

Reflection 1

Place, Time, Event, Motifs

I start my reflective journey with a few bearings. I introduce the place where the Mass Trespass happened, the time and circumstances when it happened, together with a short narrative account of what happened. I end by drawing out some motifs which provide a framework for exploring the political dimensions of the Mass Trespass.

a. Place: The Dark Peak

The Peak District National Park was the first of the English National Parks. Created in 1951, it encompasses the open countryside of the north-western half of Derbyshire.¹ It is divided into two distinct areas. The southern area is known as the White Peak,² a limestone region, much loved for its caves and dales and the easy accessibility of its countryside. Close to the urban areas of Derby, Chesterfield and Stoke, there is a touch of the Midlands about the landscape of the White Peak.

The northern area is known as the Dark Peak – or High Peak.³ The Dark Peak is more assertively northern. It is a higher and more rugged landscape; its underlying rock is millstone grit and it is characterised by upland moors and crags. The Dark Peak is the southern end-point of the Pennines. Those setting off from the Nag's Head Inn in Edale to walk along the upland watershed of the Pennine Way to the Cheviot and the Scottish Borders are faced with a heavy-duty 18-mile moorland tramp over two of the Dark Peak's three summits: Kinder Scout and Bleaklow. It remains one of the most demanding of Pennine Way days.

By virtue of their height (just over 2000 feet / 630 metres above sea-level) Kinder Scout and Bleaklow qualify as mountains.⁴ Neither looks remotely like a conventional mountain. Kinder Scout is steep-sided but its 'summit' is a vast and ostensibly feature-less moorland plateau, consisting mainly of a maze of drainage channels through the blanket of peat which covers the plateau. Bleaklow is also a steep-sided plateau, but it has a broad summit ridge (if you know how to make it out) and generally presents itself as a slightly sloping area of largely featureless grass, heather and peat moorland.



Looking across to Bleaklow from Ashop Head

If the Pennine wayfarers make it through their first day, they are faced with a second day's ascent and traverse of the Dark Peak's third summit, Black Hill. Black Hill does have a recognisable summit point with a cairn and a trig point (at 582 metres, not a mountain alas) but it is also a vast sprawling upland moor across which one has to traipse before the Pennine Way finally leaves the Dark Peak and settles into the less resolutely demanding terrain of West Yorkshire.⁵

Although the Dark Peak is best known for its moorlands, its landscape also includes many gritstone crags and outcrops. The upland moors of Kinder, Bleaklow and Black Hill are fringed by such classic rock climbing grounds as Laddow, the Chew Valley crags, Shining Clough, Ashop Edge, the Kinder Amphitheatre, along with miles of nearby gritstone edges such as Stanage, Froggatt and Wharnccliffe.⁶

There is a compact integrity to the Dark Peak. There are no major North-South roads through the Dark Peak, and there are only three East-West roads: the Manchester – Sheffield A57 Snake Pass which wends its way between Kinder Scout and Bleaklow; the Manchester – Sheffield A628 Woodhead Pass which runs up the Longdendale Valley between Bleaklow and Black Hill, and the Greenfield – Holmfirth A 635 which crosses the northern, Saddleworth tip of Black Hill.

A glance at a map shows that the other distinctive feature of the moors and crags of the Dark Peak is that they are sandwiched between the conurbations of Sheffield and Manchester. From Sheffield one can walk out of the city and on to the eastern edges of the moors of the Dark Peak, and access Kinder Scout and Bleaklow directly after crossing the Derwent valley.

Accessing Kinder Scout, Bleaklow and Black Hill from Manchester involves passing through the eastern towns of the current Greater Manchester conurbation – Oldham, Ashton, Stalybridge, Stockport – and the line of the High Peak's former mill towns – Glossop, New Mills, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Hayfield. There are still regular trains to Glossop (for Bleaklow and Black Hill) and to New Mills (for Kinder Scout) and, pre-Beeching, one could take the train to Hayfield – even closer to Kinder Scout. Similarly, the current Manchester – Sheffield line passes through the village of Edale, which nestles at the southern foot of Kinder Scout.

