

The Upper Derwent: Long-term landscape archaeology in the Peak District

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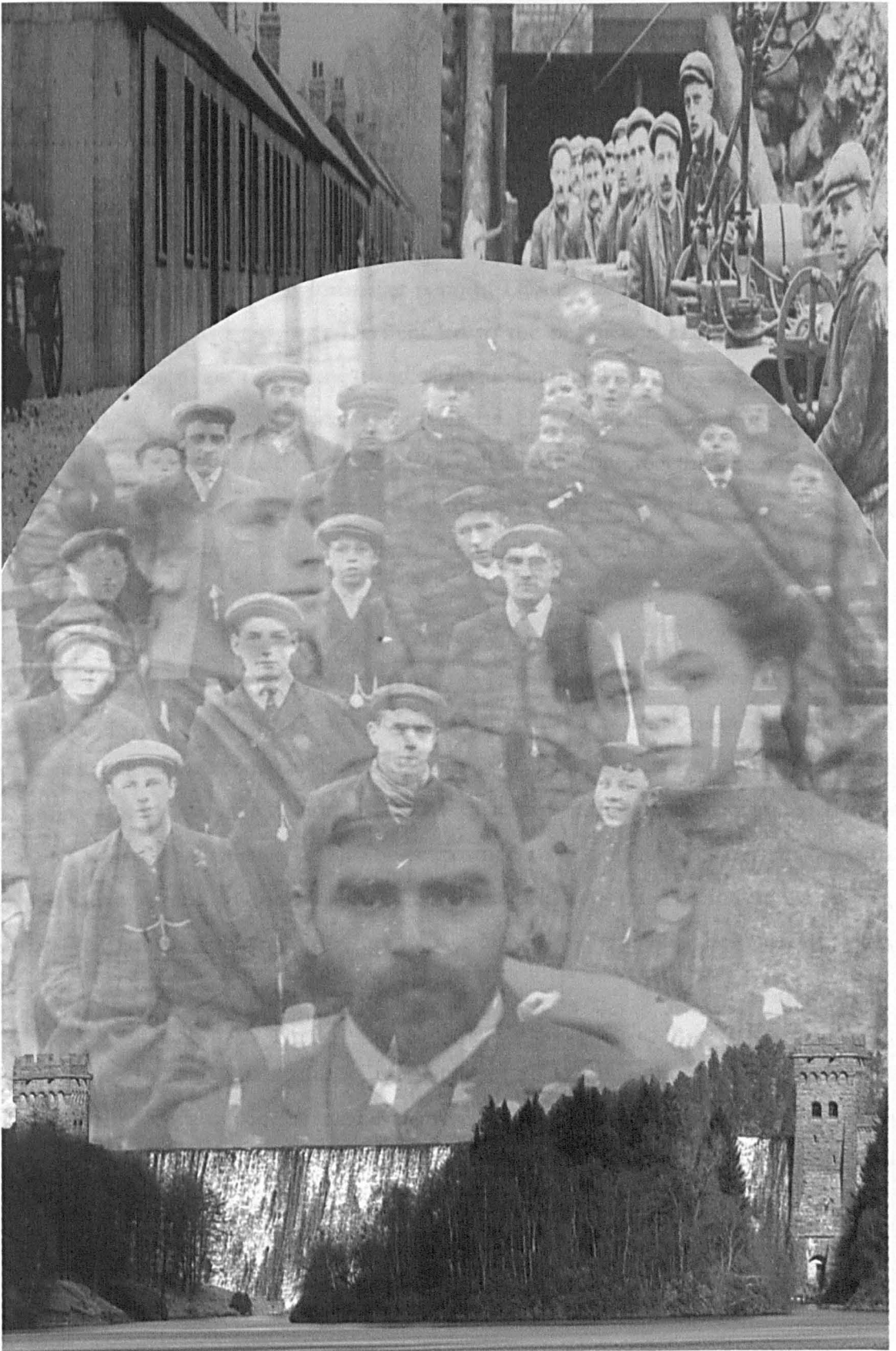
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Gradually, by the mid 16th century, noble lords and knights were replaced by a new class of men in one where local political control was the key. These men were more important (Sharp 2007, 104-105).

Chapter 6

Early Post-Medieval Landscape – Patterns in Space and Time

6.1 Introduction

There is a much greater body of documentary and archaeological evidence surviving for the post-medieval period than for earlier periods. During the 17th century, the nature of estate management in the Upper Derwent led to the production and survival of estate records, including maps, to document and catalogue landholdings. This, in turn, provides a greater body of documentary evidence for land-use. One of the challenges of studying the post-medieval is the opposite of earlier periods, that is, to bring together the vast amount, types and sources of available data into a cohesive narrative that interprets long-term changes in the landscape, while making the most of the detail to interpret some of the specifics of human action.

With the Dissolution of the monasteries and the disafforestation of the Royal Forest of the Peak, the whole of the Upper Derwent came under secular, non-royal, ownership. This was a process happening throughout Britain, as notable families, either because of political position or wealth, acquired monastic estates that had initially been confiscated by the Crown (Aston 2000; Youings 1971). The new owners were local gentry, a class that rose to greater influence and prominence throughout Britain during the 17th and 18th centuries, largely through the exploitation of property, which came to define their class (Daniels 1990).

Between the 15th and 18th centuries, the nature of society in Britain changed from one dominated by feudalism in the medieval period to one dominated by capitalism. Lords maintained their social position and held land in the later medieval period depending on their ability to raise a body of armed men from within their manors for military service to the Crown (Dodgson 1990). Peasants gained the right to customary tenure of land by paying obligations to their lord, often as labour for agricultural work and military service or in food rents, though free tenures and cash rents had also developed (Martin 1983). Gradually, by the mid-18th century, nobility's political relationship with the Crown changed to one where local political control over boroughs and power in the House of Commons were more important (Sharpe 1997). Relationships with their own landed estates also

changed with labour obligation giving way to cash rents, which was contemporary with the capitalisation of goods and land (Dodgson 1990).

Capitalism is no more a monolithic entity or complete package than feudalism, but it does have a number of fundamental defining elements: the market economy, industrial production and the commodification of goods (Johnson 1996). Capitalism, and its links with urban-based factory production, would not reach pre-eminence until the later 18th century, but it was dependent on transformations of the landscape, property rights and household organisation which were occurring during the 17th century. These were, in turn, based on structures of land-use and social relations originating in the medieval period, therefore landowners were well-placed to drive and benefit from capitalism. Ownership of land meant ownership of resources and raw materials, which could be sold to generate wealth, and with wealth came social status and potential political influence as a member of the aristocratic classes.

During the 17th century a land-based social hierarchy was established comprising landlord, small freeholder, tenant farmer and landless agricultural labourer (Bunce 1994). Fluid property markets and upward mobility in society led to increasing investment in land and the acquisition of greater swathes of the rural landscape by the aristocracy and yeoman farmers (Butlin 1982). Property came to define the ruling classes, and as land became the basis of economic wealth, social status and political authority, so the influence of the landed gentry increased (Daniels 1990). The management of estates was bound up with the creation of the landowners' identity as part of the elite classes, the methods of overseeing estates providing a metaphor for the nation state and its governance. As landowners, the gentry were considered natural statesmen with a leading role to play in the nation as a whole.

These transformations are evident in the Upper Derwent landscape, and while the trajectory from feudalism to capitalism is an important one of long-term landscape change, they would be experienced by those occupying the area in the context of routine agricultural and related practice. The landscape of dispersed settlement, enclosed fields, woodlands and moorland common that had originated in the medieval period continued into the post-medieval period. Though the structure of landowning changed dramatically in the mid-16th century, this was not accompanied by major changes to the landscape as

occurred in the 13th century with the coming of Welbeck Abbey to the Upper Derwent. Changing ownership and economics brought new motives for the use and exploitation of the landscape, which were related to the development of different ways in which it was perceived. The desire to map, describe and catalogue estates was related to these new perceptions. Trends and practices of estate organisation were also set in place that would lead to the greater, direct impact of the various landowners on the lives of local inhabitants in the later 18th century (see Chapter 7). The conditions within which tenant farmers worked their landholdings would also involve changes in relationships with the land, which were engaged with through routine agricultural practices and tenancy agreements. Extending agricultural production within the landholding, through clearing and enclosing more land, being relatively self-sufficient for food and fuel, raising livestock for sale at market and paying rents to a landlord were significant aspects of everyday life. Farmers structured their landscapes by wall-building to enclose land, and one of the themes of this chapter is the importance of the dry-stone field wall in geographically signalling social identity, as well as giving a spatial order to social relations and agricultural practice. As ever, we need to tell two stories in respect to long-term landscape history – one of the inhabitation of that landscape at any one time, and the other of broader institutions and long-term developments occurring across generations.

6.2 Landlords and Tenants

6.2.1 *Changing Landowners*

Immediately after the dissolution, the Earl of Shrewsbury – family name Talbot – was granted Welbeck Abbey's lands in the Upper Derwent and bought the estate of another Abbey, Basingwerk, in Glossop and Longdendale (Byford 1981). By 1554, Sir William Cavendish, second husband of Bess of Hardwick, had acquired these estates for himself, apparently because he had been one of the Royal Commissioners responsible for receiving monastic land.

It appears that the Hope Woodlands and Derwent estates were split between two of Sir William's sons by the early 17th century. Hope Woodlands went to Sir William's second son, who became Earl of Devonshire in 1618. The Earldom was elevated to a Dukedom in 1694 (Craven 1991). The township remained in the direct ownership of the same family, who let out properties to tenants, until the 20th century. This would form the majority of the 19th century Hope Woodlands parish, along with a small part of the Woodlands Valley

that was outside of the Devonshire's ownership. Known as Ashop Dale, nothing is known of its owners until early 19th century documents indicate it was owned by the Trustees of Birley's Charity (anon. 1818).

The Earls of Arundel, the Howards, acquired the Glossop and Sheffield parts of the Cavendish estate in 1606 as part of a dowry for marrying one of the daughters of Bess of Hardwick and her fourth husband, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. The part of Bradfield manor that lay in the Upper Derwent was freehold, and became known as Howden. Howden appears to have been part of this landholding, which eventually came under the ownership of the Earl of Surrey, and was sold to the Duke of Norfolk, also a Howard, between 1781 and 1783 (Elliot 1781; anon. c.1810). In 1811 the Bradfield Enclosure Act refers to Howden, including its associated moorland, as 'freehold lands', suggesting a distinctive history for this area compared to surrounding moorland in the parish.

However, within Derwent the ownership pattern appears more complex, with a number of different landowners at any one time. Property in Derwent township went to another son of Sir William Cavendish, whose descendants became the Dukes of Newcastle (under Lyme) by 1664 (Craven 1991). Various plots of land in Hathersage manor, including land in Derwent, were bought by the Fitzherbert family in the 16th century to form a consolidated estate (Rosamond 1970). This was then sold to Edward Pegge in the 1650s with some - it is not clear whether all - of the Derwent properties leaving the family. The complex purchase and sale of different premises meant there was no stable, central estate management for any length of time, and therefore no estate plan. The family was also swept up in the religious conflicts of the time, being Catholics, and family members were regularly imprisoned, had lands confiscated by the Crown, or tried to avoid some confiscation by letting out properties (ibid). The Devonshires owned Dingbank in 1627 (Fowkes and Potter 1988), the mill in 1761 and 1831 (anon. 1765, 1831), and sheep-grazing rights in 1688 (Northend 1943). They then acquired land from the Duke of Newcastle in 1743 (anon. 1743a). It appears that Derwent township was not under a single or dominant landowner, nor was it retained by a family for a long period of time, as Hope Woodlands had been. The documentation of the parish drawn up as a result of the 1810 Act of Enclosure for Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent lists 19 different landowners, most of whom were described as copyholders except Thomas Furniss who was a freeholder owning Riding House and other land parcels, and the Duke of Devonshire (Fairbank

1810). The Duke of Norfolk did acquire some properties in Derwent, including the Hall, from different landowners during the later 19th century to create a dispersed estate alongside Howden with extensive moorlands (Hallam 1989).

This resulted in the land of Hope Woodlands and Howden being owned by the respective lords of the manor, who owned extensive estates across Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. Derwent was fragmented amongst a number of landowners, with the lord of the manor owning only a small part of the township, and property changing hands.

6.2.2 Early Seventeenth Century Surveys

In the early 17th century, surveys were conducted of the two 'manorial' estates on behalf of the estates' landowners. In 1627, William Senior, the Duke of Devonshire's surveyor, conducted a cartographical survey of the Hope Woodlands estate during his surveys of the Duke's Peak District landholdings. This included most of what would become Hope Woodlands parish in the 19th century (Illustration 6.1). The part of the parish outside of the Devonshire estate is a narrow strip of land along the south of the Woodlands Valley, running between the confluence of the Ashop and Derwent rivers and Haggwater Bridge, which I shall refer to as Ashop Dale because that is the estate name of this area in the 19th century (anon. 1818). Senior's survey is divided into six sheets, each one with a decorated border, depicting and naming farmsteads, fields and their boundaries, woodlands, cloughside scrub, enclosed moorland and pasture. Different colours are used to highlight each of these landscapes, with the farmland being the most visually striking. Building locations are more stylised than precisely planned. Attached to it is a written catalogue known as a terrier, which lists all the parcels of land on the estate, and what they were used for. Ten years later, John Harrison conducted a similar survey of the Earl of Surrey's manor of Sheffield, which included Howden (Harrison 1637). Unfortunately the map no longer survives, but the terrier that accompanied it does and a reconstruction of the Howden estate has been possible (Scurfield 1999. Illustration 6.1).

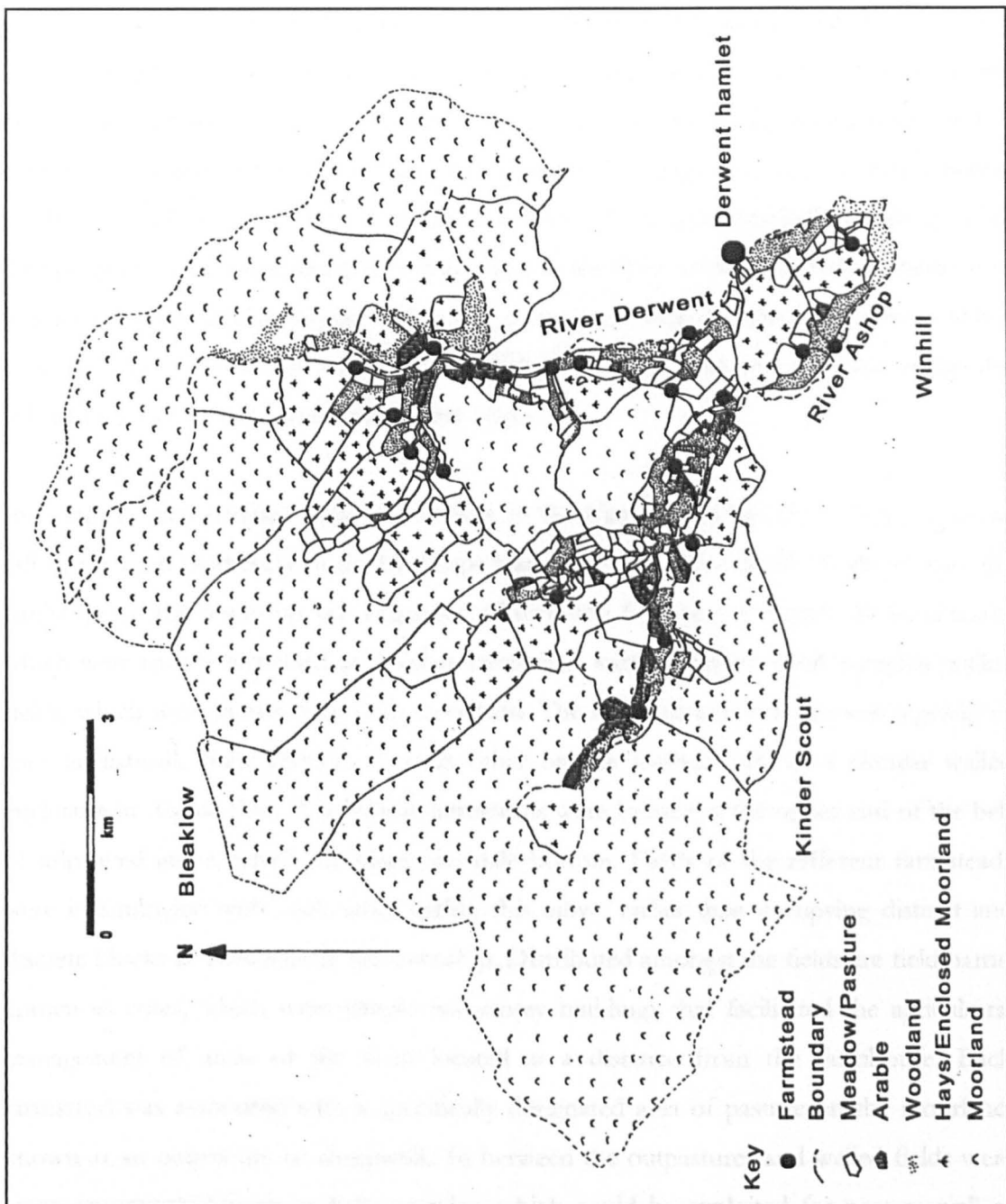


Illustration 6.1. Hope Woodlands township, 1627 and Howden 1637. After Senior 1627 and Scurfield 1999

Senior's survey is typical of its time. Landed families across Britain were commissioning surveys of their estates as visual descriptions of size, land-use and productive value. Blueprints of the ideal map were published from the mid-17th century onwards depicting the standards of the model map – including the use of borders, symbols and cartouches. Colourfully decorated borders, gold leaf and dedication panels that reiterate ownership indicate that the maps are more than just a management tool, they were expressions of local landed authority, of power over place (Daniels 1990). Large decorative estate maps

were displayed on walls of the gentry's houses, often at their London residence, and were usually placed in the Lord's study or in public halls and parlours (ibid). The Devonshire family commissioned surveys of their extensive estates in the Peak District in the early 17th century, many undertaken by William Senior. Hope Woodlands estate had been acquired by the Devonshire family in 1554 and the current Earl had only inherited the title in 1618. The programme of mapmaking is evidence that as the Devonshires established themselves in national political institutions, which was concurrent with changing perceptions about land, they were able to feel confident about their social position and to acknowledge the role of their estates in contributing to that status.

In being the first detailed map of anywhere in the Upper Derwent, Senior's survey is, in effect, the local Domesday of the landscape history of Hope Woodlands. It shows how the landscape of the township was organised (Illustration 6.1). Senior depicts 22 farmsteads, which were mostly dispersed as isolated farmsteads surrounded by small, irregular walled fields, which were interspersed with woodland. The only exception to this was a group of four farmsteads, built adjacent to each other on the western side of a circular walled enclosure in Alport Dale. The Alport farmsteads were located at the upper end of the belt of improved inbye, which ran along the dale bottom. Fields of the different farmsteads were intermingled with each other within this inbye, rather than occupying distinct and discrete blocks as elsewhere in the township. Distributed amongst the fields are field barns, known as cotes, which were simple two-storey buildings that facilitated the agricultural management of areas of the farm located at a distance from the farmhouse. Each farmstead was associated with a specifically designated area of pasture on the moorland, known as an outpasture or sheepwalk. In between the outpastures and walled fields were areas, commonly known as heys or sides, which could be exploited for peat as well as pasture.

Howden House was the only farmstead of Bradfield parish in the Upper Derwent, lying close to neighbours in Hope Woodlands but miles from any of the other Yorkshire township's settlements. Harrison's 1637 terrier shows that the Howden landscape was organised along very similar lines to that of Hope Woodlands (Illustration 6.1). We can also compare the landscapes of Howden and Hope Woodlands with that of Derwent and South Ashop (see section 7.8.2 - Illustration 7.4). On the whole, the observed patterns suggest that the landscape was organised along similar lines in the latter two areas. A big

difference was in Derwent, where the hamlet provided a central focus for the township itself and the whole of the valley, a focus that became more important in the 19th century (see section 7.6). Even settlement nucleation on this small scale was associated with a more centralised organisation of some aspects of township life, such as peat cutting, alongside the otherwise typical pattern of the area associated with the dispersed farmsteads.

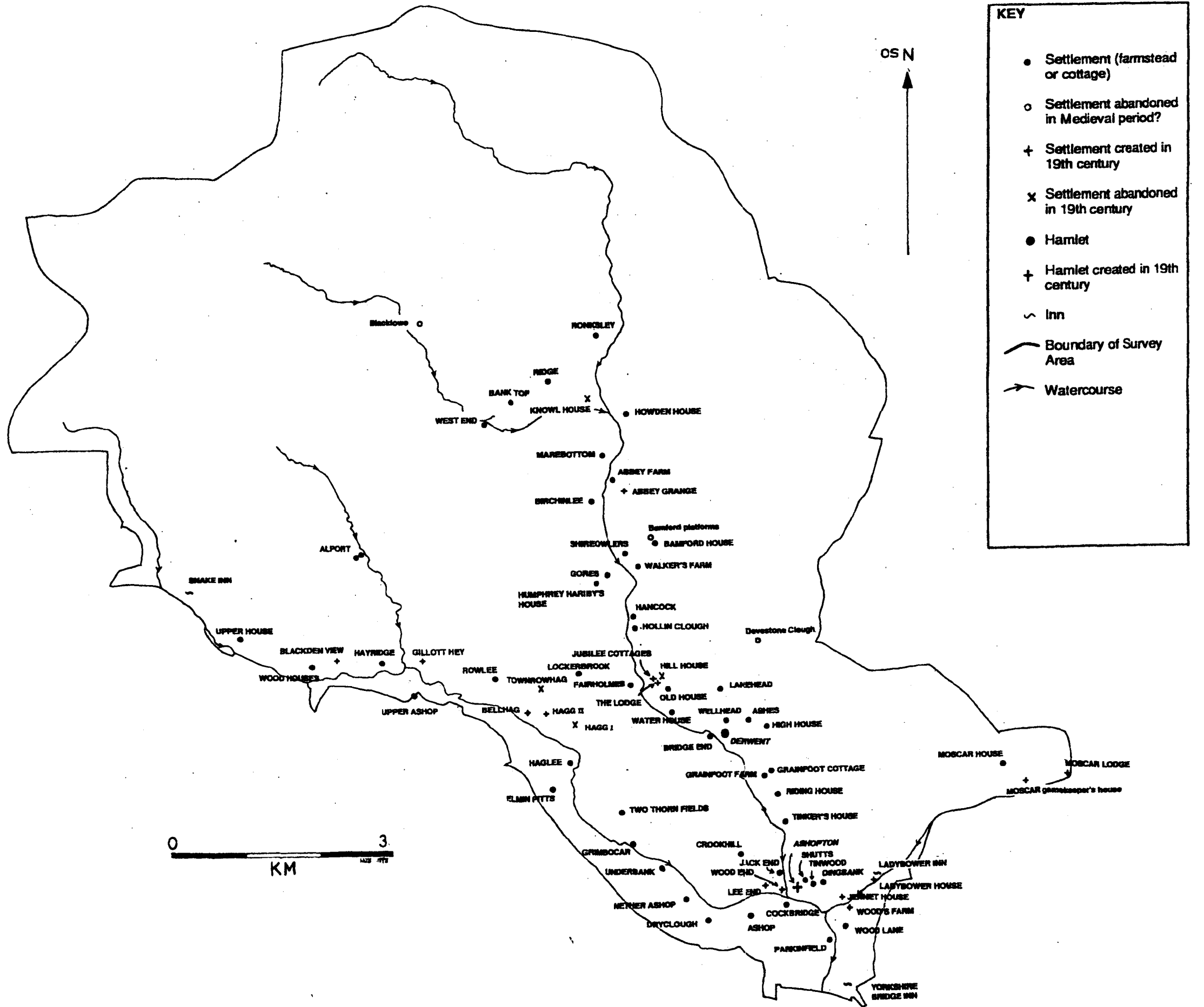
6.3 Around the Houses: Settlement

6.3.1 Topographical Relations

The distribution of farmsteads followed the predominant pattern of individual farmsteads and cottages dispersed across the landscape that had originated in the medieval period (Illustration 6.2). The only exceptions to this were a group of four farmsteads in Alport Dale, the pairing of some farmsteads, and Derwent hamlet.

Farmsteads and cottages occupy a range of topographies, including the valley bottoms, a variety of altitudes up the valley sides, and the plateaux at Crookhill and Derwent Moors. The narrow, steep-sided nature of the two valleys means that there is very little level valley-bottom land. What did exist is constricted to narrow bands running up the Derwent Valley as far as the confluence of the River Derwent and Howden Clough, and along the Woodlands Valley as far as Hagglee. There were wider level areas, where the River Derwent confluences with the River Ashop, Millbrook and Abbey Brook. Of the 73 known settlements in the area, 57 are situated on valley-side slopes, 12 are located on the valley bottom and four are built on moorland shelves or plateaux above the valleys. All are within 50m of a water source, either a stream or a spring. Thirty-six are situated within 50m of a watercourse. Of the 10 settlements known to date to the medieval period, six are on the valley sides, three on the valley bottom, and one on the moorland. In contrast, of the 20 settlements known to have been founded after 1627, 12 are located on valley sides, six on the valley bottom and two on the moorland. This leaves the 44 settlements where the period of foundation is unknown, but possibly could be during the medieval period. However, further work is required to improve dating of the foundation of this group of settlements before any weight can be really placed on such results. This could be achieved by extending fieldwalking across a number of seasons at the locations of farmsteads located within the draw-down zone of the reservoirs. For those settlements located at a distance from the reservoirs test-pitting would be an effective alternative.

Illustration 6.2. Locations of Post-Medieval settlement in the Upper Derwent



SETTLEMENT NAME	EARLIEST DATING EVIDENCE
<i>Derwent Parish</i>	
Abbey Farm	Pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996)
Abbey Grange	Built between 1810 & 1840 (Fairbank 1810, OS 1840)
Ashes Farm	Building fabric 17 th /early 18 th centuries (Lott 1997a); Documented 1762 (anon.)
Ashopton hamlet	Built after Sheffield to Glossop turnpike constructed in 1821
Bamford House	Documented 1640 (anon. 1640b); Building platforms pre-date site of currently ruined building
Derwent hamlet	Possibly occupation in 10 th century AD; Chapel and mill documented in 13 th century (Northend 1943)
Dingbank	Recorded as ruined in 1627 (Senior)
Dovestone Clough	Earthworks suggestive of medieval date; No known documents
Grainfoot Cottage	First documented 1810 (Fairbank)
Grainfoot Farm	Possible mid-13 th century pottery (Beswick 1996); doc. 1592 (Cameron 1959)
Hancock Farm	Mapped 1810 (Fairbank)
High House	Mapped 1810 (Fairbank)
Hill House	Mapped 1767 (Harley et al)
Hollin Clough	Pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1750 (anon.)
Jennet House	Built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey)
Jubilee Cottages	Built in 1896 (Robinson 1993)
Ladybower House	Built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey)
Lanehead House	Documented 1614 (anon.)
The Lodge	Built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey)
Moscar keeper's house	Built between the 1880 and 1922 (Ordnance Survey)
Moscar House	Mapped 1723 (anon.)
Moscar Lodge	Built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey)
Old House	Mapped as Hog Hill 1767 (Harley et al)
Riding House	Mapped in 1810 (Fairbank)
Shireowlers	Pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996)
Shutts	Mapped 1767 (Harley et al)
Tinker's House	Pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Documented 1632 (Cameron 1959)
Tinwood	Documented 1773 (anon.)
Walker's Farm	Possibly pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1810 (Fairbank)
Water House	Mapped 1810 (Fairbank)
Wellhead Farm	Mapped 1810 (Fairbank)
<i>Bradfield Parish</i>	
Howden House	Recorded 1637 (Harrison)
<i>Bamford Parish</i>	
Wood Lane	Mapped 1840 (Ordnance Survey)
Wood's Farm	Built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey)

Table 6.1. Earliest dating evidence for settlements in Derwent, Bradfield and Bamford parishes

SETTLEMENT NAME	EARLIEST DATING EVIDENCE
<i>Hope Woodlands</i>	
Alport	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981); Two farms (Alport Farm and Alport Castles) are listed in 1627 (Senior)
Ashop Farm	Pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996)
Bank Top Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Bellhag Farm	Architecture 1860s (Mike Lea pers comm) Mapped 1880 (OS)
Birchinlee Farm	Possibly pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Birchinlee keeper's House	Built in 1909-1910 (Robinson 1993)
Blackden View	Built between 1850 (anon.) and 1858 (anon.); Probably built 1854 (date stone)
Blacklowe	Building suggestive of Medieval date; no known documents
Bridge End Farm	Built 1673 (anon.)
Cockbridge Farm	Documented 1639 (anon.)
Crookhill Farm	Built by 1251 (Bagshaw 1869-70)
Dryclough Farm	Possibly pottery mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1639 (anon.)
Elmin Pitts Farm	Documented 1770 (anon. 1770)
Fairholmes Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Gillott Hey Farm	Built c.1810 (potter 1808, later annotation)
Gores Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Grimbocar Farm	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Hagg Farm I	Architectural features 17 th century (Mike Lea pers comm); Recorded with 'ancient buildings' 1627 (Senior)
Hagg Farm II	Built between 1808 (Potter) and 1850 (anon.); Architecturally mid-19 th century (Mike Lea pers comm)
Haglee Farm	Documented 1829 (Cameron 1959)
Hayridge Farm	Built between 1627 (Senior) and 1770 (anon.)
Humphrey Hariby's House	Mapped in 1627 (Senior)
Jack End	Pottery from 16 th century (Beswick 1996)
Knowl House	18 th -19 th century pottery (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1808 (Potter)
Lee End	Also known as Wood End; Built between 1822 (anon.) and 1847 (anon.)
Lockerbrook Farm	Possible doc. 1215 (Cameron 1959) Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Marebottom Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Nether Ashop Farm	Pottery from mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996)
Parkinfield	Possibly documented 1461-1483 (Cameron 1959); Documented 1847 (anon.)
Ridge Farm	Documented 1623 (Cameron 1959)
Ronksley House	Pottery from mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Documented 1366 and 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Rowlee Farm	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Townrowhag	Built between 1627 and 1719 (Stroud 1996)
Two Thorn Field	Documented 1623 (Cameron 1959); Building fabric inscribed 1630 (Hawkins 1990)
Underbank Farm	Possibly pottery from mid-13 th century (Beswick 1996); Documented 1847 (anon.)
Upper Ashop Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Upper House	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Westend Farm	Possibly documented 1285; Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Wood End	Built between 1840 and 1847 (Ordnance Survey; anon.)
Wood Houses	Mapped 1627 when known as Part of Ashop (Senior)

Table 6.2. Earliest dating evidence for settlements in Hope Woodlands parish

Overall, the historical settlement pattern is one where the majority of houses are located on the valley sides. In Derwent and the mouth of the Woodlands Valley, most are at the breaks of slope either between valley bottom and lower valley side or the upper valley side and moorland plateau. In the rest of the Woodlands Valley, the majority of farmsteads are situated approximately mid-way up the valley side. Farmsteads are not consistently evenly spaced across the survey area as a whole, though there are specific parts of the valleys where this does occur. For example, within Hope Woodlands there are fairly even distributions of farmsteads along the south-facing side of the Woodlands Valley, either side of Alport Dale, in Ashop Dale and on the east-facing side in the north of the Derwent Valley (Illustration 6.2). However, there is a much lower density of settlement along the remainder of the Derwent Valley side of Hope Woodlands parish. It is worth reiterating the point discussed in section 5.6.3, without going into it in detail again, that the settlement pattern is the result of a complex and inter-connected set of factors rather than being simply determined by one influence. As new farmsteads were founded, it is clear that later ones fitted around existing farms. This is demonstrated by the continued existence of medieval farms and the variation in the distances to watercourses; 80% of medieval farmsteads are within 50m of water compared to only 30% of those known to have been founded after 1627. This may have involved the respect of earlier farmsteads by the positioning of later ones in a sparsely occupied landscape. By 1627, all suitable lower valley land had been enclosed in Hope Woodlands, and the estate rigidly demarcated the boundaries of landholdings (Senior 1627).

6.3.2 Settlement Pairing

While the majority of settlements are the sites of single farmsteads and cottages, apart from the two hamlets that will be discussed below, there were three sites each occupied by two farmsteads. Paired settlements are recorded at Alport in the 18th to 20th centuries, Bamford House in the mid-17th century and Wood Houses in the 18th and 19th centuries (anon. 1640b, anon. 1770, anon. 1772; Potter 1808). At Alport, Halls tenanted the two farms prior to 1770, and both were taken over by Eyres by the early 19th century. Wood Houses had been one farmstead in 1627, and divided in two by 1770 (anon. 1770; Senior 1627). At Bamford, the two farmsteads shared the same range of buildings as is recorded in a deed of conveyance for one of them, dated 1640 (anon. 1640b). The farmstead, which was sold in that year, comprised one room beneath the 'Netherfloare', half of the barn, half of the haghouse and a croft attached to the north of the house, as well as two fields and rights to

the moorland commons. It does not appear that a farmhouse went with this farmstead, which was sold by Thomas Ibutson of Marebottom Farm to Jacob Webster of Birchinlee Farm.

There are also eight farmsteads in Derwent parish that appear to be paired through close geographical positioning, though not physical occupation of the same site. Shireowlers and Walker's Farm, Hancock Farm and Hollin Clough, Old House Farm and Hill House, and Grainfoot Farm and Riding House form four pairs where the respective farmsteads are separated by no more than 300m. These patterns of paired farmsteads may be the result of a desire for sociability, or that at each a farmholding was divided into two with new farm buildings built for the second holding. This could occur through inheritance, if the tenancies allowed the acquisition of part of a landholding by a different farmer, for which a new farmstead was constructed, or the division of a landholding by the landowner for its perceived better use. There may have been more opportunities for such subdivision of landholdings in Derwent parish with its numerous owners than in Hope Woodlands which was the single estate of the Duke of Devonshire.

6.3.3 Dateable New Settlement

As well as the new farmsteads created through the subdivision of existing landholdings, one completely new farm was created in 1673 (anon. 1673). Bridge-End was built in 1673 in Hope Woodlands on the western bank of the River Derwent on land taken from Two Thorn Fields. The landholding appears to have been created by the Devonshire estate and was then let to Thomas Barber of Derwent with the promise of the estate constructing a house (ibid). Though in Hope Woodlands manor, the farmstead was spatially closely associated with Derwent hamlet and the Sheffield packhorse route.

6.3.4 Occupancy

The copyholders who dominated the settlement of Derwent township in the early 19th century probably originated in the medieval period. Copyholders had more rights than estate tenants, with long leases giving them a status similar to that of a small landowner. The occupants of farmsteads in the remaining Upper Derwent townships were tenants of the respective lords of the manors. Hope Woodlands, Howden and South Ashop were all estates, and the farms were let out. In Hope Woodlands, Senior's survey and probate inventories of wills show something of how the tenancies operated. There are a number of

inventories which survive for families in the Upper Derwent, and they provide a range of useful information regarding building layouts, household activities and agricultural production. Inventories were relatively common in England between the middle of the 16th and middle of the 18th centuries, though they were rarely produced for women and the poor. They are not a comprehensive source for society at that time, but aid interpretation of those specific households recorded (Glennie 1995).

Hope Woodlands tenants paid a rental which covered the farmstead and fields, as well as rights to pasture livestock on the moorlands. At least some tenants were able to leave their farmsteads to their sons. The townships' occupancy pattern was not always a simple case of one tenant per farmstead. In 1697, William Greaves of Crookhill rented both Crookhill and Ronksley, while in 1719 another William Greaves lived at Rowlee and also rented buildings and land at Upper House and Two Thorn Field (anon. 1697; anon. 1719). In 1627, the farmstead at Hag was shared between two tenants, one of who also rented Fairholme Farm (Senior 1627). Some surnames appear regularly: Eyre, Greaves and Barber are commonly found at two or more farmsteads. This suggests that the inheritance and occupancy of farmsteads within the estate was a complex situation based on family links, aspiration of individuals or opportunities provided on the death of a tenant.

6.3.5 Farmstead Ceramics

The farmstead occupants had access to a growing range of pottery during the mid-16th to mid-18th centuries. Ceramics have been found by fieldwalking at 11 farmsteads in or near to the 20th century reservoirs, with concentrations of 20 or more sherds at eight sites (Illustration 6.3). They are found in specific locations directly on the sites of ruined farmsteads and in the closest neighbouring fields. This suggests that, once broken, vessels were being thrown onto nearby midden heaps with manure and fire ashes. The middens were later distributed across nearby fields, possibly the main crop-growing fields and meadows. There are many other farms, such as Crookhill, Rowlee and others in the Woodlands Valley, where no fieldwalking has been undertaken. They are located far from the exposed soils of the reservoirs, and surrounded by fields of permanent pasture. Again, a programme of test-pitting at these sites would help our understanding of these farmsteads by attempting to find out what numbers and ranges of ceramics were being consumed.

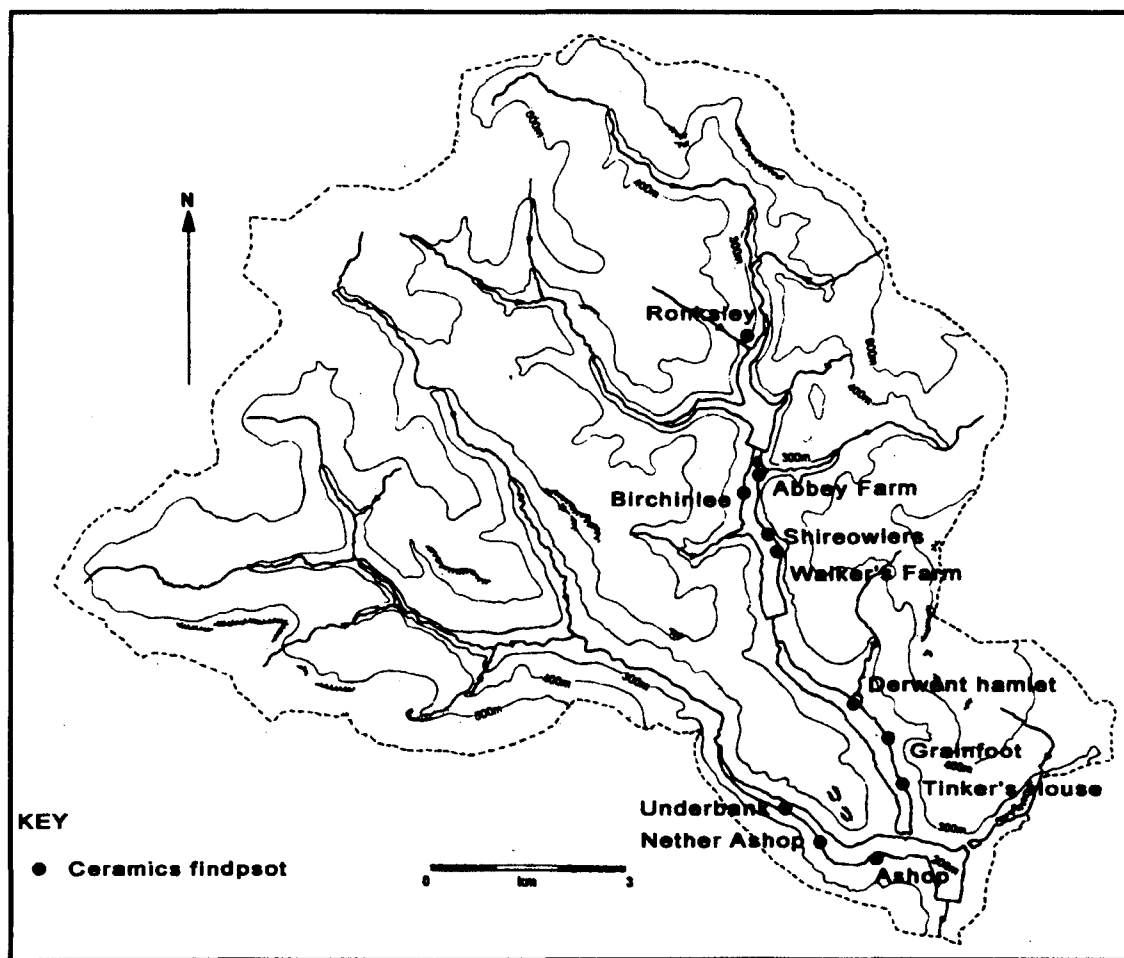


Illustration 6.3. Locations of findspots of mid-16th to mid-18th century ceramics in the Upper Derwent

There are eight fabrics present in the Upper Derwent dating from this period, including Midlands Purples, Black wares, Yellow wares, Glazed Red Earthenware, English Stonewares, Slipwares and Mottled wares (Beswick 1996). As in the medieval period, the majority are typical domestic assemblages and were mostly produced locally in potteries located on the Yorkshire and Derbyshire Coal Measures within a 40km radius of the Upper Derwent, such as the Mottled wares, which are very similar to early 18th century products made in a kiln at Sheffield Manor (ibid). There are also some vessels made in Slip Wares, mostly from kilns further afield in central Yorkshire (ibid).

The majority of early post-medieval vessels found in the Upper Derwent are very similar to those seen in the medieval period and comprise a range of cooking pots, jugs, jars and pancheons used for storing, cooking and serving food (ibid). However, some significant new types of vessels do appear alongside these in small quantities, including Black ware cups, imported glasses and locally produced plates and dishes. These are all tablewares

which were used for eating and drinking and are found at Ronksley, Abbey Farm, Grainfoot Farm, Ashop Farm, Nether Ashop and Derwent hamlet. In the medieval period, ceramic tablewares were absent from the area until the late 15th century appearance of Cistercian wares (Cumberpatch 2003). An increase in the use of ceramics rather than organic materials for tablewares occurred during the 17th century in southern England and London (Gaimster 1994; Johnson 1996; Weatherill 1988), but has been observed during the later 15th and 16th centuries in the north Midlands and northern England (Cumberpatch 2003). Fine pottery tablewares were produced to meet the desires of a rising urban mercantile elite, who thought crockery more civilised and appropriate for people of status than wooden, leather, horn or tin dishes. The presence of tablewares in the Upper Derwent demonstrates that rural populations were gaining access to these objects too. However, the small numbers of ceramic tablewares identified and the restriction to only six farmsteads suggests that they comprised only a small element of the households' repertoire of vessels. Purchases were made either from stalls and shops in neighbouring markets or from peddlers who travelled packhorse routes by foot or horse to visit villages, farms and inns (Hey 1980). Hey (*ibid*) has documented some of the range of consumer goods available in the 17th century, which include utilitarian objects, such as knives and linen, to more exotic items, such as silk and buttons.

The limited penetration of tablewares is supported by the small number of probate inventories made on the death of the head of a household that survive for the area. Inventories for Crookhill, Rowlee, Ronksley, Alport and occupants of Derwent hamlet rarely list ceramics or glasswares. Ronksley is a good example. The farmstead stands out from the others as regards the numbers and variety of vessels being used. Finds indicate that the household was consuming a wide range and large number of pottery vessels, and significantly it was buying a range of imported Rhenish and Dutch glasswares for use at the table. However, in an inventory written on the death of Edward Barber in 1679, no pottery or glass vessels are recorded, though brass and iron pots, bottles, a frying pan, tablecloths and napkins are (anon. 1679). Elsewhere in Britain the whole range of ceramic vessels and tablewares are itemised in inventories, so these are unlikely to be classes of routinely omitted objects (Weatherill 1988). We are either seeing an oversight in the local inventory process or an indication that ceramic tablewares still formed only a very small proportion of household vessels.

6.3.6 Farm Buildings

From the 16th century radical changes in building styles were seen across much of Britain. Vernacular architecture was reworked to such an extent that houses were effectively transformed internally from medieval to what might be termed modern layouts (Brunskill 1992). Medieval houses generally comprised a single large hall with a central hearth or inglenook, open to the roof, and with small, unglazed mullion windows. A small number of rooms on one or two storeys led off the hall, including bedrooms, storerooms and the scullery. In the 16th and 17th centuries, domestic architecture changed as greater comfort and privacy were desired (Johnson 1996). Window glass and chimneyed fireplaces were introduced, the internal space was divided into small rooms on two storeys, and entrance lobbies allowed movement into the house to be better controlled. This also created greater social identification with specific rooms in the house and the gendering of male and female spaces. Studies were the preserve of the usually male household head, kitchens were solely female, while parlours were used for both master and wife to meet guests (ibid). Men tended to be associated with the outside, both working the farm and the public face of the household, while women were identified with inside the house and domesticity.



Photograph 6.1. Ashes Farm, showing the rear range dated by its fabric to the 17th/early 18th century.

Very few farmhouses with extensive pre-19th century layouts exist in the Upper Derwent. The National Trust has commissioned vernacular building surveys of seven farmsteads in the area, and all but one comprise entirely late 18th or 19th century fabric. The exception is Ashes Farm where the rear range was constructed in the 17th or early 18th century (Lott

1997a). The owners of Woodhouse claim that the farmhouse also contains 17th century rooms, though I was unable to gain access to the interior.

Inventories of wills provide a source for interpreting more about the layout of rooms during the later 17th and early 18th century, as well as helping to identify their contents. Taking Rowlee as an example we can see the layout of the house and the changes in range of material objects between the deaths of Henry Balguy in 1686 and William Greaves in 1719 (anon. 1686; anon. 1719). Henry was a yeoman farmer, someone of modest wealth, who today might be labelled middle class. In that year the farmhouse at Rowlee comprised a large number of public and private rooms according to the tastes of the time. The ground floor was divided into a hall, dining room, great parlour, pantry, lesser parlour, kitchen, dairy and Henry's private study. Above these were a new chamber, bed chamber, parlour chamber, kitchen chamber, stable chamber and the husbandman's chamber. The hall and dining room appear to be the public rooms with tables, a sideboard, soft furnishings and objects for display – swords, a hunting horn and clock. The study was arranged for one person, having a single table and chair as well as books. Presumably this was Henry's private room. The kitchen, dining room and new chamber contained the most things, ranging from a looking glass and cushions to the essential housekeeping items, such as the pans and fire irons. The locations of the irons suggest that the kitchen and dining room had the only two fireplaces in the whole house, and were probably back-to-back against a shared wall. The bedchamber was presumably the bedroom of Henry himself for it contained only one bed, while the other chambers and the parlours contained two or more, including in one room a pull-out wheeled truckle bed, which stowed away under the other bed. There were a total of 12 beds in the house. Pottery and glass vessels are only specifically listed in one of the upstairs rooms, and pewter appears in the kitchen. However, a sideboard in the dining room and two dressers in the kitchen would have been used for storing and displaying vessels, so it is possible that they were simply subsumed in the descriptions of the furniture or were made from organic materials.

Forty-three years later, on the death of William Greaves, the list of objects was much longer. In addition to most of the items listed before, it appears as if the acquisition of material objects had increased and become more important to the rural yeoman. Soft furnishings proliferated in the form of cushions, tablecloths, napkins and window curtains, as did the accoutrements for entertaining guests at dinner – brass candle sticks, a set of 24

knives and forks, two silver cups, two silver salts, six silver spoons, two glass decanters with eight drinking glasses and 'other wares'. The range of display objects had expanded to include pictures, brass furniture for a range and three pairs of stag horns. William also had a silver watch with a chain.

Similar lists of rooms and their contents can be found for Rankles and Crookhill, though the listing of rooms is much more inconsistent (anon. 1679; anon. 1697). Again soft furnishings are itemised, including tablecloths and napkins which imply table settings for dining, but pewter or ceramic tablewares are not. This is even though Concisely is one of the few locations in the Upper Derwent where substantial numbers and a wide variety of 17th century potsherds are found. This, and the inconsistent listing of rooms, suggests omissions on the part of the people who drew up these inventories, unless someone else in the households owned tablewares. Robert Barber, yeoman late of One Man's House, owned a similar range of chests, tables, chairs, forms, cloth, bed linen, tablecloths and napkins as well as two stone of hemp (anon. 1624). There were two differences to other farmers: the number of items was smaller and he did not own any of the 'exotic' or display items, such as clocks, glasses and hunting horns. There was clearly a great deal of variation in consumption of goods between different farmers in the area, which may reflect wealth or differing aspirations as to purchasing objects on the part of the growing middle classes of the time.

Clustered around the farmhouse were one or more outbuildings. Certain agricultural and other activities would be specifically undertaken around and in the farmstead. Machinery and equipment would be stored, serviced and repaired. The 17th century inventories list various items stored and made at the farmsteads, including salt beef, bacon, dripping, cheese, butter, malt, wool, cloth, hay, oats, wheat, hemp and flax. It is unclear whether the hemp and flax were grown locally or imported as cloth or oil, something that pollen analysis of peat cores would help to resolve. Looms and spinning wheels indicate the production of cloth, presumably wool from the farm's own sheep. Manure was also deemed important enough to include in a will in one case, and was recorded as stored around Rowlee house before being spread onto the fields, possibly accompanied by broken pottery (anon. 1719). The farmstead was the centre of activity, a noisy and smelly place, filled with the movement of people and animals.

6.4 Into the Fields: Enclosure and Field Barns

Again the inventories of wills indicate something about farming in the 17th and early 18th centuries. Cattle, sheep, horses and hens make regular appearances, but not pigs. The list of produce described above not only indicates the sorts of goods stored but what may have been produced on the farm itself. There are ploughs and harrows, saddles and yokes, sleds and carts. These are the materials of agriculture, the routines of which radiated out from the farmstead into the landscape of fields and moorlands, where time was spent in relation to the seasonal cycle of tasks.

6.4.1 *Pattern*

The history and pattern of enclosure is closely tied to the settlement history discussed above. Within Hope Woodlands and Howden, enclosure was almost complete by 1627 and 1637 respectively (Harrison 1637; Senior 1627). As the earliest maps for the remainder of the Upper Derwent only date to the 19th century, we can not be sure of dates for enclosure in other townships, but it is likely to be broadly contemporary. There is no overall plan or regular order to the field layout in the Upper Derwent, rather it is characterised by small, irregularly shaped fields that compartmentalise the valley bottoms and sides (see Illustration 6.1 for Hope Woodlands and Howden, and Illustration 7.4 for Derwent). The majority of boundaries are dry-stone walls, with hedges less common and, where present, predominantly on the lower slopes and valley bottom. All the walls are built from Millstone Grit, which has been surface-gathered or obtained from small and shallow wall-builders' quarries excavated intermittently along the lines of boundaries.

Field boundaries generally follow irregular courses related to topography, the nature and location of agricultural activities, and the rights to place a boundary along a certain line as negotiated between tenants and landlords. Farmers worked with local topography, seeking out the better soils, the more level ground or the least boulder-strewn areas available to them at the time.

The resulting pattern of enclosure is one of small, irregular fields throughout the two valleys. Within this overall arrangement, there is some local variation. Farmsteads in Hope Woodlands township usually have one or two largish oval enclosures looping out along the contour to one or both sides, beyond which are numerous smaller and more rectangular fields. Ronksley House is the exception to this, possibly because of the absence of gently

sloping land in its vicinity. Here a small group of large enclosures quickly give way to moorland grazing. East of the River Derwent, farmsteads on the steeper slopes are immediately surrounded in the main by small fields, which tend to radiate out from the farm buildings, before giving way to a more irregular pattern of enclosures. There is also a distinctive group of fields, which have curving boundaries when seen in plan, that run across the valley side. These can be seen between Millbrook and Grindle Clough in Derwent township and east of Crookhill in Hope Woodlands (Photograph 1.4). The lines of the curving boundaries were created by following the contours of the valley side, where there are rounded shoulders of land formed by clough-erosion of the underlying rock. On closer inspection the boundaries and fields are little different to other more rectangular, though still comparatively irregular, fields in the survey area, which also have contour-following boundaries. In Ashop Dale, farmsteads are surrounded by more rectangular-shaped fields arranged in blocks.

In principle, there would be little to prevent a farmer enclosing a large circuit to define the full extent of their landholding in one act, and then successfully using the space within for agriculture, without so many subdivisions. While dividing up the land does facilitate agricultural activities to some extent, this could be effectively undertaken with three to four enclosures to separate livestock from arable, and allow the means to separate livestock for shearing, mating, sale, etc. Woodland could be protected from grazing by defining large areas that were reserved from clearance and could be enclosed within a single boundary. This would require some level of overall direction by the landowner or between tenants from the early phases of settlement. The Upper Derwent field pattern suggests that land was enclosed piecemeal over substantial periods of time, not as the product of the landowners' planning nor the shared-product of communal farming. Successive generations of occupants at individual farmsteads probably enclosed small areas of land at any one time by building on what already existed and adding to it. Some may have been by agreement between tenants and landowners, while some may have been instigated by tenants without any prior agreement. This progressive nature of enclosure has been graphically demonstrated by an archaeological technique, a method of analysing relationships between wall junctions to provide a relative chronology of wall-building that has proved successful in the Lake District (Bevan et al 1990. Photograph 6.2). This technique was tried within a sample survey area at Hagg Farm, and demonstrated that the field pattern as depicted in 1627 was the result of a sequence of enclosure, rather than

being set down at a single time (Roberts 1996). Fields towards the lower valley slopes appear to have been enclosed first, with enclosure progressing up the valley side. How long this sequence took is unknown, it may have been over generations or only a few years.



Photograph 6.2. Wall junction at Hagg Farm, Hope Woodlands

Much of the early enclosure is likely to have been near to each farmer's house, but it was not always a simple case of progressively working further and further outwards. In 1627 Rowlee Farm comprised six adjacent fields surrounding the farmhouse and two isolated enclosures nearby, which were separated from each other by woodland (Senior 1627. Illustration 6.1). By the beginning of the 19th century, all of the woodland was cleared and divided with walls into small fields, the individual patches of agricultural land in the 17th century becoming a cohesive block (Potter 1808. Illustration 6.4). It appears from Senior's descriptions of land quality that the earlier fields occupied the better drained land and the intervening woodlands covered steeper and boggy ground. Enclosure after 1627 may have been undertaken with the development of better drainage techniques in the 17th or 18th centuries (Williamson 2002). More striking is the development at Two Thorn Fields, located to the west of Crookhill (Illustration 6.4). The farmstead is first documented in 1623, four years before Senior surveyed Hope Woodlands, when he referred to the farm buildings as 'ancient'. Situated just above the steep side of the Woodlands Valley, the farmstead was located in between two large oval enclosures, with woodland below and

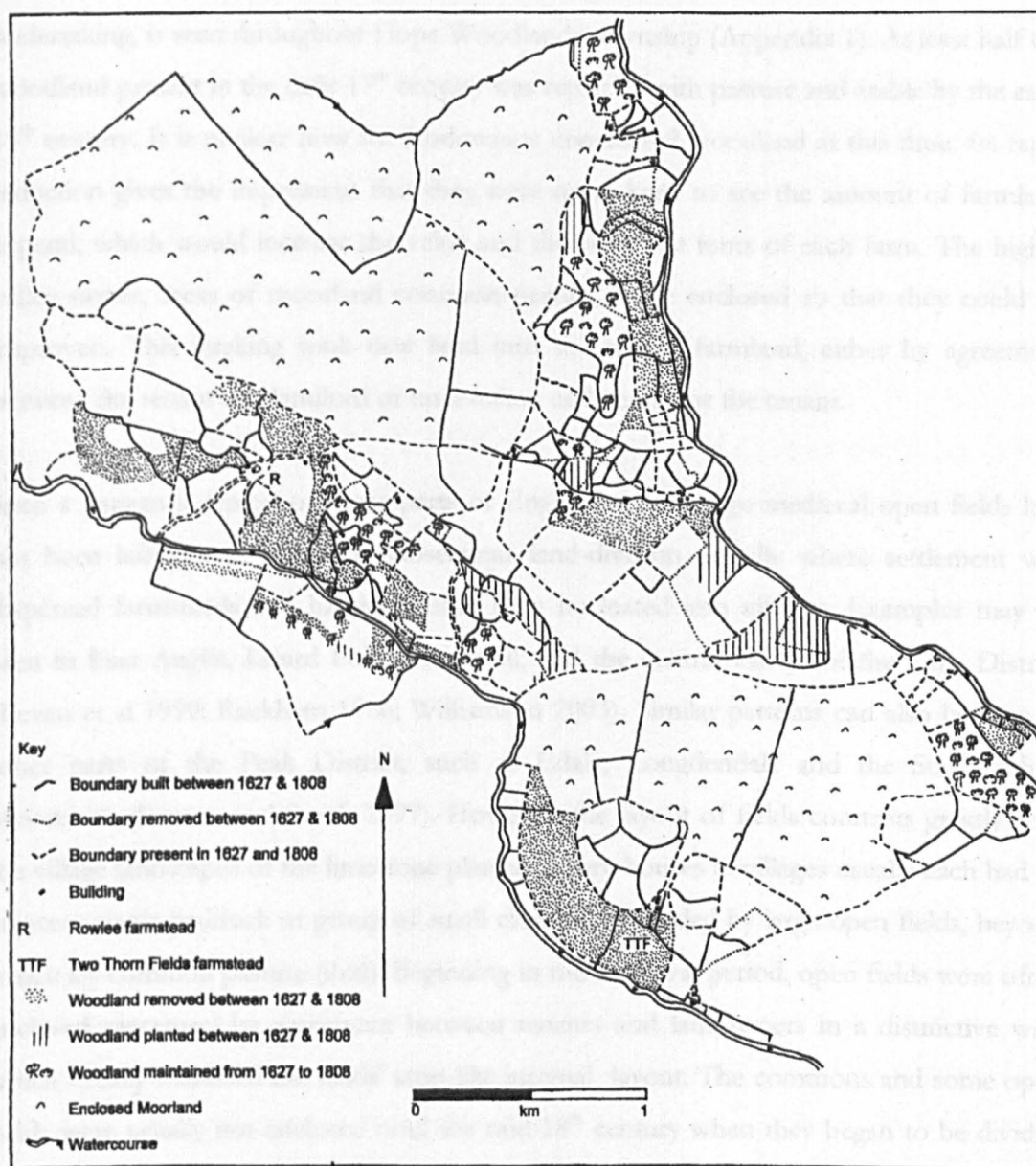


Illustration 6.4. Boundary and woodland changes in part of Hope Woodlands township, 1627 – 1808

moorland pasture, described as heath and turf moss, on the ridge above. Most of the farm's fields were situated on the other side of this ridge in Derwent Valley. Then by the early 19th century, the oval enclosures were subdivided into smaller fields, the woodland was cleared and the open land walled to make small enclosures, and the moorland was split into three blocks by two straight walls. Here the dynamism of clearing and enclosing the land for agriculture is very evident, and was mostly carried out after 1627.

The expansion of farmland, which the farmers at Rowlee and Two Thorn Fields were undertaking, is seen throughout Hope Woodlands township (Appendix 1). At least half the woodland present in the early 17th century was replaced with pasture and arable by the early 19th century. It is unclear how the landowners considered woodland at this time. Its rapid reduction gives the impression that they were more keen to see the amount of farmland expand, which would increase the value and therefore the rents of each farm. The higher valley slopes, areas of moorland common pasture, were enclosed so that they could be improved. This intaking took new land into the rented farmland, either by agreement between the tenant and landlord or undertaken unilaterally by the tenant.

Such a pattern is typical of those parts of England where large medieval open fields had not been laid out to structure subsequent land-division, usually where settlement was dispersed farmsteads and hamlets rather than nucleated into villages. Examples may be seen in East Anglia, Lizard Point, Cornwall, and the central valleys of the Lake District (Bevan et al 1990; Rackham 1986; Williamson 2003). Similar patterns can also be seen in other parts of the Peak District, such as Edale, Longdendale and the Staffordshire Moorlands (Barnatt and Smith 1997). However, the layout of fields contrasts greatly with the village landscapes of the limestone plateau, where houses in villages usually each had an adjacent single paddock or group of small closes, surrounded by large open fields, beyond which lay common pasture (*ibid*). Beginning in the medieval period, open fields were often enclosed piecemeal by agreement between tenants and landowners in a distinctive way, which usually fossilised the fields' strip-like internal layout. The commons and some open fields were usually not enclosed until the mid-18th century when they began to be divided along well-defined and planned lines, township by township, sometimes by Act of Parliament and sometimes by agreement between landowners.

6.4.2 Agricultural Land-Use

Enclosed land was primarily used for agricultural purposes. The history and nature of enclosure enabled and constrained the use of a farmholding by providing walled fields, which could be used to separate livestock, hay meadows and arable crops from each other.

6.4.2.1 Pasture/Meadow

The majority of fields were used to pasture livestock, with some fields being reserved from grazing during spring and early summer to produce hay. Field barns, livestock folds, sheep

creeps, and gateways enabled the situating of agricultural practices and movement across the farmed landscape. Returning to the inventories of wills gives an idea of numbers of livestock in the later 17th century, a century earlier than surviving estate records of animal numbers. In 1624, Robert Barber, yeoman of One Man's House, had only five sheep and three cattle (anon. 1624). In 1679, Edward Barber of Ronksley owned 218 sheep, 10 cattle and a mare, while in 1686 Henry Balguy of Rowlee left 700 sheep, four horses and an unquantified number of cattle after his death (anon. 1679; anon. 1686). In 1719, William Greaves of Rowlee had ten steers, seven calves, two large oxen, six oxen (presumably small), 19 milk cows, 21 bullocks, ten heifers, three horses, eight mares, four colts, two pigs, and 1,447 sheep pastured at both Rowlee and Two Thorn Field (anon. 1719). Another William Greaves, who died in 1697, had four oxen, 13 bullocks, 12 heifers (one recorded as 'barren'), eight cows, ten calves, two bulls, five horses, 14 rams, 259 sheep and five pigs at Crookhill, and four cows, four oxen, 16 cattle, 384 sheep and one ram at Ronksley (anon. 1697).

