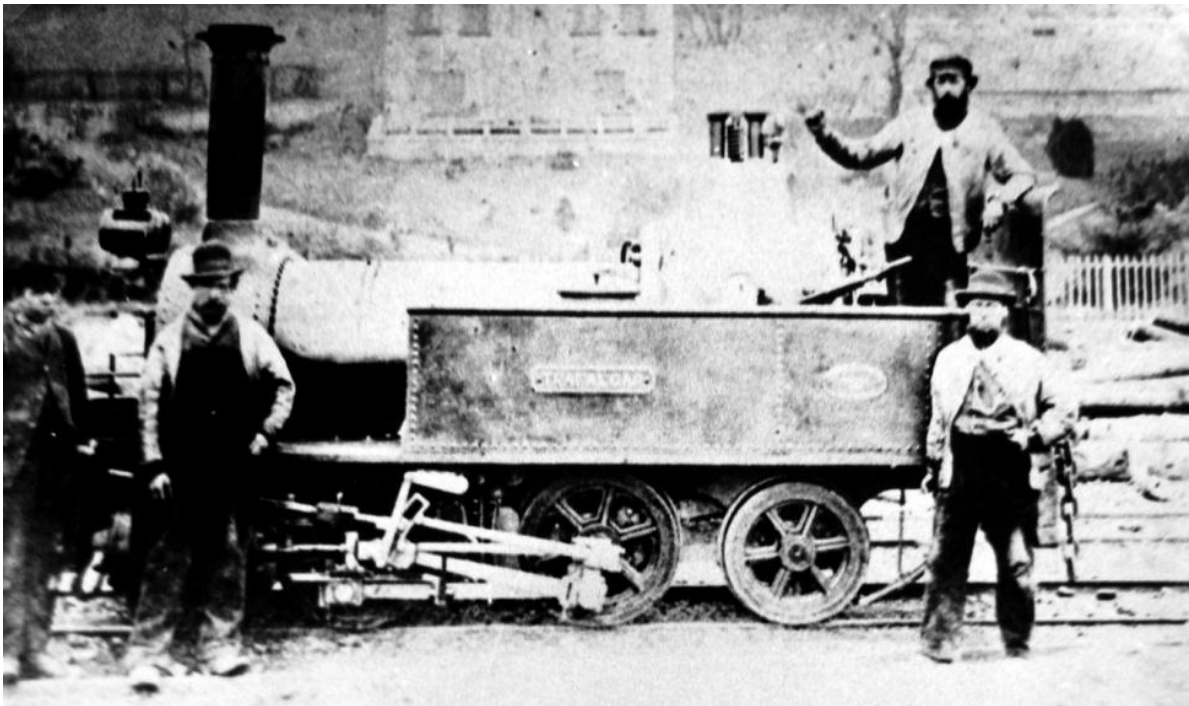


Figure 4.2: ‘Trafalgar’ a 0-4-2 side tank running on Brain’s tramway, Trafalgar Colliery, date unknown
(Source: PRO D3921)

Finally, we set off down the B4226, towards Cinderford Bridge. All of this is so much more overgrown than when I was a boy, said Ron, gesturing at the area of waste ground beyond the Linear Park car park. He told me how he used to play rounders on the grassy area in front of us, and cricket over in an area now covered with undergrowth. The ‘church tumps’ they were called, the hillocky, hummocky ground around the church up there. There were lots of quarries, some old surface coal mines, you know, levels and so on, he said. We passed an elderly man near Cinderford Bridge, exchanging pleasantries as we walked. Then,

leaving the B4226, we took a right down ‘Railway Road’, stepping onto what was once the old tramway. Ron told me that when he was a boy it was known as the ‘Dram Road’, because of the trucks that were drawn by horses called ‘drams’. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a series of horse-drawn tramroads were developed in the Forest, transporting coal and ironstone to local ironworks, and later to docks on the Severn at Bullo Pill and Lydney, shipping coal and other products to markets further afield.



Figure 4.3: Cannon wagon being tipped at Lydney Docks, 1932 (Source: PRO D3921)

With the introduction of railways in the mid-nineteenth century, the tramroads were gradually superseded, and in places physically overlaid, by the new transport system (Youles, 2000: 19). Traces of the old tramroads remain in the form of stone sleeper blocks, earthworks, bridges and other structures, and sometimes as footpaths following a track bed. I can remember when they still had the tramway blocks along here before they made it into a road, said Ron.



Figure 4.4: Railway Road, November 2008

We continued down Railway Road, eventually reaching the original start of the Long Path – blocked by large wooden gates. It was the decline of mineral traffic as a result of the closure of the larger collieries from the later 1920s that led to the abandonment of branch lines and tramroads, and, after the Second World War, to the virtual disappearance of the railways. Former stretches of railway lying outside the Forest boundary were sold off to private individuals and companies, and the area of land lying between Ruspidge and the Forest was no exception. Now part of a mobile home park, access is no longer permitted and is physically denied by an impenetrable palisade of tall wooden fences and padlocked gates. Despite appeals to the County Council, the route remained closed; having crossed the railway it was ruled to have been an illegal footpath and the right of access could not be upheld. The whole of Ruspidge was cut off from the Forest, and the Long Path was virtually

lost. My father used to use it, said Ron. Ron's sister had a Labrador, and his father used to take it for a walk every day along the Long Path. And he knew the people, so he asked them about it, and they said 'Oh, I don't mean to stop you Mr Beard', but of course, they did. We stood there a while in front of the gates, gathering our thoughts.



Figure 4.5: Wooden gates blocking access to the Long Path, November 2008

Fortuitously for the community of Ruspidge, a section of land further down Railway Road had been purchased by a 'Forester', who granted public access and allowed a group of army apprentices to build a footbridge as an exercise, enabling people to walk from their homes into the Forest once more. Heading in that direction, I asked Ron about his father's work. Dad was a miner, well, surface worker, he said. He worked underground for a short time, but my mother was a very nervous type, said Ron, and so she persuaded him, or he decided that he would change to surface work. So, most of his life he spent tipping dirt, you know, spoil from the mines. He spent about 19 years at Lightmoor and then he transferred to Eastern, and that ridge up there, that just left hand end of it, is the Eastern united tip, so up

on that tip was where my father worked for about 25 years, he said. Closing in January 1959, Eastern United was one of the last large mines operating in the area, employing some 900 men. As Ron Beard talked, I found that my eyes were drawn to the Eastern United spoil heap. I tried to imagine what it would be like to spend 25 years creating such a landscape-defining feature; the mass of material displaced from underground proudly on display, a monument to the toil of men like Ron's father who now lie still and silent. There used to be a row of houses here, which was called the 'Long Row', said Ron, and that was where my father's father was born, so that's going back to the 1870-1860s. Ron told me he knew it as 'Evans' Row', whether they had bought it or not he was unsure, but they had certainly lived there. There were only six or seven houses, which became derelict just after the War. The Evans' had Damson trees in their garden, so once it became derelict, we used to go scrumping, said Ron.



Figure 4.6: Footbridge to the Long Path, November 2008

Crossing the wooden footbridge, we set off on the Long Path. We rustled through the fallen leaves of autumn and scrambled up a steep bank. Disturbing the damp leaves as we walked brought forth the heady scent of autumn. I always remember dad saying that the most wonderful thing was at night they would see the lights of the carbide lamps of the miners coming down through the trees, so you could just see the miners' bobbing lights as they walked back from work, said Ron. This evocative description reminded me of the artist Laura Daly's work for *Reveal*, a series of temporary installations created from light and sound, and exhibited in a selected area of the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail during evenings on Thursday 6th to Saturday 8th April 2006.



Figure 4.7: Laura Daly's work for *Reveal*, April 2006

Reveal aimed to evoke a new interpretation of the forest, based on artworks utilising a range of technologies: smoke machines, kinetic sculptures, film projections and audio works. Laura's work was inspired by the experiences of miners working at Trafalgar, using miners' lights, with original metal battery canisters, and audio recreations of footsteps, along gravelly paths and through streams. I visited Reveal on Saturday 8th April, originally intending to act as a marshal that evening. Instead, I had the evening free to explore the installations. It was so busy. I remember the stark cold and blackness of the night between the artworks, and the constant chatter of people moving around me. I shuffled from one installation to another, unsure of my footing in the darkness, taking care to avoid bumping into others. I found the whole experience unsettling, the darkness felt suffocating and the unexpected proximity of others put me on edge. I thought back to the time when I'd accompanied Laura and the curator of the Sculpture Trail, Carolyn Black, on a walk around the site back in December 2005, when Laura's ideas for Reveal were still emerging. There were uncertainties about where the artwork would be located, how long the batteries might last for the miner's lamps, and how the sound recordings could be played on a loop. It had all seemed so unreal then. The idea of recreating something of the mining experience had captured my imagination, but I found it impossible to visualise the intended effect.

After more 'scrambling', we finally reached the summit and level ground – only to find that the path had disappeared. Despite our attempts to trace it, nothing could be discerned under the brambles and heavy fall of leaves. Retracing our steps, Ron suggested that we might have walked in the wrong direction, that the memories of his youth were betraying him. Half an hour passed in peripatetic disorientation. We followed one path and then another, each time finding ourselves at a dead end or heading off in the wrong direction. I don't know which one of us was more disappointed. Finally, forced to abandon our search for that

section of the Long Path, we continued on towards Lightmoor, along one of the Forestry Commission's forest roads.

As we walked, Ron told me more about his father. Born in 1897, he had started work at 13, so began work at Lightmoor in 1910, but by 1915 he and his mates had all volunteered and gone off to war. Many coal mining areas raised battalions of 'Pioneers', skilled labourers to relieve the infantry of their non-combatant duties, such as digging trenches. The Forest of Dean Battalion of Pioneers was later taken over by the Gloucestershire Regiment. As the War went on, Ron's father was taken ill with suspected Typhoid Fever. The tests proved negative, but he was split from his friends and put into one of the infantry battalions, the 'First Eighth Worcesters'. All except one of the pals survived, said Ron. It was his father's best friend, 'Buller Turley', who was killed. Ron explained that although his father had been christened Edwin, he had always been known as 'Jim', after the prize fighter 'Jim Tolley', while Jim's best friend, Fred Turley was nicknamed 'Buller' after the Boer War General Buller. Both were always fighting, hence the nicknames. And it was Buller, unfortunately, who was killed, said Ron.

According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Private Turley was killed on 30 March 1917, and is buried in Ste. Emille Valley Cemetery, Villers-Faucon, Somme.

Name.		Corps.	Rank.	Regt. No.
TURLEY		Gloucester	Pte.	5360.
Frederick		do		201818
Medal.	Itali.	Page.	Remarks.	
Victoria	2/10/1927	4798		
Baronage	do	do		
Stabs				
Theatre of War first served in				
Date of entry thereto				

Figure 4.8: Fred Turley's Medal Card (Source: WO/372/20, National Archives)

The search for Turley's medal card later brought back memories of my own, of tracking information about my grandfather's grave. Killed in action in the Netherlands on 19 January 1945, he was a rifleman with the 6th Battalion Cameronians (Scottish Rifles). Edward Arthur Hill, son of Arthur and Lily Hill, husband of Doris, and father of Brian – my father. I shall always remember as child staring at the small, moth-eaten black cat, symbol of good luck that had been placed on their wedding cake, which sat in a display cabinet in my grandmother's home, along with a photograph of him in uniform and the telegram informing her of his untimely death at the age of 32. His last pencilled letter home describes his excitement at forthcoming leave, during which he would get to see how his baby son had grown. I am still the only member of my family to have visited his grave in the immaculately tended cemetery in Sittard, where I left a bouquet of white roses. A small tragedy, like those that beset almost every family, and yet his death has haunted us for two

generations, having had a profound effect on the upbringing of my father, and in turn my own. I can conjure the image in the photograph with ease, as if the uniformed man with a moustache and dark eyes is a part of me, and has always been a part of my life. And yet, if I am honest, he is unreal, a false memory.



Figure 4.9: My grandfather's grave, Sittard, 3 May 2004 (my 27th Birthday)

The inscription reads:

One of the Dearest

One of the Best

Good Night Beloved

We approached Lightmoor Colliery along the line of an old tramway, with the profile of the spoil heap visible against the pale grey sky. It looked bleak and unwelcoming, but there was something about that place that grabbed my attention. I could imagine it as an inviting childhood space, in which one could hide and explore. Ron explained that one of the shafts had a chimney on the top that had a hole in, so when he was young he and his friends would lean over and throw stones down. Industrial ruins such as these are often sites of almost complete freedom, a freedom which is seldom experienced beyond childhood.



Figure 4.10: Lightmoor Colliery spoil heap, November 2008

Lightmoor Colliery was one of the largest and most sophisticated pits in the Forest. Writing in 1858, Nicholls describes the 'coal-works' of the Forest of Dean as worthy of comparison with 'some of the finest collieries in the kingdom'. 'As an instance of their present excellence' he writes, 'Messrs. Crawshay's colliery at Light Moor may be mentioned, for its great extent, completeness, powerful machinery, and size of pits' (Nicholls, 1966 [1858]: 242). Operated by Henry Crawshay and Co. 1823-1940 (Gloucestershire SMR: 4364), the site is now used by a timber firm. It still has a Cornish engine house, which was listed by English Heritage in 1982. However, in 2002 it was placed on the Forest of Dean District Council's Buildings at Risk Register, after a survey undertaken in 2000 revealed that tree growth inside the structure had resulted in a partial roof collapse (Gloucestershire SMR: 4364). The former pump and engine house is now empty. The hipped roof, originally of slate, comprises a few bare timbers, while the roof trusses are more or less intact, with king posts. The east and west sides have two small window openings on each floor, but the windows themselves are missing. On the south side there is a large arched opening with stone 'voussoirs'. The engine house contained one of the larger beam engines, while there were also two frame beam engines and several horizontal steam engines – all dismantled c.1934 (English Heritage listing text, LBS No. 353813).



Figure 4.11: Lightmoor Colliery, c. 1930s (Source: PRO D3921)

We crossed an area of felled trees before taking the well-defined ‘Lime Tree Ride’. It must have been rather grand mustn’t it, riding along here, with the lime trees and so on, said Ron. Created during the mid-nineteenth century by the Head Forester, Edward Machen, the lime tree-lined track stretches from Parkend to Cinderford Bridge. Some of the lime trees still exist, standing tall, as if on ceremony, waiting for the Machen family to ride past on their way to church. During a Select Committee inquiry into the expenditure and management of the woods, forests and land revenues of the Crown in 1849, Machen was keen to report ‘an improvement in the order and conduct of the inhabitants of the Forest, the fruit, it may reasonably be assumed, of the many years of pious labour which the clergy and Christian teachers of the neighbourhood had bestowed upon [them]’ (Nicholls, 1966 [1858]: 134).



Figure 4.12: Lime Tree Ride, November 2008

As we continued on, Ron recounted some of his experiences of playing in the woods as a child. It was running through here, he said, that he had discovered lots of hollows. He had been out with a friend, exploring the dark woods, entering the undergrowth without following a path. Emerging some time later, the two friends had found themselves lost, unable to get their bearings. I looked that way, and thought Cinderford was the other way, said Ron, and I thought where on Earth is that town, there's no town in that direction. It was only then that they realised what had happened. Instead of walking straight through and out the other side, the unwitting pair had gradually turned, walking around in a circle. It was very unnerving, said Ron, it was unreal. The Forest certainly has the power to confuse, rendering the familiar unfamiliar, or 'uncanny'. The power of the uncanny is arrived at not by an encounter with anything strikingly odd or unknown; rather, it is held within something

that has a familiarity about it. As such, the uncanny arises from instances of repetition, including incidents wherein one becomes lost and accidentally retraces one's steps.

I realised then that we were walking across the coal seam. The 'hollows' that Ron had stumbled upon as a child were, of course, bell pits. Pointing towards the undergrowth, Ron explained that many of the bell pits were dug by striking miners. Venturing off the path, we ducked under a series of low hanging branches and leapt over a ditch. As we approached one of the hollows, I was hit by the stench of stagnant water. Here was pool after pool of black, eutrophic water, each no larger than a couple of metres in diameter, markers set in the landscape, an indication of the rich mineral resources lying just beneath our feet.



Figure 4.13: Bell pit, November 2008

I later learned that a number of bell pits were 'discovered' as a result of a recent Light

Detection And Ranging (LiDAR) survey of the Forest. Commissioned in 2006, it was the largest single heritage survey of a wooded landscape ever undertaken in the UK, aiming to aid the discovery, mapping and management of historic environment features (see Crow, 2008). The name ‘bell pit’ is derived from the shape of the excavation; a narrow, vertical shaft was sunk into the coal or iron ore seam, which was then opened out into a small chamber. The practice typically did not use much timber for props, so once the roof became unsafe the pit was abandoned and another shaft dug nearby.

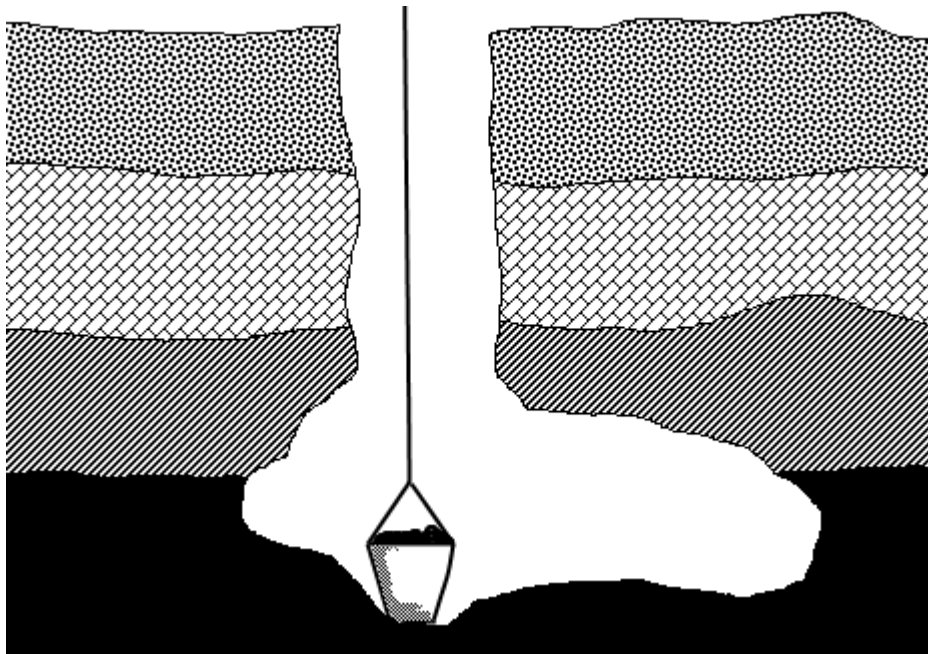


Figure 4.14: Diagram of a bell pit – likely to have a horse-drawn winding engine (not drawn to scale)

Nearing the B4226, and the end of our walk, we paused to reflect by an old boundary stone, which stood like a gravestone commemorating the death of the Long Path and the final stages of our journey. It’s difficult to read now, said Ron. It was dated 1843 and read ‘Lightmoor Enclosure, Lightmoor ENC, Morpeth, 65 acres, two roods and no poles’. Lord Morpeth was one of the Commissioners of Woods, responsible with the other Commissioners for many of the controversial forest enclosures. A number of the original

Royal Forest boundary stones survive, but many of the stones erected to delineate the gales have, like those who worked them, long since disappeared. The Statutory Forest Boundary is also traditionally known as the ‘perambulation’, referring to the fact that it was regularly walked as part of the boundary marking process.



Figure 4.15: Boundary Stone, Lightmoor Enclosure, November 2008

Ron went on to describe how the miners formed a strong community, everyone in the lane where Ron lived having a father, son or brother who worked at Eastern United. There were numerous social opportunities for mining communities, with some colliery owners and ironmasters providing schools and churches, and later welfare societies and recreation grounds. For example, an iron hall was built in 1897, in Commercial Street, Cinderford; used for public meetings and entertainment, it later became the Empire Theatre, which closed after a fire in 1919 (VCH, 1996: 384). And a Miners' Welfare Hall opened in 1930 in Wesley Road, providing the town's main public meeting place in the later twentieth century (Ibid.).



Figure 4.16: Laying one of the foundation stones of the Cinderford Miners' Welfare Hall, 1929 (Source: <http://www.sungreen.co.uk/Cinderford/Cinderford-Miners-Welfare-Hall-1929.htm> accessed 4 May 2010)

The Welfare Hall continues to be used as a social meeting place in the Town, with such

events in May 2010 as Bingo (2 May), Amateur Boxing (15 May), a ‘Shoo Bop’ (22 and 23 May), and other live entertainment. The sad exterior, crumbling rendered façade and boarded-up door, give it an air of dereliction. The pride of those who in 1930 laid its foundation stone has now vanished.



Figure 4.17: Cinderford Miners' Welfare Hall, May 2010

We arrived back at Ruspidge Halt just after midday. We were tired after what had been a long morning, but neither of us was quite ready to leave. You can imagine it was wonderful playing around here, he said. Ron described a game called ‘Hooperella’, in which groups of boys would run off up onto the ‘tump’ and the rest would try to follow them, shouting ‘if you won’t holler, we won’t foller’, while the boys on the tump would shout ‘Hooperella!’ It seems that the aim of the game was to find the first group of boys and then to race back down to the bridge. Such games might seem strange to the adult world, but children have an endless capacity for innovation in their play, often incorporating or co-opting landmarks and

other elements of their surroundings, as markers, targets, or secret places. A game can be played for weeks and months at a time, intricate rules passed on from one child to another, through play with others, via siblings, and by imitation. As Ron spoke, I could almost hear the voices of those long grown up, now in the twilight of their lives: Hooperella! Hooperalla! Hooperella!

Conclusion

In my introductory comments, I suggested that working with memory could provide a more-than-representational perspective on the temporality of landscape. Drawing on the work of writers such as Halbwachs, Connerton and Nora, Bergson and Proust, I suggested that memories are transmitted through habitual practice and oral tradition, and that the body is crucial to the evocation of memory, through haptic, olfactory, oral and visual encounters with the material world. The materiality of the landscape acts as a mnemonic in these embodied acts of remembering, calling forth echoes from the past in elements of the world around us, through sights, smells and sounds, and corporeally in our footfall. The act of walking, for example, creates powerful recollections because it provokes a distinct and familiar tactility with the world. In the case of walking the Long Path, these associations led to a childhood landscape of games and exploration. But this landscape was also heavily influenced by Ron's father and the legacy he passed on through habit and oral tradition. Personal memories of getting lost in the trees, scrumping for Damsons, and games on the 'church tumps', were interspersed with an older, intergenerational history of daily life in the Forest, of work and of war. As Connerton suggests, 'we come to know each other by asking for accounts, by giving accounts, by believing or disbelieving stories about each other's pasts and identities' (Connerton, 1989: 21). But it is repetition that is crucial to the

reproduction and evocation of memory; the repetition of stories told, objects used, and paths walked. However, repetition is not solely about presence, it has a strong bearing on absence too, ushering in the haunting apparition of the spectre.

As noted above, Derrida (1994) suggests that the ghostly, or the spectral, is always revenant, creating an endless process of returning that displaces space and time, absence and presence. The freight of ghostly memories disorients place and self, it confounds, bewilders and startles. Haunting memories of the dead drag us into other places and times, into Buller Turley's trenches of the Somme, into the battlefields in Holland in which my grandfather fought and was cut down. It is as if the dead are returning from their exile, like an afterglow that fills the dusk. They beckon to us from the past, their carbide lamps bobbing down through the trees, puffs of steam from their coal-laden trains drifting on the breeze, their boyhood cries of 'Hooperella!' These spectres haunt us, they move and disturb us. But it is often our own spectrality that is the most disorienting, the most unsettling and unnerving. Consider, for example, Ron's experiences of getting lost as a child, entering the dark forest with his companion to go 'exploring' only to find himself back, sometime later, in almost the exact same spot from which he had set off; the familiarity of the Forest rendered unfamiliar, uncanny. Getting lost on 21 November 2008, in our attempts to trace the earlier sections of the Long Path, created for Ron a sense that there was *someone* or *something* playing tricks on him, that the memories of his childhood were betraying him. Vague recollections of the route were complicated by the loss of youth, the haunting spectre of the small, agile child from the past, who could scramble up banks, play 'Hooperella', go scrumping for Damsons, and run to Lightmoor Colliery along the Long Path. The inescapable revenance of the past acts not as a consoling or revelatory disclosure; it is, rather, a fragmentation and a fracturing, a dislocation. This is the ghostly reproduction of

the self ,‘in oneself, in the others, in the others in oneself: they are always *there*, spectres, even if they do not exist, even if they are no longer, even if they are not yet’ (Derrida, 1994: 176 original emphasis, cited in Wylie, 2007a: 183).

As Wylie (2007a) argues, spectrality, the haunting of the self, the disturbance of past and present, and the unsettling of place, demands a new way of writing. Constructing a narrative in such a way that it disrupts any sense of linear time is arguably a necessary first step. Taking inspiration from writers such as Walter Benjamin and W. G. Sebald, my account of walking the Long Path aims to convey the complex interdependencies between past and present, future-present and past, the incessant becoming-past of the present. Following Benjamin, it seeks to reveal traces of the future-present in the past, antecedents, such as a short-cut over the railway line that becomes incorporated into the Long Path and later renders it an illegal footpath, the section of the railway lying outside the Forest boundary that does not revert to the Forest upon closure but is instead sold into private hands. Similarly, the legacy of industry, of an upbringing centred upon coal-mining, and a tale from the trenches that spurred Ron on to develop an interest in the history of the locality and encouraged him to join the Local History Society, which precipitated our meeting.

Standing in opposition to any form of history that suggests progress or linear development, this narrative employs a subtle form of literary montage that operates by a process of juxtaposition and discontinuity – in the placing of text and image, and in changes in topic and style. Further, following Sebald, it endeavours to unsettle, to introduce the aura of the spectre. Although my account of walking the Long Path is based upon ‘authentic’ testimony and evidence, it opens up a space for elements of the fictive. By incorporating small diversions that border on the surreal, such as a palpitation or an echo from the past that

comprises the smell of coal dust drifting through the valley, the faint clattering sound of wagons winding their way out of the collieries, and a puff of steam discernible on the horizon, I am striving to generate a reverberation from the past, to further disrupt the temporal order and to usher in the spectral. This is an attempt at a non-conventional form of scholarly writing that allows for objectivity and distance, draws upon oral testimony and documentary evidence, but also combines subjectivity and invention. It is an account that seeks itself to be haunted. This is also a style that aims to invoke *multiple* meanings and representations; connections between different sections of text, image and place are deliberately left unstated, so that it is possible for the reader to detect alternative potentialities and narrative trajectories, times and places, presences and absences. Yet it remains faithful to the walk, to the landscape and to our conversations. Although it is not a ‘true’ account in the strictest sense, it captures some semblance of the Long Path, and, more importantly, my hope is that it captures some semblance of the past. By adopting such an approach I also mean to raise a series of questions about the limitations of academic work, the impossibility of adequately representing and re-presenting the past in the present, and the impracticality of the task of representing others. As I suggested above, this kind of looking back upon the past from the present is not about seeking absolute truths, but instead proffers a means by which we might grasp the importance of the past today and the manner by which it influences and haunts our daily lives (see Hill, in press).

The legacy of the region’s industrial past is the theme of the next chapter, as it seeks to explore the practice of charcoal burning through the lens of performativity. By documenting the charcoal burn as performative, as comprising a series of ‘events’, my intention is to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce ‘affect’, and to attend to the traces of human – non-human encounters. In doing so, I also explore the possibility that in

our encounters with 'past' objects, dialect and bodily regimes we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past.

Chapter Five

Becoming-Past? Performing the Charcoal Burn

Introduction

Following the more-than-representational project developed in earlier chapters, this chapter seeks to explore the practice of charcoal burning through the lens of performativity. It aims to examine the practice of charcoal burning as a ‘heritage’ activity, in which there is a more or less ‘authentic’ engagement with the past that is brought about through bodily practices and regimes, encounters with humans and non-humans, interaction and language, material effects and ‘affects’. It also endeavours to draw attention to the unpredictable and uncertain dimensions of these encounters, the accidents and aleatory happenings, and to our practical empiricism, or those moments in which we act with(out) ‘knowing’ how to go on.

This chapter recounts a day’s charcoal burning during the late May bank holiday weekend of 2009. Charcoal was an essential component of the early iron industry, and by the late sixteenth century it was being consumed in vast quantities in the blast furnaces of large ironworks located throughout the Forest. Although from the mid-nineteenth century much of the Forest’s charcoal was supplied by chemical works, several families continued the tradition of charcoal burning into the twentieth century. The last charcoal burner of the Forest began his trade after the First World War, and was active until the 1950s (VCH, 1996: 346). Charcoal burning is now carried out twice a year at the Dean Heritage Centre

during the late May and August bank holiday weekends, as a demonstration of traditional Forest industry for visitors and ‘heritage tourists’, and as an opportunity for charcoal-burning enthusiasts to meet, to share knowledge, and to exchange stories. By documenting the charcoal burn as performative, as comprising a series of ‘events’, I intend both to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce ‘affect’ and to attend to the traces of human – non-human encounters. Following a broadly Deleuzian approach, I seek to reveal a world of relations, movements and affect that cannot be grasped by representation alone:

‘The imperceptibles elided by representation include emotions, passions and desires, and immaterial matters of spirit, belief and faith – all forces that move beyond our familiar, (because) denoted, world’ (Dewsbury, 2003: 1907).