The proximity of these erstwhile industrial heartlands and centres of population meant that the moors and crags of the Dark Peak came to be one of the major sites of struggle for recreational access to moors and mountains from the late-nineteenth century onwards. As early as 1826 a *Manchester Association for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths* was established. Its primary purpose at that time was not recreational rambling; in an early industrial environment it was concerned with the mobility of labour across newly enclosed land, together with the creation and securing of equitable access to urban public / civic space generally.⁷ In 1894, by which time rambling and climbing were becoming popular recreational activities beyond the boundaries and immediate rural environs of towns, cities and their new parks, the Association morphed into *The Peak District & Northern Counties Footpaths Preservation Society* [PNFS],⁸ an altogether more august and assertive body seeking to extend / preserve access to and through the northern countryside. The PNFS's green cast-iron signs marking rights of way can still be found – and are still being erected – across the Dark Peak.

One of the early success stories of the PNFS era was securing, in 1897, the right-of-way from Hayfield to the Snake Pass along the valleys of William Clough and Ashop Clough. From that path a walker could look up to the dramatic western and northern edges of the Kinder Scout plateau. It was not until 1927 that the PNFS oversaw the re-opening of a right of way along the moorland section of the ancient Roman route across the Dark Peak from Melandra Castle on the Etherow river near Glossop to the Narvio Garrison near Hope. Known as the 'Doctor's Gate' path, the moorland section of the Roman road took walkers up the Shelf Brook valley from Old Glossop to the Snake Pass, from which they could look up and across to the western gullies and moorland wilderness of Bleaklow.



What recreational walkers and climbers hiking along these two rights of way could not do was wander off the path. They could not make their own way on to and across the upland moors and gritstone outcrops of Kinder Scout and Bleaklow. The same was the case for the moors and crags of Black Hill. Apart from a few paths and bridleways, almost the entire Dark Peak moorland had been given over since the late-nineteenth century to what has been described as 'a shooting-based economy for upland areas'.⁹ The Dark Peak moorland was reserved exclusively by its owners for the profitable business of rearing and shooting grouse.¹⁰ Walkers and climbers in the Dark Peak in the inter-war years were faced with the same barriers which had confronted the essayist, literary and art critic and keen walker William Hazlitt over a century earlier:

*The motto of the English nation is 'exclusion'. In this consists our happiness and our pride. If you come to a gentleman's park and pleasure-ground, you see written up, 'Man-traps and steel-guns set here' – as if he had no pleasure in walking in them, except in the idea of keeping other people out. . . Everything resolves itself into an idea of property, that is of something that our neighbours dare not touch, and that we have not the heart to enjoy.'*¹¹

I will explore in later reflections the activities of the various groups seeking to secure / enable public access to open countryside in the face of the exclusionary practices of the owners of the moors. At this juncture, I merely note that the Dark Peak's gamekeepers were assiduous in ensuring that walkers and climbers observed the *Private: Keep Out* notices. If you wanted to walk and climb on the moors and crags of the Dark Peak you either had to seek permission and come to some arrangement with the relevant landowner, or you had to trespass.

Trespassing on the Dark Peak moorlands was practised for several decades before 1932. Byne and Sutton's classic history of walking and climbing in the High Peak¹² lovingly records the feats of the early pioneers of both gritstone climbing and the endurance arts of long-distance moorland tramping and bog-trotting. What becomes apparent in their accounts of the exploits of J W Puttrell, H M Kelly and Mrs Kelly,¹³ Siegfried Herford, Cecil Dawson, Phil Barnes, G H B Ward *et al* is that the climbing routes (almost entirely single-pitch) they put up on the crags and the vast hikes they undertook across the moorlands were, on many occasions, acts of trespass. For members of walking clubs such as the Sheffield Clarion Club (1900) and the Manchester Rambling Club (1908) and climbing clubs such as the Kyndwr [sic] Club and the Rucksack Club (1902)¹⁴ evading gamekeepers was a routine part of their activities. When the PNFS published its first, pre-WW1 edition of "The Rambler and the Law", it included a section on Trespassing. It set out the formal position along with various suggestions for the etiquette walkers and climbers should adopt when faced with gamekeepers urging them back on to the nearest right of way.¹⁵ Trespassing was a feature of climbing and walking in the Dark Peak, long before the British Workers' Sports Federation decided to pay a collective visit to Kinder Scout in 1932.¹⁶