6.4.2.2 Arable

The 1679 probate inventory for Edward Barber of Ronksley lists two ploughs, two harrows, six pecks of barley and 11 loads of barley. In 1697, there were one plough, two harrows and some corn at Ronksley and nine sacks and one load of wheat, eight pecks of bran and corn in the barn at Crookhill. Inventories for Rowlee in 1686 mention 20 quarters of oats, and in 1719 three loads of wheat, four quarters of barley, 34 'strikes' of oats, 130 'thraves' of oats and 12 corn stacks, with a plough at Two Thorn Field. In 1640, one of the Alport farmsteads had a plough and harrow (anon. 1640a). These probates indicate that arable was produced in the area, though ploughs were not in heavy enough use to be an essential item of every farm household.

6.4.3 Field Barns and Folds

An integral element of agricultural practices undertaken in the enclosed inbye is the presence of field barns dispersed amongst the fields (Photograph 6.3). There are 48 sites of field barns distributed amongst the enclosed land. Many of these are now ruined and survive as building platforms or piles of tumbled stone rubble, while others are maintained



Photograph 6.3. Field barn at Grindle Clough, with dated lintel inscribed 1647

in use. Twenty-eight field barns are located in Hope Woodlands township alone, and over half, 15, were built by 1627 (Senior 1627). Senior's map depicts them as 'cotes', an Old English name for cottage, hut, shelter or den, as well as barn (Cameron 1959). In Derwent, a date-stone of 1647 forms the lintel on one of three barns built in a group alongside a trackway at Grindle Clough. Field-barn layouts vary greatly, including one or two rooms with one storey, one storey with loft-space, or two storeys. They are usually built against a field wall, especially the smaller types, and sometimes have attached yards and water troughs.

In two-storey barns, livestock were stalled on the ground floor during winter with hay stored above. They allowed farmers to manage livestock across their holdings without having to concentrate activity around the farm buildings or continually move stock and feed between fields and their farmsteads. Through routine use the field barns became locales of activity for farmers that physically identified the farmsteads across the landholdings. Like field walls, these barns formed part of the built expression of the transformation of the wider landscape into farmland.

6.4.4 Structuring Space

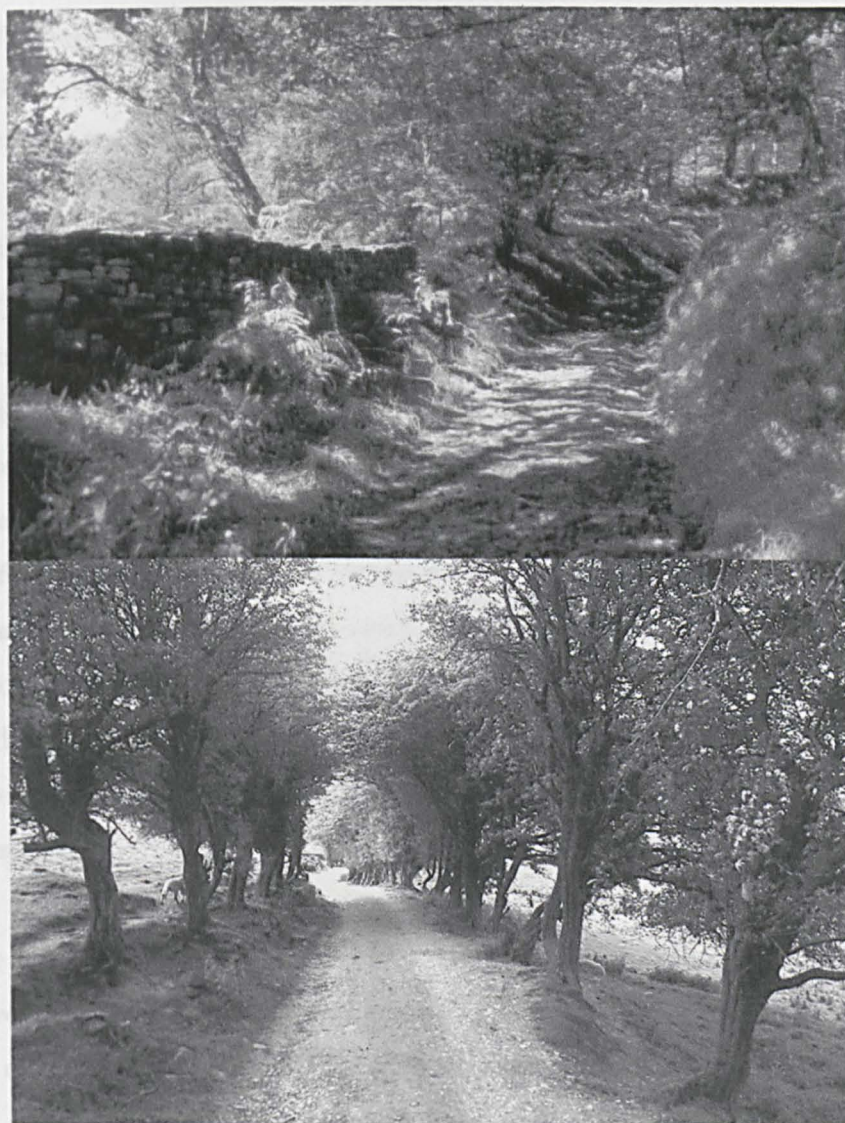
The field pattern is embedded in the social relations and practices of people living, working and travelling in the area. Field walls were built by the tenant farmers resident in the area to increase the amount of inbye land, and therefore the productivity of their agricultural practices. This is not the limit of a field wall's significance - such enclosure is also a claim to

that plot of land lying within the boundaries. Both the boundaries and the improved nature of the ground relative to unenclosed waste are the products of obvious practical needs, but they also help to signify that the parcel of land has been claimed by someone. The initial acts of wall building, improvement, drainage and woodland clearance, do not happen overnight. It takes some time to complete and embed the plot into the farmed landscape. Depending on the conditions this is undertaken within, this may be a risky period, where the landowner or neighbouring tenant can contend the act of enclosure and prevent its completion. Alternatively, the landowner may have actively encouraged enclosure to increase rents from his estate. A lack of early post-medieval documents relating to disputes over field boundaries or damage to woodland suggests the latter was the case in the Upper Derwent between the late 16th and early 18th centuries.

On acceptance of the existence of enclosures by the relevant landowner, boundaries can decrease contention over who is included within and who excluded from that land by its association with a certain farmstead or landowner – the farming landscape set in stone. There may have been friction points where different farmers saw the same area of land as theirs to enclose next. Adjudicating over such arguments may have been the role of the landowners' estate officers and sometimes 'getting there first' might have been enough. By having Hope Woodlands surveyed and mapped in 1627, the Duke of Devonshire was creating a baseline from which further enclosure could be measured. Prior to this the main method of sorting out disagreements over boundaries in many rural townships was to ask elder members of the community to give witness about the presence of boundaries, the right for that boundary to exist in that location or who built it. This can be seen in a boundary dispute between tenants of Bradfield and Derwent beginning in the 16th century and ending only in the 18th century (anon. 1724 – see section 6.5.6). It was also common practice in Cumbria (Bevan et al 1990; Winchester 1987). With a map, the landlord or his agent could better identify any new enclosure and encroachment onto moorland in a seemingly more objective way.

An observation of a survey of wall fabric at Hagg Farm was that a number of walls had one face constructed to a much neater appearance than the other (Roberts 1996). Where phasing of enclosure was identifiable, the neater sides were the outside faces of enclosures in relation to the farmstead. In effect the farmer responsible for enclosure at any one time was presenting a statement to others about land tenure as well as the craft of wall building

and the quality of agricultural practice. These others would be the people moving around the local landscape, mainly neighbouring farmers and the landlords' agents or estate workers, and occasionally, people passing along the packhorse track that passed through the farmholding, connecting the Derwent–Sheffield and Glossop–Hope routes.



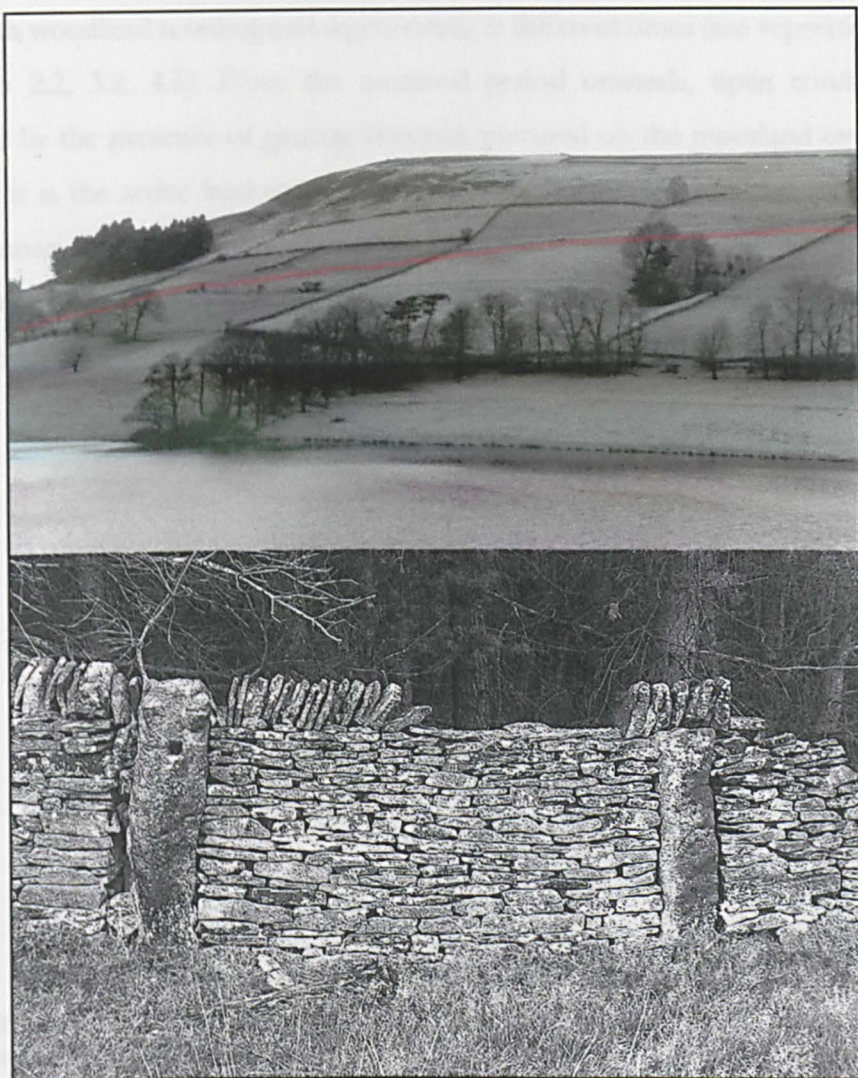
Photograph 6.4. Bounded lanes in Hope Woodlands: common use of walls (above - in Woodlands Valley) and much rarer example of hedges (below - Alport Dale)

The compartmentalisation of the land created by such enclosure also enables and constrains movement along certain directions. As enclosure progressively takes in more land, specific areas are blocked so forcing or encouraging people to move along restricted pathways to avoid trespass. Rights of way develop hand-in-hand with the creation of the enclosed landscape. At some locations, boundaries may follow existing trackways, while at

others, routes will develop in relation to boundaries. This can be seen in the number of walled lanes, which tightly define rights of way through enclosed land (Photograph 6.4).

Patterns of movement around the landscape can be seen in the locations of the walled lanes that connect the farmsteads with the wider world. Most farmsteads were set back from the public rights of way, so creating a geographical distance between the household and the public realm. These farmsteads were connected to the public routes via walled access lanes that ran through enclosed fields, so emphasising this social separation. Some farmsteads were situated directly on the lines of the longer-distance through-routes, such as Townrowhag and Rowlee in Hope Woodlands, Lanehead in Derwent and the sequence of Ashop, Dryclough and Nether Ashop farms in Ashop Dale. These are unusual, and most of the farmsteads situated close to through-routes were still located at a distance with enclosed fields placed in between. Rarely were farmsteads connected to each other by direct routes, the exceptions being the access to High House, which ran through Ashes farmyard and the three Ashop Dale farmsteads. In most cases, if someone was travelling from one farmstead to another, they would have to go down the first farmstead's private lane, follow public through-routes to reach the other farmstead's lane, then travel up its lane. Privacy in the landscape of the Upper Derwent may have preceded notions of privacy within the household, because this spatial relationship between farmsteads originated in the medieval period, when the interiors of farmhouses were not highly compartmentalised into individual rooms.

Within the farms, farmers would move beyond their farm buildings into the surrounding fields to work the land. Gateways and stiles are placed to best allow movement between fields, so creating desire lines for movement across the land without having formal routeways (Photograph 6.5). Evidence for rearranging routeways within farmholdings is evident where gateways have been blocked (Photograph 6.5). Agricultural work is dispersed across the farm and the naming of individual fields indicates that some are associated with specific tasks such as horse pasture, meadow and hay, arable, flax, calving, pigs, etc (Senior 1627). The locations of field barns, sheepfolds and sheepwashes also create places where certain activities are undertaken. Across years and generations, fields become identified with the carrying out of the same activities over and over again, so embedding certain routines of farming practice and labour at different seasons in specific locales in the landscape.



Photograph 6.5. Routeways within farms are visible as lines crossing fields, Derwent (above), and a blocked gateway, Hope Woodlands (below)

6.5 Onto the Commons

At the upper boundary of the fields, the farmer would move on to the common, most often via gates in the top wall of their enclosed farmland (Photograph 6.6). Movement between farm and common was an act of physical exertion, an ascent onto higher ground. The farmer would climb out of a heavily managed landscape, where the farmer spent most time associated with agriculture, onto more open and exposed land. Going onto the common was therefore a passage between landscapes, from one that was 'built' and intensively occupied to another that was 'ranged' over, and not so actively worked by the input of labour to manage the land. The moorland common of grass and heather is, of course, a human-made landscape, originating in the mesolithic burning of scrubland to create clearings and the contemporary spread of peat. The available pollen samples suggest

that levels of open ground were not constant throughout prehistory and the early medieval period, with woodland receding and regenerating at different times (see vegetation histories in sections 2.2, 3.2, 4.3). From the medieval period onwards, open conditions were maintained by the presence of grazing livestock pastured on the moorland over summer, but, while it is the active land-use patterns of farmers that created open moorlands, the level of management and time a farmer spent on the moor was less than within the farm fields, so the common may have been perceived as a 'wilder' landscape, and the need to climb onto it could accentuate this.



Photograph 6.6. Farmstead trackways leading onto common from enclosed farmland via intakes of rough grassland, Derwent

Common rights to the moorland originated in the medieval period, and included, amongst other things, pasturing sheep and cattle, cutting peat, quarrying stone, cutting bracken, heather harvesting, moss gathering and cranberry and bilberry picking. Bracken harvesting and moss gathering were recorded on Derwent Moor in 1724 (anon. 1724). In Hope Woodlands and Howden, each farmstead had a well-defined area of common reserved solely for its use (Harrison 1637; Senior 1627. Illustration 6.1). Though pasturing is referred to as 'stinting' in Hope Woodlands, the highly defined division of the moorland meant that the way it was used was similar to commons after enclosure but within a tenant farmer context rather than small landowner. Specific geographical divisions are not documented in Derwent, and it appears as if any occupant of the township could access any part of the common, which was used by up to nine farms and a number of households in the hamlet. This was not the case in practice, as shown by the locations of routeways, moorland

boundaries and baulks in the extensive peat cut on Derwent Edge. Use of the commons was therefore well organised and demarcated much as the enclosed farmland below.

6.5.1 Hays and Peat Cuts

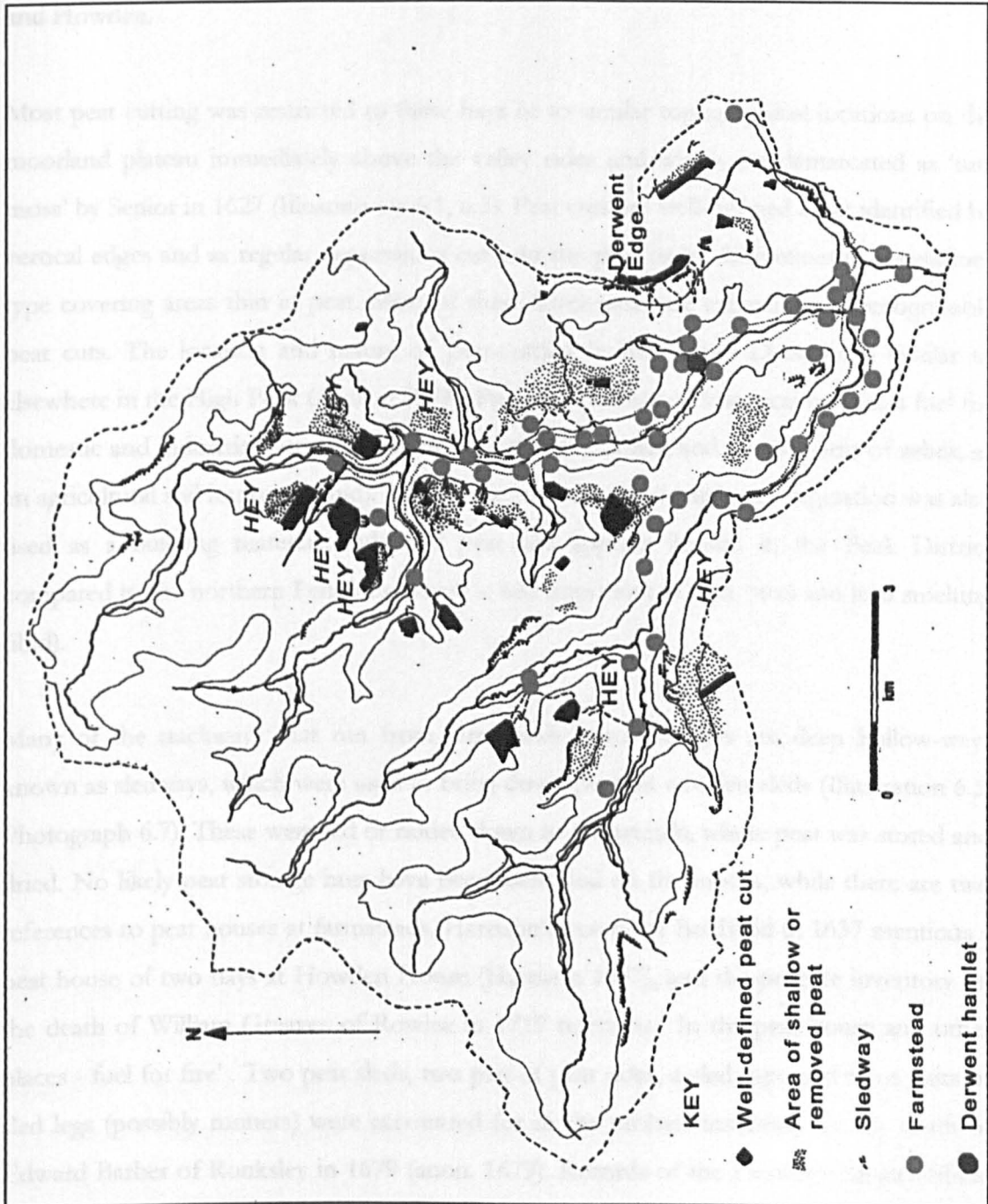


Illustration 6.5. Peat cuts, hays and sledways in the Upper Derwent

Between the outpastures and the enclosed fields in Hope Woodlands and Howden are large moorland enclosures, which divide the land into discrete regular blocks usually

referred to as moors, hassocks or heys (Illustration 6.5). They were divided from the remainder of the common, the outpastures, by banks and ditches, dikes or walls. They were pasture and turbary grounds which were technically part of the common, but were strongly linked with specific farmsteads through their enclosure and by access along trackways. They are part of the systematic division of the moorland characteristic of Hope Woodlands and Howden.

Most peat cutting was restricted to these hays or to similar topographical locations on the moorland plateau immediately above the valley sides and which are demarcated as 'turf moss' by Senior in 1627 (Illustrations 6.1, 6.5). Peat cuts are well-defined areas identified by vertical edges and as regular depressions cut into the peat or by differences in vegetation-type covering areas thin in peat. Most of these latter areas are extensions to recognisable peat cuts. The location and nature of peat-cutting in the Upper Derwent is similar to elsewhere in the High Peak (Ardron 1999). Peat has a variety of historical uses: as a fuel for domestic and industrial purposes, as litter for stalled animals, and, in the form of ashes, as an agricultural soil improver (*ibid*). Turves, the surface sod of earth and vegetation was also used as a building material. Industrial peat use appears limited in the Peak District compared to the northern Pennines, where it was important in iron, steel and lead smelting (*ibid*).

Many of the trackways that run from farmsteads onto the hays are deep hollow-ways known as sledways, which were used to bring down peat on wooden sleds (Illustration 6.5. Photograph 6.7). These were led or ridden down to farmsteads, where peat was stored and dried. No likely peat storage huts have been identified on the moors, while there are two references to peat houses at farmsteads. Harrison's survey of Bradfield in 1637 mentions a peat house of two bays at Howden House (Harrison 1637), and the probate inventory on the death of William Greaves of Rowlee in 1719 refers to 'In the peat house and other places - fuel for fire'. Two peat sleds, two pair of peat sides, a sled rope and three pairs of sled legs (possibly runners) were accounted for in the probate inventory on the death of Edward Barber of Ronksley in 1679 (anon. 1679). Records of the Derwent Parish Officer also include a reference to mending a sledge in 1743 (anon. 1743b). Such sledways are found in other areas where peat was cut from moorlands, including Edale (Barnatt 1993) and further afield in the Lake District (Winchester 1987; Bevan et al 1990) and North Yorkshire (Hartley and Ingilby 1990).



Photograph 6.7. Peat sledways at Bamford House, Derwent (above) and Alport hamlet, Hope Woodlands (below)

Peat cutting was one of the seasonal routines of life in the Upper Derwent, and fits into the highly segregated use of the landscape by individual farmsteads. It is another element of inhabiting the landscape, connected to a sense of individualism and self-sufficiency of each household. There is no evidence for when peat was cut, but it is common in most regions of Britain to cut peat in early summer to allow it to dry for use the following winter (Ardron 1999).

The exception to this is a huge peat cut above Derwent Edge (Illustration 6.5). This is very different to all other cuts in size and in being shared by a number of households. It was linked to Derwent hamlet, and perhaps Grainfoot Farm and Tinker's House, by a network

of sledways. As the sledways run upslope from the valley side above the hamlet, they branch out to terminate at different locations along the cut. Within this apparently unusual communal organisation of peat extraction in the Upper Derwent, demarcations and divisions are again apparent. It is divided into separate rectilinear areas by baulks of peat left in place during the action of cutting. The separate compartments probably represent individual cutting areas for each household, again suggesting a strong identity of individualism within a framework of shared rights.

6.5.2 Outpasture

Rights to pasture livestock, often known as stinting, date to at least the 13th century (Cox 1905; Kirke 1925). In Hope Woodlands and Howden, each farmstead had an outpasture or sheepwalk located beyond the hays, which were reserved solely for livestock grazing (Harrison 1637; Senior 1627. Illustration 6.1). Hope Woodlands' outpastures were carefully demarcated, both on maps from the early 17th century onwards and physically on the ground. There is no evidence that numbers of sheep were regulated within tenancy agreements. Those farms without access to adjacent outpastures were allotted stints on the high and extensive moorland to the west of the parish, situated at a distance from the remainder of their farmland.

Derwent tenants had also been using commons in Bradfield since before 1574, for which they paid an annual sum of 16 pence (anon. 1724). Which specific moors this refers to is not recorded, but hollow-ways lead up from the valley bottom onto part of Bradfield commons, south of Abbey Brook.

6.5.3 Stock Movement

People and livestock moved between the valley bottoms and commons via a network of trackways, some deliberately built as linear terraces running across slopes and others eroded into hollow-ways through generations of use. Through enclosed land, their lines were tightly defined, while on the open moorland they fanned out in numerous directions (Photographs 6.8, 6.9).



Photograph 6.8. (cf Photograph 6.6). Trackways connecting farmsteads and common in Derwent are marked in red. The route is a walled lane as it climbs the valley side through enclosed fields then fans out into numerous hollow-ways on the common. They are partly overlain by 19th century Parliamentary Enclosure walls



Photograph 6.9. Detail of hollow-way depicted in photograph 6.8 as it runs through enclosed land

Some of these formed sections of long-distance packhorse routes, which connected the Upper Derwent with surrounding settlements. Most were shorter tracks, which led from specific farmsteads to specific areas of moorland. Trackways often become fainter and disappear completely a short distance into the moorland after leaving enclosed land. While most routeways were used for whatever purpose people were on the moors for, there were also trackways which appear to have been used solely for reaching peat cuts and stone quarries. Where areas of the moorland are not designated as going with certain farms in

manor and estate records, the locations of trackways can be used to show which areas were used by different farmsteads.

Stock movement between farm and common involved the gathering and sorting of sheep. On many commons throughout England, this often included the separation of sheep of different farmers, which had become mixed together on the moors. In the Upper Derwent, there are no obvious pinfolds, a form of sheepfold dedicated to this purpose. This may be because of the ranging habit of sheep: if pastured on the same area regularly, as was the case in Hope Woodlands, they will generally not move much beyond that area, reducing the chances of mixing. Where inter-commoning occurred on moors in Bradfield and Derwent, the collection of waifs and strays was recorded as an element of common use, at least during the late 17th and early 18th centuries (anon. 1724). A pinfold was also described in a record of a boundary dispute on Moscar Moor, but this appears to have been situated on Strines Moor, to the north-east of the survey area, for use by tenants in that part of Bradfield parish.



Photograph 6.10. Typical clough-side sheepwashing fold

There are, however, a number of sheepfolds located at the edge of the enclosed land, at the boundaries between field and moorland common. Many are sheepwashing folds that are all situated adjacent to watercourses (Illustration 6.6. Photograph 6.10). Before the introduction of chemical dips in the 20th century, sheep were washed in rivers to clean

the fleece and remove parasites (Farey 1811-13). The remains of multi-compartment folds are found at suitably slow-moving and deep stretches of watercourses, where sheep

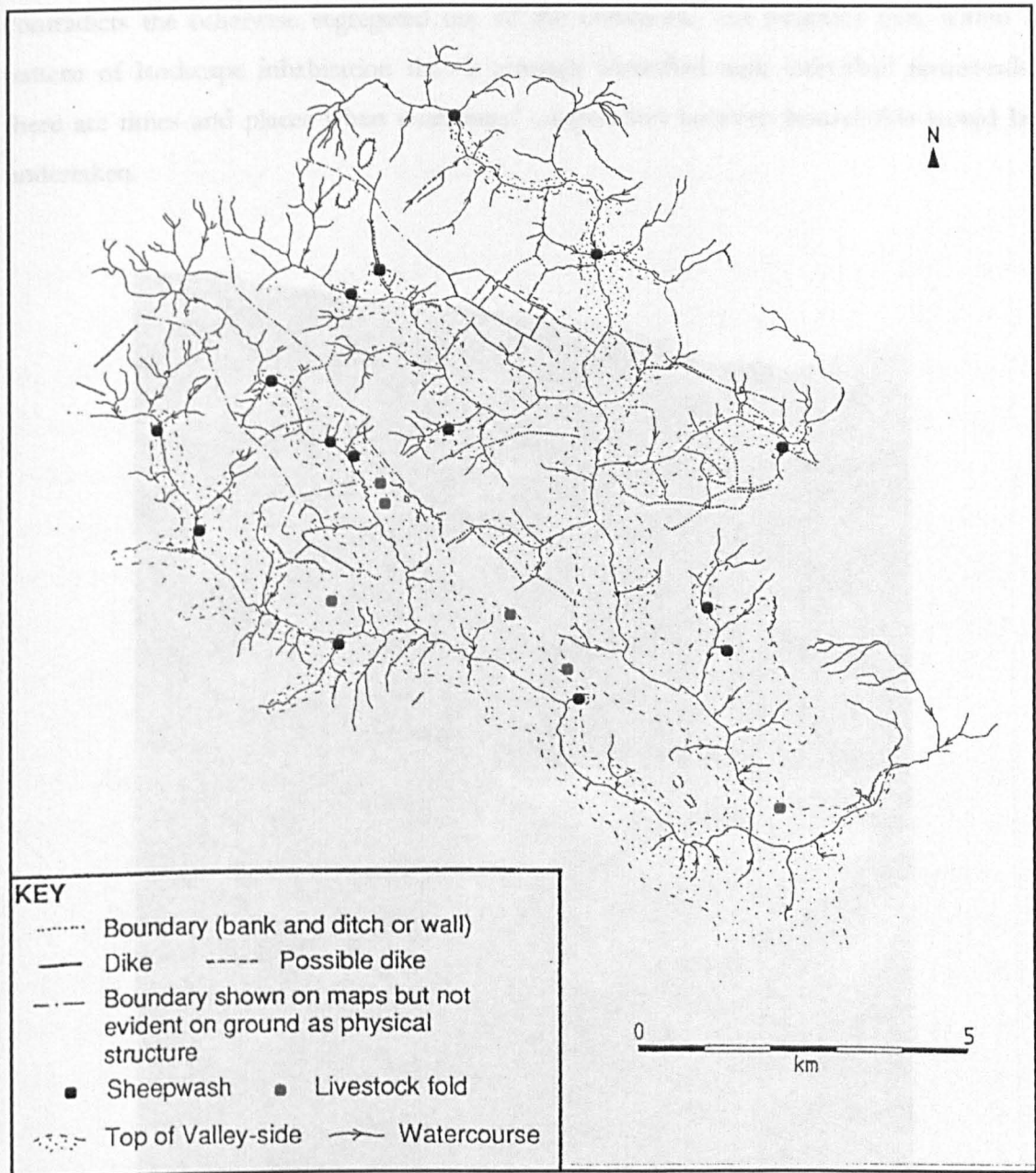
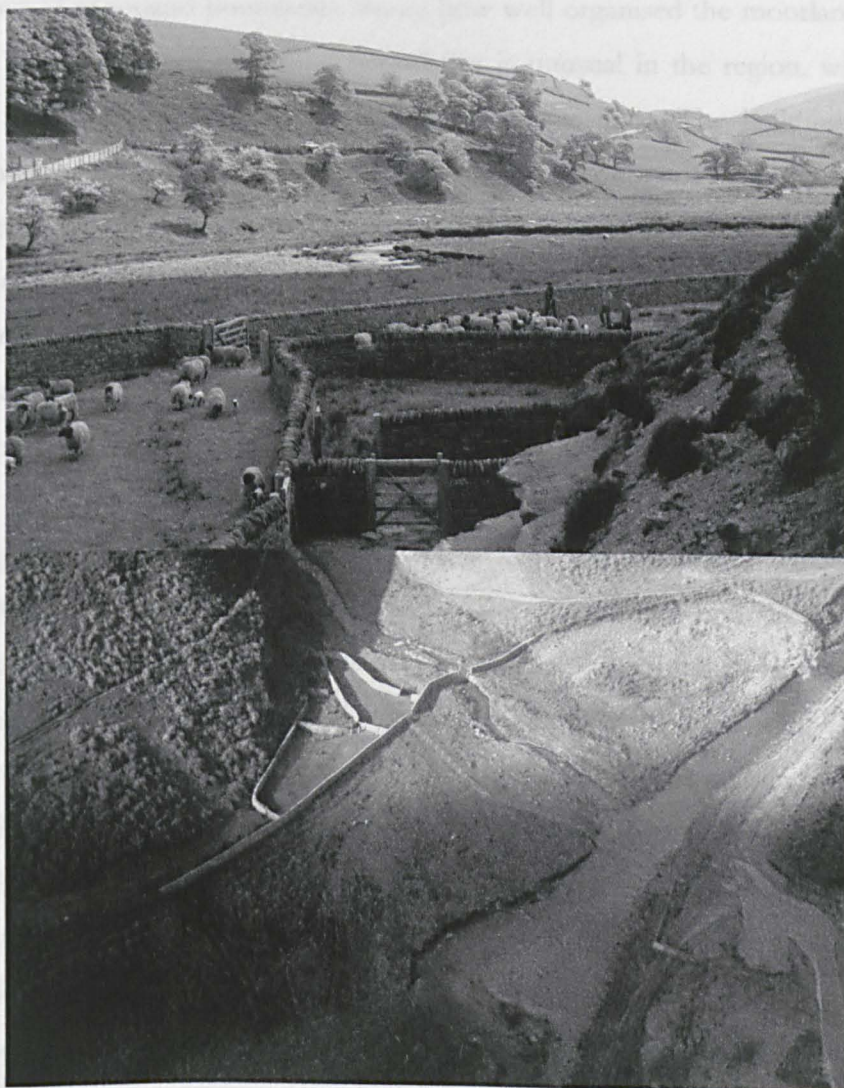


Illustration 6.6. Moorland boundaries, buildings, sheepfolds and sheepwashes in the Upper Derwent

could be dipped in the water and the clean ones separated from the dirty. There are also sheepfolds situated on the moors or the top wall of valley-side intakes at a distance from water, which would have been used solely for gathering, sorting and marking (Illustration 6.6). There is a large multi-compartment sheepfold in Hope Woodlands located at the confluence of the River Ashop and Fair Brook and at the boundary of moorland and enclosed farmland which may have been used for this purpose. The adjacent moorland was

the most distant from farmsteads and was shared as outpasture by a number of farms in the township without access to extensive moorland nearby (Illustration 6.1. Photograph 6.11). This fold was probably both a gathering and a sheepwashing fold. This seemingly contradicts the otherwise segregated use of the commons, but indicates that, within a pattern of landscape inhabitation that is strongly identified with individual farmsteads, there are times and places when communal cooperation between households would be undertaken.



Photograph 6.11. Gathering and washing fold at Fair Brook, Hope Woodlands. National Trust Collection

6.5.4 Moorland Boundaries

There are numerous boundaries that cross the open moorland commons (Illustration 6.6). These include earthen banks and ditches, dry-stone walls, drains and dikes. In Hope Woodlands, the majority of these boundaries divide the different moorland sheepwalks and

outpastures, mostly where they were used by different farms. Those boundaries, lying within individual outpastures, were associated with steep cloughsides, to keep stock away or for drainage. In Derwent township, these boundaries also appear on the common, which was not documented as being so clearly demarcated as it was in Hope Woodlands. In Howden, numerous boundaries also divide up the common that was only used by a single farm, Howden House (Harrison 1637). These all run along the side of watercourses, and may have been used to facilitate shepherding.

The number of moorland boundaries shows how well organised the moorland commons were. The construction of moorland boundaries is unusual in the region, with very few identified on the Eastern Moors (John Barnatt pers comm). The building of physical boundaries along some lines, but not all, shows that they were not necessarily stock-proof boundaries. In places, this may have been essential where the sheep were not shepherded, and some of the dikes and bank and ditch boundaries may have been made stockproof by the insertion of brushwood and thorns (Cotterill pers comm). However, many physical barriers may have been created to fix the boundary lines in the landscape in an attempt to put their locations beyond contention.

Dikes, large linear trenches, are notable features of the moorland, which have been interpreted as boundaries, linear peat cuts and drains. Many follow boundaries known from maps or in association with other boundary forms. Some do not follow known boundaries. Constructing such features on this scale would have required a great deal of effort. Devil's Dike was reputedly built to define the eastern boundary of a medieval estate owned by Basingwerk Abbey (Montgomery and Shimwell 1985). Black Dike is recorded as created during the 19th century for land drainage, though its line does follow a boundary between the outpastures of two farms recorded from the early 17th century onwards (Senior 1627). This positioning was perhaps on agreement with the tenants, so that such a large feature did not disrupt stock movement within one farm's common pasture. However, dikes may have had a longer history, as suggested by the potential medieval date of Devil's Dike. They may have been associated with locations where land-use rights were in dispute between different tenants, or tenants and landlords, to attempt to place the line of the boundary beyond contention. Peat removed from the dike may also have been used for fuel (Paul Ardron pers comm), though probably as an opportune by-product rather than as a prime function of cutting the dike. The dikes also cross large areas of predominantly

indistinguishable moorland and form prominent topographical features useful for navigating around this landscape.

6.5.5 *Shepherds' Huts*

There are a number of buildings on the commons, which may have been shepherds' huts, providing shelter from the elements while working on the moorland. However, they all may have been multi-purpose common buildings, which could be used in association with other rights such as peat-cutting and stone-quarrying. The dangers to shepherds of being caught out during sudden worsening of the weather are highlighted by the story of Lost Lad Cairn. A cairn was reputedly erected in the late 17th century as a memorial to a shepherd boy from Derwent, called Abraham, who died in a snowstorm whilst sheltering in the lee of a rock. When he knew he was doomed he is supposed to have scratched 'Lost Lad' on the rock, thus giving the name Lost Lad to the knoll (Daniel 1935). His remains were discovered next to the epitaph the following spring and the cairn was built on the spot. It is not known whether the bones were taken away to be buried in the local churchyard or buried under the cairn. The cairn and Lost Lad place name are shown on a map of 1767 (Harley et al 1975; Cameron 1959). Today, the location is on the boundary between Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, where it is crossed by a tourist path, acting as both boundary and waymarker. Walkers still add to it.

6.5.6 *The Yorkshire–Derbyshire Conflict*

The question of who actually owned commons was not devoid of controversy and argument. The Yorkshire–Derbyshire boundary runs through the Upper Derwent, and across most of the moorland it is demarcated by a ditch and bank or line of small upright marker stones (Photograph 1.2). A legal battle began in 1574 over the boundary between Hallamshire and Hathersage manors, between Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and to which manor the commons at Moscar on Derwent Moors belonged (anon. 1724). The details of the case not only tell us something about the importance of commons, but also how disputes were settled through memory and recourse to local elders. Counsels for both lords met with 'diverse old and ancient men' of the two manors, who were called as witnesses. The men of Derbyshire brought with them a man of 'five score years or thereabouts' who recalled on his conscience that a cottage had been built at Moscar, and when the tenant had fallen into arrears on his rent, he had given a black horse as equity to the Lord of Hallamshire. Another witness, aged 60, remembered his father saying that Hallamshire

tenants had torn down walls built on the common by the Lord of Hathersage. In 1656, the bounds of Hathersage were ridden and written down as following a line that clearly placed Moscar in Derbyshire, and a note was made that these bounds had been ridden many time before 'without disturbance or contradiction'. Forty-nine years later, 'men of Bradfield' drew up a petition demanding all right of common on Derwent Moors, from which they were being excluded. Witnesses were again called, men in their 60s and 70s, who stated that they had tended sheep and cattle for farmers in Hathersage from their earliest memories. A decision was finally made in 1724 after further witnesses gave their testimony. In this year, the oldest was John Trout, who was 85 years old and could remember assisting in driving Bradfield sheep on to Derwent Moors, 70 and 60 years ago. Another newly built cottage at Moscar was referred to. The dispute had dragged on for over 150 years, the memories of older men had been tested, walls had been built and removed, boundaries had been ridden to confirm their lines and the small matter of a Civil War had been fought. In the end the decision went to Hathersage.

6.6 Derwent Hamlet

Though dominated by agriculture, the Upper Derwent landscape did not solely comprise farmsteads. Derwent hamlet continued as the only form of nucleated settlement (Illustration 6.2), providing a range of non-farming services to the surrounding agricultural community. In the early 17th century, a number of changes were made to the fabric of the hamlet that fixed its place as a focal point in the local landscape.

The mill and chapel, built in the 13th century, still served the wider local community, as did a blacksmith, who forged agricultural tools, door and window fittings, and shod horses. For two years in the early 17th century the lives of the blacksmith and the miller can be interpreted from surviving probate inventories made on their deaths in 1603 and 1629 respectively. Both inventories contrast with most of the farmers' of the area by containing far fewer possessions, which were restricted to domestic necessity and their professions. In addition to his smithy and tools, the blacksmith owned a collection of pots, kettles, pewter dishes, a candlestick, bed linen, a cupboard, one table, one form and two chairs (anon. 1603). The miller had a similar list of goods, his mill, three cows and four hens (anon. 1629). This suggests that they were poorer than many of the farmers in terms of material goods, but where no farmer had his farmhouse included in his inventory, both the

blacksmith and the mill are listed implying they owned their buildings, rather than renting them.

The hamlet was also well served with inns, as would be expected in a settlement on a long-distance trade route, with four ale houses recorded in 1577 (Byford 1981). This was the main stopping-off point for anyone making the long journey between Sheffield and Glossop. In the 17th century the medieval wooden packhorse bridge was replaced by a more substantial stone structure (Dodd and Dodd 1980. Photograph 6.12). Bridge-End farmstead was built in 1673 at the southern end of this bridge on land first leased then bought from the Duke of Devonshire (anon. 1673). Though it was situated over the river in Hope Woodlands township, its proximity to the hamlet would have socially incorporated it into Derwent.



Photograph 6.12. Derwent 17th century stone packhorse bridge, now relocated to Slippery Stones

In 1672, perhaps the biggest change to the hamlet's built and social landscape was made when the Balguy family bought a plot of land from the Wilson family of Broomhead to the west of the existing settlement (Northend 1943). Three cottages were demolished to make way for Derwent Hall (Byford 1981), which comprised a small manor house with a walled formal garden between it and the hamlet. The Hall was a large gabled H-shaped two-storey house with attic dormers in its very long north and south ranges (Craven and Stanley 1982). It was constructed of ashlar Millstone Grit from local outcrops, with string courses, and mullioned and transomed windows. It was by far the grandest and most imposing building in the hamlet or elsewhere in the surrounding Derwent and Woodlands valleys. It

can be imagined that its construction attracted a lot of interest amongst inhabitants of the area and travellers passing on the packhorse route, not least because the Balguys were a locally prominent yeoman family. Balguys lived at Hope and Aston Halls, and the family who built Derwent Hall had been living at Hagg Farm in 1627 with relatives at Rowlee in the latter part of the century. Their elevation from within a local community comprising other yeoman farmers to a high-status house, architecturally designed and with a walled garden, would no doubt have been discussed with some passion by their peers. To reinforce to visitors and, on a more daily basis, to themselves how real their social standing was, they displayed their recently acquired coat of arms along with the date 1672 above the Hall's main door.

The Balguy's established their social position by patronising the chapel, a standard practice of many landed families. They endowed it with a stone font in the year of building the Hall, then applied in 1713 to Queen Anne's bounty to augment the income of the priest. This may have been more for show than a reflection of the depth of their wealth, because by 1757 the chapel's medieval fabric was so dilapidated that it was pulled down and replaced by a much smaller building. Ten years later, the Hall became a farmhouse, as the Balguys moved on to Swanwick Hall in eastern Derbyshire. The presence of a resident 'lord of the manor' at Derwent had lasted only 100 years.

6.7 Movement: Within and Without

Within this highly organised landscape movement occurred on two levels. One was within the fields of an individual farm, the placement of gates and stiles directing movement from one field to another. Few formalised trackways exist within the fields and the routes were largely determined by the decisions made by the farmers who initially enclosed the land according to their sense of the best lines of access required for carrying out agricultural practices. Some of these 'desire' lines moved over time as successive generations changed their approaches to organising land-use on different farmholdings. Sometimes the signs of older routes are left behind as blocked gateways in field walls. Most farmers also gained access to the hays and moorlands under their tenancies via their fields, gates in the top walls of their holdings leading to hollow-ways, which traced the routes taken to cut peat or pasture livestock. Beyond the individual farm, was a wider network of designated routeways, connecting settlements, hays, peat cuts, moorlands and the wider world. It is unclear in most cases which came first, the lines of communication

routes or the locations of settlements. It probably varied from settlement to settlement as the pattern of landscape use was created and added to over time.

6.7.1 Through Routes

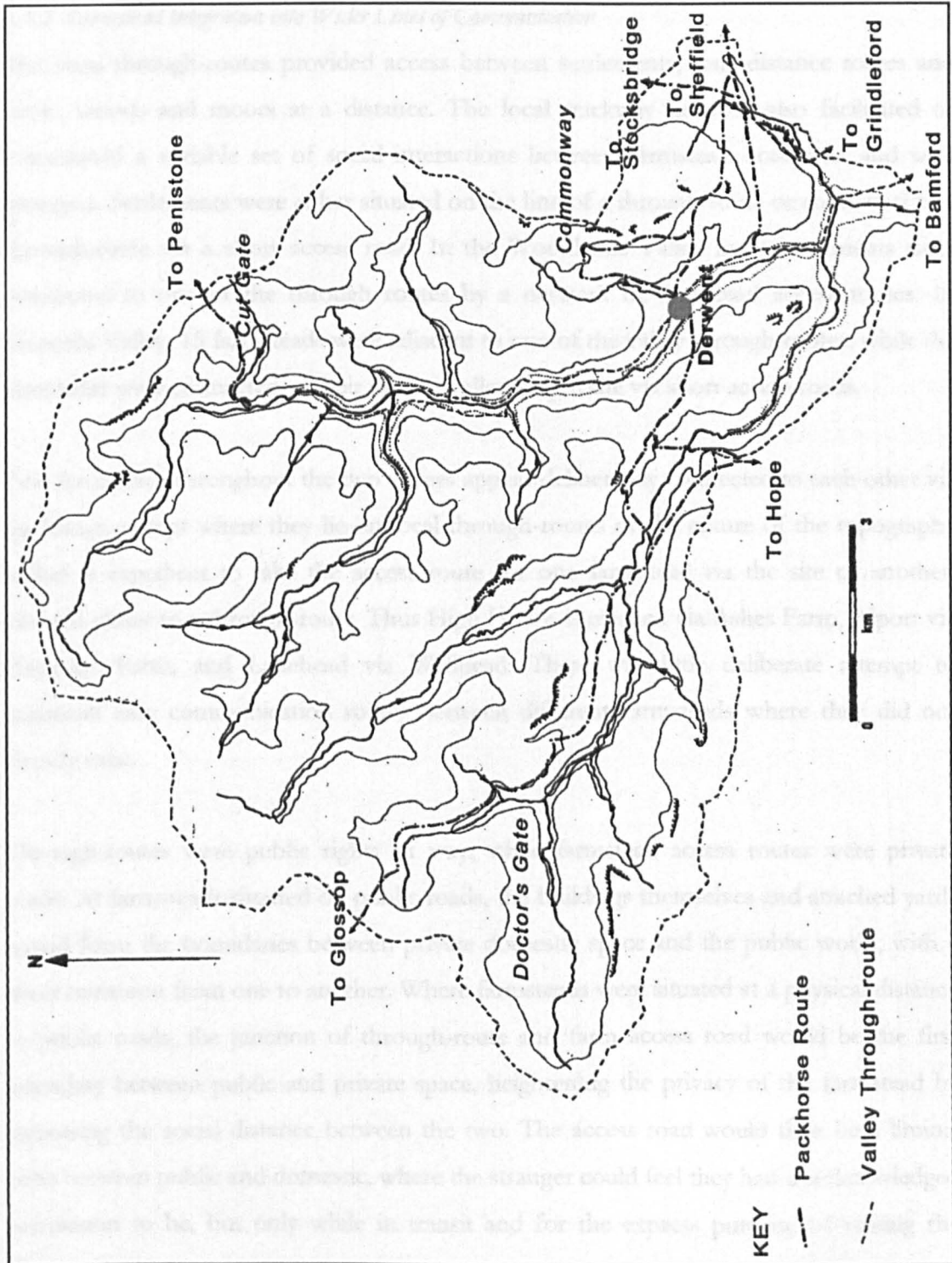


Illustration 6.7. Long-distance packhorse routes and valley through-routes in the Upper Derwent

Valley routes ran along the whole lengths of both the Woodlands and Derwent valleys, sticking very closely to the lower slopes, and a number of routes crossed the ridge between the two valleys (Illustration 6.7). These were the main local arteries that enabled communication between farmsteads and with the network of regional long-distance routes.

6.7.2 Farmstead Integration into Wider Lines of Communication

The local through-routes provided access between settlements, long-distance routes and fields, woods and moors at a distance. The local trackway network also facilitated or constrained a variable set of social interactions between farmstead occupants and with strangers. Settlements were either situated on the line of a through-route or connected to a through-route via a short access road. In the Woodlands Valley most settlements were connected to one of the through routes by a network of farmstead access routes. In Derwent Valley, 15 farmsteads were adjacent to one of the valley through-routes, while the remainder were connected to their nearest valley-long route via short access roads.

Few farmsteads throughout the two valleys appear deliberately connected to each other via trackways, except where they lie on local through-routes or the nature of the topography makes it expedient to take the access route for one farmstead via the site of another, situated closer to a through-route. Thus High House is reached via Ashes Farm, Alport via Hayridge Farm, and Lanehead via Wellhead. There was little deliberate attempt to construct easy communication routes between different farmsteads where they did not already exist.

Through-routes were public rights of way, while farmstead access routes were private roads. At farmsteads situated on public roads, the buildings themselves and attached yards would form the boundaries between private domestic space and the public world, with a short transition from one to another. Where farmsteads were situated at a physical distance to public roads, the junction of through-route and farm access road would be the first boundary between public and private space, heightening the privacy of the farmstead by increasing the social distance between the two. The access road would then be a liminal zone between public and domestic, where the stranger could feel they had unacknowledged permission to be, but only while in transit and for the express purpose of visiting the farmstead.

6.7.3 Long-Distance and Packhorse Routes

The network of packhorse routes established in the medieval period continued to form the means of communication with the wider region (Illustration 6.7). There is a valley through-route shown on Burdett's county map of 1767, which is also likely to have earlier origins (Harley et al 1975). This connected the Upper Derwent with the lower Derwent valley, and such villages as Bamford, Grindleford, Hathersage and Hope. While it is unknown how old the route is, it most likely originated with the medieval settlement of the area, rather than being an 18th century addition.

All the long-distance routes followed relatively tightly defined routes through enclosed land, and those that crossed the moors fanned out into a number of parallel lines across the open land. Boulders are sometimes seen along the sides of these hollow-ways, where they have been thrown to one side to ease passage, after being exposed due to erosion. Hollows become boggy, muddy trenches in wet weather, and the continual attempts to avoid the worst ground causes the braiding into numerous lines. The locations of packhorse tracks had grown out of the proven rights to use certain routes, and in relation to topography, local needs, locations of markets and the opportunities for selling local produce and raw materials (Hey 1980). The conditions of packhorse routes became an issue throughout Britain during the 17th century's increasing movement of goods, and trade highlighted the slow, uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous nature of the country's communication network (Newman 2001). The increase in traffic was broadly contemporary with the post-medieval decreasing obligations of landowners to maintain routeways (ibid).

Numerous local stories and myths have been created in the Peak District about travellers, and shepherds, perishing after being caught in snow storms or losing their way on the moors (Byford 1981, Defoe 1724; Dodd and Dodd 1980; Merril 1988). Many of these originated in the 17th century, when there was a run of particularly bad winters. These stories are some of the early records of the moorlands being perceived as dangerous and wild places, in contrast to the safe and civilised landscape of fields and villages in the valleys.

During the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, work was undertaken on Doctor's Gate and the Derwent to Sheffield route to improve their maintenance and waymarking. I have already discussed the Talbot family's recorded responsibility to maintain the Hope to

Glossop route in the early 16th century (see section 513. Dodd and Dodd 1980). Sections of cobbling on the moorlands above the Snake Pass may be the work of the Talbots (Photograph 6.13). This may have been the last time the Talbot family were responsible for maintaining Doctor's Gate. Many landowners had not maintained routeways since the Dissolution of the monasteries, and in England in 1555 responsibility for road maintenance was transferred to parishes by Act of Parliament (Newman 2001). Every householder in a parish – or, in large parishes, a township – had to provide annual labour repairing highways (Hey 1980).



Photograph 6.13. Cobbling on Doctor's Gate where it crosses moorland near Snake Pass

In 1697, an Act of Parliament formalised the erection of guideposts (ibid). The Act called for county justices of the peace (JPs) to erect guideposts, where crossroads were remote from villages. Derbyshire JPs waited until 1709 to enforce the Act. Works on other routes in the Upper Derwent would have been undertaken under the auspices of the parishes and counties. The Derwent to Sheffield route was also paved across a number of boggy places below Derwent Edge, and after reaching Derwent hamlet the route continued across the River Derwent via a stone bridge built in 1682 reputedly to replace a medieval bridge (Dodd and Dodd 1980). Two guidestones survive as markers of the route. Both are situated near to Moscar House. One is a roughly dressed unmarked stone post while the other is dressed and inscribed on three sides (Photograph 6.14). The west face bears 'SHEFEILD ROAD 7M EB', the east face 'T[S?] STO[N or H] ROAD IL 1737' and

the north 'OP [R]OAD 9M'. These inscriptions are road signs, containing as the name of the section of road the destination it is heading towards, the distance to that location, the date the post was erected or inspected (1737) and two sets of initials (EB and IL). The destinations are Penistone and Hope (Smith 1993). The initials are likely to be those of the parish or county surveyor or road commissioners. Cart Gate was surveyed in 1741 to record its condition, when it was noted that the path was wide in places because people from the Upper Derwent and Woodlands valleys used it to take carts to the market in Penistone (Ward 1927b). Most of the route is unsuitable for wheeled carts because of the rugged terrain it traverses, and it is likely that packhorses, sledges or small carts set on runners were used instead.



Photograph 6.14. Guidestone on the Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route, at a junction with another route between Hope and Penistone. The waymarker is inscribed with the date 1737, destinations and distances

The packhorse routes took people first to the neighbouring towns of Sheffield, Penistone, Stannington, Hope and Glossop, where there were burgeoning markets for agricultural produce to supply growing urban populations. Some markets were medieval foundations while others were established after the 16th century. The networks that they formed with other routes spread their reach further afield to cities, ports and other countries. Markets were some of the main places for the occupants of the Upper Derwent to interact with this

wider world (Newman 2001). Sheep, cattle and other agricultural produce were taken to market for sale, where prices were determined by both local and national demands. News of such major events as the Spanish Armada, Civil War or the Great Plague, could be heard, debated and argued over. Everyday provisions not grown in the valleys and the increasing range of consumer goods could be bought. These included the new tablewares, furniture, clothes and recently discovered plants from the Americas (Glennie 1995; Johnson 1996). Small numbers of clay-pipe fragments have been found by fieldwalking in the Upper Derwent and one discovered at Hollin Clough Farm is thought to be late 16th/early 17th century in date (Oswald 1975; Peacey 1982).

Markets were important within the context of increasing urbanisation, which played a major role in determining prices for agricultural produce and in spreading consumer objects throughout the country (Glennie 1990; Sharpe 1997). During the 17th century existing towns began to grow considerably and completely new ones were founded around centres of industrial production (Newman 2001). England was one of the most urbanised countries in Europe at the time and was rapidly becoming more so. As urban populations grew during the early 17th century, the increasing demand for food pushed up prices. In the second half of the century supply continued to increase, but the population did not – and the value of wool and grain slumped (*ibid*). Livestock prices, on the other hand, still rose as meat was eaten in greater quantities than before.

The commercial profits from selling goods helped the towns grow. The larger and better trade-networked towns had the greater range and more fashionable items. Towns also developed into the main centres for manufacturing as industrial production increased, grew in scale and became more specialised (Glennie 1990). Sheffield in the 16th century was an unincorporated town so was administered through the manorial court and a group of town trustees (Postles 1983). It was a part-agrarian, part-industrial town in the 16th century, and the importance of its market can be seen in the central positioning of a triangular market place, approached by two streets and comprising a court chamber, shops, a meat market and butchers in 1571 (*ibid*). Throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, Sheffield expanded by building on its medieval metalworking base and utilising the plentiful resources of wood and water for fuel and power (Hey 1998). The city population increased from 2,207 in 1616 to 10,121 in 1736 (*ibid*), a quadrupling of size that established a substantial market for agricultural produce from surrounding regions. By the early 18th

century, Sheffield had become a predominantly industrial town, with iron smelting and working replacing agriculture in importance to the economic and social character of Sheffield (Hopkinson 1961). The Sheffield area was highly attractive to industrialists because of the large reserves of ironstone, numerous swift-flowing watercourse for power and extensive woodlands. The early 17th century was a period of rapid forge and furnace construction, and they spread, along with cutlers and other workshops, along its many valleys. By the end of the 17th century, there were five working iron foundries producing approximately 560t of iron in South Yorkshire (ibid). The increasing significance of metalworking, especially the production of edge-tools, in the 17th century is demonstrated by the founding of the Company of Cutlers in 1624, a guild that regulated the industry and had a considerable influence in the administration of the city. Connections between Sheffield and the Upper Derwent had been established along a packhorse route in the medieval period, so the city was one potential market for local farmers. In 1693 the large Attercliffe Forge bought charcoal from a Widow Aaron of Derwent for 6d (Whittingham 1996). This small purchase was a forerunner of much larger-scale charcoal production to come in the later 18th century (see section 7.10). In the next centuries, the city's rapidly growing forges and labouring population would have a significant influence on the use and perception of the Upper Derwent landscape.

6.8 Discussion

From the mid-16th to mid-18th centuries, the Upper Derwent landscape was occupied within a national context of gradually changing economic, political and social conditions, from feudalism to capitalism. Landowners' social standing came more from the value of the land itself rather than numbers of men they could raise from it for military service. Inhabitants of the Upper Derwent dwelt in the landscape and experienced it through domestic and agricultural routines. The Upper Derwent landscape was primarily structured around the relationship between landlord and tenant.

The new landowners of the post-Dissolution period had a major influence on how the landscape was used and perceived from the mid-16th to 17th centuries. It may be thought that the experiences of Thomas Eyre at Crookhill in the early 15th century were the same as those of Robert Eyre, a descendant who lived in the farmhouse in 1627 (see section 5.5.2.1). Though they occupied the same farmstead, the social conditions in which they lived had altered during the intervening generations. Thomas Eyre had been a tenant of an

Abbey, living within the Royal Forest of the Peak. In many ways, the Abbey's renting out of its grange was part of a wider change in medieval landholding that became established in the early 17th century as a social hierarchy of landlord, small freeholder, tenant farmer and landless agricultural labourer. This created different social experiences of land and, therefore, different perceptions about landscape. The social identity of early post-medieval landowners in Britain was related to the management of their estates, and they saw themselves as part of a national ruling class who were substantially defined by their property as land became the basis of economic wealth. This was fundamentally connected to national development of an increasingly capital-based market economy and the commodification of goods.

The acquisition of Hope Woodlands by the Devonshires and Howden by the Howards created two centrally administered landed estates. The participation of their owners in longer-term social and economic trends can be seen in the commissioning of estate maps in the 1627 and 1637 respectively. Both townships also had lengthy stable histories of ownership. In Derwent there is a more complex picture of the township divided into smaller parcels that changed hands as landowners appear to have bought and sold between themselves over time. Landownership in Ashop Dale and Bamford is unclear during these centuries, but we shall see more of them in the 19th century. The inhabitants of the townships in the Upper Derwent came to occupy the land within different landholding and manorial structures, which had a bearing on the nature of land-use.

There is no evidence for any major physical transformation to accompany the change of landowners in the Upper Derwent. Instead, changing agricultural activities occurred within and built upon the existing patterns. The landscape of dispersed farmsteads, enclosed fields, woodlands and moorland common that had originated in the medieval period continued into the post-medieval period. Crookhill also demonstrates the possibility that some farmsteads were occupied by the same family over many generations, who would have passed on traditions of farming by example and teaching. They would have engaged with changing social and economic conditions based on this knowledge and their experiences. One aspect was to extend farmland by clearing woodland on which to grow more crops or rear more livestock to sell at market. Others, were changes in domestic architecture and the acquisition of wider ranges of goods, such as pottery.

In many ways the settlement pattern is typical of the uplands of Britain where hamlets and individual farmsteads dominated the valley landscape. Dispersed farmsteads continued to dominate the local settlement pattern, alongside which Derwent hamlet maintained its service role to the wider community. However, the uplands were not one single-character landscape and there was a great deal of variability between and within regions. Variability in the Upper Derwent evidence can be seen at a range of differing scales. When comparing areas in the High Peak, the Upper Derwent's pattern of isolated farmsteads, a single hamlet and woodlands is different to the clustering of farmsteads into booths in unwooded Edale. This relates to differences in the management of a 13th century expansion of settlement into the High Peak under manorial and Crown involvement (see Chapter 5). At the local scale, differences are apparent in the establishment of 17th century landownership and the organisation of moorland commons between Hope Woodlands and Derwent townships. Hope Woodlands was a single estate held by the same family over a period of centuries, while Derwent was divided amongst a number of landowners and ownership of landholdings changed hands over time. Moving closer in resolution there are differences between Alport Dale and the rest of Hope Woodlands township in terms of the spatial relationships between settlements and division of the landholdings. While the four Alport farmsteads were nucleated within a partial enclosure and had fields irregularly distributed amongst farmed land that contained very little woodland, elsewhere in Hope Woodlands, farmsteads were dispersed individually within a much more wooded landscape and each had a unified block of walled pasture, woodland and moorland. So while there were significant transformation in wider economic and political institutions, how they affected rural landscapes was related to local histories of settlement, land-use and landownership.