This is a project that attends to difference, to those ‘imperceptible, sometimes minor, and yet gathering, differences that script the world in academically less familiar but no less real ways’ (Dewsbury, 2003: 1907; see also Deleuze, 2004 [1994]). What is at stake here is ‘the folded mix of our emotions, desires and intuitions within the aura of places, the communication of things and spaces, and the spirit of events’ (Ibid.). Representation elides this reality, such that even when we attempt to move beyond this regime of ‘totalising representations’, the ‘presentation of ideas is trapped within the structure it is trying to critique’ (Dewsbury, 2003: 1911). The problem is twofold; it is a question of how we bear witness to these fleeting moments, and how we write them into our accounts. Deleuze instructs us to focus upon the space of the event, upon relations, the gap *between* things (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987: 55). Similarly, following Deleuze, Dewsbury argues that we should ‘think in terms of events rather than foremost in terms of individuals’ and that we should just ‘present’ these moments without seeking to ‘represent’ them (2003: 1914). There is an imperative to bear witness to the intimate and barely palpable relations that

develop in the gap between people and things, to pay close attention to their genesis. There is also an imperative to document these relations as they appear, in the most transient and ephemeral of moments.

In the first section of the chapter, I review the main sources of literature on performance and performativity that have been employed and developed within archaeology and cultural geography. These approaches share an interest in embodiment and a desire to reveal new human – non-human potentialities, to develop a more animate, livelier understanding of space and matter. Drawing on the work of Manuel De Landa (1997), I begin my analysis of charcoal burning by considering its point of origin as a ‘bifurcation’. De Landa does not view history as linear, nor indeed as a process. Instead, history comprises a series of phase transitions during which there are multiple alternatives. These phase transitions are not left in the past; rather, they co-exist and interact, and have a fundamental influence on the present. As Dewsbury suggests, ‘in such a world, that is incessantly bifurcating and resonating amongst the different movements of its many compositions, our subjectification is always occurring’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 478) (see Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 133; Deleuze, 1990b: 178). The subject is determined by a process of ‘becoming’. Arising from an encounter, the becoming is the something in-between; it is a change in the speeds and slowness of the material components of a body that enables a new set of affects. Indeed, it is often our surroundings that ‘appropriate what it is we do’ – although ‘we are going to be more or less capable performers’ – such that we are continually forced into ‘never-before-occurring’ situations that ‘become us’ (Dewsbury 2000: 488).

Developing these arguments, I turn to consider the first day of the charcoal burn that took place at the Dean Heritage Centre over the late May bank holiday weekend in 2009.

Documenting the 30 May performatively, I discuss the development of the charcoal-burning stack as the repetition of a planned form passed down over generations, which, although it begins in the mind as a representation, has the potential to carry with it variations that are an emergent property of the stack itself. I document the construction or ‘dressing’ of the stack, highlighting the actions of experienced volunteers, who appear to have developed a reflexive response to the situation, displaying an embodied knowledge about each piece of cordwood and its place within the stack. The stack orients the volunteers, so that subject and object mutually perform the space of ontological composition (Dewsbury, 2000: 487). I focus upon a series of ‘threshold’ moments, at which point, for example, the volunteers reach a stage in the development of the stack when they do not know how to ‘go on’, revealing the role of the body as a source of our sociality, our speech and action. I document a series of human – non-human couplings that induce us to act differently – according to the world around us, the situations we find ourselves in, and the objects we encounter – from the contact of skin with the hot metal handle of a pan, to the charcoal burner’s one-legged stool used to prevent sleep while the stack is being watched. Finally, I consider the emergence of relational ontologies, of beings-in-form and ‘becoming’, and the possibility that in our encounters with objects and situations from the past, which create ‘blocs of sensations’, we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past. I am thinking here of Deleuze’s arguments in *Difference and Repetition* (2004 [1994]) to the effect that the past is the becoming-past of the present, the future the becoming-future of the present. For Deleuze, the nature of the present is such that events are happening all the time. Yet events are not all and only of the present, for their temporality exceeds the here and now. Past events create an expectation in terms of what is yet to come, a series of habits and events that synthesise past and future. This expectation is not purely human, for many non-humans anticipate events, such as photosynthesising plants that anticipate the sunrise. Similarly, past events

return to, or remain in, the present, while the present itself is always passing. As such, the past is always-already present. (See Deleuze, 2004 [1994]; Rose, 2010.)

This process of documentation involves the use of archaeological drawings and photographic images, alongside an objective, but nuanced and detailed style of writing – for, as I will argue, it is only when one takes a step back, adopting the role of detached observer, that it is possible to document the event-space of others. As such, this process of documentation shares some commonality with the practice of archaeology; the meticulous recording of remains, their position in the assemblage, their composition, age, indications of wear, and so on. Indeed, Pearson and Shanks (2001) take the analogy a stage further by suggesting that a performance should be recorded archaeologically, asking the question: what remains after the event? But instead of documenting the material traces of human activity, I seek instead to uncover something of the in-between, the performative. The overall goal is to focus upon relations, to highlight the spaces between individuals, and to reveal as much as possible of those fleeting sensations that occur before contemplation. Drawing in part upon Massumi's point-by-point description of the event-space of a football game (Massumi, 2002a: 71-88), while at the same time paying attention to the potential role of archaeology, my aim is to document aspects of the event-space of the charcoal burn. Alongside the narrative description, I also use archaeological drawings to uncover the trace of a series of human – non-human encounters, the situational and historical aura of places and objects, and I use a sequence of photographs to document aspects of the event-space as it unfolds. Nevertheless, there remains an important role for the participant observer too; one who can bear witness to the relations of the event-space as a series of becomings. This is a modest witnessing, which pays attention to events, to activity, to the affective dimensions of things, and to our capacity to affect and be affected.

Performance and Performativity

Although I draw here on research from the realm of performance studies, as well as research on performativity, I wish to draw a clear distinction between the terms ‘performance’ and ‘performativity’ from the very outset, as they are markedly different yet easily conflated. Performativity is a somewhat elusive term. Although closely linked to the concept of performance, the performative is not the act of performance. Following Dewsbury (2000), I wish to stress that the performative is a gap, a spacing that enables the next moment to unfold. To be sure, a performance can be performative, but the performative is more often than not revealed in the practices of daily life as opposed to the theatre of performance.

Non-representational theory ‘emphasises the flow of practice in everyday life as embodied, as caught up with and committed to the creation of affect, as contextual, and as inevitably technologised through language and objects’ (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000: 415). Many geographers attracted by non-representational theory have developed a keen interest in performativity (see, for example, Dewsbury, 2000, 2003; Crouch, 2003; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Harrison, 2000, 2002; Hetherington, 2003; Latham, 2003; Latham and Conradson, 2003; McCormack, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005; Reville, 2004; Thrift, 2003; Wylie, 2002, 2005). Although there are several discernable influences, including the work of Judith Butler, much of the writing on performativity in cultural geography draws upon the work of Giles Deleuze. In Deleuzian ontology, novelty is achieved in exchanges between multiplicities, in creative experimentation. Deleuze (2004 [1994]) draws a distinction between the ‘realisation of the possible’ and the ‘actualisation of the virtual’. In the realisation of the possible, the possible outcomes are always already known, and the realisation of any one of them both limits the possibilities to one and at the same time limits creativity – for the

realisation of the possible makes nothing new, nothing that has not already been pre-figured and represented as a realisation. Instead, Deleuze's approach, the actualisation of the virtual does not proceed by imitation or representation, but instead generates difference and creativity – this is the difference between representation and practice. This 'rhizomatic' way of thinking can be contrasted with the 'aborescent'; it suggests a new, abstract and unpredictable space of force and potential. This is a world of 'becoming', of beings-in-formation. The body-in-formation is also a being-in-relation, made by the speeds and slowness of 'metabolism, perceptions and actions', for 'being affecting and being affected' (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000: 418). Deleuze's ontology thus leads us to consider the affective registers of life. It also places emphasis upon objects or things; 'humanity is technical from the start, amplified and speeded up by the demands of an "environment" which does not keep to its environs' (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000: 419).

At the same time, performance and performativity have had an important influence on archaeological theory and debate, most notably on archaeologies of gender and sexuality (see, for example, Alberti, 2001, 2002; Joyce, 1996, 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2003a, 2003b; Marshall, 2008; Meskell, 1999) – and archaeologists have been especially interested in examining the material dimensions of gender performance. Particularly influential in this area has been the work of Judith Butler (1990, 1993). Butler focuses on the manner in which gender is brought into being in the practices of everyday life, which, through imitation and repetition, operate over time to create gender identity. Gender performance involves actions of movement, gesture, posture, dress, labour, production, interaction with objects, and the manipulation of space (Butler, 1990). Drawing on Foucault's account of subjectification, Butler suggests that the inscription of gender norms on the body creates the gendered subject, but that the repetition of these norms also provides scope for resistance.

Resistance often occurs at the margins of bodily norms, particularly among those outside the heterosexual sphere, enabling subjects to create new identities (e.g. gay, lesbian). Butler's work emphasises the indeterminate nature of the making of the subject by focusing on the social mechanisms through which gender is produced and performed, rejecting the assumption that gender is inherently biological or natural and demonstrating that gender is more than a cultural construct inscribed on a passive, always already-sexed body (Butler, 1990). Gender performance is strongly material, including in architecture, human figural representations, distributions of artefacts, indications of repetitive action or differences in habits discernible from human skeletal remains, treatment of human burials, and written documents (Perry and Joyce, 2001). Such an abundant body of archaeological material thus provides a lens through which fleeting gender performances can be grasped. However, given the obdurate nature of such material, it would be easy to assume a stable view of gender, reinforced in fixed and ordered gender performances. Instead, Butler's work consistently directs attention to the boundaries created by performance, to transgression and abjection, which effectively redirects the interpretation of material remains (Perry and Joyce, 2001).

Performance-based research has also entered archaeological discourse through the collaboration between Mike Pearson (Performance Studies, Aberystwyth) and Michael Shanks (Archaeology, Stanford) in *Theatre/Archaeology* (2001), which focuses on the convergence of theories and practices in archaeology and performance studies. Pearson and Shanks suggest that a 'blurred genre' of archaeology and performance can mobilise the past through a creative engagement with fragments of memory and material. They argue that archaeology and performance have mutual interests – in time and space, traces and remains, presence and absence, identity and authenticity. Pearson suggests, for example, that the

dramatic structure of devised performance may constitute ‘a kind of stratigraphy of layers’, and that ‘from moment to moment such layers may have relative thickness ... The stratigraphy may be susceptible to processes of folding, faulting and erosion which may lead to discontinuities, inversions and disappearances ...’ (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 24-5). Similarly, Shanks asserts that like the performance, ‘the past “as it was” or “as it happened” is an illusionary category, neither stable nor homogenous’ (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 11).

Approaches to performativity share an interest in embodiment and a desire to reveal new human – non-human potentialities, to develop a more animate, livelier understanding of space and matter. However, they also have in common a critical standpoint on traditional understandings of time. There are three orders of time in *A Thousand Plateaus*, aligned with the three forms of Deleuzian ontology: the actual, the virtual and the intensive. *Chronos* is ‘the time of measure that situates things and persons, develops a form, and determines a subject’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 289), the time of the actual. *Aion* is the time of the virtual, ‘the indefinite time of the event, the floating line that knows only speeds and continually divides that which transpires into an already-there that is at the same time not yet here, a simultaneous too-late and too-early, a something that is both going to happen and has just happened’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 289). It is the time of becoming, and is entirely independent of chronological time, a bifurcation that cannot be located by temporal metrics. *Haecceity* is the time of the intensive, a block of space time of an entire assemblage. A haecceity is very different from the ‘individuation’ of a thing or a person – consider ‘a season, a winter, a summer, an hour, date’; all ‘have a perfect individuality lacking nothing, even though this individuality is different from that of a thing or a subject’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 288). These are haecceities, they ‘consist entirely of relations of

movement and rest between molecules or particles, capacities to affect and be affected' (Ibid.).

These conceptions of time are important, for as Dewsbury suggests, by juxtaposing Aion and Chronos 'it is possible to think of the same and the different, the concrete singular and the ongoing continua, together' (2000: 478). As Deleuze and Guattari state, 'the difference is not at all between the ephemeral and the durable, nor even between the regular and the irregular, but between two modes of individuation, two modes of temporality' (2004 [1988]: 289).

'It [Aion] is a time that does not pass, that only comes to pass. It cannot be suspended because, unlike empirical time, it does not flow. ... It is the immediate proximity of before and after. It is nonlinear, moving in two directions at once: out from the actual (as past) into the actual (as future)' (Massumi, 2002a: 58).

If it is Chronos that provides the reality and substance of our being, it is Aion that enables us to grasp the open, uncertain and inexact nature of experience as it unfolds. Aion gives weight to a non-representational way of sensing the world, for in the spacing between two enactments is a gap that exposes a virtual space hovering over every action, an immanence that pursues all that is realised with what might once have been. The notion of the virtual is central to Deleuzian ontology. In contrast with the possible, the virtual is real, but it is also inaccessible. It is pure relationality, the 'in-itself' of transformation; it is contemporaneous to the present, but it is 'super-empirical' (Massumi, 2002a: 58). In the moment of actualisation, 'that minimal subjectivity in doing', the virtual offers alternative directions; the 'performative frontier proceeds not by elimination (possibilities not realised), nor by limitation (thwarted possibilities) but only by creation (the actualisation of potential)' (Dewsbury, 2000: 480). To understand any given moment is therefore to 'grasp its field of

latent potential'. Both humans and non-humans are brought into being – or become actual – through events, through being performed. Each moment comprises a 'virtual field' of potential for what is yet to come, for what might be actualised through the as yet unknown and unforeseen interaction, composition and amalgamation of a profusion of energies and forces. Embodiment is thus ephemeral, apparent when actualised within the flows of energy and intensity of the event. In other words, the body is affective and generates knowledge through its actions in the world. However, such embodied knowledge is ineffable, a non-discursive, immediate reach that 'sanctions our negotiation through what is happening, literally enabling us to "go on"' (Dewsbury, 2000: 484). As Massumi notes, 'the problem is that there is no cultural - theoretical vocabulary specific to affect. Our entire vocabulary has derived from theories of signification that are still wedded to structure ...' (Massumi, 2002a: 27).

Similarly, Pearson and Shanks acknowledge that both archaeology and performance are partially ineffable (2001: 57). In the first section of *Theatre/Archaeology*, they suggest that there is much to be gained from writing about performance through an archaeological lens, documenting the performative archaeologically, asking: 'What survives after the event?' (2001: 57). They argue that this process of documentation should include a consideration of the spatial context: 'the genesis, delineation and formalisation of performance space', 'the effect of spatial ... configuration', 'the existence of spatial hierarchies, intensities and stratifications of activity', and 'the extent, volume and restriction of the spheres of influence of performers and spectators alike which collide and penetrate during interpersonal contact' (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 58-9). They further argue for an examination of chronologies and time biases, 'the ways in which different time-frames are manifest by performers ... in sequence or in parallel and how they affect the nature of activity' (Pearson and Shanks,

2001: 59), as well as ‘the explicit structure of performance as a set of rules, sequence, route map, montage’ and ‘the juxtaposition of different orders of material and styles ... of performance’ (Ibid.). They also argue for ‘the equal importance of kinesic, proxemic and haptic signification: of signs, distances and body-to-body contacts’; following Mauss (1973), they suggest that the selection of a limited range of activities, such as walking, sitting, or falling, and a discussion of their articulation and style (Ibid.).

In *Theatre/Archaeology* Pearson and Shanks attempt to address the problems and contradictions of documenting the performance *and* the locally bound past, by combining different orders of spatial narrative – history, memory, site plan, photograph, anecdote – in a response to the multiple and layered nature of lived places. Such an approach ‘necessitates a broader definition of possible objects of retrieval, new approaches to the characterisation of behaviour and action, different ways of telling and different types of recording and inscription’ (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 131).

‘The temporality of these spaces is one of aftermath – the traces left behind. Time is fractured as present appearances are haunted by indeterminate pasts, events now gone and evident only in their ... traces’ (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 61).

They suggest that the *performance* might be characterised ‘as an unfolding series of inciting incidences and their trajectories’, such as ‘changes of consequence, crises or innovations and may include sudden shifts in direction, emphasis, orientation’ (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 26). At the same time, Dewsbury argues that ‘the *performative* is the gap, the rupture, the spacing that unfolds the next moment allowing change to happen’ (2000: 475, emphasis added). As more and more moments unfold they carry forth a ‘residue’, which acts upon the actualisation to come, increasing the potential for some encounters while decreasing the potential of others (Dewsbury, 2000: 474).

Picking up on themes developed in Chapters Three and Four, the performative approach also offers an escape from the ‘post-enlightenment bifurcation of matter into primary and secondary qualities that underpin the distinction between materialism and idealism’ (Anderson and Wylie, 2009: 319). As we saw in Chapter One, archaeology deals with artefacts (with things, materials and matter), and it has traditionally been the people behind these objects, their ideas and belief systems that have been the focus of archaeological endeavour (Lucas, 2001) (see early culture-historical approaches; for example, Pitt Rivers, 1906, Childe, 1951; ‘new’ archaeology, such as Binford, 1962; and more recent post-processual work, such as Hodder, 1985). Instead, in the realm of the performative, there is a dynamic capacity for affecting and being affected by other bodies; a prompting ‘to act differently according to the objects encountered’ (Deleuze, 1988: 21, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 486). Living in the midst of things (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) means that everything is ‘mutually emergent’; subject and object affirm both ‘a materiality and its affective density, mapping out a fluctuating geography of experience’ in which ‘the subject dissolves in an aura of affective energy coloured by different degrees of force intensity’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 487).

‘Take, for example, the building you walk through/within - what is the speed of flux that is keeping it assembled? It seems permanent, less ephemeral than you, but it is ephemeral nonetheless: whilst you are there it is falling down, it is just happening very slowly (hopefully)’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 487).

As Massumi argues, ‘*the idea that we live in Euclidean space and in linear time excludes the reality of change*’; those ‘things with which mindful bodies interact, involuntarily and otherwise’ do change, for ‘anything that endures varies’, just as ‘anything that varies in some way carries the continuities of its variations’ (Massumi, 2002a: 201, original emphasis.). Taking the argument a stage further, Massumi suggests that ‘a thing cannot be

understood without reference to the non-present dimensions it compresses and varyingly expresses in continuity'; dimensions that are 'abstract yet real' (Ibid). Dewsbury argues that 'imagining the event as a volume of space – time, as a territory of surfaces which are dense, flowing, particular, sensate, and radically actual' may allow for an understanding of objects 'as actants, as things attaining existence through their conventional positioning within a system of functionality, as organising possibilities of instrumental action' (2000: 491). As such, 'objects have both a latent capacity to draw attention to themselves and a potential metonymic functionality' (Dewsbury, 2000: 492).

A Brief History of Charcoal Burning

As Dewsbury suggests, 'rather than talking of panaceas, of whole intended topographies traced out of a homogeneous community', we should think instead in terms of heterogeneity, of the "unintended collective consequences" of 'human – non-human interaction' bringing about "emergent properties" (De Landa, 1997: 15, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 476) within the 'whole micropolitics of the social field' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 7, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 476). The production of charcoal, which can be traced back over several millennia, must have begun with such a 'bifurcation', the 'crossing of a non-linear critical threshold' (De Landa, 1997: 15, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 476), a rupture. Charcoal was first used as a fuel for smelting in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Its properties were crucial to the defining industrial practices of these periods, for no other fuel could reach the temperatures necessary to extract metal from its ore, and thence to melt the metal for casting. Wood, for example, burns at relatively low temperatures due to its high water content and complex compounds of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen in the form of cellulose and lignin, and is therefore not suitable for smelting.

Charcoal is made through the carbonisation of wood. Heating under controlled conditions – in which the absence of air prevents complete combustion – breaks down complex compounds in the wood and drives off moisture and gases. The resulting charcoal has a high carbon content and burns at temperatures of around 1000 degrees Celsius. For those who first chanced upon the properties of charcoal – its ability to transform ore into metal, and henceforth into axe heads, spear heads, leaf swords, sword hilts, brooches and bracelets, as well as coins and ingots of various kinds for trading – the ‘immanent relations of proliferating couplings’ offered new ‘capacities, objectives, and outcomes, opening, and unfolding alternative ... spaces’ (Dewsbury 2000: 476), a multiplicity of possible futures. Indeed our past, often characterised as ‘a linear advance up the ladder of progress’ (De Landa, 1997: 15, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 476), might more profitably be understood as the unfolding of such critical, threshold-crossing moments. For De Landa, history is not a linear process, but a series of bifurcating moments in which one state of stable equilibrium is replaced by another. He rejects the notion of linear causality; favouring instead the idea that progress is made in the crossing of non-linear critical thresholds that are brought about by intensity of interaction, level of energy consumption and density of settlement, for example. The rise of charcoal as a fuel with the thermal properties required to extract metal from its ore can be seen as such a bifurcation or phase transition, which in time brought about the industrial revolution and our current highly technologised world. However, the nature of non-linear history is such that these phase transitions are not *passing* phases; they are not progressive developmental steps, replaced in succession. Rather, they are phases that co-exist and interact; they are not left in the past, and as such they have a strong influence over the present, structuring societies and industry, landscapes and life.

Understood as such a 'phase transition', charcoal burning in the Forest of Dean has had a profound impact on the development and character of the region. The practice was widespread by the thirteenth century, causing considerable damage to woodland. Despite a ban in 1270, many people were making charcoal into the late 1270s, and 2,685 charcoal pits were recorded in the Forest in 1282 (VCH, 1996: 346). Charcoal continued to be consumed in large quantities by ironworks, particularly the blast furnaces established in or near the Forest from the late sixteenth century, but by the end of the eighteenth century the iron industry had begun to replace charcoal with coke. Large furnaces in Britain started experimenting with coke-smelting, which created opportunities for new innovations. Ironworks in the Forest of Dean were slow to respond to the adoption of coke, in part because coal mined in the Forest was thought unsuitable for coke production. At the same time, the Forest's ironmasters had an ample supply of charcoal, which continued to be used into the early nineteenth century. Eventually, however, furnaces in the Forest began 'charking' coal to produce coke in a manner similar to the production of charcoal. The first coke blast furnace was built near Cinderford Bridge in 1795. Production was short-lived however, as the weekly output of a mere 20.3 tonnes (Meredith, 2006: 96) meant it could not compete with ironworks in South Wales and Staffordshire, but later experiments proved more successful. The Forest's apparently abundant raw materials and industrial successes attracted a number of entrepreneurs to the area, including David Mushet, previously manager of Alfreton Ironworks in Derbyshire. By 1819 Mushet had started work on his new ironworks at Darkhill, where he allowed local businessman Moses Teague to experiment with coke-smelted iron, using local Low Delf coal from the Bixslade collieries (Meredith, 2006: 100).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries matter-energy flows of iron ore, coal, water, lime and wood were ‘amplified’ (De Landa, 1997: 76) in the Forest. A series of positive feedbacks brought about an *intensification*; money flowing into the region increased the flow of entrepreneurial incomers, both of which helped fuel coal extraction and iron production, which in turn triggered flows of mechanical energy in the form of steam (De Landa, 1997: 76). Complex loops of triggers and flows created opportunities for further experimentation with iron, coal and steam technology, generating ‘meshworks of mutually supporting innovations’ (De Landa, 1997: 77). These meshworks existed long before the industrial ‘revolution’, in the early uses of charcoal, in the development of iron smelting technology in the ‘Iron Age’ for example, and they continue today in flows of electricity and synthetic materials, digital information and nanotechnology.

However, the Forest itself has experienced a steady decline in flows of matter and energy since the turn of the twentieth century. It no longer supports such ‘autocatalytic’ loops of technologies (De Landa, 1997). Instead, a series of negative feedbacks – from the Foresters’ objections to an influx of wealthy entrepreneurial ‘foreigners’ like Mushet, to the near exhaustion of accessible raw materials – have reduced the region’s ability to sustain matter-energy flows, particularly in the face of competition. Stifled innovation and infrastructural development were among the unintended consequences of collective human action against the ‘foreigners’. While many areas of Britain continued to develop and flourish, the Forest of Dean suffered radical deindustrialisation. Drawing on its timber resources, what characterises the Forest today are the flows of visitors who come to enjoy its amenities as a leisure space and to ‘experience’ its history at sites such as the Dean Heritage Centre – where they can purchase charcoal produced in the Forest in the traditional way. This charcoal does not support heavy industry, but is instead used to fuel barbeques at a series of

dedicated sites throughout the Forest. Like many of the Forest's past industrial enterprises, charcoal burning is now part and parcel of the Forest's growing leisure industry – as a practice itself, as a source of fuel for barbeques, and in artwork.

As Dewsbury suggests, places and objects 'naturally resonate with situational aura, possessing caustic properties in lieu of either their meaning in terms of language or in terms of the sensorium they might induce' (2000: 491). In other words, materials are always affective, and, as I will argue, are produced through historically situated fields. Material remains thus have the potential to induce new sensations and a series of becomings. As an activity that supported a burgeoning iron industry in the Forest – at its height in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries – there are few visible cues to attest to the significance of charcoal burning. Nevertheless, traces of charcoal burning activity were revealed in the recent Forest of Dean National Mapping Project conducted by English Heritage, which recorded several hundred charcoal burning hearths, appearing as circles of blackened earth. Each stack left behind a hollow, beneath which the soil and underlying stone would be scorched and blackened. Hearth sites recorded by English Heritage occur singly or in groups of sixty or more (Bishop, 2006: 75). Charcoal production was a cyclical process, moving from coppice to coppice each year in a pattern that is thought to have spanned several centuries (Ibid.). And it is limited remains such as these that have inspired a number of twentieth century artworks, most notably David Nash's *Black Dome*. Part of the Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, *Black Dome* was located in 1986, comprising 900 tapered and charred logs of larch. Nash's first encounter with charcoal burning sites came while he worked as a resident sculptor in Grizedale Forest, Cumbria, during 1978.

'I often came across centuries old charcoal burners' sites; oval level spaces, barely discernible on the hillside, with always the same combination of plants. Presumably the

carbon residue from the charcoaling process only allows certain species of plant to flourish. These spaces, although nearly invisible, had a sense of the human being, a presence remaining from the concentrated activity of charcoal burning. The experience of these spaces made a deep impression on me' (Nash, 1990: 66).

As Nash acknowledges, 'the idea for *Black Dome* arose from these thoughts encouraged by the appropriateness of an object that has an image link with the history of the forest'; over a two-week period, Nash charred 900 pieces of larch, which were later graded on site to form a dome shape (Nash, 1990: 66).



Figure 5.1: *Black Dome*, Forest of Dean Sculpture Trail, December 2005

By using materials that will eventually decay and return to the earth, Nash creates a being of sensation, a gesture of atrophy and loss. At the same time, *Black Dome* is a bloc of

sensations, of charred wood, soil, leaves and air, of light and shadow. As Deleuze and Guattari suggest, it is ‘by means of the material’ that the aim of art is ‘to wrest the percept from perceptions of objects and the states of a perceiving subject’ and ‘to wrest the affect from affections as the transition from one state to another’ (1994: 167). In other words, art seeks ‘to extract a bloc of sensations, a pure being of sensations’ (Ibid.); ‘artists are presenters of affects, the inventors and creators of affects ... they give them to us and make us become with them’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 175). Composing, painting and writing, they have no other aim than to release these becomings (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]: 300): becoming-decayed wood, becoming-charred wood, becoming-past.

Performing the Charcoal Burn

Saturday 30th May 2009

Located halfway up the slope on an area of level ground, the charcoal burning platform has been prepared for the burn; the ground has been cleared, and cordwood is laid out in large piles, along with soil and freshly cut turf. The nearby shelter is constructed from wooden poles with a white tarpaulin pulled over, and houses a wooden table holding cups, tea, coffee and milk. The table is flanked by two long, wooden benches. A blackened kettle sits on a fire located at the front of the shelter, built upon a hearth of stones. The traditional, earth-covered forest kiln is seen now only in charcoal burning demonstrations. The charcoal burner prepares the stack using knowledge passed down over generations. Like the rules of a football game (Massumi 2002a, p. 71-88), the ‘blueprint’ of the charcoal stack, its planned design, is an ‘ex post facto capture that take(s) precedence’, from the process of charcoal

burning from which the layout and structure of the stack actually emerged, and continues to evolve, even today, to the extent that although each stack is a repetition of previous stacks it is also unique. For to repeat is to ‘differ and defer’; ‘the same that returns ineluctably returns otherwise’ (Doel, 2010: 117; see Deleuze, 2004 [1994]). While each stack begins with the construction of a central flue, around which wood is stacked – a process that is repeated two or three times over in order to achieve a stack of necessary proportions – the precise configuration, the look and feel of the stack, is never an exact repetition. There is always some difference. The original design follows and applies itself to forces of variation that are endemic to the stack and constitute(s) the real conditions of the stack’s emergence (Massumi, 2002a: 72).