b. Time: Early-1930s

In June 1929, Ramsay MacDonald, a keen rambler and leader of the Labour Party, probably felt that things were finally turning Labour's way. The first ever Labour government of 1923-24 had been a scrappy, shortlived affair. It provided Stanley Baldwin with the breathing space to establish himself as Tory party leader. Baldwin's family wealth came from the iron and steel industry; he was not from the aristocratic land-owning class which had dominated the Tory Party hitherto. Baldwin had an aura of what would nowadays be called "One Nation" Toryism and, after winning the 1924 election, he sought not only to progress economic recovery after WW1, but also to move towards a more modernised industrial and trading economy. They were unsettled years, involving the 1926 General Strike and extensive social and industrial unrest. In practice growth was sporadic and modernisation hard to achieve. Baldwin's first government ran out of steam by 1929.

The great paradox of the 1920s was that the unremitting social and economic dislocation of the decade was accompanied by a powerful mood of optimism, excitement and cultural modernism. There were high hopes that sustained peace and internationalism could be achieved. There were expectations that women would play fuller and more diverse roles in the post-war social, political and economic order. Jazz, dancing and leisure-time hedonism were dominant images of the decade. From T S Eliot's *Wasteland* and Joyce's *Ulysses* onwards, a sense of modernism infused artistic and cultural life. A self-confident metropolitan cultural vitality sat alongside stark images of urban and rural unemployment, continuing deprivation and enduring poverty.

Against those backgrounds, the Labour Party led by MacDonald emerged from the 1929 'Flapper Election'¹⁷ as the largest party in parliament. It formed a government with the support of the Liberal Party. The signs – and hopes – were that the reforming agenda of the Lib-Lab years before WW1 was on the verge of returning as an updated, forward-looking Lab-Lib agenda for the 1930s. . .

. . . But in October 1929 the American Stock Exchange crashed and the world entered the decade-long crisis of global capitalism known as the Great Depression – the longest and deepest economic recession since the start of the industrial era. No government in the world knew quite what to do in the face of collapsing trade, collapsing industries and soaring unemployment. None of the UK's conventional economic policy wisdoms of tinkering around with free trade, the gold standard, tariff reform, imperial preference and so forth yielded any significant purchase on the grim dynamics of the Depression. By 1933, Britain's world trade had fallen to 50% of what it had been in 1929 and industrial production declined by 33% over the same four years. Unemployment reached a peak of 3.5 million by 1932 – 70% in the heartlands of heavy industrial production – and part-time working became the norm for many. Light industries and market gardening were in no position to make up for the inherent weaknesses of England's 19th-century systems of industrial and agricultural production.

Marching and demonstrating became a prominent, regular and much contested form of political protest. The National Unemployed Workers Union had been founded earlier in the 1920s and had already organised a series of events to bring home the plight of those unemployed during the 1920s. From 1929 onwards the NUWM organised a series of large Hunger Marches, the largest of which took place in 1932.

Ramsay MacDonald's cabinet was deeply divided on what measures to take. In 1930, Oswald Mosley and several other Labour MPs resigned from the party because of its failure to adopt an ambitious investment plan for public works. Mosley formed The New Party which, by 1932, had morphed into the British Union of Fascists, an openly 'national socialist' party which quickly disported itself accordingly with a succession of increasingly aggressive marches, rallies, blackshirted militia, flags etc, all accompanied by sustained attacks on Jewish communities.

In 1931, key Labour Party members of the cabinet refused to endorse an austerity programme of welfare cuts proposed by MacDonald. A general election was clearly in the offing. In a

somewhat opaque move, Ramsay Macdonald opted to do what Lloyd George had done in 1918; he declared a national crisis and undertook to head up a cross-party 'National Government' to tackle the problems of the Depression. The Liberal and Tory parties swung behind MacDonald's proposal. The Labour Party did not, and proceeded to expel MacDonald and all other MPs and party members who supported the proposed, cross-party National Government. In the ensuing 1931 election, Macdonald and those parties endorsing the National Government offered an austerity programme. A deeply split Labour Party fought the election on the basis of a radical socialist manifesto, which the former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, dismissed as "Bolshevism run mad."¹⁸ The National Government coalition commanded majority support at the polls and the ex-Labour Ramsay Macdonald continued for another four years as the Prime Minister in charge of a government and cabinet dominated by Tory MPs.