The farmstead formed the centre of domestic and agricultural life, where individuals were defined as householders and occupants associated with the name of their home. It was the first calling point for visitors, such as the landowners' agents, and the only part of the wider farm accessible by outsiders. Houses had become subdivided into more rooms than the medieval longhouses by the 17th century. This can be seen in the probate inventories that describe rooms at Rowlee and Crookhill, including private and public spaces. Domestic life was becoming more bounded. As throughout Britain, the farmers of the Upper Derwent also had access to the greater amounts of goods that were being manufactured and traded. Numbers and varieties of ceramic vessels increase during the early post-medieval period. Higher proportions of pottery tablewares show how new forms of objects were being

incorporated into the domestic world. Some farmsteads purchased finewares and glasswares, and had dressers to display serving and dining paraphernalia.

Routines of agricultural production worked outwards from the farmstead, giving both a spatial and temporal pattern to the inhabitation of the landscape. Some of the most crucial farming activities were undertaken at the farmstead: produce and equipment were stored, while livestock were born and culled. Beyond the farmstead the landscape was dominated by the pattern of small fields divided by walls. The enclosed landscape is deeply connected with the social relations and practices of people living, working and travelling in the area. Enclosures were the places where farming families spent most time outside of the farmstead in their daily routines of tending livestock, crops and hay. Hay-making, grazing and arable cultivation in different fields and the positioning of field barns, sheepfolds and sheepwashes gave a spatial dimension to the performance of different tasks, many of which were related to certain times of the year. The personal and familial connection to the farmstead was reinforced through the regular toil needed to manage the land, and to build and repair the physical field boundaries. The construction of walls with a neater outer face at Hagg shows that walls were more than just the tools of farm management or convenient ways to clear stone. Each stone would be selected by eye and hand, judging its size, weight and structural presence within the overall wall. Walls were statements of 'ownership', the line on the ground between neighbours or between private and public land. They signalled to others the hard work required to take land into husbandry: to the landowner, to other farmers and to younger members of the family, who might be hoped to take on the tenancy of the farm in the future. They spoke silently about the craft of wall building, the neater side showing to others in the valleys the quality of work put into the wall and, by association, into the rest of the farm.

Successive generations expanded the enclosed farmland by taking in more land from woodland and moorland, so pushing the boundary of intensively managed land higher and higher up the valley sides. As a new household head took over a farm tenancy, whether by inheritance or application to the landowner, they were coming into an enclosed landscape with its own historical trajectory, which they may have known something about through direct experience in their own lifetimes, or by storytelling, myths and traditions for earlier periods. Any new enclosure they undertook in the following years was within the context of these traditions, that is, of building upon their 'inheritance', linked to prevailing

opportunities. Most farmers during these centuries did not see the complete and final form of the farm as we do now on 19th century maps. Instead, they occupied a farm that had reached its current state over preceding generations and provided the prospect of expansion in the future through converting adjacent rough land into worked farmland by draining, clearing and enclosing.

The moorland commons above the enclosed land were important areas of the farm, for livestock grazing, peat-cutting and 'harvesting' other wild-growing resources. Most of these brought the farmer onto the moorland between spring and autumn. In Hope Woodlands and Howden, farmers had access to specific areas of moorland, and the identities associated with their farmland incorporated the open moorland by extension. The use of Derwent commons was different to the other areas of the Upper Derwent. The numerous small landowners shared grazing and peat, with the only differentiation being those they put up between each other, such as the baulks in the communal peat cut above Derwent Edge. At this time, the moorland was beginning to be perceived as dangerous wilderness where travellers or shepherd boys, such as the Lost Lad, could be caught out by storms. Upland areas in general had been thought of as wilderness areas since at least the medieval period, hence the presence of Welbeck Abbey's granges in the area. With the increasing contrasts between the highly managed valley farmland and the more open moorland, ideas of wilderness were being emphasised and constructed on a more local scale.

Occupants of the Upper Derwent had been connected through landowners and agricultural production with the wider world since at least the 13th century, and in different ways throughout its 10,000-year history. Wider influence on the local was manifested in a number of ways. Landowners and their ideas of estate management were imposed from outside and in the context of national trends. There were the increasing markets for produce, farmers sold products at local market centres with prices and demands that were also nationally influenced. Goods and other materials were bought at markets, while house layouts were rebuilt incorporating national changes in domestic architecture. The landscape was, as always, constructed by local occupants, working within wider influences and demands. The influence of 'outside' would become much stronger in succeeding centuries, as capitalist modes of production and the growing nearby urban conurbations, especially Sheffield, expanded.

Chapter 7

Later Post-Medieval Landscape – Improving the Land

7.1 Introduction

The challenges and advantages of a wealth of archaeological and documentary evidence are as relevant to this chapter as the previous. If anything, there are more data for the later post-medieval – here defined as the mid-18th to late 19th centuries. I have separated these centuries from the mid-16th to mid-18th centuries because of two intertwined trends:

- Significant changes occurred in the way the landscape was perceived throughout Britain, which were associated with the application of a more rational understanding of the world to the organisation of society and use of resources. This heavily influenced management of the landscape and was primarily, or initially, driven by the landowning classes. I shall discuss this point further in sections 7.2 and 7.3, while returning to it regularly throughout the text.
- There is a substantial amount of archaeological and documentary evidence for changes in the Upper Derwent landscape. These changes occurred largely within existing patterns of land-use, mostly involving the reorientation of how places were perceived and used, rather than creating new structures of inhabitation. There are some exceptions, where radical new schemas were imposed on the landscape, including the Parliamentary Enclosure of moorland common, rise of grouse shooting and the construction of turnpike roads. This local evidence will be interpreted in sections 7.4 – 7.11.

I shall bring together the relationships between these two points, between ideals held at the national level and the inhabitation of the landscape at the local scale in the discussion, section 7.12. This will explore how these two scales interacted, how new ideas were brought to the Upper Derwent, and how they were perceived and enacted locally.

7.2 Urbanisation and the 'New Model' Countryside

By the mid-18th century the Upper Derwent townships were well established and the landscape had been embedded into routines of practice largely led by agriculture, as farmers worked the land within manorial systems. During the later 18th and 19th centuries, we can see how changes in the landscape were fundamentally entwined with wider social trends. Industrialisation, urbanisation, agricultural improvement and the commodification of objects had begun in the 16th and 17th centuries, but increased in scale and pace during the 18th century. These had major impacts on rural landscapes across Britain, and the market economy and rational method came to dominate social relations within the traditional institutions of the local manors (Johnson 1996; Wrigley 1990). By the 1750s, Britain was predominantly a market economy and the world's leading trading nation (Bunce 1994). Production became increasingly standardized and the amount of material culture available expanded phenomenally as a wider section of society was able to own a greater range and number of personal and household objects (Howard-Davis 2001).

Market value and maximising profits increasingly defined and influenced relations between people, objects and land, each seen as a commodity to which a price could be given (Johnson 1996). Industrial production increased with the organisation of labour and resources at larger scales. During the 18th and early 19th centuries, much of this took place in rural locations where water provided suitable power to drive factory mills. By 1800, over 30 water-powered mills had been constructed along the Derwent Valley and its tributaries, from the River Trent in the south to Bamford in the north (Cooper 1991). Most were cotton mills, though there were also hosiery and paper mills, and the Derwent was one of the foremost cotton-spinning areas of Britain in the later 18th century. There were numerous lead smelters in the lower Derwent Valley during the late 18th and 19th centuries, with coke-fired cupolas largely replacing wood-burning ore-hearths by the 1780s (Barnatt 1996b). Much of the iron and steel production in South Yorkshire was also based in rural locations, with mills and forges strung along rivers such as the Don, Porter, Rivelin and Sheaf (Hey 1980).

In places, such as in the lower Derwent Valley, rural mill and metalworking industries continued throughout the 19th century. However, manufacturing towns and cities expanded vastly, and new ones appeared, as steam power and the factory system reduced

the advantages of rural locations for industrial production during the 19th century (Newman 2001). Sheffield and Manchester, the nearest cities to the Upper Derwent, had become large manufacturing and trading towns by the late 18th century. Sheffield was the closest city, and had a long relationship with the Upper Derwent, from the establishment of the Premonstratensian abbey at Beauchief and grange at Crookhill onwards. Iron and steel working were the main industries in Sheffield and surrounding parishes. The city's cutlers were the most specialized workforce in England, and the city came to dominate the world's cutlery trade by 1800, then the steel-making trade by 1900 (Hey 1998). The city's steel production was increasingly centralised in large factory mills during the 19th century, with many of the smaller forges abandoned, as they could not compete with the lower costs of high-volume manufacturing. Craftsmen working in cutlery, toolmaking and silverware trades had a different relationship with the factory system. They were self-employed, rented space in factories and had their finished goods sold by the factory owner, so developing a distinct identity as 'little mesters'. The city underwent unprecedented growth, increasing from a population of 2,207 in 1616 to 10,121 in 1736, and 130,000 in 1851 (ibid). During the late 19th and early 20th century Sheffield also spread physically closer to the Upper Derwent, as working and middle class suburbs, such as Walkley, Stannington and Fulwood, were constructed in fields to the west of the city (Rylatt [n.d.]). The majority of the growing urban population had migrated from rural areas to find work, the growing body of landless agricultural labourers in the 17th century providing the necessary labour force for the establishment of industrial capitalism (Bunce 1994). As the cities grew, the percentage of the British population working in agriculture dropped from 75% in 1750 to 21% in 1851 (Matthias 1969; Pollard and Crossley 1968).

As the urban population outstripped the rural during the 18th century, relationships between urban and rural areas shifted. The landed gentry held influential positions in town as well as country and supported their urban and industrial enterprises with the economic resources and political power of their country estates (Bunce 1994). Until the end of the 18th century, the rural gentry dominated the Sheffield iron and steel industries because they held the majority of the raw materials – iron ore and charcoal fuel – on their estates. From an urban perspective, the countryside came to be viewed as the locale of the resources that metropolitan populations and industrial production depended upon, such as food, stone, coal and woodlands. Better communication routes, improved roads, canals and, in the 19th century, railways, were built to reduce travel times and costs, so

increasing access to rural resources and the transport of materials over longer distances. The locations of new cities and transport technology realigned the orientations of long-distance routeways across the landscape and created new ways to approach the countryside. Improved travel also increased the accessibility of the countryside to wealthy classes, who used some of their greater leisure time to visit rural landscapes made popular since the early 18th century by published tours such as Daniel Defoe's *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* from the 1720s. As an appreciation of wild, upland scenery developed, grouse shooting became an increasingly popular use of moorland estates by their landowners (Williamson 2002).

7.3 Landowners and Agricultural Improvement

An aspect of rationality of particular relevance to the Upper Derwent is the widespread acceptance by the British landowning classes of the ideal of agricultural improvement and its application on their rural estates. The belief in the need for good, rational agricultural practices and that land held privately could be more effectively and efficiently productive than land farmed in common began in the 16th century, but really flourished from the mid-18th century onwards (Johnson 1996; Newman 2001). Improvement was seen as progressive, rational and scientifically testable, and therefore 'good' by landowners who saw land increasingly as a commodity. Use of land by common rights was perceived as backward, inefficient and a block to progress. Handbooks to land management, instructions on using drains and fertilizers, and estate maps recording land-use and value were produced increasingly. In some cases landowners had little knowledge of agriculture, and sometimes fashionable ideas were tried in inappropriate areas with little hope of success (Williamson 2002). Experiments with fast-maturing breeds of livestock and strains of cereal were designed to maximise output, which relied on high inputs of raw materials manufactured from outside the farm, such as fertilizers (*ibid*). New farm buildings were constructed and laid out in relation to each other on the basis of ideas about how to increase efficiency in use and movement. Local histories of enclosure of common land, reorientation of building and farmstead layouts, and land improvement occurred throughout Britain as landowners increasingly influenced the lives of their tenants in order to rationally and systematically improve agricultural production.

Both open fields and commons were subject to enclosure as part of the ideology of agricultural improvement, and as a physical expression of the landowning classes'

willingness to improve land and output, so legitimising landowners' rights of inclusion within the ruling classes (Williamson 2000). Enclosure was sometimes conducted by application to Parliament for an Act by the landowners of a given parish. In other cases landowners of large estates undertook private enclosure or agreed amongst themselves to enclose common land across a parish without recourse to Parliament. Enclosure removed common rights, apportioned the land amongst a select number of landowners and facilitated the activities and movements of some people while restraining others (Rotman and Nassaney 1997). Enclosure was often, but largely unsuccessfully, resisted by tenants who saw their traditional rights of access and to resources eroded (Johnson 1996). Methods of resistance are evident in the late 17th century private enclosure of Castleton commons, where the larger landowners agreed to divide the moorland between themselves, while providing strip-like enclosures for smallholders (Frazer 1999). These enclosures were never built, as smallholders continued to pasture their livestock in accordance with customary rights (ibid). Enclosure movement boundaries are usually distinctively straight, dividing the land into regular blocks, as a result of being laid out by surveyors on a map rather than constructed in relation to local topography. Such boundaries divide much of landscape of the limestone plateau, where huge tracts of common heathland around villages were enclosed by Act of Parliament; but they are rarer in the High Peak moorlands (Barnatt and Smith 1997).

7.4 Mapping the Landscape

Detailed land maps with attached land-use catalogues, known as terriers, allowed landowners to describe, catalogue and quantify the land they owned, how it was used, its value and productive potential. The proliferation in their numbers and inclusion of greater detail from the 18th century onwards is connected to the increasing perception of land as a commodity. The detailed maps of the late 18th and early 19th centuries are estate and tithe plans, drawn up under the instigation of the local landowners. These continued the tradition of Senior and Harrison's early 17th century estate maps, and emphasized prudent estate management and a greater rationality of description (Daniels 1990). They were still highly decorated, though not so ornately as Senior's, and contained more detailed information on land-use and value. Estate maps were both symbols and tools of elite domination over tenant classes through land ownership and property management. Later, in the 19th century, the Ordnance Survey produced maps at 1:2500 scale. The Ordnance Survey was originally motivated by the threat of French invasion along the

south coast at the end of the 18th century, though a national survey had been proposed earlier by the Royal Society (Alfrey 1990). Ordnance Survey maps were distinct from estate plans because they emphasized relief, an indispensable requirement of the military for fortification, manoeuvring troops or deploying artillery. The national survey was contemporary with rising disciplines of archaeology, geology and local history, which were reworking the perceptions of landscape by deepening an awareness of its meaning in revealing its structure and history.

In the Upper Derwent, the following estate maps were commissioned by the respective landowners:

- For Hope Woodlands parish: William Senior's 1627 survey of the Duke of Devonshire's Hope Woodlands estate (Senior 1627), Peter Potter's Hope Woodlands estate plan of 1808 (Potter 1808), the Hope Woodlands tithe plan of 1850 (anon. 1850), Bromley's estate plan of Hope Woodlands of 1858 (Bromley 1858), the Hope Tithe Map of 1848 (anon. 1848) and estate plan of Birley's Charity in Ashop Dale of 1818 (anon. 1818). The charity had been founded in the early 18th century by William Birley to fund a free school for writing and arithmetic, a church minister and provide support to elderly or infirm tradesmen and their widows (Hunter 1869).
- For Derwent township: a plan of Moscar of 1723 (anon. 1723), Fairbank's Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent Enclosure Award sketch book of 1810 (Fairbank 1810) and plan of 1830 (Fairbank 1830), a plan for laying out the grounds of Derwent Hall of 1833 (Major 1833) and the final Enclosure plan of Derwent moors produced in 1830 (anon. 1830)
- For Howden: Harrison's 1637 survey of the manor of Sheffield (Harrison 1637), an estate plan of the Earl of Surrey's estate of Great and Little Howden moors of 1781 (anon. 1781), an estate plan of the Duke of Norfolk's Moor of Howden estimated to post-date 1810 (anon. c.1810) and the Bradfield Enclosure Award plan of 1826 (anon. 1826).

7.5 Buying In: Household Crockery

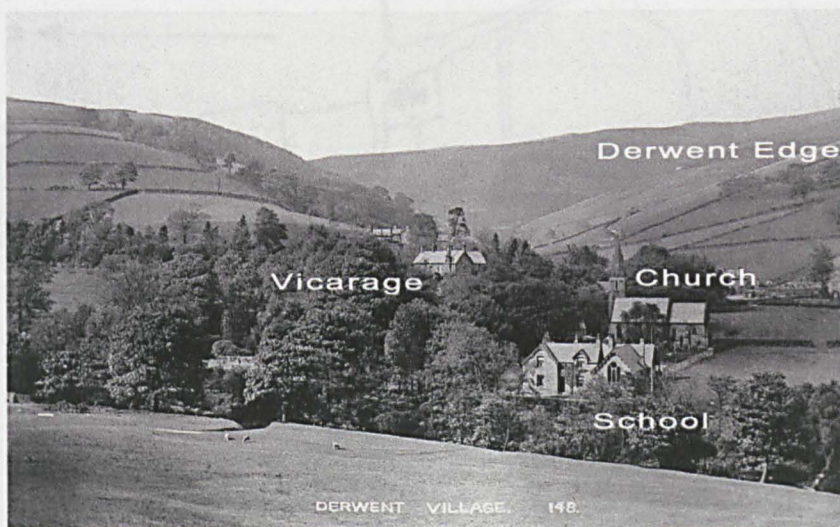
The changing nature of interactions between the Upper Derwent and the quickly industrialising and urbanising world is clearly seen in the nature of pottery vessels dating from the late 18th and 19th centuries. The wide-scale ownership of pottery was intertwined with the other strands of industrial consumer capitalism that characterised the changing landscape of the Upper Derwent in the later 18th and the 19th centuries: agricultural improvement, building of toll roads and exploitation of the woodlands for charcoal.

Farmers were buying much greater amounts of crockery from the 18th century onwards, with large increases in numbers of sherds found at farmstead sites located in or near to the reservoir draw-down zone sites during fieldwalking. At four farms: Shireowlers, Tinkershouse, Nether Ashop and Underbank, the numbers of 'modern' sherds are higher than the combined totals of sherds from all previous centuries. Three generic groupings of wares are present in the Upper Derwent: late 18th century cream wares, late 18th to 19th century transfer-printed wares, and 19th to 20th century white-glazed wares that could have been produced anywhere in Britain (Beswick 1996). Patterns of disposal of broken crockery continued as before, with it being put into middens that occupied areas near to farmhouses. A midden, measuring approximately 3m by 0.7m, and containing 48 sherds of 18th and 19th century pottery and glass, was found at Townrowhag during survey of the building and associated features (Appendix 9). It was dumped only 7.5m from the farmhouse and on the far side of a wall separating the farmstead from an adjacent pasture. The distributions of similar material found on the shores of the reservoirs near to farmstead sites extend over much greater areas, some up to 600m², which may be the result of manuring or post-reservoir erosion.

Industrialisation resulted in the mass-production of mould-made crockery tablewares available at more affordable prices than before. Cheaper production costs and better transport links opened up its ownership to more people and motivated its greater commercial sale. This greatly widened the markets for crockery by extending the range of households that could afford it so that by the end of the 18th century ceramics totally replaced pewter and wooden tablewares (Johnson 1996). It was more available at market towns and from travelling salesmen who had more incentive to take wares into rural areas than in the 17th century. The explosion of tableware use in the Upper Derwent was

part of a trend throughout England, and convenience and price would have been important motivators for its widespread uptake. But in the 18th century, these factors existed in a world where mainly wealthier people could afford crockery, so its wider social distribution should be seen in a context of poorer households emulating richer ones, the functional role of pottery being augmented by its significance of social aspirations and status. As the 19th century progressed and pottery was well established, emulation no longer became an important factor, rather, ceramic tablewares became perceived as an appropriate and essential element of any household.

7.6 Derwent: From Hamlet to Village



Photograph 7.1. 1920s postcard of Derwent Village, looking east

By 1810, the hamlet included the chapel, the corn mill, a workshop, stables, a cow house and four homesteads, including Derwent Hall (Fairbank 1810). An innkeeper was documented in 1803 and presumably, if still in business in 1810, when no inn is recorded, he was based in a house rather than a separate public house (anon. 1803). Fairbank's 1810 sketch survey shows that the buildings were mostly distributed in an irregular pattern alongside the Sheffield to Derwent packhorse route as it paralleled the course of Millbrook, the only exception to this being a formal terrace row located in the centre. With the building of the Sheffield to Manchester turnpike road in the 1820s and Parliamentary Enclosure of Derwent moorland commons in 1830, the approach to Derwent village was radically realigned. Rather than dropping down into the hamlet from the valley side, anyone coming to Derwent hamlet in the early 19th century would approach from the south, along the walled lane that ran along the valley side. All that could be seen of the hamlet in the

distance, amongst the surrounding woodland, would be the chapel bell tower and roofs of the higher buildings, as well as the smoke from chimneys.

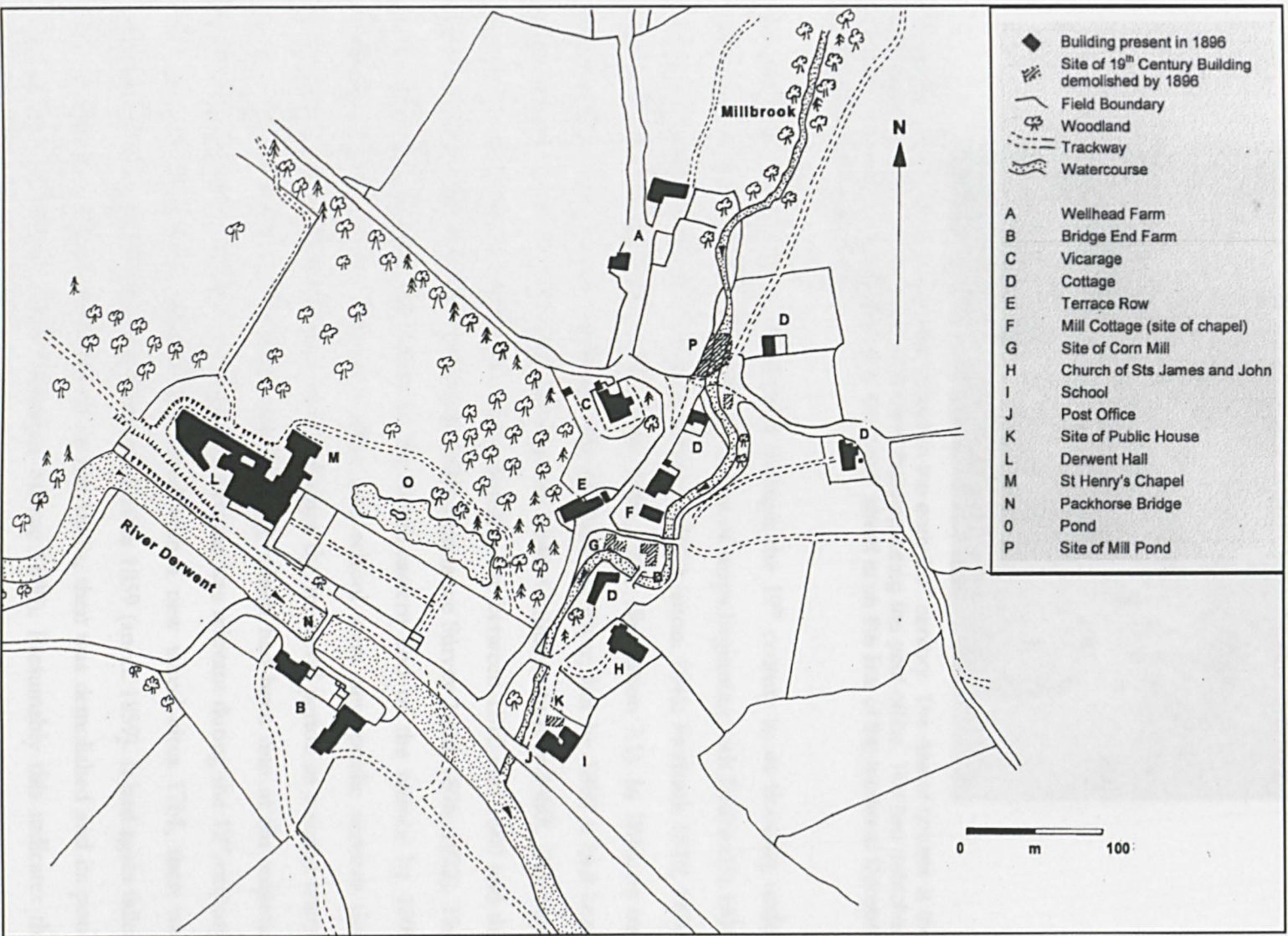
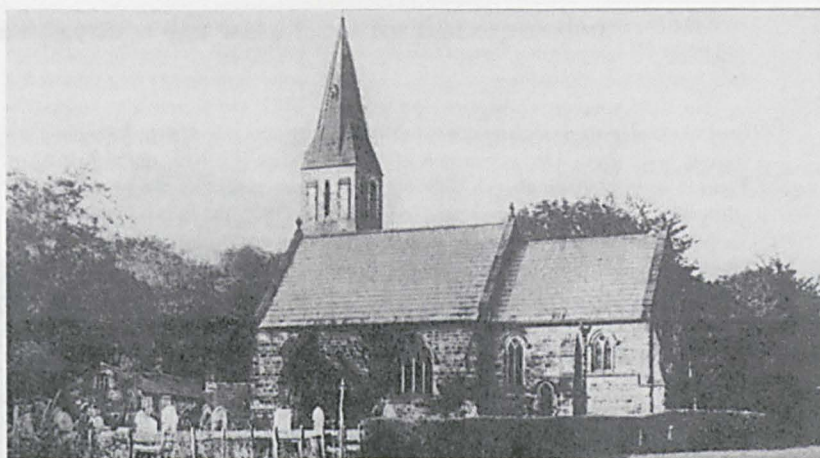


Illustration 7.1. Derwent hamlet in 1896



Photograph 7.2. Centre of Derwent Village in the early 20th century. The row of houses is the centrally located terrace with the right-hand building being the post office. The two detached buildings to the right are cottages and the 'main' street is on the line of the medieval Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route

We can chart the growth of the hamlet through the 19th century to its flooding under Ladybower in the mid-20th century from a series of maps beginning with Fairbank's 1810 survey and ending with the Ordnance Survey of 1922 (anon. 1846; Fairbank 1810, 1830; Major 1833; Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880, 1896, 1922. Illustration 7.1). In 1846, an inn was recorded again, on the northern side of Derwent River, but by 1880 it had been replaced with a school and a post office (anon. 1846; Ordnance Survey 1880). Two new houses were built to the north-east of the hamlet, one between 1810 and 1880 and the other between 1896 and 1922 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1880, 1896, 1922). The post office relocated to the house at the north-eastern end of the terrace by 1896 (Ordnance Survey 1896). The post office and school were new public services that redefined the role that the hamlet had held since the medieval period as a social centre for the surrounding area. An important building, which had been one of the impetus behind the hamlet's medieval development, became less relevant during the 19th century. The corn mill had been repaired and fitted with a new wheel circa 1761, then was inherited by George Newdigate of Derwent Hall in 1859 (anon. 1859). It had again fallen into disrepair and lost its water wheel by the 1860s, then was demolished and its pond filled in by 1880 (anon. 1863; Ordnance Survey 1880). Presumably this indicates the decreasing amount of arable grown in the valleys in the 19th century. There were also at least three farms, at Derwent Hall, Wellhead and Bridge End, the latter situated across the River Derwent.



Photograph 7.3. Church of Sts James and John, Derwent Village, in the early 20th century. PDNPA Collection

As the fortunes of the mill declined, those of the chapel were transformed. The medieval chapel had been rebuilt on the same location in 1757, and dedicated to St James (Byford 1981). The 18th century chapel was said to have been an ‘ugly building’ with a square bell tower containing one bell and a round-headed window below the bell tower at the west end (Hallam 1989). In 1867 this chapel was itself replaced with a church dedicated to Sts John and James (Cox 1877). The church was built on a new site east of Millbrook in Victorian Gothic style, and a tower with a spire was added in 1873. The 17th century font and some masonry from the 18th century chapel, some of which dated to the 14th century, were incorporated in the new building. Hope Woodlands and Derwent townships were separated from Hope and Hathersage respectively to become the joint parish of Derwent Woodlands in 1871 (Cox 1877). An imposing vicarage was built a little distance away on an area of ground to the west of Millbrook, which was elevated slightly above the remainder of the village. With the vicarage on the west and the church on the east side of Millbrook, the vicar could metaphorically baptise himself every day by passing over water to church. With the construction of the church, also came the right to bury the dead in Derwent. This ended the traditional trek with the dead to churches in Hathersage and Hope, while embedding the ‘final resting place’ of recently deceased family, and performance of associated funeral rites, into the township. Another dimension was created to the ‘social tenure’ inhabitants had with the local landscape, based on notions of family bonds carried-forward over generations. The church, graveyard and creation of the joint parish ended the last links of the area with medieval

landholding patterns, gave a form of communal expression to the townships, and turned the hamlet into a village that was a focus for that expression.



Photograph 7.4. Derwent Hall in the early 20th century. PDNPA Collection

Derwent Hall continued to be the largest building in the hamlet, and was acquired by the Newdigate family sometime between 1830 and 1852 (Fairbank 1830; anon. 1852. Illustration 7.1). After being referred to solely as a farmstead since 1767, the Newdigates re-constituted its grand past in Victorian style by enlarging it twice, adding St Henry's Roman Catholic chapel and redesigning the gardens (Major 1833). The mullioned windows of the 17th century Hall were copied in the mid-19th century extension. The garden was extended by purchasing adjacent land, comprising two acres and known as Mill Flatt, for a 'pleasure ground and garden' in 1852 (anon. 1852). Three different spaces were created within the walled garden, and these changed in appearance from formal to naturalistic, moving from west to east – from the Hall to the garden entrance. To the north of the garden, a pond provided a focus for a wilder, if romanticised, space. The walled garden was on a scale of privacy and design much grander than any other house in the Upper Derwent. This, in combination with the architectural splendour of the Hall, signified to the inhabitants, guests and those outside, the social pretensions of the owners. The then Duke of Norfolk acquired the Hall in 1886, possibly by inheritance from Newdigate (Craven and Stanley 1982), and installed his younger son, who later became Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent. The Duke had acquired various properties in Derwent between the mid and late 19th century to create a consolidated estate comprising the Hall, seven farms, three cottages and numerous other parcels of land neighbouring the

Howden estate in Bradfield, which the family had bought in the 1780s (Elliot 1781). This consolidated estate became the Duke's shooting retreat (see section 7.9.3).

In acquiring Derwent township and Howden, Norfolk became an influential landowner, and radically altered the landscape of the village and surrounding moorlands. He built St Henry's Schoolroom and the Shooting Lodge in 1877 (Smith 1986; Ordnance Survey 1880. Photograph 7.5). Both are built in the architectural style common to all new buildings on the Duke of Norfolk's estate, with coursed gritstone blocks and stone-coped gables containing moulded kneelers. It was adorned with a Tudor-arched doorway, mullioned windows, a round-arched niche containing a statue of the Virgin Mary and a cupola bell-cote. These are the only buildings of the village to have survived the flooding of the valley behind Ladybower Dam.



Photograph 7.5. The Shooting Lodge and St Henry's Schoolroom, Derwent

7.7 Farmsteads: Designer Patterns

There are numerous surviving estate documents from the 18th and 19th centuries that show how landowners were exerting greater influence on the pattern of farmsteads and farming through their estates. These include surveys, letting books, rent apportionments and receipts. These are much greater in number than for the previous centuries. For example, in the Archives of Chatsworth House, centre for the Devonshire's Peak District estates, there are 13 bundles of estate documents covering the period from 1718 to 1854 and only three from 1627 to 1718. While this may be the result of better survival of later material, it is more likely evidence for a greater level of estate involvement. The

expression of this involvement in the farmed landscape can be seen in the subdivision of existing landholdings, with new farmsteads planted in the landscape, the rebuilding of farm buildings with layouts reflecting new ideas about farming and adorned with standard estate-style architectural adornments, and the extension of improved farmland at the expense of scrub, rough grasses and small wetlands. Each of these issues will be dealt with in turn.

7.7.1 *New Farmsteads*

Five completely new farmsteads were created out of existing landholdings from the mid-18th century onwards. These appear regularly: Hayridge farmstead was created out of part of Upper Ashop Farm between 1754 and 1808, Riding House circa 1773, Gillott Hey circa 1810, Wood End in the 1840s and Wood's Farm sometime between 1840 and 1880 (anon. 1754; anon. 1847; Cameron 1959; Potter 1808; Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880; Mike Lea pers comm). The building of Gillott Hey Farm allowed Alport Farm to be divided between two members of the same family, while Wood End Farm was created by the landowners, the Trustees of Birley's Charity, because it was perceived that it would allow the lands to be more efficiently and productively managed on the basis of what was considered an ideal farm size (anon. 1818). Wood's Farm was built to farm land at the confluence of the River Derwent and Ladybower Brook, including land newly enclosed under the Bamford Enclosure Act (see section 7.9.2). Riding House was built about 1773 and farmed land taken from nearby Tinker's House (Cameron 1959). Another three farmsteads – Bellhag, Blackden View, and Hagg II – replaced older farm buildings on new sites between the 1850s and 1860s, without the associated landholdings being altered. Bellhag was built on the lower valley side of the Woodlands Valley, next to the 1821 Sheffield to Glossop turnpike (see section 7.11.1.2), to replace Townrowhag, which was 300m further upslope on the line of a packhorse route. Cottages were built at Abbey Grange between 1810 and 1840 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1840) and at Lee End between 1818 and 1840 (anon. 1818; Ordnance Survey 1840). Cottages did not have any agricultural land with them, so the occupants earned their livings by other professions, some might have been farm labourers, while, in 1851, Lee End was occupied by a wheelwright (anon. 1851).

7.7.2 Farm Buildings: a 'Great Rebuilding'

As well as new farmsteads, the majority of buildings at the existing farmsteads were heavily modified or totally rebuilt during the 19th century. This included the alteration to or the rebuilding of existing buildings, and the complete in situ replacement of others. For example, at Grainfoot Farm the house was rebuilt and enlarged and a new range of outbuildings attached to the then existing barn between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey 1840, 1880). Whether the degree of alteration to farm buildings seen on 19th century maps is unusual compared to earlier centuries is unknown. The current farmhouse at Rowlee was built in 1849 to replace two buildings (Mike Lea pers comm). The new house was a large, two-storey, double-pile dwelling with a decorated gable to the front bearing a carved stone shield inscribed 1849 (Photograph 7.6). The farmyard was completed with two large barns constructed during the mid-19th century, replacing existing barns, while a further two smaller barns were built about the same time or soon after. Other farmsteads known to have been rebuilt in the mid-19th century are Two Thorn Fields (1868), Hayridge (1820 with mid-19th century additions), Crookhill (1850s), Alport and Alport Castles (mid-19th century) and Ashes (mid to late 19th century).



Photograph 7.6. Rowlee farmhouse, built in 1849

7.7.2.1 Rationality of Layout

The alteration to existing buildings and construction of new buildings at this time shows on one level the economic viability of the farms, and on another the ideals of how farms

should be organised with the need for efficient farming practices. Many farm buildings throughout England were rebuilt during the late 18th and 19th centuries along a model aimed at increasing farm efficiency as a part of the general movement for agricultural improvement (Newman 2001). In the Upper Derwent, this can be most seen in new farmsteads and in altered barns, which were often laid out along lines of rationalised working practices rather than traditional vernacular styles.

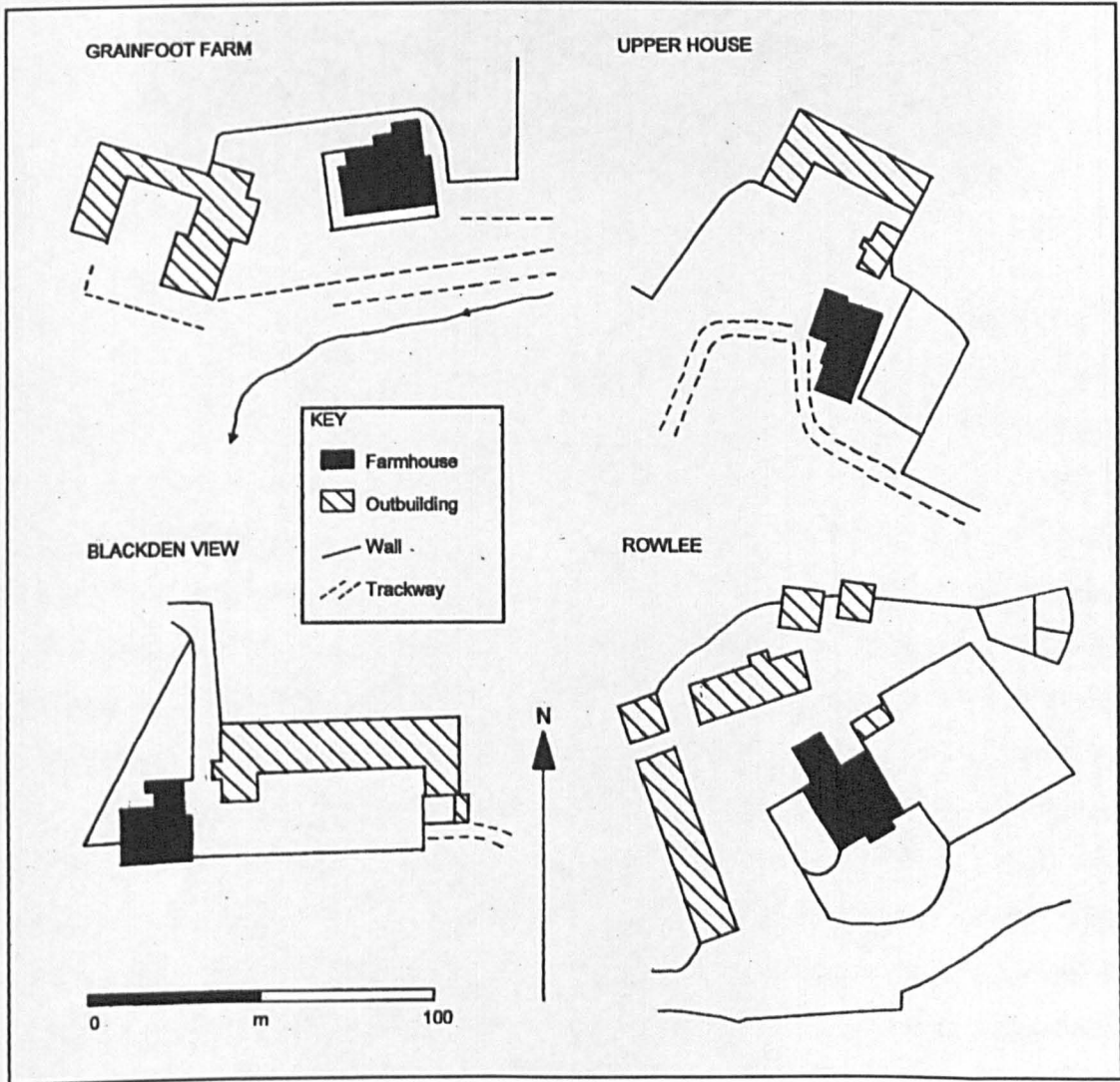


Illustration 7.2. Rational layouts of late 18th and 19th century farm buildings in the Upper Derwent



Photograph 7.7. Low Barn, Hope Woodlands

The new buildings tended to comprise larger barns with wide doors to enable carts to be driven right inside. For example, compare the small size of the three barns at Grindle Clough with the much larger Low Barn, built as a cohesive unit comprising three ranges situated around a courtyard (Photograph 7.7, compare with Photograph 6.3). Ranges of barns were built attached to each other, often with the farmhouse separated, and formally arranged to surround two or three sides of a square courtyard. Earlier farm buildings were more irregularly arranged with buildings oriented on differing alignments (Illustration 7.2). Blackden View Farm is a good example of one of the new 19th century farmsteads. It was built in 1854 on a new site approximately 400m to the west of Wood Farm, the farmstead it was to replace (Bromley 1858. Photograph 7.8). The two-storey, L-shaped farmhouse is detached and lies to the west of the outbuildings, which were built as a single integrated unit. The unit comprises three ranges oriented at right angles to each other around a courtyard. The outbuildings along the northern side of the courtyard create a long one-storey range of cow houses and looseboxes with a cart-shed at the western end. At the east and west ends of this range are two-storey barns. All of the buildings are aligned upon each other to create a regular layout to the farmstead.

Bellhag, built in the 1860s (Mike Lea pers comm.), comprised a rectangular U-shaped arrangement of ranges around a level courtyard, a central west-facing barn was flanked by the house to the south and another barn to the north. The barns were much bigger than at the Townrowhag farmstead that Bellhag replaced with access for wheeled vehicles provided by a wide cart door. Townrowhag, later renamed Bellhag Barn, consisted of

semi-detached houses with access to field barns, but no barn at the farmstead itself (anon. 1851).



Photograph 7.8. Blackden View Farm, Hope Woodlands

7.7.2.2 Estate Styles



Photograph 7.9. Estate style barn architecture dating from the 19th century at Blackden View, Hope Woodlands

During this 19th century rebuilding work, many of the farm buildings were embellished with architectural adornments in an estate style (Photograph 7.9). In the Devonshires'

Hope Woodlands township, houses and barns, built or rebuilt during the mid to late 19th century, incorporated one or more circular first-storey barn windows (known as pitching eyes), flat kneelers and round gable finials. These do not contribute to the agricultural functioning of the buildings, but present a cohesive estate style with a degree of ornament. These include houses and barns at Blackden View, Hayridge, Rowlee, Two Thorn Fields, Crookhill, Alport and Alport Castles farmhouses, and barns at Upper House, Low Barn and Bellhag. The front facades of the farmhouses at Blackden View, Hayridge and Rowlee are all formally and symmetrically proportioned following conventional pattern-book plans of the period (Hawkins 1991). Each new or rebuilt farmhouse also had a small front garden included. Similar architectural ornamentation is found on buildings in the Duke of Norfolk's Derwent estate such as Ashes farmhouse, Old House farmhouse, the Lodge, the Shooting Lodge and St Henry's Schoolroom. Ashes Farm comprises a mid-19th century formal front wing, which was attached to an existing 17th or early 18th century house, the latter becoming the rear service wing (Lott 1997a). The Shooting Lodge was built in slightly more grander style than the Duke of Norfolk's farmhouses nearby (Photograph 7.5). Externally it was designed in Victorian mock Tudor style, while its interior was decorated in simple Arts and Crafts style wood panelling and wallpaper (Lott 1997b). The internal layout of the farmhouses comprised similarly sized, square-shaped rooms arranged in an ordered pattern (Hawkins 1990; Hawkins 1991; Lott 1997a).

Tenants of the Devonshires were responsible for building work as a condition of their leases. According to Potter's terrier of 1808, tenants were obliged to pay the costs for repairs and new buildings themselves (Potter 1808). Sometimes financial help was given on recommendation of the estate agent, as documented in a late 18th century survey of the condition of dwelling houses, which recommended that half the cost of building repairs at two farmsteads and the full cost of enlarging a house for a new tenant should be met by the Duke (anon. 1773). It appears that most buildings were repaired and new ones built as necessary, rather than the estate organising a structured campaign of building work. The conformity of the estate style suggests that rebuilding work in Hope Woodlands was built to estate specifications, and possibly with estate organised-labour, but that the tenants financed, at least in part, the addition of the architectural embellishments of no agricultural value. In the 20th century, and possibly earlier, all doors and woodwork on Chatsworth estate buildings throughout the Peak District were

painted in a standard blue paint, which enabled the Duke's agents to identify property from a distance and created another element of uniformity. This was also a colour-coded mnemonic, which reminded the household members of their landlord and their position as tenants every time they went through a door, especially on returning home, when they had to approach the blue door from the yard and touch the estate colour to gain entry.

Embellishments are not part of the vernacular tradition of the region, nor do they contribute to the agricultural functioning of the buildings. Instead, they are designed with a number of inter-linked ideals in mind, they demonstrate beliefs about how buildings should contribute to the look of the rural landscape, exhibit a pride in ownership on behalf of the landowning families, and they remind farmers of their place as tenants of the landlord through their day-to-day living and working with the buildings. The orderly interiors were the imposition of planned rational and functional ordering of domestic space for accommodating families occupied in farming. Estate farmhouses were another expression of landowners' authority over place, as were the estate maps, though the symbolism in the buildings was much more locally apparent and immediately experienced by tenants.

7.8 Farming

7.8.1 Improvement

Landowners did not restrict their improving ideals to farm buildings but looked to how both the farmland and the commons could be made more efficient. This desire began during the later 18th century and, as with the buildings, it was the tenants who were expected and encouraged to carry out this improvement. Improvement was possible through turning-over and burning turfs to break up the dense moorland vegetation, bringing in soil from elsewhere, applying manure and lime and digging drains (Williamson 2002). Lime had become an important aspect of agriculture in the later 17th century and was readily at hand on the limestone plateau. Lime kilns are found across the plateau and groups of large industrial-scale kilns were located near to the developing turnpike and rail networks of the late 18th and 19th centuries (Barnatt and Smith 1997). By the 18th century, prescriptions on land improvement developed into what were thought to be progressive and systematic methods, and experimentation was common (Williamson 2002).

The desire of landowners for tenants to improve their land is shown by the Duke of Devonshire's leases for farms in Hope Woodlands, issued in 1770 (anon. 1770). Tenants were required within the 21-year term of the leases to:

“improve such a Proportion of the Heath and Benty Lands within his Farm (except sheep pastures)...by laying on each and every Acre thereof Forty Horseloads of good and well burnt Lime, and before laying on the same paring and burning so much of the Turf as shall be found necessary...”

“sough or otherwise drain all the boggy or wet Lands in the farm...”

“stub all the woody Lands [*scrubland*] that are in their own farm...”

Landowners could take land out of tenancies and place it under direct estate management if they thought more profit could be made on a piece of land from wood production than agriculture. Devonshire's agent wrote such a clause into the leases issued in 1770, while nearly 50 years later the Trustees of Birley's Charity, who held land to fund a Free School for writing and arithmetic, a church minister and retired tradesmen or their widows in Sheffield, identified which land on their estate could more profitably be planted with trees (anon. 1818).

An account of farms in the Duke of Devonshire's Woodlands estate in 1774 provides the number of stock held by each tenant and the comment that ‘2 acres of pasture or common is supposed to be enough for a sheep’ (anon. 1774). Such documents demonstrate how landowners, such as the Devonshires, were increasingly seeing their land as a quantifiable commodity with a value directly related to agricultural profit.

7.8.2 *Fields/Enclosure*

Where not already in existence in the early 17th century, enclosure of farmland was almost complete by the early 19th century (Fairbank 1810; Harrison 1637; Potter 1808; Senior 1627. Illustration 7.3). We do not have an early 17th century estate map of Derwent township to compare how much of its enclosure pattern was created by that century. A survey of Derwent prior to Parliamentary Enclosure, the earliest available detailed map of the whole of the township, highlights those fields recently enclosed according to the witness of tenants (Fairbank 1810). A small number of new fields are identified as being

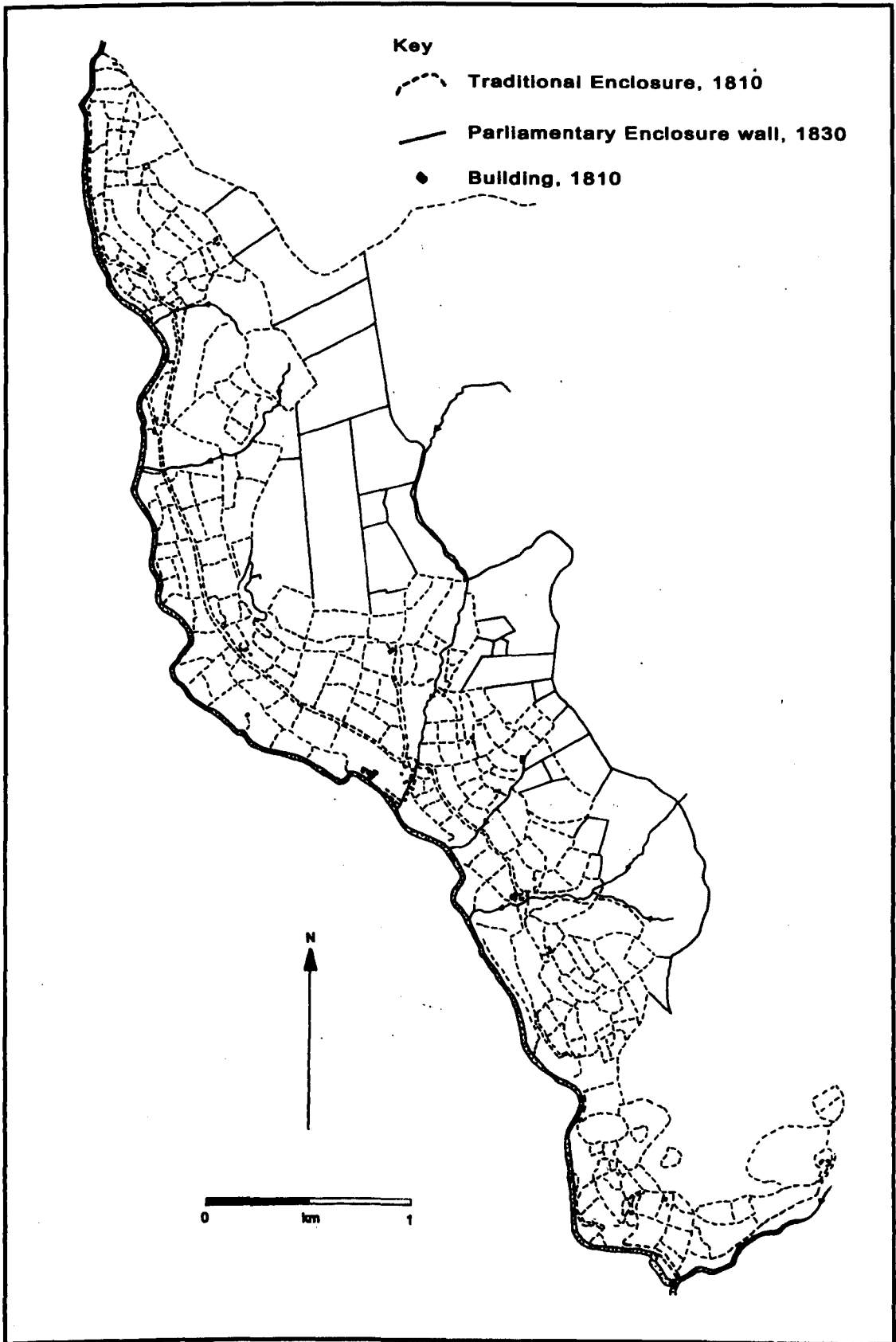


Illustration 7.3. Parliamentary Enclosure and traditional enclosure in Derwent township

enclosed over the previous 60 years. These are all intakes high up on the valley side and added to the existing limits of enclosure. While the reliability of the witnesses' evidence is questionable as an exact record of 18th century intaking, because of reliance on memory and the possibility that they would provide information that benefited themselves, this and the similarity in field morphology across the whole of the Upper Derwent suggests that enclosure may have been largely complete by the early 17th century. However, this cannot be taken as given and would be related to different landownership histories from the medieval period onwards. Land within the Royal Forest may have had a different enclosure history to that outside, and the Welbeck Abbey estate may have provided some cohesion across Hope Woodlands.

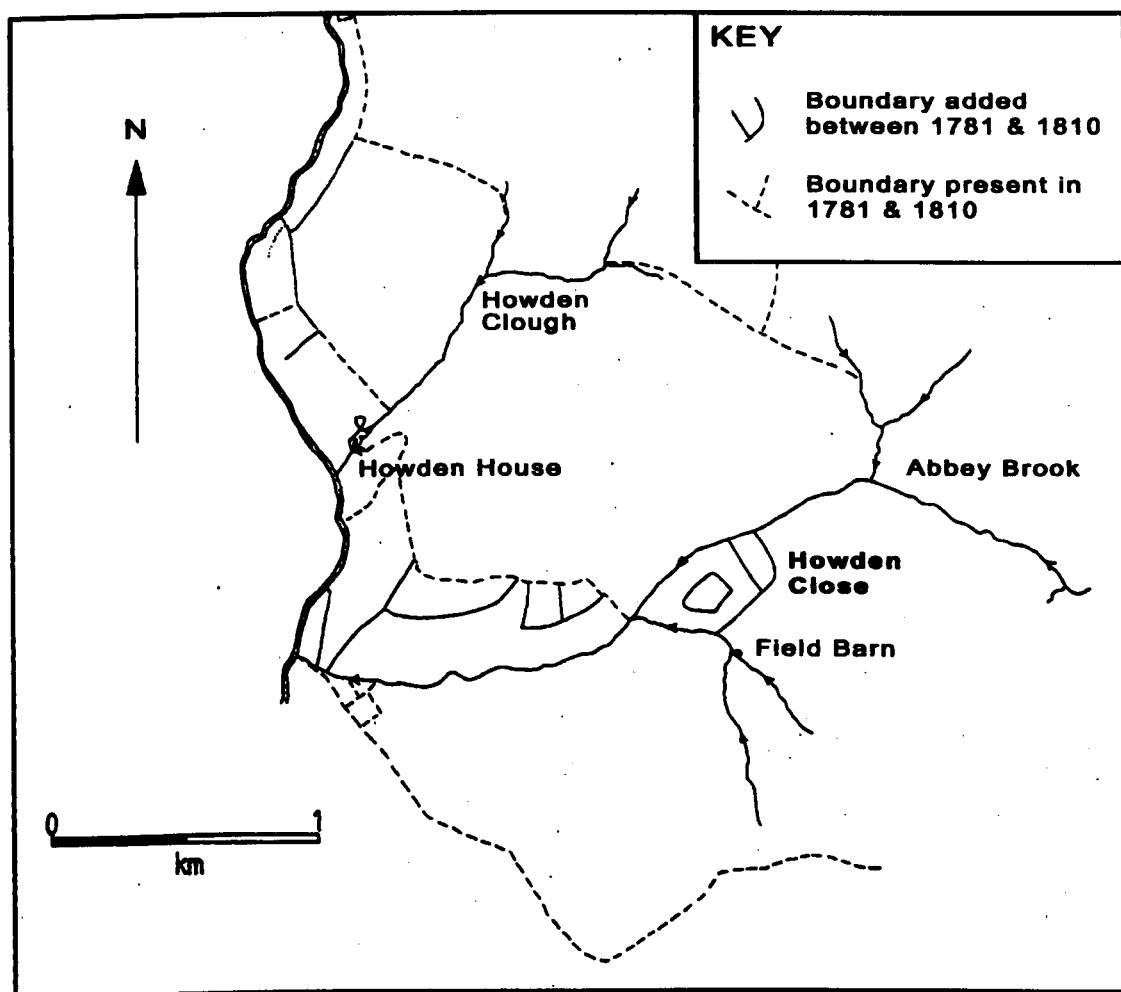


Illustration 7.4. Howden Close, Bradfield township, created between 1781 and c.1810

A relatively short-lived attempt at enclosure within the common is identifiable at a small group of intakes and a field barn situated on the southern side of Abbey Brook, Bradfield parish (Illustration 7.4). They were created between 1781 and circa 1810, presumably by

the tenant of Howden House, and known as Howden Close (Elliot 1781; anon. c.1810). They were abandoned during the early 20th century. It is unlikely that the group was ever used for arable production, and it was probably created to improve pasture and aid in stock handling.

7.8.3 *Agricultural Land-Use*

The domination of livestock over crops in the later 18th and 19th century is highlighted in a number of farm surveys. In 1772 there were a total of 7,576 sheep in Hope Woodlands, with figures ranging from 136 at Grimboar and Townrowhag, to 656 at Alport Farm and 872 at Two Thorn Fields (anon. 1772). Some of the numbers compare with sheep listed in probate inventories in the late 17th century (see section 6.4.2.1), but at some farms sheep numbers differed significantly. While numbers of sheep at Rowlee dropped from 700 in 1686 to 432 in 1772, at Crookhill figures jumped from 259 head in 1697 to 528 in 1772, and at Ronksley they had steadily climbed from 218 in 1686 to 384 in 1697 and 464 in 1772 (anon. 1686; anon. 1697; anon. 1772). It was calculated that £142 could be made from the sale of sheep, cattle and wool on a farm in Hope Woodlands that had an annual income of £165 (anon. 1769a). This document indicates two important issues: that significant profits that could be made relative to running costs from an upland hill farm participating in the market supply economy, and that the estate closely managed and monitored its farms to increase income.

The 1847 tithe survey of Hope Woodlands parish lists 3688 acres of enclosed titheable agricultural land, of which 3,523 acres were pasture or meadow, 165 acres were arable, and another 16,000 acres were described as ‘uncultivateable moor’ (anon. 1847). Similar proportions of pasture/meadow are mapped by Fairbank for Derwent in 1810, but total acreages are not quantified. Arable production had become a tiny element in the agricultural landscape of the Upper Derwent. This is highlighted by the loss of Derwent hamlet’s corn mill by the 1860s (anon. 1863). The Upper Derwent became typical of many Pennine areas near to the new and growing northern industrial cities where farmers shifted into forms of agriculture better suited to supplying the urban centres – dairy, sheep and hay (Williamson 2002). In the course of this agricultural revolution, the area conformed with the developing pattern of farming in Britain, which became simplified along climatic lines – arable in the south and east, grazing in the north and west (ibid; Fox 1932).

7.9 Commons: Changes and Endings

The commons either side of the River Derwent had slightly different histories during the 19th century, because of different histories of manorial control and land-use. Both areas were subject to the landowners' desires to improve agricultural productivity. To many landowners, the low quality of the land was not necessarily the problem, but rather the management of them under traditional rights (Newman 2001). Like most common land in Britain, the moorland commons in Howden, Derwent and Bamford were enclosed under Parliamentary Acts, so extinguishing common rights and apportioning land to private owners. There was no Enclosure Act for Hope Woodlands, where the moorland had been clearly identified with individual farmsteads since at least the early 17th century.

7.9.1 Hays and Outpastures in Hope Woodlands

The system of dividing the moorland common into hays and outpastures, with each farm having access to a tightly defined area, continued to structure common use in Hope Woodlands (Illustration 6.1). Eighteenth-century farm leases show close attention was paid by the landowner to regulating moorland use, and the increasing differentiation between hays and outpastures.

In the late 18th century, the Hope Woodlands farm leases allowed each tenant to improve the hays with lime and cut peat within them, activities prohibited on the outpastures (anon. 1770). The position of the hays in the landscape and their history of land-use would have been influential in this different way of perceiving them to the rest of the moorland. They were located between the outpastures and enclosed, improved, inbye, and they had a history associated with a greater range of tenants' rights than allowed on the outpastures. By being subject to improvement, they were more associated with the inbye than the moorland common.

The numbers of sheep allowed to be pastured on the outpastures were regulated in the farm leases by the late 18th century. Leases stipulated in detail the pasture rights, and records were kept of number of sheep allowed on the commons for each farm (anon. 1770, 1772). The highly defined structure of moorland use and the active manorial estate involvement in Hope Woodlands shows that, in effect, the moorlands were already being used according to the principles promoted by advocates of Enclosure. The nature of the landlord–tenant relationship allowed for the landowner to stipulate how land should be

worked, both on the moorland and in fields, and to apply improving ideas through tenancy agreements. With the Devonshires perceiving that rational working practices were being employed, there was no need to disrupt the manorial system by seeking Parliamentary Enclosure.

7.9.2 Parliamentary Enclosure in Derwent, Howden and Bamford

East of the River Derwent, Parliamentary Enclosure did impinge on the landscape. Derwent and Little Howden Moors were enclosed in Derwent parish as a result of the Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent Enclosure Act of 1808 (anon. 1808), Howden Moors by the Bradfield Enclosure Act of 1811 (anon. 1826) and Bamford Moor by the Bamford Common Enclosure Act of 1855 (anon. 1855). While all three allowed for the privatisation of the commons, only the Derwent and Bamford Acts led to the construction of walled boundaries.

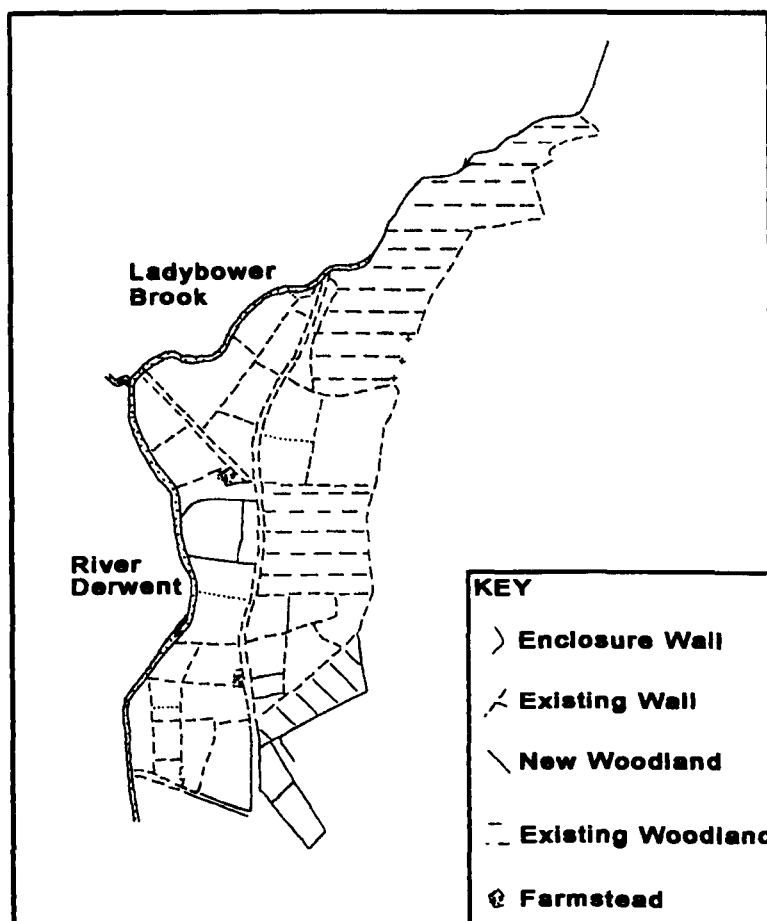


Illustration 7.5. Boundary changes 1842-1880, Bamford

The Bamford Enclosure Act was responsible for only a small number of new valley-side fields, used for pasture and woodland, and tacked onto existing enclosure on the east side

of the Derwent Valley below Bamford Edge (Illustration 7.5). The biggest impact of Enclosure in Bamford township, in terms of wall building, was to the south of the study area.