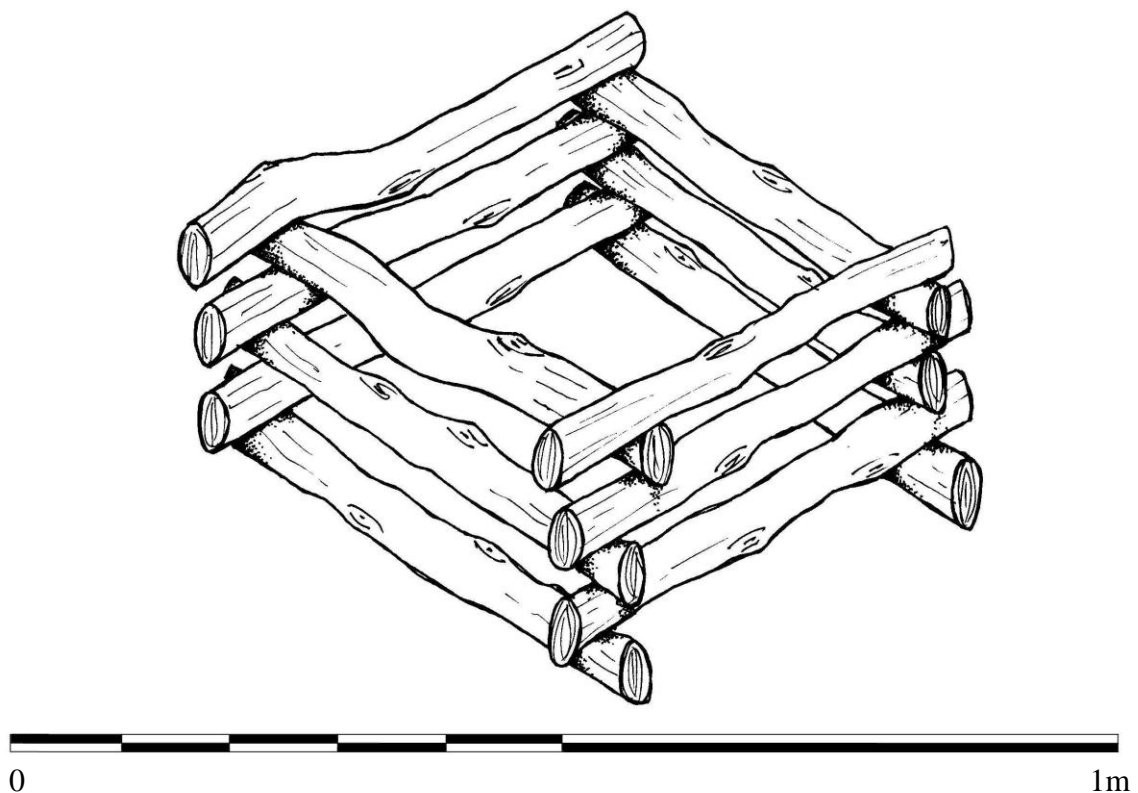


Figure 5.2: Archaeological drawing of stack flue

The stack begins with a modest square-shaped flue, as volunteers take it in turns to place selected pieces of cordwood in a layered lattice, an activity known as ‘dressing the stack’.

As they walk to and from the wood piles, they perform an intricate dance around each other and the forming stack. With the flue secure and built to an adequate height, they begin to place the cordwood against it, layered in concentric circles. Experienced volunteers are ‘drawn out of themselves’, instinctively knowing which wood to select from the pile and where it should be placed in the stack – without hesitation. Novices watch and try to emulate, but are too self-conscious, too indecisive in the selection of wood and its placing within the stack – their reflective sense of themselves as subjects makes for awkward participation. Blighted by indecision and reticence, the novice is unable to get a feel for the wood and her hand to eye co-ordination fails. By contrast, the seasoned charcoal burner is able to look beyond each individual piece of cordwood, to reflexively assess the potential position it might occupy within the stack. This kind of operation involves ‘an instantaneous calculation’ of the size and shape of the cordwood, its location within the pile, the actions of other volunteers, and the qualities of the developing stack. By its nature, this is a ‘vague perception’ rather than a ‘conscious calculation’ because ‘there are too many terms to be reflectively processed’ (Massumi, 2002a: 74). The habitual practices associated with charcoal burning are embodied. ‘Untethered from the determinate mappings of discourse, the ... body articulates an embodied knowledge that is immediate in not necessarily allowing us a comprehensive understanding of what is going on, but a capacity that sanctions our negotiation through what is happening, literally enabling us to “go on”’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 484). The body develops reflex expressions that emerge in response to the material world, that are future-oriented, directly sensed potentials. However, as Massumi suggests, ‘it would be a mistake to equate the reflex with the purely physical’, for perception is more than impression; it is punctuated with intentions and memories, ‘shimmers of reflection and language’, in which the body figures as ‘part-object’ (Massumi, 2002a: 75).



Figure 5.3: Building the charcoal stack, May 2009

The object of the activity is the stack, from the initial cordwood chimney to the turfed and earthed dome, from the first glowing embers to the cooled, blackened charcoal. The stack quickly becomes the focus of the volunteers – it is the ‘object-marker’ of the subject. It orients the volunteers, directing their movement, gestures and speech. The stack is constructed on the charcoal burning platform, a space modified by each and every volunteer. It is a field of potential, within which the volunteers move, are induced to move, and each time, each modification, is an event. The construction of the stack is the ‘event-dimension’, played out in the event-space. It is nothing without the volunteers, cordwood, turf, soil and embers. It is inert. And, without it, they are ‘inert and disconnected’; a ‘collection of mere things’ (Massumi, 2002a: 76), for ‘subject and object ... mutually perform the space of ontological composition’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 487). It is ‘the event-dimension of potential’, not language nor the reflection it enables, that is ‘the effective dimension of interrelating

elements, of their belonging to each other' (Massumi, 2002a: 76). Such belonging is a 'corporeal abstraction', unmediated and 'never already-constituted'; it is the 'openness of bodies to each other', an 'ontological vector' that gathers together 'a heterogeneity of substantial elements along with the already-constituted abstractions of language' (Ibid.).

Although the construction of the stack is a team-based exercise, it remains a largely non-discursive activity. It is only when there is uncertainty as to how to 'go on' that verbal communication begins. The novice checks her work and plots her next move, asking: 'What about that gap?' Her question may be vocalised, as she seeks advice and assurance from those with greater experience. An experienced charcoal burner observes a problem with the developing stack: 'We're a bit too upright around at the back here at the moment'. His comments briefly divert attention, directing activity to the rear of the stack. An experienced volunteer asks: 'Are we going up another layer?' His question goes unheard, yet the hearth-master initiates a new layer almost immediately. In each case, the flow of action, of footstep after footstep with cordwood in arms, propels the volunteers towards the stack. In some instances, however, a threshold is encountered and there is a moment of hesitation. As Dewsbury suggests, such moments of hesitation have their own duration and affect (2000: 474), the force of which is so great that they bring forth a whole series of possible new moments, new encounters and configurations that gather and multiply. Filled with doubt and uncertainty, expectation or concern, these moments cast an almost imperceptible shadow of feelings that although unintelligibly felt and unthought-out can become so overwhelming as to induce reflection, thereafter enacted in speech and action. The body thus acts as 'a basis to our sociality' so that it is 'possible to pursue a corporeal understanding of our lived/decaying physiology alongside the social, whereby both aspects emerge as mutually related' (Dewsbury, 2000: 483). In other words, although irretrievable,

our sensuous experience is crucial to our encounters with others; the body cannot be dissociated from the social world. The sensation, ‘the body, the *pure event*’ comes first, and is ‘secondly grounded in the social, in our nouns and the subsequent state of affairs’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 484, original emphasis).

There is a brief hiatus in activity when the supply of cordwood is exhausted. Experienced charcoal burners survey the stack. The consensus is that shape of the stack is not quite right; it is too upright, ‘a bit straight all the way round’. The hearth-master delivers a final wheelbarrow of cordwood and work begins anew in an effort to achieve the desired plan; a stack that will burn evenly and can be readily controlled, a stack that is less liable to collapse and will not catch fire or get ‘too lively’. The completed stack is quickly encased in turf, as volunteers are induced to move once more, weaving around each other, between the stack and pile of turf, transforming the event-space anew. Starting from the base, volunteers place individual pieces of turf, intricately overlapped to help render the stack air-tight. Taller volunteers complete the top of the stack, leaving the chimney exposed. Two experienced volunteers take up long-handled shovels and begin to cover the turf with soil. Shovel after shovel, the soil is carefully laid over the turf in order to seal the stack. Placing loose soil on the stack is a delicate task; requiring skill and concentration to counter the effects of gravity, to prevent each particle of soil from rolling, sliding or creeping down the slopes of the stack. By employing a strategy of light layering and patting, the soil is gently added to the stack and each particle is flattened, reducing its propensity to roll and at the same time increasing its contact surface area, and hence creating enough friction to overcome the force of gravity. Again, the stack as object and as subject-marker continues to orient the volunteers, to hold their attention and their gaze, even those who are no longer active in its construction, so that ‘in proximity ... words and gestures take on unaccustomed intensity’ (Massumi, 2002a: 81).



Figure 5.4: Covering the charcoal stack, May 2009

Indeed, there is a palpable sense of anticipation as the stack is lit. The hearth-master takes a long-handled shovel, traditionally known as a ‘shool’, and with it gathers embers from the fire nearby. He drops them down the chimney of the stack, where they act as the incendiary ‘charge’. Shovel loads of white heat and amber glow make contact, sending plumes of smoke back up the chimney and into the surrounding air. The ambient scent of wood smoke stimulates olfactory impulses that bring forth swirling sensations, memories and emotions, from childhood bonfire nights with roast potatoes and making toast on open fires in the depths of winter. The body becomes ‘an affect’, a ‘*pure* event’, understood as ‘an elusive transient happening: something composed through differentiation occasioned, or actualised, out of an affirmative understanding of our fleshy, fluid life force’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 483, original emphasis).



Figure 5.5: Lighting the charcoal stack, May 2009

A volunteer bends to pick up a pan filled with embers. He takes a step closer. Bending at the waist and knee, fingers outstretched, he moves to grasp the handle. Does he pause? Was there a sense of expectation, a knowing of the pain that was imminent? A knowing that was unintelligibly felt, an inexplicable sense of dread and foreboding so fleeting as to almost go unregistered, and yet, was it there? As Massumi suggests, ‘the virtual, as such, is inaccessible to the senses’, it ‘cannot be felt’ but ‘also cannot but be felt, in its effects’ (Massumi, 2002a: 133), for the body is ‘radically open’, in ‘excess’, a part of more impulses than can be perceived (Dewsbury, 2000: 485). His skin touched the searing heat for barely a second, before he recoiled, jumping back and crying out in pain. Those bodily flows of energy and matter, of hormones and impulses, provide more than ‘just the givens of meaning and orientation’; they are the means by which we experience the world (Dewsbury, 2000: 485). The burning sensation grows in intensity, as nerves send a swarm of impulse

messages to the brain, but he is embarrassed and seeks to hide his discomfort. With added determination, he takes a pair of gloves from the table and delivers the ember-filled pan to the stack.

The hearth-master mounts a step-ladder placed against the stack and fills the chimney with kindling. Traditionally, a curved ladder or 'round ladder' was used to reach the top of the kiln, fashioned from young, naturally curving stands. He remains atop the ladder, while a volunteer collects kindling in a basket. As more kindling is added, thick, white smoke begins to rise from the stack, billowing upwards, lifted on thermals and carried by the breeze. An experienced volunteer checks the stack for escaping smoke. He plugs any gaps with soil to ensure that the stack is airtight, turns to the hearth-master and says, 'It's started crackling a bit. She's talking to you.' Thus the stack as object-marker of the subject can also be understood as 'part-subject' (Massumi, 2002a: 73), as that which attracts attention and action (almost) of its own will.

Meanwhile, a child demonstrates the efficacy of the one-legged stool used by charcoal burners to prevent sleep while tending their stacks. The end of the leg is tapered to a point, so that the weight of a human occupant will drive the stool into the ground, hence providing a modicum of stability by preventing the stool from shifting position. However, the work required to stay upright on a one-legged stool is done by muscles in the legs of the human occupant, which together with the single leg of the stool give stability by creating a tripod arrangement. Human and stool are entwined in complex relation, holding in equilibrium the forces of gravity and the upward push of the ground, stool and human that keep the assemblage upright; they are mutually dependent, such that each is holding the other in place. If the human part of the balance equation fails – as when the leg muscles relax during

sleep – the relationship breaks down, and the stool and its human occupant collapse on the ground. Presumably this is enough to rouse all but the deepest of sleepers, to resume their vigil and tend their stack.

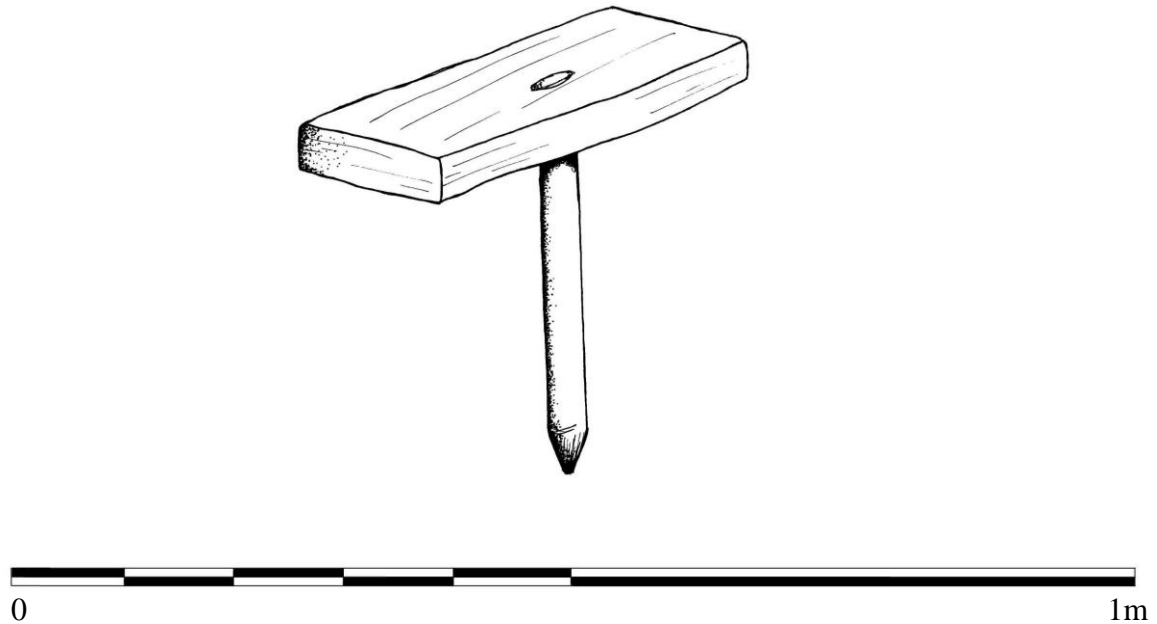


Figure 5.6: Archaeological drawing of charcoal burners' stool

This complex coupling of human and stool, which is replayed night after day after night and over again during repeated burns, inevitably creates a series of bodily regimes: a hunching of the back as the subject leans forward, arms resting on thighs for balance and comfort; and enhanced muscle tone in the quadriceps, hamstrings and calves. The body takes on permanent alignments as a result of this work – shaped by the past, performed in posture and compartment, and in the repetition of bodily action. *Becoming-stool.*

The hearth-master adds another basket of kindling to the stack. He pulls each piece of splintered wood from the basket and tosses it with precision into the chimney. Picking up the stick used for stoking, he carefully ascends the step ladder once more. He stokes the stack, both compressing the kindling and encouraging air circulation. In doing so, he draws

air into the upper layers of the chimney, fuelling the stack with oxygen, heat and wood to create a chain reaction that grows in intensity.



Figure 5.7: Fuelling the charcoal stack, May 2009

Once the stack has ‘got going’ it can be closed. The hearth-master begins the process by throwing turf over the top, and is joined by two experienced volunteers. The turfed stack is then covered with soil, leaving a series of tiny smouldering vents from which small quantities of smoke continue to escape. More soil is added to seal off the vents, smoothed and patted to close all gaps in the stack. Then, taking a long stick, the hearth-master makes a series of regular holes in the upper layer of the stack, from which great plumes of white smoke quickly escape.

While the stack is sealed carefully – in order to ensure that the cordwood is burned in a controlled and restricted atmosphere – the process of putting holes back into the stack is important in drawing the fire to the top, at first, and then later to the middle and base. The white smoke that emerges from these holes is mainly water vapour; after about six hours it will turn blue, at which point all the water vapour and volatiles will have been driven off and the top layers of the stack will have been transformed into charcoal. The first holes must then be closed and new ones opened approximately nine inches further down, dragging the fire down to the middle and eventually the lower layers of the stack. Although many charcoal burners can tell the difference between white and blue smoke by smell alone, it can sometimes be difficult at night to assess whether the smoke emitted from the stack is white or blue. Holding a cold shovel in the smoke is one method used to check the stack, as when the smoke is white the water vapour will condense on the shovel, showing that water and volatiles are still being driven from the cordwood.

By late afternoon, a number of locals have joined the group of volunteers. The stack must be left now to ‘get going’. It no longer needs or demands attention, which instead shifts to the shelter, to locally home-brewed Perry Cider, to conversation and conviviality. The atmosphere is festival; the celebration of a good day’s work, of friends reunited and new acquaintances made. ‘If you want a bit of Forest dialect, here’s the gentleman’, I’m told. With video camera in hand, I record Dave Harvey’s rendition of the killing of two dancing bears in the Forest during the spring of 1899. The true story is told in an epic poem. On 26 April 1899, four Frenchmen and their two performing Russian black bears arrived in Cinderford, as part of a tour of the Forest. As the muzzled and chained bears danced around the town, entertaining its inhabitants, a rumour began circulating that the bears had killed a child. When the rumour reached the local pubs, drinkers poured into the street and started to

chase the bears and their keepers – from Cinderford to Ruardean. Both bears were killed and their keepers badly beaten. The people of Ruardean were blamed for the attack, but the perpetrators are actually believed to have lived in Cinderford. Fourteen colliers and labourers were put on trial at the Littledean Police Court on 3 May 1899, charged with ill-treating, torturing and maliciously killing two bears and assaulting their keepers. All but two were found guilty. The story has a curious effect. As Deleuze and Guattari suggest, we write with sensations and we write sensations (1994: 166). Through words, language and linguistics we create sensations, percepts and affects – of revelry and folly, mockery and rage. Sensations are also created in tone and style, and in a language not of our own that ‘summons forth’ others (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 176). In Harvey’s rendition, Forest dialect conjures a sense of past people and past times, of customs, beliefs and localism. Yet the poem in its timbre and rhyme also creates a sense of tragic comedy. There is the unmistakable *accent* of ‘Forest humour’, which is reinforced by Harvey’s gravelly voice and comic performance.

Not for the first time during the day, I am becoming-charcoal, and experiencing sensations so intense that they have the potential to bring about a becoming-past. Such ‘becomings are ... not a matter of choice’, but ‘involve ... a fundamental reconfiguration of the subject’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 486). These becomings are also induced by my surroundings and by the objects associated with charcoal burning, with which I am becoming familiar. But it is only as I prepare to leave that the effects of constant exposure to wood smoke become apparent. A tightness has developed in my chest and breathing becomes painful, as if my lungs are filling with shards of glass. Particles of smoke have infiltrated my body and have temporarily brought about unwelcome changes in my respiratory system, irritating and inflaming my airways. Throughout the day I have been becoming-charcoal, becoming-past.

I have developed a series of actions and postures necessary for building the stack. I have consumed Perry Cider and listened to stories from the past, told in Forest dialect. With every breath, every expansion of my lungs, I have breathed in toxins and particulate matter contained within the enveloping wood smoke. I have developed charcoal burner's cough. The material changes brought about in my body induce conditions and sensations that do not belong to the modern western world to which I am accustomed.



Figure 5.8: Carrying cordwood with a 'Billy' or wooden hod, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.9: A cleared and levelled hearth with turf stacked alongside, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.10: Constructing the stack, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.11: A completed stack before being covered with turf, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.12: A stack ready for firing, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.13: Inspecting the stack after firing, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.14: A cooling stack, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.15: Dampening the core, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.16: Charcoal ready for sorting, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)



Figure 5.17: Bagged charcoal ready for loading, c.1909-12 (Source: PRO D3921)

Tuesday 4th January 2011

Captured on video are fragments of the 30 May 2009, replayed over and again on the flat screen television in the lounge. Transformed from digital to analogue in image and sound, the event is given another dimension. This is the dimension of the ‘event-transitivity’ (Massumi, 2002a: 84). When the event passes from the charcoal burning platform to the television set in my home, it changes; it is differentiated, and thus ‘returns to its becoming as pure immanence’ (Ibid.). Its re-expression is dramatically different. The charcoal burn is played out in short sequences, as if broken in transmission. Voices that were digitally recorded are converted to an analogue series of compressions and rare fractions that fill the room. The actions that are screened in analogue format are a mere trace of their original intensity. The event-space has been scaled-down – in space and excess. It is now part of the

broader operative event-space of the home (Massumi, 2002a: 85). Yet it is also much more than this; for even though the sounds and images are mediated by the television and speakers, by the ambient light and sounds of the house, the objects placed close to hand and those in the ‘background’, the event still has a catalytic effect, albeit very different from that of 30 May 2009. Snippets of conversation, the sound of a chainsaw, the sight of the forming stack, the dance of the volunteers around it – all create a situational aura of ‘pastness’, my past. The technologised field of immanence triggers a series of affective responses – of vague and more concrete recollections of the day, of the dense and heavy scent of smoke, of the taste of Perry Cider, and the warmth of others.

Conclusion

Drawing on the work of Manuel De Landa, I began my analysis of charcoal burning by considering its point of origin as a ‘bifurcation’. De Landa’s philosophical approach to history, which proceeds in the tradition of writers such as Giles Deleuze, encourages us to examine our historical development in a new light – not as a series of advancements made in linear progression and derived (only) from the minds of powerful human agents, but instead as accelerations, decelerations and coagulations in flows of matter and energy, which underpin a nonlinear and non-equilibrium understanding of history. Major transitions in human history are no longer understood as step-by-step, linear advancements, but as the crossing of critical thresholds, or ‘bifurcations’. Importantly, these threshold-crossing moments can be the result of the self-organising properties of matter and energy; ‘even the humblest forms of matter and energy have the potential for *self-organisation*’, while more complex combinations have the potential for true innovation, from which novel structures can be generated (De Landa, 1997: 16). This is not to deny the role of human agency, of

‘irreducible intentional entities such as “beliefs” and “desires”’ (De Landa, 1997: 17); rather, it is to highlight the unintended consequences of human action, the spontaneous emergence of new forms – of material, institution, market, and language for example – and the rapid collapse of others.

This alternative view of history both enlivens our understanding of matter and materials – for ‘forms of spontaneous structural generation suggest that inorganic matter is much more variable and creative than we ever imagined’ (De Landa, 1997: 16) – and promises to overcome the traditional dualisms of mind/matter, idealism/materialism. This is a world of flows of energy and matter, in which ‘our individual bodies and minds are mere coagulations and decelerations in the flows of biomass, genes, memes and norms’ and our institutions are ‘transitory hardenings in the flows of money, routines, and prestige’ and in the mineral flows of construction materials that provide a permanent building (De Landa, 1997: 259). This is a world in which ‘a body is defined by relations of motion and rest, of slowness and speed between particles. That is, it is not defined by a form or by function. Global form, specific form and organic functions depend on relations of speed and slowness’ (Deleuze 1988: 123, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 487). Drawing from Spinoza, Deleuze suggests that there is one substance for all attributes, that there is one nature, itself varying interminably; ‘what is involved is no longer the affirmation of a single substance, but rather the laying out of a common plane of immanence on which all bodies, all minds and all individuals are situated’ (Deleuze, 1988: 122, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 487). It is the effects of interactions and encounters between bodies (human – non-human, organic – inorganic) that populate this immanence; the events that arise from combinations of actions, rushes and desires that have no origin in the conscious mind. This is a world of ‘becoming’, of beings-in-formation.

Taking a performative approach, the principal aim of this chapter was to recount a day's charcoal burning during the late May bank holiday weekend of 2009. By documenting the charcoal burn as performative, as comprising a series of 'events', my intention was both to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce 'affect' and to attend to the traces of human – non-human encounters. I discussed the development of the charcoal-burning stack as the repetition of a planned form passed down over generations, which although it begins in the mind, as a representation, has the potential to carry with it variations that are an emergent property of the stack itself. I documented the construction or 'dressing' of the stack, highlighting the actions of experienced volunteers, who appear to have developed a reflexive response to the situation, displaying an embodied knowledge about each piece of cordwood and its place within the stack. I focused upon a series of 'threshold' moments, at which point, for example, the volunteers reached a stage in the development of the stack when they did not know how to 'go on', revealing the role of the body as a source of our sociality, our speech and action. I documented a series of human-non-human couplings that induced us to act differently – according to the world around us, the situations we found ourselves in, and the objects we encountered – from the contact of skin with the hot metal handle of a pan, to the charcoal burner's one-legged stool used to prevent sleep while the stack is being watched. Finally, I considered the emergence of relational ontologies, of beings-in-formation and 'becoming', and the possibility that in our encounters with 'past' objects, dialect and bodily regimes we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past.

Drawing on Massumi's description of the event-space of a football game (Massumi, 2002a: 71-88), my aim was to document aspects of the event-space of the charcoal burn. This process of documentation involved the use of archaeological sketches, drawings and

photographic images alongside a more nuanced and detailed style of writing. Following Pearson and Shanks (2001) on documenting the *performance* archaeologically, I wanted to explore the potential role of archaeology in documenting the *performative*. They argue that the process of documentation should include a consideration of the spatial context, an examination of chronologies and time biases, and the importance of kinesic, proxemic and haptic signification, and should therefore comprise maps, plans, sections, drawings, photographs, video (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 59). Archaeology deals with the traces of human activity by focusing upon the material remains. It is the objects of human activity that are the subject of archaeological drawings. However, these drawings are often suggestive of human – non-human interactions and encounters. For example, they include tool marks and wear marks, traces of their manufacture and use, of skill and error. The archaeological drawings included in my account of the charcoal burn are also suggestive of human – non-human couplings. The one-legged stool (Figure 5.6), drawn diagrammatically, upright, as if in suspended animation, is perhaps the best demonstration of the manner by which subject and object perform the space of ontological composition (Dewsbury, 2000: 487): becoming-stool. However, the diagram of the developing stack chimney or central flue (Figure 5.2), is itself haunted by the absence of those who helped to construct it, failing to capture those moments of reflexive response to the qualities of the cordwood involved in its construction, and those moments of hesitation when one does not know how to ‘go on’. These ‘excessive qualities’ correspond to the different processes of bodily interaction, in which ‘our modalities of being are simultaneously emergent, core, and subjective, being continually mobilised in our everyday coping and becoming’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 491). Further, I would like to suggest that it is by adopting a detached and meticulous approach – both to recording and writing – that enables some of these qualities to be revealed in the event-space of others, an approach that has some commonality with archaeological practice.

At the same time however, it is only by participating in these interactions that one has an opportunity to experience different ‘becomings’, no matter how brief, including what I would argue is the very real potential for becoming-past.

Archaeology deals almost exclusively with the *traces* of human – non-human encounters, from which it is possible to understand but a fraction of the forces at play – the potential to affect and be affected, processes of subjectification, and processes of becoming. Non-representational theory could therefore make an important contribution to archaeological thought, to our understanding of human – non-human relations, to our analysis of archaeological remains and the conclusions we might draw from them. Performative approaches in particular offer the possibility of a more nuanced interpretation of our engagements with the world. It is useful here to consider Deleuze’s ‘transcendental empiricism’. Deleuze’s empiricism is not based upon the belief that ‘the intelligible “comes” from the sensible’; rather it is concerned with the ‘concrete richness of the sensible’ (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987: 54). It is transcendental in the sense of ‘necessary condition’, but not in the sense of providing foundations for knowledge claims; empiricism, because it searches for real conditions of actual experience, not because it bases all knowledge on generalisations from experience. As Dewsbury suggests, ‘empiricism speaks of knowledge derived directly from experience: it is not knowledge per se that is important, but knowledge as a means for practical activity, for “getting by”, that matters’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 488-9). Such performances are ‘venturesome couplings’ (Dewsbury, 2000: 493): the carpenter and his wood, the charcoal burner and her stool, the volunteer and his ember-filled pan – the outcomes of which we have no *a priori* knowledge or ideas. Taking up a performative approach is to take up the call to bear witness to those almost imperceptible ‘happenings’ that exist between a subject and an object, to the unexpected and unintended, enabling us to

think these relations anew, to focus not on the ideas or beliefs behind ‘material culture’, artefacts and remains, but upon the capacity for all materials (human and non-human) to affect and to be affected.

The practice-based and processual aspects of archaeological research are examined further in the next chapter, which focuses on archaeological fieldwork undertaken at a disused 1970s campsite: Worcester Lodge. Juxtaposing this work with a narrative that explores its planning, execution and subsequent reception, I seek not only to provide an analysis of the archaeology of Worcester Lodge campsite, but to engage with the mundane and everyday aspects of fieldwork and broader academic life, to document a series of encounters that generate affective registers; encounters with things, people and places that have the power to evoke and to unsettle.

Chapter Six

Excavating the Past: Archaeologies of Camping and Campsite Archaeology

Introduction

Each of the preceding chapters has to some extent considered the processual nature of our world – from a historical glance back at twentieth century forestry, landscaping and leisure practices, and emergent subjectivities in Chapter Two, to the processual qualities of matter espoused in Chapter Three; from the embodied nature of memory and the haunting trace of the spectral in Chapter Four, to a performative analysis of the charcoal burn in Chapter Five. In turn, this chapter seeks to underline the processual nature of scholarly thought by focusing on archaeological fieldwork undertaken at Worcester Lodge Campsite in August 2009. It is a chapter of two parts. In the first, I present a standard field report that aims to provide historical and archaeological background, to document the fieldwork process, finds, and findings, and to offer some interpretation as to their significance in terms of the use of the site. In the second, I provide a broader account of the fieldwork and its subsequent reception in public and academic spheres, an account that seeks to address all that is written out of the standard field report. By taking a more-than-representational approach to the fieldwork itself, and to its presentation in part two of this chapter, I wish to draw attention to the processual nature of our thought, ‘knowledge-as-practice’ or ‘thought-in-action’ (see Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002; McCormack, 2008; Anderson and Harrison, 2010; see also Hodder 1997, 1999; Lucas, 2001, 2010; Tilley, 1989). Engaging with the mundane and

everyday aspects of fieldwork, I seek to document a series of encounters that generate affective registers; encounters with things, people and places that have the power to evoke and to unsettle. As Dewsbury and Naylor argue, ‘field research involves an encounter that confronts, engulfs and even overwhelms us’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 256). This is in part to recognise the ineluctable role of the body, but it is also to focus attention on other bodies, both human and non-human, to explore the space of the event, the relational, the in-between, or the process of becoming. I also seek to acknowledge the fluid, unbounded nature of the field site, which extends beyond Worcester Lodge to include a series of other spaces and times, such as Christchurch campsite, our temporary home during fieldwork at Worcester Lodge. In doing so, I will make a series of arguments about ‘thought-in-action’, about archaeologies of camping and campsite archaeology, and about two caravan and camping sites in the Forest of Dean: Worcester Lodge and Christchurch.