Alongside the political and economic chaos and upheavals of the early-1930s in the UK, there were growing signs that serious tensions and conflicts were brewing internationally. The 1931 Salt March in India was the largest action to date of the growing direct action / civil disobedience movement in support of independence. By the early 1930s the Depression was exacerbating the political instability and crisis of post-WW1 democracy in Germany, Italy and other European countries, occasioned by the ill-advised and economically disruptive reparations programme of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles.

And in the midst of economic depression, the cultural paradox of the 1920s danced forward into the early 1930s. The vitality and exuberance of cultural and leisure-time life across all classes persisted. The YHA was established in 1930; the late-1920s and early-1930s were the years, in all landscapes and countrysides in England, in which hiking became one of the most popular recreational activities for young people, alongside going to the cinema and dancing. Modernism flourished in the arts and the steady growth of a commercial leisure-time sector provided a growing array of non-work activities through which the working class could pursue their own versions of the glamour and high living of the upper and middle classes.¹⁹

. . . And it is in this heady and highly charged social, political and cultural environment that the mass trespassers on Kinder Scout chose to present their own left-wing, youthful *coup de théâtre*.

c. Event: The 1932 Mass Trespass on Kinder Scout

Reflection 4 will explore the politics of the Mass Trespass in the 1930s more thoroughly. What I offer here is a short narrative account of what took place. It is taken mainly from the accounts given by the organiser of the Trespass, Benny Rothman, a 20-year old, unemployed Jewish Mancunian member of the Young Communist League and the Lancashire secretary of the British Workers' Sports Federation. [BWSF]²⁰

The BWSF had been set up in 1923 with support and involvement across the Labour Movement. By the early-1930s the active membership and leadership of the BWSF was drawn mainly from the Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB]. Given Benny Rothman's love of hiking, cycling, and Clarion-style outdoor socialism, members of the Lancashire BWSF did a lot of rambling and camping. On one such rambling and camping weekend, they had been evicted from Bleaklow by a group of gamekeepers. This led to the notion of some sort of 're-match' in which the massed ranks of young working-class hikers would outnumber the gamekeepers, prefigure the abolition of the exclusionary property rights of the landowners²¹ and assert / enact their freedom to roam wherever they liked on open Dark Peak moorland. Thus was born the idea of a Mass Trespass on Kinder Scout.

The young Benny Rothman embarked on a remarkably productive feat of political organising.²² In the course of a few weeks in early 1932 he networked, leafleted ramblers at Manchester stations, made political alliances, and deftly used the *Manchester Evening News* to promote and publicise a Mass Trespass on Kinder Scout on Sunday 24th April 1932. Notwithstanding the vociferous opposition of just about every outdoor group and campaign – local and national – a crowd of mainly young, mainly radical and mainly male ramblers turned up in Hayfield on the day. As is always the case with such events, estimates of numbers vary, in this instance in the range 250 to 800. 'About 450' or 'several hundred' are the numbers conventionally used nowadays.

A confrontation of some sort was in the offing. Police leave in Derbyshire had been cancelled; as the massed ranks of the trespassers arrived in the village of Hayfield they were met by an extensive police presence. The trespassers convened for a rally and speech by Benny Rothman at the Bowden Bridge Quarry (on the road from the village to Kinder) and then proceeded to walk past Kinder Reservoir and on to the William Clough right-of-way path. They walked up the Clough in single file; once they were strung out, a whistle was blown and they all turned right, climbed out of the clough and trespassed across steep open countryside towards the western end of the summit plateau of Kinder Scout. As they did so, a line of gamekeepers descended from the plateau to meet them.²³

Exactly what happened next – and, indeed, exactly where it happened – has, ever since 1932, been the subject of intense and somewhat arcane debate.²⁴ Was there a bit of pushing and shoving which resulted in one keeper being slightly hurt? Or was there an outbreak of premeditated riotous violence leading to grievous bodily harm – and by whom? Did the trespassers actually set foot on the summit plateau, or were they corralled away from it by the keepers? The trespassers undoubtedly left the right of way and they undoubtedly reached Ashop Head just below the northwest tip of the plateau, where they held a victory celebration and probably met with some comrades who had either trespassed there from the Edale side of Kinder Scout or walked up from the Snake Pass along the Ashop Clough right of way.