The Act of Enclosure for Hathersage, Outseats and Derwent lists 19 different landowners in Derwent township, most of which were described as copyholders, except Thomas Furniss, who was a freeholder owning Riding House and other land parcels, and the Duke of Devonshire. All but five of these owners rented out their properties to tenants. A survey of Derwent was made in 1810, which produced a plan of existing enclosures and open commons, listing tenants and description of individual fields (Fairbank 1810). As well as open common, land that had been enclosed since 1778 was liable to Enclosure and to be allotted to a farm of the landowner's choice, though in the end the Act simply confirmed existing ownership of those fields. This information then went into the Enclosure Award produced in 1830, which finally defined and legally ratified enclosure so allowing it to take place (Fairbank 1830).

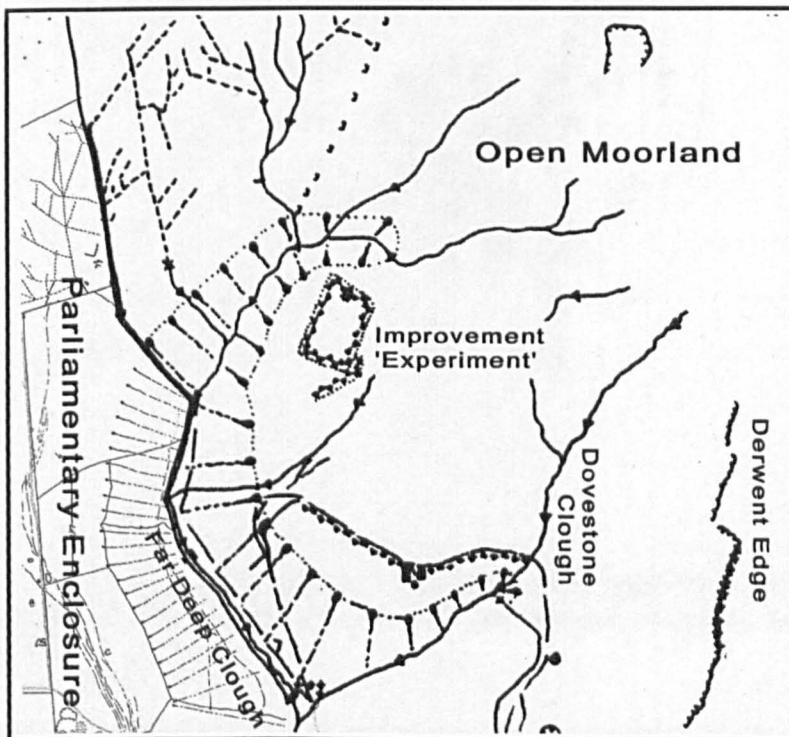


Illustration 7.6. Moorland improvement experiment on John Field Howden, Derwent

Those boundaries created by Act of Enclosure consist of the ruler-straight walls defining a block of moorland immediately above the valley side and the more irregular wall below Derwent Edge (Illustration 7.3). The main motivation behind their construction was to

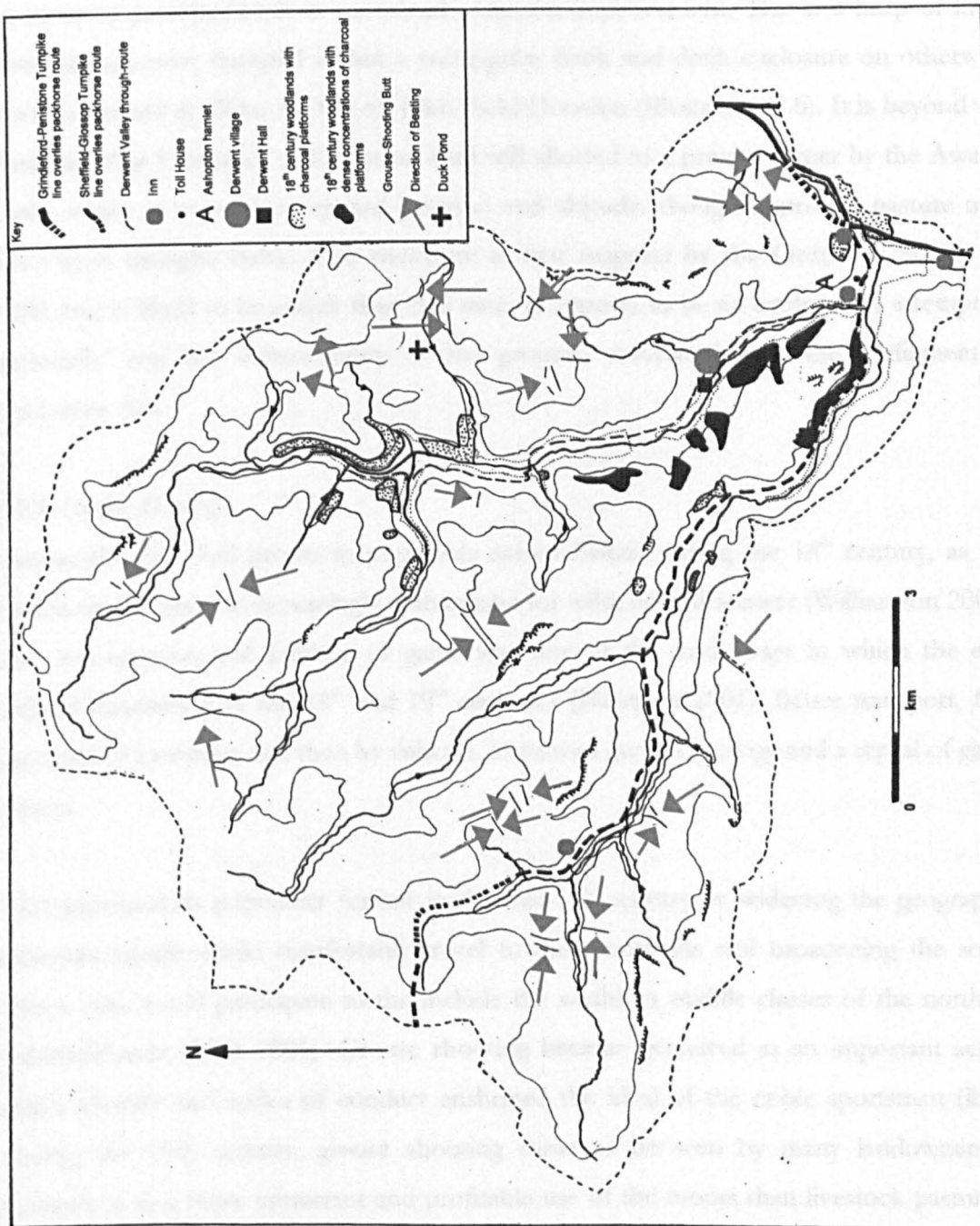


Illustration 7.7. Features of improvement and commerce in the Upper Derwent: woodlands containing charcoal-burning platforms, grouse butts and direction of beating, turnpikes, inns and Ashopton hamlet

create more land for improvement. Walling stone was quarried from a large quarry located in the south of the new enclosures. This centralisation of stone-getting contrasts with the small, wall-builder's delves located intermittently along the lines of earlier walls (see section 6.4.1). Wide roads built to standard specifications improved access to the newly enclosed moorland. Today, only the lower slopes within these enclosures are

observably more improved than the open moorland outside. A clue to why is a unique example of an experiment in moorland common improvement. This is a heap of lime, now grassed-over, dumped within a rectangular bank and ditch enclosure on otherwise open moorland at 390m A.O.D on John Field Howden (Illustration 7.6). It is beyond the Parliamentary Enclosure walls but on land still allotted to a private owner by the Award. Little would grow at this exposed position and altitude, though improved pasture may have been thought viable. The enclosure is first mapped by the Ordnance Survey of 1880, but is likely to be earlier than this date. It appears to be an exploratory attempt to 'rationally' test the improvability of the ground, associated with the Parliamentary Enclosure Act.

7.9.3 *Grouse Shooting*

Grouse-shooting had grown in popularity across Britain during the 18th century, as the landed classes became increasingly enthusiastic for wild, upland scenery (Williamson 2002). The consumption and hunting of game was one of the main ways in which the elite defined themselves in the 18th and 19th centuries (Newman 2001). Better transport, first provided by turnpikes and then by railways, improved gun technology and a repeal of game laws in

1831 increased its popularity further in the mid-19th century by widening the geographic distances people could comfortably travel to the moorlands and broadening the social classes who could participate to include the wealthier middle classes of the northern industrial areas (Muir 2001). Grouse shooting became perceived as an important act of manly identity and codes of conduct enshrined the ideal of the noble sportsman (ibid). During the 19th century, grouse shooting came to be seen by many landowners in Derbyshire as a more important and profitable use of the moors than livestock pasturing, and was one of the motivations behind many Parliamentary Enclosure Acts (Ward 1931).

Enclosure for grouse shooting was most blatantly undertaken in the Upper Derwent by the Duke of Norfolk, who had owned Howden since the 1780s. In Howden, the Bradfield Enclosure Act was solely used to revoke the rights of the tenants at Howden House to the common and to turn the estate over to shooting (anon. 1826). The tenant farmer was evicted and replaced with a gamekeeper (Byford 1981). Grazing across most of Bradfield's enclosed moors decreased during the remainder of the 19th century (Ward 1925). Over the

following years, the Duke added to Howden by buying properties in Derwent to create a remote and 'wild' shooting retreat for himself, family and friends centred on the Hall. As well as grouse butts, he erected shooting cabins, a domestic building called the 'Shooting Lodge' and even a small duck pond with artificial nesting islands on moorland at 360m O.D. (Illustration 7.7).

All the other moorlands were used for grouse shooting by their respective landowners, though elsewhere it was practised alongside sheep grazing. A gamekeeper's house was built near to Moscar House between 1880 and 1922 for one shooting estate on Derwent Moor that belonged to Moscar Hall (Ordnance Survey 1880, 1922). Grouse were shot and the moorland actively managed for game in Hope Woodlands from at least the late 18th century. An estate letter written in 1779 outlines the gamekeeper's instructions to maintain heather cover for nesting grouse, and refers to the pasture at Two Thorn Field as being so burnt that it removed cover (anon. 1779). The letter implies that burning was by the tenant to improve grazing and was thought to be disadvantageous to grouse shooting, at least if too extensive. The terrier attached to the Hope Woodlands estate plan of 1858 refers to burning heather to improve it for livestock and grouse, including complaints by a number of tenants that some heath had not been burnt (Bromley 1858). Gamekeepers' accommodation was provided by the Duke of Devonshire at Lockerbrook Farm during the mid-19th century and in a purpose-built house at Birchinlee in the early 20th century (Robinson 1993).

Shooting butts and cabins are found across all the moorlands in Hope Woodlands, Derwent and Howden, showing that the respective landowners extensively used their estates for the pursuit of leisure hunting (Illustration 7.7). Beating of grouse over prepared positions was introduced during the mid-19th century leading to the construction of lines of grouse-shooting butts (Byford 1981). This may have been related to the building of Parliamentary Enclosure walls across moorlands, which blocked traditional stalking walks and provided shooting lines into which butts were often built (Williamson 2002). On Little Howden Moor there is a line of them built into an earthen bank forming the outermost boundary of the block of enclosures, built as a result of the 1808 Derwent Enclosure Act. No wall was built at this location, suggesting that shooting was seen as one of the uses of the moorland at the time Enclosure was physically undertaken. Elsewhere, lines of butts

were used across open moorlands, so this method became the appropriate way to shoot even if it was initially influenced by Enclosure walls.

Grouse-shooting was further enhanced by the construction of shooting cabins to provide shelter and storage for shooting parties. They are simple one-room, single-storey stone-built buildings associated with some lines of butts. At one shooting spot on Ronsley Moor, social differentiation between the landed classes and the beaters, most likely employed from amongst the landowner's tenants, is physically represented in two adjacent cabins. One cabin is very basic having one wall open and no furniture, while the other has a wooden door, window, benches and a table.

7.10 Woodlands Resourced

As demands for wood for industrial fuel increased in the 18th century, woodlands became seen as a valuable resource with a huge variety of commercial uses, after a period when they had mainly been perceived as occupying ground to be cleared and walled for inbye (Newman 2001). There was a distinction between timber, the trunk and large branches used for buildings and ships, and underwood, the smaller branches of standards and the coppice poles. Coppicing was increasingly used to sustainably produce an almost inexhaustible range of products required by the market including: fences, clogs, charcoal, whitecoal, barrels, kitchen and dairy implements, domestic bowls and dishes, agricultural tools and tool handles. Bark was in demand, primarily for leather tanning, and holly bark was used for birdlime production. Birdlime was a sticky substance that had a number of uses, including catching small birds (both to eat and cage as songbirds) by its application to twigs and, from the 16th century onwards, as an ingredient of gunpowder (Allen 2002; Ardron 1999). Few of these leave archaeological remains of their production, the common exceptions being saw pits, charcoal-burning platforms, whitecoal kilns and sometimes shelters.

Charcoal burning became the most common woodland industry, most notably to make fuel for blast-furnaces, iron foundries and steel-producing cementation furnaces (Crossley 1990).. It was traditionally produced by slowly burning wood under controlled conditions in a turf-covered stack (Jones 1993). The main large-scale industries in the region requiring charcoal were iron and lead smelting. Both iron and lead working used charcoal as a fuel from the medieval period until improved smelting processes were introduced in the 18th

century (Blanchard 1981; Hey 1998; Kiernan 1989; Jones 1993). Coke was first used to smelt iron in 1709 and its use expanded dramatically in the second half of the century until it had largely replaced charcoal as the main furnace and foundry fuel (Cranstone 2001). In Peak District lead production, charcoal was used to resmelt slags produced in boles and ore hearths, which contained high levels of ore, until the late 18th century when new coal and coke hearths were introduced (Barnatt 1996b). Charcoal was still used in a number of processes during the later 18th century, some of which expanded, such as the production of blister steel in cementation furnaces, the blacking of moulds in iron foundries and in gunpowder manufacture (Hey 1998; Jones 1993). The main concentrations of these industries were to the south and east of the Upper Derwent where Sheffield and other southern Yorkshire towns dominated the British iron, steel and cutlery trades (Hey 1998). In the Upper Derwent, the importance of woodlands was rediscovered in the later 18th century and was linked, as many of the developments in the valley at this time, to the greater identification of estate land as a commodity and to the growing industrial urbanisation of Sheffield.

7.10.1 Ownership, Management and Rights

The official place of woodland in the landlord-tenant relationship in late 18th century Hope Woodlands is shown under the conditions of the 1770 leases for the Duke of Devonshire's farm (anon. 1770). The Duke appointed a Woodward to oversee all aspects of woodland management. The tenants were allowed to

‘stub and effectively grub and cut up by the roots all the wood which shall from time to time grow or sprout from old roots in or upon the said farms, save and except on such parts thereof as have already been coppiced or shall hereafter be coppiced and inclosed for future growth and preservation by the said Duke, his heirs or assigns. And further also that each tenant shall from time to time keep in good and effectual repair all such walls and fences as have already been made or shall hereafter be made for the inclosure and preservation of the said coppices.’

(anon. 1770)

The condition goes on to state that if the tenant fails to maintain the boundaries, they shall forfeit a sum of 40 shillings for every default or failure.

Mid-18th century estate records show the financial nuances of woodland management. At least at Rowlee, but presumably elsewhere, during the mid-18th century coppices had to be enclosed and preserved from grazing, while mature woodland could be opened up to livestock (anon. 1770). A tenant could be given permission to clear a woodland, but had to pay a 'fine' to the landlord, presumably seen by the estate as compensation for lost revenue. If, however, woodland clearance was to the estate's financial advantage, it was encouraged and no 'fine' was demanded. This purely economic basis for making decisions about land-use is highlighted in an inspection by the Duke's agent of a woodland. The agent valued the land at 4s an acre if it was maintained as woodland, but cost the expense of building a stock-proof wall, while an acre was worth 7s as pasture (anon. 1769b).

This shows that woodland was well managed and that areas of wood were carefully chosen and prescribed, with a 'right' and a 'wrong' place for trees to grow according to economic calculations. Tenants carried a large responsibility for knowing which woods were those the estate wanted and for maintaining the boundaries around them to exclude their stock. Again, boundaries play a fundamental part in defining social relations within the landscape.

The Duke reserved the right to

'inclose and take into his hand any part or parts of the leased premises, and plant the same with Wood allowing deduction out of the Rent for the Land so inclosed and planted...to carry away what turves and peat he or they shall want for boiling holly bark.'

(anon. 1769b)

On the basis of financial compensation, the landlord could appropriate any part of a tenant's land he deemed fit for planting with wood. In practice, the changes seen in woodlands between 1627 and 1808 show that this right was rarely carried out. However the contention between landlord and tenant over holly is seen in the felling of holly trees at Rowlee during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Farey 1811-13). This felling may have occurred within 12 years of 1764, the year holly was sold from unspecified locations in the Devonshire's Hope Woodlands estate to a birdlime producer (anon. 1764). Hollies growing on the slopes around Rowlee were pollarded for winter-fodder, until an estate

agent had them felled for estate profit. Remnants of these hollies and the platforms presumably used to produce the charcoal still survive above Rowlee.

The financial benefits of well-managed woodlands are highlighted by letters of 1771 and 1772, which petitioned the Duke to pay for a road through the Woodlands Valley (Dickinson 1771; Eyre et al 1772). Tenants of the valley argued for a better road and bridges (to allow them to import coal and lime) by trying to persuade the estate that it would benefit financially from the easier export of wood.

The 1770 leases and the common occurrence of coppice as an element of woodland place-names included on Potter's 1808 estate map suggest that coppicing was an important, even central, part of woodland management in late 18th and early 19th century Hope Woodlands. Old coppices have been identified on only a few areas in the Upper Derwent: throughout Ladybower, Ouzelden and Priddock woods, Bamford and Derwent, and Reaves Stone Plantation, Derwent. Elsewhere they may have been removed during the 19th and 20th centuries by ploughing to make conifer plantations. Trustees of Birley's Charity recommended planting a species called 'Larch Ash' and in Howden, the Duke of Norfolk had larch plantations (anon. 1818; Ellison 1861-62). Pollards have been discovered at Reaves Stone Plantation and near Slippery Stones, as well as referred to above Rowlee at the turn of the 18th century (Farey 1811-13). Pollards are usually associated with wood pasture, incorporated in hedgerows or situated alongside walls, where the trees are cropped above the height livestock can reach so stock can be let in to the graze within the woodland (Rackham 1986; Jones 1993).

7.10.2 *Charcoal Burning*

The main reason that the estates were taking greater control of their woodlands was charcoal. The distribution of charcoal-burning platforms throughout the two valleys, and references to charcoal in the estate accounts of Hope Woodlands and Howden show that its production occurred throughout much of the area in the late 18th century (cf Ardron and Rotherham 1999. Illustration 7.7). Approximately 238 charcoal-burning and 47 possible charcoal platforms have been identified throughout the area. They comprise sub-circular earthen platforms terraced into sloping ground and measuring between approximately 2m to 8m across and 6m to 10m long (Illustration 7.8. Photograph 7.10).



Photograph 7.10. Charcoal-burning platform in Grimbochar Wood, Hope Woodlands

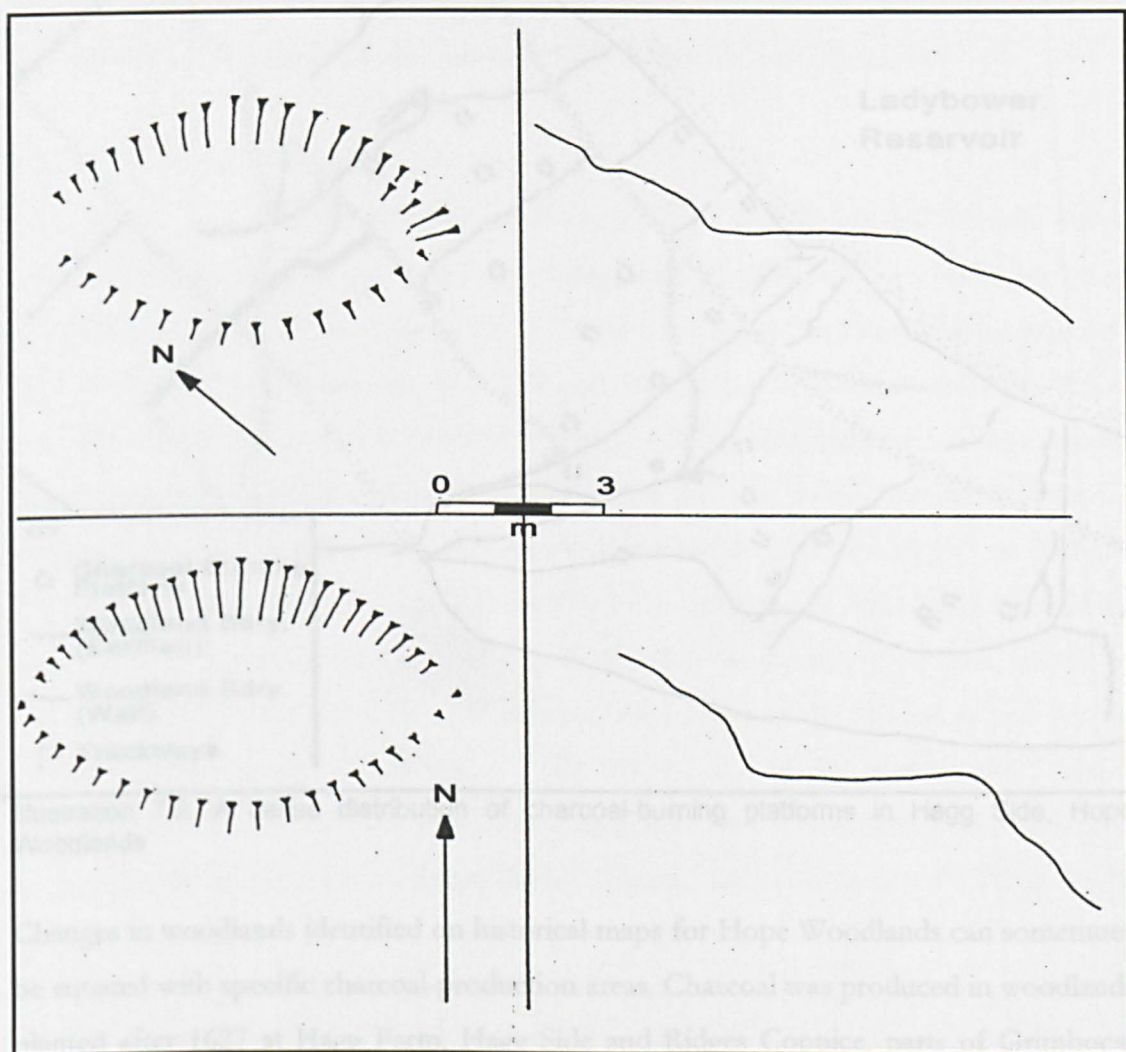


Illustration 7.8. Plans and cross-sections of typical charcoal-burning platforms in the Upper Derwent. These two examples are in Hagg Side

They are all distributed across the valley and clough sides singly or in small groups between 200 and 350m O.D. Notable exceptions to this distribution are relatively large and densely concentrated groups in Grimbochar Wood, Rough Wood, Fearfall Wood, Lee Wood, Hagg Side, Nab's Wood and Howden (Illustration 7.9). The group in Hagg Side are also notable in that some have a small mound of charcoal and soil deposited in the centre of the surface. This appears to be the product of scraping the platform surface clean after the last burn and may be a way of marking that each platform is still in use. Approximately 20% of platforms are located within 20m of water, which could be used to help dampen down the burn if it was about to flare too intensely, but was presumably not a vital part of the burning process. Thirteen groups of platforms are associated with trackways to facilitate the transport of charcoal.

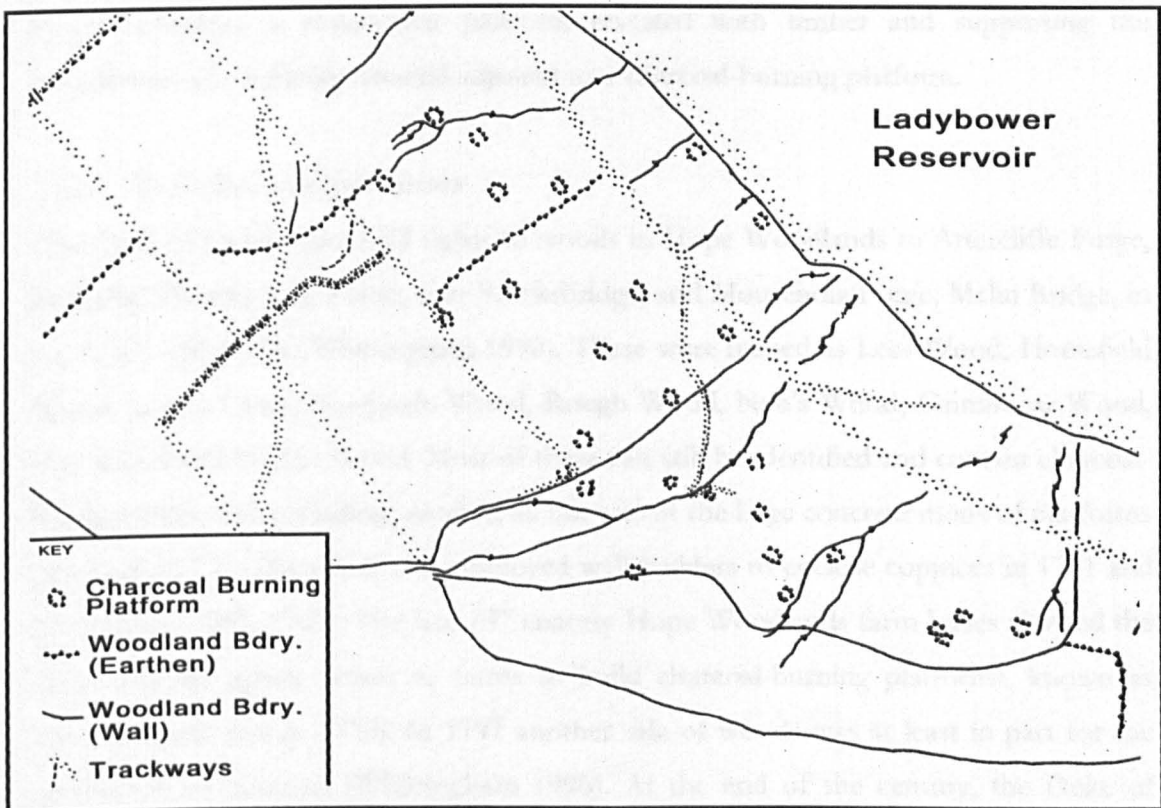


Illustration 7.9. A dense distribution of charcoal-burning platforms in Hagg Side, Hope Woodlands

Changes in woodlands identified on historical maps for Hope Woodlands can sometimes be equated with specific charcoal-production areas. Charcoal was produced in woodlands planted after 1627 at Hagg Farm, Hagg Side and Ridges Coppice, parts of Grimbochar and Rough Wood, most of which survived through the 19th century (Illustration 6.1). A number of woodlands associated with charcoal platforms were felled between 1627 and

1808. There are also three woods in Hope Woodlands that contain a small number of charcoal-burning platforms that do not appear on historical maps, suggesting the possibility of pre-1627 charcoal production. One of these areas was in Linch Clough and adjacent to the mid-15th century lead-smelting hearth that used charcoal as fuel (see section 5.11). Elsewhere, platforms lie in or close to areas that had some wood coverage depicted on all maps of the respective areas available to the present survey.

There are numerous platforms without indication of charcoal next to charcoal-production sites, which could represent the locations of temporary shelters. A charcoal burn could last two to ten days and required constant supervision to prevent the fire flaring-up (Jones 1993). Such shelters were usually made of wood, cloth and turfs, so rarely survive themselves, and any level platforms constructed to support them may be indistinguishable from the whole variety of other platforms. One site in Grimbocar Wood comprises a rectangular platform revetted with timber and supporting the foundations of a building situated adjacent to a charcoal-burning platform.

7.10.3 The Reaches of Industrialisation

The Duke of Devonshire sold rights to woods in Hope Woodlands to Attercliffe Forge, Sheffield, Wortley Top Forge, near Stocksbridge, and Mousehole Forge, Malin Bridge, in the 1760s and 1770s (Whittingham 1996). These were named as Lees Wood, Horsefield Wood, Grains Close, Northside Wood, Rough Wood, Nab's Wood, Grimbocar Wood, Hag Wood and Nether Wood. Most of these can still be identified and contain charcoal-burning platforms, including, notably, all but one of the large concentrations of platforms (Illustration 7.7). The estate also employed wall builders to enclose coppices in 1761 and 1762 (anon. 1761, 1762). The late 18th century Hope Woodlands farm leases allowed the Duke and his agents access to farms to build charcoal-burning platforms, known as 'charcoal pitts' (anon. 1770). In 1797 another sale of woods was at least in part for the production of charcoal (Whittingham 1996). At the end of the century, the Duke of Norfolk paid for charcoal platforms to be constructed on his Howden estate in Bradfield parish (Mel Jones pers comm). Norfolk had acquired the estate between 1781 and 1783 (Elliot 1781; anon. c.1810), so charcoal production must have been undertaken after these dates. There are comparatively few platforms situated away from these identified areas, suggesting that the majority of charcoal production in the area was undertaken for iron forges in southern Yorkshire. Both Devonshire and Norfolk held extensive woodlands elsewhere in southern Yorkshire and north Derbyshire, for which they had

sold charcoaling rights to the region's industrialists since at least the beginning of the 18th century (Hopkinson 1961). They also entered into partnerships with industrialists to build furnaces and foundries, and set up ironworking companies, many of which were located on their estates. Therefore, charcoal production for ironworking in the Upper Derwent was part of a longer history of these landowners use and exploitation of their estates for industrial purposes, practices that were conceived and organised at a regional level.

The three forges which acquired charcoal from woods in Hope Woodlands during the mid-18th century were all on the lines of packhorse routes traversing rough ground and situated at distances of 16km or more from the Upper Derwent. In addition, they all had closer wood supplies at hand, which they exploited. This confounds the received wisdom (Harris 1988) that charcoal was never transported further than 8km, and shows that other influences, such as commercial concerns, were as important as practical technological needs in influencing where charcoal was acquired from. A certain amount of wastage from damage to the charcoal could be expected on such a journey. Charcoal was sieved before use in ironworking because only large lumps could be used; transport of charcoal by sea from Galloway to ironworks at Furness was expected to waste 25% of the cargo (Stell and Hay 1984).

The effects on local farmers of the intensive charcoal production in the 18th century is demonstrated by a number of documents. It was written into tenancy agreements in 1770 that all coppice walls, presumably including those newly built in the 1760s, were to be maintained by the tenants – even though they received no direct benefit to themselves from the woodland (anon. 1770). This emphasises the notion of the Duke's tenants being in a subservient relationship to the landowner, by demanding their labour in the maintenance of land reserved for the estate. Even within a world dominated by capitalist production and commerce, manorial – even somewhat feudal – power relationships were strongly active and influential in the management of the landscape.

The impact of charcoal production on the livelihoods of tenants can be seen in a petition made to the Duke of Devonshire in 1772 for better roads to enable coal to be cheaply imported into the valley. The petition states:

‘sometimes the summer season is so wet, we cannot pretend to get our earthen fuel [peat], the wood being taken away, so we and our families may starve to death...’

(anon. 1772)

In this one document, the trajectories of three historical aspects of land-use and perception of the landscape come together. The farmers of Hope Woodlands township had been using a combination of wood and peat for fuel, collecting it according to common rights and customary tradition, which had originated in the medieval period. The increasingly economic-based perception of the landscape by landowners, incorporating the commodification of land and ideals of improvement, resulted in the re-evaluation of woodlands, not as barriers to cultivation, but as a financial resource. This involved barring tenants from using or removing woodland without the landowner’s consent, as seen above in the leases of 1770, so reworking the local social relationship with wood. Woodlands altered from being part of the tenants landscape of use to restricted places symbolising landlords control over their lives, a reworking of a similar relationship seen in the medieval Royal Forest. Other elements of the industrialisation of Britain, coal mining and better roads connected to the turnpike network, were then called upon as the answers to the future survival of the Upper Derwent’s tenants. This encapsulates the change from more self-sufficient occupancy of a landholding, where fuel is acquired locally by individual labour, to the more capitalist-based purchasing of commodities, something that has already been discussed in relation to the decrease in arable and the development of farming as a supply system for large urban populations. The letter highlights the relationship of enforcement and dependency, created between landlord and tenant by greater estate control over the landscape, and the effects of wider socio-economic trends in Britain as a whole. Essentially, textual dialogue was a tool used by the township community to empower themselves and to negotiate social relationships within an unequal power dynamic.

7.11 Turnpikes: Rerouting the World

Communication routes were also subject to progressive ideals because the traditional system of packhorse routes and other roads was seen to be failing. Since at least the medieval period, the packhorse routes had provided the axes of long-distance communication between the Upper Derwent and the wider world. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries waymarking and maintenance had been increased and made the responsibility

of parishes by governments who saw the need to speed up the movement of goods and people to meet the growing demands of trade and industry (Radley and Penny 1972). Government allowed the founding of trusts to pay for road building and upkeep with the charging of tolls to recoup costs, though did not centrally direct a roadbuilding programme (Newman 2001). The first Turnpike Act was passed in 1663, and by 1830, 3,783 trusts had been set up in England and Wales creating a dense network of turnpikes (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It was up to local landowners and businessmen to form trusts to improve or build specific stretches of road. Capital costs of building or improving a road were raised by mortgage and recouped by collecting tolls from travellers at toll gates. At least 66 turnpikes were created in the Peak District between 1724 and the mid-19th century (Hopkinson 1971; Radley and Penny 1972). Some crossed the region as long-distance and national routes, such as the London to Manchester road of 1724. Others were built between the region and nearby urban centres, including the Baslow to Chesterfield road of 1812 and the Buxton to Macclesfield tumpike of 1759. There were many other shorter routes within the region, such as the 1.5km-long Thornhill to Yorkshire Bridge road of 1771 and the Blackwell to Tideswell route of 1812 (ibid). Turnpikes were constructed by the application of engineering and survey skills, a rational approach improving or replacing routeways that had developed through traditional practice within the context of local land-use. Some roads followed existing routes, mainly where valley roads and passes were enhanced with hardcore foundations, metalled surfaces and drainage ditches (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Roads were also laid out along new routes, often where moorland packhorse routes or steep inclines were being replaced. Turnpike Trusts transferred responsibility for the nation's highways from being a parochial obligation to a market venture. Roads were therefore constructed at different geographical scales of trust organisation, with local trustees acting within the context of contributing to the nation as well as to improve regional trade.

7.11.1 A New Road Network for the Upper Derwent

Two turnpikes were built through the Upper Derwent and Woodlands valleys during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Illustration 7.7).

7.11.1.1 Grindleford to Penistone Turnpike (Mortimer's Road)

The Grindleford to Penistone turnpike was built in 1771 after an Act of 1770 (Radley and Penny 1972; Smith 1993), and it is shown on maps of 1830 and 1842 (Fairbank 1830,

1842). The route ran south from Penistone via Strines and Moscar House then turned south-west to cross Derwent Moors crossing Highshaw Clough via Cutthroat Bridge, a stone construction which appears to have been built for the turnpike to replace a ford approximately 50m to the north. The name Cutthroat Bridge was derived from local folk memory of an incident in the late 16th/early 17th centuries, when a man was discovered near this site with his throat cut (Ward 1927a).

South-west of Moscar House, the turnpike reputedly descended into Ladybower Gorge via the site of a later quarry (Byford 1981). However the landlord of Ladybower Inn, who was also the Parish Surveyor, diverted the road to run the turnpike adjacent to the inn during the 1770s (*ibid*). The landlord charged 2d from travellers to offset the cost of the road. The diversion was eventually abandoned sometime before 1840, when another track was built which cut its line on Derwent Moor, after years of argument with the local authority over its ownership (Ordnance Survey 1840). The new route of the turnpike by-passed Moscar House and joined with the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike to follow the latter along Ladybower Gorge before taking a line now used by the modern junction between the A57 and Strines road. The turnpike crossed the River Derwent south of the inn, and in 1827 Ladybower Bridge was constructed to replace either a ford or an earlier bridge.

7.11.1.2 Sheffield to Glossop Turnpike (Snake Pass)



Photograph 7.11. The line of the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike in use today as the A57 Snake Pass. PDNPA Collection

The Sheffield to Glossop turnpike was built between 1818 and 1821 by the engineer Thomas Telford as a direct route to connect the growing towns of Sheffield and Manchester (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It ran into Derwent Valley via Ladybower Gorge and crossed the River Derwent 50m north of its confluence with the River Ashop. Ashopton hamlet grew up on the east side of this crossing point as a direct result of the road. West of the Derwent, it ran along the northern side of the Woodlands Valley. A series of bridges and revetments were built to carry the road across the numerous cloughs, and to support it along the steep-sided valley. Distances from both Sheffield and Manchester were marked on three-faced roadside milestones, five of which survive along the southern edge of the road as it runs through the Woodlands Valley. It is now the line of the A57 Snake Road, named after the Snake Inn, which in turn took its name from the Duke of Devonshire's family crest (Byford 1981).



Photograph 7.12. A milestone on the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike

7.11.2 *The Impacts of the Turnpikes*

The two turnpikes approximately followed the courses of existing routeways and connected parts of others, so locally rerouting lines of communication and impacting on aspects of the local landscape. The Sheffield to Glossop paralleled much of the Derwent to Sheffield commonway, but bypassed the steep sides of the Upper Derwent Valley to join with the Hope to Glossop route in the Woodlands Valley. Mortimer's Road follows much of the line of the Hope to Penistone packhorse route as it crosses the survey area. After the turnpikes were built, the packhorse routes could have remained in use by people who wanted to avoid paying the turnpike's tolls. In places, access along Doctor's

Gate was denied by a number of field walls built across its line. On Derwent and Howden the Parliamentary Enclosure of the moorlands extinguished the rights of way across them along with other common rights. The Derwent to Sheffield commonway was also blocked by the construction of Enclosure walls between 1810 and 1840 (Fairbank 1810; Ordnance Survey 1840).

Packhorse routes had somewhat approximate lines, in that the general course was followed but a specific 'path' was kept to only where paving or causeways crossed boggy ground or where the route ran through enclosed land as a walled lane. Elsewhere, erosion created a hollow-way which was subsequently avoided and a line taken next to it until that again was eroded and a new line was adopted. In some places braids of hollow-ways formed up to 100m wide, and were all part of the route. Turnpikes formed another level of control over travel by limiting it to a specific, delineated and relatively narrow route. Rather than assessing the ground conditions and picking a suitable braid of a hollow-way across moorland, travellers on turnpikes were restricted to the 'official line'.

The turnpikes improved communications for packhorse trains, which were the usual means of transport in this area until the mid-19th century (Hey 1980), and allowed access by wheeled-vehicles such as stagecoaches and carts. The turnpikes and improvements to local roads not helped to achieve the aims of tenants to gain access to coal, and of the Duke of Devonshire to profit more from sales of wood, (see section 7.10.2.2), but also enabled grouse-shooting parties easier access to the moors and agricultural produce to be more cheaply transported to the neighbouring cities. A general idea of how turnpikes decreased travel times can be gained from comparing the 45 hours that the Edinburgh to London mail took to complete its 373 mile journey in 1837, with the 10 to 12 days it had taken a century earlier (Dodd and Dodd 1980).

In 1824, a new road between Derwent and Ashopton was built by the incumbent of Derwent Hall to take advantage of the turnpikes (Illustration 7.7). The earlier route still continued in use as well. Many of the farmsteads founded or rebuilt on new locations in the late 18th and 19th centuries were located near to turnpikes. This created a new relationship with through-routes. Whereas older farmsteads were often at some distance from through-routes, the new farmsteads were built adjacent to the turnpikes. The most

extreme example of positioning was at Bellhag, where the farmyard fronted on to the Sheffield to Glossop turnpike.

The flipside of better roads was the cost to travellers to use them. Tolls were charged for the use of the roads to pay for construction debts and maintenance, with payment collected at roadside toll cottages. One was built in the survey area at Ashopton hamlet. In contrast to the development of packhorse tracks as rights of way, turnpikes were planned and travel was turned into a commodity, which could be given a value and charged for. Turnpikes can, therefore, be seen as part of the move for improvement, which spread through the landowning classes during the 18th century, and greatly affected agriculture and commons. They spread rapidly across the country because of a perceived national need to improve road transport.

A number of new inns were built to take advantage of the turnpikes; this increase in numbers suggesting that the new roads had increased the numbers of people travelling. In addition to existing inns at Grimbocar and Ladybower, inns were built at Ashopton, Yorkshire Bridge and the Snake Pass to cater for the passing custom. Derwent hamlet was effectively sidelined by the rerouting of the communication network. Whilst the hamlet had been on the line of the main packhorse route connecting the Upper Derwent with Sheffield and Glossop, it was now over 2km from the Snake Road. This did not prevent Derwent expanding with the late 19th century church, post office and school, but a lack of passing trade is the most likely reason why Derwent's only inn was closed between 1859 and 1880 (anon. 1859; Ordnance Survey 1880). The road also directly caused the founding of a new hamlet in the area – Ashopton.

7.11.3 Ashopton: the Ribbon Hamlet

The new hamlet of Ashopton was situated on low-lying ground within Derwent parish at the confluence of the rivers Ashop, Derwent and the Ladybower Brook (Illustration 7.7). The name 'Ashopten' dates back at least as far as 1650 (Cameron 1959). What this actually refers to is unclear, but it could simply be the farmsteads within the Woodlands Valley that was commonly called Ashop. There were no buildings at this location previous to the construction of the Snake Road in 1821. Located at the junctions between the Snake Pass and local roads to Derwent and Bamford, it was essentially a

ribbon development of services for travellers that also provided similar local services to Derwent Village.



Photograph 7.13. Ashopton hamlet looking north-east. Severn Trent Water Collection

Focal to the settlement was the Toll House, which was erected on the turnpike road during or shortly after the road's construction, and was resited to another position further to the east in 1835 until the last toll was taken in 1875 (Hallam 1989). After their demise as toll houses, both buildings were reused, presumably as dwellings. Ashopton Inn was built in, or before, 1824 as a coaching inn close by the site of the first Toll House. A large Methodist chapel was erected in 1840 and enlarged in 1896. Part of the building was used as a Sunday school and meeting room (ibid). To the east of the hamlet, there was a smithy south of the road, and another building north of the road, both of which were built between 1840 and 1880 (Ordnance Survey). Between 1880 and 1922 (Ordnance Survey) a Post Office was added, to the west of the chapel, and another unknown building north-west of the inn. The close relationship between the hamlet and the turnpike/toll house would closely identify the settlement with the road. Photographs of Ashopton and Derwent show a contrast in imagery, the former is sparsely urban (Photograph 7.13) while the latter is much more of a rural 'scene' (Photograph 7.2).

7.12 Discussion

Superficially the landscape of the Upper Derwent at the end of the 19th century would have been recognisable by the early 17th century surveyor William Senior, and probably by the last canons of Welbeck to visit Crookhill grange. The area still held the pattern of dispersed farmsteads within a walled landscape of small, irregular fields, interspersed with woodland and leading to moorland grazing on the higher ground, which had originated

in the medieval period. This pattern had been created from the relationships between the particular topography of the Upper Derwent landscape, its inhabitation and structures of landownership. But, there had been fundamental changes in the ways that these relationships were expressed, and Senior would have noticed the differences within the overall pattern. He would have reached the valleys by better-surfaced roads, and his surveyor's eye would quickly have identified much more orderly and grander-looking farmstead buildings. He would have noted that the woodland areas were smaller and planted with new tree species, such as larch, that pastures were greener from the application of lime, and the near absence of cereals. The unnaturally straight walls dividing Derwent moorland would have been a new type of enclosure, possibly suggesting the organised taking in of land from the common. He would also have seen how much bigger Derwent hamlet had become, that it had two new grand buildings not present in his day – the Hall and the church with a spire – that the old wooden bridge was replaced in stone and that the corn mill had disappeared.

Through the later 18th and 19th centuries, the application of progressive and rational ideals to the organisation of social and economic life, in tandem with increasing urbanisation, exerted a great influence on the British landscape. Many aspects of progressive ideologies were inter-linked with each other, and fundamentally related to the increasing domination of the market economy and industrial urbanisation. They can be grouped under the idea of improvement. Though usually connected with attempts to increase agricultural productivity, improvement was a progressive movement whereby all resources of the land were refigured to make them more productive. Improvement greatly affected the character of the landscape through farming and agricultural production, urban planning, building design, enclosure, road building and the industrial use of wood fuel.

Though these different aspects were inter-linked, there was not a centrally controlled make-over of the landscape directed and planned by government. Nor did it necessarily result in the complete breakdown of manorial systems, because local landowners were the main instigators of change. They saw the economic benefits of exploiting resources and of trade, situated within the context of being the nation's ruling classes, so identifying their own land management practices with the growing concept of the nation state. The landed gentry were an important link in the relationship between nationally

held ideals and local landscapes, and landowners were increasingly determining more aspects of their tenants' day-to-day lives. This can be seen in Hope Woodlands where strong Chatsworth estate management, existing as early as 1627, is evident in the number and nature of estate documents produced in the late 18th century: farmstead rentals in 1754, agreements for walling coppices in 1761, assessment of relative values of farmland and woodland at Tin Wood and a summary of annual income versus expenditure at Birchinlee Farm in 1769, covenants for farm leases and building charcoal platforms in 1770, stipulations for numbers of sheep allowed per farm in 1772, the condition of houses in 1773 (all referenced in the bibliography as anon. followed by date). Different aspects of the estate were being actively assessed and tenants were forced to operate according to the estate's farming methods – by improving soil, draining wet areas, removing scrub, concentrating on animal husbandry and rebuilding houses and barns to specified styles.

As landowners exercised greater influence over their tenants' lives, the estate gained greater importance as a cohesive unit and became represented symbolically through buildings and maps. As buildings required renovating during the 19th century, they were remodelled to improve efficiency of use, and a small suite of non-practical architectural embellishments replaced vernacular styles with a cohesive estate pattern. This trend seen in Hope Woodlands occurred throughout the Derbyshire estates of the Devonshires, and was contemporary with the extensive reconstruction work at Chatsworth – including the redesign of the gardens and the relocation and rebuilding of Edensor as a model village out of sight of the house (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Cooper, B. 1991). Farmstead, gardens and Edensor were three physical expressions in the landscape of the land-based wealth, social status and confidence of the Cavendish family.

Documents, maps and buildings share something in common. They not only symbolised estate management, they were the tools of social control at a township level. They were used by the Duke to structure the everyday routines of his tenants, stipulating activities they were to undertake, where they would occur and spatially organising their domestic lives. He probably saw them as demonstrating the effectiveness of his estate management, symbolising and justifying his social position as a member of the ruling class. Perhaps his tenants would have gratefully enjoyed the greater comfort of more spacious, drier and warmer houses, but everyday – in the very household home – their

position of subordination was re-emphasised. In a way, the tenants' petition in 1772 for better roads was an attempt, in desperate circumstances, at fighting back with one of the weapons used against them.

In the Upper Derwent, improvement largely occurred within the existing pattern of land-use, 'improving' on what was already there rather than radically transforming it. Agricultural production continued to be the main livelihood of the majority of the area's occupants, with livestock dominating and reared almost exclusively for sale rather than subsistence. Existing inbye was improved by the application of lime and large intakes were created on upper valley-side heathland, so creating a band of semi-improved grasslands between the inbye and moorland. Farmsteads in Ashop Dale were assessed for their effectiveness, and realigned into different-sized landholdings that were thought to be more productive (anon. 1818). It appears that in the 18th century tenants had less say over the organisation of their working lives than in previous centuries.

Estate assessments of land productivity also influenced the relationship between woodland and farmland with some areas being changed to more productive forms of land-use by landowners. Woodlands gained greater importance as a commodity, at least in charcoaled form, as industrial forges in southern Yorkshire found willing partners in the woodland-owning Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk. Here is a direct local impact of distant industrialisation. The 300 charcoal production platforms that were built to supply the forges form the largest group of such features in the Peak District. The remnants of medieval forests were preserved, managed and replanted as a result of the financial benefits that could be derived from charcoal. Tenants were excluded from the woodlands, and barred from taking wood for domestic fuel.

There were some differences between townships based on their individual histories of manorial custom, which, for example, can be seen in each township's moorlands. The closely defined control of Hope Woodlands by the Devonshire estate and the resulting non-common use of the moorland obviated the landowner from undertaking Enclosure. The Duke imposed improvement through tenancy agreements and had existing access for grouse-shooting. Elsewhere, Parliamentary Enclosure was employed by landowners and had differing impacts. Where there was similar close manorial intervention on Howden, the moorland was part of a common and in 1811, 30 years after being bought

by a new landowner, the common was enclosed specifically to remove the landholding from agriculture and turn it into the owner's private grouse-shooting estate. In Derwent and Bamford, commoners lost grazing land to the farms that were apportioned areas on the moorland, and regular, or rational, networks of walls were imposed onto the landscape. Some improvement was attempted on the ground in Derwent, but appears to have been limited in its success. Private ownership in itself was seen as enough of an improvement of land management, whether or not serious attempts to increase productivity through liming, etc. were undertaken. Grouse shooting echoed game hunting in the medieval period, when the land to the west of the River Derwent was within the Royal Forest of the Peak. As in the medieval period, the ruling classes defined their status through the consumption and hunting of game, though the emphasis had moved from deer to grouse and hunting was now seen as a participatory sport. The construction of shooting lodges, cabins and butts, in tandem with the regular nature of enclosure walls, extended the symbolism of estate control across the wider landscape beyond the farmsteads.

Communication with the wider world was also transformed by turnpike trusts, locally organised institutions created within a nationally held concept, with aims that encompassed local, regional and national comprehensions of the world. From the 16th century onwards, more objects and people were moving over longer distances as the growing industrial cities both produced and required more goods and materials. Road conditions had been perceived as an increasing national problem as trade expanded, and in the 18th and early 19th centuries, turnpike trusts built roads on the basis of the expected revenues that could be made by charging tolls to travellers. Turnpikes replaced rights of way that had grown up by tradition with engineered routes which were aligned by use of measured survey and where passage was gained by paying a fee. The two turnpikes that crossed the Upper Derwent, the Grindleford to Penistone of 1771 and Sheffield to Glossop of 1821, were not planned primarily to serve the locality itself, but the landowners and inhabitants derived benefits from improved communications awarded by the proximity of the routes. Agricultural and woodland produce left the area while coal for domestic fuel, lime and shooting parties arrived. The turnpikes made it easier and cheaper for goods and people to move between the Upper Derwent and the wider world, including the expanding neighbouring cities of Sheffield and Manchester.

Like many Pennine valleys, nearby manufacturing cities would have been the main markets for livestock reared in the Upper Derwent. The increasing demand for foodstuffs by the growing urban population stimulated the breeding of faster maturing livestock and more productive land. These required higher inputs of raw materials than could be supplied or grown on the farm alone, such as lime and animal feed, so that farming became less self-sufficient and further tied into the market economy (Williamson 2002). In Hope Woodlands, estate-enforced land improvement practices was designed to increase livestock production to be sold at market, perhaps in Sheffield or at the Devonshire's own mart in Chesterfield.

These different aspects of improvement and the market economy driven commodification of the world were appearing in different landscapes across Britain. The Upper Derwent population was, therefore, fully engaged with these developing trends and new institutions. Across the country, ideals and activities that were conceived and held at a national level were interacting with existing forms of land tenure and social organisation at the township level. There was a great deal of local variability in how the landscape and local communities interacted with a more capitalist world, and in how associated social change occurred. The major developments in crops and arable production that occurred in Norfolk, for example, were absent from most of the Peak District including the Upper Derwent. The experiment in improvement on John Field Howden suggests an attempt at creating improving grazing.

'Improvement' did not appear in the Upper Derwent as a neat, single package. Though they were largely driven by the same landowners, different phenomena were emphasised at different times during the later 18th and the 19th centuries. The first turnpike was contemporary with charcoal production and management prescriptions in tenancy agreements for Hope Woodlands township during the 1770s–1780s, while the second, in the 1820s, was built 10 years after two of the local Parliamentary Enclosure Acts. The main phase of house rebuilding appears to have been later, in the mid-19th century, and current with the third Enclosure Act, this time in Bamford. This was a long period of improvement, rather than a short revolution.

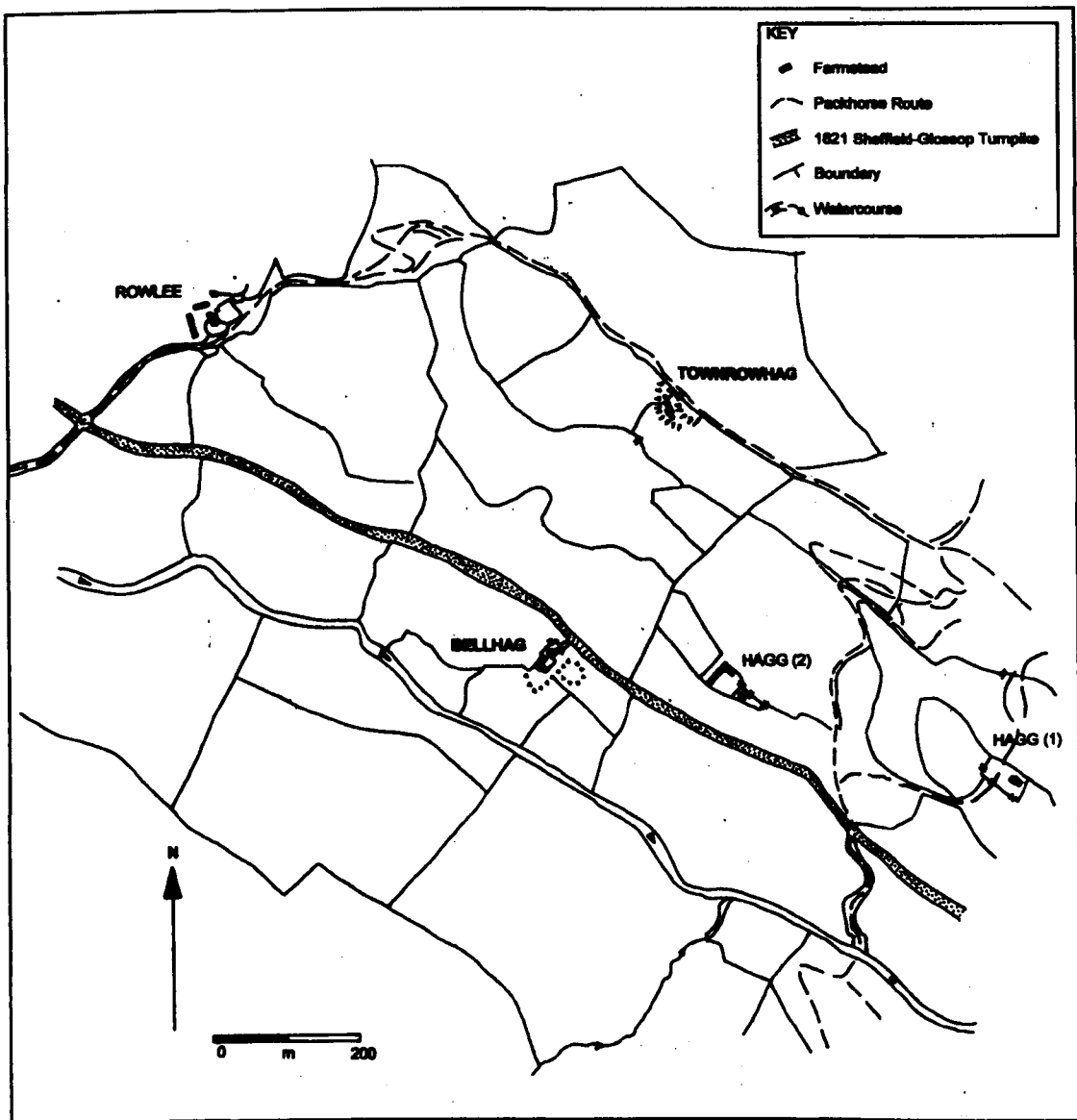


Illustration 7.10. Townrowhag and Bellhag farmsteads in relation to packhorse routes and turnpikes

The effects of the different aspects of improvement can be encapsulated by looking at the changing fortunes of one farmstead in Hope Woodlands between the 18th and 19th centuries (Illustration 7.10. Photograph 7.14). A farmstead known as Hags is recorded in 1767, high up on the side of the Woodlands Valley, located between inbye and moorland and adjacent to the line of a long-distance packhorse route that crossed over high ground between the Derwent and Woodland valleys (Harley et al 1975). A tiny shelf of level ground provided just enough space for the farmstead, but not a level farmyard, between rocky outcrops and scarps. In 1770 and 1808 the tenant had rights to pasture 106 sheep on the moors above Alport to the north, and the building was recorded as in 'tolerable repair' (anon. 1770; Potter 1808). By the mid-19th century it had become known as Townrowhag, probably because it comprised two semi-detached cottages, one occupied

by a farmer and the other by a labourer, and had 266 sheep (anon. 1851). By this time the Glossop to Sheffield turnpike road had been built along the lower valley side to connect



Photograph 7.14. Townrowhag (above) and Bellhag (below)

the growing urban centres by more a gently graded route suitable for wheeled vehicles. The turnpike by-passed the farmstead, which could only be reached by a 1km-long walled lane – so changing a significant location into a more marginal one (Bromley 1858). Sometime in the 1860s, the Devonshire estate took action to improve the farmstead and to re-establish a close relationship with the main long-distance communication route (Mike Lea, pers comm). Without altering the extent of the landholding, the farm buildings were relocated over 300m down the valley side to a position adjacent to the turnpike to take advantage of the new transport opportunities for exporting livestock, and was named Bellhag. Completely new buildings were built, which incorporated gable kneelers typical of the Chatsworth estate style. The barns were much bigger than at the

old farmstead and comprised an L-shape, arranged around two sides of a level courtyard with access for wheeled vehicles provided by a wide cart door.

Bellhag was better placed to supply the needs of the cities with agricultural produce, still most likely to be sheep and wool. Urbanisation heightened the difference between town and country, with rural areas largely being seen as supply areas for the cities. The most productive agricultural lands were mostly in the lowlands and more equitable uplands such as the Peak District's limestone plateau. Overall, improvement, industrialisation and the market economy combined to simplify the agricultural land-use of England into an arable-dominated south and east, and a pastoral north and west (Williamson 2002). The Upper Derwent clearly fell into the latter. Its high moorlands and narrow valleys provided resources to the cities, chiefly sheep and wood, which were facilitated by the turnpike network. In many ways, the combination of progressive and improving trends resulted in the marginalisation of the Upper Derwent and, by the later 19th century, it was beginning to be perceived as more of a wilderness area. This became one of its major attractions for landowners, who exercised their rights as members of the ruling classes by visiting the area periodically for grouse shooting. Grouse shooting was one aspect of the idealisation of rural landscapes, which developed during the 19th century, when urban industrialisation resulted in the majority of the population living in cities by the middle of the century (Bunce 1994). Rural areas became the 'countryside' in opposition to cities, and were defined by the likes of John Ruskin as places of scenic beauty, where people could live, or temporarily escape to, a natural way of life representing peace, innocence and simple virtue (Williams 1985). The largest impacts of these changes, specially of the urban–countryside relationship, were still to come and would be manifested in the early 20th century in ways which define our perception of the Upper Derwent today.

Chapter 8

Dam Builders

“A chapter devoted to the ... labourer may be regarded as intrusive by some, and as gossipy by others: by a third class it may be considered repulsive. But the ‘navigator’ is necessary to the rail.”
(Francis 1851)

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall concentrate on a very different scale of study than for previous periods, focusing on only a 45-year period and mostly interpreting a significant change to the Upper Derwent landscape caused by a single issue – the creation of three large reservoirs. The following discussion integrates survey I have carried out or directed along with the historical work of a single researcher, Brian Robinson, who has studied the construction of the dams and the Tin Town navy settlement from surviving photographs and documents held today by Severn Trent Water. One of the more rewarding aspects of fieldwork in the Upper Derwent has been the many discussions we have had.

By the beginning of the 20th century the Upper Derwent had become a more regularised landscape in the sense that landowners were making more centralised decisions about its management and, therefore, its appearance. Land management was expected to follow more formulaic lines set out as prescriptions for agricultural regimes, patterns of heather burning and moorland management for grouse shooting. This control over production was an expression of estate identity, as was the imposition of standard architectural forms on farm and other buildings. The land-use of the area was mainly agricultural production and grouse shooting with some woodland plantation, though the importance of the latter had, perhaps, declined since the late 18th century zenith of charcoal production. Production and recreational shooting were largely oriented in relation to factors outside the Upper Derwent – the need for food in cities and the desire of the landed gentry to affirm their social status through effective estate management, including entertaining themselves and guests by shooting grouse.