I begin by exploring the nature of archaeological fieldwork. Traditionally, the field sciences have been accorded a lower academic status than that of their laboratory-based counterparts; for field scientists deal with messy problems in compromised environments, and often include amateur participants in their ranks. As such, they have received relatively little attention. As Sharp and Dowler (2011) suggest, there has been little discussion within geography as to the practices of geographical fieldwork, to the enactment of methodologies, and the experiences, emotions and practices of which fieldwork is comprised (for an exception, see the special issue of *The Geographical Review* on ‘Doing Fieldwork’, 2001)¹³. Although the post-processual, reflexive turn in archaeology has focused greater attention on archaeological practice, this has been directed towards processes of on-site interpretation

¹³ Note also that the ways in which field practices have constituted the discipline and disciplinary practice have also received attention – examples include Lorimer’s (2003) ‘small stories’ of a geographical field course.

and the practical knowledge that archaeologists bring into the field; the broader experiences and encounters that accompany fieldwork are seldom explored.

Archaeology as Thought-in-Action

‘Fieldwork’ was an essential component of antiquarianism, and presence in the field itself was considered critical. This has remained the case to a large extent, particularly within landscape archaeology (Johnson, 2007), while fieldwork by means of excavation ‘remains a strong symbol of what constitutes a “proper” archaeologist’ (Lucas, 2010: 242). However, the manner by which archaeological fieldwork proceeds is often dominated by rigid protocols and objective methods of measuring and recording, raising an important question about the knowledge(s) to be gained from being in the field. It is not surprising then, that in the last decade or so archaeology has seen a ‘reflexive turn’, especially in relation to fieldwork practice (Lucas, 2010: 242). As a result, greater attention has been paid to the construction of knowledge, highlighting in particular the role of on-site interpretation. For although it is recognised that ‘interpretation’ occurs prior to fieldwork – in the selection of a site, in fieldwork design – and during fieldwork – in the processes of excavation or survey – an artificial separation is often still maintained. Ian Hodder has been a leading proponent of the reflexive approach, in which there is an interactive relationship between fieldworkers and their sites, so that archaeological interpretation is properly embedded within the fieldwork itself (see in particular his work at Çatalhöyük, for example Hodder, 1997; see also Hodder, 1999). Similarly, Chris Tilley has argued that the rationale for excavation should shift from ‘a process whereby the material traces of the past are recovered’ to ‘an exercise in ... the manner in which interpretative experience is produced’ (Tilley, 1989: 278). Tilley is concerned with excavation as interpretation, reflexivity and multi-vocality;

using feature descriptions, diary entries and narrative discussion in his text, he emphasises those processes of interpretation that are usually written out of final reports and accounts. His work with Barbara Bender at Leskernick on Bodmin Moor is a prime example (Bender et al. 1997). However, there is a lingering question as to what is really to be gained from accounts that document and narrate the excavation process but which fail to examine the nature of the archaeological encounter (Lucas, 2001: 15). For instance, Michael Shanks has argued for more experiential approaches to archaeological work (see, for example, Shanks, 1992). Yet Shanks' work is often concerned with objects and monuments rather than the act of excavation (Lucas, 2001: 15; see Shanks, 1992). In contrast, Matt Edgeworth has called upon archaeologists to 'rediscover the act of discovery' (Edgeworth, 1990). However, while Edgeworth writes about the embodiment of the archaeological act, his concern is focused more on the practical knowledge that archaeologists bring to the field (Lucas, 2001: 15) – as opposed to the nature of the archaeological act as encounter (also see Edgeworth, 2003).

Dewsbury and Naylor argue that 'the production of knowledges of and about the world – including scientific knowledge – is not a direct and unencumbered representation of external reality, but is rather the product of thorough-going, certainly messy, and sometimes compromised and compromising *practices*' (2002: 254, original emphasis). In other words, academic research might more profitably be understood as a process, an activity, as opposed to a representation. The ontological claim that 'the world is processual' (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002; McCormack, 2008) has a number of important implications for the conduct of research. It places greater emphasis on the manner in which different techniques of experience and experiment work to animate and inflect our thinking, complicating the Cartesian tendency to oppose the lived and the abstract as conceptually different and thereby occupying different 'thinking-spaces' (McCormack, 2008). Such spaces are more than mere

‘containers for thinking’; ‘the relation between thinking-space as process and thinking-space as site is a recursive one, with the processuality of one folding into the architecture of the other’ (McCormack, 2008: 5). In other words, the world participates productively in the folds of such ‘thinking-space’ prior to the act of cognition or conscious thought. Indeed, Gavin Lucas has described the process of excavation as an ‘encounter’; an encounter he says ‘which is always lost in the aftermath ... in the name of representation’ (Lucas 2001: 17). As archaeologists we do not deal with ‘merely passive traces’; we encounter them physically, they are real. These traces are not separate from us as subjects; they are not passive objects to be interpreted so that we may access other subjects, invisible and absent. Archaeologists do not just uncover sites and remains, we sculpt them and in turn are sculpted by them (Lucas, 2010: 243). What is missing in most accounts of archaeological fieldwork is an engagement with the encounter, the becoming that is the something in-between, the change in the speeds and slowness of the material components of a body that enable a new set of affects, and ultimately influence our work.

Archaeology as Bodily Regime

In the past, there was much opposition to women in archaeological fieldwork. While the wives of famous male archaeologists were expected to follow their spouses into the field, their role was often confined to the cataloguing of finds. Flinders Petrie’s *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904) for example, one of the first fieldwork manuals printed in English, starts with a chapter on the archaeologist and ‘his’ bodily appearance: ‘his readiness [to dig] should be shown by the shortness of his fingernails and the toughness of his skin’ (Petrie, 1904: 6, cited in Lucas, 2001: 7). Only 40 years ago, Noel Hume wrote of women in the field:

‘Digging is ... a masculine occupation, and while more women than men are likely to do well in the pot-washing shed of the laboratory, shovel-wielding females are not everyday sights in Western society. If they are to be useful on site...they must be prepared to be accepted as men, eschewing the traditional rights of their sex. It is vastly time-consuming for men working in one area to be constantly hopping up and down to push barrows for women working in another’ (Noel Hume, 1969: 60, cited in Lucas, 2001: 8).

While such remarks are now rare, there is a sense in which the field site – similar in some respects to the campsite – retains an element of the masculine. As spaces of practical knowledge, the field site and the campsite were also gendered spaces, at least into the 1950s. Mercifully, concerns about the ‘gendered body’ have gradually been eroded. However, as archaeological site discipline has become more important than the ‘character’ of the individual fieldworker, a greater emphasis has been placed on the ‘trained body’ (Lucas, 2001), on conduct that produces trustworthy and replicable information. The development of excavation practice and new methods of recording required trained individuals and site co-ordination, so that the canons of scientific rigour could be upheld. However, the role of the trained body within archaeological fieldwork remains largely unexplored. As Dewsbury and Naylor suggest, ‘training ... transforms the body into something that can be trusted to unearth the landscape’s secrets’, yet the body is also trained to fit the field by the field itself (2002: 275). Drawing on Lingis (1998), Dewsbury and Naylor suggest that this occurs in ‘the space of the imperative’, that space between the body and the field, or the ability of the body to ‘enfold within it particular modes of being in the field that require specific skills and competencies’. For example, they emphasise ‘the surface of the body, the way it contacts the world through movement and sensation’ and ‘the viscosity of the body, the gut instincts, the breathless anxieties and the gall that sees us get things done’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 257).

It is in this way that we also become part of the field site, including in our relationships with ‘others’. We become immersed in the site, our tools and personal items, and the artefacts we uncover. Bodies, both human and non-human, come into contact with us, changing our research in myriad ways. But all too often the ideas, objects and persons associated with the field are simply erased, written out of our reports, or written into the margins. This is particularly so for the body. ‘The complex, emotional, and ambiguous experience of the field is fixed into a singular text or report’, write Sharp and Dowler (2011: 154). ‘The significance of embodied challenges of the field (often physically or emotionally overwhelming at the time) is often silenced in the written and presented accounts of methodology, which tend to focus on the formal aspects of project design and implementation’ (Ibid.). It feels somewhat misleading to exclude the influence that time, resources, intellectual interests and disciplinary pressures play in the selection, operation and reception of our endeavours. Similarly, it seems disingenuous that we should exclude the role of various bodies and technologies in shaping our work; from co-workers to cartographies, theories to instruments and techniques – all exert an influence, compelling and controlling, such that we conduct and perform our research in certain (more-or-less prescriptive) ways.

Archaeology as Textual Practice

Archaeological fieldwork has always been accompanied by a post-excavation, post-survey phase of ‘writing up’. Fieldwork is conducted in the field; it produces field notes that are fragmentary and raw. Yet writing-up is conducted in the department or the library; it produces polished papers and reports that provide a complete analysis and interpretation. This is a process of transformation: from field notes to paper, data to interpretation. Who

and what is lost in this process of transformation is often neglected. ‘Archaeology’, writes Lucas, ‘is a practice we do with others ... and there is a violence which accompanies this when people are silenced in the name of representation, the production of knowledge’ (Lucas, 2001: 13). At the same time, even when ‘our knowledge-producing activities (being in the field, for example) attend to the *moment* of experience, our products of knowledge (our texts and even our emphases in conversations of recollection) could do more to make available this tension of the present tense of the world’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 255, original emphasis).

Archaeology as textual practice has received much attention (see, for example, Hodder, 1989; Baker and Thomas, 1990; Tilley, 1993; Joyce, 2002b). Hodder’s emphasis on ‘reflexive archaeology’ has been at the forefront of these debates, raising questions about narrative style, both in site reports and published accounts (see, for example, Hodder, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2008). Similarly, Chris Tilley has argued that while there is a strong emphasis placed upon methods in archaeological textbooks, there is very little discussion about the end-product of archaeological fieldwork (Tilley, 1989: 275). Hodder (1989) notes that early excavation reports were largely written in the first-person, and were focused upon the act of discovery. It was only in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century that archaeological writing shifted towards the more familiar scientific style we see today, using a passive voice, and adopting a descriptive rather than narrative form of expression. There has been a similar shift in style, content and approach to archaeological images. Early perspectival illustrations of field monuments followed the style of landscape artists, while plans were drawn according to the same cartographic and surveying practices of those employed by Britain’s great estates. At the same time, finds were often depicted in perspective, painted in colour, more often presented as curios rather than as objects of

scientific interest (Piggott, 1965: 171; Lucas, 2001: 206). A more scientific approach to archaeological illustration developed through the work of archaeologists like Pitt Rivers and Petrie, who were concerned to represent an object rather than a view. Paying greater attention to scale and accuracy, we eventually arrive at the plan and section drawing used to explain discrete stratigraphic units in excavation, and the standard half-section of pottery used to illustrate finds for instance (Lucas, 2001: 206). So, while early illustrations retained a sense of the viewer, the standard plan and section erase him or her entirely. At the same time, these modern approaches to archaeological recording place a strong emphasis upon objectivity.

This scientific and objective manner of presentation is adopted in the first of the two reports presented below, on fieldwork undertaken at Worcester Lodge campsite in August 2009. This report aims to provide historical and archaeological background, to document the fieldwork process, finds, and findings, and to offer some interpretation as to their significance in terms of the use of the site. In contrast, the second report seeks to address all that is written out of the standard field report, providing a broader account of the fieldwork and its subsequent reception in public and academic spheres. Drawing on a more-than-representational approach to the fieldwork itself, this report stresses the processual nature of our thought. It draws attention to a series of encounters with sites, people and things that have the power to generate affective registers. As Dewsbury and Naylor suggest, ‘research outcomes are only ever precisely that: the outcome of inherently uncertain, untidy, contradictory, political and selective, but most of all laborious, research *activities*’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 255, original emphasis).

A Report on Archaeological Investigations at
Worcester Lodge Campsite,
Forest of Dean

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1. Summary

1.1 Worcester Lodge Campsite comprises 4.4 hectares of open fields adjacent to Worcester Lodge, one of several forest lodges within the Royal Forest of Dean. It was opened in 1971 as part of plans to reduce overcrowding at the Forest's two principal campsites: Christchurch and Bracelands, and was mainly used for club rallies and special events. It ceased operating as a Forestry Commission campsite in 1996.

1.2 In August 2009 the site was evaluated by means of field walking and test pitting. The project was led and managed by Lisa Hill (DPhil candidate, University of Oxford), and the fieldwork was carried out by a team of volunteers.

1.3 As an example of an archaeological investigation on a site dating to the recent past, the project sought to explore the evidence for ephemeral twentieth century leisure activities in the landscape, and the utility of archaeological techniques for documenting and interpreting them. The aims were as follows:

- To identify the material remains associated with camping as an example of an ephemeral twentieth- / twenty-first century leisure activity.
- To consider what information and conclusions can be drawn from finds in relation to camping and its associated materials.

- To establish the utility of field walking and test pitting as field methods for sites of this nature.

1.4 As an ephemeral leisure activity, 25 years of camping and caravanning at Worcester Lodge field have left little in terms of material evidence, which is perhaps indicative of the level of care bestowed upon the site; in terms of the responsible disposal of litter and waste, and regular clean-up of the site by contactors. These are two examples of 'work' that might be necessary forms of maintenance of the site itself. The maintenance of caravanning equipment on the site is also suggested by the presence of material remains (an Allen key set and festoon bulb) and ethnographic evidence from other sites (Crouch 2001; Southerton et al. 2001).

1.5 More recent uses of the site by local people, annual study camps, and those attending the August 2009 Bristol Boomtown Fair, are reflected in finds collected during field walking. Finds from the north of the East Field are indicative of the presence of children, reflecting use of the site for annual study camps. The material evidence from these activities can perhaps provide a new perspective on the freedoms and responsibilities that children are given when away from the home environment. Finds from the West Field are mainly thought to originate from the Bristol Boomtown Fair, held the week before fieldwork commenced, and it is interesting to note the manner in which the material remains of this event were deployed in local politics.

1.6 The evidence collected from test pits and field walking demonstrates that such techniques are appropriate for the investigation of sites of this nature.

2. Introduction

2.1 This report presents the results of a programme of archaeological investigations carried out in August 2009, involving field walking and test pitting at the former Worcester Lodge Campsite in the Forest of Dean (SO 594 117).

2.2 The project was managed by Lisa Hill (DPhil candidate, University of Oxford), and the fieldwork was carried out by a team of volunteers: Lisa Hill, Ben Westran, James Hill, Carol Durrant, Natalie Meese-Kennedy, Dan Masters, Phil Davies, Thom Westran, Jeni Milsom, Jude Hill, Idris Northam, Ruth Smith, Ben Smith, Lucy Smith, Sarah Carter, and Amy Troy.

2.3 The project was funded by Lisa Hill, and benefited from the in-kind support of the Forestry Commission; thanks in particular are extended to Phil Morton, Ben Lennon and Heather Lilley.

2.4 The primary archive (less organic artefacts) has been offered to the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. A photographic catalogue of finds is also available in electronic form upon request. Copies of this report have been sent to the County Archaeologist and the Forestry Commission.

3. Aims

3.1 As an example of an archaeological investigation on a site dating to the recent past, the project sought to explore the evidence for ephemeral twentieth century leisure activities in the landscape, and the utility of archaeological techniques for documenting and interpreting them.

3.2 The aims were as follows:

- To identify the material remains associated with camping as an example of an ephemeral twentieth- / twenty-first century leisure activity.
- To consider what information/conclusions can be drawn from finds in relation to camping and its associated materials.
- To establish the utility of field walking and basic excavation (test/shovel-pitting) as field methods for this type of site.

4. Worcester Lodge Campsite

4.1 The site comprises 4.4 hectares of open fields adjacent to Worcester Lodge (**Figure 7**). Worcester Lodge was built in 1675 under the direction of the Marquis of Worcester, constable of St. Briavels and warden of the Forest. Each of the forest lodges built around this time was assigned an inclosure of c. 30 acres (12 hectares), which was farmed by the keeper; Worcester Lodge was occupied by a keeper until at least 1914 (VCH, 1996). When Worcester Lodge was sold during the late twentieth-century, the Forestry Commission retained ownership of 4.4 hectares of the inclosed pasture land, which became Worcester Lodge Campsite.

4.2 Worcester Lodge Campsite was opened in 1971 as part of plans to reduce overcrowding at the Forest's two principal campsites: Christchurch and Bracelands.

‘With regard to the overcrowding of the Christchurch and Braceland camp sites on Whitsun weekend and our meeting last Wednesday, I confirm the recommendations...’

‘(b) Convert the 10.5 – 11 acres of permanent pasture as Worcester Lodge into a special caravan rallies camp site with minimum facilities, i.e. water stand pipes, a hard circular road and Elsan disposal unit. In addition it will be necessary to treat the grassland against noxious weeds, thin the adjacent mature conifer and plant a narrow screen or belt between Worcester Lodge and the proposed site. Because of the shortage of time I shall put in hand any necessary silvicultural work this summer.’

(Letter to Conservancy Land Agent, 15 June 1970 ‘Camping – Forest of Dean’ - File: Commercial Recreation Vol. I)

4.3 It was mainly used for club rallies and special events (**Figure 8**).

'The newly opened Worcester Lodge site has been roaded and equipped especially for club meetings with stand pipes and chemical disposal points.'

'...here at Worcester Lodge are 12 acres of beautifully situated, level and sheltered grounds for your clubs exclusive use if you wish to book the whole site, or there is ample room for two large rallies, each one in its own private and self contained field.'

(Letter to Caravan and Camping Clubs regarding 1971 fixtures 'Club Rallies' - File: Commercial Recreation Vol. I)

4.4 During its operation, Worcester Lodge Campsite was classed as a Forestry Commission 'Category B' campsite. This categorisation was developed in 1971 and was still in use at least into the late 1980s. 'Class B camp site: public camp site with minimum facilities and normal density.' There are no, nor were there ever, any standing structures associated with the Campsite.

'CLASS B CAMP SITE

12. Density: 70 units per campable hectare maximum. Units to be 6m apart.
13. Water and waste disposal points: 1 per hectare (70 units) minimum.
14. Chemical closet emptying points: 1 per hectare (70 units) minimum.
15. Refuse disposal: 14 dustbins per hectare (70 units) minimum. (Emptied daily).
16. Warden: Part-time (specified hours).'

(Appendix I, Forestry Commission memo from GG Stewart, Commissioner for Forest and Estate Management, February 1971 - File: B1B/7/76 Worcester Lodge – '96)

4.5 A number of special events were held at Worcester Lodge Campsite during its operation, including the 'Forest of Dean Folk Festival'. A leaflet about the event is held on Forestry Commission files, accompanied by a number of complaints concerning noise and alleged drug-taking – received from both regular campers and local residents. However, the longest standing event at the site is the annual Study Camp, started in 1983, which is still held today (in the north area of the east field).

4.6 Worcester Lodge ceased operating as a fully functioning Forestry Commission campsite in 1996. Like other Forestry Commission campsites in the Forest of Dean, Worcester Lodge was run locally from the Commission's Coleford office.

5. Geology and Soils

5.1 The solid geology of the area consists of layers of sandstones of the Upper Carboniferous Series, containing a series of separate coal seams, which outcrop or lie close to the surface (Small et al., 2006: 10). The sandstones overlie limestones of the Lower Carboniferous Series, including the iron ore bearing Crease Limestone. This in turn overlies sandstones of the Tintern Sandstone Group of the Upper Red Sandstone Series (Small et al., 2006: 11).

5.2 The soils tend to consist of poorly drained fine loams, often subject to seasonal water-logging (Small et al., 2006: 12).

6. Archaeological and Historical Background

6.1 The Forest of Dean was established as a royal hunting reserve before 1066. After 1066 it was expanded by the Norman Kings, who continued to use the Forest as a royal hunting reserve. In the 1670s the royal demesne was divided into six walks, and a keeper's lodge was provided for each; for King's (later Speech House) walk, a new lodge and courthouse - at first called the King's Lodge but later the Speech House - was built at Kensley c. 1670. Sites for lodges in the other five walks were being chosen in 1675 (VCH, 1996). By 1677 lodges for the walks called Worcester, Danby, and Latimer had been built under the direction of the Marquis of Worcester, Constable of St. Briavels and Warden of the Forest. Each of the lodges, including the Speech House, was assigned an inclosure of 30 acres, to be farmed by the keeper; Worcester, Danby, and Herbert lodges were occupied by keepers until 1914 or later (VCH, 1996). All five were sold by the Forestry Commission in the late twentieth century.

6.2 Sites commanding wide views were chosen for the lodges, so that the keepers could watch for fires, timber stealing, or other damage to the plantations. Worcester Lodge is on high ground on the west side of the Cannop valley.

6.3 The Sites and Monuments Record states that Worcester Lodge is a Grade II Listed Building, and a plaque on the front of the lodge records the date: 1675. It was badly damaged and burned by rioters in 1688 and had to be extensively rebuilt. Described as

similar to a medium sized farmhouse, it has had alterations over the years. The stables at the rear of the lodge date from the time of the original building. The lodge stands in its own grounds in woodlands near Broadwell facing the Cannop Valley. A fire tower used by the Forestry Commission stood nearby and an area of pasture at the rear of the lodge was previously a Forestry Commission Camp and Caravan site {Source Work 7336}.

6.4 Although there are no Sites and Monuments Record entries relating to the campsite itself, there are a number of sites of archaeological interest in the surrounding area, including in the more immediate proximity (**Figure 9**): a bell pit to the north east (SMR20160) of the site, two post medieval boundary banks to the south east (SMR22550) of the site, and a find spot to the north west (SMR19421), being a rim sherd of Samian Pottery. There was also a former WWII encampment to the west of the site. To the south of the site is the former Oakhill Quarry, now a household recycling centre.

7. Methodology

7.1 The evaluation consisted of field walking and test pitting.

Field walking

7.2 The site was field-walked in order to recover surface artefacts. Transects of 10m width were laid out in a north-south alignment, with finds bagged and labelled at 10m intervals.

7.3 On inspection of the site in March 2009, a number of surface artefacts were observed. These were thought to originate from fairly recent use of the site, either by local people while walking their dogs, unauthorised camping activity, or the annual study camps. There was also evidence of ground disturbance caused by wild boar on the site.

7.4 In the week preceding fieldwork, the site was used as an overflow space associated with an event held at Speech House Field: Bristol Boomtown Fair.

Test Pitting

7.5 A series of 1m x 1m test or shovel pits were dug at 30m intervals across the site, established by means of a site grid (**Figure 10**). 21 test pits were located in the west field of

the site, which was predominantly used for tents during the 25 year period when Worcester Lodge Campsite was in operation. Four test pits were located in the north of the east field, which was predominantly used for caravans, and is currently used as the site of the annual study camps.

7.6 Test pits were dug to a depth of 0.5m. A summary description of the test pits is provided in Appendix II.

Collection Policy

7.7 All artefacts found during field walking and test pitting were systematically recorded and bagged. However, organic artefacts were disposed of after full recording.

8. Finds Assessment

8.1 A catalogue of finds is available electronically upon request.

Field walking finds – West Field (Appendix I)

Festival Artefacts

8.2 A significant proportion of field walking finds in the West Field are likely to originate from recent use of the site as a car park for a nearby festival, and local use of the site for recreational purposes. Due to waterlogging at the originally designated car park, Worcester Lodge Field was used as an overspill car park (and unofficial campsite) during the annual Bristol Boomtown Fair held on Friday 7th – Sunday 9th August; billed as the ‘southwest’s fun, arts and family festival’, offering ‘an array of fine music, theatre, comedy and art’ (Boomtown Fair, 2009). Although the Forestry Commission stated that the site had been given ‘a very thorough clean up’ after the event (Phil Morton, Forestry Commission, pers. comm., 30 September), a number of finds are thought to be associated with the Boomtown weekend: food items (six banana skins, a melon skin, half an onion, four potatoes, an apple core, and a runner bean); three chocolate and two crisp wrappers; a ‘Budweiser’ bottle (‘born 13 May ‘09’ and best before 13 May ‘10’); a fragment of fast food packaging; a cork and two bottle tops; a number of roll-up cigarette butts, papers and filters; a fragment of a ticket or flyer; a partially burnt Kodak disposable camera box; a

white plastic fork; a navy blue woollen hat; a pink hairclip; and a pair of green flip-flops (adult size 11). Two metal tent pegs found during field walking are also likely to originate from the Boomtown weekend; both are non-corroded, suggesting that they have recently been deposited on the site. Being bent out of shape, it is possible that they were discarded rather than lost.

Other Artefacts of Consumption

8.3 Field walking finds in the West Field were not confined to this most recent use of the site. For example, 'best before' dates on a number of finds suggest their consumption on the site pre-dates the Boomtown weekend, including a 'Bulmer's Original Cider' can (500ml), best before 31-07-08; a 'Foster's' can (500ml), best before 31-05-08; and a 'Lynx Altra (Extra Strong) Lager' can (500ml), best before 05-2003. Of little or no value following the consumption of their contents, these items are likely to have been purposely discarded.

Camping Artefacts

8.4 Two broken wooden tent pegs found during field walking are likely to pre-date the Boomtown weekend, as they display signs of age through decay and weathering.

Other Leisure Items

8.5 Four golf balls found during field walking are likely to originate from local use of the site for recreation; such items are likely to have been lost rather than discarded.

Field walking finds – East Field (Appendix I)

Study Camp Artefacts

8.6 Field walking in the East Field was only conducted in the northern section – the location of the annual Study Camps. Running since 1981, the Study Camps originally occupied an area of paddock adjacent to Worcester Lodge. However, the Study Camps were moved after 1996 to occupy the north east corner of the main part of the campsite. This is their current location. The Study Camps are for ‘youth groups including those associated with schools, churches, sports facilities, guides and scouts’, with the ‘capacity to accommodate as many as 96 children and their accompanying adults, often setting aside the whole centre for their exclusive use’ (Study Camps, a).

8.7 Finds from this location included a number of camping-related items; five broken wooden tent pegs, one complete wooden tent peg, and five tent/peg foam rubber fastenings. These items are likely to originate from the Study Camps, which use ‘purpose built 19’9” x 14’4” tents’ with ‘heavy-duty metal frames and canvas to make these tents extremely durable, strong and water tight’ and ‘14’4” x 14’4” heavy-duty tents’

for staff (Study Camps, b). Such tents are likely to require foam rubber fastenings for anchoring to strong wooden pegs. There were also four items of moulded black plastic, which appeared to be part of items of outdoor furniture, and two pieces of barbeque charcoal.

Children's Artefacts

8.8 A number of other finds are likely to originate from the Study Camps, as they relate specifically to the presence of children: child's medication (Calpol) wrapper; child's sock; and a Mickey Mouse toy hat.

Artefacts of Consumption

8.9 A number of confectionary and other food wrappers, as well as soft drinks containers were also found in this area of the site. These include: seven chocolate wrappers, a crisp packet marketed towards children ('Pom Bear'), a 'Largest Ever Bubble Gum' tube container, a lollipop stick, and empty Coca Cola and Oasis bottles. Due to the nature of these items, being either sweet or confectionary-based, or marketed towards children, it is probable that they also relate to the use of the site by the annual Study Camps. However, it is also possible that they originate from local use of the site, including by local children, or indeed some of the more recently dated items might originate from the Boomtown weekend.

Educational Artefacts

8.10 Similarly, some of the remaining finds could be associated with the Study Camps; certainly it is possible that the tip pen lid and paperclip originate from educational activities on the site.

Test pit finds – West Field (Appendix II)

Camping Artefacts

8.11 Many of the items recovered during test-pitting in the West field are camping-related items of utilitarian value: the tip of a wooden tent peg; five metal tent pegs of varying size and design; an Allen key set; a Festoon bulb (12 volt, 5 or 10 watt bulbs that are typically used in caravan interiors or awnings); and a piece of moulded black plastic, which appears to be part of, or the base from, an item of outdoor furniture. Again, such items are likely to have been lost rather than discarded.

Ceramics and Glass

8.12 It is perhaps not surprising that very few domestic artefacts of glass or ceramics were recovered during test pitting (5g of ceramics, 13g of glass). Even though the test pits were dug to a shallow depth (0.5m), it is unlikely that there are artefacts of domestic origin on this site, certainly dating 1675 - present; the site was mainly used for

grazing from 1675 – when Worcester Lodge was built and assigned the land as pasture – until at least 1914, and similarly was little used before 1971. And, being some distance from Worcester Lodge, it is perhaps unlikely that domestic rubbish would have been dumped on the site from the Lodge. As a caravan and camping site, Worcester Lodge was used on a very ephemeral basis; at the same time, domestic items used in a caravanning or camping environment tend to be plastic or metallic/enamel to avoid breakages, particularly during transport.

Bone

8.13 Two fragments of animal bone were also recovered during test pitting.

Coins

8.14 One penny coin was recovered during test pitting, dated 1980. Although this date is contemporaneous with the use of the site as a caravan and camping site, it is worth noting that one penny coins dating from 1971 are still in circulation (The Royal Mint, a).