Having done their trespassing, they returned *en masse* down William Clough to Hayfield, singing The Red Flag, The Internationale and a song they had made up specially for the occasion, to the tune of the *Road to the Isles*:

We are young workers, who in search of healthy sport
Leave Manchester each weekend for a hike
Though the moorlands in Derbyshire are closed to us,
We ramble anywhere we [ruddy] like.
For by Kinder and by Bleaklow and all through the Goyt we'll go
We'll ramble over mountain, moor and fen.
And we'll fight against the trespass laws for every rambler's rights
And trespass over Kinder Scout again.²⁵

In case you can't remember the tune and the rhythms, here's a copy.

Road to the Isles

9/1/98. Strathspey.

On arriving back in Hayfield, the police arrested Benny Rothman (20) and four other trespassers – Jud Clynes (23), Dave Nussbaum (19), Harry Mendel (23), Tona Gillett (19). They were taken to the lock-up in Hayfield, where they discovered that a sixth trespasser, John Anderson (21) had also been arrested earlier, following the scuffle in which a keeper had been hurt. All were working class young men, except Tona Gillett, who was an engineering student from a wealthy Quaker banking family in southern England on a gap year scheme at Manchester University before going on to Cambridge.²⁶ Four were Jewish. John Anderson was actually opposed to the trespass, but had tagged along out of curiosity and went to help the injured keeper. All were held overnight in New Mills. They appeared in court the following day; all were charged with unlawful assembly and breach of the peace and John Anderson was also charged with causing grievous bodily harm. They were remanded on bail till May 11th – apart from Anderson whose hearing was set for a later date.

At the hearing on 11th May four of the five were represented in court by a duty solicitor. All five pleaded not guilty. In agreement with the BWSF, Rothman conducted his own defence, which gave him the right to question witnesses and deliver his own statement based on the politics behind the trespass. All prosecution witnesses were either members of the police force or employees of the landowners; no defence witnesses were called. Benny Rothman delivered a lengthy speech on the state of the moors, denial of access by the owners, the rights of ramblers, the campaigns being undertaken, and the peaceful nature of the trespass. The hearing lasted two days, at the end of which the whole case was committed to the Assize Court in Derby on 21 July. Anderson, who was wholly unrepresented, pleaded not guilty at his own hearing and was similarly committed to the Assize Court in Derby.

It is difficult to avoid the impression that what was taking place on the post-Trespass legal front was some sort of show trial designed to humiliate working class and radical ramblers and to send out warning messages to ramblers and others about engaging more generally in forms of direct action in the politically turbulent 1930s. As Rothman subsequently put it: "The whole apparatus of the state was now brought to bear to intimidate the ramblers".²⁷ It transpired that the charges had changed *en route* from the local court in New Mills to Derby assize court; unlawful assembly charges had been upgraded to riotous assembly charges and Anderson's charge remained grievous bodily harm. Only Anderson and Gillett were represented. The whole rigmarole of bewigged judges and barristers, ushers, prison warders etc was played out. A jury of "one's peers" on this occasion included two brigadier-generals, three colonels, two majors, three captains and two aldermen. Defendants were accused of contempt of court for being 10 minutes late for a session; casual anti-semitism was directed at four of the defendants; Tona Gillett was found to have been in possession of a book by Lenin, which prompted the judge to comment "Isn't that the Russian gentleman?" Benny Rothman duly cross-examined witnesses in his own defence and delivered himself of his political statement about rambling and landownership – a Mancunian

precursor of the lapidary political trial speeches of later members of the Communist Party such as Castro's *History Will Absolve Me* (1953) and Nelson Mandela's *I am prepared to die* address at the Rivonia trial (1964)!

Perhaps one of the most moving moments in the trial was when the teenage student Tona Gillett, whose father had hired a barrister, was asked by the judge why he had become involved in 'such an unsavoury event' and whether he was now ashamed of himself. The expectation was that Tona would apologise and be let off with a caution. As Rothman puts it, ". . . [Tona] drew himself up to his full height, and looked the judge full in the face. 'No sir, I would do it again.'"