In the 20th century three major national trends would come to have an important bearing on the Upper Derwent that would radically change the use and perceptions of its landscape. The first of these was the growing demand of cities for clean and plentiful water, which resulted in the creation of the reservoirs in a series of works between 1901 and 1945. As cities had expanded, the need for the large-scale supply of water dramatically increased, and town planners in northern England looked to the valleys of the Pennines and other uplands as potential reservoirs. The creation of reservoirs in the Pennines involved a very different way of perceiving the upland, rural, landscape, that of the engineer looking to maximise water supply through the most effective, efficient and rational utilisation of geology and topography. This was the ultimate expression of the inter-linked trends of improvement and urbanisation, of the urban perception of countryside as resource supplier, which had affected the Upper Derwent landscape from at least the 18th century onwards. The reservoirs also caused a fundamental shift in the social landscape. The flooding of the valleys necessitated the removal of much of the existing dispersed farming population and associated patterns of land-use, while leaving the grouse moors relatively undisturbed. Existing ways of inhabiting the landscape were, therefore, greatly disrupted and largely replaced. For a temporary period, a new society was implanted into the area comprising navvies labouring on the dams – the first time a settlement of village size was occupied in the Upper Derwent. By the time the reservoirs were finished, the landscape was transformed with large dam structures and huge bodies of water replacing farmland in the valley.

The other two trends were recreation and conservation, both of which were also the result of urbanisation and the proximity of cities in northern England to the uplands. Rambling and the conservationist ethos had both begun in the 19th century and gained momentum during the period of the reservoirs' construction. I shall deal with the impact of the reservoirs in this chapter and discuss the latter two in the following chapter.

8.2 Derwent and Howden Reservoirs

8.2.1 Flooding the Dark Peak for the Cities

Reservoirs began to be created in the Peak District in 1830, when the neighbouring cities began to look towards the high rainfall and water-holding valleys of the Pennines in order to satisfy the increasing demand for water (H. Harris 1971). Reservoirs were constructed by application to Parliament to pass an Act giving permission to impound

watercourses and outlining the extent of the schemes. Much like the Parliamentary Enclosures and Turnpike Trusts, it was local institutions who made the decisions that affected the landscape by working with the national government in a broad framework conceived at the level of state.

In 1830, the Sheffield Water Company was formed by Act of Parliament and began the first of many reservoirs in the valleys to the west of the city with the construction of Redmires Middle dam, completed in 1836 (Hey 1998). This was followed by two more reservoirs at Redmires, two at Rivelin, and four in the Loxley Valley, all between 1845 and 1871, and located to the east of the Upper Derwent. This included the first Dale Dike dam which burst during filling in 1864 with catastrophic effect for the valley and Hillsborough. In 1887 the company was subsumed into the Sheffield Corporation, who dammed the Little Don Valley in partnership with Doncaster and Rotherham between 1897 and 1907 (Harris, H. 1971). Manchester Corporation Waterworks flooded Longdendale, to the north of the Upper Derwent, below a chain of five reservoirs between 1848 and 1877. This resulted in the abandonment of three hamlets, Torside, Vale House and Bottoms, numerous farmsteads and four mills (*ibid*). Huddersfield built dams in the Holme Valley and on Wessenden Moor between 1840 and 1906, Stockport constructed Kinder Reservoir in 1912 and flooded the Goyt Valley between 1937 and 1967, a consortium of Yorkshire districts built ten dams in the north-east of the High Peak between 1858 and 1924, and Macclesfield and District Water Board created two reservoirs in the west of the Peak District (*ibid*). It can be seen that the Upper Derwent reservoirs were part of a long sequence of dam building by cities and other urban areas surrounding the High Peak, stretching for over 135 years between 1830 and the 1960s.

8.2.2 The Dams: Walls Across the Valley

The impounding of reservoirs behind three dams was the result of a lengthy process of negotiation and consultation during the late 19th century (Illustration 8.1. Photograph 1.1). The Upper Derwent and Ashop valleys had attracted the interest of the burgeoning industrial cities of Derby, Leicester, Nottingham and Sheffield, because of their narrowness and high rainfall (Robinson 1993). However, each city had drawn up separate plans for damming the River Derwent, which were compounded by declarations of interest in a share of the water by the county authorities of Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire. After competing bills were presented to Parliament by Derby,

Leicester and Sheffield, a Parliamentary Committee decreed that only a joint bill incorporating claims of the three cities plus Nottingham and Derbyshire would be acceptable. Hence in 1899, the Derwent Valley Water Bill was laid before the House and became an Act in August the same year, so creating the Derwent Valley Water Board

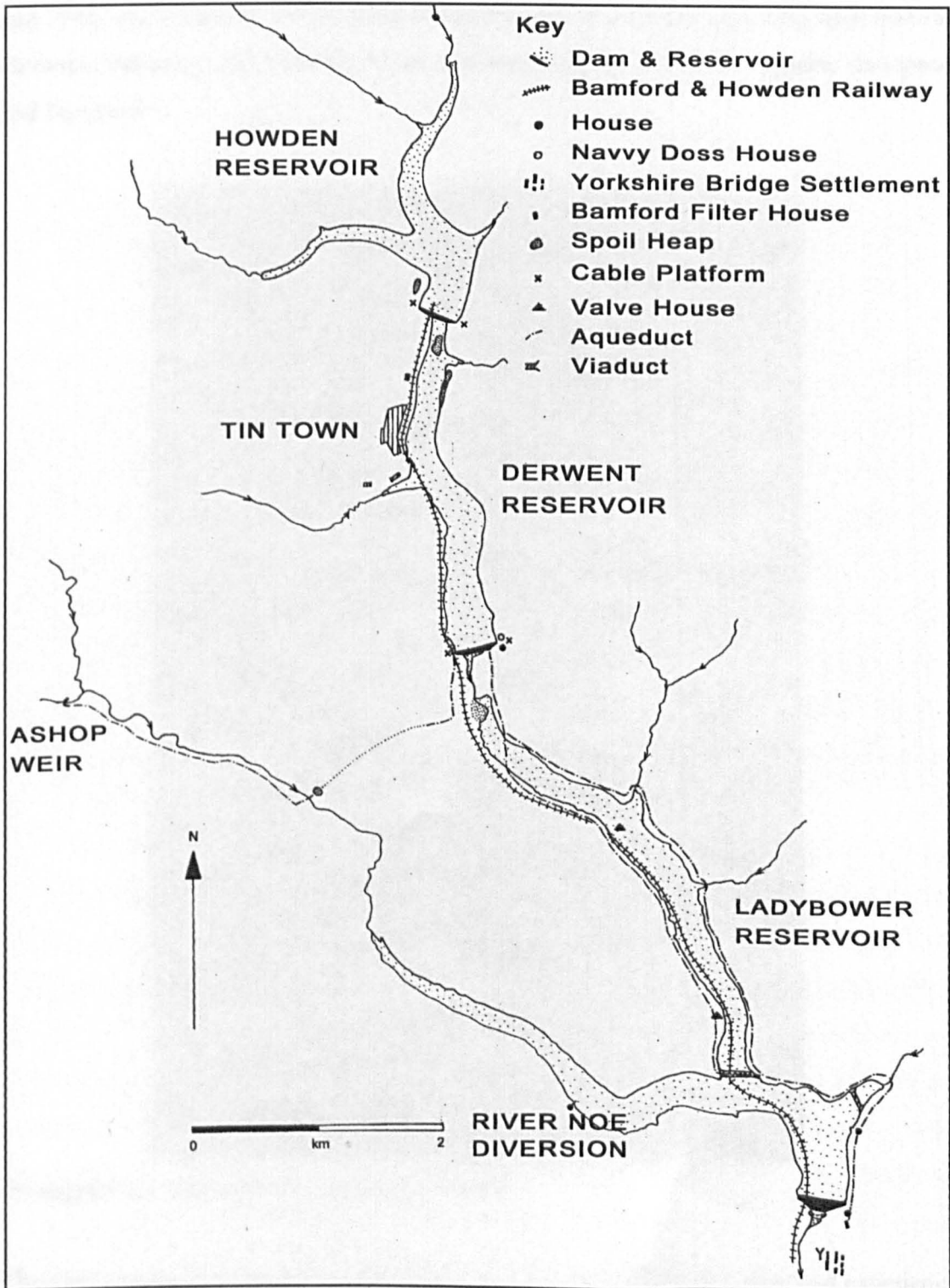


Illustration 8.1. Dams and associated features in the Upper Derwent

(DVWB). At this time, the Act represented the largest attempt in Britain to provide a combined water supply (Robinson 1993). The proposals included in the Act called for six dams, a plan cobbled-together from the original three bills. It was soon apparent that these could be improved upon and new Derwent Valley Water Acts were passed in 1901 and 1904, which allowed for the phased construction of six dams beginning with three at Derwent, Howden and Ronksley to be followed by three others at Hagglee, Ashopton and Bamford.



Photograph 8.1. Derwent dam, looking north-west

The chief engineer employed on the project was Edward Sandeman, who had experience of building masonry dams elsewhere in England. When Sandeman took up his

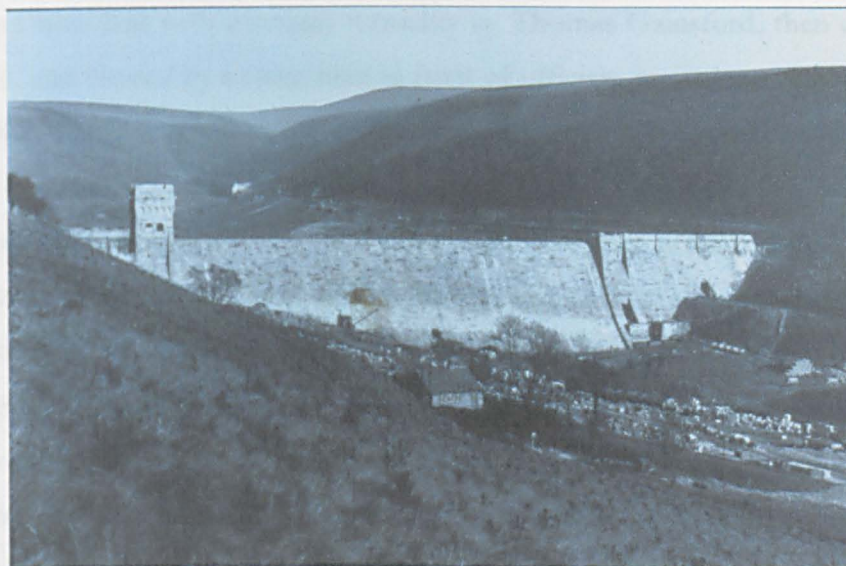
appointment, the original 1901 proposal for three dams would have flooded 6.2km of the Derwent Valley between Lockerbrook and Broadhead Clough with the lowest, Derwent Dam, rising to a height of 27m. It was estimated that these three reservoirs would provide 590,980 hectolitres of water per day (Robinson 1993). Sandeman considered the geology and topography and altered the plans to impound the same volume of water behind only two dams, covering 4.5km of valley bottom, and with Derwent Dam raised to 34m. The proposed Ronksley dam was omitted and construction of Howden and Derwent dams began in July 1901 and February 1902.



Photograph 8.2. Howden dam, looking north. PDNPA Collection

The two dams are similarly constructed of masonry, comprising huge Millstone Grit blocks, rather than the more common earth construction (Photographs 8.1, 8.2, 8.3). Undressed blocks were set in concrete without touching each other to create the cores of the dams. Roughly squared uncoursed stones were used for both the downstream and upstream faces below ground level, and dressed coursed stone used for the faces above ground. The upstream faces are vertical, while the downstream ones slope with a slight concave curve. Two towers were incorporated into the construction, rising above the tops of the dams. They are finished with 'Victorian Gothic' architectural embellishments including crenellations, arched windows and buttresses. Pipes in both towers allow emptying of the reservoirs, and sluices situated in the east tower of Derwent dam lead to

aqueducts which supply water to filters at Bamford and Yorkshire Bridge, and the Rivelin Tunnel. Yorkshire Bridge Filter House was built between the late 1920s and early 1930s. The west tower of Derwent dam also contains a plumb line of fine steel wire to measure movement of the structure. Cableways suspended from cable towers erected on platforms on both valley sides were used in the construction of both dams. At maximum capacity the levels of both reservoirs are regulated by allowing water to spill over the tops of the dams between the towers.



Photograph 8.3. Howden dam during construction between 1901 and 1915. PDNPA Collection

During construction work, geological flaws were discovered in the underlying bedrock that would have allowed water to seep under and around the dams. This was overcome by the excavation of deep, narrow trenches into the rock below and to the sides of each dam until solid watertight rock was reached. These trenches were filled with stone and concrete and reached a depth of approximately 35m below the original ground surface.

Ladybower Gorge had originally been targeted as the stone source but public protests forced this plan to be abandoned by the DVWB and a site at Bole Hill, Grindleford, was bought instead necessitating the construction of a railway to transport stone into the valley (see section 8.2.4).

Stone-laying ceremonies were carried out at both dams on the 21st June 1907. Large Millstone Grit record stones were placed over the doorways of the dams' west towers bearing identical inscriptions except for the name of the reservoir:

Glory To God In The Highest
 IN THE YEARS OF OUR LORD
 1902-
 THIS DERWENT RESERVOIR
 was built by the
 DERWENT VALLEY WATER BOARD
 for the use of the people of
 DERBY LEICESTER NOTTINGHAM SHEFFIELD
 and DERBYSHIRE

Both stones were laid with a certain formality by Thomas Gainsford, then chairman of the DVWB, and blessed by a clergyman in front of officials, invited guests, workmen and their families. Howden dam was officially opened on the 5th September 1912 with great ceremony by Edward Fraser, the new chairman of the DVWB, after King George V had declined the invitation to do this. Over 2,000 people were present including officials, invited guests, workmen and families. The date 1912 was later added to the record stone and the bringing into operation of the reservoir was formally entered into the DVWB's committee minutes. In contrast, the opening of Derwent dam was undertaken without any of the above ceremony, was not minuted, and the record stone did not have the year 1916 added. It has been suggested this lack of formality may have been because of the First World War, the relief at overcoming engineering problems, rather than their celebration of completion and the removal of the railway line the year before (Robinson 1993).

8.2.3 Aqueducts

The lines of the aqueducts constructed to convey water from the two reservoirs can be seen as large, linear terraces marked by stone valve houses and black or green metal domes which cover air valves in the apexes in the sections of the pipelines (Illustration 8.1). An aqueduct exited the east tower of Derwent dam and divided into two courses south of Jubilee Cottages, one running down the east side of the valley and the other crossing the River Derwent near to the site of Derwent Hall to run down the west side of the valley as far as Ashopton where it crossed back to the east side of the valley and rejoined the other pipe. Two stone valve houses were situated along the eastern pipeline, one of which is now flooded below Ladybower reservoir. From here the aqueduct continued south via the mouth of Ladybower Gorge to connect with the Rivelin tunnel and Bamford filters. Rivelin tunnel was built by Sheffield Corporation to carry water to

its Rivelin Valley reservoirs (Robinson 1993). During the construction of Ladybower dam the aqueduct running down the east side of Derwent Valley was diverted via a raised pipeline and the routes of pipes near Ashopton and Ladybower gorge were re-routed via the new viaducts.

8.2.4 Bamford to Howden Railway

Both the Derwent and Howden Reservoirs were served by a railway which ran from the quarry at Bole Hill, Grindleford, up the west side of the Derwent Valley to just north of Howden dam (Robinson 1993. Illustration 8.1). It was owned and constructed by the Derwent Valley Water Board, part running alongside the existing railway line from Sheffield to Manchester. The railway was primarily used to transport the stone, all other materials and the labour force from Tin Town, where a platform was built, and from outside the valley to the construction sites at Derwent and Howden dams. The line was further used to transport dignitaries and guests to the ceremonies marking the laying of the record stones at both dams in 1907 and the opening of Howden dam in 1912.



Photograph 8.4. Bridge supports for the Bamford and Howden Railway

The railway was dismantled in 1915 and its bed between Derwent dam and Gores Farm was later used as the line of the current reservoir-side road (Robinson 1993). The section between Bamford and Ashopton was retained with the view to its reuse during construction of the dams planned to increase the catchment. The line of the railway track survives as a series of lynchets, embankments and revetments and as sets of stone, concrete or wooden piers that supported wooden bridges used to carry the railway over

watercourses and trackways. The remains of the stone and timber piers of the Ouzleden railway viaduct form a particularly prominent landscape feature during low water levels in Derwent reservoir. A loading platform, adjacent to the line of the railway, also survives to the south-west of Derwent dam.

8.2.5 A New Way of Looking

This is a very different way of perceiving the landscape to that of any previous generations who had loved or worked in the Upper Derwent. The DVWB and their engineers did not perceive the landscape from the experiential viewpoint of living and working the land, nor did they take an overview of varying land-use within an estate. Instead, the engineers took a much broader and more simplified view of land-use, seeing the landscape as a huge water-collecting 'bowl' with a surrounding catchment area. The size of resource planning and acquisition was on a much grander scale. In a sense, this was an extreme development of the rational approach taken by improving landowners and earlier land surveyors. Where surveyors had mapped individual features and described land-use on a field-by-field scale, the engineers extended this distant prospect to one that assessed wide swathes of topography and depths of geological strata for their capacity to retain huge volumes of water. The detail of fields, farmsteads, boundaries and trackways was subsumed within this view to the point of near irrelevance. The only decisions to be taken about farmsteads were, which should be demolished and which kept for Board employee accommodation. Farmsteads were seen as posing a pollution threat to the water supply, so most of those around the reservoirs, as well as those to be submerged, were demolished.

8.3 Birchinlee: 'Tin Town' and the History of Navy Settlements

8.3.1 Navvies in the Nineteenth Century

In this section I shall briefly outline the 19th century history of the navy workforce and their accommodation to provide a context for Tin Town. This is not designed to be a comprehensive study of British navvies and their culture, for such see Coleman 1965 or Handley 1970, but aims to identify general trends and to highlight some of the most significant developments that resulted in the deliberate and planned creation of the navy village in the Upper Derwent.

8.3.1.1 The Tramp of the Navigator

The skilled and unskilled workforce employed to create Derwent and Howden reservoirs were itinerant navvies, so named after the navigators who built the canals during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Large numbers of navvies moved around the country working on such large engineering projects as canals, railways and dams. By the mid-19th century, they had developed a distinctive cultural identity, actively employing particular forms of language, dress, and social and working codes (Coleman 1965; Morris 1994). Such identity was formed and reinforced by the close proximity in which they lived together, along with a corresponding social distance between navvies and contemporary mainstream society. They tended to live in close-knit groups in remote areas, and moved through the country from one construction job to another, settling in temporary settlements with little time to mix with surrounding permanent communities. Navvy society was therefore a nationally widespread culture that coalesced into distinct locally based on-site temporary communities. Navvies were often treated with suspicion by local permanent communities, because of their socially peripheral conditions, 'strange' behaviour and unusual accents, sometimes being compared to gypsies who were similarly mistrusted (Coleman 1965). General opinion characterised them as being violent, drunken and immoral, spiritually destitute, revolutionary and that they formed gangs to terrorise local communities (Coleman 1965). This characterisation was often conflated with contemporary nationalist perceptions of the Irish, to such an extent that the DVWB train service was derogatorily nicknamed the 'Paddy Mail', even though the majority of the workforce was English and Welsh. The majority of contractors who employed navvies treated them as an expendable commodity, often keeping no record of industrial injuries or deaths, and providing little or no basic services. As the contemporary account of mid-19th century railways included at the beginning of this chapter stated, navvies were necessary to the completion of large engineering projects, despite the perception of them as dangerous, immoral and even repulsive.

8.3.1.2 Unplanned Navvy Accommodation

When large numbers of people were brought together in any area, they needed to be accommodated. Navvy accommodation had often been provided on canal construction sites in the late-18th century in the form of communal barracks (for example see Hughes 1989). By the mid-19th century, most contractors left accommodation provision to market forces and overall working/living conditions were generally deplorable. In

densely settled locations accommodation was mainly in lodgings and inns. However, in remote areas this was not possible or a limited option.

Accommodation, provisions and medical care either had to be acquired by the navvies themselves or from the contractors, sub-contractors, local entrepreneurs or gang foremen at a price (Coleman 1965; Handley 1970). On some projects, living conditions were so atrocious that epidemics of diseases such as cholera and diarrhoea were commonplace (Morris 1994). Navvies were restricted to building their own sod huts or makeshift shelters, bedding down in barns, or paying for what accommodation was provided by the contractors. Clean water and sewage systems were either absent or supplied in amounts inadequate for the numbers, and such services as accident hospitals, recreation rooms and schools were non-existent. Settlements of the time were largely unstructured groupings of simple turf, wood or stone-built huts, without any internal plastering or lining and with only a single wood-burning stove for heating and cooking. Huts were packed tightly with bunk beds, each occupied by more than one individual, either at the same time or alternating when there were different shifts. On the construction of the Caledonian Canal in the mid-19th century, 30 men were lodged in a house intended for the lockkeeper (Handley 1970). It was common for foremen also to be the hutkeepers in contractor-provided accommodation. This often meant that the navvies had to build their own huts then pay to sleep in them. Provisions had to be bought from contractors, with stores using tokens issued in lieu of wages – a system known as truck. A series of 19th century laws had abolished this system in factories, albeit unsuccessfully, but they did not cover public works until one of the more respectable contractors supported the 1854 Payment of Wages Bill after he had become an MP (Coleman 1965). At the truck store, the navy was then often sold food that was off, beer that was watered, given short-measures, and would then have a commission deducted from the value of his ticket for the privilege. Contractors often made more profits from their provision stores, or from the 'bowels of their navvies' as one contemporary commentator noted (Chadwick and Robertson 1846), than from the contractual work itself. The foremen and truck shopkeepers would often cooperate to make as much money from the navvies as they could through the truck system. Navvies could, therefore, be heavily exploited, being in no position to complain when their job, accommodation and food relied on the foreman's word (Judge 1987; Morton 1997). Contractors sometimes obtained contracts at low tenders knowing they would need to

make their profits from providing accommodation and truck stores to their navvies (Coleman 1965). They viewed the navy as an expendable element of their commercial operation.

The mid-19th century was also the period when navy culture was at its strongest with specific cultural identity to the fore, the greatest separation from mainstream society and a common rejection of the family as an organising unit of society. Navvies often lived together in communal accommodation, families sharing with single men. Unmarried relationships and prostitution were common, with a number of men sharing a single woman (Coleman 1965). Most navvies walked from one construction site to another, known as the 'tramp', and on their arrival without money, navvies who were already working would make a collection to help them until they got work at the site, or for the journey to the next site.

8.3.1.3 Woodhead and Hawick

Two noticeable examples of mid-19th century navy settlements are the construction sites for the two Woodhead railway tunnels, built between 1839 and 1862 on the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, and the Hawick line of the North British Railway, also known as the 'Waverley Route', built during the 1840s. These were significant projects in relation to, the much later, development of Tin Town because they were used as the main examples of poor conditions by a Parliamentary Select Committee, whose report in 1846 recommended that construction contractors should provide appropriate accommodation for their workforces (Select Committee 1846).

The Woodhead tunnels ran through the Pennines, approximately 2.5km north of the Upper Derwent, to connect the steel mills and coal fields of the east with the cotton mills of the west. At the start of construction on Woodhead the contractors provided only 40 purpose-built shacks for a workforce of over 1,000 men. Many navvies had to build their own makeshift sod huts on the moors. These were congregated in irregular groups around the airshafts and tunnel entrances that were the access points to the construction sites. At Wike airshaft, the surviving foundations of contractor-built huts were closest to the shaft with a dispersed randomly placed scatter of huts built by navvies themselves further away (Morris 1994. Illustration 8.2).

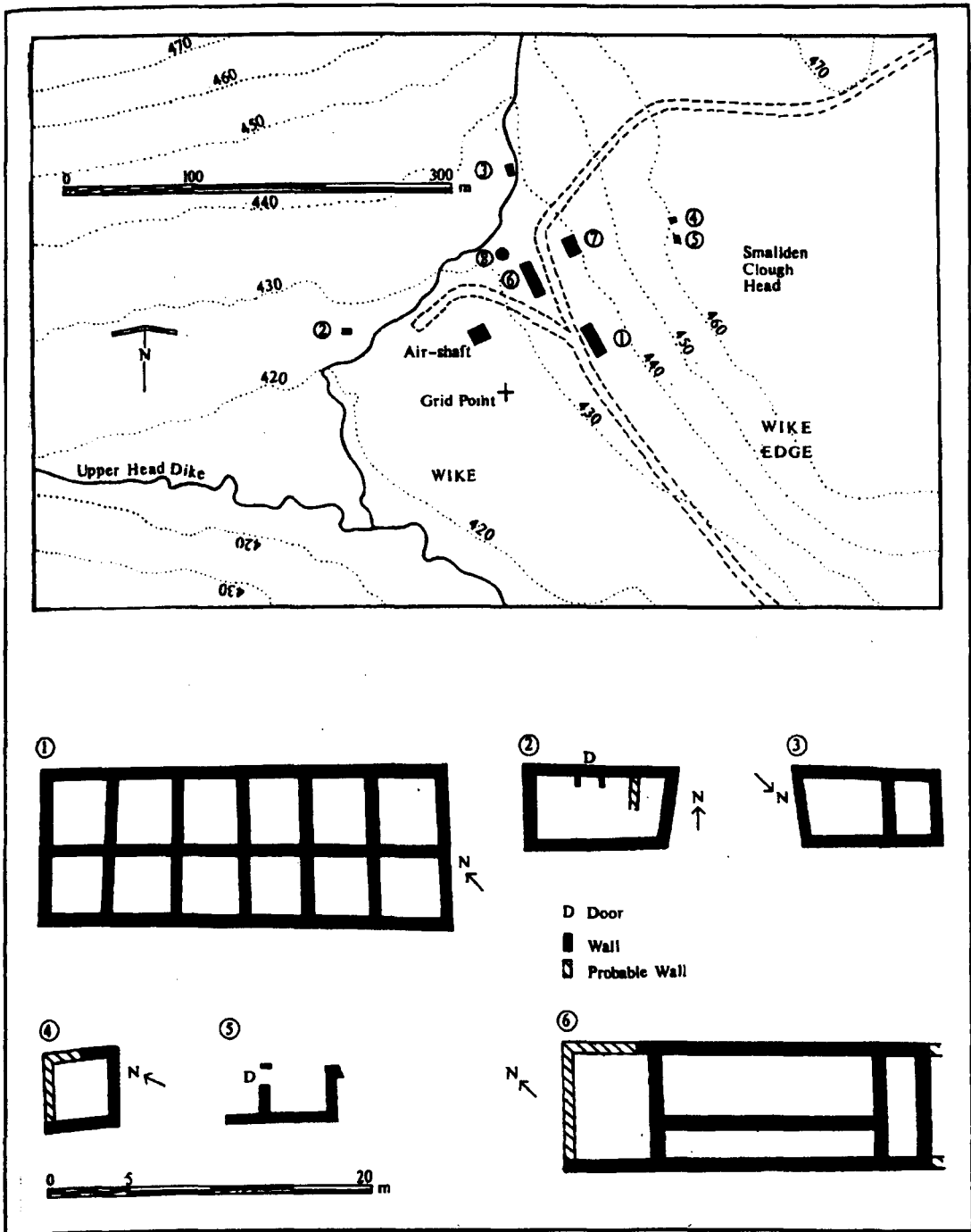


Illustration 8.2. Navy settlement at Wike airshaft on the line of the Woodhead Tunnel. From Morris 1994

Huts were located in relation to shelter and dry ground with no formal alignment on each other. The layout of a two-room hut is well-preserved and measures 45m^2 in size and was occupied by up to 15 navvies plus women and children (Chadwick and Robertson 1846; Morris 1994). Provisions and beer were provided through the token-based truck system at rates 20 to 50% above Manchester prices, and clean water was so scarce that dirty water was often drunk, causing epidemics of diarrhoea, while the damp working and living conditions also led to widespread bronchial problems. The navvies had to seek

their own medical attention from a surgeon living over 12km away, whom they employed through a weekly subscription administered by the contractors (Coleman 1965). While wages on the Woodhead tunnel were relatively good for labourers of the time, most navvies were left with little once the contractors had made deductions for truck tokens, beer tickets and medical contributions. The lack of concern for the navvies' safety is highlighted by the number of industrial injuries sustained, with over 30 deaths, nearly 250 major injuries and 400 minor injuries. A social commentator of the time compared this toll to that of a severe battle (ibid).

During the same period, conditions on the construction of the Hawick railway line were equally as bad, if not worse (Handley 1970). Single-room windowless huts excavated into sloping hillsides and constructed of wood and turf were hired out to hutkeepers by the contractor at the rate of 1s 6d per week. The contractor provided building materials, but the hutkeeper had to organise construction by the navvies themselves. The hutkeeper then charged a rent per head, 1s 6d per week for a single navvy and 2s for a navvy with family, his profits being dependent on the numbers of individuals he could fit into the hut. Each comprised only 31.5m² and housed 20 to 30 navvies, plus hut keeper, female skivvies and prostitutes (Select Committee 1846). At least two individuals had to share each bunk and each hut had a single fire for both cooking and drying clothes (Handley 1970).

8.3.2 Origins and Structure of Planned Navy Settlements

Social reformers campaigned for better living and social conditions for navvies, partly on welfare grounds, partly on the perceived need to improve their morals and to re-educate them into accepted social structures. In 1846, a Parliamentary Select Committee published a report recommending that satisfactory accommodation should be provided by project contractors (ibid). The Select Committee had been formed largely as a result of publicity arising from the conditions on the construction of the first Woodhead Tunnel and sought witnesses from projects throughout the country, with both Woodhead and the North British Hawick line figuring prominently. The aim of the Committee was to look into the employment of navvies, and to recommend the means to improve their social and moral conditions to prevent depravity, immorality and violence, and to incorporate navvies into civilised culture. It recommended that the truck system be halted, wages should be paid weekly in money, proper accommodation and services for the sick and injured should be provided, special constables should be enlisted

to prevent rioting, and that companies should be made liable for deaths and injuries, unless they could prove it was the fault of the workman (*ibid*). The report was received without debate, and virtually no enforcement of its recommendations was legislated for another 40 years.

It was not until centralisation and collectivism became more dominant over entrepreneurial and market force ideals in the 1860s that widespread improvements were made (Morris 1994; Perkin 1969). Social attitudes towards industrial production changed as the wider impact of the industrial revolution was felt. The rapid rise of industrialisation that occurred through the 19th century, changed Britain from a predominantly rural to an urban society. The houses built to accommodate the growing urban working class were constructed to be cheap, quick to build and to fit large numbers of people into small spaces. Over time this created cramped, dilapidated and labyrinthine slums districts – places that were perceived as chaotic, disease-ridden and dangerous, difficult for police surveillance and breeding grounds for immorality (Ward, D. 1976). Slum housing in early 19th century Manchester and Sheffield was perceived to encourage unruly behaviour because employers could not come into regular contact with their workforce to control domestic life and moral habits (Dennis 1984). The organisation of the Sheffield metalworking workforce into independent ‘Little Mesters’ rather than centralised factories, was seen as leading to a lack of appreciation of ‘the value of time, or the effects of its misapplication’ (Dr Holland 1839, quoted in Daniels and Seymour 1990, 510).

From the mid-19th century onwards there were a number of public and private schemes to improve poorer urban districts (*ibid*). Existing urban areas were redesigned and new expansions laid out with wide streets, public parks and more orderly housing estates. They were planned to fulfil certain ideals of how a settlement should function, applying rational thought to improve the living conditions of the occupants with the aim of producing ‘better’ citizens who could contribute more fully to society at large. Wider and regular street layouts enabled easier access to houses for the police and were equated with giving greater discipline and control over the working classes (Driver 1988). This was very much the extension of rational, improving ideals – seen previously in model farms, factories, workhouses and prisons – into the wider urban landscape. Model farms developed during the 18th century when new farms were built within newly created enclosure fields. They were laid out to improve the efficiency of many farming practices

during a period when the ideology of economic improvement was strong. Likewise, late 18th/early 19th century factories, workhouses and prisons were built to orderly designs that represented discipline and enabled surveillance of inmates and workers by those in authority (Daniels and Seymour 1990).

During the second half of the 19th century this rationalising, improving ideal became most comprehensively expressed in the building of model villages and towns that used accommodation and services, architecture and layout as a form of social engineering, where the right social conditions would breed the right social and working attitudes to provide the perceived right environments for nurturing content, morally correct, economically productive and healthy citizens. Some were the 'garden cities' such as Welwyn Garden City built by Ebenezer Howard. Others were built by enlightened industrialists who felt there was a need to create better living conditions so that their workforces would be more content, morally correct, healthy and therefore more efficient. The most famous industrialist model settlements include Saltaire, Bradford, begun in 1853 by Titus Salt, Bournville near Birmingham started by the Cadbury brothers in 1879 (growing most rapidly at the same time Tin Town was occupied, between 1900 and 1914) and Port Sunlight near Liverpool, begun by William Lever in 1888 (Cadbury 1996; George 1909; Pevsner 1959; Pevsner and Hubbard 1971; Pevsner and Wedgwood 1966; Port Sunlight 1999; Reynolds 1983; Saltaire 1999).

At each, business-driven motives were mixed with social responsibility. For example, Lever built Port Sunlight to reduce port costs and avoid renting factories as well as to provide suitable accommodation for his workforce. The squalor of the slums in which most workers lived appalled these industrialists and their guiding philosophy was that all men had a right to live in decent conditions, and if they did so could improve themselves. This echoed Dicken's social writings on the exploitative problems of the industrial working classes and Ruskin's views on how personal improvement could be engendered by creating the right conditions through architecture (Dickens 1854; Ruskin 1849, 1851-53).

The lack of cohesion seen in other working-class urban communities was overcome by providing extensive facilities for the cultural, sporting and domestic needs of the villagers. At Bournville and Port Sunlight accommodation comprised cottage-style

houses set in landscaped surroundings that emphasised space and naturalistic beauty. Saltaire was a more utilitarian, urban-looking, settlement of standardised housing laid out on a regular plan (Reynolds 1983). Grand public buildings stressed both the idea of community and the importance of the benevolent industrialist himself. Shops, canteens, schools, libraries, places of worship, children's playgrounds, allotments, village halls and parks were provided for workers so that they would have the resources to improve themselves. Saltaire was dominated by imposing, and architecturally decorative, civic buildings – a chapel, educational institute and a library – had a public baths and was centred around the mill overseer's house that was topped by a glass 'observation' tower (ibid). In return, the likes of Lever, Salt and Cadbury expected their employees to live their lives along specific lines – to follow a life of sobriety and thrift, have a desire for self-improvement and to become more effective workers. These were the 'improving' ideals of working-class accommodation design that were brought to the model navy settlements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Against this background of changing industrial, welfare and social ideals, elements of the Select Committee's 1846 recommendations became incorporated into the Bills and Acts of Parliament, which gave permission for large individual construction projects to go ahead. This resulted in the provision of planned, structured settlements with separate huts for married couples and families, and the inclusion of community services such as hospitals, missions, recreation or reading rooms, shops and clean water supplies. Through this process living conditions improved and navy culture became more incorporated into mainstream ideals of social organisation (Morris 1994). Two of the first major construction projects where contractors provided such accommodation and services were the Forth Rail Bridge, built between 1883 and 1890 (Handley 1970) and the Manchester Ship Canal, built between 1887 and 1894 (Morris 1994). The former had a settlement of stone cottages and wooden huts incorporating separate dormitories, mess and reading rooms, with a nearby provision store. On the latter project, settlements were provided for sections of the canal that were remote from existing towns and villages. They comprised weatherboard single-storey buildings with felt roofs arranged in orderly rows alongside unsurfaced roads. Married quarters were separate from the remainder of the accommodation, and community buildings, such as a church, school and post office, were provided, though it is unclear how they related spatially to the accommodation huts (ibid). By the time the 1899 Derwent Valley Water Act was passed, provision of

appropriate accommodation was accepted as normal, however at some projects in the first decade of the 20th century navvies were expected to build their own huts, as at the Kinlochleven Dam (*ibid*). Here, huts formed a ring around a communal rubbish dump which, as we shall see, was in stark contrast to the layout of Tin Town.

8.3.3 Tin Town

The DVWB's workforce comprised up to 2,500 in number. The workforce was a mix of people from across the British Isles including locals, northern English farm labourers, navvies from the Burrator Dam, Devon, where the DVWB's chief engineer Edward Sandeman had worked, and navvies who had recently built three dams in the Elan Valley, Wales. These four dams were all masonry-built so the combined workforce would have had considerable experience of building the types of dam chosen for the Derwent Valley. Construction on the Derwent and Howden dams operated around the clock, with a day shift, night shift and an afternoon shift for pieceworkers (Sutton 1914).

A clause in the 1899 Derwent Valley Water Act stated that satisfactory accommodation should be provided as a statutory obligation of the Board. The DVWB undertook this obligation by building a purpose-built settlement in Derwent called Birchinlee Village after the neighbouring farm, but widely known as Tin Town (Illustrations 8.1, 8.3). Over 500 navvies were based in the village, while the rest of the workforce were placed in lodgings in Bamford, Bradwell, Castleton and Hope. At its height, a total of over 900 people lived at Tin Town including wives, children and non-labouring village officials, as well as navvies. Tin Town was located approximately mid-way between the two dams. This was probably the result of another rational decision by the engineers, placing their workforce conveniently for both sites, but it also meant that the sounds of construction, the hammers, winding wheels, steam engines, pile drivers, etc, were a constant aural backdrop to life in the village day and night. The two dams could also be seen from the village, therefore, the fundamental reason for the navvies', and their families', occupation of the area was constantly reinforced in sight and sound, whether those people were at the workface or not.



Photograph 8.5. Navy dormitory hut at Tin Town. Brian Robinson Collection



Photograph 8.6. Tin Town looking south. Brian Robinson Collection

A brief for the accommodation at Tin Town was won by the lowest-cost tender (Robinson 1983). The majority of the buildings were purely functional, comprising plain corrugated iron buildings which were wood-lined inside for insulation. This gave an appearance similar to army, prisoner-of-war or early holiday camps, and many of the buildings from Tin Town were reused during World War One as a prison camp. However, there were small-scale architectural embellishments on two of the civic buildings, which show that some expectations of the existing social hierarchy of buildings were also taken into consideration. These embellishments include the bell-towers or cupolas of the school and recreation hall.

Rules and regulations for occupants of Tin Town, who were rent-paying tenants of the DVWB, were drawn up by Edward Sandeman, and concentrated on health and safety matters. Different sets of regulations were produced for workmen's dormitories, married quarters and foremen. There was a basic set of rules to cover domestic cleanliness, sanitary arrangements and safety of oil lamps. The main differences were a set of six additional rules for the workmen's dormitories. Alcohol was restricted to the personal daily allowance at the canteen – presumably families and foremen were thought to be more responsible – the hutkeeper had to seek permission to be away for more than one night and no overcrowding was permitted. Infringement of the rules would result in a warning then ejection from the hut and village. There was no mention of misconduct or violent behaviour. Tin Town was a model settlement provided with services deemed essential to the well-being of the occupants by the Water Board. It was laid out on rigorously planned formal lines based both on a functional engineering basis and the belief that settlement organisation could improve workers' morals and behaviour. Tin Town was abandoned in late 1912 and the huts were either sold or demolished over the next two years (Robinson 1993).

Before anyone employed by DVWB could take up residence in Tin Town, they had to spend a night at the doss house (Illustration 8.1). The house was opened in 1903 and provided accommodation for up to 40 men situated on the east side of the valley above Derwent Dam. If they were successful in gaining employment the following day and wished to live in Birchinlee they had to spend a week of 'quarantine' in the doss house where their clothes were disinfected and they received a bath.

"Do you know, we did not first relish the idea of playing these navvies, but now we agree with many other players in Sheffield, that the Birchinlee fellows are perfect gentlemen."
A visiting amateur footballer

"Sorry people are just finding that fact out."
A navy in reply
(from Robinson 1983)

The short life of Tin Town, occupied for just 14 years, has left not only a rich folklore behind but also a well-preserved archaeological site of structural foundations. When the corrugated-iron buildings were taken down to be removed to other locations and uses throughout the country, there remained their footprints preserved as earthworks and brick

and stone foundations. These, and the terraces on which they were built, still mostly survive, so allowing us to interpret the layout of the settlement and its relationship to the landscape.

The social objectives can be interpreted in the layout of the village itself, as preserved in DVWB plans and the archaeological remains (Illustration 8.3). While aesthetics tended to be central to the ideals of the enlightened industrialists who created ‘model’ workers’ settlements, Tin Town was engineered as a much more practical and utilitarian version. The aims were the same, to produce specific living conditions that would encourage better motivated and more efficient workers. Brian Robinson has conducted a large amount of research on photographs and DVWB documents of Tin Town, and the publication of his photographic collection has informed descriptions of all buildings in the village (Robinson 1983, 1993, 2002). Brian’s mother was born at Tin Town and this motivated him to find out more about her life as a child there and to take her back in her 80s to the site of her birth. Descriptions of buildings in the following tour are based on the photographs published by Robinson. The locations of buildings are interpreted by comparing the DVWB village plan with the surviving archaeological features and photographs (DVWB 1901).

8.3.3.1 Tour of Tin Town

We can describe and interpret Tin Town in the form of a tour from the viewpoint of someone approaching the village along the main valley lane from the south (Illustrations 8.3, 8.4. Photograph 8.7). This road, called Birchinlee Lane, crossed the River Derwent from the east side of the valley over Ouzelden Bridge and ran to Birchinlee Farm before continuing further up the valley to Ronksley Farm. As it approached Tin Town, the lane took a large right-hand bend to climb the valley side at a gentle gradient. During the occupation of Tin Town, Birchinlee Lane was bridged by the Bamford and Howden railway line and the action of passing under the bridge was an act of moving from the valley’s rural landscape of fields into Tin Town. You then entered the village along the southern end of a street which soon branched into two, known as the upper and bottom streets.



Photograph 8.7. Looking north towards Tin Town. From Birchinlee Lane between 1901 and 1915 (above. Brian Robinson Collection), along the upper street in 1999 with the terrace for the married quarters (below)

1. Birchinlee Lane	21. Birchinlee Lane	31. Birchinlee Lane
2. Birchinlee Lane	22. Birchinlee Lane	32. Birchinlee Lane
3. Birchinlee Lane	23. Birchinlee Lane	33. Birchinlee Lane
4. Birchinlee Lane	24. Birchinlee Lane	34. Birchinlee Lane
5. Birchinlee Lane	25. Birchinlee Lane	35. Birchinlee Lane
6. Birchinlee Lane	26. Birchinlee Lane	36. Birchinlee Lane
7. Birchinlee Lane	27. Birchinlee Lane	37. Birchinlee Lane
8. Birchinlee Lane	28. Birchinlee Lane	38. Birchinlee Lane
9. Birchinlee Lane	29. Birchinlee Lane	39. Birchinlee Lane
10. Birchinlee Lane	30. Birchinlee Lane	40. Birchinlee Lane
11. Birchinlee Lane	31. Birchinlee Lane	41. Birchinlee Lane
12. Birchinlee Lane	32. Birchinlee Lane	42. Birchinlee Lane
13. Birchinlee Lane	33. Birchinlee Lane	43. Birchinlee Lane
14. Birchinlee Lane	34. Birchinlee Lane	44. Birchinlee Lane
15. Birchinlee Lane	35. Birchinlee Lane	45. Birchinlee Lane
16. Birchinlee Lane	36. Birchinlee Lane	46. Birchinlee Lane
17. Birchinlee Lane	37. Birchinlee Lane	47. Birchinlee Lane
18. Birchinlee Lane	38. Birchinlee Lane	48. Birchinlee Lane
19. Birchinlee Lane	39. Birchinlee Lane	49. Birchinlee Lane
20. Birchinlee Lane	40. Birchinlee Lane	50. Birchinlee Lane
Tin Town		

Map of Tin Town showing the layout of the town and the location of the married quarters. The map is based on the original plan of the town and the location of the married quarters. Courtesy of Brian Robinson

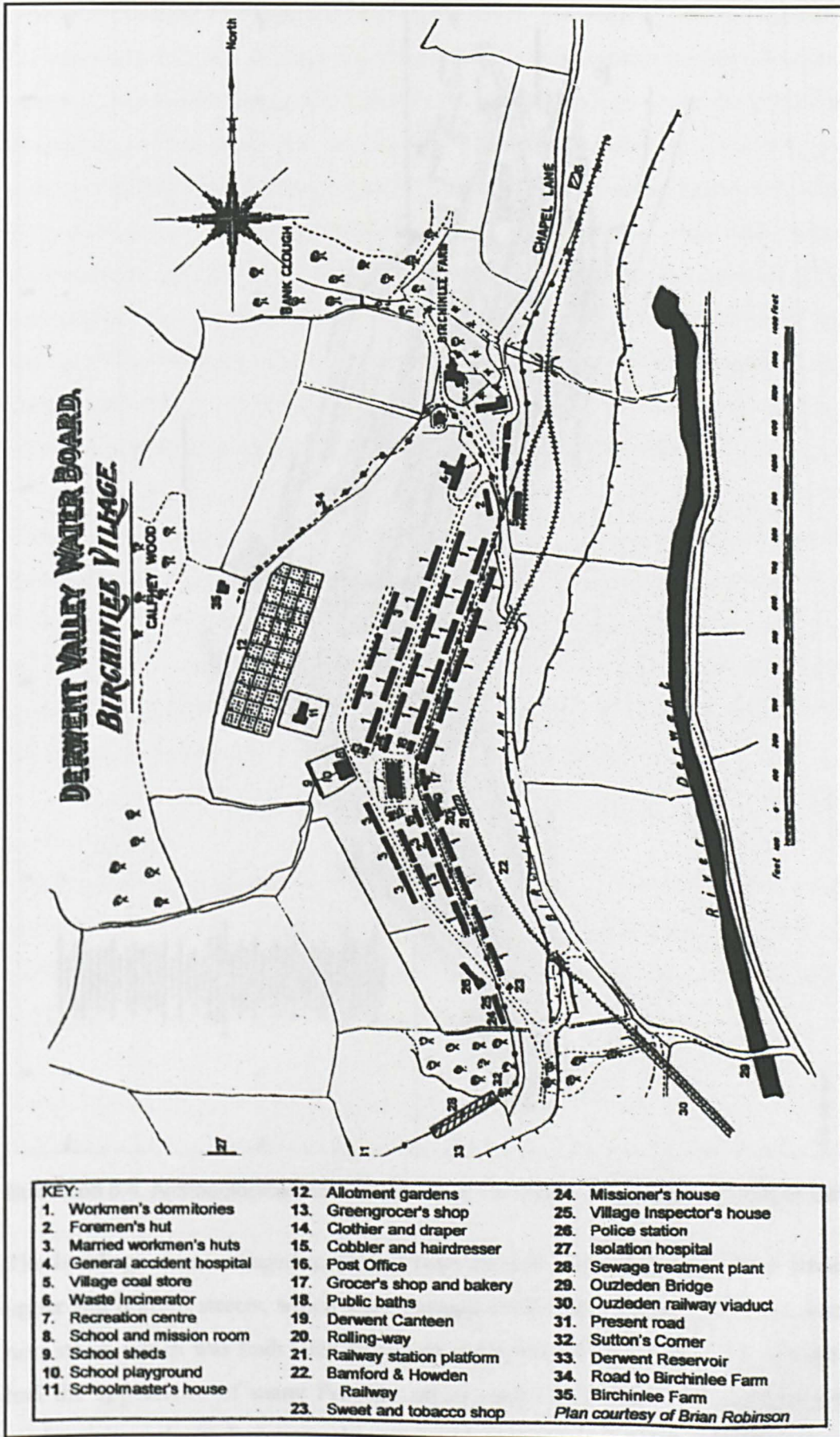


Illustration 8.3. Interpretative plan of Tin Town navy settlement, Upper Derwent, based on the original DWB's pre-construction plan. Courtesy of Brian Robinson

Most of the buildings occupy large artificial terraces. The village plan does not show that the valley-side location required a vast amount of earth moving to create level building locations. A pre-construction blueprint for the workmen's huts shows the ground surface as sloping, so it is likely that the amount of terracing undertaken was not originally envisaged ([DVWB n.d.]). Four major level contour terraces were constructed, which run the whole length of the settlement, and a minor terrace was built, which ran approximately one-quarter of this length. This latter terrace was not included in the pre-construction plan, but the adjacent road was marked as 'for future extension' and was built in 1905. Photographs show that most of the terraces were simply grassed and were neither surfaced nor revetted with stone or timber along their downslope edges. These terraces still survive and form the major visible elements of the village.

These terraces supported all the workmen's and married couple's huts, one of the two foremen's huts, the canteen, public baths and shops. The village inspector's house, police station, school, school master's house, recreation centre, general hospital, and the other foremen's hut were all situated on their own terraces. For most of these their separation from the general run of workmen's hut terraces may have helped to define their specific roles, and possibly perceived higher status within the settlement.

Officer Suburbia

The first buildings a person would see as they rounded the bend into Tin Town were two huts given an imposing prominence by being built on higher ground. These were slightly detached from the rest of the village and formed a spatially distinct group, a sort of mini 'suburbia', housing the village inspector, policeman and missionary.

Village Inspector's and Missioner's Hut (Illustration 8.3, features 24, 25)

The village inspector and the missioner each had his own private accommodation, which formed the two halves of the first hut in the village. Both buildings survive as substantial foundations set on individual terraces.

The village inspector was responsible for the maintenance of the village structures and the upkeep of services, such as coal deliveries and the operation of the sewage system. After two short-lived incumbents of the post, W.S. Lelliott of Langsett was appointed, who held the position until the demise of the village. While the inspector held a position

of responsibility, it was one designed to maintain the practical operation of the village, rather than one of authority over people. His responsibilities for the sewage system earned him the suitably coarse nickname of ‘Shit House Dick’, which suggests that he was not held in the highest regard by the villagers.

A missionary catered for the spiritual and social well-being of navvies, and was allowed to use the school as a mission room. Missioners became common on large public works after the founding of the Navy Mission Society in the 1870s. The Society would approach contractors to allow a missionary, usually an ex-navvy, on site and this was generally accepted because it was seen as beneficial to the moral development of the workforce. George Sutton was the missionary during the whole life of the village and would make daily rounds to visit the sick in their huts and in the hospital (Robinson 1983). He wrote a book after its abandonment called *The Story of Birchinlee: a memento of 12 years in the workmen’s village, Derwent Valley Waterworks, Derbyshire*, which has formed one of the fundamental sources for interpreting Tin Town culture (Sutton 1914).

Police Station (Illustration 8.3, feature 26)

Adjacent to the first hut was a police station, which included living quarters and a cell. A policeman from the Derbyshire Constabulary was employed as resident policeman to maintain law and order. Neil McLean occupied this post for the full duration of Tin Town’s occupation. However, the cell was rarely used and later converted to married workmen’s accommodation. This suggests that there was little crime in Tin Town, which was acknowledged by the DVWB’s Chief Engineer, when in 1917 Edward Sandeman remarked that there was less crime than there was usually in an ordinary village of the same size. Sydney Lloyd, who was born in Tin Town, stated that there was very little trouble in the village – brawling was not absent, but not perceived as a crime unless serious. Reputedly, when workmen began a fight in the Canteen, the policeman would take them to a field to get on with it.

These two huts were originally planned to be situated within the village itself, next to the married quarters. By moving them to the edge of the village, physical distance, and therefore a degree of social distance, was created between the workmen and the village officers, while associating them with each other. This would be a spatial reinforcement of social hierarchy at a period when British society was highly stratified by class. Each hut

had an inside toilet, which would have been another signifier of status, because the workmen and their families all had outside toilets. The village officers also had a commanding position overlooking the approach road to Tin Town, so theirs were the first buildings visitors would encounter and allowed the occupants to monitor 'outsiders' entering the settlement.

Sweet Shop and Tobacconists (Illustration 8.3, feature 23)

The next building encountered was the small sweet and tobacco shop on the right-hand side of the road. Run by Bessie Bateman, it had originally been a newsstand, but was unsuccessful and after its closure an evening newspaper called *The Star* was delivered every weekday. Little of the shop survives today except for an ill-defined level area just south of the southern interpretation plinth.

Unmarried Workmen's Huts (Illustration 8.3, feature 1)

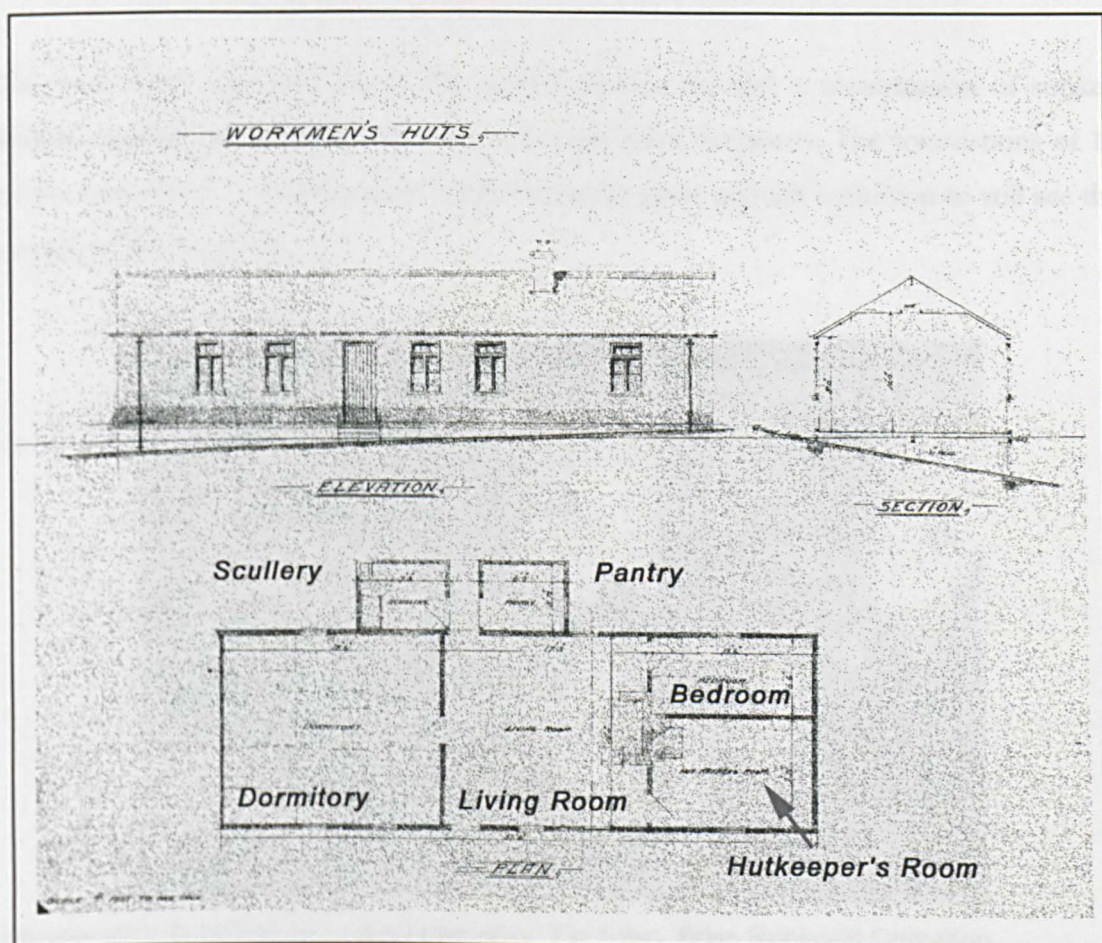


Illustration 8.5. Plan and elevations of navy dormitory, Tin Town. From DVWB n.d.

Continuing along the bottom street would bring you into one of four main blocks of accommodation huts, which formed the bulk of the village. A total of 52 dormitories housed unmarried workmen in regimented rows of externally austere barrack-like buildings facing both sides of each street. Each hut was approximately 55.5m² in area and was divided into three sections; two communal areas and a private area restricted to the hutkeeper and his family only ([DVWB n.d.] Illustration 8.5). In the hutkeeper's section there was a living room with fireplace and a bedroom, while the public area comprised a communal living room, dormitory, scullery, pantry and a fireplace with range. Up to eight men could be accommodated in each unit, if the hutkeeper had a family, rising to ten if the hutkeeper was not married. This was a greater amount of space for a smaller number of people than the huts recorded at the Woodhead Tunnel and the Hawick line of the North British Railway (Morris 1994). The design of the blocks allowed for a minimum of 432 single navvies to be accommodated, rising to a maximum of 540, if all the hutkeepers were single. Behind each hut were outside toilets and informal paths were created, as slight terraces and hollows, between them and the accommodation huts.

The huts were supported above the ground surface through a combination of sunken hollows and raised concrete and brick rafts with brick fireplaces. The foundations of 14 of the unmarried workmen's huts survive today in good enough condition to still see the outline of the buildings.



Photograph 8.8. Interior of a navy dormitory, Tin Town. Brian Robinson Collection

The austere external walls, bare outline of dimensions and the stark regulations belie the homeliness of the interiors seen in photographs (Photograph 8.8). They were lined in a mid-tone varnished wood and personalised by the occupants with typical ornaments and décor of the time such as framed prints, net curtains, mirrors, pot plants, budgerigar cages and gramophones. Tables were covered with linen tablecloths and the forms with embroidered cushions. Fine bone china dinner services were brought out for Sundays and special occasions.

Derwent Canteen (Illustration 8.3, feature 20. Photograph 8.9)



Photograph 8.9. The Derwent Canteen during construction work to extend it. Brian Robinson Collection

Passing the first rows of dormitories brought one to the edge of the physical and social centre of the village.