Plastics

8.15 All plastic items were very small in size, easily lost or discarded and probably difficult to remove during cleaning at the site. However, they were very few in number. Three plastic coated wire packaging ties were located across the site, along with a plastic

bottle top, and a red plastic bonnet from a child's toy car. It is possible that all are contemporaneous with the campsite. Plastic coated wire ties are often used to tie plastic bags to keep food fresh. The plastic toy part may well have been broken and lost by a child during a family holiday at the site. A small length of strimmer wire is likely to relate to maintenance of the site during its use as a caravan and camping site.

Other Artefacts of Consumption

8.16 One old style ring pull and one food can key were also recovered during test pitting. The old style ring pull is likely to be older than 1989, as companies such as Coca Cola removed it from UK drinks cans in 1989, mainly to reduce litter:

'Removable ring pulls were replaced in 1989 by "stay-on-tabs" or "litter-free ring-pulls", because in addition to the reduction in litter, they help reduce the chance of any potentially sharp pieces of metal being left lying around' (Coca Cola Great Britain, 2008).

8.17 This suggests that the ring pull is contemporaneous with the use of the site as a caravan and camping site.

8.18 Food can keys on tinned/canned foods were invented in 1866 by J. Osterhoudt (Patent Number 58554). They were popularly used for cans holding foodstuffs such as sardines, corned beef and spam, all easily opened and consumed in a caravan or camping environment. However, it is not possible to date the can key, which could equally be associated with earlier or indeed later use of the site.

8.19 Two fragments of metal/enamel-coated tube packaging were also recovered during test pitting. Although one fragment is too degraded to identify, the other does still have lettering intact, indicating that it was made by 'Pfizer' and was 'To be used for animal treatment only'. This item could relate to the use of the site for grazing, possibly pre-dating the use of the site for camping and caravanning.

Other Leisure Items

8.20 One golf ball was recovered during test pitting, suggesting the use of the area as a practice ground for golfers, probably local people (as a number of balls were found during field walking, post-dating the use of the site as a caravan and camping site – see 'Field walking finds - West Field' above).

Industrial Materials

8.21 A total of 9.5kg of iron slag was recovered from test pits in the West Field. Slag was found in all layers, but was most abundant in B2. It is unlikely that iron smelting took place on this site in the past 300 years, as the site was pasture land for Worcester Lodge from 1675. It is however possible that this material was used to level off parts of the site or indeed used during the creation of the site track/road in 1971. However, it was not possible to test the composition of the site track/road.

Test pit finds – East Field (Appendix II)

8.22 Few finds were recovered from the East Field.

Coins

8.23 Two two-penny coins, dated 1987 and 1994, and one ten-penny coin, dated 1992, were all recovered from A, test pit 27 in the East Field. Although all dates are contemporaneous with the use of the site as a caravan and camping site, coins of these dates are also still in circulation (The Royal Mint, b; The Royal Mint, c).

Industrial Materials

8.24 A total of 2.3kg of iron slag was recovered from four test pits in the West Field, the majority of which was from test pit 28 (1.7kg). Again, it is possible that iron slag has been used to level parts of the site. This assumption is supported by the abundance of slag recovered from test pit 28, which was located at the site of one of the Study Camps tent 'platforms'. Such areas are visibly flat and are easily distinguished by the lack of vegetation (**Figure 11**).

9. Discussion

9.1 Based on different activities and their material remains, there are perhaps multiple interpretations of the campsite field at Worcester Lodge and its role in the wider landscape. Ethnographic material gathered from other camping and caravanning sites in the UK has been used to guide interpretation.

Worcester Lodge Field: A Caravan and Camping Site

9.2 The spaces in which camping and caravanning are practised and experienced can be explored through numerous material objects: through tents and caravans, barbecue equipment, outdoor furniture and shared facilities, as well as the physical characteristics of the site: trees, fields and corners. (Crouch, 2001: 65).

9.3 As a 'Class B' site, there were few shared facilities:

'CLASS B CAMP SITE

12. Density: 70 units per campable hectare maximum. Units to be 6m apart.

13. Water and waste disposal points: 1 per hectare (70 units) minimum.

14. Chemical closet emptying points: 1 per hectare (70 units) minimum.'

(Appendix I, Forestry Commission memo from GG Stewart, Commissioner for Forest and Estate Management, February 1971 - File: B1B/7/76 Worcester Lodge – '96)

9.4 However, water and waste points would have constituted an area of communal use and space in which certain campsite activities would need to be practised:

the collection of water and the disposal of waste. Five such points remain in Worcester Lodge Field, located on the inside of the site track (**Figures 12, 13**). Constructed of stone and cement, they had a tap mounted on the front for water, and a drain at the back for waste.

9.5 Based on a series of unstructured interviews with caravanners, site owners and caravan manufacturers, Southerton et al. (2001) suggest that the practice of caravanning involves the differential use of apparently similar objects, which they argue underpin the social ordering of caravanning communities. They identified three emerging themes: freedom, privacy, and familiarity, all of which, they suggest, are structured by the materials associated with caravanning. They go on to suggest that for some the caravanning experience facilitates social interaction and a sense of community, while for others it promotes self-sufficiency and independence, that this apparent tension is inherent in the materiality of caravanning, in site layout and the caravan itself. So for example, while large, tightly organised sites, with formal layouts, extensive facilities and communal areas appear to offer greater potential for social interaction, the interviews conducted by Southerton et al. (2001) suggest that rallying enthusiasts instead prefer smaller, less structured sites. Although rally-goers were the most communitarian of those they interviewed, the opportunity to meet other enthusiasts in a space unfettered by the infrastructure of rigidly organised sites was central to the rallying experience. Socialising mainly occurred inside caravans, involving existing friends rather than new acquaintances. The paradoxically private experience of caravan rallies reinforced a sense of equality and of 'being among like-minded people'. Self-sufficiency was a commonly held value, and even

the most communitarian rally-goers were reluctant to display any form of dependence upon others.

9.6 As a site for caravan rallies, Worcester Lodge was perhaps ideal. A letter to Caravan and Camping Clubs regarding fixtures in 1971 (its first year of operation) highlights some of its appeal:

“The newly opened Worcester Lodge site has been roaded and equipped especially for club meetings with stand pipes and chemical disposal points.

...here at Worcester Lodge are 12 acres of beautifully situated, level and sheltered grounds for your club’s exclusive use if you wish to book the whole site, or there is ample room for two large rallies, each one in its own private and self contained fields.”

(File: Commercial Recreation Vol. I, Forestry Commission)

9.7 A small site, with water and waste points only, there were few locations at which there might be ‘enforced’ social interaction; instead, Worcester Lodge offered minimal facilities, minimal structure and maximum freedom.

‘You know, it was a site where people could come and they had the basic facilities, but nothing else. And a lot of people used it all the year round and left their caravans on there...’

‘for people who wanted a bit of peace and quiet, who didn’t want to go on the big campsites at Christchurch, where there were...kids and dogs and... Yeah, they just wanted a bit of peace and quiet; the ideal site for it.’

(Interview with Pete Ralph, (retired) Forestry Commission, 29 January 2009)

9.8 However, during its operation as a Forestry Commission campsite, the site was also used by three other constituencies: people who kept their caravans on site (statics); people who brought their caravans and/or tents for short holidays; and people who

attended one of the special events held on the site, such as the Forest of Dean Folk Festival. Since it ceased operating, the site has been used for annual educational Study Camps. Importantly, the site is also used by the local community.

9.9 Several finds from test pits are indicative of the traditional caravan and campsite experience. Tent pegs (**Figures 14, 15, 16**) of course reflect elements of camping activity, but the Allen key set (**Figure 17**) and festoon bulb (**Figure 18**) are also likely to be important items of campsite equipment. As Southerton et al. note, many objects are implicated in caravanning (and camping) practice, which itself requires a certain level of proficiency and skill:

‘Experts scorned the incompetence of the inexperienced who failed to select a good position on a site or lacked the appropriate tools for the job.’ (Southerton et al. 2001: section 4.4.)

9.10 Similarly, ethnographic research with communities of caravanners conducted by Crouch (2001), suggests that the campsite is a space of practical knowledge, where objects can betray ignorance, and ‘provide contested ground’ in terms of ‘what people are doing and their relative competence’ (2001: 65). The presence of the Allen key set is perhaps suggestive of such practical concerns. Commonly known as a hex key, the Allen key is a six-sided tool used as a driver for screws, bolts, and other fasteners. One of the advantages of the Allen key is its contact points; six sides in contact with the bolt or screw ensure plenty of surface area to turn the screw effectively. Allen keys work well with recessed screw heads or headless screws as well as high-profile screw heads. Recessed heads and headless screws are protected from external damage and contact, thereby

making them a good choice for exposed screws. There are a multitude of possible uses for an Allen key, even on a campsite, including perhaps: removing caravan brake callipers, fitting caravan tyre safety bands, lowering caravan landing legs, mounting TV and satellite equipment, assembling outdoor furniture, locking/unlocking security devices, adjusting roof racks, and replacing parts on canopies, 'sunbrellas' or awnings.

9.11 Similarly, the presence of a festoon bulb (12 volt, 5 or 10 watt bulb typically used in caravan interiors or awnings) on the site also suggests some level of maintenance of caravan equipment. Indeed, Crouch notes that 'repairing vehicles is a familiar subject of conversation' in caravanning communities (2001: 67). Although the campsite is overwhelmingly understood as a site for leisure, such items – as well as testimony from ethnographic research and interviews (see, for example, Crouch, 2001; Southerton et al., 2001) – suggest that a certain amount of 'work' is also involved.

9.12 Along with campsite-related items, a small number of artefacts of consumption and fragments of glass and ceramics were also recovered from the test pits. As noted above, it would perhaps be surprising to find a large assemblage of artefacts of domestic origin on this site. Those items that were recovered were small and probably easily lost, such as the can key and ring pull, which would easily become detached from the rest of the packaging of which they were a part.

9.13 Overall, finds from the test pits were relatively few. This is perhaps to an extent a reflection of the ephemeral nature of activities on the site. However, it is also

probable that this was a site over which great care was taken to maintain a clean and pleasant environment. Although as a 'Class B' campsite Worcester Lodge had minimal facilities, the site would have had at least 14 dustbins per hectare (total over 60 dustbins), as well as a site warden and contracted refuse collection:

'CLASS B CAMP SITE

15. Refuse disposal: 14 dustbins per hectare (70 units) minimum. (Emptied daily).

16. Warden: Part-time (specified hours).'

(Appendix I, Forestry Commission memo from GG Stewart, Commissioner for Forest and Estate Management, February 1971 - File: B1B/7/76 Worcester Lodge – '96)

'There were litter bins there, which were cleaned out by a contractor, who was very efficient and he used to go round...as well. So it was tidied up properly.'

(Interview with Pete Ralph, (retired) Forestry Commission, 29 January 2009)

9.14 The piece of strimmer wire found in test pit 16 also echoes this notion of care and maintenance of the site.

Worcester Lodge Field: The Location of Annual Study Camps

9.15 Field walking finds from the north of the East Field are largely indicative of the presence of children, including for instance children's medication (Calpol wrapper), a child's sock, and artefacts of consumption marketed towards children (such as 'Longest Ever Bubble Gum Tube' and 'Pom Bear' crisp packet). It is therefore likely that most of these finds relate to the annual Study Camps.

9.16 School-led residential study camps, such as these, are perhaps a child's first overnight experience away from the home environment. As such, the radically new social and physical landscape of the study camp (both anticipated and real) can be a potential source of homesickness (Thurber, 2005).

'Homesickness is the distress or impairment caused by an actual or anticipated separation from home. It is characterized by preoccupying thoughts of home and attachment objects (Thurber, 1995)' (Thurber, 2005: 555).

9.17 Taking familiar objects on residential trips, such as toys, might help to relieve a child's homesickness or anxiety, perhaps explaining the presence of part of a child's toy. However, such occasions are not just a time of concern for children; parents often experience anxiety about the safety and happiness of their children while they are away. It is possible then that parents pack 'treats' for their children to consume while they are away and/or give them pocket money to spend, which is spent on sweets and treats. Certainly most of the finds from this area were packaging materials from confectionary and snack-based foods, which were also marketed towards children. It is possible that such distractions might reduce feelings of anxiety.

9.18 It is also possible that parents pack medicines for their children to help keep them well and safe while they are away from home. Several studies suggest that children are given or assume responsibility for taking non-prescription medications at an early age (as early as 9 years) (see, for example, Chambers et al. 1997; Rudolf et al. 1993). This might explain the presence of a Calpol wrapper in this area of the site. Of course, it is

equally possible that non-prescription medication is given to children by their supervisors during the study camps – with parental consent.

Worcester Lodge Field: An Amenity for the Local Community

9.19 Field walking finds from the West Field included four golf balls, which are indicative of some of the leisure activities local people are likely to engage in at the site. Further, observations during fieldwork suggest that the site is a popular area for dog walkers, with many different groups of people using the site on a daily basis. Most people were observed to walk the circuit of the site track, while a minority walked through the site as part of a longer walk. Several people used elements of the site itself as part of exercise games for their dogs, with the large felled tree trunk in the north of the west field being a favourite spot; many dogs had been trained to walk along it in an agility style. Others brought balls to throw for their dogs, while some appropriated sticks as part of their exercise routine.

9.20 A stile at the southern boundary of the west field provides access to the site from woodland bordering the private road leading to the campsite and beyond to Worcester Lodge. Several people park their vehicles at the entrance from the B4226 (Speech House Road), before the locked gate that regulates vehicular access to the site via the private road. A preferred parking space is in front of the 'No Parking' sign located here.

9.21 It is possible that a number of the beverage container finds recovered during field walking are also related to use of the site by local people, as they post-date the camping and caravan site and pre-date the Boomtown Fair. Best before dates on a number of finds were as follows: 'Bulmer's Original Cider' can (500ml), best before 31-07-08; 'Foster's' can (500ml), best before 31-05-08; and 'Lynx Altra (Extra Strong) Lager' can (500ml), best before 05-2003. Of little value following the consumption of their contents, these items are likely to have been purposely discarded. However, few such items were found, and it appears that the site is generally respected by local people as an amenity.

Worcester Lodge Field: A Festival Site

9.22 As discussed above, many of the field walking finds from the West Field are likely to originate from the Bristol Boomtown festival. While such finds are interesting in themselves, the response of the local community to this 'littering' and the festival itself is also worthy of consideration.

9.23 During and after the Boomtown weekend there was a real outpouring of resentment. Local residents complained of parking problems, littering and obscene behaviour; dubbed by local press as the 'Boomtown Blitzkrieg'!

'The Forest is still counting the cost of a weekend music extravaganza at Speech House field which has left a trail of rubbish and damage far and wide.

'Widely publicised in Bristol and other centres, the Forest knew little about the Boomtown Fair until it actually happened...and it soon became clear this was not just a little party in the woods.'

'The Forestry Commission was still sending out scouts on Tuesday morning as far as Mile End, where a local field had been commandeered as an overspill car park and had been left in "a disgusting state" according to one resident' (Forest and Wye Valley Review, 2009).

9.24 However, any nuisance caused by the Boomtown event was ephemeral. The festival goers inhabited the area for four days, and the noise, traffic and most of the litter had been removed by the following Tuesday evening. Yet, as the field walking finds at Worcester Lodge demonstrate, some litter was inevitably missed during the clean-up of these sites.

9.25 Taking a step back to reflect on the historical context in which the Boomtown Fair took place, local backlash should also be considered as part of a more complex set of social and historical circumstances, which can be traced back to conflict over access to, and ownership of, the Forest landscape, appropriation of the Forest by 'outsiders', and the erosion of tradition. Such issues are perhaps echoed across the broader Forest of Dean landscape.

Worcester Lodge Field: Links with the Industrial Past

9.26 Although the Forest of Dean as a landscape is now firmly oriented towards leisure, not industry, echoes from the industrial past can be found all around. Iron slag was found in all test pits at Worcester Lodge. However, it is unlikely that iron smelting took place on this site in the last 300 years, as it was pasture land for Worcester Lodge from 1675. It is more probable that iron slag was dumped at some point to level off the site; a

concentration in TP28 (tent platform for annual study camps) would appear to support this interpretation.

9.27 In their report of the Forest of Dean National Mapping Programme, Small et al. note that little of the waste created through iron working had survived 'due to the further uses to which slag could be put' (2006: 112):

'Machines known as stampers, such as those erected at Parkend in 1810, were set up to crush the slag. The resulting product was then transported to Bristol's glassmakers to be used as an ingredient in the manufacture of glass. Crushed slag could also be used in the production of concrete or as ballast.' (Small et al. 2006: 112)

9.28 However, iron slag is fairly ubiquitous in and around the Forest boundaries.

10. Conclusions

10.1 The aims of this study were to identify the material remains associated with camping as an example of an ephemeral, twentieth century leisure activity; to consider what conclusions could be drawn from such remains; and, to establish the utility of field walking and test pitting as field methods for sites of this nature.

10.2 As an ephemeral leisure activity, twenty-five years of camping and caravanning at Worcester Lodge field have left little in terms of material evidence. A small number of tent pegs, an Allen key set, and a festoon bulb are really all that testify to this episode in the site's history. In my interpretation of the site, I have suggested that the lack of material evidence is indicative of the level of care bestowed upon the site, in terms of the responsible disposal of litter and waste, and regular clean-up of the site by contactors. These are two examples of 'work' that might be necessary forms of maintenance of the site itself. The maintenance of caravanning equipment on the site is also suggested by the presence of material remains and ethnographic evidence (Crouch 2001; Southerton et al. 2001).

10.3 More recent uses of the site by local people, the annual study camps, and those attending the Bristol Boomtown Fair, are reflected in finds collected during field walking. Field walking on sites from the recent past is more effective when a shorter period of time has elapsed, as in the case of remains from the Boomtown weekend held a

week before fieldwork commenced. Here, organic items were able to be recovered. It is interesting to contrast the nature and abundance of remains from the Boomtown weekend with the small number of artefacts recovered during test pitting, as festivals were also held at the site during its use as a caravan and camping site. Clearly the likely survival of organic items is limited, but plastic, foil, glass, tin and other packaging materials should have been preserved. Again, I would like to suggest that this lack of evidence is indicative of the level of care for the site – including by those owning static caravans, returning campers, and the site warden.

10.4 Finds from the north of the East Field are indicative of the presence of children, reflecting use of the site for annual study camps. The material evidence from these activities can perhaps provide a new perspective on the freedoms and responsibilities that children are given when away from the home environment: the consumption of sweets and treats, or money to make purchases without parental supervision, and most significantly, responsibility for the self-medication of non-prescription medicines. Indeed, an archaeological approach to the material remains of children's camp activities could shed a new and interesting light on children's experiences and development on residential trips, issues that may not be readily revealed through interviews and self-reporting.

10.5 The evidence collected from test pits and field walking demonstrates that such techniques are appropriate for the investigation of sites of this nature. On sites already identified as likely to yield evidence of human activities, test pits can provide a

cost-effective means of surveying a large area. Field walking at sites of human activity from the recent past is similarly effective in recovering artefacts.

10.6 It could be argued that this research is of relevance as contextual evidence for studying the remains of ephemeral activities relating to other periods, such as Roman camps for instance, where, for example, preserved wooden tent pegs have been recovered of almost identical design and size to those found at Worcester Lodge (see, for example, Caruana et. al. 1990). Similarly, an argument could even be made for the comparison of sites of this nature with Mesolithic 'drop sites'. However, research such as this is important in its own right. The transformation of the English landscape during the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, from a heavily industrial to post-industrial landscape, has been fundamental. From warehouses to trendy apartments, the post-industrial landscapes of the inner city see disused industrial properties transformed into modern residential spaces, museums and galleries. But in rural areas, the sites of coal mines, quarries and foundries, and the decline in heavy industry, has left ghostly, ruinous sites, spoil and other waste products. The sheer scale of spoil and waste, and its relatively low economic value, render it almost immobile. In the Forest of Dean, many such sites have been reused in-situ, including as part of leisure infrastructure. Indeed, from a landscape perspective, the Forest of Dean can be seen as an area that has experienced a rapid shift in orientation, from industry to leisure, with attendant social and economic issues and contestations. More research that focuses on the material dimensions of these changes, and the manner in which the artefacts of human activities are brought into play (e.g. local

response to the Bristol Boomtown weekend), will provide new insights into how these sites are both reused in the twenty-first century, and deployed in local politics.

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13. Appendix I

Field walking finds – West Field

Grid ref.	Artefact/Description	Quantity
1.1	Cigarette butt (roll-up)	1
1.2	Unknown clear plastic	1
1.3	Unknown fragment of green paper/card	1
1.4	Cork - 'Penfolds' - 'Est. 1844	1
1.4	Fragment of Cadbury's 'Wispa' wrapper	1
1.4	Possible flyer fragment 'www.deadsi...' cream, red/black writing on card	1
1.5	Jaffa Cakes 'cake bar' wrapper	1
1.7	Carlsberg can - 440ml	1
1.8	Apple core	1
1.9	Cigarette butt (roll-up)	1
1.10	Roll-up paper	1
2.2	Cigarette butt ('Marlborough')	1
2.2	Biro, unknown brand, no lid	1
2.3	Fragment of roll-up paper	1
2.7	Banana skin	1
2.8	Banana skin	1
2.9	Small clear plastic tube	1
2.14	Packaging - confectionary-based?	1
3.1	Pair of flip-flops, size 11-12 (men's), green	1
3.4	Bottle top, black, metal	1
3.4	Cigarette butt (unknown brand)	1
3.5	Two roll-up filters in packaging	1
3.6	Roll-up cigarette butt	1
3.6	Ball of foil	1
3.10	Broken wooden tent peg	1
3.10	Banana skin	1
3.13	Carlsberg can - 440ml	1
3.14	Budweiser bottle (300ml). 'Born on 13 May 09', best before 13 May 10	1
4.1	Pink metal hairclip	1
4.3	Water bottle cap	1

4.5	Half an onion	1
4.6	Ticket fragment on white card	1
4.7	Packaging handle (from box of wine?)	1
4.7	Polystyrene packaging material - fast food container?	1
4.8	Yellow golf ball - 'Softball'	1
5.3	Chewing gum	1
5.4	Inside of biro	1
5.5	Navy woollen hat	1
5.5	Melon skin	1
5.5	Black plastic packaging strip	1
5.6	Bent metal tent pegs	2
5.10	Broken wooden tent peg	1
5.12	"Wrigley's Extra Ice" chewing gum wrapper	1
5.13	White plastic fork	1
5.13	Banana skin	1
5.13	"Doritos" packaging (225 gram bag) - 'Tangy Cheese' flavour. Best before 26-09-09.	1
5.14	Yellow golf ball - 'Softball'	1
6.3	"Sanatogen original tonic wine" bottle (70 cl; 15%)	1
6.3	"Dark Rum" bottle (1 litre). Made in the West Indies for Tesco.	1
6.4	"Idioms" - 'premium rolling papers' packet with papers inside	1
6.4	"Ibuprofeno cinfa 600mg" packaging	1
6.6	Clothing label - 'holiday shop' - size 7-8 (1.5 Euros)	1
6.6	Rizla packet, with rolling papers inside	1
6.6	Black plastic - possible base from outdoor furniture item	1
6.6	Potatoes	4
6.6	Runner bean	1
6.6	Banana skin	1
7.9	Fragment of red onion skin	1
7.13	Partially burnt fragment of Kodak 'single use camera' box	1
8.1	Fragment of red wool	1
8.2	Piece of green string	1
8.10	"Bulmer's Original Cider" can (500ml), best before 31-07-08, 4.5%	1
8.11	"Foster's" can (500ml), best before 31-05-08	1
8.11	"Lynx altra (extra strong) lager" (500ml) (imported from the Netherlands - 8.5%). Best before 05-2003	1

8.12	White golf ball - "ProStaff BiMETAL 1"	1
8.15	"McCoy's salt and malt vinegar ridge cut" crisp packet (32 grams)	1
9.11	Lollipop sticks (confectionary)	2
9.13	White golf ball - 'Ultra 2'	1

Field walking finds – East Field

Grid ref.	Artefact/Description	Quantity
1.1	Unknown fragment of white paper/painted	1
1.2	Black plastic - possible base from outdoor furniture item	1
1.2	Piece of bubble wrap/packaging	1
1.2	Clear plastic shopping label tag	1
1.2	BBQ charcoal	2
1.2	White plastic inside from bottle top	1
1.2	Foil medical packaging	1
1.2	White/cream tent rubber	1
1.3	Flakes of cream/white paint	2
1.3	Fragment of foil packaging	1
1.4	Packaging - confectionary based?, writing in Polish, weight of contents was 40 grams	1
1.4	Plastic pink felt tip pen lid	1
1.4	White plastic confectionary lollipop stick	1
1.5	Broken, rotting wooden tent peg	1
1.6	Black plastic - possible base from outdoor furniture item	2
1.6	Grey tent rubber	1
1.8	"Longest Bubble Gum Tube" - Production date: 30-12-2008; Best before: 30-12-2010. 'Made in China', Batch No. JXC0812005	1
2.1	Broken plastic silver spray can lid	1
2.1	Child's sock (black, with pink toes and heel)	1
2.2	Paracetamol wrapper - "Calpol fast melts"	1
2.3	Flakes of cream/white paint	2
2.3	Packaging - confectionary based?	1
2.4	Length of white nylon string	1
2.4	Broken, rotting wooden tent peg	1
2.4	Piece of grey elastic chord	1

2.4	Red plastic toy hat, Mickey Mouse ears, 'M' emblem	1
2.6	Black plastic - possible base from outdoor furniture item	1
2.7	Piece of sellotape	1
2.8	Unknown fragment of clear plastic	1
2.9	Oasis bottle, 1.5 litre, best before: Feb 07	1
3.1	Part of zip, 'Gola' brand	1
3.1	Drinks can ring pulls	2
3.1	Paperclip	1
3.1	'Nestle' wrapper	1
3.1	Packaging - confectionary based?	1
3.2	Drinks can ring pull (old style)	1
3.2	Red and white insulated wiring	1
3.3	Packaging - confectionary-based?	1
3.5	Grey tent rubber	1
3.5	Packaging - confectionary-based?	1
3.6	Used fabric plaster	1
3.6	Broken, rotting wooden tent peg	1
3.7	Grey tent rubber	1
3.7	Broken, rotting wooden tent peg	1
3.9	Plastic Coke bottle with lid	1
3.9	Water bottle with lid (possibly Volvic), best before Sept 07	1
4.3	Packaging - confectionary-based?	1
4.3	Part of white plastic lunch box	1
4.4	Broken, rotting wooden tent peg	1
4.7	Wooden tent peg	1
4.9	Packaging - 'Pombear' crisp packet - 'The Teddy Shaped Potato Snack' 25 gram packet. Cheese and Onion Flavour.	1
5.7	Unknown fragment of yellow plastic	1
6.2	"Noah's Ark" sticker	1
6.6	Cigarette butt, unknown brand	1

14. Appendix II

Test pits – Summary

Test pits were dug to a depth of 0.5m.

Test Pits: 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22

- A: Topsoil layer, up to 220mm deep



Figure 1: A, topsoil (TP 20)

- B1: Fine brown loam, containing burnt charcoal inclusions, up to 260mm deep



Figure 2: B1, fine brown loam (TP5)

- B2: Sandy brown/orange loam, containing burnt charcoal and sandstone inclusions, up to 320mm deep



Figure 3: B2, sandy brown/orange loam (TP15)

Finds were recovered from all layers. Iron slag was recovered from all layers, but mainly B1 and B2.

Test Pits: 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 23

- A: Topsoil layer, up to 100mm deep
- B1a: Rubble layer, containing mixed sandstones, up to 220mm deep



Figure 4: B1a, rubble layer (TP8)

- B2: Sandy brown/orange loam, containing burnt charcoal and sandstone inclusions, up to 300mm deep

Finds were recovered from all layers. Iron slag was recovered from layers B1a and B2. Located broadly near the perimeter/track, it is possible that the ground has been disturbed either during track preparations in 1971 or during the installation and/or maintenance of pipe work for the taps located just off the track; this would explain the presence of a mixed rubble layer (B1a).

Test Pits: 24, 25, 27

- A: Topsoil layer, up to 200mm deep

- B1b: Brown sandy loam, up to 130mm deep



Figure 5: B1b, brown sandy loam, and B2a brown/orange loam (TP 24)

- B2a: Sandy brown/orange loam, up to 190mm deep

Few finds were recovered, except for a section of heavy metal pipe (TP25), and three coins (TP27).

Test Pit: 28

- A: Topsoil layer, up to 80mm deep
- B1c: Dark loam, up to 415mm deep



Figure 6: B1c, dark loam (TP28)

There were few finds, except a large amount of iron slag (1.67kg) from B1c.