The verdicts and sentences were that Mendel was found not guilty; Rothman was found guilty of riotous assembly and incitement to riotous assembly and sentenced to four months imprisonment; Gillett and Clyne were found guilty of riotous assembly and sentenced to two months imprisonment; Nussbaum was also found guilty of riotous assembly but sentenced to three months imprisonment for the additional crime of selling the *Daily Worker*; Anderson (who had not even supported the Trespass) was found not guilty of causing grievous bodily harm but guilty of assaulting the gamekeeper and was sentenced to six months imprisonment.

I will explore the immediate political ramifications of the Mass Trespass and the trial in Reflection 4. I merely note here the 1988 observation of the historian Stephen Jones that: ". . . the trespass is a particularly good instance of class conflict in the recreational sphere, and perhaps the most famous single incident in the history of the movement for access to the countryside."²⁸

d. Some motifs and questions

This initial orientation – place, time, event – gives rise to a cluster of motifs which, for me, highlight the main political issues associated with the Mass Trespass. Each motif suggests a key question which I will consider in my search for the political meanings and significance of the Mass Trespass in later Reflections.

<i>Land & Property</i>	What were the politics of land ownership and property rights which confronted the trespassers?
<i>Common Ownership</i>	In contesting the prevailing system of landownership and property rights, what were the alternative visions of common ownership which informed the trespass?
<i>Direct Action</i>	Was the trespass just a youthful demonstration, or was it a piece of politically transformative Direct Action?
<i>Accessing Land</i>	Securing free access to open countryside and rural landscapes is a <i>sine qua non</i> if those who own no land – the landless – are to have any opportunity of engaging in the land-dependent activities of rambling and climbing. How did the trespassers relate to others who were campaigning for recreational access to the countryside?

<i>Nature & Walking</i>	In what ways did the trespass reflect and/or contribute to notions that walking and climbing in a natural environment shape and enrich one's personal and social identity?
<i>Recreation & Freedom</i>	The trespass occurred at a time when walking and climbing were booming as recreational activities. In what ways did the wider politics of recreation and leisure inform the trespass and its significance?
<i>Urban & Rural Identities</i>	Most of the trespassers came from towns and cities. How did their actions reflect the cultural relationship between the country and the city and the ways in which changing urban and rural identities were constructed and contested?

All seven motifs and their associated questions have political dimensions. The first three point us towards the politics of land, a politics of conflicting programmes and visions. The last three point us towards more elusive, but no less significant, forms of cultural politics in relation to nature, countryside and landscape. The access motif / question acts as a linkage between the two groups.

For me, getting a sense of the politics of an issue or event involves first getting a sense of its historical hinterlands. What were the longer-term factors and issues which shaped the political and cultural context within which it occurred? To answer that question, my next two reflections consider the historical hinterlands of the Mass Trespass. Reflection 2 looks at the hinterland of the motifs associated with the politics of land and property; Reflection 3 looks at the hinterland of the motifs associated with the cultural politics of countryside, landscape, leisure-time and nature. In looking so fully at the hinterlands of the seven motifs, my purpose is not to provide a condensed social history of England since the mid-seventeenth century, but to present a sketch-map of the important features of the political and cultural terrain on which the Mass Trespass took place during the inter-war years.

Endnotes

¹ Along with some slivers of Staffordshire and Cheshire to the west and South and West Yorkshire to the north-east.

² OS Map OL24.

³ When the Ordnance Survey first created its Outdoor Leisure [OL] series of 1:25,000 Maps (now the Explorer series) the Dark Peak Map proudly topped the list as OL1.

⁴ Saving the presence of Dartmoor's Yes Tor / High Willhays at 619 / 621 metres, Kinder Scout and Bleaklow are the two most southerly mountains of England.

⁵ After completing his Lake District Guidebooks, Alfred Wainwright (1968) put together a *Companion to the Pennine Way*. He clearly detested the Peak District as walking terrain, with extensive grumbling about peat bogs and bad weather. Interestingly, a mixture of re-routing on Kinder Scout and occasional duckboarding / flagstones up to and down from Bleaklow have both avoided erosion and made the walking much less peaty and waterlogged. Similarly, a major programme of moorland regeneration has completely transformed the

summit of Black Hill. What was once a huge morrass of bare peat is now covered with a mixture of hardy grasses and heather. cf Wainwright (1968) p.156

⁶ NB The Roaches and Hen Cloud are also major gritstone outcrops within the Peak District. On the edge of the moors between Leek / Macclesfield and Buxton, they have been major climbing grounds, but are not conventionally part of the Dark Peak, nor are they found on the OL1 map.