On the right was one of the most important social buildings, the all-male preserve that was the public house, known as the Derwent Canteen. Situated approximately mid-way along the bottom street, it was a low, long hut with living space for the 'landlord' at the northern end (Illustration 8.6). It was double the width of the accommodation huts for over half of its length, the extra width accommodating the manager's sitting room and the rear half of the bar, which was located above the beer cellar (Photograph 8.10). Its cellar was connected to the railway line via a hollow-way (called the rolling way) and an elevated railway platform to enable easy movement of the beer barrels transported in and out of the valley by train (Illustration 8.3, feature 19). The canteen was managed by

Henry Matthews and operated by the People's Refreshment House Association Ltd., a 'reformed' public

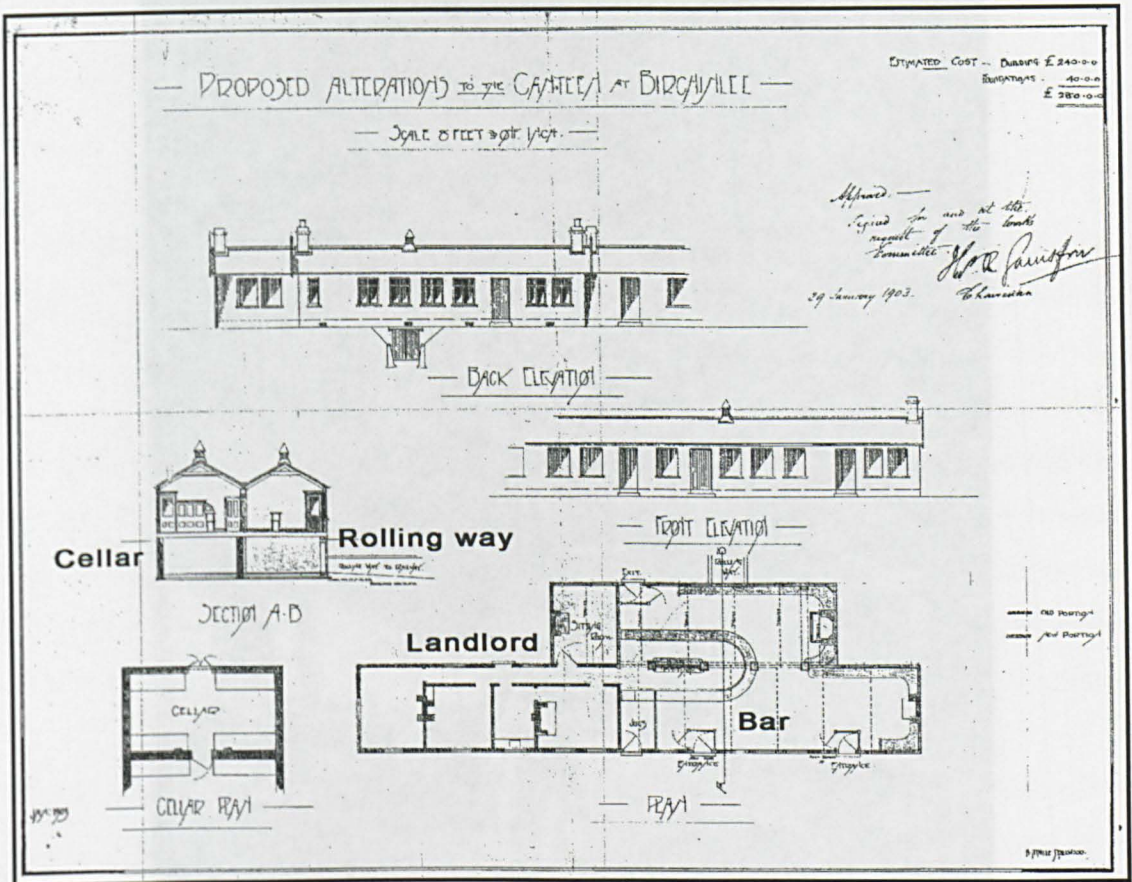
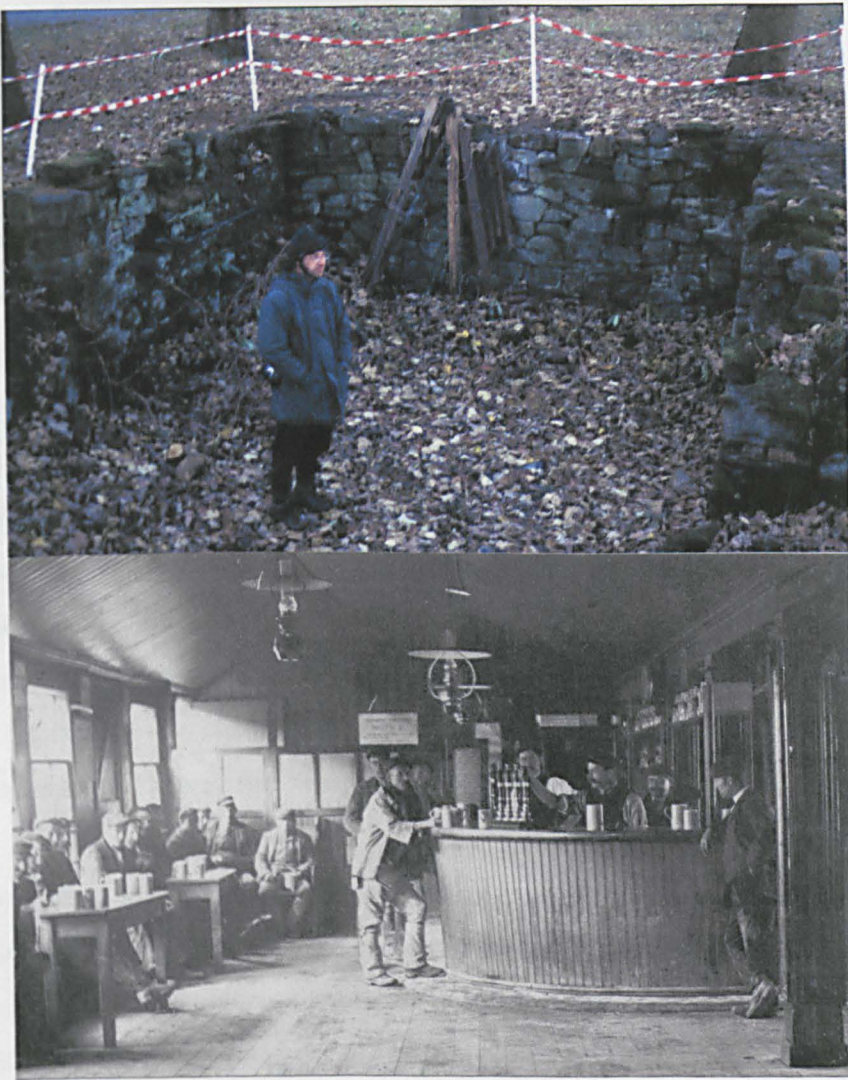


Illustration 8.6. Plans and elevations of Derwent Canteen, Tin Town. From Stallwood 1903

house trust which promoted sobriety. A contemporary account records how the navvies themselves overturned this by harassing the first 'temperate' landlord to such an extent he left. His replacement read the situation much better after being thrown out of his canteen for refusing to serve a drunken navy (Batty [n.d.]). After that, the canteen became a dedicated drinking house. The official DVWB rationale for this was that it allowed them to assert control over the amount of alcohol consumed and prevented extortionate profiteering (Robinson 1983). It was probably also decided on the basis that if the men were working well at the construction sites, then the canteen was an important social outlet. It and its beer cellar were enlarged twice due to overcrowding, the second time a room was provided for people, including women, not requiring alcoholic drinks (Robinson 1983).



Photograph 8.10. Derwent Canteen beer cellar, now (above) and then (below)

Railway Line (Illustration 8.3, feature 22)

The remains of the line, preserved as an embankment, pass by the east side of Tin Town. As well as the embankment and the platform, stone and timber piers of the Ouzelden viaduct and the stone-facing of the bridging point over Birchinlee Lane survive. The Birchinlee Lane bridge was a significant landscape feature. Each facing end of the railway embankment was stabilised with a facing of roughly hewn gritstone blocks topped with flat dressed coping stones. Each of the two facings has a central wall over which the line itself was carried. To either side are retaining walls which are sloped to create a drop in height from the central section and, as you look at each, the right-hand side wall is straight while the left-hand wall has a shallow convex curve. Their architecture appears to be derived from the same pattern, which does not bear a relationship to any need for differences in load-bearing caused by being on the downslope or upslope side of the railway line.

Post Office (Illustration 8.3, feature 16)

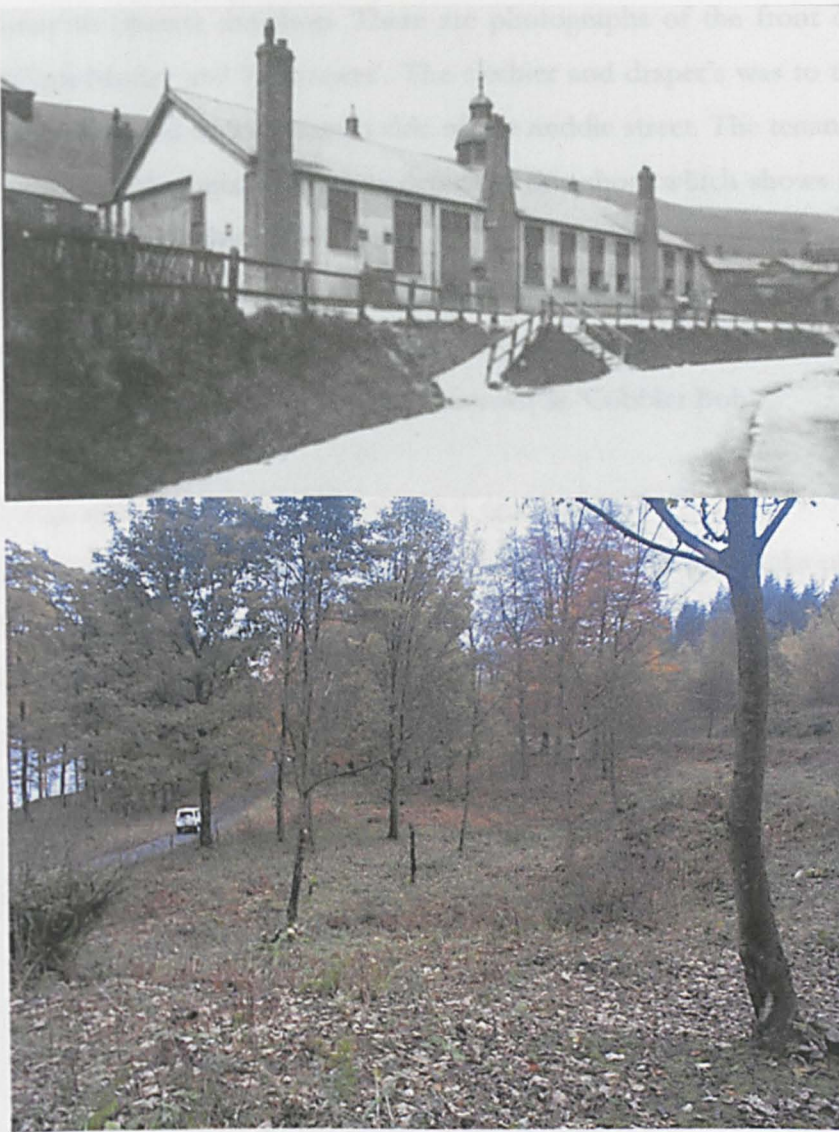
Facing the canteen from the western side of the bottom street was the post office. This was tenanted by Mrs Hebzabad Clark. The site survives in part as a rectangular sunken hollow, containing two brick-built foundation rafts and a chimney base.

Recreation Centre (Illustration 8.3, feature 7)

Just beyond the Post Office was a building which dominated the bottom street and which was the physical and social centre of the village - the recreation centre. This was a large building, situated on its own terraced platform between the bottom and upper streets. It was a prominent structure because of its size (it was one of the largest buildings in the village), the inclusion of a large roof-top bell tower and an imposing front façade incorporating eight large windows, a set of large doors and three brick-built external chimneys. Its impact was also heightened by the use of a lighter colour on the walls than used on the other buildings, this being either unpainted corrugated iron or a light paint.

The centre hosted billiards, dances, concerts, cinema shows, whist drives, dinners and an annual horticultural show of produce grown in the village allotments. Photographs of the centre in use show men and women at such events, which contrasts with the male-only canteen. Dances attracted young people, especially women, from outside the village living in the Derwent and Hope valleys. This demonstrates that the village was not a totally closed community, though fathers' views about their daughters visiting the village are not documented.

Ringing the recreation centre were four roads and most of the other services provided in the village: the shops, post office, public baths, canteen and school. This created a village centre akin to a green or square, where a great deal of informal day-to-day social interaction would have occurred as part of the routine activities of life.



Photograph 8.11. Recreation Hall looking north-west (above - Brian Robinson Collection) and the hall's building platform today looking south (below)

Shops and Public Baths (Illustration 8.3, features 13, 14, 15, 17, 18)

The shops sold provisions independently of the works contractor, thus by-passing a major area of navy exploitation in the 19th century. Located opposite the front of the recreation centre and next to the canteen was the grocer's shop. A bakery was added to the rear of the premises in 1905. The tenants were the Gregory brothers from Manchester. The public baths were situated adjacent to the north end of the recreation centre. They occupied a small hut and water was heated via a coal-fired stove. Charges were 2d per person. It is unknown whether tub baths could be used in individual huts, though it is highly probable, or whether the baths were the only source of bathing. The greengrocer's was located to the north-west of the recreation centre, at the junction of the middle and upper streets. The tenant was George Street of Sheffield, who employed

William Motley to operate the shop. There are photographs of the front of the shop showing William Motley and ‘customers’. The clothier and draper’s was to the north of the recreation centre and on the eastern side of the middle street. The tenant was Harry Oliver. At least one photograph survives depicting this shop, which shows its southern gable and the shop sign, which reads ‘tailor & outfitting shop’. Located to the south of the recreation centre on the eastern side of the middle street was a building occupied by the cobbler and hairdresser. Tenants are given as the Knowles Brothers and Daniel, and a photograph of the interior depicts a cobbler known as ‘Cobbler Bob’.

Foremen’s Huts and Coal Store (Illustration 8.3, features 2, 5)

Continuing our journey along the bottom road and between further ranks of workmen’s huts, we come to the northern end of the village. Here was one of two separate huts built to accommodate the site foremen. Each was strategically placed in separate parts of the village. The northernmost hut was set on its own terrace and overlooked the village coal store. Coal was used for all heating and cooking in Tin Town, and was handed out in measured quantities. It was brought up the valley by train and a railway siding ran to the coal store. The coal was then delivered to the huts by Tom Fletcher, with the village inspector having overall supervision of the use of coal and its security. Separate foremen’s huts were a departure from previous construction projects, where the foreman doubled as the hutkeeper (Coleman 1965). This separation would help to signify the different status of the foremen to the other workmen and prevent the exploitation of navvies by their foreman. Rules and regulations were identical to those for married workmen, so no limit on alcohol allowed in the huts was mentioned.

Birchinlee Farm

Here the village street turns upslope and forms the upper street beside, the still occupied, Birchinlee Farm. Beyond the farm was Bank Clough, which was dammed to provide piped water to the village. Tin Town had an advanced water supply and waste system for its time, appropriate for a village built by a Water Board. Rather than earth closets, there were water toilets, still been an unusual occurrence during the early 20th century.

Accident Hospital (Illustration 8.3, feature 4)

At the northern end of the upper street was the accident hospital. It was one of the larger and higher roofed buildings of the village, only the school and the recreation centre

appear bigger. The hospital was restricted to caring for industrial injuries sustained by DVWB workmen until 1908 when non-employee accidents and serious illnesses could be treated for a fee. A photograph of the hospital interior taken in 1907 shows a spacious light ward with a medical officer and two nurses. The medical officer and one nurse reputedly resided at the hospital (Byford 1981). There were four medical officers employed by the DVWB in succession, the Board only setting up the post after the local doctor at Hathersage charged expensive call-out fees.

Upper street was lined with further dormitories, and walking south along it leads to the rear of the central recreation centre. Here was the junction with new street, which ran upslope before turning to run parallel with upper street. A single row of married quarters and workers' dormitories faced onto new street, beyond which were the allotments. Nearer to the recreation centre were the school and school master's house.

School (Illustration 8.3, features 8, 9, 10)



Photograph 812. Tin Town's school with the married quarters in the background. Brian Robinson Collection

The school was opened in September 1902 and run by the Derbyshire Education Committee from September 1903. It was a substantial building occupying a visually prominent location to the west of the centre of the village. Its upslope position, height and incorporation of a bell tower made it one of the two most prominent buildings in the village, along with the recreation centre. The school was divided into two – infants and elder children – and in 1902 had 110 pupils. Behind the school was a small playing field,

again divided into lower and upper school, with wooden sheds to the rear. Behind this were vegetable growing allotments for Tin Town.

School Master's House (Illustration 8.3, feature 11)

A school master was employed to run the school. He was provided with a separate hut for himself and his family, located adjacent to the school. This had three bedrooms, a sitting room, living room, scullery, larder, coal store and inside toilet. The external doors faced towards the school itself, reinforcing the master's connection with his work and the employment-based identity of his social role in the village. There was a succession of four different school masters and a photograph of 1907 shows a total of five teachers employed at this time, the remainder of the staff presumably travelling in daily from surrounding villages.

Married Workmen's Huts (Illustration 8.3, feature 3. Photograph 8.12)

Upper street continued south beyond the school, and it was here that the main concentration of married quarters were built, along with the second foremen's hut. Seven huts were subdivided into four separate 'houses' providing private accommodation for each family. This was effectively a married quarter of the village. The types of everyday activity in this immediate area would have been different to those around the unmarried workmen's huts because of the presence of women and children. The other two family huts were built in 1905, to the north of the school master's house. This demonstrates that the DVWB was not intent on maximising the number of working men per accommodation block, they could have provided for a total of 32 men, if they had constructed unmarried dormitories instead. It also demonstrates that by this time it was more acceptable for navvies to move with their families than it had been 50 years before. The rules and regulations for married workmen's huts were similar to those for single men with one notable exception – there was no reference to limits on amounts of alcohol allowed in each hut.

Distant Structures: Dirt and Disease

Here our tour returns to where we started. The only elements of the village we have not passed are the isolation hospital situated over 300m to the south-west and the sewage farm, located somewhat closer but behind a shoulder of the hillside.

The sewage plant used a bacteriological system and carried all the waste from the outside toilets in water (Illustration 8.3, feature 28). A report from the village medical officer in 1908 claimed that Tin Town was free of insanitary diseases - 'splendid evidence of the value of the water-carriage system of excrement removal in the prevention of filth disease'. The phrasing of the sentence implies that such a system was then a relatively new development. The outside toilets survive as small terraced platforms, those between terraces two and three, revetted in stone, are some of the most visible features surviving from Tin Town today.



Photograph 8.13. Stone revetted platforms for the outside toilets at Tin Town

The isolation hospital was provided for infectious diseases and was mainly used for children suffering from scarlet fever (Illustration 8.3, feature 27).

The last remaining structure was 290m further to the north of the village. This was a brick-built waste incinerator and rubbish dump (Illustration 8.3, feature 6). It is one of the best surviving elements of the village, standing to 3m high and in good condition.

Abbey Sports Field

From the village it was possible to look out across Derwent Valley. There was another important part of the social landscape of Tin Town in the valley bottom. A field near to Abbey Farm was converted to a sports field, where regular sports events were organised and the village football team played its home matches in the Sheffield Amateur League

(Photograph 5.1). The football team provided a group identity with huge support amongst the villagers. The team would telegraph back results when playing away, and once took a homing pigeon for a crucial game in 1912 where no telegraph was present (Robinson 1983). Here, the village celebrated the coronation of Edward VII in 1903 with a traditional tea and sports day, which then became an annual event.

8.3.3.2 Overview of Tin Town

Tin Town was the ideal of improvement and rationality expressed through the creation of a highly structured social dwelling space. It comprised a very utilitarian look in both layout and construction materials of buildings. Practicalities were at the forefront of the design, but were linked to Edwardian ideals of social engineering. Beyond the plain conformity in the majority of buildings, highly stratified contemporary British notions of social status were evident in the layout of the village. These ideals were expressed in the zoning of accommodation to segregate single workmen, foremen, married workmen and village officers, and the differing regulations for each group. The formal rows of similar, 'barrack-like', accommodation blocks emphasised conformity at some expense to individual identity. Further spatial reinforcement of social hierarchy is evident in the separation of accommodation and provision of inside toilets for the village officers.

The social welfare of the workmen and their families was provided for by the missionary, school master, policeman, doctor and the shops. Hygiene was given special attention with the construction of the enclosed water-borne sewage system, leading to a treatment plant, and a waste incinerator. These 'dirty' activities were housed in structures placed at some distance from the settlement itself. The civic buildings – the school (which doubled as the mission), recreation hall, accident hospital and public baths – dominated the village through their locations, physical stature and such adornments as the cupola on the recreation hall.

(Of the range of civic buildings, the dominant communal halls – Recreation Hall and School – contrast greatly with all of the accommodation huts. They, along with the public baths, were placed centrally in the core of the village. They were imposingly large buildings topped by small cupolas, the only architectural embellishments to Tin Town buildings and the closest thing to a grand expression of civic pride made by the DVWB. They provided two arenas for social cohesion within the village. There were public

spaces around them, which do not appear to have been created deliberately, but formed by default due to the layout of the village and the topography. The photographs from Tin Town suggest that all the streets were public places, where groups of people would congregate, chat, and children would play. However, those larger areas and their associations with public buildings may also have become social focal points, akin to village greens. Referencing the ideal village format was further emphasised by positioning most of the shops in the adjoining vicinity. They were augmented by travelling shops, a mobile fish and chip shop, and deliveries of coal, newspapers and milk. The other major communal building was the Derwent Canteen, though this was the sole preserve of the male navy and therefore emblematic of navy culture. It was situated centrally on the north-south axis of the village, close to the other communal buildings.

The accident hospital was another civic, though less public, building which also dominated the village through its large size and imposing roof. This, and the smaller isolation hospital, were placed on the edges of the village. While the accident hospital was situated just to the north of Tin Town, where it could receive casualties via Birchinlee Lane without the need for them to be taken through the centre of the village, the isolation hospital was placed much further away and was not part of the village proper.

Tin Town was not static throughout its life and though extensively planned out in advance did not come into being ready formed. Most of the civic buildings and services were built over the years following the first occupation of the accommodation. George Sutton, the missionary, instigated Sunday School and brought baptisms to the village rather than a nearby church (Sutton 1914). Sutton also commented that in the early years there was a lack of mutual knowledge and trust amongst the navvies, but that this grew as they got to know each other and as they settled into the routines of living in such a settlement as Tin Town. As an example, an attempt to form a Minstrels group in 1902 failed and was then resurrected by 1912 when it proved a huge success. Many navvies may have been initially wary of or in opposition to such planned social groups and events at the Recreation Hall, especially if this was the first time they had worked and lived in such a social context. Over time, first aid courses, a fire brigade, Bible reading union and a football team were founded, providing planned opportunities for involvement.

The structures and routines created by work, village layout and the organised events, as well as the explicit shared aim of contributing to a huge construction project, were important in forming the social group identity of the Tin Town occupants. Within the overall village community, individuals were members of numerous communities based on gender, age, social interest and work role. This was a society comprised of wives, husbands, bachelors, foremen, experienced workers, novices, professionals, hutkeepers, shopkeepers and children. These identities were reworked through social contact with each other at times and places structured by the village and the construction sites so fostering social bonds of 'shared experience'.

As has been discussed above, zoning of the village created areas where specific social groups, for example families or foremen, would have the most immediate and frequent contact with each other. Women washed clothes on the same day of the week at communal outdoor laundry areas or met in the shops (Sutton 1914). For bachelor navvies the two most fundamental social experiences were related to work gang and dormitory cohabitant. Gangs laboured together as teams on the same workface where they shared responsibility to the foremen and engineers for completing the task to schedule. It appears that these gangs were not housed in the same dormitory, where social responsibility was to dwelling in the same space with each other. This included cleaning the hut, buying food for communal meals and helping each other out when money was tight (*ibid*). Humour and games, such as cards and dominoes, probably also had a strong impact on creating social bonds. An idea of how the dormitories, and also the married quarters, were more than just a functional sleeping place is given by photographs of the interiors (Photograph 8.8) and Sutton's following commentary:

"It is nearly always amusing to watch the faces of visitors to our village, when they enter our workmen's homes.... Perhaps they did not expect to see the piano, and sideboard, and those 'fine art' pictures, neatly framed, and the brilliantly polished copper kettles and brass ornaments."

(Sutton 1914)

The huts were bound up with the social identities that navvies chose to signify through buying and displaying material culture, which for the most part would be expressed to themselves and colleagues rather than the outside world.

Social identities, in turn, influenced the ways navvies and their families interacted with the planned society and how they perceived it. A member of the Bible society is likely to have had a very different experience to a regular heavy drinker at the Canteen. So would the children born at Tin Town, home to everything they knew, compared to the young navvies who had left agricultural villages for the first time in search of higher wages in the Upper Derwent. It is unlikely that all would have conformed in their attitudes to living in such a structured place, and within the apparently tightly knit community there would have been a complex of highly defined social identities.

The social impact of Tin Town was not confined to the village itself. Locally, the arrival of the navvies and their families changed the social structure of the valley. Tin Town was the largest settlement in the area and the first significant nucleation of a population. Where previously the majority of people lived in dispersed farmsteads and the small Derwent and Ashopton hamlets, here nearly 1,000 people occupied a village. As far as the Upper Derwent was concerned, this was a new way of living and, in effect, the planned nature of the village was an extension of urban ideals into the countryside and of the application of rationality in the landscape that had begun with agricultural improvement in the 18th century.

Within and beyond the valley, the constant coming and going of navvies looking for work, and those going on rambles, picnics and shopping visits would have vastly increased the number of people travelling across the landscape. Provisions were brought from the surrounding towns, villages and farms so increasing the economy of the area. The static and travelling shops were operated by existing shopkeepers in Bamford and Sheffield, while milk was supplied by Crookhill Farm. Events at the Recreation Hall also attracted people from Bamford, the Derwent Valley to the south and Hope Valley. Many of these were young women and there are a large number of Welsh and Irish surnames in the locality, which local folklore attributes to navvies marrying local women and settling in the region after the dams were completed. The two elder daughters of David Wain, who lived at Birchinlee Farm when Tin Town was occupied, married DVWB employees (Robinson 1983). The football team was another major point of contact and did a lot to improve the navvies' social standing. Those who died at Tin Town were buried in Derwent churchyard, then moved to Bamford churchyard after the flooding of Ladybower Reservoir. At both graveyards, burials were made in areas set aside for

navvies and their families so incorporating them into the wider local community but only through a degree of separation. This was a reworking in death of the social place of navvies and Tin Town in the local area during life.

The occupants of Tin Town were the labour who transformed the Upper Derwent according to the needs of the nearby cities. It was they who arrived in a pastoral upland valley, where the largest building was Derwent Hall, and left a landscape dominated by gigantic water reservoirs contained behind huge mock-gothic stone walls (Robinson 1993). The progress of this transformation, and so the finite time span of their own occupation in the valley, would have been evident from the village, as the dams increased in height. When the job was done the village was cleared away and sold. One of the married quarters still survives and is now a hairdresser's in the nearby village of Hope. Today it is mainly host to women having their hair styled and set, so playing a role as a focus for gendered social gathering in a very different landscape.

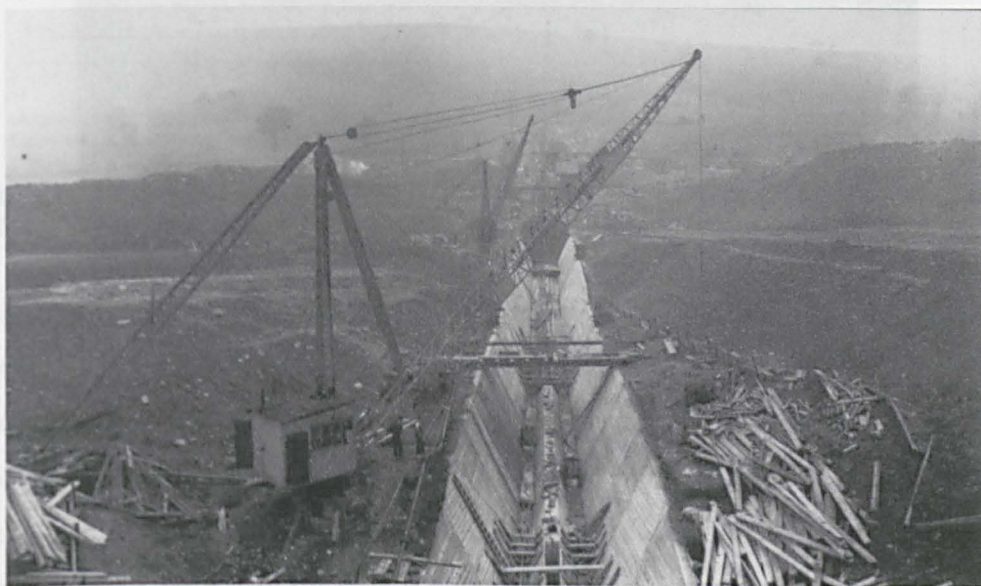
Where did the navvies and their families go after Tin Town? As mentioned above, some evidently settled in the area and stopped being itinerant labourers. Others would have moved on to other construction projects. One of these was Sheffield Corporation's Ewden Valley Dam where a smaller settlement was provided and laid out along similar principles to Tin Town, after which some navvies settled permanently in the area and found employment in the steel industry (Robinson 1983). There is a chance that some men also volunteered, or were conscripted, to fight in the trenches during World War I. Wherever they went, they would have carried forward with them some of the social attitudes and identities formed during Tin Town to be reworked in new contexts.

One question to answer is whether the highly planned experiment in Edwardian social engineering worked in meeting the aims of the Derwent Valley Water Board? It did provide comfortable and safe accommodation, relative to working-class housing of the time, for a population which completed the dams to schedule and appeared to have lived hard but enjoyable lives, again relative to contemporary working classes. So the answer from that point of view is yes. Would the answers be the same from the people who lived there? Those are unfortunately lost because the opinions of all but one person went largely unrecorded. The exception was the missionary, George Sutton. He certainly painted a glowing report in his *Story of Birchinlee*, and held a unique position as someone

who had been a navy, with acquaintances from previous projects, yet was working to promote the DVWB's social structure to the navvies. His eye-witness testament suggests that many would also answer yes.

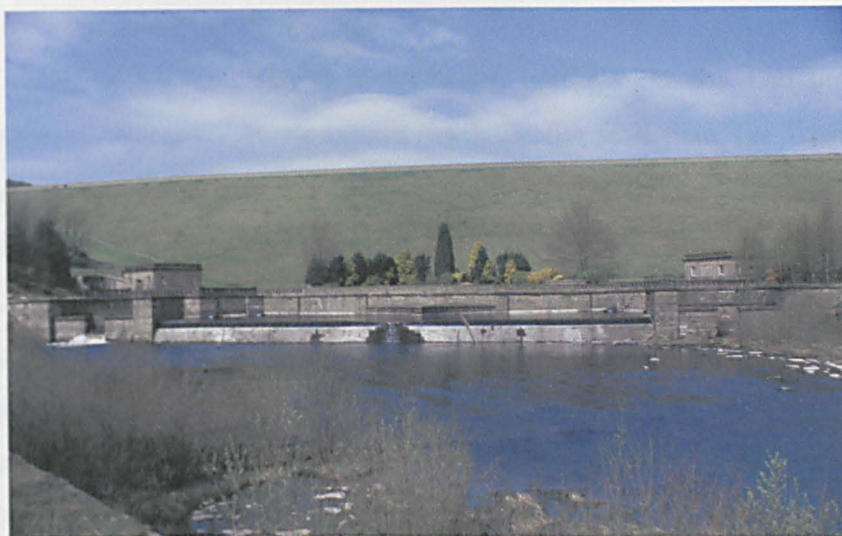
8.4 Increasing the Catchment

8.4.1 *Ladybower*



Photograph 8.14. Ladybower dam under construction. Brian Robinson Collection

The original plans for supplying water from the Upper Derwent and Ashop rivers, as approved in the Derwent Valley Water Acts between 1899 and 1904, did not include proposals for the construction of Ladybower Dam (Robinson 1993). A large dam at Bamford had been proposed in 1900 but the three smaller dams at Hagglee, Ashopton and Bamford were favoured because they allowed the catchment area to be increased without flooding Derwent Hall, then owned by the Duke of Norfolk. Subsequently the Duke of Norfolk agreed to sell the Hall to the Derwent Valley Water Board, allowing the concept of a large Ladybower Dam to be resurrected (Photograph 8.14). It was given new authorisation by the Act of 1920 and construction began in 1935. The primary purpose of the Ladybower Reservoir has never been to supply water for use but to provide compensation water so as to maintain water levels in the River Derwent. The rationale behind this was to allow the Derwent and Howden reservoirs to provide all of their water for use.



Photograph 8.15. Architectural design and ornamental planting at Ladybower dam use country house symbolism

Ladybower Dam is very different in construction to Derwent and Howden. It is constructed as a huge embankment of earth and stone pitched on its upstream side with stone, turved on the downstream side and containing a core of puddled clay. The stone and clay was transported from a quarry on the south of Win Hill along a reinstated section of the Bamford to Howden Railway (Robinson 1993). Running along the upstream side of the top of the dam is a low stone wall. Situated on the upstream side of the dam are two circular stone tower-like structures which house the valves that control the supply of water into the discharge pipes. Either side of the reservoir and set slightly further upstream from the dam are two huge funnel-shaped overflows known as spillways which transport surplus water into the river rather than allowing it to flow over the dam's crest as at Derwent and Howden dams. Each overflow is approximately 26m in diameter at the top, narrowing down to 5m pipe shafts. The water passes through the dam to emerge into a tailbay containing two houses in which are situated the valves that control the water discharge. The houses are constructed from dressed Millstone Grit blocks and are embellished with such architectural features as inset rectangular plaques and rooftop balustrades (Photograph 8.15). Further downstream are a venturi flume and associated building used to measure the flow of water down the river. The reservoir was formally inaugurated in 1945 by King George VI when he planted a tree at a location near Linch Clough; The King's Tree. The tree died in the 1970s, and its quietly planted replacement now marks the end of the tarmac road up the valley.

8.4.2 *Ladybower Navy Village*

A second navy settlement was built to house workers on the Ladybower project (Photograph 8.19). However, this was on a much smaller scale than Tin Town, housing a smaller population and not creating the same body of local folklore. Little is known about this settlement. While there is a rich resource of DVWB documents, photographs, folklore and surviving archaeological remains for Tin Town, little remains of the Ladybower settlement. It was located below Ladybower Dam next to the River Derwent and comprised temporary accommodation set on individual earthen terraces. The surviving remains cover a much smaller area, and there is not the scale of earth moving seen at Tin Town. A surviving contemporary photograph shows a small compound comprising less than 30 huts, and it is impossible to identify any of their specific uses, though it is known that there was a cinema (Dorothy Hitch pers comm).

It is likely that the majority of labourers were lodged in the surrounding area and that there were lower numbers due to increasing mechanisation by the 1930s. While Tin Town has become a well-known part of the landscape, the Ladybower settlement has faded into obscurity. It appears not to have caught the excitement in the same way as Tin Town, maybe because Tin Town was one of the first of its kind and much larger, or perhaps because of the lack of surviving photographs with which to evoke the age.

8.4.3 *Ashop and Noe Diversions*

To increase the water catchment area of the reservoirs a series of works was undertaken to convey water from the Woodlands and Edale valleys (Robinson 1993).

A small concrete and steel dam was built across the River Ashop to impound and divert water immediately upstream of the confluence of the Ashop and river Alport (Illustration 8.1). Water is diverted from the river along a conduit which follows the southern bank of the Ashop. A siphon conveys the water across the river and into a tunnel below Hagg Ridge. The tunnel breaches the Derwent Valley side of the watershed near Locker Brook and water is carried to Derwent Reservoir via another conduit. This work was completed during 1928.

A concrete water conduit empties water diverted from the River Noe in Edale into Ladybower Reservoir (Robinson 1993). The initials and date 'DVWB 1950' are inscribed

above the mouth of the tunnel, which was officially opened in 1951. Water is fed into Ladybower by gravity after being pooled behind a weir across the Noe.

8.5 Depopulation and Plantation

8.5.1 *The Local Exodus*



Photograph 8.16. Fairholmes farmstead. The farmhouse was still occupied in the summer of 1930 (above) after Derwent dam had been completed. It was then in the process of being demolished during winter in the 1940s as the waters of the new Ladybower Reservoir ran up to its front door. PDNPA Collection

The social structure of the valley was changed enormously through the depopulation of the area which was to be submerged. The flooding of Derwent and Howden reservoirs involved abandoning 11 farmsteads and a cottage (Table 8.1), and the relocation of the



Photograph 8.17. Three views of Derwent Village in the 20th century. Looking from the west in the 1920s (top), looking from the east when only the church spire remains above water in the 1940s (middle) and looking from the west again - the ruins lie exposed on the bed of Ladybower Reservoir in 1995. PDNPA Collection

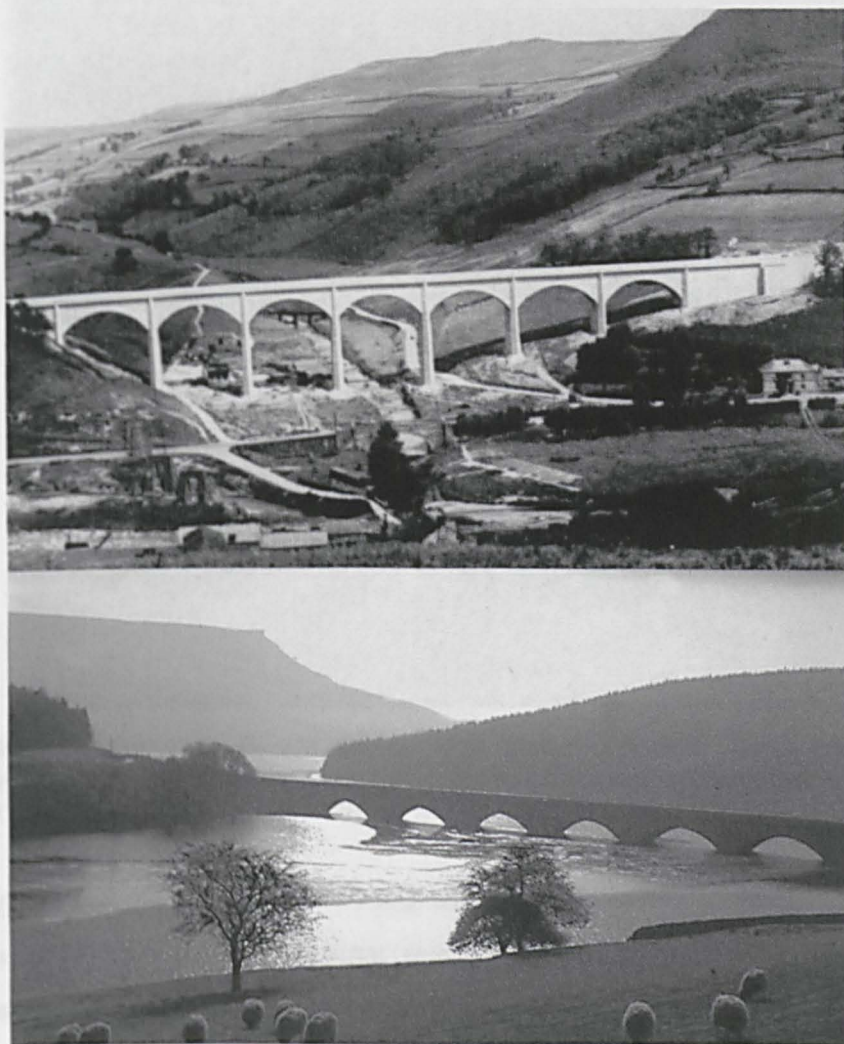
occupying families. In at least one case, stone from the farmstead was incorporated into the construction of works related to the dams, fabric from house and outbuildings at Birchinlee being used to pitch the aqueduct between Howden and Derwent dams (Robinson 1993). Ladybower involved the abandonment of both Derwent and Ashopton hamlets as well as another 21 farmsteads and four cottages (Table 8.1. Photographs 8.16, 8.17). As well as farms within the inundation area, those neighbouring its shore were depopulated due to worries about pollution of the reservoirs.

SETTLEMENTS ABANDONED DURING FLOODING OF:		PRE-RESERVOIR SETTLEMENTS REMAINING AT TIME OF PRESENT SURVEY
DERWENT AND HOWDEN RESERVOIRS	LADYBOWER RESERVOIR	
Abbey Farm	Ashop	Alport
Abbey Grange	Ashopton hamlet	Ashes Farm
Barnford House	Bellhag Farm	Birchinlee (gamekeeper's house)
Bank Top Farm	Bridge End Farm	Blackden View Farm
Birchinlee	Cockbridge Farm	Crookhill
Hancock Farm	Derwent hamlet	Dingbank
Hollin Clough	Dryclough	Gillott Hey Farm
Ridge Farm	Elmin Pitts Farm	Gores Farm
Ronksley	Fairholmes Farm	Hagg Farm II
Shireowlers	Grainfoot Cottage	Hayridge Farm
Walker's Farm	Grainfoot Farm	High House
	Grimbocar	Jennet House
	Haglee Farm	Jubilee Cottage
	Howden House	Ladybower House
	Jack End	Lanehead House
	Lee End	Lockerbrook
	Nether Ashop	Marebottom Farm
	Parkinfield	Moscar gamekeeper's house
	Riding House	Moscar House
	Tinker's House	Moscar Lodge
	Underbank	Old House
	Water House	Rowlee
	Wellhead Farm	The Lodge
	Wood End	Tinwood
	Wood Houses	Two Thorn Field
	Wood Lane	Upper Ashop Farm
	Wood's Farm	Upper House

Table 8.1. Settlements occupied in 1900 abandoned or retained during dam building

Both the hamlets and most of the farms were systematically demolished prior to the filling of Ladybower. Derwent Hall was used as a youth hostel from 1932 until its demolition when most of its internal fittings were salvaged and auctioned. The Vicarage was reputedly rebuilt in Bamford. The inundation of the hamlets created great public

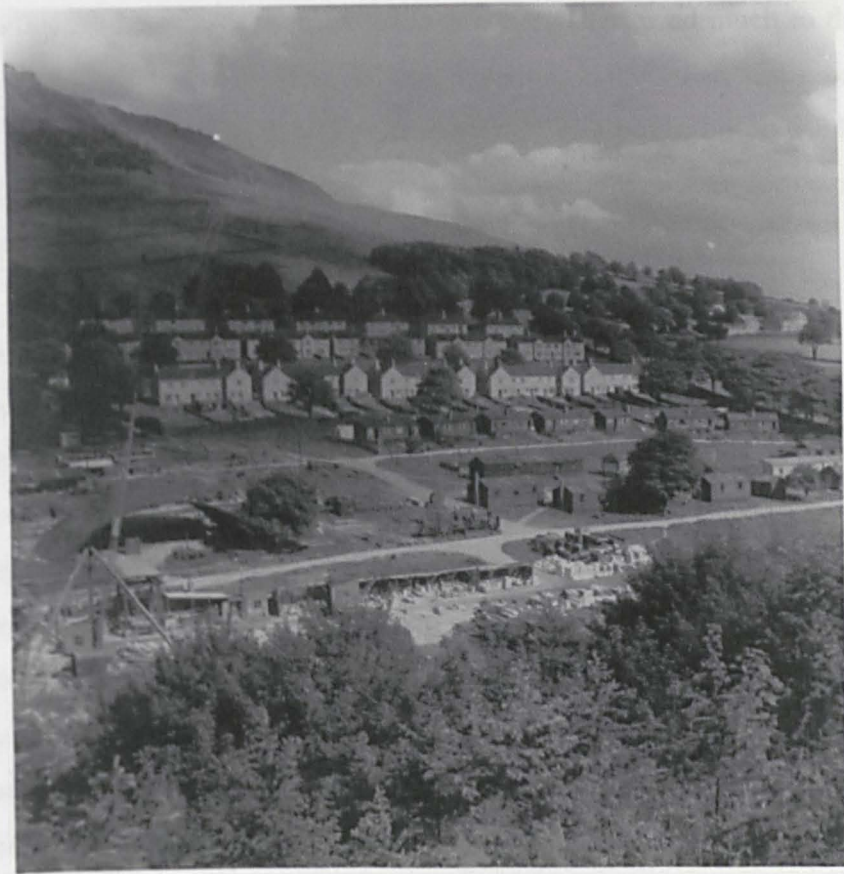
interest at the time (Gill 1946). After the flooding of the valleys, 27 houses were left occupied (Table 8.1), eight of them still working farmsteads at the time of the present survey, less than half the total number occupied prior to the building of the dams. Three Inns also remain - Ladybower, Snake and Yorkshire Bridge. Three new houses were built to accommodate Water Board staff.



Photograph 8.18. Ashopton Viaduct, built as part of the Ladybower Reservoir works. The viaduct under construction with Ashopton hamlet underneath, looking north (above) and in 1994 with the valley flooded, looking south (below). PDNPA Collection

The families were relocated, those from the flooding of Ladybower to the purpose-built settlement at Yorkshire Bridge (Illustration 8.1. Photograph 8.19). Burials from Derwent graveyard, which included occupants of the valleys and those navvies and members of their families who died while at Tin Town, were exhumed and re-buried at Bamford. Yorkshire Bridge settlement was built between 1935 and 1943 by the Derwent Valley

Water Board. Though small, it is the largest form of nucleation to occur in the Derwent Valley.



Photograph 8.19. Yorkshire Bridge shortly after completion and during construction of Ladybower dam. Huts of the navy settlement for the Ladybower scheme can be seen to the right of the mid-ground. PDNPA Collection

The estate was laid out on general housing estate principles of the time, as evidenced in late 1940s and 1950s council housing, rather than attempting any recreation of the flooded and demolished hamlets. The majority of the houses are arranged in three formal rows with the two terraced rows facing each other across one green and the row of semi-detached houses facing the main Bamford to Sheffield road across the other green. The larger and slightly grander looking houses are presented to the public view of travellers along the main road, while simultaneously hiding the remaining terraces from the road. This appears to reflect the ideas held by the people responsible for planning the estate about community and how the estate should be seen from 'outside' by passers-by, visitors and the occupants. The people were therefore relocated from two hamlets, which had developed 'organically' over time and resettled in a planned 'nucleated' mini-townscape comprising orderly terraces and rows of semi-detached houses. This would

have caused major social disruption of the routines of their daily lives and on the structure of social relations between them. However daily contact and a sense of community would have been maintained, though altered and possibly even increased, between the people who had lived next to each other. That owed much to the Derwent Valley Water Board resettling them in one location, rather than dispersing families throughout a wider region. Placing the settlement next to a public house would have also contributed to the maintaining and reworking of social bonds, at least for certain sections of the community.

8.5.2 Replanting the Forest

A fundamental part of the reservoir scheme was the creation of a continuous plantation, dominated by conifers with some areas of beech trees, around all three of the reservoirs to stabilise the valley sides and reduce silting in the reservoirs themselves. The conifers superficially produced an idealised version of northern European forests. But, instead of wild forests with different tree ages, a natural pattern of growth and dead wood, this was a monoculture, planted at the same time and ordered into neat rows. The majority of woodlands in the valleys had been dominated by deciduous species prior to the flooding of the reservoirs, though small conifer plantations had been created during the 19th century and two 19th century documents for Hope Woodlands and Howden, Bradfield parish, refer to larch (anon. 1818; Ellison 1861-62). Coniferous plantations in the valleys are therefore not a new development in the post-reservoir landscape, but their extensive coverage is. Again, this is the product of the larger-scale and rationality of landscape management by the DVWB, which was carried out without the desire or need to work with tenants and small landholdings.

8.6 Discussion

The building of the three dams over 44 years was the largest of the reservoir schemes in the Peak District. Combined, they hold over 454,607,446 hectolitres of water, while the largest of the five Longdendale reservoirs, the next largest scheme, contains just under 68,191,116 hectolitres (Harris, H. 1971). The flooding of the valleys under such huge quantities of water had a major impact on the physical and social landscape of the Upper Derwent, and was a major influence on the way the area is used and perceived today.



Photograph 8.20. A 19th century road bridge across the River Derwent lies submerged in the silts of Derwent Reservoir

By the time the reservoirs were finished the landscape was transformed with large dam structures and huge bodies of water. The construction and subsequent management of the Water Board's Upper Derwent estate was a scale of land-use very different to anything practised previously. Only the estate managers and plan surveyors of the 17th century onwards, or perhaps the Forest officers and canons of Welbeck Abbey, had conceived the landscape with anything approaching this wide-scale overview in the past. During the managing of earlier estates, there had always been an interaction with individual farmholders and the landscape was created out of this relationship between local inhabitants and the wider structures of landownership, produce markets and other social developments such as changing house layouts. The DVWB imposed a completely externally motivated pattern of land-use to meet the demands of nearby cities. Local inhabitants were neither consulted nor interacted with as respects these needs, they were evicted and resettled elsewhere. The DVWB removed the family-run farms within its landholding and replaced them with corporately run reservoirs and plantation woodlands. This new landscape was highly managed. Utilities managers were now present, who would manage the landscape to maximise the water supply, involving periodic emptying of the reservoirs to clean the pipes and maintenance of all the associated structures. The plantations were managed as a commercial crop and foresters were employed to direct operations and maximise this resource.

The architectural style of the dams and related works followed an estate style, which copied the 'Victorian Gothic' widely used within landed estates during the 19th century, including the Upper Derwent holdings of the Dukes of Norfolk and Devonshire. The sizes of the dams monumentalised this style. Downstream of the three reservoirs the dams dominate the view because of their height and steep slopes. Approaching Howden and Derwent from downstream the dams form huge stone barriers which appear much like castle battlements with crenellated and buttressed towers. At Ladybower, the relatively small size of the top wall gives a greater impression of perspective and height to the dam wall. Set at the bottom of this artificial hill are the tailbay and control valve houses, where a small planting of ornamental trees, architectural elements such as balustrades, and the pond-like impounding of water give the impression of garden terraces typical of 19th century aristocratic houses. Many of these features are unnecessary for the pure functioning of the dam and water discharge but rather play on existing familiar images of landed estates to help naturalise and gentrify the impact of such a huge industrial construction on the landscape.

During the building of the dams the social structure of the valley was also altered by two new nucleated settlements of a scale never before experienced in the Upper Derwent: Tin Town and Yorkshire Bridge. Both were the corporate imposition of contemporary ideals of urban living into a rural landscape otherwise characterised by dispersed settlement. The idea behind Tin Town, of creating certain 'morally correct' social conditions to improve the social welfare of the working classes and increase productivity, was an extension of the improving ideals seen in 18th and 19th century agriculture. The DVWB structured the lives of their employed navvies, as well as navvies' wives and children, during the occupation of Tin Town. The Board decided what services were provided, the layout of the village, rules and regulations for occupying accommodation, and even the frequency and times of the train to Bamford. Navvies interacted with the rational and improving ideals of the DVWB, not through debate on policy at the Board's committee meetings, but through the everyday shared experiences of working practices and dwelling in Tin Town. Tin Town also curbed some of the wilder excesses of navvies and diluted it with more mainstream culture, so marking the end of the strong navy identity that characterised the 19th century. Navvies, being semi-nomadic, tended to live somewhat outside the local society during construction projects, forming their own highly defined social structure. However, social ties were made between Tin Town and

the wider community, including the recreation hall social events, local league football matches and some navvies settling down to set up families in the local area.

The resettlement of people evicted from the valleys during the construction of Ladybower Reservoir in the new village of Yorkshire Bridge, was a practical result and a symbol of the enforcement of the national scale of urban needs for resources on a rural population. Like Tin Town, it embodies the ideals of the time as regards what a settlement should be like and it is similar to many council housing projects of the late 1940s and 1950s, with its formal rows of terraces and semi-detached houses.

Within the Upper Derwent, the building of the three dams also created new landscape zones that replaced important elements of the rural landscape that had formed between the medieval and 19th century. In replacing the majority of farms, Derwent village and most of the better valley agricultural land with water and plantations, the DVWB removed a huge part of the existing rural society and pattern of land-use. This pattern had developed and been reworked since the 13th century with little radical alteration, except the Parliamentary Enclosure Acts. Previously, changes had occurred within this structure through small-scale alterations or additions associated with farmers building upon their existing landholdings or the influence of wider influences such as the rise of landed gentry, agricultural improvement, urbanisation and industrialisation. Within 44 years, between 1901 and 1945, much of this was swept away. Some farms, fields on the higher valley sides and the moorland survived but, effectively, the reservoirs create a large full stop at the end of the post-medieval period and usher in the modern period. This was the greatest expression of the rationalist, improvement ideal that had first begun to influence the Upper Derwent landscape in the 18th century through estate management.

Large-scale industrial-inspired radical transformation shocked Hoskins where he saw it in England, with one exception. He felt that since the 19th century:

“every single change in the English landscape has either uglified it or destroyed its meaning, or both. Of all the changes in the last two generations, only the great reservoirs of water for the industrial cities of the North and Midlands have added anything to the scene that one can contemplate without pain.”

(Hoskins 1955, 298).

Hoskins could have been describing the Upper Derwent and the other Dark Peak reservoirs. The area was pulled into the large scale and fast pace of change that was occurring in many rural landscapes in Britain during the first half of the 20th century. The reservoirs would form a central part in the way the area would be perceived and occupied through the 20th century – especially to the new and growing band of tourists, rambblers and weekend visitors who would come to picnic, stroll or even fieldwalk for artefacts by their shores. For many people the area *is* Ladybower, as the name of the largest reservoir has supplanted Derwent, Ashop and Woodlands from the lexicon of places of interest in the Peak District.

Chapter 9

Recreation, Conservation and Production: the Three Strands of Landscape Perception in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries

“Standing by was an Irishman, probably one of the waterworks’ navvies.”

(Jordan 1959, commenting on the first Sheffield Clarion ramble in 1900)

9.1 Introduction

This last interpretative chapter in part parallels the period of the previous one by looking at the origins and early history of rambling, an important recreational use of the Upper Derwent, which has greatly influenced the way the landscape is perceived and used today. I will then continue to interpret the modern history of the Upper Derwent landscape including the organisations that manage current land-use and their role in shaping perceptions of the area. The job of completing my narrative to the present day introduces an interesting twist to the hermeneutic spiral, in asking me to discuss the place of the archaeological survey itself in modern landscape management.

The chapter begins with an imaginary bus journey to and through the Upper Derwent, following the route for a real bus service from Sheffield that is part subsidised by the National Park Authority to encourage the use of public transport in favour of cars. This bus journey will be used as a vehicle <kof> to explore the issues to be included in the following discussion. Throughout the chapter there are also a series of oral testimonies from people working and living in the Upper Derwent that are presented here as examples of the differing and complex modern perceptions and attitudes about rural landscapes as expressed by members of the local ‘face-to-face’ community. Testimonies were collected either by myself or by the community during a project sponsored by the Arts Council, Rural Action and Severn Trent Water with the support of the Peak District National Park Authority (Derwent Community 1998). We start with someone who travels from Sheffield to the Upper Derwent on a daily basis...

The Postman’s Tale

“I live in Sheffield. This is a real, early in the morning – just as the day is dawning, Postman Pat kind of delivery. The Derwent Valley must be one of the most picturesque deliveries in the country. The Valley is at its most beautiful when the sun is shining on it. Although it does have

its angry side, that is when it is covered in ice and snow, it can be positively dangerous. Like Postman Pat, I have made many friends around the valley. During fine days I take meal breaks by literally driving down to the Ladybower Reservoir. This is a secret place, where I can park in the shade of a cherry tree. I switch off the engine and listen to the wildlife.”

(Derwent Community 1998)

9.2 Unpacking the Landscape: a Bus Journey into Today's Upper Derwent



Photograph 9.1. Travelling to Fairholmes along the A57 from Sheffield

The Derwent bus from Sheffield drops down into Ladybower Gorge along the A57, along the route of Thomas Telford's 1821 Sheffield to Glossop turnpike. To the right the

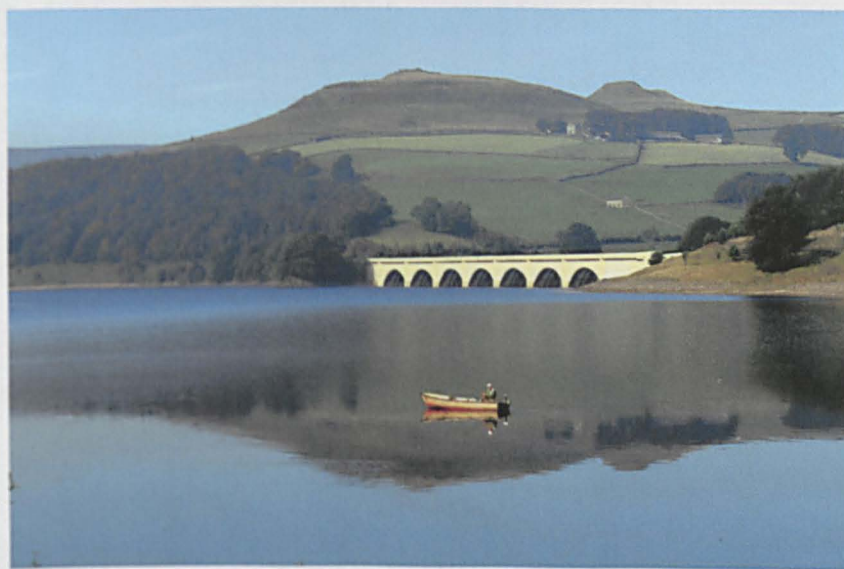


Photograph 9.2. Heather burning on Derwent moors creates a patchwork of different aged heather

broad sweep of Derwent Moor rises gently to Derwent Edge on the skyline, its surface chequered into squares by burning to improve heather for rearing grouse. Grouse have

been shot on this moorland since it was bought at the end of the 19th century for that purpose. It is typical of the other moorlands of the Upper Derwent, though it is still privately owned, while the National Trust, which leases shooting rights to a company specialising in corporate hunting trips, owns the others. The grouse and the shooters do not have these moorlands to themselves; sheep are still grazed by local farmers, while walkers now have open access to all of the Upper Derwent's moors. Walkers are barred during shooting days, but today the reds, blues and greens of waterproofs are visible strung out along a public right of way that follows the line of the medieval packhorse route between Derwent and Sheffield – 'common way' and turnpike lying in parallel.

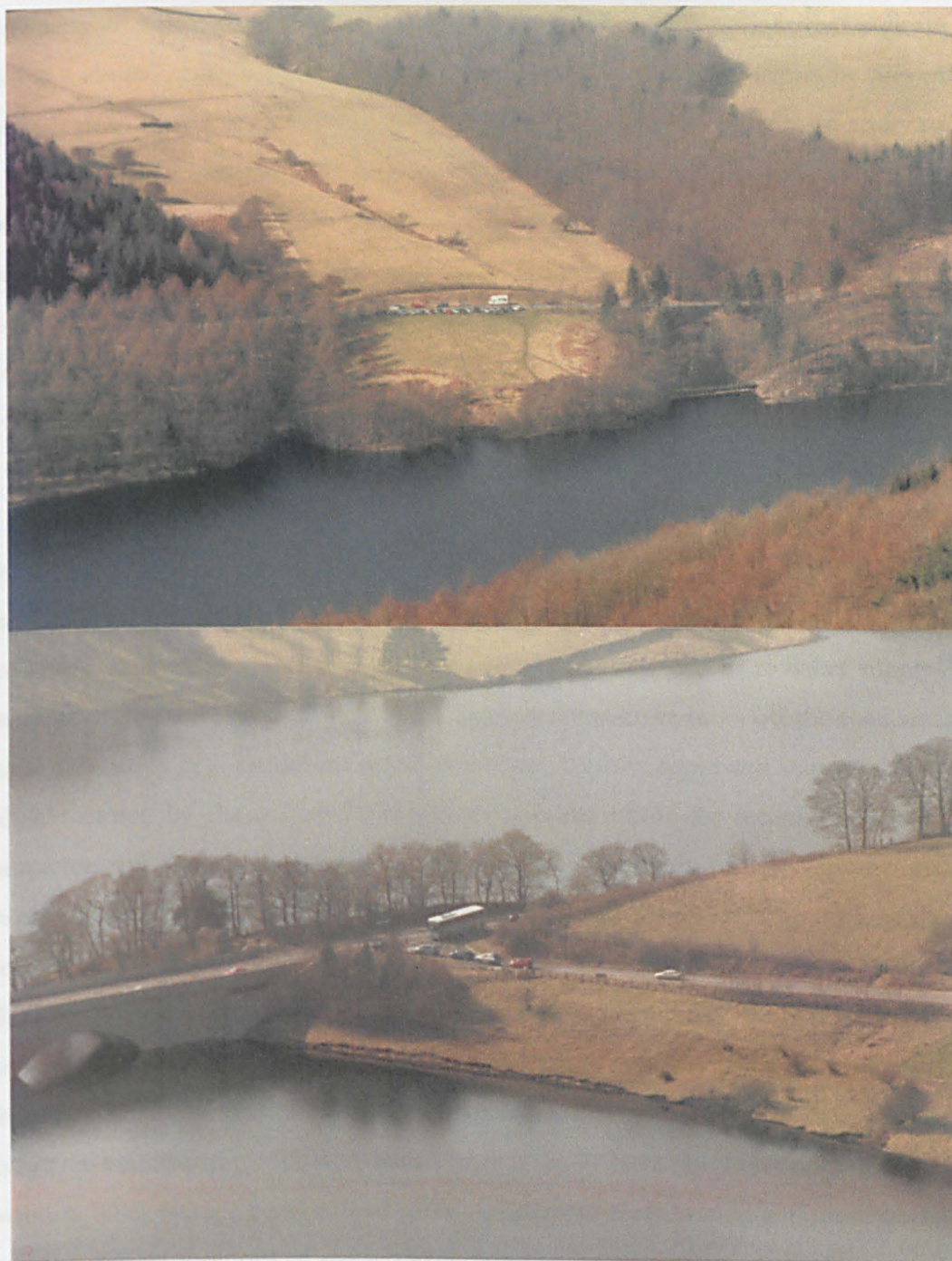
Heather burning is practised across all the moors to renew old stems with new shoots that feed grouse, sheep, mountain hare and curlew. The National Trust moorlands use this 'traditional' management, designed for grouse and sheep, to benefit wildlife. Many species live here with little conflict with other uses of the moors, though the foot and mouth restrictions on walkers in 2001 allowed their numbers to flourish due to an undisturbed breeding and nesting season in that year.



Photograph 9.3. Fisherman on Ladybower Reservoir, Ashopton (A57) viaduct and Crookhill. PDNPA Collection

Views of the moors are lost as we pass through the narrow Ladybower Gorge and exit into the Upper Derwent Valley where it meets the Woodlands Valley. The confluence of the two rivers lies metres below Ladybower Reservoir. On the surface fishermen sit in small boats, a new recreational pursuit introduced into the area only because of the reservoir. Sometimes a fisherman has a close encounter with a pike – these were not

introduced into the water, but have bred after arriving as eggs on the feet of waterfowl. The bus crosses the reservoir via the A57 viaduct, below which lie the remains of the 19th century Ashopton hamlet now submerged. At this point you can see up both valleys and down the Derwent to Ladybower Dam.



Photograph 9.4. Car parks along the Upper Derwent valley road and traffic at the junction between the valley road and the A57 Snake Pass

Immediately beyond the viaduct is the turning off this main road and onto the road that takes you along the Upper Derwent. The A57 continues along the Woodlands Valley and is busy with commuters between Manchester and Sheffield. The Derwent road is immediately slower but only a little less quiet, as it bears 2 million visitors a year. The bus is also busy, mostly with older walkers who match the routes of their rambles with the bus timetable. Entrance to the Upper Derwent is signalled by road signs that indicate the road is a clearway; this is part of the strategy to manage car-borne visitors by preventing roadside parking, much the same as the rush-hour clearways along the main artery routes in Sheffield and other towns. Car parks with historical place-names such as 'Derwent Overlook' and 'Hagg Side' have been built all along the road to take the vehicles and are fringed with trees to screen the cars from walkers on the moorlands above. Car congestion and pollution are major problems, when two million people want to access such a small area, and soon the valley will become the first rural congestion charging area in the UK. Perhaps then more people will be on the bus service that is specifically aimed at visitors and only operational through Peak Park and Derbyshire Council funding.