Test Pit finds

	Artefact	Description	Quantity (wgt./no.)
TP1	Iron Slag		75g
	Tent Peg	Base of wooden peg	1
TP2	Iron Slag		106g
	Charcoal		5g
TP3	Iron Slag		14g
	Glass	Clear fragments of bottle glass	4
	Coins	One penny (1980)	1
	Bone	Animal	1
TP4	Iron Slag		88g
	Charcoal		7g
	Nail	Iron	1
	Glass	Clear fragment	1
TP5	Iron Slag		784g
	Charcoal		7g
	Can key	Food packaging can key	1
	Packaging	Fragments of enamel/metal tube	2
TP6	Iron Slag		287g
	Charcoal		5g
	Bone	Animal	1
	Tent Peg	Metal	1
TP7	Iron Slag		121g
	Golf Ball		1
	Ceramic	Fragments of creamware	2
TP8	Iron Slag		431g
	Charcoal		26g
	Tent Peg	Metal	1
	Light Bulb	Festoon bulb	1
TP9	Iron Slag		1559g
	Charcoal		56g
	Plastic	Red toy car bonnet	1
	Tent Peg	Metal	1
	Packaging	Plastic/wire packaging tie	1
	Packaging	Sweet wrapper	1
	Cigarette Butt		1

TP10	Iron Slag		266g
TP11	Iron Slag		149g
	Charcoal		11g
	Tent Peg	Metal	1
	Ring Pull	Old style drinks can ring pull	1
	Plastic/tin	Unknown	1
	Ceramic	Unknown white glaze	1
TP13	Iron Slag		255g
	Ceramic	Unknown brown glaze	1
	Glass	Clear fragment of bottle glass	1
	Glass	Opaque fragment	1
TP14	Iron Slag		466g
TP15	Iron Slag		678g
TP16	Iron Slag		544g
	Charcoal		22g
	Nail	Iron	1
	Plastic	Strimmer wire	1
	Plastic	Fragment of black plastic	1
	Tack	Unknown metal	1
	Synthetic	Unknown plastic/canvas	2
TP17	Iron Slag		640g
	Glass	Fragment of brown bottle glass	1
	Ceramic	Unknown beige glaze	2
	Bolt	Unknown metal	1
	Tape	Fragment of sticky orange plastic tape	1
TP19	Iron Slag		397g
	Charcoal		3g
	Packaging	Plastic/wire packaging tie	1
	Plastic	Fragment of black plastic	1
TP20	Iron Slag		2127g
	Charcoal		6g
	Tent Peg	Metal	1
	Packaging	Plastic/wire packaging tie	1
TP21	Iron Slag		524g
TP22	Iron Slag		32g
	Charcoal		8g
	Plastic	Bottle top	1

	Ceramic	Unknown cream glaze	1
	Ceramic	Unknown black glaze	1
	Allen key set	Corroded	1
TP23	Iron slag		42g
	Charcoal		2g
	Glass	Fragment of green glass	1
TP24	Iron Slag		219g
	Charcoal		2g
TP25	Iron Slag		199g
	Charcoal		10g
	Plastic	Drinking straw	1
	Ceramic	Unknown	1
	Lead	Pipe	1
	Nail	Iron	1
TP27	Iron Slag		176g
	Charcoal		27g
	Coins	Two penny (1987, 1994), Ten penny (1992)	3
	Ceramic	Fragment of earthenware	1
	Stone	Fragment of ornament of green stone	1
	Stone	Fragment of slate	1
	Rubber	Part of black rubber seal	1
	Wire	Small piece of electrical wire	1
	Cigarette Butt		1
TP28	Iron Slag		1669g
	Unknown	Possibly fragment of military origin	1
	Plastic	Unknown (long, thin, red)	1
	Plastic	Clear sticker with central blue spot	1

Worcester Lodge

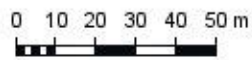
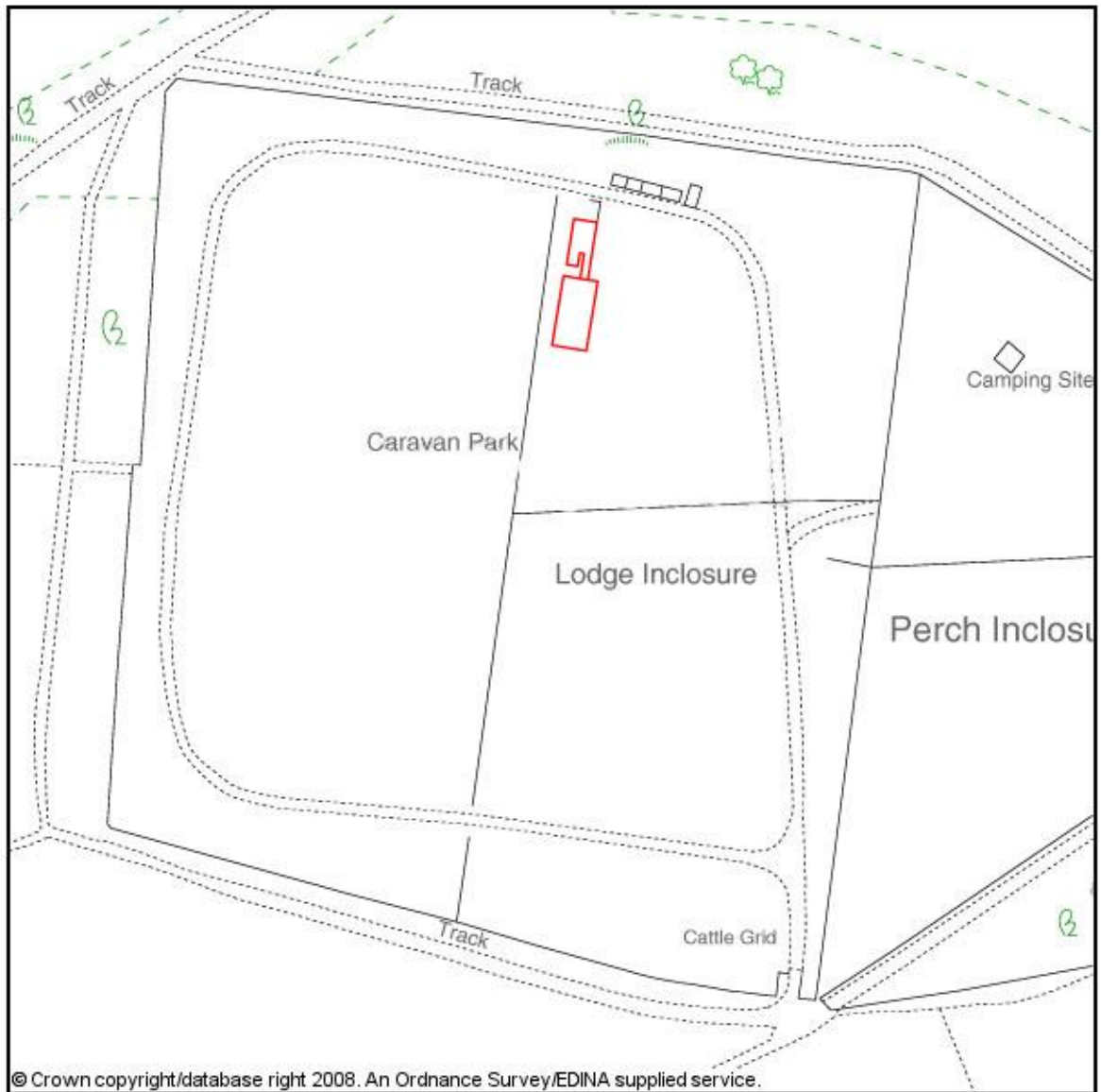


Figure 7: Map of Worcester Lodge Campsite



**Figure 8: Rally at Worcester Lodge Campsite, date unknown
(Source: Forestry Commission)**

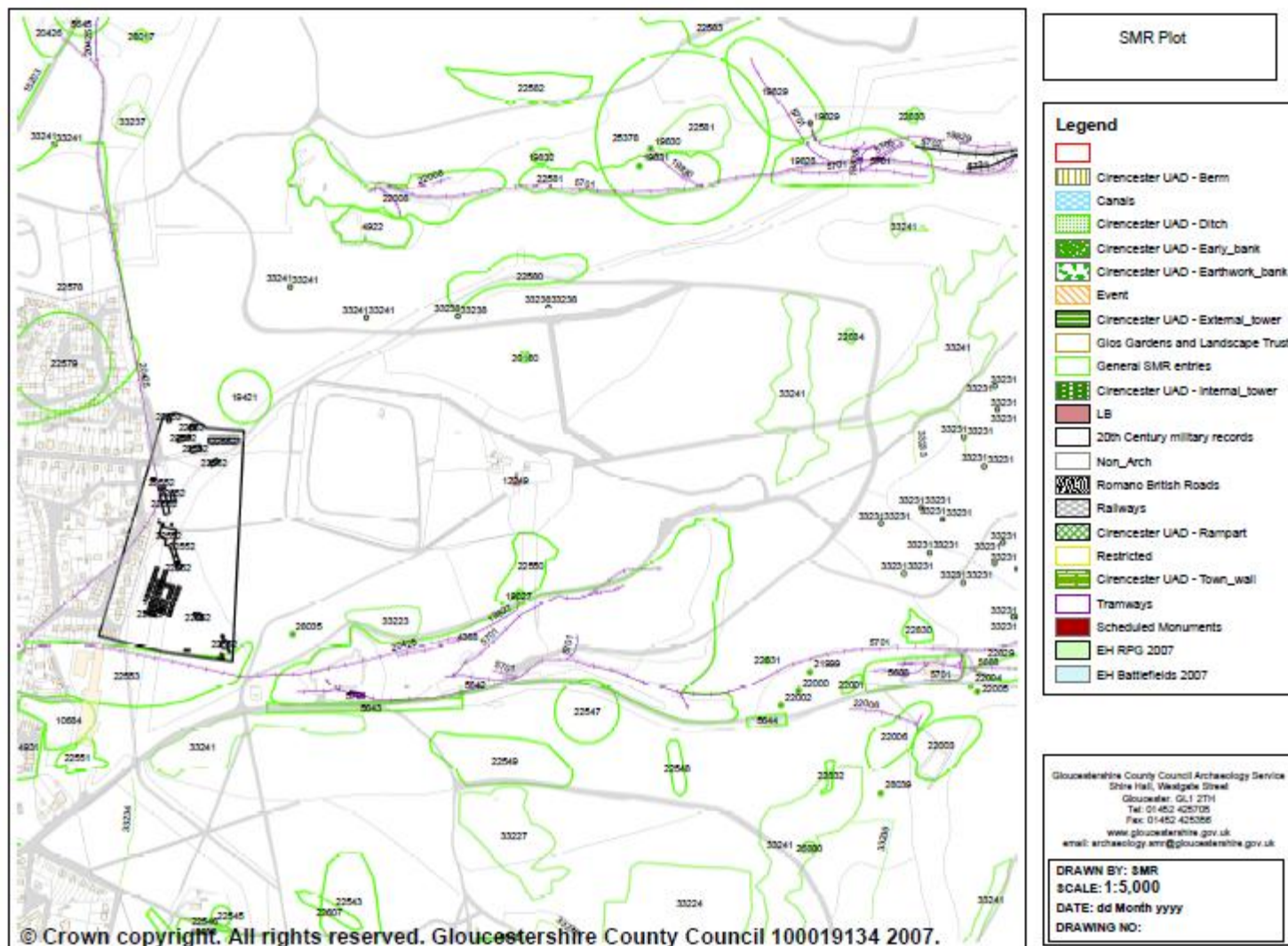


Figure 9: SMR Map of Sites



Figure 10: Location of Test Pits



Figure 11: Study Camp Tent Platform



Figure 12: Water and Waste Point



Figure 13: Water and Waste Point

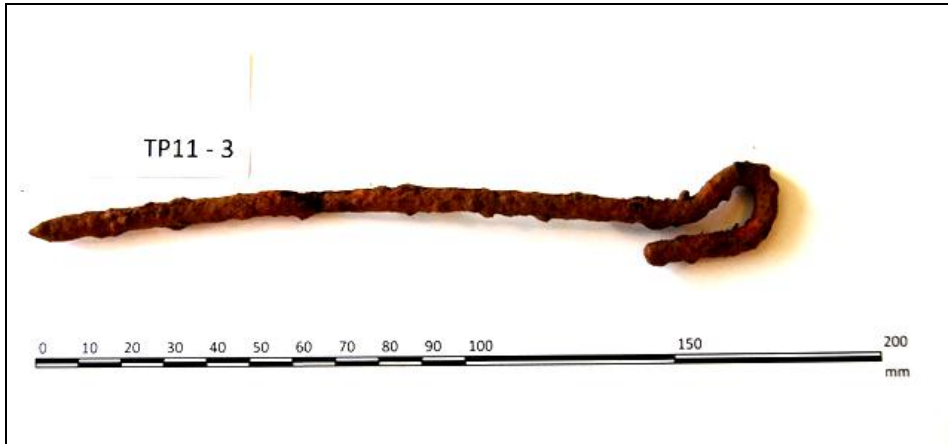


Figure 14: Metal Tent Peg (Test Pit 11)



Figure 15: Tip from a Wooden Tent Peg (Test Pit 1)



Figure 16: Large Metal Tent Peg (Test Pit 8)

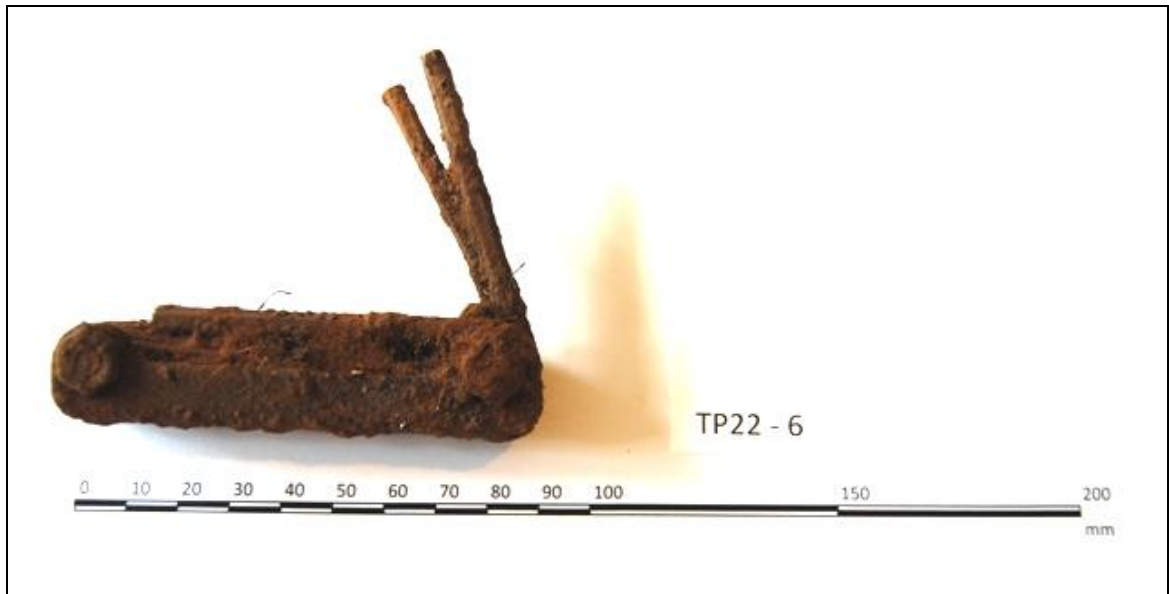


Figure 17: Allen Key Set (Test Pit 22)

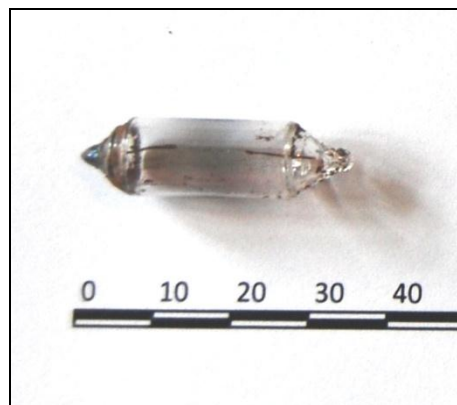


Figure 18: Festoon Bulb (Test Pit 8)



**Figure 19 – Aerial Photograph of Worcester Lodge Campsite (11 July 1976)
(Ref: OS/76156)**



Figure 20 – Aerial Photograph of Worcester Lodge Campsite (20 September 1986)
(Ref: OS/86212)

A Report on Archaeological Investigations at Worcester Lodge Campsite, Part II

Fieldwork I: Christchurch Campsite



Figure 6.1: Pavilion at Christchurch Campsite, August 2009

I begin this account not with the field site itself, but instead with Christchurch Campsite, our temporary home during fieldwork at Worcester Lodge. Christchurch was the first campsite created in the Forest of Dean, and the only piece of leisure infrastructure completed before the onset of war – after the area was designated a National Forest Park by the Forestry Commission in 1938. Christchurch is a large campsite, with a good range of facilities, including a shop, shower and toilet blocks, separate washing-up sinks, water and waste points, and electric hook-ups. However, the original pavilion building, which still dominates the site, is currently unused, and appears somewhat incongruous among the latest technology in ‘ripstop polyester’, ‘technical cotton’ and ‘featherlite’ carbon fibre poles; caravans with state-of-the-art solar panels, satellite dishes, and aerials larger than domestic

devices. I felt 'other' in this environment, distinctly out-of-place. This site was a world away from the small, quiet and fairly isolated sites that my husband, Ben, and I would normally choose on our fair-weather, night-long camping trips.

Confronted by a mass of tents and vans, the speed bumps scraped and dragged audibly against the mud flaps on the car as we slowly and carefully made our way to the lower part of the site, in search of a good pitch. There were children everywhere, racing along the drive on brightly coloured bikes and push-along scooters. From the window of the car I heard one small child shout to another: 'They said we're losers'. This law-of-the-playground remark stuck with me, as I considered the modest two- and three-man tents we'd brought with us alongside the sea of monstrous multi-room tents, outdoor grills, and motor homes. The car was packed full of equipment and finds from the first day of fieldwork. Shovels, buckets, tape measures, boxes of pegs, waterproof marker pens and finds bags, garden sieves, a large ball of string, trowels of course, a shelter tent, a large water carrier, a first aid kit, a kettle and gas stove, tea, coffee and biscuits – none of which we could safely leave on site. Eventually we found a pitch just off the site road, on the lower section, in an area that I suspected might get flooded during heavy rainfall. This is a space of practical knowledge.

It was 6.30pm, and the last thing I wanted to be doing was putting up tents. My body was demanding a warm shower, a change of clothes and a decent, hot meal. We pulled the first tent out flat, connected the poles and eventually, through a combination of skill and luck, managed to pass them through all the canvas loops and slot them into place. This was a task I was not strong enough to perform on my own. I pegged out the guy-ropes, which my husband promptly adjusted and re-pegged (shorter and tighter), thus providing greater

stability, while at the same time reducing the trip hazard. As in other spaces of practical knowledge, the objects associated with the campsite and the activities oriented around them, can provide contested ground in terms of what people are doing and their relative competence. I was too tired to protest, and in any case I had to acknowledge that he had made a better job of it than me.



Figure 6.2: Our tents at Christchurch Campsite, August 2009

After unpacking the car, we all got showered before heading off to the pub. I was reminded of what I dislike about camping: shared shower blocks and never having enough dry space to get into your clothes. The showers were lit by fluorescent lights and there was a sign asking users to ‘mop-up’ after themselves. It was grim, but I consoled myself with the thought of hot food. I noticed several people arriving for their showers in flip-flops, and wished that I’d had the foresight to bring a pair. On the way back to the tent, I reflected on the camping experience. There is a sense in which the objects of camping still hark back to the ethos of Baden-Powell and the mantra of ‘being prepared’. This is a space in which one

must have the ‘right’ things, both to demonstrate competency, but also to compete in the struggle for material one-upmanship.

We were back at the site well before the 10.00pm car curfew. Friends, Dan and Natalie, joined us to share a bottle of wine. As the rest of us sat uncomfortably on the ground, Dan lazed smugly in his camping chair. Our backs were aching from the first day of digging, from a series of muscular routines with which we were quite unfamiliar. As Dan demonstrated the full versatility of the chair – complete with footrest – a strange ‘chair envy’ settled over us. Ben and I had been looking at camping chairs just a week before, mocking their flimsy build quality and the canvas cup holder in the arm rest. Suddenly they looked practical, sturdy, and above all, comfortable. As we continued chatting, sat on the cold, hard ground, Natalie revealed how uncomfortable she and Dan had been sleeping on camping mats the night before. I watched Ben smile at Dan in his luxury camping chair, as he described our inflatable mattresses and electric pump. I found myself smiling too.



Figure 6.3: Inflatable mattress inside our tent at Christchurch Campsite, August 2009

I was intrigued at how the materiality of the site itself can become animated in activity – where contact with the ground can be very physical, when one is sitting or lying, for instance – but can also generate an affective response. That first night I had a fitful night’s sleep. The wind had picked up, and the bowl-shaped nature of the site seemed to channel it around the trees on the periphery. The sound was intense and eerie. I was acutely aware of the proximity of other bodies, for it was the height of the season, and the usual pitch distance had been halved. In my dreams, I was haunted by the photographs of camping scenes from times gone by, the ghosts of others who might have lain precisely where I was lying then. I could almost feel them.



Figure 6.4: Christchurch Campsite, date unknown (Source: Forestry Commission)



Figure 6.5: Christchurch Campsite, date unknown (Source: Forestry Commission)

Fieldwork II: Worcester Lodge Campsite

I had spent months preparing for the fieldwork. As time wore on, my days became filled with a series of never-before-encountered and seemingly never-ending tasks: selecting the site, agreeing access arrangements, writing risk assessments, arranging insurance, negotiating an on-site water supply, ordering equipment and signing up volunteers – only half of whom had any archaeological experience. As Dewsbury and Naylor suggest, our bodies become ‘agents that space and negotiate the world through their convictions, emotional doubts and physical involvement, all of which speak of the sheer effort of doing research and being an academic’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 257; also see Parr, 2001). And, as time wore on, my body became the site of a growing number of anxieties. It felt

like I was drowning. I was tired, irritable and distracted. I couldn't sleep and didn't eat. I pulled together a fieldwork guide, containing background information on the site, maps and instructions on basic field practice. I agreed a press release with the Forestry Commission's public relations officer. And I met Forestry Commission's community and business services manager, Phil Morton, at Worcester Lodge for pre-site checks and to go over the plan.

In early August 2009, I drove to the Forestry Commission offices in Coleford, handed over a signed contract covering my use of the site, a cheque in payment for connection and use of the site water supply, and a deposit for the site key. A couple of weeks later we collected my brother, James, and set out to prepare the site. The approach was simple: divide the site into a grid, field walk it, and then dig a series of test pits at 30m intervals. We managed to peg the site into a grid and mark out the location of the test pits. I had purchased some semi-permanent chalk spray for the task, with which I sprayed a series of crosses on the grass. I struggled for a while to achieve the pressure and speed of movement necessary to create the desired effect; if the pressure was too light, chalk particles drifted in the air, unable to adhere to the ground; too much pressure produced a liquefied chalk, which dripped onto the grass, leaving a thick residue of chalk spots. Eventually, however, I mastered a technique that gave consistently good results.

A woman walked through the site, just as we were packing up to leave. Keen to ensure we developed a good relationship with the local community, particularly those who use the site, I stopped to explain what we were doing. At first she looked concerned. Clearly she thought I'd said we would be doing some 'gigging', the Boomtown weekend still fresh in her mind. She seemed relieved to hear instead that we would be 'digging'. I answered her questions about the site and what we hoped to achieve. A day later, we were back on site.



Figure 6.6: Worcester Lodge Campsite sign, August 2009

We entered into an early morning routine. Each day, my husband, my brother and I arrived on site to set up the shelter tent, fill the water carrier, and unload the equipment. As volunteers started to arrive we assigned them their tasks, providing training for those who had little or indeed no previous experience. The first morning was spent field walking the west field. Phil, Natalie, Dan, Ben, James and I stood in line, our sample bags and pens at the ready. Spending five minutes in each 10 x 10m grid square, we made our way in transects from the south to the north of the field, repeating the exercise until the field had been completed. We recovered a mass of material: glass bottles, a pair of flip-flops, beer cans, a woolly hat, golf balls, tent pegs, and plenty of food items. We were half way through the field walk when Phil Morton arrived, checking we were settled in, and with a message to call the local press. I spent the next 15 minutes on the end of a mobile phone, defending twentieth century archaeology.

We had a break after field walking – all of us sitting around the gas stove, waiting for the kettle to boil. Soon after, Jude, Ruth and Sarah arrived. After setting them up with test pits one and two, the rest of us got to work in test pits four, five, six, nine and ten. At least 30m away from each other, the hours passed in silent contemplation. The hot weather made for hard work, especially removing the turf. I felt the unfamiliar pull of leg and back muscles as I strained to lift each neatly cut square. My eyes became drawn to the water point, from which cool, fresh water would gush forth with just a half-turn of the tap. This was an imperative; a call to act that was in-between field and body (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 256; see also Lingis, 1998). I refilled my water bottle and returned to the task at hand.



Figure 6.7: Water and waste point at Worcester Lodge Campsite, October 2009 - each stone tower had a water tap on one side and a waste drain on the other linking to a cess pit.

Not having picked up a trowel in nearly a year, it took a while for me to get comfortable in the first test pit, but eventually I got into a routine. ‘Through indecisive contacts’ writes

Lingis, 'our hand catches on to the level of the tangible, contracts the specific pressure, rhythm, periodicity of the stroke in which the texture ... is revealed' (Lingis, 1998: 52). The trowel became an extension of my body, scraping away the surface in rhythms of long, slow dragging movements and short, sharp bursts. I was becoming-trowel, my actions guided by contact with hard stones and soft earth, by clinks of steel, pulses of energy transmitted through my wrist and into my shoulder, which at times translated into pain. As Dewsbury and Naylor suggest, our 'bodies are more than just a continuum of sensation, energy, force and memory; they are themselves the very means of negotiation in the way they enable us to array the field into a space of empirical action' (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 257).

Throughout the week I was struck, over and again, by the manner in which the site as a whole could disappear into a 1m x 1m test pit. I found it difficult to shift perspective, concentrating too much on my trowel, always in one test pit or another, and frequently caught by that dizzying sickness caused when one stands up too fast. I grew to fear that lack of focus, not just optic. For it was not until the end of the week that I revealed my most treasured find: the festoon bulb. It caught the light, glinting against the dark earth. It was winking at me, or so it seemed. How many years had it rested there, awaiting my gaze? I lifted it carefully from the soil, marvelling at its resilience. This was 'the uncertain, stammering and tense, event of discovery and its recording' (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 254). I was astounded to find that the filament was still intact.



Figure 6.8: Test pit 8, August 2009



Figure 6.9: Test pitting – James, Dan and Natalie (left to right), August 2009

Attempting, in part, to respond to calls for more a reflexive archaeology, I asked both my trained and untrained volunteers to take their own photographs, videoed them ‘at work’, and talked with a number of local people about the site and our project.



Figure 6.10: Volunteer photograph, August 2009



Figure 6.11: Volunteer photograph, August 2009



Figure 6.12: Volunteer photograph, August 2009



Figure 6.13: Carol in volunteer photograph, August 2009

We were particularly amused by one man who walked past with his dog, telling us day after day that we'd 'never find anything digging there'. Another man visited only once, crossing the field in a mobility scooter. We talked for more than an hour about the statics that used to

be kept on the site, his friendship with some of the owners, who he said came mainly from Wales, the industrial landscape, and some of the tensions in his local history society. Two little boys walked their dog across the site a couple of times that first day; too timid to approach us, but clearly interested to find out what we were doing. On the second day they brought their mother, who gave permission for them to help, carefully supervised in my test pit. Michael and James were bright and enthusiastic, excited by the promise of discovery, an escape perhaps from what I remembered could become the dreary monotony of summer holidays. Unfortunately, I had to give them trowels of unequal size. Having leant one my 4 inch WHS trowel, the other borrowed a cheap six-incher. Obviously the quality of the tools meant nothing, and soon a fight broke out. I had to send them both home with a few pieces of iron slag. They returned the next day to show us an article in a local paper. That same day a woman approached to tell me that we were featured in an article in the *Western Daily Press*. As word of our exploits spread, the number of visitors started to increase.

I noted down my observations about how people used the site. They were dog walkers, mainly. Some walked across the site as part of a longer walk, while for others the circuit around the east and west fields was the extent of their daily stroll, excluding of course a saunter through the small area of forest between the field and the road, where people generally parked their cars – in front of the ‘No Parking’ sign. A large fallen tree in the north east of the west field was the focus of much activity, with several dogs having been trained to walk along it in an agility-style game. For others, the open field provided an opportunity for extended exercise and play, with balls brought from home or sticks appropriated from the surrounding area.

It was a peaceful place, enclosed by forest, which provided a buffer from the road. There were moments when I was lost in the tranquillity, self and world entwined. I stared out across the field, the green of which was like no other. As Lingis asserts, ‘a colour is not an instantaneous impact in a dimension of empty time already extended; it presents a present, swells out or contracts a pulse of time, makes it diaphanous or dense; it emerges out of an atmosphere or separates progressively from another colour, sends forth a wave which sends other colours into relief and solicits their approach, lays open a field of possibility, and thus materialises a wave of duration’ (Lingis, 1998: 28-9). For this was the green of soft sphagnum moss, of warm summer meadows, of freshly a cut lime, a glittering of emeralds, a shimmering sea. It was a green that drained the blue from the sky, a green bathed in warm sunlight that intensified the gaze. In this chlorophyll-fuelled field of vision that billowed and rippled, agitated by the wind, were revealed the rough-cut silhouettes of individual strands of grass as they swayed in rhythmic succession. And, as the forested swell enveloped and enfolded me, it drew together fragments of past, present and future, a sphere of potential in the space that opened out before me.

For Alfonso Lingis (1994, 1998, 1999), the visible world not only transcends the subject (Merleau-Ponty, 1968 [1962]), it also summons (Levinas, 1999 [1969]) and directs. Subjectivity arises as a response to the world, to textures, sights and sounds – perceptual processes that according to Lingis possess *levels of sense*, which are themselves emergent and have the capacity to generate new orders, directions and summons. Each level is like a gradation; it is a tuning of the visible, the audible, or the textual, in which there is both a solicitation and a response – out of which subjectivity and sensibility are emergent. Levels are neither objective, empirical fact, nor are they subjective meaning; ‘a level’ writes Lingis, ‘is neither a purely intelligible order, nor a passive form given to a pure *a priori* intuition; it

is a sensory phenomenon' (Lingis, 1998: 27). What we see, hear, touch, smell, and taste are 'salient, contours, contrasts, inceptions and terminations that take form on the levels' (Ibid.). Levels of light, colour and tangibility constitute an incessant, diffracting, patterning of matters and senses. Consider the following passage, for example:

'The eyes are drawn to the red of the roses in the hospital room where it figures as a specific accent in the diffused chromatic atmosphere of the room. As the gaze settles on it, the red condenses a spiralled volume. As the eyes narrow their focus on it, the red intensifies and outlines flakes of surface, the contours of the petals. But even as it surfaces as a property inherent in a thing, the red also plays across the room; the red of the roses intensifies the green of the leaves, bleaches the whiteness of the sheets of the bed, and rouges the cheeks of the sick friend. The whole room became more vibrant when the roses were brought in. As our gaze, seduced, now travels around the coils of the petals, it is drawn inward, into the inner substance of the petals and the brooding crimson darkness of the core. The red proves translucent, the surface-red makes surface the smoothness and elasticity of the petals and their fleshy thickness. If we remain with it long enough, the red no longer keeps its distance, invades our eyes, and is felt as a sultry ardour that spreads throughout our sensibility' (Lingis, 1998: 28).