⁷ See, for instance, Navickas, K (2016)

⁸ Rebranded in the 1970s as the Peak and Northern Footpaths Society and usually known in rambling and access circles as 'The Peak and Northern'.

⁹ Taylor (1997) p. 140. Access was also given to Water Boards to support the efficient collection of water in the many reservoirs around the Dark Peak.

¹⁰ In the year before the Mass Trespass, 'A Clarion Rambler' anonymously published an article entitled *The Lost Lands of Derbyshire*. The author was almost certainly GHB Ward, the highly influential founder, in 1900, of the no less influential Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Club. The article is, *inter alia*, a good survey of the extent of enclosure in the Dark Peak. Clarion Rambler (1931)

¹¹ Quoted in Taylor (1997) pp. 121-2

¹² Byne and Sutton (1965)

¹³ Mrs Kelly - Emily (Pat) Kelly was, in 1921, a founding member of the national women-only Pinnacle Club.

¹⁴ J W Puttrell of Sheffield was a founding member of the national Climbers' Club in 1898. At that time the centre for English and Welsh climbing was North Wales, with frequent meets at the Pen Y Gwryd hotel. The Kyndwr club was a Sheffield and Derbyshire off-shoot set up in 1900 by Puttrell for 'practice scrambles in the Peak District'. The quirky spelling of Kyndwr may have been intended to suggest that the Peak District had a touch of the more mountainous North Wales about it. The Manchester-based Rucksack Club was set up on similar lines, although the focus of its activities was more on the Lake District and North Wales than the Peak District. The Kyndwr Club morphed into the Derbyshire Pennine Club by 1906. The DPC and Rucksack Club continue to this day; the latter first admitted women as members in 1992!

¹⁵ Moon and Ward (1913) pp 16 – 18

¹⁶ See Solnit (2014) Cap 10 and pp. 159 – 169 in particular on walking and the Peak District.

¹⁷ For the first time, women under the age of 30 were allowed to vote. It was the first election at which a woman born in the 20th century had a vote!

¹⁸ Well worth reading that manifesto, which included a commitment to the nationalisation of land!

¹⁹ See Jones (1986) *Workers at Play: A Social and economic history of leisure, 1918 – 1939*.

²⁰ Rothman (1982 and 2012) Most other references for this section will be provided in Reflection 4.

²¹ In the Communist Manifesto, *the abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes*, is the first thing the working class has to do after they have successfully overthrown the ruling class.

²² Worth noting that Rothman remained a life-long, active and disciplined member of the CPGB and was, in his working life from the late-1930s to the mid-1970s, a leading trade unionist (AEU) in the Manchester and Salford areas. His achievements on behalf of the working class in their urban working life was no less significant than his achievements for the working class in their countryside recreational life.

<https://www.wcml.org.uk/our-collections/activists/benny-rothman/>

<https://markwritcouk.files.wordpress.com/2018/07/6328-benny-rothman.pdf>

²³ The second, posthumous edition of Rothman's (2012) book is entitled *The Battle for Kinder Scout*. In that 'military' context, it is hard not to see the choreography of the Mass Trespass as minor reprise of the trench warfare of WW1, with its whistles, clambering out of William Clough and lines of opposing groups of men marching towards one another across open countryside.

²⁴ See later reflections.

²⁵ Letter from George Sumner to Benny Rothman 19 April 1982 WCML PP/ROTHMAN/2/5. Sumner was on the trespass and a life-long friend and CPGB comrade of Benny Rothman. Ewan McColl was also on the trespass, but his famous 'Manchester Rambler' song was written later.

²⁶ Gillett was also a member of the YCL.

²⁷ Rothman (2012) p.49

²⁸ Jones (1988) p.143 Stephen Jones was at the beginning of his career as a historian. Sadly he died shortly before this final book was published.