The left-hand side of the road as we drive north along the valley is fringed with dark green, and sometimes gloomy, conifer plantations, planted by the Derwent Valley Water Board to stabilise the ground and provide a supplementary income to water supply. The bus halts as the heavy plant of one of the forestry contractors turns off the road and into the woodland. A financial return is still important, but the depressed state of the timber industry caused by cheap Eastern European imports means the returns are small. The contractor will have been briefed on avoiding the hundreds of 18th century charcoal burning platforms dispersed throughout the woodland, these and the nesting sites of Goshawks ringed with luminous markers painted on trees. The woodlands have been inherited along with the reservoirs by Severn Trent Water, and are managed for their conservation value as well as a resource. As mature conifers are felled, more mixed planting with native deciduous species replaces them. Further upslope are smaller Forestry Commission plantations, which until recently have also been primarily financial concerns. They too are being turned more to promote conservation and recreational use, since the remote locations of the woodlands make the extraction costs too expensive to be viable. Management of woodlands, planted during the 20th century drive for self-sufficient timber resources, is changing.



Photograph 9.5. Conifer plantations. Top – the landscape character of the valley side plantations. Middle – regimented rows of trees the same age and same species. Bottom – inside a plantation

The level of the reservoir rises and falls with demand and rainfall. Dry summers leave a sandy shore exposed, which attracts picnickers, dog walkers and sunbathers as well as the occasional fieldwalker looking for archaeological artefacts. Today the level is low enough to expose the remains of Derwent Village, which attracts visitors with its imagery of the drowned and lost village. Across the reservoir, the land rises in a series of shallow slopes to Derwent Edge. The lower valley side is still farmland, crossed by dry-stone walls that form the small, irregular fields that originated in the medieval period. Many walls are ruined or missing and their lines can sometimes still be traced as lynchets. The farmland is now all pasture, and is shared between two farms owned by the National Trust. This and the moorland above are managed to benefit the complex relationship between upland farming, recreation and conservation of heritage and wildlife. These have not always been easy bedfellows, and the demands of one may risk the security of the others. Stone needed to repair a gap in a wall is easiest obtained from ruined walls nearby, but that threatens the fabric of the historic landscape. Keeping sheep levels low to promote heather regeneration and wildlife may threaten the financial viability of the farm. The National Trust attempts to juggle all of these with recourse to traditional forms of land-use, allied to management plans, archaeological surveys and ecological assessments.



Photograph 9.6. Fairholmes Visitor Centre. PDNPA Collection

Alighting at Fairholmes Visitor Centre, I walk through the packed car park and hubbub of visitors eating, drinking, sitting, chatting, walking and feeding ducks. Many will not get far beyond the visitor centre and have little interest in walking. This is a tourist honey

pot, designed to manage the immense numbers of visitors by concentrating them here so reducing the car parking impact elsewhere in the valley. This is the nerve centre for managing the landscape and visitors in the Valley. The National Park's local base is here: Rangers, Cycle Hire and the Information Centre.

Fairholmes is also where, what are termed, the 'valley partners' regularly meet to discuss, negotiate and often cooperate on policies and actions to manage the landscape for recreation, conservation and economic productivity. Each has different objectives. The National Park Authority does not own any of the land, but oversees development control, and in 1981 designated the Upper Derwent as a Management Area, which aims to bring together landowners, parish councils and local residents to further National Park aims of conservation, recreation, sustainable development and interpretation of the landscape. The Authority's by-line is 'a living landscape', which accompanies its logo on all publications. The National Trust shares these aims and executes them through land-ownership that has resulted in its acquisition of all the farmland and moorland. This brings with it economic demands of supporting upland farming. Severn Trent Water's main aim, as any plc, is to make money from its core businesses. It has long realised the recreation potential of the area and more recently the conservation needs, with the encouragement of and negotiation with the National Park. The Forestry Commission has also taken a more conservation-minded approach to management. The largest visible evidence of the partners' presence in the valley is not the differently coloured Land Rovers, but the plethora of signs each has erected in its own distinct style to manage, inform, direct, encourage and restrict visitors. All also highlight who is responsible for the visitor's enjoyment of that piece of land, in case anyone thinks that rural landscapes are natural, wild places that manage themselves.

The Warden's Tale

"As National Trust Wardens, we are expected to live as near as possible to our own patch. This means we can build up relationships with the local people and tenant farmers. As a representative of the landowner, my job is to work with the farm tenants, gamekeepers and the public. My work is varied, with my dog Mac I help gather sheep with the farmers, I help gamekeepers with heather burning to maintain the moors, protect the environment, help to put out accidental fires and promote the National Trust. Some areas of moorland are fenced off to keep the sheep from grazing and encourage regeneration. We take fixed point photographs of the area to monitor vegetation change over a period of 20 to 30 years. I also manage woodland, none of which is

commercially viable. We plant new trees to ensure the continuation of the woodland.”

(Derwent Community 1998)

9.3 Modern Landscapes: Multiple Perceptions

9.3.1 Owners, Planners, Policy Makers, Providers, Pressure Groups and Users

Landowners continued to play important roles in structuring the use and perceptions of rural landscapes. While the landed gentry and private individuals still owned large tracts of upland countryside, a new set of landowners arose in the 20th century with more specific objectives associated with *production*, such as water supply, quarrying and forestry, *recreation*, in the form of walking and touring, and *conservation* of scenic beauty, wildlife and heritage. Contemporary with this was the foundation of government bodies, pressure groups and societies of users. We have seen how a large water board came to own much of the Upper Derwent during the first half of the century in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will interpret how the Upper Derwent has become a landscape of recreation, conservation and production with reference to the various groups and organisations, which own, manage and promote the countryside for its various uses.

Since the late 20th century a number of different bodies have influenced the management of the Upper Derwent landscape. These bodies comprise the major landowners – the National Trust, Severn Trent Water, Forestry Commission and a private individual; statutory organisations – the Peak District National Park Authority, Countryside Agency and Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA – formerly MAFF); and special interest groups – Ramblers and Country Landowners Association. Each has its own values and its own way of perceiving the landscape, which can lead to tensions over its management. Conservation may conflict with the production of timber or livestock, while rambling and grouse shooting are not always seen as compatible uses of moorlands. At the same time there are the numerous individuals who live in, work in or visit the area, some of whom are employees or members of the above organisations and others who are not. These include walkers, farmers, fishermen, foresters, cyclists, wardens, birdwatchers, rangers, day-trippers, wallers, residents, gamekeepers, water bailiffs and shepherds. Some come to view the landscape, others work in it. To some its home, to others it is an escape from the city. From their own perspectives based on interest, role or experience, each has a way of looking at and understanding the Upper Derwent within an overall conceptual framework influenced by 20th century evaluations

and conceptions of the urban and the rural. I shall return to some personal comments on the Upper Derwent in section 9.8.

Since 1981, the National Trust, Severn Trent Water, Forestry Commission and the Peak District National Park Authority, along with parish councils, have cooperated on landscape management as partners, under the auspices of the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group, in an attempt to reduce tensions caused by differing types of land-use. This was the group that, in 1994, commissioned the archaeological survey of the area, which is now being used to guide management and interpretation to the public, from day trippers sitting in car parks in the valley bottom to hikers on the moorlands above.

9.3.2 The Urban Influence on the Countryside

The multiple uses and perceptions of the rural landscape are not unique to the modern period; since the medieval period there have been various official bodies and individuals inhabiting and legislating on the use of land. What characterises the 20th century is the prominence given to recreation and conservation, hitherto absent or restricted to the ruling classes, and the conceptualisation of rural landscapes as countryside in opposition to the urban centres of the cities. During the late 18th and 19th centuries countryside became idealised as representing a natural way of life defined by space, peace, innocence and simple virtue, while the city was seen as the busy centre of learning, manufacturing and progress (Bunce 1994; Williams 1985). Dwelling in cities represented a shift of scale and pace to much larger and denser populations, living their lives to greater time constraints with higher levels of movement. Recreation in and conservation of the countryside grew out of this idealisation and of the experiences of living in cities. City dwellers looked to the countryside as an escape from the drudgery of congested living, industrial labouring and pollution, a place where activities such as walking could prove character building (Cornish 1932). Others saw the city as a threat to scenery, either through its destruction under concrete and by quarrying, or by the countryside being overwhelmed by 'hordes' of urban tourists (Glyptis 1991). These two trends can be termed the recreationist and preservationist perceptions of rural landscapes. They are interlinked through the relationship between countryside and city, sometimes in concordance and sometimes in conflict. I will discuss both before returning to another strong perception of rural land, the continuation of the countryside as provider of resources.

Rambling, an activity not solely restricted to the author of a doctoral thesis, has been a fundamental element of countryside recreation in Britain during the 20th century. Recreational walking – whether called walking, hiking or rambling – and the movement for access to the countryside which grew around it, have been major influences on the way the modern Peak District landscape is managed and perceived. The identification of the region as the ‘green lung’ for the surrounding urban population has shaped how we perceive the Peak District today. The region has a population of 38,000 people, yet is surrounded by urban conurbations of over 17 million people within a 100km radius. The interest in the Peaks of this urban population has directly instigated access to moorlands privatised under Parliamentary Enclosure, the formation of the Peak District National Park and the construction of what constitutes ‘appropriate’ enjoyment of the countryside.

The Rambler's Tale

“I’ve been walking on these moors for 20 years. I was born and bred in Sheffield and one of the advantages of living in Sheffield is having all this countryside on your doorstep. I come for the solitude, the moorlands and the fresh air. There’s a spot over in Abbey Clough that I like to think of as my own, by the stream where a few hawthorns grow. There’s no better feeling than lying in the sun, eyes closed and hearing nothing but the sound of the water and bird song. I feel reinvigorated.”

9.4 Recreation: Enjoying the Country

9.4.1 *Rambling Across the Upper Derwent*

Earliest records of people walking in the countryside for recreation date to the 18th century, with guides to the Lake District published in 1778 by Thomas West and 1810 by William Wordsworth. During the 18th and much of the 19th century, rambling was largely restricted to the professional and educated middle classes. Ruskin saw the natural beauty of the countryside as a place of spiritual renewal and improvement for the working classes and influenced a nostalgic view of the countryside as a serene antidote to industrialism (Bunce 1994). The spread of railways from the mid-19th century onwards provided opportunities for more people to travel from cities to the countryside; however, they often attracted the wrath of the growing rural conservation movement who worried that the influx of the urban masses would damage the rural idyll (Stephenson 1989). They saw the countryside as requiring protection from the inhabitants of cities, as well as the houses, factories and pollution. Both Wordsworth and Ruskin joined in the criticisms of

railways, showing how contradictory views could be held by individuals. Wordsworth and Canon Rowsley, a founder of the National Trust, campaigned against proposed railway lines in the Lake District on that very point (Glyptis 1991). They took the view that a person had to be sufficiently educated to appreciate rural scenery, otherwise they would despoil it through sheer numbers and inappropriate activities. Ruskin believed that experiencing the countryside was, in itself, an educational act but still wrote a letter to criticise the construction of the Monsal Viaduct on the Midland Railway line through the Peaks for despoiling the valley:

“There was a rocky valley, between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, as divine as the Vale of Temple; you might have seen the Gods there morning and evening - Apollo and all the sweet Muses of the light - walking in fair procession on the lawns of it, and to and fro among the pinnacles of its crags. You cared neither for Gods nor grass, but for cash (which you did not know the way to get); you thought you could get it by what *The Times* calls ‘Railroad Enterprise’. You Enterprised a Railroad through the valley - you blasted its rocks away, heaped thousands of tons of shale into its lovely stream. The valley is gone and the Gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half-an-hour, and every fool in Bakewell in Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange - you Fools Everywhere.”

The railway-enabled mid-19th century expansion of tourism and rambling in upland areas dates to the end of the main period of Enclosure Acts. This was contemporary with the growth of grouse shooting, and landowners used the results of Enclosure to extinguish general public access and specific rights of way in order to prevent disturbance to breeding and nesting grouse. The creation of moorland grouse shooting and the rise of recreational walking would put landowners into conflict over the uses and perceptions of the commons not only with farmers, but also eventually with ramblers. In 1826 the Manchester Society for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths was formed, and in 1831 a petition was raised in Manchester against the stopping of footpaths. By the end of the 19th century walking clubs were being founded to promote rambling. Some of the early clubs included the Sunday Tramps in 1879 in Kent and Surrey, the Manchester YMCA Rambling Club in 1880 and the London-based Forest Ramblers in 1884. Most early clubs had predominantly middle-class memberships and the first-working class rambling organisation in northern England was the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers founded in 1900. The formation of rambling clubs was contemporary with the foundation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty in 1895. The Trust’s aim was to

protect the countryside from uncontrolled development and industrialisation by buying property and to act as a 'guardian for the nation in the acquisition and protection of threatened coastline, countryside and buildings' (Waterson 1994). These two aspects of landscape perception – as a place of recreation and one that required preserving from development – would have a strong bearing on the Upper Derwent throughout the 20th century.

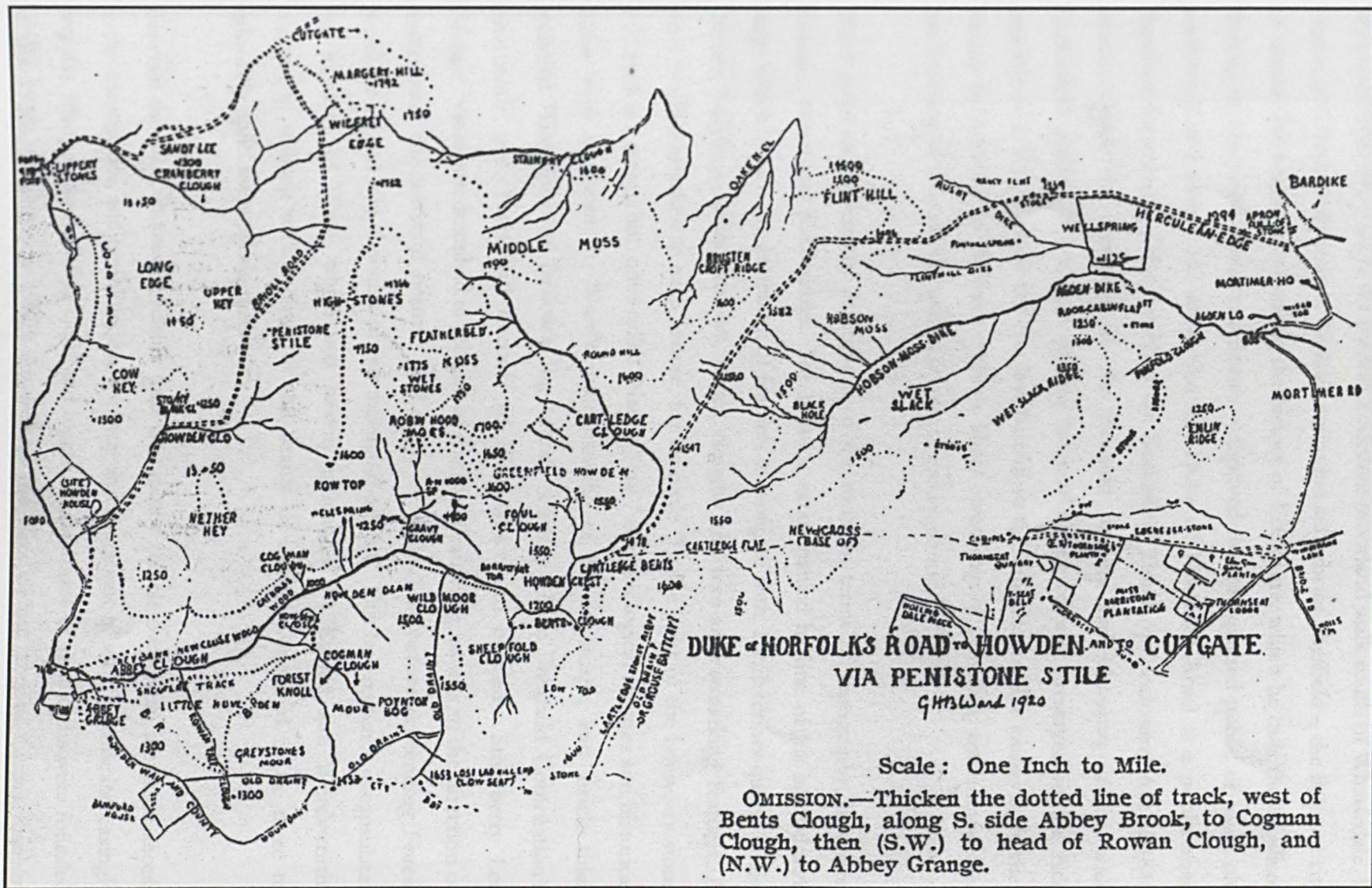
The Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' first ramble in the Peak District took place on Sunday 2nd September 1900 and comprised 14 people who travelled by train from Sheffield to Edale (Sissons 2002). They set off on an almost circular ramble around Kinder Scout calling at Hayfield in the west and the Snake Inn in the north before continuing along Doctor's Gate down the Woodlands Valley and to Hope railway station. The ramble was organised by GHB Ward, who placed an advert in the Clarion, a weekly paper which promoted a particular brand of socialism that emphasised culture as well as economics. It had inspired a series of Clarion Clubs including Cyclists, Cafes and Glee (singers), which organised events to improve the character of the working classes in group activities. The Clarion Ramblers was founded specifically to enable urban labourers to organise themselves to escape the drudgery and pollution of the cities (ibid). As such, it was as much a self-improvement organisation as it was recreational, for people to mentally and physically develop through experiencing the open spaces and beauty of the countryside – the complete opposite to the position taken by Wordsworth and Rawnsley in the century before.

The walk around Kinder Scout was pioneering at the time, though 50 years later it had become known as the 'usual round' (ibid). The railway line had only opened to passengers between Sheffield and Edale in 1894 and the Hayfield to Snake Inn section of footpath had only been opened in 1897 after 21 years of campaigning. On reaching the Snake Inn tea for 14 people was not readily available and the proprietor baked cakes. They decided that the day should be just the start of organised rambles and undertook to organise more trips in 1901. Until its demise in 1964, the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers was one of the most prolific publicists, campaigners and organisers of walks in and public access to the Dark Peak (ibid).

Ward was born in Sheffield in 1876 into a 'little mesters' family. His father was a keen Rambler and Sunday School teacher. In 1901 he was a fitter and turner in an iron works and an active trade unionist, and in 1903 he became the first secretary of the Sheffield branch of the Labour Representation Party – the precursor of the Labour Party. During this time he wrote a book about Spanish politics after befriending two Spanish non-violent, moral force anarchists. He was a founder member of numerous walking, conservation and heritage societies including the Hunter Archaeological Society. His socialism was character building and was influenced more by Ruskin, Robert Blatchford and Edward Carpenter than Marx, Weber and Engels. He believed that there was no better way to build character and self-improvement than to battle with the elements on the hills. Ward often quoted from Walt Whitman, William Wordsworth, John Ruskin, William Morris and any other author who wrote on the spiritual pleasure of walking, looking at scenic landscape and breathing fresh air. He used, in print, such slogans as 'A Rambler Man is a Man Improved' and 'The Man who never was Lost never went very Far'. In 1945 the Sheffield rambling community raised money to buy the summit of Lose Hill, which was presented to him in his honour as 'Ward's Piece', and which he immediately donated to the National Trust (Sheffield Clarion Ramblers 2000).

Ward campaigned against the loss of public access to the moors through Parliamentary Enclosure and for the formation of National Parks by writing in the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Handbook*. He researched the history of areas, including archival documents, archaeological sites and place-names, with the aims of educating *Handbook* readers about the moorlands and valleys and of establishing historical rights of access. Ward published walking guides to many routes and moorlands in the *Clarion Handbook*. Of relevance to the Upper Derwent is a guide to the Duke of Norfolk's Road which crossed the Don-Derwent watershed from Bar Dyke above Sheffield to Abbey Brook in the Upper Derwent, published in 1925 (Ward 1925. Illustration 9.1). The road was not considered a public right of way by the Duke himself and his gamekeepers attempted to deter ramblers from using it. The guide is typical of Ward's writing and contains all the elements he thought were important to a Rambler walking on the moors to build his character and educate the mind and soul through nature.

Illustration 9.1. Ward's map of the Duke of Norfolk's Road, first published in Ward 1925



Ward describes the road as the wildest Yorkshire moorland walk south of Wharfedale. It begins with backward views of Walkley and other suburbs of Sheffield – the beloved city of smoke. He begins by reviewing the history of Enclosure, which he calls the ‘legalised filching of moorland common pastures – deprived the unorganised public of many old bridleways and paths’. He states that the Duke of Norfolk’s Road is a public road ‘legalised for ever (save the word!) by the Ecclesfield Tithes (or Enclosure) Act of 1811 which...closed the commons to the freehold farmers and labourers of the wide Ecclesfield parish’. It was one of two ‘ancient’ rights of way preserved in the Act, possibly as a ‘sop to make the Act less hateful to the inhabitants’. He brings in further history by referring to Welbeck Abbey’s likely ownership of Howden, and admonishes the lowering of food production in favour of grouse shooting.

Ward gives an experiential description of the route in terms of topography, historical features, views and place-names. The route is accompanied by one of his hand-drawn maps which depicts the minimum of features to navigate with. He describes quarry holes, ditches, buildings, walls, barrows, edges, cloughs and tors as waymarking features. A story is often attached to each feature, for example ‘To the right of the boundary stone and track is a ruined hut, once called ‘Nancy Tent.’ Archaeological features and historical notes were important to Ward’s understanding of the landscape, and article titles included ‘The Story of Baslow’s Big Moor’, ‘History Upon Sheffield Corporation’s Moorlands’ and ‘Facts and Records of Blackamoor and Monastic Strawberry Lee Grange’. Views are described in relation to the act of rambling, usually to the direction of movement, ‘the rearward beauties and views of Agden’ or ‘before descending Forest Knoll we sit and take the view of our moorland temple’. This last sentence encapsulates the ideology of Ward, which was heavily influenced by Ruskin and Wordsworth, combining walking with looking at the beauty of nature, conceived to be there to spiritually uplift the working man.

Between the wars, increasing leisure time and motor vehicle ownership increased access to the countryside, and rambling, day-tripping and charabanc touring became increasingly popular. Many more rambling clubs and regional federations of local clubs were founded in the 1930s (Stephenson 1989). As well as the likes of the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Handbook*, numerous books were published on the benefits of rambling, and how to equip and conduct yourself in the countryside (see Batsford 1945; Joad 1934; Stephenson

1946). Art of the 1920s and 1930s depicted healthy walkers with uniforms and backpacks, often using a map symbolising an open-air ethos. Maps were central to the ordering of recreational use of the countryside, and the Ordnance Survey began issuing series of popular and tourist maps aimed at drivers and walkers. The map was a document of guidance, situation, discovery and revelation - unfolding the map unfolded the world (Matless 1990). The covers of the 1920s Ordnance Survey tourist editions depicted a walker using a map against a background of rolling countryside. The importance of maps to the perception of recreational landscapes is highlighted by a number of mid-20th century authors:

“With an Inch Ordnance sheet of your selected area you are the master of the countryside: it lies symbolically before you, depicted in the most accurate detail.”

(Batsford 1945).

The expansion of leisure was becoming more inter-linked with the conservation movement than in the previous century, as preservationists believed rambling improved moral spirit, good health and a culture of citizenship developing internal order, discipline and the ‘art of right living’ (Joad 1934). Many national societies were founded, or amalgamated out of earlier regional clubs, for touring the countryside with rules of conduct for respecting the landscape. The Youth Hostel Association and the Ramblers Association were two of the most well known societies founded in the 1930s. They promoted the ideal that the countryside was to be preserved from encroaching development and decrees were made as to what was appropriate enjoyment of the countryside – quiet and litter-free tenets which would later be enshrined in National Park policies. Open-air enjoyment was seen as a ‘movement’ and part of the modernist field of art and architecture. Hobnail boots, backpack and map defined the walker’s identity (Stephenson 1946).

As rambling associations became more numerous, so did societies dedicated to preserving or maintaining public rights of way in the countryside. The Peak District and Northern Counties Footpath Society was one of the most active of these. The society was founded in the 1920s, and was involved in two main aspects of rambling. It worked with rambling groups to campaign for better access along footpaths and discussed individual routes with landowners, but appears to have baulked at lobbying Parliament for an access Bill.

On a more direct, practical level, and one which has left a mark in the landscape, it signposted rights of way so that they could be used by walkers (Photograph 9.7).



Photograph 9.7. Contrasting signs aimed at ramblers in the 1920s. A landowner's stop notice (left) and a waymarker of the Peak District and Northern Counties Footpath Society (right)

Thirteen of these signs survive in the Upper Derwent dating from the 1920s to 1950s, some of which were re-erected in the 1980s and 1990s, and can be found at Doctor's Gate, Ashop Clough, Alport Dale, Moscar House, Westend and at the bottom of Cart Gate to Penistone. All are made in the same format of plain text on a dark green background. The signs not only give directions, distances, and requests to not leave litter and to keep dogs on leads, but in some cases justify the use of a right of way by reference to its antiquity. For example, two of the signs erected along Doctor's Gate were placed at its junctions with the Snake Pass road in 1924 and 1938. The latter reads:

PEAK DISTRICT & NORTHERN COUNTIES
FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY
No 58 1938
←
DOCTOR'S GATE
ROMAN ROAD
TO GLOSSOP
LEAVE NO LITTER

The signs were some of the earliest recreational noticeboards in the Peak District, a 20th century development designed to direct visitors to suitable locations and to appropriate ways of enjoying the countryside. The Society's boards acted on two levels; they were practical guides to rights of way and were physical symbols of the increasingly popular use of the countryside for rambling, helping to legitimise this particular, urban-based,

perception of the landscape. They also acted as a counterpoint to the numerous stop notices of landowners that warned walkers to keep off private moorlands (Photograph 9.7).

During the 1930s the campaign for freedom to roam on moorland for the urban population and calls for National Parks to help preserve countryside were intensified and drew people from all parts of the political spectrum, including socialists, anarchists and conservatives. Vaughan Cornish was one of the most vocal campaigners, again influenced by Ruskin; he wrote a series of books in which he equated nature with divine immanence and rambling with a sort of pilgrimage. He felt the need for parks was as places where ‘the urban population, the majority of our people, can recover that close touch with Nature which is needful for the spiritual welfare of a nation’ (Cornish 1932). Concerns about the impact of masses of uneducated, working people were still prevalent, and Cornish countered by stating that

“the National Parks...will...endure as such for centuries. The present careless indifference of the town tripper in his charabanc will, I believe, be replaced by a different mood in the succeeding generations... Within a time...we shall see an educated people, the leaders of thought will lead all classes, not merely an educated minority, and signs are not wanting that the aesthetic contemplation of nature will shortly attain the status of cult”.

(Cornish 1930)

The Kinder Trespass was organised on 24th April 1932 by the Manchester branch of the British Workers Sports Federation (BWSF), a communist-affiliated sports and rambling organisation (Photograph 9.8). The Federation actively promoted outdoor activities for the working classes, including walking, cycling and camping, at a time when the Depression created high numbers of unemployed (R. Smith 2002). The prime mover behind the Trespass was Benny Rothman, who was born in Manchester in 1911 and from the age of 14 worked in a garage on Deansgate, in the city centre (Perrin 1990). He had developed an interest in politics at YMCA night classes where he met members of the Communist Party. It was after being turned off Bleaklow by gamekeepers, during a BWSF camp, that Rothman and friends in the Federation planned the Trespass for the following weekend (Perrin 2002). They had decided to take such action because other bodies, such as the Council for the Protection of Rural England and various footpath

preservation bodies, were not prepared to lobby for a Parliamentary bill enabling free access to open moorland.



Photograph 9.8. Kinder Mass Trespassers, 1932. PDNPA Collection

The protest comprised hundreds of Manchester and Sheffield ramblers trespassing part-way on to the Kinder grouse moors which Ward had circumnavigated in 1900. Police and gamekeepers armed with pit props confronted them and, after a melee caused by the gamekeepers, a number of ramblers were arrested, including Rothman (Hill 1980). They were tried and convicted in Derby and during the hearing Rothman summed up their aims as:

“We ramblers, after a hard week’s work and life in smoky towns and cities go out rambling for relaxation, a breath of fresh air, a little sunshine. We find, when we go out, that the finest rambling country is closed to us, because certain individuals wish to shoot for about ten days a year. For twenty-five years the Ramblers’ Federation has carried on a campaign that has been futile. It was united action on the part of the ramblers that the well-known path, Doctor’s Gate was opened.”

This was not the first trespass as hinted at by Rothman’s defence and indicates that part if not all of the Doctor’s Gate packhorse route had been closed, as indicated by the barring of the way with field walls in the Woodlands Valley. Both prior and subsequently to this, the Peak District and Northern Counties Preservation Society erected their signposts along Doctor’s Gate.

The Sheffield Clarion Ramblers had also organised night-time mass trespasses, known as 'Rakes' Rambles', over private grouse-shooting moors, the first in 1907 on Bleaklow (Sissons 2002). Though not greatly involved in the 1932 Kinder Mass Trespass, the Clarion club helped to organise the Abbey Brook Trespass along the Duke of Norfolk's Road in the same year, which was undertaken by a group of Sheffield clubs including the Woodcraft Folk, Brightside Independent Labour Party and Spartacus (set up by the Sheffield Young Communist League). The trespassers walked the 3-mile length of the Duke of Norfolk's Road from Bar Dike to the source of Abbey Brook, where they were met by a large force of gamekeepers and a smaller number of police. The police were concerned enough about the threat of violence to advise the keepers to aim their pick handles at the ramblers' legs. On being confronted, the ramblers sat down for a picnic then followed the police orders to leave the moorland by turning around and walking back along the full length of the road to the fury of the keepers. This was followed by the first annual Winnat's Pass Access Rally in 1933, where Ward spoke.

Lobbying and direct action by the likes of Rothman, Ward, Cornish, the Ramblers' Federation and others eventually led to the Access to Mountains Bill being presented to Parliament in 1939. Action taken in the Dark Peak, including the Upper Derwent, was the greatest influence on national decision-making over the issue, and when first tabled the Bill promoted freedom to roam across all moorlands. However, the Bill did not result in a significant opening of access because by the time it became Act it had been amended in favour of landowners' rights by requiring any interested body to apply to the Minister for Agriculture for access to a specific area, against which landowners and other interested parties could appeal (Stephenson 1989). Landowners not only saw the Bill as a risk to their grouse-breeding programmes, they also strongly believed that their rights of ownership over large rural estates would be threatened if access was allowed to the urban working class. This was the class of people created over the previous two centuries by the growth of industrial urbanism, which itself had been stimulated by the estate-based wealth of the landed gentry. Access to moorlands was becoming one of the points of contention over how the landscape was perceived and used, which was being driven by the contrast between city and country.

9.4.2 *Peak District National Park*

The political debate over access and preservation of rural scenery was reopened after the Second World War. This led to the passing of the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act in 1949, which set the basis for the foundation of National Parks in England and Wales and for access to moorlands. The Peak District National Park was created in 1951, the first in the country, with its own planning authority and wardens to help provide an infrastructure for recreation. As with all the National Parks, the original aims were to preserve and enhance natural beauty through the conservation of the Park's distinctive character and to promote their enjoyment to the public through the provision of appropriate opportunities for outdoor recreation (HMSO 1949). In achieving these aims, the Parks had to take into account the social and economic needs of the local community and the interests of agriculture and forestry. Proposed open access to moorland was to be negotiated locally, rather than be imposed nationally. During the debates, the Peak District and the Dark Peak were specifically referred to because of their proximity to millions of people living in cities, when the idea of the area as the 'green lung' of those cities took hold (Stephenson 1989). This was very much an urban perception of the Peaks, placing the region as a rural recreation service to the cities.

As a result of this second Act, the Duke of Norfolk had to concede the right of way along his 'Road' in the Upper Derwent, when the local authority used the new powers of the Act to acknowledge public access along historical rights of way (Hill 1980). Walking is now a popular recreational use of the area, with people attracted to the views, apparent 'wilderness' and relative solitude of the moorlands. The southern stretch of the Pennine Way runs through the north-west of the Upper Derwent, crossing the Snake Pass and Bleaklow. The objective of the early rambling societies – complete freedom to roam, directed nationally by central government rather than negotiated locally – is now being implemented. The Countryside and Rights of Way Act, 2000, gives public access to open country, registered common land and ground above 600m A.O.D. (HMSO 2000). This is unlikely to have a great impact in the Upper Derwent, where most land under these designations is already open access land.



Photograph 9.9. Walkers 'viewing' the landscape from Derwent Edge

Recreational use of the area has increased dramatically since the days the Clarion Ramblers and gamekeepers fought over the moorlands. Much of the landscape management conducted in the area is directed towards managing those wishing to walk. All of the landowners in the Upper Derwent produce leaflets and waymarkers and undertake footpath repairs both to enable rambling and reduce the impact of numbers of people on the landscape. The desires of walkers, therefore, partly directs the way that the landowners perceive the rural landscape, in addition to their other core objectives, whether conservation or production. The National Trust designates all of the moorland in its ownership as open access land, where people have the right to roam, and publicises this act widely. For example, the Trust produces a walking guide to its High Peak Estate, which includes the Upper Derwent, with open access areas marked. What the Trust does not broadcast so extensively is that it also closes the moors for grouse-shooting days in late summer and autumn - both ramblers and gamekeepers are still important aspects of the landscape.

9.4.3 Other Recreational Uses

The National Trust lets out all of its moorland areas to a company that arranges corporate grouse-shooting trips. The company's gamekeeper occupies Birchinlee Farm, the residence of the Duke of Devonshire's keeper in the early 20th century, and many of the shooting butts are still used and maintained (Photograph 9.10). Many grouse-shooting days are now corporate hospitality days for well-paid managers working in cities, accompanied by champagne breakfasts, Land Rover rides and traditional picnics.

The moorlands are managed to benefit grouse-breeding, partly on the justification that it also benefits other moorland birds as well as sheep grazing. In this instance the Trust sees the potentially competing interests of recreation, conservation and production as complementary and the management of the landscape for each as beneficial to the others.



Photograph 9.10. Grouse-shooting butt maintained and ready for use on Little Howden Moor

Fishing is offered on Ladybower Reservoir by purchase of an annual permit from Severn Trent Water, which has a fisheries office dedicated to servicing fishermen (Photograph 9.3). Cycling in the valley is promoted through the Peak Park cycle hire at Fairholmes and cycling trails follow the reservoir-side access roads built by Derwent Valley Water Board. The biggest group of recreational users of the area are day-trippers, people who have no wish to walk on moorlands, cycle, fish or shoot small birds, but who have come to look at the scenery and breathe fresh air. Most day trippers travel by car and park at one of the numerous roadside car parks. Some never leave these car parks and take in the views from behind the wheel or in a deck chair. Others walk only short distances along the level roads and tracks in the valley bottom. The majority of customers at the coaching inns of Ladybower Inn, Yorkshire Bridge Inn and Snake Inn are now such visitors.

Most visitors are still the occupants of the neighbouring conurbations of Sheffield and Manchester; today joined by people from further afield, who are holidaying in the Peak District. The landscape is managed for their benefit, and in an attempt to control their

impact, by the provision of visitor infrastructure. The Peak District National Park's Fairholmes Visitor Centre is the hub and is built on a levelled spoil heap created by the construction of the adjacent Derwent Dam, and named after Fairholmes Farm, which is now abandoned and lies as archaeological remains on the shore of Ladybower Reservoir. The Park Authority, in collaboration with Severn Trent Water, provides a car park screened by trees, refreshments, toilets, cycle hire and the information centre which provides displays, guides, leaflets and books on the wildlife, scenery and history of the area as well as a live video link in spring to one of the woodland goshawk nests. Fairholmes is designed to be the main and first place for visitors to come, where they will find out what the Upper Derwent has to offer, and how to manage themselves in appropriate ways for quiet enjoyment of the countryside. The centre is designed to 'corral' the day-trippers who come to look at scenery, and are thought to have little 'deeper' interest in experiencing the landscape. More adventurous visitors disperse outwards into the landscape along roads and footpaths, on foot and bicycle.

Each of the car parks built along the road between Fairholmes and the A57 provides access to moorland footpaths and reduces roadside parking that is thought untidy and more intrusive. Again, in this 'natural' landscape, the car parks are a mechanism for controlling visitors and the visual impact they have. Cars are restricted on the reservoir-side roads beyond Fairholmes and people with little or no interest in rambling are encouraged through signs and leaflets to keep to these roads that are wide and well-surfaced. Ramblers, birdwatchers, naturalists, amateur archaeologists or fishermen tend already to know the places or routes where they can enjoy their interests and come prepared with maps. Leaflets and signs are one of the more significant ways of managing the landscape for recreation (see section 9.7).

The Ranger's Tale

"When I retired from the RAF I still needed something to do to keep the mind and body ticking over. Being a part-time Ranger seemed a good way to keep working and thinking. There's a lot of variety and working with people is the bit I enjoy the most, though you get all sorts, a few regular visitors you can have a chat with and others who you wonder why they've come. We see our role as being the public face of the National Park and the representatives of the Park in the local community. We work with all the partners to help look after the valley."

9.5 Conservation: National Parks, National Trusts and National Designations

Conservation in the Upper Derwent is led by four national bodies: the Peak District National Park Authority (PDNPA), the National Trust, Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and the Countryside Agency. The Peak District National Park was founded in 1951 as a result of the 1949 Act. All national parks are overseen by the government's Countryside Agency. After a government review of national parks at the end of the 20th century, their aims now are to 'conserve and enhance the National Parks' special qualities, and to provide opportunities for their enjoyment and understanding' (PDNPA 2000). How the PDNPA carries out these aims is largely dependent on the Authority working within national guidelines and it has manifested this in the Upper Derwent by designating it as a management area. This aims to bring all interested parties together to better manage the landscape for conservation, as well as recreation and sustainable production. Beyond this, it has little direct influence, and to carry out its remit, it must persuade landowners to its cause.

Conservation of wildlife and cultural heritage is an important factor in estate management by all landowners and by the National Park. The more commercially minded Forestry Commission and Severn Trent Water are both primarily working to make money from producing resources, but the National Park works with them to attempt to persuade them to do so in as conservation-minded a way as possible. Both



Photograph 9.11. National Trust staff plant deciduous trees in the Upper Derwent. National Trust Collection

have conservation strategies, and Severn Trent is actively managing its woodlands to make them more attractive to wildlife. It also plans tree felling with the National Park Authority to identify how it can avoid damaging archaeological features such as abandoned farmsteads, field barns and charcoal-burning platforms (Photograph 9.12). These have extra costs and there is always a tension between the water company's commercial and conservation aims, though it has recently appointed a forest manager who comes from a conservation rather than a timber background.

As well as lying within the Peak District National Park, the area is inside another national designation, DEFRA's North Peak Environmentally Sensitive Area. The Environmentally Sensitive Areas Scheme was introduced in 1987 to offer incentives to encourage farmers to adopt agricultural practices that would safeguard and enhance parts of the country of particularly high landscape, wildlife or historic value.



Photograph 9.12. Elmin Pitts farmstead. Elmin Pitts is one of only five farmsteads abandoned during the creation of the three reservoirs where substantial building fabric was left standing by DVWB. Like many of the farmstead sites it now survives within a woodland with public access managed by Severn Trent Water. Conifers around many of the ruined farmsteads are being clear-felled to prevent further damage from forestry activity, but the woodland around Elmin Pitts will be left in place because it mainly comprises deciduous species with a high wildlife habitat value



Photograph 9.13. Rebuilding a field wall in the Upper Derwent. National Trust Collection

The National Trust owns all of the farmland and most of the moorland, and is actively planting broadleaf trees. Founded in 1895 by members of the upper-classes horrified at the prospect of industrial and urban expansion into the countryside, it has become more egalitarian in its outlook since the days when one of its founders campaigned against the building of a railway in Borrowdale, Lake District, because of worries over the effects of large numbers of working-class visitors on the region (Glyptis 1991). It acquired the estate as a result of the Derwent Valley Water Board's land purchases for the construction of the reservoirs. The moorlands were given in separate grants from the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk, in lieu of death duties during the 1950s, while most of the farms were bought from Severn Trent since 1980. The Trust has the most conservation-minded ethic of all the landowners. It promotes its conservation work alongside recreation and publicly states that it is dedicated to ensuring that the countryside is protected – for all visitors to enjoy. Landscape is a place of natural beauty to the Trust and purchasing land is its prime aim; it owns 10% of the Peak District National Park.

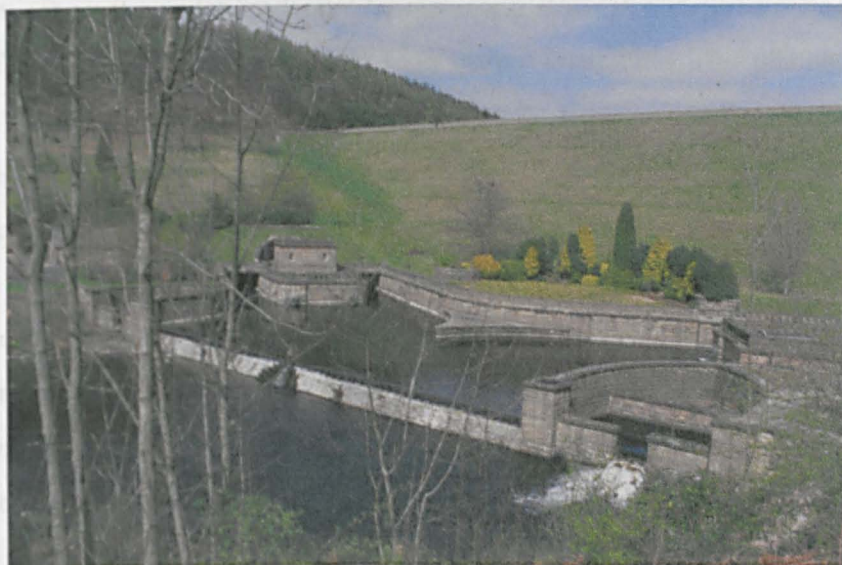
The Farmer's Tale

"I have been a shepherd up Derwent Valley now for sixteen years – the last seven of which have seen me installed at Ashes Farm as Tenant to the National Trust. Just short of one hundred acres of steep hillside keeps me busy all year round at weekends when I'm not hill shepherding at the larger farm next door. Hill farming is very close to nature as you follow the seasons as you work. You can never tire of working with hill sheep and cattle. No two months do you do the same

type of work. Virtually all the work is outside so waterproof and warm boots and coats are a necessity in the winter months. Whoever decided to build a series of reservoirs in the upper Derwent Valley was a well-read and clever chap. Rainfall is one thing we have rather a lot of.”

(Derwent Community 1998)

9.6 Production: Water, Timber and Sheep



Photograph 9.14. Water outlets below Ladybower Dam, a gateway from local to national

For all the recreation and conservation principles of the National Park Authority, the Upper Derwent is dominated by industrial-scale provision of water and timber production. The three reservoirs continue to be important water supplies for the cities that first promoted the Derwent Valley Water Bill in 1899. While Severn Trent is active in protecting and promoting to the public the wildlife and archaeology on its estate, this is undertaken within its primary purpose of supplying, and making commercial profit from, water. The conifer plantations, which were created around the reservoirs to prevent erosion and provide another source of income, are still harvested for their timber crop, and taken to Severn Trent's saw mill above the site of Ashopton hamlet. Beyond these plantations are others created and managed by the Forestry Commission, such as large woodlands near to the top of the Snake Pass and in Alport Dale.

One of the most recent major changes to the landscape occurred in 2000 when Severn Trent Water undertook maintenance and repairs to Ladybower Dam. The dam was subsiding and required heightening and strengthening against the water pressure from the reservoir behind. A huge volume of stone was needed to pile against the reservoir-side of

the existing dam and two proposals were put forward by Severn Trent. One was to quarry stone from outside the Park near to Glossop and transport it by lorry. The other was to take stone from within one of their plantations on the north-east facing slope of Win Hill which adjoined the reservoir. Severn Trent favoured the latter because it minimised costs, the company owned the land and so did not have to buy the stone; transport costs were reduced due to the site's proximity. They promised to minimise the quarry's impact on the wider landscape by removing stone in a stepped operation leaving a series of terraces rather than a single high quarry face. They also planned to leave a screen of mature conifers around it, pay for evaluations of archaeological sites and replant the area with native deciduous trees rather than conifers. The Peak Park, as the planning authority responsible for agreeing to or denying this proposal, received numerous complaints on the basis that quarrying below Win Hill would damage the scenic beauty of and affect wildlife in this area of the National Park. The Authority gave permission on the grounds that the other option of bringing stone from outside the Park by lorry, which involved approximately one lorry arriving every 30 minutes, would be too polluting, disturbing and dangerous. This option would be more damaging to the Park's landscape than quarrying under Win Hill and would counter the Authority's aims of reducing vehicle emissions (PDNPA 2000). The Authority's Ecology Service preferred the Win Hill proposal because the quarry terraces and tree replanting scheme would improve the potential of the area as wildlife habitats. Quarrying took approximately a year to complete and the result is barely obvious from the surrounding area.



Photograph 9.15. Forestry. PDNPA Collection

Clear-felling, as well as changing water levels in the reservoirs, creates the most visible changes in the modern landscape. Felling creates opportunities to alter the landscape by replanting with selected species. Severn Trent is now planting more mixed deciduous species, partly in mind of the potential for good publicity and partly within the context of low timber prices, which mean that there is little profit to be made from wood. The economic viability of the Forestry Commission plantations is also being re-evaluated and those in Alport Dale are now considered too remote to make a profit from their harvest. As a result the Commission and the National Trust are drawing up a plan to fell many of the conifers and enable regeneration of indigenous species in their place.

Despite the flooding of large tracts of land and the abandonment of the majority of farms, the valleys are still occupied. There are eight working farms, all of which are owned by the National Trust and let to tenants. Each practises pastoral agriculture within enclosed improved pasture fields and open moorland grazing. Sheep dominate, usually to the exclusion of any other livestock, and both wool and the sheep themselves are sold on the national and European produce market. The sheep market has been depressed since the 1980s and upland farmers have found it difficult to make a living from their flocks, resulting in the abandonment of farms across the British uplands. The National Trust has supported its farmers to some extent, by helping with grant applications, providing estate maintenance and keeping rents low, so mollifying the economic effects and helping to sustain the continuation of hill-farming in the Upper Derwent. Boundaries have been lost to increase the size of some fields to reflect modern agricultural ideals but there is still a coherence to the enclosed farmland of the valley sides. Routeways continue in use to move flocks between the farms and moors. This is the remnant of the dominant land-use pattern and dispersed settlement that originated in the 13th century. The National Trust tries to balance its agricultural, conservation and recreation aims through traditional land-use practices, though few tenants have an interest in the latter two objectives. Sheep numbers are one axis of tension, tenants wanting as many as possible to maximise their income, while the Trust has recently started a policy of reducing numbers to prevent over-grazing.

The Forester's Tale

“I’m not really a proper forester, well I am but that’s just a small part of the job. I’m not in the woods everyday and spend more time in the office. When there used to be a forestry team under the last forestry

manager he was out driving around the valley a lot, keeping an eye on the woodlands. I seem too busy for that. I can be marking trees for timber extraction, working on management plans, having meetings, discussing interpretation panels. The old manager lives here too, just across from the office so I see him every morning walking his dog or passing on mail that's been sent to him by mistake."

9.7 Signs and Leaflets: a History of Changing Values, Changing Images

The very look of the modern landscape is the biggest indicator of the nature of current land management for production, conservation and recreation. Many visitors, however, do not realise this and perceive the landscape to be natural, traditional and wilderness – notions that emphasise unchanging characteristics in opposition to development and progress, which is conceived as taking place in cities or lowland countryside where prairie farming and urban-edge expansion occurs (Bunce 1994; Glyptis 1991). The creation of the reservoirs and plantations is one very obvious change to occur in the 20th century, but its pre-war date and the natural or historical symbolism evident in the lake-like water, Alpine-style conifers and Gothic dams give them an 'aged' quality which dovetails into this timeless perception.

For many visitors, the more obvious indicator of modern landscape management is in the plethora of signs and leaflets that have manifested, primarily to manage visitors. Words and pictures are a common aspect of today's Upper Derwent and an interpretation of them gives some idea of the ideologies behind the various organisations attitudes to the landscape.

9.7.1 *Signposting Whos, Dos and Don'ts*

The earliest were the plain text on a green background footpath waymarkers of the Peak District and Northern Counties Footpath Preservation Society discussed above (Photograph 9.7). Green is again prominent in property signs of the Forestry Commission, and is used by the National Trust for lettering on a silver background. It is the colour of the countryside, helping the signs to blend in with the surrounding landscape, and mimics a country estate style, so reinforcing their place as rural landowners. Severn Trent Water has opted for blue to emphasise their water supply, while the National Park signs are on a brown background (Photograph 9.8).

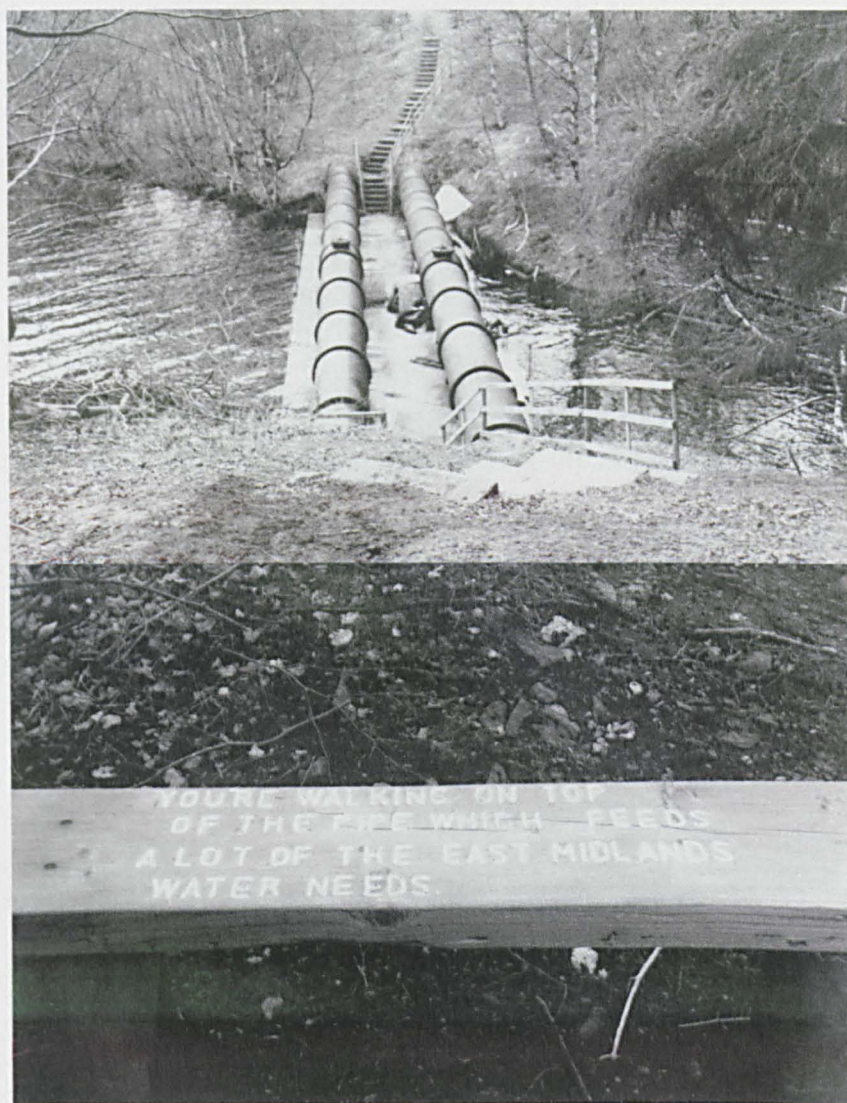


Photograph 9.16. National Park and National Trust signs at an access point to open access moorland near the Snake Pass owned by the Trust and managed by both the Trust and the Park Authority

Dedications to deceased loved ones made on benches at favourite viewpoints are very popular amongst walkers, and there is a National Park system in place for dealing with requests. Most benches in the Upper Derwent have a name plaque which ties in personal remembrance to looking at the landscape. Even for visitors who do not know the people named in or responsible for the dedication, the plaques associate feelings of enjoying the countryside, companionship and mortality. The grandest example of this sort of landscape naming is found at Losehill, where the National Trust have added the name 'Ward's Piece' on their waymarkers and Ordnance Survey names it so on their maps.

At the beginning of the 21st century, two new and completely different styles of signs are appearing throughout the Upper Derwent. The first style is appearing on new waymarkers and benches and is produced in house by Peak Park rangers. Brightly painted direction arrows and carved pictures of people doing country pursuits are replacing the plain wood waymarkers. These are highly prominent with the bursts of colour being more intrusive from much greater distances. This is one of the principle aims. The other objectives are to be humorous, to remove the dowdy appearance and formal estate style of the traditional signs and to enable signs to be cheaply produced by staff working in the valley. Benches are appearing inscribed by the rangers, with hand-carved poems about the particular area of landscape where they are situated (Photograph 9.17). Reactions to the benches and waymarkers are divided: most urban and young

visitors like them, while visitors who are older or more 'serious' in their pursuit of rambling think them intrusive and frivolous.



Photograph 9.17. Poetic licence. Benches inscribed by National Park Rangers with rhymes linked to the landscape. This is on the line of the aqueduct as it runs along the west side of the valley

The second style follows the fundamental change which has occurred in countryside signs – they are becoming more prevalent, more colourful and more overtly 'designed'. Coloured text and pictures are appearing by all the car parks and at a number of access points to National Trust moorlands to inform visitors about the work that the various partners undertake, why it is important and why the landscape is important. The imagery of the signs no longer harks back to that of landed estates because this is thought to be unlikely to get the messages across to the public. These are expensively designed and manufactured signs in which more modern concerns of public relations, marketing and



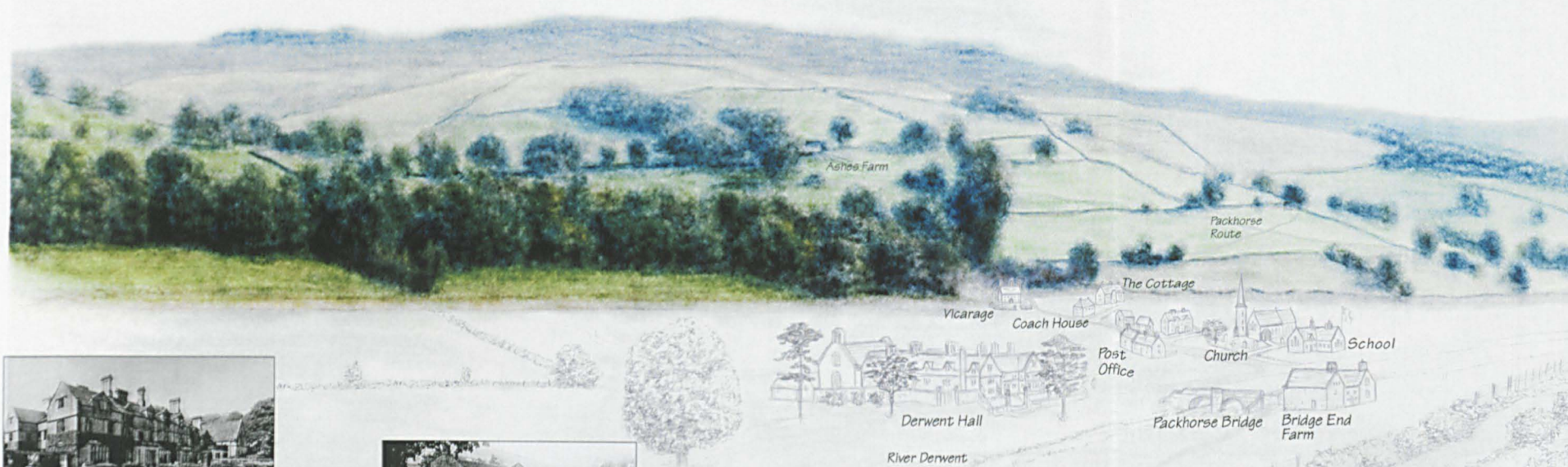
People have Changed this Landscape

in the Upper Derwent valley

Do You Think It's Natural?

Standing here you can see how people have used and changed this landscape over thousands of years.

Look at the picture below and see the ghost of Derwent village now covered by Ladybower Reservoir...



Enlarged in the 19th century, Derwent Hall dates back to 1672 and was demolished in 1943.



This Derwent village 17th century packhorse bridge was moved to Slippery Stones, above Howden Reservoir, where you can still see it today.



Spot the footbridge over Millbrook, with the Post Office of Derwent Village (in the background).



Notice the spire of Saint John and Saint James church, only built in 1865. It was the last village feature to be demolished in 1947.



A Landscape Changed...

...for Farming

Imagine you lived here thousands of years ago. You would have lived in a forest, chopping down the trees for building and heating, and using the cleared land for grazing your animals! Heather and peat slowly replaced the trees on the moorlands. Later, farmers built dry-stone walls creating irregular fields for grassland and cereal crops. Can you see where farmers live today?



The National Trust owns Ashes Farm, above, and with its tenant farms it in a way which conserves important hay meadows, habitats and archaeological sites.

...for Access

If you wanted to get from Sheffield to Glossop hundreds of years ago, you would have taken the packhorse route. Derwent village grew up beside it. Today these routes and others are used for responsible recreational access, which is encouraged throughout the valley.

...for Forestry

Look around you at the large areas of trees. These have been planted in straight lines for ease of growing and later felling for timber.

...for Water Supply

Do you know where your water supply comes from? It may come from here! The biggest change to this landscape was the flooding of the valley, including the Derwent and Ashopton villages, in the 1940's. Ladybower reservoir was needed to store and supply clean water to millions of people in the Midlands and Sheffield.

...for Conservation and Sport

If you look closely at the moorlands you will discover they are not a wilderness. For thousands of years, people have used them for peat, grazing and stone. Today they are managed for conservation, grazing and grouse shooting.



Red Grouse

Make the Most of Your Visit

Go to the Upper Derwent Information Centre at Fairholmes for ...

- More Information - Discover more fascinating facts about the valley from visitor guides, maps and books, and buy souvenirs.
- Cycle Hire - A range of bikes for all the family and all abilities and needs is available.
- Guided Walks and Events - Throughout the year
- Food and Drink - At the kiosk
- Toilets - Facilities for people with disabilities.
- Self Guided Trails - Several self-guided trails start from the Upper Derwent Information Centre. Coloured arrows mark the route. You are standing on the green route - a 4.5km (3 hours) walk taking in forest, views across Kinder Scout and the reservoir side.

Help Keep it Special

- Please keep your dog on a lead! Disturbance to wildlife and farm animals is a major problem.
- Please take special care to avoid starting fires! Stab your cigarette out on a rock, not vegetation or peat.
- Be safe! Look out for local signing about forest operations and timber lorries.
- Please take your litter home to protect wildlife, plants and trees.
- Please keep to footpaths and open access areas. Close all gates. Do not climb over walls and avoid polluting reservoirs and streams.



Illustration 9.2. The National Trust High Peak Estate leaflet: cover. Reproduced with the permission of the National Trust

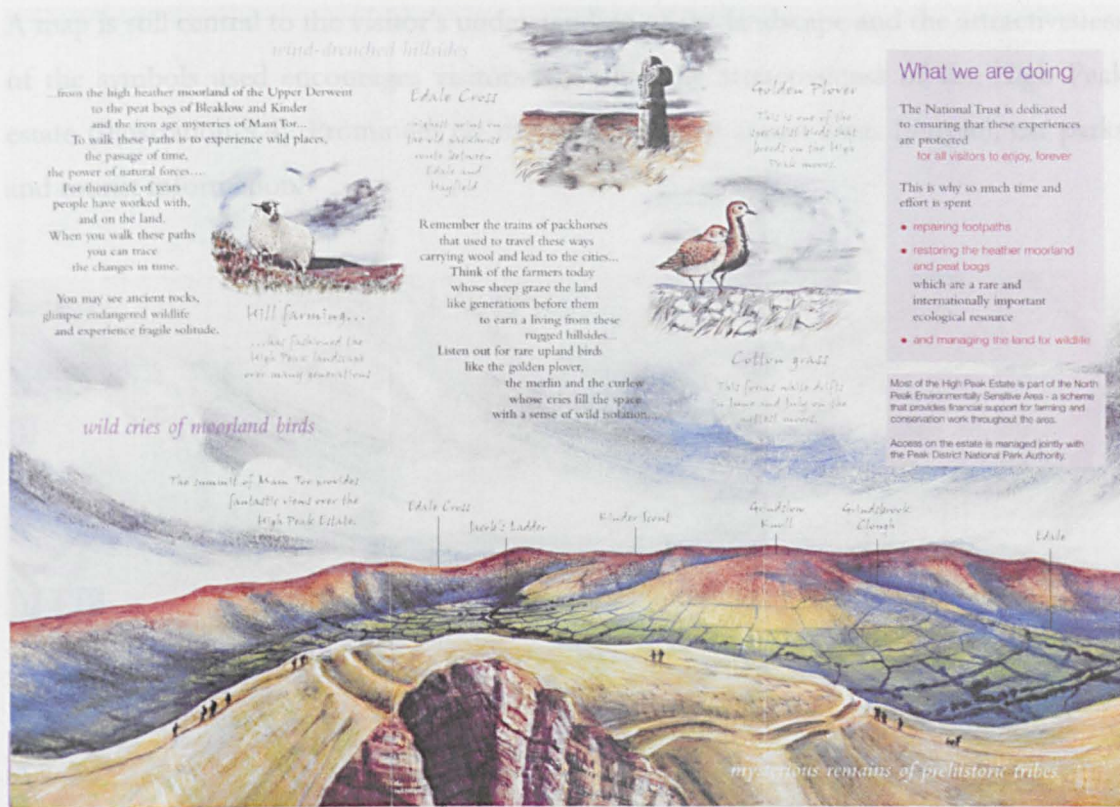


Illustration 9.3. The National Trust High Peak Estate leaflet: inside. Reproduced with the permission of the National Trust



Illustration 9.4. The National Trust High Peak Estate leaflet: outside. Reproduced with the permission of the National Trust

A map is still central to the visitor's understanding of the landscape and the attractiveness of the symbols used encourages visitors to realise the attractiveness of the High Peak estate (Illustration 9.4). Prominent on the map are open access areas (purple), car parks and tourist information.