This is Lingis' phenomenology of affect, in which the lived self is an object determined by others, a body among bodies. As Anderson and Wylie note, Lingis' levels 'imply a reciprocation, an incessant exchanging of "points of view", a nonlinear narrative of matters and senses without a single "author"' (2009: 327). In other words, the material world is no longer a mute and passive void to be filled by human thought. At the same time, our selfhood arises in the meshwork of materialities and sensibilities, through material encounters.

Moments such as those were short-lived, however. I rarely got enough time to settle into my own work, to enjoy it. Although there were no real problems, I was constantly concerned by the ebb and flow of volunteers, many of whom could only spare a day or two to help. We were averaging six test pits per day, and I was unsure as to whether we would finish within the week. I took a decision to miss two of the test pits that had been planned in the west

field. They mapped to a tree and a hedge, so I felt justified in making the decision on practical grounds – beyond those of limited time and resources. Similarly, I believed that my decision to reduce the number of test pits in the east field, from nine to four, was for practical reasons. Towards the end of the week we were running out of time, and I hadn't managed to secure any volunteers for the weekend. Of course, if I am honest, there were other factors that influenced my decision, including hostility from one visitor to the site, who was clearly unhappy that we were disturbing the ground occupied by the annual study camps. The confrontation was uncomfortable. When I reflected on the apparent tent platforms and the content of test pit 28, I could understand his concern to preserve the flat, hard surfaces upon which large tents, containing camp beds, accommodate hundreds of children year after year. We had permission from the Forestry Commission to dig wherever we wanted, but I thought it best to stop.

Overall, the composition of test pits across the site showed considerable variability. There were clear examples of ground disturbance beyond the tent platforms, particularly in test pits located near the site track and the water and waste points. We had dug a total of twenty-five 1m x 1m test pits, and, generally, finds had been fairly limited. This is perhaps a reflection of the ephemeral nature of activities on the site. However, I couldn't help feeling that this was a site over which great care had been taken – cared for by those owning statics on the site and cared for by the site warden. I had previously been told by the Forestry Commission that the warden had been meticulous. Maybe the site itself evokes this level of care. I know that we were meticulous too, in taking our litter back to be disposed of at Christchurch every evening, in replacing soil and turf in such a way that meant to locate previously dug test pits, one had to look really hard. We were careful and respectful,

respecting the site, the local people, and always respectful and watchful for the wild boar that are frequently seen at the site.

Fieldwork III: Finds Analysis

I spent the next few days processing my finds: photographing, describing, weighing, and measuring. The sheer number of field walking finds was overwhelming. Slowly and methodically I made progress, cataloguing a series of bottles, cans, cigarette butts and roll-up papers, food packaging and decomposing food, golf balls, flip-flops, hair grips, hats. These were the spoils of a good-time, festival weekend. While I meticulously and objectively quantified these items in terms of their material composition, dimensions, and number, I made no mention of the sensations they induced. Despite wearing disposable gloves, some were so repulsive to me that I could not even bring myself to remove them from their finds bags. I was almost sick when a slug emerged from the soggy cardboard of the 'Longest Bubble Gum Tube'. These sensations were not limited to organic materials, for when handling items such as the hair clip and the flip-flops I also experienced a strong feeling of discomfort and disgust. Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas ascribe this sensation of nausea, or the notion of the 'abject' (Kristeva, 1997), to the 'archaeological act' itself and the "'fragile limits" it negotiates', to the decomposition of flesh and waste, to the "'instinctive" aversion to the object of study', including 'perceived violations of privacy' (Buchli and Lucas, 2001b: 11) – with reference in particular to their archaeological 'excavation' of a recently abandoned twentieth century British council house (see Buchli and Lucas, 2001c: 158-167). For me however, the sickness brought about by an engagement with these finds felt more like an unwelcome encounter with the physical and emotional traces of those who had left them behind. This was not an invasion of their privacy; if anything, I felt as though they were the occupiers, tangibly encroaching upon my personal

space. They left me feeling compromised and ‘dirty’. I tried to banish them to the garden shed, but there was no escape, for they had started to invade my every waking thought.

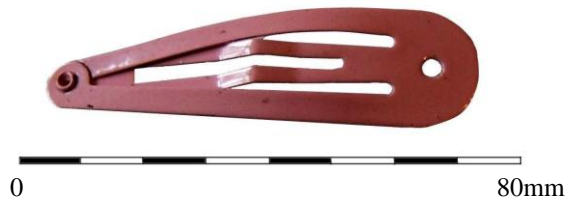


Figure 6.14: Large pink hair clip recovered during field walking



Figure 6.15: Rizla papers recovered during field walking

The test pit finds provoked no such reaction. Although they were less ‘personal’ in nature, it was also as if time and nature had sanitised them, removing all trace of their previous lives. They included a series of metal and wooden tent pegs, an Allen key set, a festoon bulb from a caravan, and very little else except an excess of iron slag. Based on several conversations with local people and Forestry Commission staff, I had already concluded that the ubiquitous iron slag was most likely dumped at some point, possibly to level off the site. Reflecting on those camping-related artefacts, I speculated that they might have been lost rather than discarded; they were all utilitarian objects that could be ‘put to work’ on the site.



Figure 6.16: Allen key recovered from test pit 22

For instance, commonly known as a hex key, the Allen key is a six-sided tool used as a driver for screws, bolts, and other fasteners. It comes in several different shapes and sizes, but the most typical is an L-shape. This allows the user to take advantage of the wrench's reach while using the longer arm of the L-shape, or its torque capabilities while using the shorter arm. One of the advantages of the Allen key is its contact points; six sides in contact with the bolt or screw ensure plenty of surface area to turn the screw effectively. There are a multitude of possible uses for an Allen key, even on a campsite, including perhaps: removing caravan brake callipers, fitting caravan tyre safety bands, lowering caravan landing legs, mounting TV and satellite equipment, assembling outdoor furniture, locking or unlocking security devices, adjusting roof racks, and replacing parts on canopies, 'sunbrella's or awnings. Tacking back to the activities observed at Christchurch, the Allen key set speaks again of competence, having the 'right things' or the appropriate tools for the job, and the need to 'be prepared'. An assemblage of human and nonhuman, the Allen key set and its user together demonstrate such competence and preparedness.

Fieldwork IV: Dissemination

Less than two weeks later, I was in Manchester at the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers' (RGS/IBG) annual conference, presenting a paper on memories associated with the Long Path (Chapter Four). I checked my mobile phone over lunch to find that I had a voicemail message from a journalist at *The Times*, who wanted to write an article on the Worcester Lodge project. Such acts of dissemination are perhaps the 'goalposts of our endeavours' (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 257). Yet communicating the project to a public audience was always going to be risky. Maybe if it had been *The Guardian*, the article and the response it elicited might have been different. News is always quiet on the late summer bank holiday; parliament is in recess, and there is often little of sufficient interest to grip the nation. At the same time, most people are full of the holiday spirit, hoping to soak up those last rays of sunshine as the end of the summer draws near. A tongue-in-cheek article on camping and campsite archaeology probably seemed like ideal fodder. The headline of the full, page-four spread read: *Searching for Khaki Man as broad canvas of history reaches the day before yesterday* (31 August 2009). The main thrust of the article can be summed up in the following lines:

'A team of archaeologists has spent a week excavating a campsite in the Forest of Dean with the same painstaking attention to detail they would apply to a prehistoric settlement. While some may scoff at the need to dig up a past so recent that some people still have nightmares about it, it is part of a growing trend in British archaeology.'

And, of course, it would have been incomplete without mention of Barbara Windsor in *Carry on Camping*, but I suppose it could have been worse. I was stunned and somewhat bemused by the vitriolic comments posted on *The Times* website, however (see below).

Frederick Roots wrote:

The commentators here have missed the point rather; the researchers wanted to see what would remain from an ephemeral activity such as camping. They have found out that little remains. I'm a pretty right wing chap myself, but I am sadly disappointed by the almost utilitarian philistinism with which any kind of intellectual activity is viewed by most other right wingers. It is almost tragic that for them, any kind of intellectual or cultural activity can only be of value if it pays off in some way from an economic point of view. Knowledge and enquiry are in fact worthwhile in themselves, and while archeologists can not expect to be highly paid, they enrich our society by their efforts.

August 31, 2009 12:25 PM BST

RECOMMEND? (3)

Mary Rogers wrote:

From my memory of these events, the main thing an archaeologist would find is a big pile of poo. Which is pretty much what this 'research' is.

August 31, 2009 11:50 AM BST

RECOMMEND?

Ivor Point wrote:

What a complete waste of time, money and effort. That period and its artefacts are well documented and many of them recorded on film. Archaeology is a worthwhile academic discipline and activity. This is simply reducing it to the soil bound equivalent of Media Studies.

August 31, 2009 11:29 AM BST

RECOMMEND? (1)

Chris Parsons wrote:

Who could disagree with any of the posters thus far?! The 'archaeologists' could have asked me and saved a whole load of time and money. Good grief!

August 31, 2009 9:10 AM BST

RECOMMEND? (3)

david harris wrote:

and the universities are short of money? can,t imagine why. my grandfather used to say that"they,re educated 'til they,re daft" he was way before his time.

August 31, 2009 8:18 AM BST

RECOMMEND? (3)

Scott Benowitz wrote:

Call Francis Pryor and Phil Harding!!! We've found a hubcap from an AMC Pacer, a button from a polyester leisure suit and a piece of an 8-track cassette of disco music!!!!

August 31, 2009 3:45 AM BST

RECOMMEND? (3)

Steve Bush wrote:

Studying more and more about less and less until they know everything about nothing.

August 30, 2009 11:52 PM BST

RECOMMEND? (18)

Figure 6.17: Responses to *The Times* article posted on *The Times*' website

Did people really have nothing better to do over the bank holiday weekend? What I found most galling was that I had paid for everything associated with the fieldwork, including the equipment. At the same time, and despite the sleepless nights, it was all meant to be a bit of fun. Of course, there were serious research questions, the application of good archaeological practice, and sensible interpretation, but the chance to get into the field, to assemble a group of friends, to meet people from the local community – that was what had made it worthwhile.

Needless to say, it was *The Times*' article that attracted interest from *Radio 4*. I was back at home by then, spending my bank holiday Monday worrying about the response to the article, whilst trying to catch up on some gardening. A producer from *PM* telephoned to ask if I would be prepared to be interviewed by Carolyn Quinn. I agreed to do it, but only if he could assure me that it wouldn't be too derogatory and would be pre-recorded. He offered to send the radio car to my home. As soon as I put the phone down I was convinced that I'd made a terrible mistake, but it seemed like the best opportunity to put forward a more balanced account of the Worcester Lodge project. I spent over an hour rehearsing a series of arguments in defence of twentieth-century archaeology and in support of my work, but I hadn't really been prepared for the most important part of the argument – to say what I'd learnt. I'm not even sure I'd had enough time to think about what I'd learnt. Sandwiched between a piece on a new Iraqi law to ban smoking in public places and a report on 'Mayor John' of Braddock, Pennsylvania, 'America's coolest mayor', this is the interview as it was broadcast on 31 August 2009:

Quinn: 'Now, if you can remember camping expeditions in the 1970s, you will know it was a very different experience to today's outings. But can campsites from thirty-odd years ago prove

valuable to archaeologists? Well, Lisa Hill certainly thinks so. For her doctorate in archaeology she's excavating a campsite in the Forest of Dean. I asked her *why?*

Me: 'What I'm interested in is the transition of the Forest of Dean landscape, from one which was very much oriented towards industrial activity, into an area that's really been turned over to leisure. And taking the more recent past, and this sort of idea of camping, and working back through some of the layers of the soil to the more distant past, I think provides us with quite a unique perspective on that transition in the landscape.'

Quinn: 'What have you found? Anything useful?'

Me: 'Well, we found some of the things that we expected to find – so we found a series of metal and wooden tent pegs, an Allen key set, which I'm sure someone was very sorry to lose at the time, and some coins from the 1980s.'

Quinn: 'People might be surprised though, to think that an archaeologist is interested in a campsite from just thirty years ago. Is it a useful use of your time?'

Me: 'Well, I think archaeologists choosing to engage with issues of the more recent past should be encouraged to do so perhaps, rather than lamented. And I think that these topics shouldn't be the preserve purely of economic, social or environmental historians, and that archaeological methods can tell us different things from other methods. They may augment, contradict or challenge our ideas of the past, and I think that's an entirely useful thing for us to be doing.'

Quinn: 'And how would that happen though? How would that occur?'

Me: 'Well, I think for instance if you perhaps talked to people using oral history techniques you would get very different answers about how they were using the site, compared with looking at the actual material remains. So people often forget or misrepresent things that were happening, or their memories are reconstructed in their minds...'

Quinn: 'And everyone's got their own memories, haven't they, of camping in the '70s?'

Me: 'Absolutely.'

Quinn: 'Have you had some funny looks from locals though, who hear that Worcester Lodge Campsite is being examined as an archaeological dig?'

Me: 'It's interesting that you should say that. I've had a lot of really, really good support from the local community actually. A lot of people have been coming out to visit us every day to see what we've been finding and coming to talk to us, and some of the local children have been have been getting involved and have been helping out with the dig. So I've been really pleased by the positive response from the local community.'

Quinn: 'So from what you're saying then, there is no set timescale that comes under the category of what should appeal to archaeologists?'

Me: 'I don't think so. Other people may disagree, but I think that an archaeology of 'us', or an archaeology of the more recent past is becoming much more popular, because obviously people can find a greater connection with some of the finds that we come up with, and they can tell a completely different story to the one that people expect.'

Quinn: 'Lisa Hill.'

I'd emailed my volunteers and a few friends to let them know about the *Times* article and the interview for *PM*. Dan Hicks caught the interview in his car, and later sent a message around the CHAT (Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory) mailing list. As Dewsbury and Naylor acknowledge, 'knowledge production is still reliant on communities of witnesses who either validate or nullify' our work as academics (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 255). The response was mixed. If nothing else, I should have said something about camping and caravanning being a leisure activity that involves work, which was exemplified by the finds and is often forgotten in people's accounts of their holiday experiences. I felt like I'd failed the contemporary archaeological community.

Thread one on the CHAT list:

-----Original Message-----

On Mon, 31 Aug 2009 22:29:00 +0100, J Symonds <J.Symonds@SHEFFIELD.AC.UK> wrote:

I heard Lisa on Radio 4 and was impressed. The trouble is I am committed to contemporary archaeology, and already believe that it is worthwhile.

Looking at the comments posted in response to the Guardian article it is clear that we have a long way to go before contemporary archaeology can be accepted as a mainstream and worthwhile archaeological endeavour.

Having said that, work at Heeley City Farm in Sheffield this summer on a Victorian terraced house was able to make links to modern concerns over the use of fossil fuels and global warming, and the need to recycle, and thereby gained broad-based community interest and support.

'Tell me something that I don't already know' is nevertheless still the big question that needs to be countered as we push the boundaries.

J.

Quoting dan Hicks <dan.hicks@ARCH.OX.AC.UK>:

For interest -- Lisa Hill's work in Forest of Dean in today's Guardian, also picked up with interview with Lisa on today's Radio 4 PM programme - <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/outdoors/article6815635.ece>

DH

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Version: 8.5.409 / Virus Database: 270.13.76/2343 - Release Date: 09/03/09
05:50:00

Från: Discussion List for Contemporary and Historical Archaeology [CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISMAIL.AC.UK] för dan Hicks [dan.hicks@ARCH.OX.AC.UK]

Skickat: den 1 september 2009 20:24

Till: CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISMAIL.AC.UK

Ämne: Campsite archaeology/CHAT conference

I couldn't resist a comment on Jim Symonds' post --

In my recent experience 'tell me something I don't know' has been a question addressed much more commonly and explicitly by archaeologists working on the C20 than by early modern archaeologists. This need not be the case. We should remember that we're just a generation away from precisely the same concerns about the utility of Romano-British archaeology.

The argument - which has been used most effectively by Marxist archaeologists in the US - that doing fieldwork provides a focus for public debate (like about climate change, as in Jim's example) can be a strong one. We might note that no-one complained when Lisa was doing oral history or archive research, so clearly fieldwork has a particular power for public debate about the past.

But we all need to make the case more strongly for the value of archaeological perspectives: perspectives that cover the whole of the human past, not just some canon of great sites, themes or periods. Personally, I feel very hopeful that that is happening.

One major challenge for those working in historical archaeology is not to allow 'contemporary archaeology' to become something different from 'historical archaeology'. It's all archaeology, and all archaeology is contemporary (which was the thinking behind the CHAT group being called 'contemporary and historical' not 'contemporary or historical').

More debate on this at CHAT next month in Oxford I'm sure -- where Lisa is giving a paper and Jim will be a discussant.

Which leads me to the main point -- to remind everyone that delegate registration is moving fast, and that if you want to attend (or if you're a speaker) you need to send in your registration form and payment asap -- full details are here --

<http://www.contemp-hist-arch.ac.uk/news.htm>

Looking forward to seeing many of you in Oxford,

DH

From: Discussion List for Contemporary and Historical Archaeology
[\[mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK\]](mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK) On Behalf Of Cornelius Holtorf
Sent: 01 September 2009 20:25
To: CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK
Subject: SV: Campsite archaeology/CHAT conference

Dear all

I think Dan is right that we need to make our case far better (and far more often). In this particular case it may be that the journalist didn't quite get it, quoting Lisa as being interested in the 20th century but relativizing this immediately by pointing to a methodological interest with future archaeologists in mind who will then study a more distant (and by implication more real) past. Surely, contemporary archaeology is not merely of methodological concern, in the same way that others practiced

"ethnoarchaeology" in the past? I assume that all this is the journalist's take on the topic. But it is significant nevertheless.

One of the biggest obstacles for the public acceptance of contemporary archaeology is the public perception of archaeology which is very much seen as a discipline preoccupied with discovery and promising great revelations, bringing lost civilizations back to life, etc. This is not what contemporary archaeology has to offer (in most cases!), but it is not what most non-contemporary archaeology has to offer either. The difference is that non-contemporary archaeologists and journalists reporting about them often manage to give their stories a popular spin by evoking these popular clichés. This is our big opportunity in archaeology (for which many other subjects envy us) -- and in contemporary archaeology we, too, need to realise this.

I think that both The Van and the Campsite (as well as a number of other contemporary archaeology projects I know of) would have benefitted in their popular perception from some major "discoveries" and "revelations". The best part of the Van story (to me anyway) were the missing fingerprints on some of the parts but not all that much was made of this particular discovery in the public domain, and it is a fairly minor discovery and revelation at that. The Heeley City Farm project, on the other hand, seems to have found a suitable spin, as Jim pointed out. My point is that I don't think it does us much good if we focus exclusively on academic, methodological issues all the time. Let's think about mass audiences more often and ask us everytime: so what's new here? What's the story?

PS Contemporary archaeology is obviously not only firmly aligned with historical archaeology, as Dan correctly points out, but also with prehistoric archaeology, and for the very same reason: "it's all archaeology, and all archaeology is contemporary".

all the best for now, wish I could come to Oxford

Cornelius

Cornelius Holtorf
University of Kalmar, Sweden
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From: Discussion List for Contemporary and Historical Archaeology
[\[mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMail.AC.UK\]](mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMail.AC.UK) On Behalf Of J Symonds
Sent: 01 September 2009 21:26
To: CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMail.AC.UK
Subject: Re: Campsite archaeology/CHAT conference

Thanks Dan,

I think you hit the nail on the head with your comment about fieldwork.

A cultural geographer (or historian) could happily construct a tale of changing landuse and leisure pursuits from archival evidence with no one noticing or complaining.

But get 10 or people in a field digging holes and people want to know what they are doing, and why.
In this case the complaints posted on the website seemed to focused in two areas.

Some people clearly felt that this was not what archaeologists should be doing.

Arrange the following in order of perceived public approval/understanding/and possible public value:

- we are digging in search of an iron age settlement
- we are digging in search of a crashed WWII plane
- we are digging in search of a 1970s campsite
- we are helping the police to look for murder victims

The other objections seem to stem from our challenging economic circumstances at present

- are these people wasting public money?
- Is this more evidence of madcap university schemes (again a drain on the public purse). Discuss.

J.

As Hodder (2001: 189) suggests, ‘archaeology is very much “in your face”’; its popularity is unparalleled, and the manner of its engagement with the past – through physical remains and artefacts – provides a tangible and apparently irresistible link with the lives of our ‘ancestors’. To many, particularly those who have grown up with the archaeology of ancient Egypt, the excavation of Roman forts, and the sites of Stonehenge and Avebury, the idea of ‘contemporary archaeology’ must sound like a contradiction in terms. As Holtorf and Piccini admit, ‘the contribution that archaeology can make to studies of the contemporary world is not obvious’ (2009: 11). Contemporary archaeology raises a number of questions, which for those commenting on the article in *The Times* were as follows: What’s the point of excavating sites that are within living memory, about which everything is already known? Isn’t it all just a big waste of time (and money)? As James Symonds suggests, “‘tell me something that I don’t already know’ is ‘still the big question that needs to be countered as we push the boundaries’ (posted to the CHAT list on 31 August 2009). Similar criticisms

were raised concerning the ‘Van Project’ (see Newland et al., 2007; Bailey et al., 2009). Cornelius Holtorf reiterates this point: ‘I think that both the Van and the Campsite (as well as a number of other contemporary archaeology projects I know of) would have benefitted in their popular perception from some major “discoveries” and “revelations”’ (posted to the CHAT list, 1 September 2009). Yet, as Holtorf points out, such discoveries and revelations are rare – not just in contemporary archaeology, but in the field as a whole.

Hicks raises another interesting point about methodology; noting that my archival work and oral histories did not attract this level of debate (see post to the CHAT list on 1 September 2009). This is picked up by Symonds, who suggests that the adverse reaction in comments on *The Times* website was in part a reflection of the traditional fieldwork approach (see post to the CHAT list on 1 September 2009), bringing us back to the core question: What is to be gained from test-pitting a disused campsite, as opposed, or in addition, to the use of documentary sources and oral testimony? The findings from Rathje’s Garbage Project are perhaps the most instructive in developing a response. Started in 1973, the Garbage Project has meticulously studied the contents of waste from the houses of residents in Tuscon, Arizona (see Rathje 1984, 1996). From the outset, Rathje’s goal was to show that archaeological methods and theories could help us to understand issues of modern concern. By comparing reported waste patterns with the material evidence, Rathje was able to demonstrate significant discrepancies, such as under-reporting in terms of alcohol consumption, casting doubt on the reliability of self-reporting, on oral testimony and the broader historical record (for a useful summary, see Rathje, 2001). In other words, the point is that people do not always tell the truth; they misrepresent, they underestimate or overestimate, and sometimes they wilfully lie. The idea is that material remains can

therefore provide an additional, and sometimes more accurate, source of evidence about our engagements with the world.

However, it is important to remember that a study of the material remains of a disused 1970s campsite was not the sole purpose of this fieldwork. As the CHAT debate rumbled on, it seemed too late, and too felt risky, to admit that the one of the principal aims of this work was to explore the notion of 'knowledge-as-practice'. For if archaeology is a particular mode of thought, it is also a way of engaging with the world that fosters a unique understanding – not just about those material remains of the past that we encounter as archaeologists, but about the manner of that encounter and our broader engagements with the world, our becomings. Networks of bodies and things – human, more-than-human, non-human – come together to make knowledge in the field, knowledge that is not just archaeological. At the same time, the project was as much about knowledge-as-practice associated with the campsite as it was the field site. I had chosen not to engage, but instead to watch as the debate unfolded.

Thread two on the CHAT list:

-----Original Message-----

Från: Discussion List for Contemporary and Historical Archaeology [CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISMAIL.AC.UK] för David Gordon [davidgordon@DUNELM.ORG.UK]
Skickat: den 4 september 2009 21:53
Till: CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISMAIL.AC.UK
Ämne: Fame at last!

Well we must have reached the pinnacle of acceptance since Contemporary Archaeology was satirised on Radio 4's prime Friday night comedy show "I guess that's why they call it the news" this evening. Admittedly they did confuse us with the Antiques Roadshow, but you can't have everything. We are now clearly mainstream.
Available on Listen Again for a week, and rebroadcast tomorrow lunchtime.

David

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Checked by AVG - www.avg.com
Version: 8.5.409 / Virus Database: 270.13.78/2347 - Release Date: 09/05/09
05:51:00

From: Discussion List for Contemporary and Historical Archaeology
[\[mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK\]](mailto:CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK) On Behalf Of Cornelius Holtorf
Sent: 04 September 2009 22:52
To: CONTEMP-HIST-ARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK
Subject: SV: Fame at last!

Thanks for the tip! The file is available here
http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b00mcxcn/I_Guess_Thats_Why_They_Call_It_The_News_Episode_3/, starting at 22' - very funny!

By the way, I dont think they confused anything. Archaeology is a lot about artefacts, their interpretation and their value (not only in the public imagination).

The point seems to be that the 1970s do not need archaeology because there are no mysteries as everybody remembers it all so well. Within that logic our task appears to be identifying and subsequently solving a contemporary mystery.

I am sure there are many.

C

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The 'hype' died down after that reference on *I Guess That's Why They Call It The News*, apart from an invitation to appear on the *One Show*, which I'm *almost* sorry I chose to ignore. Instead, my time was filled with writing the fieldwork report. I'd managed to catalogue my finds before the Manchester Conference, so I was left with the task of pulling everything together into a neat, objective narrative. Of more immediate concern however, was the job of writing a paper for the CHAT conference in Oxford in November. I wanted

to create a stark contrast between the two pieces of writing. I wanted to write about Worcester Lodge itself without losing sight of the things happening around it – sensations, thoughts, conversations and activities – that were themselves integral to the fieldwork. I wanted to redeem myself. The idea of camping while undertaking fieldwork at a campsite was a designed feature of the project, though by following a conventional style and format I knew that it would always be written out of the official fieldwork report. Instead, I decided that it should be the focus of my paper for CHAT. It felt like a bit of a risk, for even papers at CHAT feel traditional in their approach – at least by comparison with some of the sessions at the annual RGS/IBG conference, for instance. I am always nervous when presenting, but that day in Oxford brought forth the worst fear I had ever experienced. Heart beating fast, palms sweating, I stepped up to the front, took a deep breath, and began. I was about halfway through before I noticed how tightly I was gripping the sides of the lectern. I realised then the extent to which my body had taken over. My mind was wandering all over the place. Marvelling that I had managed to get this far without any conscious thought, I relaxed a little and started to enjoy the strange sensation of hearing my own voice – articulate and authoritative – as if I was listening to someone else. Most of the text from that paper has been integrated into the sections above. Although a little unorthodox, attracting a few mummings of ‘self-indulgence’, I was glad I’d stuck with it, and genuinely elated when Matt Edgeworth found me afterwards to tell me that he thought it was ‘brilliant’.

Fieldwork VI: Thank you

It was whilst writing that paper that I had my first real opportunity to review the short videos of my volunteers at work. It was easy to pick out those with archaeological training:

postures, tool use, an air of confidence, all gave them away. Yet everyone brought hard work and something unique and personal to the endeavour. As Dewsbury and Naylor acknowledge, ‘the space of fieldwork is inseparable from those doing it’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 256). Without the warmth and generosity of those friends who volunteered in August 2009, there would be no fieldwork, no finds or findings, around which to construct a narrative account. Thank you: Ben Westran, James Hill, Carol Collier, Natalie Meese-Kennedy, Dan Masters, Phil Davies, Thom Westran, Jeni Milsom, Jude Hill, Idris Northam, Ruth Smith, Ben Smith, Lucy Smith, Sarah Carter, and Amy Troy.

Conclusion

Despite Hodder’s calls for a more reflexive archaeology, the standard field report dominates as a means of archaeological representation. This is a great shame, for as Dewsbury and Naylor assert, ‘knowledge is set against a backdrop of material agents as much as it is scripted from the intentional agency of the individual researcher ...’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 254). Without this ‘backdrop’ there is something missing from our accounts. This is not to denigrate the standard field report as a document that seeks to provide an objective, measured, quantified and catalogued statement of work in the field. The field report is an integral part of the archaeological process, containing important information on the site itself, photographs, diagrams and maps that can be compared with other sites, and an analysis of the nature of the finds recovered. Replicable research practices, along with results that are documented in a standard and accepted format, are a staple of archaeology as a scientific discipline. Instead, my assertion is that there must be space for more; a space in which we can draw attention to the nature of archaeology as thought-in-action, to the role of ‘others’ in the archaeological process, both human and non-human, and to those

imperceptible differences brought about by encounters that evoke and unsettle, that have the power to shape our empirical work and our thinking. The challenge is to ‘order those encounters and agencies into words – to sense, witness and collect the ... world into words’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 256). By developing a form of writing that recounts the practices, performances and emotions associated with the campsite, the field site and spaces of dissemination, I have attempted to create a document that sits alongside, and is supplemental to, the standard field report. The aim of this narrative is to emphasise the importance of thought-in-action, and the shared endeavour of knowledge production – in which we are all, albeit in different ways, engaged. It is also to acknowledge that ‘beneath the “management”, “mapping” and “exploitation” of the natural world, the natural world – “us” – is messily performed in our physical involvement with our sites of inquiry’ (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002: 254). The neat, apparently objective, narratives associated with the standard field report mask this reality. But more importantly, they marginalise and exclude those human and non-human entities that shape our knowledge-making, erasing all trace of our engagement with the world, and the manner in which the world that acts back.

Yet the question remains as to what is to be gained by taking a more-than-representational approach to our research endeavours, to our writing and to our acts of dissemination. Firstly, I would like to suggest that the advantages of adopting a non-representational mode of thought are apparent in the knowledge gained from performances and encounters associated with the camping experience. For example, although the campsite is conventionally understood as a site for leisure, it is only by engaging in camping as an activity that one understands and appreciates the work involved, both human and non-human, from erecting tents to mopping shower floors, from the domestic routines associated with self-catering to the maintenance of equipment. There is a sense in which those ‘things’

associated with the campsite demand our attention, as we also make demands of them. This is exemplified in the artefacts recovered from test pits at Worcester Lodge, most of which were utilitarian objects that could be put to work on the site. A real lack of other finds suggests both that these items were genuinely lost rather than discarded, and that the site itself was well-kept, cared for and respected. At the same time, it is only by being immersed in the campsite as a leisure space that one gets a true sense of the campsite as a space of practical knowledge, in which tools such as an Allen key set help us to demonstrate our levels of proficiency. But it is primarily by means of our engagement with the field site that we come to know. Worcester Lodge caravan and camping site is a tranquil haven in the Forest, away from traffic and the trappings of the modern world, a space in which one can lose oneself in the in-between, the space between self and world. Worcester Lodge field is a site of everyday leisure activities, where people bring their dogs and watch with sheer delight as they bound and dart, chasing after balls and interacting with other dogs. Walking, observing and listening, digging, scraping and backfilling, measuring, recording and sensing – this is how we come to know. It is in the field that we encounter a host of human and non-human entities that act back, inducing sensations and actions that shape us as academics, influencing and informing our work in myriad ways. From field walking finds that evoke feelings of disgust, disturb and unsettle, to the exhilarating moment of discovery – a festoon bulb glinting in the afternoon sun, waiting in anticipation of my gaze. Unpredictable and uncertain, these are the encounters that confront and excite, challenge and impel us to act differently. Surely this is the ‘stuff’ of archaeology?

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: Towards a More-Than-Representational Contemporary Archaeology?

Introduction

I wish to begin by returning to the two core questions that this thesis has sought to address, namely, what might a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology look like? And, what can archaeological perspectives offer in terms of the development of non-representational theory? These questions are important, not only because they provide a framework around which the theoretical and empirical elements of the thesis have been conceived and assembled, but because they also signal its original contribution to knowledge. Although threads of non-representational thinking can be discerned within the discipline of archaeology – utilising phenomenological philosophy within prehistory (see, for example, Tilley, 1994, 2004; Thomas, 1996; Cummings, 2002a, 2002b; Cummings and Whittle, 2003), and ANT within symmetrical archaeology for instance (see Webmoor, 2007; Witmore, 2006, 2007; Webmoor and Witmore, 2005, 2008; Hicks, 2005; Olsen, 2007), as well as Alberti and Marshall's work drawing in particular on the writing of Karen Barad (see Alberti and Marshall, 2009; Barad, 2003; 2007) – there has been little real engagement or debate within archaeology as to the nature of the non-representational or its implications for archaeological endeavour – including what I identified in Chapter One as a significant challenge to the concept of 'material culture'. As such, this thesis marks the first serious

attempt to think through some of these issues, and to develop a more-than-representational approach to archaeologies of the recent and contemporary past. At the same time, it adds to a growing body of literature on non-representational theory within the field of human geography. Focusing in particular upon those barely perceptible echoes from the past that have the power to move us in unexpected ways, it has gone some way towards developing new insights into the temporal dimensions of non-representational thought, on the becoming-past of the present (Deleuze, 2004 [1994]) – matters around which the discussion within human geography has, to date, been limited (Rose, 2010).

Taking the landscape of the Forest of Dean as a case study in rural de-industrialisation, I have developed a contemporary archaeological approach to considerations of materiality and time within non-representational thought, placing an emphasis on matter, memory and haunting, absence and presence. At the same time, bringing insights from non-representational theory into the field of contemporary archaeology has enabled me to examine not just the legacy of the past in this landscape, but its capacity to generate affective registers, to evoke and to unsettle. In the first section of this chapter, I synthesise some of the outcomes of this work, reflecting on four key concepts – matter, time, performativity and practice – and how they might be put to work in a more-than-representational approach to contemporary archaeology. I go on to examine the contribution of this thesis to our understanding of the post-industrial landscape of the Royal Forest of Dean, its complex social history and its ‘pastness’. In doing so, I also reflect on some of the limitations of this work, including its failure to convey the ‘non-representational’. Finally, I consider the scope for further research that extends the reach of non-representational theories within contemporary archaeology, and the archaeological discipline as a whole.

More-Than-Representational Theory: Matter, Time, Performativity and Practice

In Chapter Two, I provided a comprehensive account of the landscape transformation that occurred in Forest of Dean during the course of the twentieth century – from a landscape dominated by primary industrial activity, to a landscape that delivers opportunities and amenities for outdoor leisure. Although in this chapter I utilised archival records and secondary sources, I adopted a ‘cultures of landscape’ (Matless, 1998) style approach to emphasise processes of subjectification brought about through new forestry practices, changing attitudes towards outdoor leisure, and the redevelopment of industrial remains, enabling me to suggest what *more* there might be than representation. These themes were developed in each of the chapters that followed, as they explored a series of more-than-representational perspectives on matter, time, performativity and practice.

Matter

In Chapter Three I highlighted some of the emergent, processual and affective dimensions of this landscape transformation by focusing on industrial remains that have been re-appropriated as leisure infrastructure. I began by arguing that recent calls in archaeology and geography to ‘re-materialise’, or to return to the concrete world of things, have wrongly and reductively equated the ‘material’ with an obdurate, grounded reality (Kearns, 2003; Latham and McCormack, 2004; Anderson and Wylie, 2009; and McCormack, 2010; Rose, 2011). By contrast, I outlined an alternative and broadly Deleuzian approach to matter that focused instead upon active processes of materialisation and matter-in-relation, opening up a world of material forces, agentic capacities, and unintended effects. For according to

Deleuze, there is one substance for all attributes, one nature, itself varying interminably (Deleuze, 1988). If we take the example of the New Fancy View, we can observe the outcomes of such matter-in-relation. The sheer ‘materiality’ of the spoil heap suggests on first glance that it stands permanent and steadfast, yet it is highly contingent and unpredictable. The processes put in place to achieve slope stability began with the controlled burning of spoil material to remove high-energy hydrocarbons that are prone to spontaneous combustion. Next, an experimental blend of materials was sown over to promote a surface covering of grass that would protect and bind the spoil heap, preventing erosion from rainfall and the effects of gravity. Another assemblage of relations gave rise to the commemorative stone, which was laid to mark the opening of the viewpoint and to celebrate the planting of two million acres of forest. Consider the carving of the stone, as the stonemason’s hammer and chisel excited it with such force that grains of rock exploded from its surface. Drawing on bodily regimes, developed through processes of trial, error and refinement, neurons coursed through the stonemason’s body, carrying a series of ‘action potentials’ to activate individual muscle fibres. A different set of action potentials are actively perceived as eyes are cast upwards, drawn towards the viewpoint summit. The viewpoint promises perspective and elevation, its steep slopes gesture and beckon the climb. Sensory effects generate a series of perceptions and cognitions, some of which will be pushed into the background, marginalised or expunged, while others will be brought to the fore, internalised and accentuated by the movements, speeds and slowness that are regulated by the spoil heap and its view. Such affective materialities arise in the fold of relations between subject and viewpoint. Caught in the gaze, a swarm of potentials produce new perceptions, and new becomings. These ‘immaterialities’ do not stand in opposition to a fixed, passive and inert ‘materiality’, for they are intrinsic to matter in all its varying forms.

As such, this broadly Deleuzian way of thinking provides a framework for re-examining the world and our place within it. Although the idea that the world is *ontologically* flat will not be news to many within the discipline, it is not clear that we as archaeologists have had the kind of theoretically robust debate that would enable us to deal with the implications of this revelation. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, archaeology deals with artefacts – with things, materials and matter – yet it has traditionally been the people behind these objects – their ideas and belief systems – that have been the focus of archaeological endeavour. While there is no doubting the influence of relational thinking – in ‘symmetrical’ archaeology, for instance – and most within the discipline would accept that matter has agentic capacity – the ‘human’ elements of this relational equation are often missing. In other words, archaeology appears to lack a coherent theoretical account of how we engage with a world filled with matter-in-relation, a world that is itself emergent, affective and processual. This is understandable perhaps given the role and status of artefacts within the discipline, yet I would argue that recent work privileging the ‘material’ elements of ‘material culture’ as a discrete realm of study that reveals the ‘cultural’ elements of ‘material culture’ is deeply problematic (see, for example, Olsen, 2010). This is particularly the case for contemporary archaeology, which inevitably works at the interface of human encounter.

Thus it is the properties of matter-in-relation that have been explored throughout this thesis. In Chapter Four, I focused on the affective dimensions of the post-industrial landscape, and the memories it evoked while walking an old miner’s path. While memory is often conceptualised as a representation, and objects as ‘carriers’ or signifiers, we see here that memories are generated not at a contemplative distance but instead arise out of our everyday actions and encounters with the world. As I went on to show in Chapter Five, matter

resonates with an aura that induces new sensations and new ‘becomings’. Drawing on the concept of the ‘event’, we can identify a dynamic capacity for affecting and being affected by other bodies, and a prompting ‘to act differently according to the objects encountered’ (Deleuze, 1988: 21, cited in Dewsbury, 2000: 486). These ideas were pursued in Chapter Six, which emphasised the processual nature of our thought, as thought-in-action during archaeological fieldwork at a disused 1970s campsite in the Forest.

Time

As stated in my introductory chapter, the kind of contemporary archaeology I have sought to develop in this thesis is not focused solely on what might be described as the ‘contemporary’ past, but instead takes an interest in the role of the past – whether recent or indeed ancient – in the present. In other words, my goal has been to understand the manner by which the past shapes our everyday lives, often in unexpected but no less real ways. As I have suggested, if matter is always-already-affective and resonates with a situational aura, it also has the power to create intimations of the past. I used the refrain ‘movement, scale and speed’ in two senses in Chapter Three; firstly, as a central motif to highlight the emergent, affective and processual properties of matter-in-relation, and, secondly, as that which ‘fabricates time’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 [1988]; Grosz, 2008). Operating as a rhythm, the Deleuzian concept of the refrain alters the pace of interactions, increasing or decreasing their speed and intensity. Consider the Forest of Dean Cycle Trail. Once railway, its rhythms have become cycleway. The rhythmic and vibratory forces of body and earth create a new refrain. Yet it carries the continuity of its variations, relations to past and future. Its gradient, its twists and turns, the places, sites and spaces it connects, they are all a part of its ‘becoming’. As such, the spaces of post-industrial transformation outlined in Chapter Three also have the power to

evoke a sense of the past. Functioning topologically, they carry with them the continuity of their transformations. They enfold in their stillness a deformational field of which there is a trace, encompassing both the monument of their passing and the potential to be repeated – the virtuality of their appearance. This virtuality cannot but be felt, evoking an intelligible sense of the past. It is particularly apparent at the site of Moseley Green New Engine Colliery, which invokes a series of sensations – of labour, loss, exploration, decay – but all of these sites have the power to generate affect.

The always-already affective qualities of matter and the complex temporalities they induce were explored further in Chapter Four, which considered the recurrent manifestation of the spectral, as that which disturbs, displaces and conditions our understanding of space and time, absence and presence. Drawing on Derrida's 'hauntology', I narrated a walk undertaken with local resident and member of the Forest of Dean Local History Society, Ron Beard, as we sought to re-trace the 'Long Path', a route connecting Lightmoor colliery with the nearby village of Ruspidge. Derrida (1994) suggests that the spectral is always revenant, creating an endless process of returning that displaces space and time, absence and presence. In the case of Ron's recollections while walking the Long Path, we see both the rejuvenation of memories and a haunting sense of loss. Ghostly memories operate to disorient place and self, they disconcert and unsettle. As such, my account of walking the Long Path aimed to convey the haunting and complex interdependencies between past and present, future-present and past, the incessant becoming-past of the present. Haunting memories of the dead dragged us into other places and times, into Buller Turley's trenches of the Somme. They beckoned to us from the past, their carbide lamps bobbing down through the trees, puffs of steam from their coal-laden trains drifting on the breeze, their boyhood cries of 'Hooperella!' But as we saw in Chapter Four, it is often our own

spectrality that is the most disorienting, the most unsettling and unnerving. Consider, for example, Ron's experiences of getting lost as a child. Entering the dark forest with his companion to go 'exploring', he found himself back, sometime later, in almost the exact same spot from which he had set off. The unexpected retracing of his steps rendered the familiarity of the Forest unfamiliar to Ron, generating a sense of unease at the uncomfortably strange yet familiar, the uncanny. Getting lost in November 2008, in our attempts to locate the earlier sections of the Long Path, also created for Ron the impression that memories of his childhood were betraying him. Vague recollections of the route were complicated by the loss of youth, the haunting spectre of the small, agile child from the past, who could scramble up banks, play 'Hooperella', go scrumping for Damsons, and run to Lightmoor colliery along the Long Path. It is in this way that the inescapable revenance of the past acts not as a consoling or revelatory disclosure, but a fragmentation and a fracturing, a dislocation.

Returning to Deleuzian concepts of time, Chapter Five explored the practice of charcoal burning. Drawing on the work of De Landa, I began my analysis by considering its point of origin as a 'bifurcation'. De Landa's philosophical approach to history, which draws heavily from the writing of Gilles Deleuze, encourages us to examine our historical development in a new light – not as a series of advancements made in linear progression and derived from the minds of powerful human agents, but instead as accelerations, decelerations and coagulations in flows of matter and energy, which underpin a nonlinear and non-equilibrium understanding of history. Major transitions in human history are no longer understood as step-by-step, linear advancements, but as the crossing of critical thresholds, or 'bifurcations'. These the bifurcations are the result of the self-organising properties of matter and energy, for 'even the humblest forms of matter and energy have the

potential for *self-organisation*' (De Landa, 1997: 16). This is not to deny the role of human agency, of 'irreducible intentional entities such as "beliefs" and "desires"' (De Landa, 1997: 17); rather, it is to highlight the unintended consequences of human action, the spontaneous emergence of new forms – of material, institution, market, and language for example – and the rapid collapse of others. Consider the practice of charcoal burning, which was widespread by the thirteenth century. In the late sixteenth century charcoal was being consumed in large quantities by ironworks across the Forest. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries matter-energy flows of iron ore, coal, water, lime and wood were 'amplified' in the Forest. The Forest's apparently abundant raw materials and industrial successes attracted a number of entrepreneurs to the area, as a series of positive feedbacks brought about an *intensification*; money flowing into the region increased the flow of entrepreneurial incomers, both of which helped fuel coal extraction and iron production, which in turn triggered flows of mechanical energy in the form of steam (De Landa, 1997: 76). Complex loops of triggers and flows created opportunities for further experimentation with iron, coal and steam technology, generating 'meshworks of mutually supporting innovations' (De Landa, 1997: 77). These meshworks existed long before the industrial 'revolution', in the early uses of charcoal, in the development of iron smelting technology in the 'Iron Age' for example. However, the Forest no longer supports such 'autocatalytic' loops of technologies. Instead, a series of negative feedbacks – from the Foresters' objections to an influx of wealthy entrepreneurial 'foreigners', to the near exhaustion of accessible raw materials – have reduced the region's ability to sustain matter-energy flows, particularly in the face of competition. Stifled innovation and infrastructural development were among the unintended consequences of collective human action against the 'foreigners'. While many areas of Britain continued to develop and flourish during the course of the twentieth century, the Forest of Dean suffered radical deindustrialisation.

As suggested by Rose (2010), time is central to Deleuzian ontology, yet it has remained largely unexplored by geographers with an interest in Deleuze. Furthermore, as I argued in the introduction to this thesis, an engagement with questions of time, and in particular the past, has been limited within non-representational work more broadly. Nevertheless, it is my assertion that non-representational theories lend themselves very well to analyses of time and the affective role of the past in the present – from the Deleuzian concept of the refrain outlined in Chapter Three, to Derrida’s ‘hauntology’ as explored in Chapter Four; from De Landa’s ‘phase transitions’ set out in Chapter Five, to the Deleuzian concept of *Aion* – time of the ‘virtual’ or the time of ‘becoming’, also discussed in Chapter Five. Indeed, in the relative absence of a corpus of work on the always-already present nature of the past within non-representational thought, I suggested in the introduction to this thesis that there was an opportunity for contemporary archaeology to stake a claim here, to make a contribution to non-representational theory by focusing on the ‘becoming-past’ of the present. As such, this thesis has taken a first step in that direction by exploring the more-than-representational nature of the past. I would like to suggest that this is valuable in two respects. Firstly, it makes an important contribution to the development of non-representational thought by exploring the temporal dimensions of our relations with the world, our ‘becomings’. Secondly, non-representational conceptions of time also provide new ways of thinking the archaeological – from what might be considered macro-level interactions in the history of charcoal burning in the Forest of Dean, to micro-level interactions in the charcoal burn taking place on 30 May 2009 – all of which emphasise flows of energy and matter, a world of ‘becoming’ and beings-in-formation.

Performativity

By documenting the charcoal burn taking place on 30 May 2009 as performative, as comprising a series of ‘events’, my intention in Chapter Five was to reveal the ways in which human and non-human bodies produce ‘affect’. The performative is the gap, a spacing that enables the next moment to unfold. Deleuze instructs us to focus upon the space of the event, upon relations and the gap *between* things (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987: 55), to reveal a world of ‘becoming’, of beings-in-formation. In Chapter Five I sought to draw attention to the unpredictable and uncertain dimensions of these encounters, the accidents and aleatory happenings, and to our practical empiricism, or those moments in which we act with(out) ‘knowing’ how to go on. I examined the process of charcoal burning as a ‘heritage’ activity, in which there is a more or less ‘authentic’ engagement with the past that is brought about through bodily practices and regimes, encounters with humans and non-humans, interaction and language, material effects and ‘affects’. I sought to bear witness to the intimate and often barely palpable relations that develop in the gap between people and things, and to document these relations as they appeared, in the most transient and ephemeral of moments. Drawing on Massumi’s (2002a) description of the event space of a football game (Massumi, 2002a: 71-88), I documented the event space of the charcoal burn. This process of documentation involved the use of archaeological drawings and photographic images, alongside an objective, but nuanced and detailed style of writing – for it is only when one takes a step back, adopting the role of detached observer, that it is possible to document the event-space of others. The development of the charcoal-burning stack is the repetition of a planned form passed down over generations, which although it begins in the mind, as a representation, has the potential to carry with it variations that are an emergent property of the stack itself. The construction or ‘dressing’ of the stack highlights

the actions of experienced volunteers, who appear to have developed a reflexive response to the situation, displaying an embodied knowledge about each piece of cordwood and its place within the stack. A series of ‘threshold’ moments opened up, at which point, for example, the volunteers reached a stage in the development of the stack when they did not know how to ‘go on’, revealing the role of the body as a source of our sociality, our speech and action. Human-non-human couplings induce us to act differently – according to the world around us, the situations we find ourselves in, and the objects we encounter – from the contact of skin with the hot metal handle of a pan, to the charcoal burner’s one-legged stool used to prevent sleep while the stack is being watched. The event space of the charcoal burn revealed the emergence of relational ontologies, of beings-in-formation and ‘becoming’, and the possibility that in our encounters with ‘past’ objects, dialect and bodily regimes we might, for but the briefest of moments, be becoming-past.

As stated in Chapter Five, archaeology deals almost exclusively with the *traces* of human – non-human encounters, from which it is possible to grasp but a fraction of the forces at play. Non-representational theories – and performative approaches in particular – offer the possibility of a more nuanced interpretation of our engagements with the world. As suggested in Chapter Five, it is useful here to consider Deleuze’s ‘transcendental empiricism’, which suggests that knowledge is derived directly from experience, a knowledge oriented towards practical activity, a knowledge as to how to ‘go on’. To take a performative approach is therefore to take up the call to bear witness to those almost imperceptible ‘happenings’ that exist between a subject and an object, to the unexpected and unintended, enabling us to think these relations anew, to focus not on the ideas or beliefs behind ‘material culture’, artefacts and remains, but upon the capacity for all matter (human and non-human) to affect and to be affected.

Practice

The capricious nature of the non-representational is such that a range of techniques are required in order to grasp its movement in process, transaction and happening. For example, in Chapter Three I explored the tactility and topology of five sites that typify the Forest's transformation from industry to leisure. Drawing on repeated visits, undertaken over a sustained period, I took note of the sensations, thoughts and actions they induced in the flow of bodily encounters. In Chapter Four, I drew on oral history 'on the move', recording a series of memories that were generated in walking the landscape of the Long Path. Haptic, olfactory, oral and visual encounters with the world create affect, evoking powerful recollections, and revealing the always-already present nature of the past. In Chapter Five, I adopted the dual roles of participant-observer and apprentice charcoal burner. As participant-observer, I took a detached approach to recording the event space of the charcoal burn, taking note of the intimate relations between people and things. As apprentice charcoal burner, I became part of these relations; I stacked cordwood, carried turf and breathed in thick, white smoke. In doing so, I experienced a series of 'becomings', as the affective qualities of new bodily regimes, and entanglements with matter in its varying forms, took hold.

Finally, in Chapter Six, I explored some of the implications of non-representational thinking for traditional archaeological practice, focusing in particular on the manner in which knowledge is generated through practice-based and processual encounters with the world. Underlining the processual nature of scholarly thought, I drew on archaeological fieldwork undertaken at a disused 1970s campsite in the Forest, Worcester Lodge. Juxtaposing a standard report of this work with a narrative that explored its planning, execution and

subsequent reception, I sought not only to provide an analysis of the archaeology of Worcester Lodge campsite, but to engage with the mundane and everyday aspects of fieldwork and broader academic life, to document a series of encounters things, people and places that generate affective registers. As such, I recounted the practices, performances and emotions associated with the campsite, the field site and spaces of dissemination. The aim of this narrative was to emphasise the shared endeavour of knowledge production, in which all matter is engaged, albeit in different ways. Walking, observing and listening, digging, trowelling and backfilling, measuring, recording and sensing the world around us – this is how we come to ‘know’. We encounter a host of human and non-human entities that act back, inducing sensations and actions that shape us as academics, influencing and informing our work in myriad ways. From field walking finds that evoke feelings of disgust, disturb and unsettle, to the exhilarating moment of discovery. Unpredictable and uncertain, these are the encounters that confront and excite, challenge and impel us to act differently. As I suggested in Chapter Six, and throughout the thesis, surely this is the ‘stuff’ of archaeology?

A More-Than-Representational Perspective on the Post-Industrial Landscape of the Dean Forest and Wye Valley National Forest Park

As an extended case study in rural de-industrialisation and archaeologies of leisure, I have sought in this thesis to do more than to explore the potential of non-representational theories for contemporary archaeology, or the opportunities that might be provided by taking an archaeological perspective in terms of the development of non-representational thought. Although it was never my intention to provide a comprehensive account of the Forest and its industrial past – for much of this work has already been done – this thesis is in many respects but a partial account. The Forest of Dean is a region with a rich and complex past

that has undergone rapid and widespread change during the course of the twentieth century – during which it was transformed from a hub of primary industrial activity into a leisure space designed to maximise the amenity value of its varied landscape. However, as I suggested in Chapter Two, the character of industrial areas and their communities is often inextricably linked to their industrial past. This is in part a reflection of the bonds formed through hard, industrial labour, which tended to forge a cohesive and enclosed community. However, the customary rights of the Forest have reinforced these bonds, drawing a clear distinction between those born in the Forest and so-called ‘foreigners’ or ‘outsiders’. And, as I stated in Chapter Two, there is still some resentment towards ‘outsiders’ and the changes wrought on the landscape to encourage them ‘in’. Moreover, there is a great pride in and nostalgia for the past, evidenced by the many commemorative spaces that have developed in the Forest in recent decades: heritage projects led by the Forest of Dean Local History Society, archives and displays at the Dean Heritage Centre, and activities such as charcoal-burning demonstrations, heritage walks and mining tours that take place throughout the Forest. At the same time, many industrial features remain in-situ; too vast and too costly to be removed, they persist as part of the ‘industrial heritage’ or are adapted for recreational purposes, enrolled in the new leisure-oriented landscape of the Forest. And it is these aspects of the Forest and its landscape, its ‘pastness’, that I have sought to reveal through archival work and oral history, participant observation, and embodied and experiential approaches – from a study of the reuse of industrial remains to an apprenticeship in the practice of charcoal burning. It is the more-than-representational contemporary archaeology of this landscape that I have sought to put into words in different ways throughout the thesis.

Yet, I cannot help but wonder whether those words ‘fall short’ (Harrison, 2007). The ineffable nature of embodied knowledge renders all attempts to capture and communicate

problematic, for in writing we are inevitably caught in the trap of representation, and our vocabulary remains restricted by signification (Massumi, 2002a: page). We struggle to find the words to describe that which by its very nature is in part indescribable. As an experiment in writing, each of the empirical chapters in this thesis has employed a range of literary and other devices in an attempt to put into words those affective dimensions of our world. In Chapter Three, I used the refrain ‘movement, scale and speed’ to create a rhythm that I hoped would tie together different spaces and times at a number of sites across the Forest, while at the same time focusing attention on the nature of matter-in-relation, of being-in-relation and becoming. In Chapter Four, I drew on the writings of Benjamin and Sebald to construct an account of attempts to re-trace an old miners’ path. Using elements of literary montage to disrupt the temporal order – along with an authentic, testimonial style that incorporates a series of digressions, as well as changes in topic and tempo – I sought to create a narrative that revealed traces of the future-represent in the past and the haunting trace of the spectre. In Chapter Five, I sought to document the practice of charcoal burning by focusing upon the performative, the gap or space in relation that enables the next moment to unfold. By using archaeological sketches, drawings and photographic images alongside a more nuanced and detailed style of writing, I adopted a detached and meticulous approach that enabled me to capture some of the qualities of the ‘event-space’ of others in performing the charcoal burn. Finally, in Chapter Six I juxtaposed a traditional fieldwork report with a very personal account of the fieldwork undertaken at Worcester Lodge campsite. In so doing, I sought to reveal something of a series of affective registers that operate to evoke and unsettle, registers that have the power to influence both our practices of knowledge production and the outcomes of our endeavours. Each of these different narratives ‘fails’ in its own way. Words are left wanting. There is a paradoxical mixture at work here, an imperative to represent and the impossibility of achieving this goal, for ‘representation

which has fallen short bears witness to that which it cannot contain' (Harrison, 2007: 600, 603). As such, each time we dare to fail, and inevitably *do* fail, to represent the non-representational, perhaps we also reveal something of the relationship between representation and the non-representational or that which we cannot put into words.

The Becoming-Future of the Present or Scope for Further Work

In these closing remarks, I wish to consider the scope for future work that might extend the opportunities for archaeological engagement with non-representational theories. Firstly, I would like to suggest that this thesis has gone some way towards proving the value of non-representational thought to the field of contemporary archaeology. The idea that the world is ontologically flat provides us with a way of understanding the world and our place within it that radically changes our conceptions of matter and time, thought and action. Placing an important emphasis on matter-in-relation, we see the sheer vitality of matter in all its varying forms, and the manner by which it induces us to think and act differently. At the same time, if matter is lively, always-already affective and possessing of a historical and situated aura, it also has the power to induce intimations of the past that challenge linear conceptions of time. As such, I would like to suggest that there is great scope for further research that applies more-than-representational thinking to the field of contemporary archaeology, which by dealing with the recent past, or that which is within living memory, operates across a series of complex temporalities – the becoming-past of the present and the always-already present nature of the past. At the same time, contemporary archaeology works at the interface of human encounter and thus has an opportunity, and an obligation, to understand the nature of that encounter and the manner in which matter shapes our daily lives.

However, I would argue that further work towards a more-than-representational contemporary archaeology must go hand-in-hand with a broader debate about the implications of non-representational thought for archaeology, its theoretical positions, tools and practices. For although I have sought to think through some of the opportunities offered by non-representational theories to the discipline of archaeology, as well as some of the implications that might arise from their application, I have been able to do so only briefly and in a cursory manner. As I have suggested, perhaps the most important debate concerning the use of non-representational theories within archaeology would need to centre on the concept of ‘material culture’, which by its very definition is problematised by non-representational perspectives upon the world. However, there are other important points to consider. For example, if non-representational theories were to be used to interpret the more distant past there would need to be a serious and thoughtful debate about the manner of their deployment. It would be a great shame, and indeed a missed opportunity, to repeat the mistakes made in the field of prehistory with the use of phenomenological philosophy as a means of archaeological interpretation (for a critique of Tilley’s (1994) seminal work, see Fleming, 1999; and for a useful summary of the critique of phenomenological prehistory, see Brück, 2005). Non-representational theories cannot tell us what people from the past thought about the world; they can however provide a general theoretical framework for thinking through the myriad ways in which the world might have induced them to think and act differently. Spinoza’s (1989) conceptualisation of materiality and thought suggests that it is through bodily affect that thoughts are grasped and made intelligible. In other words, the affective qualities of matter are viewed as the ultimate basis of consciousness.

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Appendix I

Forest of Dean