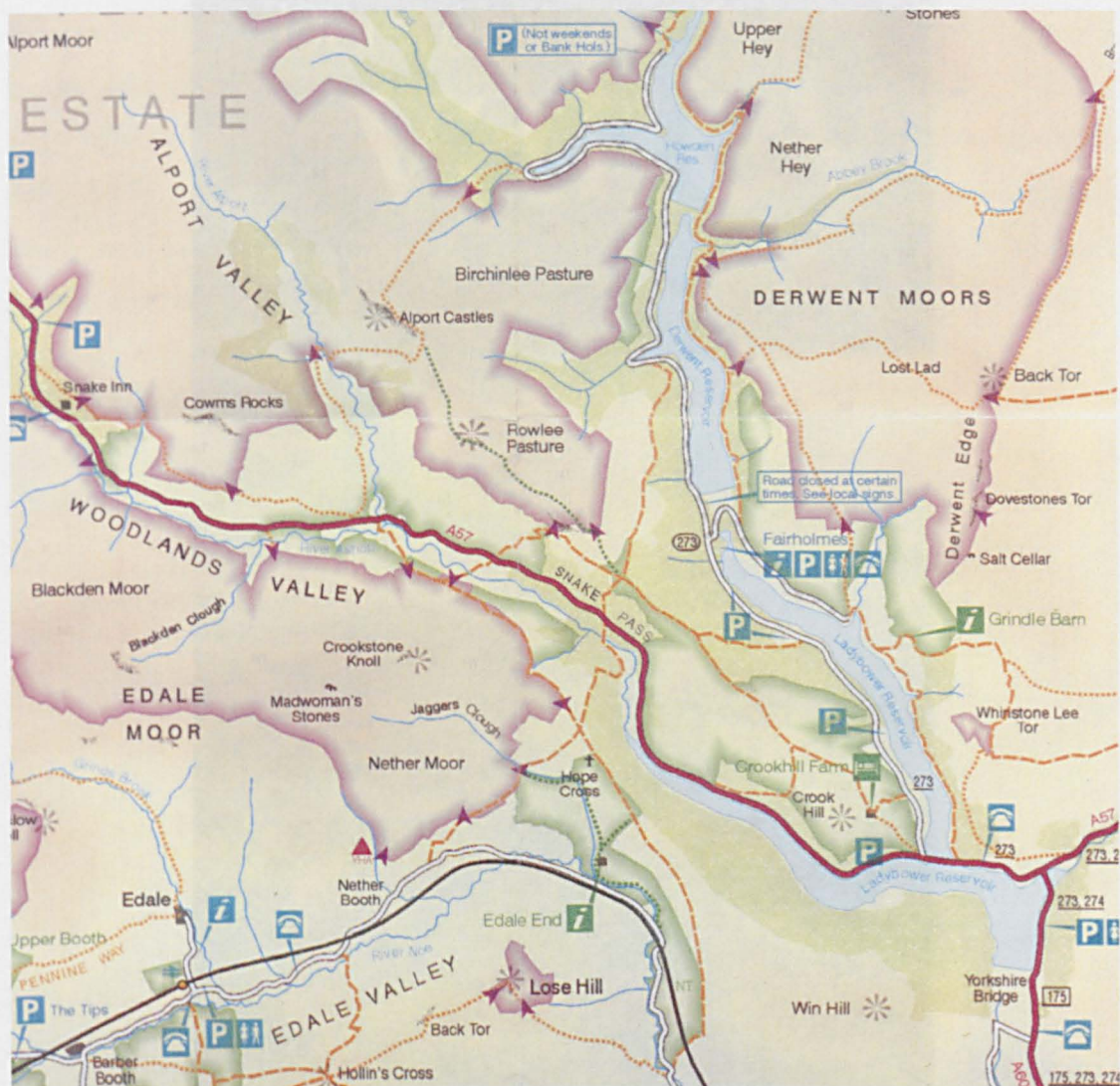


Illustration 9.4. The National Trust High Peak Estate leaflet: section of map. Reproduced with the permission of the National Trust

Upper Derwent

the Upper
Derwent
valley
discover & enjoy



Illustration 9.5. The Upper Derwent 'Welcome' leaflet: cover. Reproduced with the permission of UDOWG

The Upper Derwent Officer Working Group has produced a single leaflet to welcome visitors to the area (Illustration 9.5). Entitled 'The Upper Derwent Valley: discover and enjoy', it too uses language which encourages active engagement rather than passive viewing. However, the cover is a photograph of a walker looking at Howden Dam in a scene that includes all many of the defining elements of the Upper Derwent landscape – dam, reservoirs, woodlands, moorland and hollow-way. The walker may be read as a symbol of appropriate 'quiet' enjoyment of the National Park. Central to this leaflet is a series of short texts on what visitors can do (Illustration 9.6). On the rear (not depicted), the point is made that the Upper Derwent is not just a recreational playground but a living and working landscape producing agriculture, water and timber. 'Essential information' details visitor services while 'help to keep it special' is another code of conduct for appropriate behaviour in the countryside.

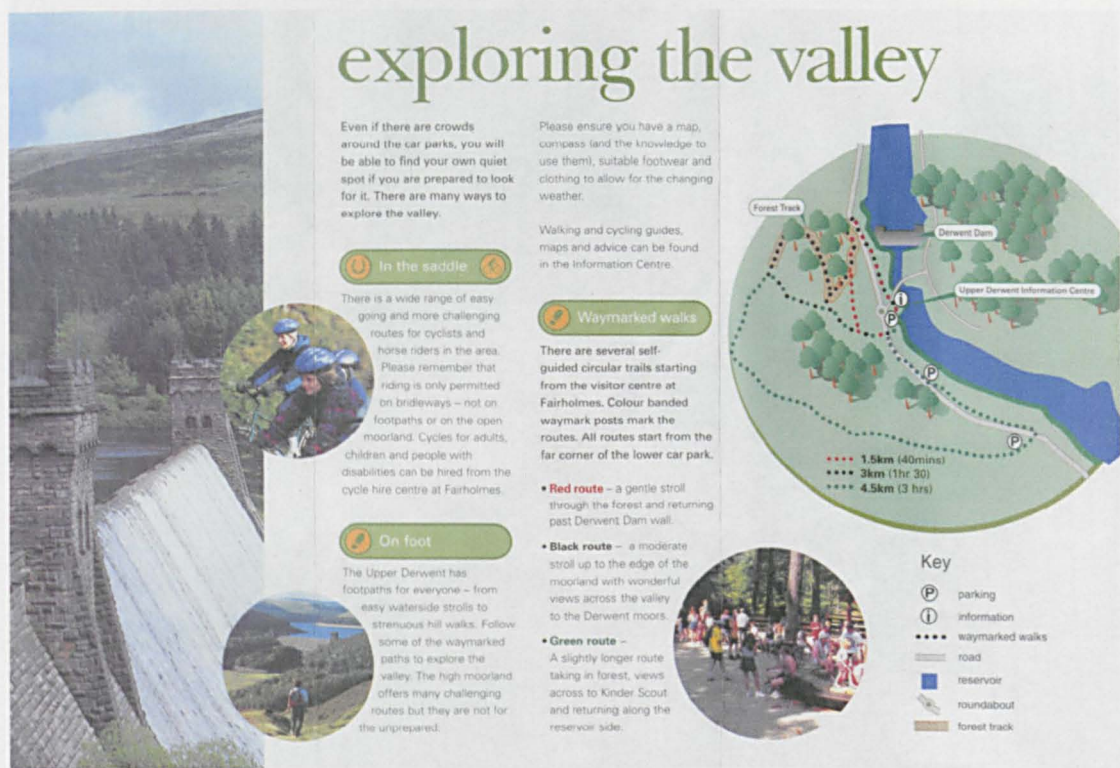


Illustration 9.6. The Upper Derwent 'Welcome' leaflet: inside. Reproduced with the permission of UDOWG

Wildlife, recreation and the work of the partners are given primacy, while references to cultural heritage were reduced on the insistence of the Forestry Commission. Now, the leaflet diverges from that of the National Trust. More publicity is given to the 'unique and award-winning partnership' which 'works with local farmers, residents and visitors' to manage the landscape, so that it can 'remain as attractive as it is now'. This is as much

a public relations exercise as an information guide. The imagery is also very different to the National Trust leaflet, photographs replace watercolours, headings are reminiscent of café bar menus and the maps are styled after 3D views of computer games or GIS systems, a Nintendo-isation of the landscape, where modern relevancy is seen as more attractive than tradition (Illustration 9.7). This is imagery familiar to the urban population, that makes up the majority of visitors, and is now informing their perceptions of the Upper Derwent landscape.



Illustration 9.7. The Upper Derwent 'Welcome' leaflet: section of map. Reproduced with the permission of UDOWG

The Archaeologist's Tale

“I’ve been working in the Upper Derwent for nine years since I joined the National Park as an archaeologist in 1994. This has been one of my main projects as I’ve walked over nearly all of it. It’s great when the weather’s nice but it’s not been often enough and it’s distressing the number of days I’ve left a sunny Sheffield to drive into rain clouds in the Derwent. During the survey seasons it was my workplace and I even think that now the survey’s finished and I don’t go there so regularly with work. But it’s a very beautiful workplace and a very special place to visit, I’m certainly attached to it.”

9.8 Historic Landscapes: Archaeology in the Management Jigsaw

This modern landscape which is being actively managed for the benefit of visitors and its own preservation, with substantial resources spent, is the current timeframe of the Upper Derwent’s landscape history. Many landowners and conservation bodies overlooked management of the historic landscape, concentrating more on the aesthetic and wildlife aspects of their work in countryside areas. This has changed greatly since the late 1980s with the rise of landscape archaeology as a discipline. Both the National Parks and the National Trust began to reconceptualise archaeological conservation as encompassing the whole landscape rather than just high-profile individual monuments. The change in emphasis is clear in the differences in the base level of archaeological information required by the National Trust for its properties. Up to the 1980s, the standard archaeological management information was provided by surveys of individual sites recorded in the relevant county SMR. Since the inception of the Lake District Historic Landscape Survey in 1988, the first such National Trust project, walk-over surveys encompassing all aspects of the historic fabric of the landscape have been initiated across England and Wales (eg Bevan et al 1990).

In 1994 the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group, at the suggestion of the National Park Authority, initiated the Upper Derwent Archaeological Survey. A comprehensive ecological survey of the area was undertaken in the 1980s, but the only archaeological information was the aforesaid National Trust SMR survey conducted in the same decade. The archaeological survey was the first time that most major landowners in the area obtained a comprehensive database of archaeological features. and, more fundamentally, introduced a shift in perception about what is archaeology. This has changed from highlighting a group of isolated monuments surrounded by modern, archaeologically valueless, land to the whole of the landscape as a historic artefact in its own right. The

survey has taken eight years to complete and is feeding information into management plans, conservation activities, working practices and the local interpretation plan.

The Child's Tale

“The school taxi drops me off at the bottom of the ramp and I get prepared for the long trek up the steep, stoney, usually muddy track. The first part is the most tiresome – it’s the steepest. Up and over the first cattle grid. By this time I’ve usually started singing a song. I look down and see the farmer hanging out his washing accompanied by the yapping of his dogs. Past the wall and ahead of me, I can see yet another cattle grid. The view down the valley opens and I see the tree’s reflections on the reservoir but as I go across the cattle grid the wall blocks my view. As I walk past Bullhead there are a variety of animals; wood pigeons clattering out of the trees, pheasants shepherding their young and occasionally you might see a glimpse of a stoat or a weasel. By this time without knowing it I am already at the third and final cattle grid, across it and I am in the field with the sheep. I chase them off the track by imitating a dog (sometime successful, sometimes not). Through the final gate and at last what a relief. I can see home. I run along the last few metres and open the yard gate, pat Matt and Meg, walk past the car and enter the house through the barn, dump my bags on the floor and at last I’M HOME!”

(Derwent Community 1998)

9.9 Discussion

I have chosen to structure this chapter largely around the three main, broad categories of land-use that are practised in the area because these leave clear traces of landscape occupation and are comparable to archaeological evidence for earlier periods. Each is also fundamentally associated with different ways of perceiving the role and importance of the rural landscape in the modern British state – so bringing together local and broader scales of analysis. There are quite definite ways that these forms of land-use are undertaken in the Upper Derwent, how they practically impact on the area. However, they are related to another two important ways that the landscape is conceptualised, which are grounded in modern national and organisational ideals about countryside. *Management*, which puts into practice these ideals through guiding practical land-use, and recommending what are appropriate activities. *Interpretation*, which is created by the organisations to inform the public of how the landscape is managed, what are its special qualities (as defined by those institutions), and what are the suitable ways to enjoy the countryside.

Each individual organisation working in the Upper Derwent has produced local management and interpretation plans to define strategy. They have become the major way for the organisations to conceptualise and describe the landscape. These break down the landscape into different zones, categorise places by values associated with recreation, conservation and production, and ascribe preferred land-use that will determine what the landscape looks like in the future. Values are grounded in information, based on objective analysis and produced by professionals, as evident in the commissioning of ecological and archaeological surveys, and are very much a late 20th to early 21st century 'bureaucratic' way of perceiving the landscape. They not only greatly influence the way the modern Upper Derwent landscape is used and looks, but how it is perceived and understood by those living, working and visiting the area. Signs and leaflets are two publicly visible products of these management plans, both promoting the partners' work and helping to define what is special about the local landscape.

The use of the Upper Derwent landscape during the 20th century can be characterised by the three major trends of recreation, conservation and production of the natural resources of water, timber and sheep. These all bring with them different perceptions of the landscape, and both the inter-links and tensions between them are typical of the upland regions of Britain. One wider concept that connected them all in the early 20th century was that of improvement. Ward printed his slogan – 'A Rambler Made is a Man Improved' – on the cover of the *Sheffield Clarion Ramblers Handbooks*. The conservationist and recreationist writers of the 1930s and 1940s viewed appropriate enjoyment, that is healthy and quiet, of the countryside as a form of improving the education and well-being of the nation (Batsford 1945; Joad 1934; Stephenson 1946). Many of these writers, including Ward, were directly influenced by Ruskin's theories that viewing rural landscapes led to personal development. These ideas of self-improvement in the countryside were linked to similar ideals that resulted in the stipulation of land-improvement in 18th century tenancy agreements, 19th century Parliamentary Enclosure, and the social engineering behind Tin Town in the 20th century. A significant social difference between the application of improvement in agriculture or navy settlement and its expression in recreation or conservation can be seen in how they were implemented. While the former examples were all imposed on people and so driven 'from above', by landowners or the Derwent Valley Water Board, Ward and his contemporaries perceived them as a means for the individual to take control of their own

character – rather than improving *the* landscape, the landscape was there to be used to actively improve oneself.



Photograph 9.18. Graffiti carved by visitors on the remaining walls of a ruined building in Derwent hamlet during droughts in 1976 and 1995. The 'lost village' attracts hundreds of visitors whenever water levels drop low enough to expose it on the bed of Ladybower Reservoir

At the beginning of the 21st century, ramblers and day-trippers enter a landscape that is divided between four major landowners in the Upper Derwent; the National Trust, Severn Trent Water, the Forestry Commission and a private individual. The first three all have a corporate rationale with clearly stated objectives for acquiring any landholding. The National Trust is led by conservation and providing access to recreation, while Severn Trent and the Forestry Commission are primarily producers of water supply and timber. For the Trust, conservation includes wildlife, scenery, vernacular architecture and archaeological sites, which has now been redefined to the historic landscape. Their ideals of recreation are primarily based on quiet enjoyment, so focus on walking while having a more ambiguous attitude to mountain bikers, yet encouraging grouse-shooting. In one sense, 'quiet' equals 'traditional'.

Divisions between responsibilities and aims are not so clear-cut, however. The National Trust is also a major producer through its ownership of upland sheep farms and needs to balance this with its other aims, which it attempts by perceiving its conservation role as encompassing the protection of traditional hill farming. Severn Trent and the Forestry Commission each facilitate recreation within their landholdings by waymarking

footpaths, and the former allows fishing on Ladybower Reservoir and cycling on its trackways.

The area is not only within the Peak District National Park, the Park Authority also has a physical presence in the landscape through its ranger service, information centre and cycle hire outlet at Fairholmes. The Authority designated the Upper Derwent as a Management Area in 1981. This aims to bring together all interested parties to manage the landscape to further the Authority's aims of conserving and enhancing the Park's landscape while providing opportunities for its enjoyment and understanding. The Authority takes a lead role in managing the numbers of people visiting the area for recreation, which involves it in public interpretation of the landscape, conservation and maintenance of rights of way. The Authority, major landowners and the parish councils work through the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group on issues of landscape management. What we have is a reworking of post-medieval relationships between landownership constituted within the nation state and the local inhabitation of the landscape by occupants, whether residing there or temporarily visiting. Landowners now are corporate and statutory bodies, while inhabitation for the majority of people is brief, and dislocated from residence and daily routines undertaken elsewhere.

This is how the modern landscape of the Upper Derwent is currently being created. The name 'Upper Derwent' is becoming more prominent through its use in publications, signs and guides and is beginning to replace 'Ladybower' as the popular place-name for the area. With naming comes an identity and the Officer Working Group is keen to influence, if not determine, what the perception of this identity may be. It is an identity which mixes nature and history, remoteness and convenience, wilderness and management, traditional rural values with modern urban lifestyles to define a Pennine valley situated within 15km of two of the largest cities in England. Rarely have so many people enjoyed such a heavily managed landscape thinking it to be natural.

Chapter 10

Discussion

The evidence for the Upper Derwent indicates that the area has an archaeologically visible history of land-use and occupation covering 10,000 years from the end of the last glaciation. As would be expected, the evidence changes over time in respect of its nature and extent. Lithics are the main source of archaeological data for prehistory and it is only from the later neolithic onwards that structural evidence survives. Pottery finds are virtually non-existent before the Roman period and between the end of the Roman Empire and the 13th century AD. Ceramics provide a major source of evidence for interpreting dates and consumption patterns during the later medieval and post-medieval periods. The survival of built features is intermittent during prehistory and continues to be sporadic until the medieval period, when the pattern of land-use originated that dominated the area until the dramatic imposition of the three reservoirs in the early 20th century. While only one environmental sample is currently available for the Upper Derwent itself, work in surrounding areas does provide a regional background to interpret the study area's vegetational history from the mesolithic to the medieval period.

Documents and historical maps have complemented archaeological evidence in my interpretation of how the landscape was perceived, owned and occupied from the 13th century onwards. The range of documents varies greatly, including records of Crown land grants, bounds of the Royal Forest of the Peak, inventories of wills, management prescriptions for estate tenants and sales of woods for charcoal production. Maps have been crucial in charting changes to enclosed land, woodlands and building locations from the early 17th century to the 20th century. Many of these documents were produced by elites and relate to their concerns and to the conditions imposed on those inhabiting the Upper Derwent. They were active in the production, negotiation and transformation of social relations, and may be seen as 'technologies of oppression' (Moreland 2001). The strict conditions in 18th century tenancy agreements in Hope Woodlands township not only demonstrate the social domination of landlord over tenant, they are the tools of control. Likewise, the contemporary letter, written by the township to petition the Duke of Devonshire for better roads is a means of empowerment within a highly unequal social relationship. In the medieval period, the royal and lordly grants of land to Welbeck Abbey

were instruments that gave legitimacy to the Abbey's management of the upper Derwent for its own use – words that brought into being a new world. Crown documents were written to prevent and fine woodland damage in the Royal Forest caused by canons, and counter arguments about what activities were permissible may have been made by both sides by reference to the words of the original grants.

As may be expected, using documents in combination with the greater survival of archaeological features and artefacts for the post-medieval period has enabled far more detailed description and interpretation for the latest four centuries than for earlier periods. Each type of evidence allows a different route into understanding how the landscape was developed over this time and provides detail unobtainable elsewhere. For example, the presence of charcoal-burning platforms indicates the distribution of charcoaling in the area, and 18th century documents concerning selling rights to charcoal in the Upper Derwent's woodlands to South Yorkshire forges provide information on at least one aspect of the date and organisation of the industry. One of the tasks of the landscape archaeologist is to integrate the disparate data into an overall narrative, which has been my intention. There is not one that has primacy over others (Moreland 2001), texts do not give a more direct route into the past than artefacts, objects do not reduce environmental data to providing background sketches of vegetation on which human life is played out.

An aim of my thesis has been to explore Andrew Fleming's contention that we can only interpret the long-term landscape archaeology of an area by exploring the detail of the local evidence in relation to regional trends and wider institutions (Fleming 1990). This is based on the premise that the local is articulated with the broad context and constitutes four essential arguments:

- Individuals and families interact most with others living within their local community so that the boundedness of a community is emphasised more than its permeability, giving a community the potential for robust, long-term histories.
- Social identity is most strongly created through the regular, everyday reworking of social relations at a local level.

- Communities are interconnected with their neighbours through sharing resources and exchange, and so participate in wider, regional identities.
- Communities are incorporated into larger formal institutions, spanning extensive geographical and temporal scales.

A fundamental requirement of such an approach is the requirement that archaeologists move between different spatial and temporal scales of social articulation to write long-term histories that maintain the focus on people and society. It is a different approach to one that focuses on the general by describing local phenomena as passive reflections of nationally recognised sequences. National models are born out of archaeology being a discipline practised within nation states (Bevan 1999b). While not explicitly party politically motivated, archaeological interpretations are implicitly embedded in the experience of living in nation states, within a disciplinary structure defined by national scales of organisation. There is nothing wrong *per se* in taking national boundaries to define a unit of study, however the danger lies in unquestioningly imposing the nation state as the primary scale used to conceptualise past cultures. The tensions and limitations created by this structuring of archaeology cannot be removed by attempting an objective approach, because we reproduce this structure through our practice in the present, therefore the nature of the boundaries we set should be explicitly acknowledged.

This approach outlined above is also different to one that concentrates solely on creating dense description of local evidence, either writing pleasant stories of what so-and-so did or making in-depth phenomenological studies of human action in a particular place and period. There are a number of publications about Upper Derwent history that fall into the former category (cf Byford 1981; Hallam 1989; Robinson 2002). All are excellent sources of local information and I have valued them highly in writing this thesis. However, they all do little to help elucidate why things happened or changes occurred, beyond telling us that is what a certain individual chose to do or suggesting that national history just happens upon a local community. Dangers of the more phenomenological approach is that it focuses on human agency to such an extent that the social interactions that occur between *individual–community–broad institution* are omitted from interpretations of the social context of inhabitation, and that a somewhat atemporal understanding of the past is created.

I have focused throughout on how the communities themselves were constituted and on the mechanisms of social interaction that would have brought local communities in the Upper Derwent into contact with the wider region and broader institutions, discussing national trends in terms of how they would have been experienced, and relating a close-grained local study to the wider world. As an example, differences in the post-medieval landscape of the Upper Derwent, including the use and enclosure of the moorland commons in Hope Woodlands and Derwent townships, show the difficulty in trying to compare regions with a national picture when that picture is so variable. That simply reduces local detail to a checklist of abstract traits in which the more boxes ticked, the better the local fits with the general – which is given precedence as the proper history. Nothing is really gained in our understanding of the landscape in question, *because we end up restating the general through the local evidence*. When a family living in later prehistory chose to bury one of their dead in a stone and earth mound on a locally prominent hill, they were not doing so because they knew such a funerary rite was being practised throughout Britain. They chose to do so based on an understanding of their world developed in relation to their everyday routine inhabitation of the landscape, and their interaction with wider society as experienced through contact with neighbouring communities and structures of social power. For the 17th century tenant farmer, such interaction is through social contact with neighbours, nearby communities and estate agents, most regularly experienced in the context of township governance, church services, markets and visits by the estate agents on official business.

This archaeological approach emphasises people who have a sense of connection or tenure with the landscape through its inhabitation – a geography of the relations between people and land. For later periods, this connection is stronger and more immediate for tenants living in the Upper Derwent, than for the landowners who lived at a distance and held numerous estates. The latter may know of an individual farmstead as a name on an estate terrier, a rent value or a place passed on the way to a grouse shoot. Sense of tenure was somewhat distanced, though legally recorded, and physical presence may have been infrequent. The farmer has a close-grained relationship with his farm, grounded in the time spent moving across it and occupying specific locales when undertaking routine activities. Based on experience and knowledge, the farming household knows where is dry in summer and wet in winter, where the best grass grows, which walls may need

repairing, where the milking cows tend to shelter on a cold, windy morning. Individual households from a township were drawn together at specific times and places in communal activity, such as sheepwashing and clipping. This is something that a history of post-medieval landownership would miss. Prehistoric barrows are another example, a feature that has often been studied at the landscape level as a dot on a distribution map. This can lose an understanding of how they may have been experienced by a community. They may have been specifically visited as part of a funerary rite to bury a family member, or been present in the vicinity when herding livestock or when passing by on route elsewhere. Each form of engagement involves the participant in differing forms of social interaction. Landscape archaeology allows us to interpret the physical conditions that 'face-to-face' relationships took place within, and how they changed over a long period of time.

An approach that moves between the local and wider scales of analysis is more problematical during some periods. During prehistory and prior to Domesday in 1086 AD, the periods we can interpret in most detail are the later mesolithic/early neolithic, later neolithic/early bronze age and Roman. For periods after Domesday there is a much greater amount of evidence available at national, regional and local scales, and which can be dated to a close time frame. This has enabled a more detailed interpretation of the landscape from the 13th century to the present day, and I believe that it has been for these periods that my study has been most successful. From prehistory to the early medieval period, the single biggest problem has been to overcome the paucity of local data at certain times. The most notable gaps include the iron age and post-Roman/early medieval period, as well as the poor chronological resolution of much of the prehistoric material. The risk during data-poor periods is that, in attempting the approach I have taken, the latter is merely extrapolated onto the former. I feel that, with current knowledge, I have pushed the evidence as far as possible without overly subsuming the Upper Derwent into regionally generalising models. This does mean that there are significant breaks remaining in this landscape history. Recommendations for future work both acknowledge this, and outline methods for discovering appropriate data that may contribute towards filling those gaps.

10.1 Implications of Approach for Landscape Archaeology

I believe the approach I have taken and the results achieved have a number of broad implications for landscape archaeology.

Before outlining these implications, it is worth exploring them through the comparisons I have made with Richard Hodges's Roystone Grange study earlier in this thesis. Hodges presents five snapshots in time – prehistoric barrows, Romano-British settlements, medieval grange, and the post-medieval and modern hill-farm – rather than a long-term historical narrative. There is little attempt to link the different periods, or to interpret how remains and previous structures of land-use influenced later ones, except for the addition of walls to progressively subdivide the land. External influences are seen as the major agents of change, and he does little to discuss how these would be understood by inhabitants of the valley or how they articulated with the wider economic sphere, reducing the occupants to passively reacting to outside events. He explicitly states that 'the rhythms of Peakland history are effectively accentuated versions of the champion lands [of south and middle England]' (1991a, 12). He also downplays the potential for variability across the Peak District by conceiving of Roystone as 'point of reference – somewhere that echoes the rhythms of Peakland history, and embodies the spirit of six thousand years' (ibid, 7). These statements underpin Hodges's interpretation of Romano-British rural settlement in the region, which is seen as typically associated with sheep farming (ibid, 86). While acknowledging that the pattern of walled enclosures found at Roystone is rare on the limestone plateau, he suggests this may be a result of no one having looked (ibid, 86). My own study of all recorded definite and potential Romano-British rural settlements of the Peak District, indicates that there is a wide range of variability in settlement and field layout within a broad series of patterns (see section 4.5.3) (Bevan 2000a). Settlement varies from being isolated and enclosed, such as Royd Edge, Holmfirth, dispersed amongst fields, such as Deep Dale, Taddington, and nucleated into small hamlets subdivided by plot boundaries, such as at The Burrs, Chelmorton. There is evidence for both animal husbandry and cereal cultivation, with the distinct possibility that some settlements focused on one or the other or both. I have only found the pattern of walled enclosures at two other sites. At Thorpe Cloud, Ilam, a loosely nucleated settlement associated with cultivation terraces was enclosed within a property boundary that defined an extensive area (ibid). On Carsington Pastures, a series of low rubble banks and walls divide a large tract of landscape into at least four large sub-rectangular blocks that are probably, though not

categorically, dated to the Roman period (ibid). The variability indicates that Roystone cannot be taken as typical of elsewhere in the region, nor that there is a single, typical Romano-British settlement. It also suggests to me that rural settlement layout and type were the result of choices made by local communities living within a knowledge of the region's shared opportunities and traditions, that was actively reworked through social interaction.

To gain a body of meaningful data for an individual landscape requires close-grained studies employing a range of archaeological, historical and environmental techniques that acknowledge the great variability in the nature and archaeological visibility of sources of evidence. Bodies of evidence from individual locales and sites need to be related to each other, both spatially and temporally. One of the biggest gaps in the evidence for the Upper Derwent, is the lack of securely dated, detailed environmental work undertaken within the valley itself. While Tallis and Switsur's Featherbed Moss study has been very valuable, it is restricted in space and time.

It is possible to take a very long time-frame as a meaningful unit of study, from which conclusions can be drawn about the development of landscapes over time without losing the detail of how people living at any one time understood, perceived and constructed their worlds. A long-term history need not become an over-generalised sketch, nor get bogged down in detail. We do have to acknowledge that variability in the amount of evidence available can allow more or less detailed discussions of different periods. A quick estimation of the time periods covered by each chapter is pertinent here.

Chapter 2 – approximately 4,000 years

Chapter 3 – approximately 2,500 years

Chapter 4 – approximately 1,500 years

Chapter 5 – approximately 500 years

Chapter 6 – approximately 200 years

Chapter 7 – approximately 150 years

Chapter 8 – approximately 50 years (which overlap with the first 50 years of Ch. 9)

Chapter 9 – approximately 100 years

This demonstrates the much larger amount of data surviving from the more recent past with which we can interpret the routines of life in greater depth, as is typical for most landscapes in Britain. We have to be careful not to follow the tendency to gloss over

data-poor periods, nor to demote them to footnotes or appendices to the 'better' archaeology.

The evidence from local landscapes have to be related to the wider world of long-established institutions that exist as concepts and actualities across extensive geographical space, including beyond the immediate experience of any one individual. Simply importing a 'national' sequence onto the local results in an over-generalised picture that subsumes regional variability into an over-extrapolated whole. The problems of generalising, and of using better-studied regions in southern England to explain the north and west of Britain have been explored in a number of recent publications covering prehistory and history (Bevan 1999a; Fawcett 1997; Frodsham 1996; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997; Harding and Johnston 2000; Newman 2001). These have all demonstrated that an understanding of many regions in Britain has suffered because of such comparison and generalising.

An approach to interpreting how local and broad scales interact is suggested here. The mechanisms for interaction are argued to be the social contact that occurs between those dwelling in a local landscape and wider institutions and trends. The nature of this contact changes over time. A landscape archaeologist, therefore, has to investigate the evidence for participation in wider trends. This includes the identification of wider patterns of activity and the widespread circulation of concepts pertinent to landscape perception and use. This may be most effectively recognised at the regional level, though there are national or international concerns relating to specific recent periods, especially the Roman and medieval to modern periods. When the archaeologist has an understanding of local conditions and wider trends, the key is to then interpret the social contexts within which interaction was undertaken.

Finally, detailed local studies can be used to gain a better understanding of how the landscape, or *landscapes*, of Britain were occupied and developed over time. In this way we can build up a picture of local and regional variability with which then to compare different regions across Britain to produce highly textured syntheses that are attuned to this variability.

A previously unconsidered solution to the problems posed by the collection of incompatible actions in Did. 9 and 10 is that they represent two separate accounts of the same liturgical event. Thus, following the consensus, the pattern of events in Did. 10 is a full meal followed by a prayer that creates a connection between the past full meal and the forthcoming eucharistic meal. At the same time Did. 9 describes precisely the same pattern of events. The presence of a fragment at the beginning of the liturgy may be accounted for as the remains of a preceding filling meal, which are then prayed over in preparation for a eucharist consisting of one cup and one fragment.

The parallels between the actions described in both prayers is emphasized by the striking level of similarity between the structure³⁴ and wording of each chapter.

In the table below, verbal and conceptual similarities occurring in parallel strophes are underlined, while similarities that appear in different strophes are italicized. References to the eucharistic elements are in bold type. Recognition that the rubrics of Did. 9.2 and 3 would not have been spoken aloud increases the similarity between the opening sequences of both sets of prayers.

Did. 9	Did. 10
9.1 Concerning the eucharist, <u>give thanks thus:</u>	10.1 After you have had your fill, <u>give thanks thus:</u>
9.2 First, concerning the cup : <u>We give thanks to you, our Father,</u> for the holy vine of David your servant <u>which you have revealed to us</u> <u>through Jesus your servant.</u>	10.2 <u>We give thanks to you holy Father</u> for your holy Name which you have made to dwell in our hearts and for the <i>knowledge, faith and immortality</i> <i>which you have revealed to us</i> <i>through Jesus your servant</i>
<u>To you be glory for ever.</u>	<u>To you be glory for ever.</u>

³⁴ Mazza (1995: 30) states that 'The tripartite structure of *Didache* 9 should never be confused with that of *Didache* 10'. However, this bald assertion is not supported by any accompanying explanation.

10.2 Futures: a Pre-Emptive Archaeology of the Next 100 Years

What the Upper Derwent will look like in the future, what extent of the physical remains of 10,000 years of landscape occupation survive and what wildlife thrive in its valleys or on its moors, largely depends on the work of the landowners and the Park working with, and contributing to, national ideals about countryside. No one can predict how rural landscapes will be thought of in 100 years, never mind 10,000, but currently the prevailing view is of the importance of marrying together conservation, recreation, sustainable development and thriving local communities. If we can learn one thing from the past it is that there will always be differing uses and perceptions of any one landscape and that it never remains the same. Conservation is not about preservation in aspic but about managing change so that it is in keeping with the character of the area. Depending on how the various themes I have explored in this thesis develop, and whether different perceptions of rural land-use come to the fore, we might see very different landscapes emerging over the next 100 years. Here are some speculations grounded in current perceptions.

10.2.1 Scenarios of Possible Futures in the Upper Derwent

Scenario 1: Wilderness

After the collapse of British farming, the National Trust could no longer afford the heavy costs of keeping any of their hill-farms working. Reluctantly, they allowed each one to come out of farming as the occupying tenant retired. Most of the enclosed pastures were allowed to regenerate as native, mixed woodland spread along nearly all the valley sides above Severn Trent's plantations. Some pastures were kept open for grassland birds and flower meadows through a combination of feral sheep and deer which were reintroduced into the area, and volunteer work parties who removed saplings on annual working holidays. Walls were allowed to fall into ruin except for those enclosing the native woodlands, which were topped with high fences to stop the deer leaping over them. Sheep and deer wandered wild across the moorlands so preventing most of the high and remote open spaces from becoming forested, but their numbers were too low to prevent birch from spreading up from the cloughs and recolonising the lower shelves.

As the oldest-known farmstead in the valley, Crookhill was maintained as an agricultural heritage centre with rare sheep and cattle breeds kept in the old way of allowing them to range outside and graze on grassland. The remaining farmsteads were let out to tenants

This section began by suggesting that trying to fit all of the actions described by Did. 9 and 10 into one liturgy was like trying to cover a large mattress with a small sheet. Creative solutions to the problem posed by Did. 9 and 10 have included rearrangements of the text and the invention of new services. However, the fact that so many solutions have been offered, while none has proved satisfactory, suggests the impossibility of the task. In these circumstances an entirely new approach to the problem is invited.

C. An alternative solution: t

wo separate liturgies

Before presenting my solution to the problems posed by Did. 9 and 10 it is helpful to note one further action within these chapters that has been universally overlooked by scholars, for understandable reasons.

1. A sixth action

Up until this point the assumption has been maintained that there are only five actions described or implied by Did. 9 and 10. However, there is evidence to suggest that there are in fact six.

The presence of the term κλάσματος implies the existence of a further action, one that is not considered even by scholars who see Did. 9.2-4 as preparations for a eucharist. The presence of broken bread at this point in a meal is highly unusual. That is to say that a Jewish table blessing would almost always precede the fraction of the bread rather than follow it.³¹ This is also the case in each of the New Testament accounts of the meal prayers of Jesus.³² The presence of a 'fragment' before the thanksgiving therefore suggests an action of breaking the bread *before* the beginning of the meal. Such a bread breaking would be most likely to happen at a full meal. The sixth action is therefore, according to this reading, the sharing of a full meal before the thanksgiving over the cup and the fragment.³³

2. Two parallel liturgies

³¹ Alon (1996: 186) mentions a possible exception to this rule in Rabbi Hiyya bar Ashi.

³² For example: Mt. 14.19; 15.36, Mk. 6.41; 14.22, Lk. 22.19; 24.30, Jn. 6.11, 1 Cor. 11.24.

³³ This pattern presents an interesting parallel with the progress of events in Jn. 6. In Jn. 6.12, when the crowd are described as filled (ἐνεπλήσθησαν), the disciples then gather up the fragments (κλάσματα), and Jesus goes on to deliver the most strongly eucharistic discourse in the whole of John's Gospel (Jn. 6.53-58).

who worked in the area, converted to eco-tour guest houses, reopened as environmental education centres or simply left to ruin. Timber production also fell because of cheap wood imports, and most of the conifer plantations owned by Severn Trent and the Forestry Commission were allowed to revert to broadleaf species. The post of forest manager in both organisations was replaced with a public access warden, who was given the task of maintaining access through the woodlands for walkers and interpreting the now defunct practice of planting the same coniferous species in straight rows as commercial crops.

Scenario 2: Development

The opening of the Derwent Quarry had been long fought by walkers, but with Parliament's abolition of National Parks, there was little that could be done. The quarry company had built its large headquarters by the recently completed M57 that followed the line of the Snake Pass. Motoring organisations and haulage companies had lobbied for a trans-Peak motorway between Sheffield and Manchester since the 1970s, and it had been prevented only by the Park's official moratorium on the building of dual-carriageways. The Snake Pass had become heavily congested and slowed the transport of goods between east and west, as well as inconveniencing commuters living in one city and working in the other. The financial investment in the motorway would probably not be paid back. It had required large-scale engineering works, with some substantial concrete viaducts and the construction of the cut-and-cover tunnel under the Snake Pass, to create a stable and relatively straight motorway along the gritstones and landslipping shales of the Woodlands and Glossop valleys. Now, a commuter living in Bamford could be in Manchester in an hour – so it was justified by the benefits to the national GDP of quicker travel and the buoyant rural housing market.

The huge quarry face of bright, unweathered stone could be seen from miles around as it bit through the moor towards Derwent Edge. On a dry day the dust from the huge dumper trucks covered the motorway and choked the air. The prehistoric settlement and cairnfield had long been eaten away but could be seen as a holographic reconstruction in the quarry heritage centre by those who could afford the entrance fee. The interpretation officer was planning a new display depicting the Edge and its tors in five years' time. Grouse, mountain hare and the bright waterproofs of ramblers were not seen on the moors anymore.

further suggests that Did. 10.3a was added to the overall liturgy at this point so as to refer back to the satisfying nature of the preceding agape.

Betz's theory is commendable in that it at least addresses the problem of the eucharistic character of Did. 9. However, his thesis is highly conjectural, in that it supposes a process of 'downgrading' for which there is no evidence. Further, Betz must argue that, although these prayers were put to a new use they were not adapted in the most obvious detail so as logically to suit that use. That is to say that the term κλάσματος survived such a supposed downgrading, when a change to ἄρτος (a change made by *Apostolic Constitutions* in its paraphrase of Did. 9.4), would have clarified an otherwise confusing detail. Further, Betz's addition of 10.3a to the following thanksgiving violates, as Riggs points out, one of the most secure parallels between Did. 10.2-5 and the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*.

Riggs (1984) critiques Betz's solution, but his own alternative requires an even more unlikely turn of events. Riggs suggests that Did. 9 and 10 record several stages in a developing liturgy. Thus the oldest prayer is Did. 10.2-5 (less the διὰ phrases), which was used as a restructured *Birkat Ha-Mazon* by the Christian community. At a later stage Did. 9.2-3 was used to pray over the bread and wine before the meal. At this stage also Did. 9.4 was added to parallel 10.5, and the Christian phrases from Did. 9 were added to Did. 10. At a third stage Riggs (1984: 101) claims that 'The bread and cup prayers, as well as a Thanksgiving prayer, occur before the cultic event. The meal has dropped out, and the elements themselves have become something sacred.'

Riggs's explanation is ingenious in that it explains the inherent tensions between the various parts of the liturgy as a product of its successive developments. However, Riggs fails to explain the continued existence of the extant text. The most pressing problem in this regard is why a redundant and confusing reference to a full meal should have been retained in a set of instructions for a rite in from which the full meal has 'dropped out'.

In summary, attempts to explain the eucharistic character of Did. 9.2-5 by ignoring the problem, inventing new services, or suggesting a multiple layering of the text, all fail to explain its surviving form. The considerable difficulty experienced by scholars who seek to avoid a eucharistic interpretation of these verses serves to reinforce the case for their relationship to a eucharist.

3. Conclusion

Out of sight of the quarry, but only a short distance from the M57, the contractors were still building the new housing development for professionals working in the nearby cities who wanted a dream house in the country. Demand for commuter and holiday homes had stimulated rising house prices to such an extent that any one with a personal connection with the past, who's ancestors had lived and worked in the region, had long been driven out. All the houses were based on the local architectural style, though there was more Tudor styling than before. Severn Trent's objections to the estate because of pollution had been overturned by the Secretary of State for Rural Economies, and the next phase for a further 150 houses had just been passed. The valley road had long been private access for the residents and CCTV cameras surveyed the end of the slip-road to the M57 outside the electronic gate. A fading interpretative panel, depicting the wildlife of the area in the 1990s, had been found and placed on the steel wall of the housing development by the residents' committee like some form of ironic blue plaque, proclaiming 'this landscape lived here 8,000 BC – AD 2100'.

The water company had thought of abandoning the reservoirs because global warming had reduced rainfall in the area for so many years that they were rarely more than half full. The dams might become historical monuments, though the housing developers had an eye on converting the towers into luxury apartments or a virtual workspace. The peat moorlands were so dried and desiccated that they were often on fire during the dry summers. Erosion exposed more areas of mineralised soil below so revealing extensive flint and chert assemblages associated with domestic structures. Staff and students of four universities regularly surveyed the Upper Derwent as part of the Pennines Archaeological Research Project (or PARP as the t-shirts proclaimed). Trees found it difficult to thrive except for the recent Eucalyptus plantations which supplied wood for paper pulp.

Scenario 3: Sustainability?

The rise of organic farming and farmers' markets made the sheep of upland Britain a popular 'niche' product and allowed every farm in the valley to thrive after the agricultural slump of the late 20th century. Visitors might think the farms and their fields probably looked much as they had always done, a timeless rural beauty, without realising the work put into maintaining them by the National Trust. Luckily, the public

In summary, attempts to ignore or re-place Did. 10.6 do not provide satisfactory explanations for its content and location. The most uncontrived interpretation of this verse remains, therefore, that it introduces a further liturgical event, which, in context, is most likely to be a eucharist.

2. *Alternative readings of Didache 9.2-5*

The great majority of scholars are persuaded by the strong arguments, recited above, that Did. 10.1 refers to a filling meal, that Did. 10.2-5 acts as a thanksgiving after a meal, and that Did. 10.6 serves as an introduction to a eucharist.²⁸ Taken together these three actions form a coherent flow of events, which also echo the snippets of evidence regarding eucharistic practice to be found in the New Testament.²⁹ As soon as this flow of events is assumed it becomes infeasible to consider the possibility that Did. 9.2-5 also introduces a eucharist. Alternative explanations for the presence of these thanksgivings must be found.

By far the most common interpretation of Did. 9.2-5, in these circumstances, is to treat them as prayers before a filling meal. However, this solution fails to take account of the eucharistic character of these prayers, and the fact that the second blessing is made over a fragment, not a whole loaf.³⁰

Audet's solution to this difficulty is to propose a new, semi-eucharistic service that he names 'the breaking of bread' or 'the minor eucharist'. This theory has found no supporters and is derided by Vööbus (1968: 64) as having, 'not one shred of evidence in its support'. However, it should be noted, as with Lietzmann, that Audet's theory is not the result of a crazed fancy, but the response of a respected scholar to a very puzzling circumstance. Audet's response is unsatisfactory, but it does at least attempt to deal with the evidence, rather than forcing it into the convenient mould of an 'agape'.

J. Betz and Riggs are two more recent scholars who have sought to deal justly with the evidence of two eucharists within Did. 9 and 10. Betz, (1996: 274) argues that Did. 9.2-4 had its origins in a primitive eucharist that became redundant in the course of developing eucharistic theology. Rather than discard these outdated prayers, Betz proposes, they were downgraded to serve as a formal introduction to the agape. Betz

²⁸ See note 4, above.

²⁹ The eucharist follows a full meal in Mk. 14, Mt. 26 and 1 Cor. 11.

³⁰ See section 2.A.4.

interpretation project let everyone know how and why the landscape was looked after, by who, and how people could donate money to its upkeep. Some people gave generously, seeing it as their way to 'buy in' to the landscape, others never contributed as they saw the countryside, especially the moorlands, as their national birthright.

The CROW Act of 2000 had little impact on the Upper Derwent because most of its moors had already been open access. For those less able to explore the moors, the National Park and the landowners provided plenty of well-signposted footpaths to follow through woods and fields or along the reservoir sides. For anyone wishing to find out more about the area there were the two archaeology and wildlife discovery trails for walkers and cyclists which were led by National Park rangers every weekend, and the self-guided trail of Tin Town.

Widespread congestion charging and the ubiquitous public transport routes had removed most cars from the valley, and most of the car parks were converted to picnic shelters next to bus stops. Visitor numbers had stabilised after the huge rise in numbers in the 20th century, partly because anyone with an internet connection could make a virtual visit to the Upper Derwent. The worries about visitor pressure, over-use and erosion were generally considered to be a thing of the past. The mix of conifer and broadleaf forests ringing the reservoirs provided something of a good income for the Forestry Commission and Severn Trent, though not as much as they would have liked, while allowing wildlife to thrive. Every few years the reservoir levels drop so much that the remains of Derwent Village were visible again and always proved a popular sight for visitors. Management plans covered every aspect of the way the landscape was worked while conserving its historic fabric, enhancing wildlife habitats, ensuring local employment and providing plenty of opportunities for recreation.

10.2.2 Discussion

These three scenarios are, of course, highly speculative and may be thought to have little place in a doctoral thesis. However, each is a potential reality depending on how the inter-connecting strands of landscape management and attitudes to countryside are negotiated and reworked by future generations. They allow a discussion of the multiple perceptions that may be made about a landscape at any one time. Currently, the dominating ideal is the conservation–recreation ethic based within the modern construct

of rural landscapes as countryside, places which are to be protected and managed for the benefit of urban populations. This construct has a history of approximately 200 years (see section 9.3.2) and a dominant effect on the Upper Derwent landscape perhaps of 50 years, based upon the inception of the National Park, the acquisition of land by the National Trust and the post-war increase in rambling and day-tripping during the 1950s. How the landscape of the Upper Derwent changes in the future will depend on how its defining qualities are perceived and how they are managed. So, this thesis is not so much the end of the landscape history as a small point somewhere in the middle.

10.3 Recommendations for Future Work

When a study of this nature is complete, there remains the realisation that the research itself is not. There is always more to know and as knowledge increases, there are inevitably more questions that arise. Here, I shall outline recommendations for future work which I think will build on the results of this study, if undertaken as an integrated programme of landscape archaeology.

10.3.1 Environmental Cores

I have used what environmental evidence is presently available. Such evidence is of fundamental importance to interpreting the history of a landscape, and is especially vital for those periods where few or no artefacts and structural features survive. Most existing studies are based on samples taken from elsewhere in the Peak District, including the Eastern Moors and limestone plateau to the east and south, on Kinder Scout to the west and further north in the High Peak (Conway 1954; Hicks 1971, 1972; Jacobi et al 1976; Livett and Tallis 1989; Long 1994; Long et al 1998; Tallis 1964a, 1964b, 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1990; Taylor et al 1994; Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). They are relevant to the study area in forming a regional picture, within which the Upper Derwent can be given a context. The only current environmental study directly relevant to the Upper Derwent is Tallis and Switsur's work at Featherbed Moss, near the Snake Pass (Tallis and Switsur 1973). The majority of these studies have been directed at prehistory and, taken together, cover a time frame from the mesolithic to the Romano-British period. The Featherbed Moss core covers the iron age to post-medieval periods, while the Kinder study is dated to the medieval and post-medieval.

A programme of environmental sampling in the Upper Derwent is certainly a priority, perhaps the top concern, for further work. This should cover all periods, including the post-medieval, with the key aims of identifying levels and composition of woodlands, changes in relative frequencies between wooded and cleared ground, presence and nature of crops and the spread of peat. Towards the end of 2002, I initiated just such a project with Dr Mike Charles, Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield. The project objectives are to produce a long-term environmental history of the area by analysing deposits in peat bogs, both on high moorland and in valley-bottom locations. The exposed and elevated nature of moorland locations is most likely to capture pollen from within a very large catchment area. Valley-bottom samples will give a more local picture, and the aim will be to find suitable sampling locations close to areas of prehistoric and historic settlement. I have identified potential locations in and above the Derwent Valley and Alport Dale, including two valley sites just beyond the limit of post-medieval enclosed land. Dr Charles has begun sampling and analysis and over the coming years this will be invaluable for understanding how the vegetation of the area has changed and interpreting the nature of local human activity within the surrounding environment. Undoubtedly, the results of this work may overturn interpretations I have presented in this thesis.

10.3.2 Fieldwalking and Test-Pitting

Artefacts are an essential element of any landscape study, providing important evidence for the location, date and nature of activities when integrated with the results of field survey, environmental sampling and documentary research. Existing fieldwalking results from the reservoirs in the Upper Derwent have proved essential to interpreting occupation throughout prehistory and the Romano-British period, and to proposing a 13th century AD phase of settlement colonisation. During the medieval and post-medieval periods, finds of pottery have allowed a study of the region's relationships with wider social developments and the expression of those in the locality.

Currently, fieldwalking has been largely directed at, and therefore biased towards, those areas providing opportunities in relation to current land-use, such as reservoirs, rights of way and erosion. Most has been concentrated around the draw-down zone of the reservoirs, giving a picture of occupation and land-use closely associated with much historic-period settlement as well as significant prehistoric and Romano-British

occupation. Fieldwalking has also been extended elsewhere, with the exploration of footpaths and erosion patches on the valley sides and, most productively, moorlands. The vast majority has been undertaken by keen amateurs, notably Alistair Henderson and Paul Ardron, and I have directed small fieldwalking projects undertaken by ARTEAMUS targeted at presently known areas of high and low artefact densities.

Results of recent work in the reservoirs shows that there is much more we can learn from these areas, with artefacts turning up in the eroded reservoir beds when exposed. A coordinated approach to these areas should be continued. Artefact recovery should also be extended by undertaking a programme of test-pitting, which can explore different landscape zones and remove our reliance on the reservoirs, footpaths and erosion patches. I have proposed potential areas of prehistoric to Romano-British occupation based on existing evidence in the study area and the wider region, including the lower shelves either side of Millbrook and Crookhill. There are also many historic period settlements located away from the reservoirs and within permanent pasture. These include the known medieval settlements of the grange at Crookhill and farmsteads at Rowlee and Alport, as well as sites recorded in the post-medieval period that may have medieval origins. I recommend that transects of test pits are laid out from the valley bottom to the moorland shelves, which take in areas under permanent pasture and moorland peat. These should include potential occupation areas and historic-period settlements as well as zones where I currently think occupation would be less likely or sparse. This will give a better idea about how different landscape zones were occupied or used and a better understanding of the date and nature of any occupation. Test pits also provide an opportunity to analyse the soils of different zones to provide another strand of evidence for past land-use.

10.3.3 Targeted Excavation

Excavation of specific sites has an important role to play in landscape survey, providing detail about selected places which enables more in-depth interpretation of these sites and which can be extrapolated to others in the area. Excavations I have directed of medieval lead-working hearths in Linch Clough and Howden Clough and of later neolithic pits in Howden Reservoir demonstrate the results of in-depth investigations. There are many known sites which could be investigated; and it is likely that potential sites would be identified by test-pitting. Priority should be given to features of different periods that are

most likely to offer detailed information. A list of excavation priorities is presented in table 10.1.

Period	Features	Locations
Mesolithic/early neolithic	Lithics scatters	Findspots on reservoir edges and on Howden Moors
Later neolithic/ Early bronze age	Burial barrows	Valley bottom sites at Linch Clough and Derwent Reservoir which are suffering from water damage
Later prehistory	Cairnfield	Derwent Moor
Romano-British	Settlements and enclosures	Ladybower Gorge north or south
Medieval	Settlements and household rubbish middens	Potential sites of this date at Bamford House, Blacklowe, Dovestone Clough or Grainfoot Clough Known sites of this date at Ronsley and Birchinlee
Post-medieval	Settlements and household rubbish middens	Sites with potential medieval origins such as Fairholmes New post-medieval foundations such as Riding House
Modern	Settlement	Tin Town navy settlement
Unknown	Enclosure	Above Ashopton

Table 10.1. Sites recommended for future excavation

10.4 Conclusion

There is the sense of a journey in this interpretation of a 10,000 year history of the Upper Derwent landscape. At the end of this thesis, travel appears a more suitable metaphor than biography to describe the writing of archaeology that focuses on how communities inhabit the landscape over such a long time period. Biography is the story of a person who is consciously aware that they are getting older. But would someone living in the 21st century explicitly perceive themselves to be part of a much older being than a person in the 8th millennium BC, a modern granddad reminiscing on his mesolithic boyhood – ‘aye, we used to right muck around then son’? Instead, the narrative has taken us from one different place to another, moving between very distinct social landscapes. There have been stops along the way where we have explored in depth: finding our way around the streets, looking through whatever windows are open into the lives of individuals, and getting a sense for the place. At other times we’ve passed by or stopped only briefly due to circumstances beyond our control, and we have been forced to take in our surroundings from a greater distance. We have tried to recognise these places through more fleeting experiences and it is acknowledged that general impressions must presently represent what is hidden without leading to caricature.

The thesis demonstrates an approach to interpreting local inhabitation and the interactions with broader social structures as a way of writing in-depth, long-term landscape histories. It also contributes a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Upper Derwent landscape, from the approximate end of the last Ice Age to the modern day. Only a small number of similar landscape histories have been conducted and published on places in the uplands of Britain. I have investigated an approach to writing long-term landscape archaeologies, postulated by Andrew Fleming, that tries to link a number of the theoretical developments in archaeology over the last 30 years by taking the 'face-to-face' community as the focus of study and situating it in the context of wider trends. This requires moving between different spatial and temporal scales of analysis. In the Upper Derwent the balance between the two has altered dependent on the changing nature and detail of archaeological and documentary evidence for such a long time span. For later periods the quantities and chronological resolution of data enable this approach, and I think that the medieval and later periods have been the most successful. Instead of glossing-over data-poor earlier periods, especially those where there is a near absence of evidence in the Upper Derwent, I have explored ways of writing about them that situates the study area in its regional context. Gaps in our understanding still remain and, as ever in archaeology, we end at interpretation that is not over yet.

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Large Tables

The following large tables are included here for ease of reference:

Chapter 2. Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots.

Chapter 3. Table 3.1. Later Neolithic to Bronze Age Findspots.

Chapter 3. Table 3.3. Barrows in the Upper Derwent.

Chapter 4. Table 4.1 Later Iron Age/Romano-British Findspots and Features in the
Upper Derwent.

NB ? is used in the following tables where actual numbers of individual finds are unknown.

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
1 Walker's Clough 1	Flint: Burnt blade fragment	Early Mesolithic	SK 1795 9071	Shelf	South West	410m	Moorland	Erosion
2 Stainery Clough	Scraper, core-hammerstone, flake	?Early Mesolithic	SK 1650 9766	Clough-side, Watercourse, Crag	South East	460m	Moorland	Erosion
3 Hagg Side	Flint: Knife	?Early Mesolithic	SK 1651 8919	Valley side	North East	350m	Plantation	Erosion
4 Abbey Farm 1	? points, ? scrapers, sub-triangular Sauveterian point, possible Horsham point	?Early Mesolithic	SK 1691 9206	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
5 Birchinlee	2 knives, blade	Early Mesolithic	SK 1676 9168	Lower Valley Side	East	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
6 Abbey Farm 2	broad blade microlith	Early Mesolithic	SK 1700 9210	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
7 Wheel Stones 1	Flint & chert: core, truncated flake, broad blade microlith	Early Mesolithic	SK 2032 8847	Tor, Edge	South West	470m	Moorland	Footpath
8 Devil's Dike	Stone Axe	Early Neolithic	SK 0922 9331	Plateau, Watercourse	South West	530m	Moorland	Footpath
9 Derwent Edge	Flint: Leaf-shaped arrowhead	Early Neolithic	SK 2010 8859	Edge, Crag	West	480m	Moorland	Footpath
10 Wheel Stones 2	Flint & chert: core fragment, retouched blade, truncated blade, awl, blade	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 2032 8847	Edge, Crag	West	480m	Moorland	Footpath
11 Shake Holes	Flint & chert: 30 flakes, 4 blades, core, core rejuvenation flake, 2 retouched flakes, edge-worn flake, 5 truncated blades, truncated flake, chunk, leaf-shaped arrowhead	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1818 9100	Shelf	West	430m	Moorland	Erosion
12 Highshaw Clough	Flint & chert: 8 chunks, flake, 2 blades, truncated flake, truncated blade, edge-worn flake, scraper	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 2155 8786	Shelf, Watercourse	South	350m	Moorland	Footpath

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 1

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
13 White Tor	Flint: 3 flakes, microcore rejuvenation flake, truncated blade, 2 chunks, 2 blades, scraper, notched & retouched blade	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1985 8882	Edge, Tor	South West	485m	Moorland	Footpath
14 Salt Cellar	Flint: 2 truncated blades, truncated flake	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1960 8923	Edge, Tor	West	480m	Moorland	Footpath
15 Derwent Moor 1	Flint: Blade	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 2048 8746	Plateau	South	400m	Moorland	Footpath
16 Walker's Clough 2	Flint: 6 flakes, chunk, 2 blades, core, retouched flake	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1769 9030	Shelf, Top of Valley	West	380m	Moorland	Erosion
17 Black Dike 1	Flint: Sub-triangular microlith	Later Mesolithic	SK 1406 9548	Plateau	NA	510m	Moorland	Dike
18 Black Dike 2	Flint: Leaf-shaped arrowhead	Early Neolithic	SK 1492 9501	Plateau, Watercourse	East	470m	Moorland	Dike
19 Crow Stones	Flint: Blade	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1700 9700	Shelf, Top of Valley, Crags	West	490m	Moorland	Erosion
20 Grainfoot	Flint: Blade core	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1890 8810	Valley Side	South West	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
21 Abbey Brook	Flint: Axe	Neolithic	SK 1871 9266	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	300m	Scrub	Erosion
22 Westend	Flint: 10 pieces including 1 convex scraper, 1 leaf shaped arrowhead	Early Neolithic	SK 1605 9308	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	East	240m	Reservoir	Low Water

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 2

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
23 Ladybower Dam	Flake	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1982 8584	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	West	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
24 Walker's Farm	Chert: 2 scrapers	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1726 9100	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	West	285m	Reservoir	Low Water
25 Linch Clough North	Flint & chert: 29 chunks, 36 flakes, 18 blades, 2 edge-worn blades, 16 cores, 10 blade cores, core tool, 13 retouched flakes, 2 retouched blades, 2 truncated flakes, 3 edge-worn flakes, truncated blade, 4 core rejuvenation flakes (1 retouched as an end scraper), microlith, 3 awls, microburin, end scraper, end and side scraper, rod, unknown number of miscellaneous scrapers, leaf-shaped arrowhead	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1691 9395	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	South East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
26 Linch Clough South	Flint & Chert: 35 cores, 20 blade cores, 60 pieces of irregular waste, 5 core rejuvenation flakes, 68 flakes, 3 truncated flakes, 32 blades, 2 end scrapers, notched & retouched flake, 39 retouched pieces	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1686 9386	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
27 Birchinlee 1	Flint & Chert: Over 50 pieces inc. scrapers, microliths, flake, 2 blade cores	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1675 9155	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	230m	Reservoir	Low Water

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 3

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
27 Birchinlee 2	Flint: 22 chunks, 18 flakes, 4 blades, 5 cores, 5 blade cores, conical microlith core, core retouched as scraper, 3 retouched flakes, 2 truncated blades, edge-worn blade, edge-worn flake, awl, scraper, end and side scraper	Mesolithic	SK 1675 9155	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
28 Abbey Farm 1	Flint and chert: 100s microliths, blade cores, flakes, chunks. Plus 15 chunks, 74 flakes, 18 blades, 6 cores, blade core, core-tool, 2 core rejuvenation flakes, 12 retouched flakes, truncated flake, 4 edge-worn flakes, 7 edge-worn blades, 2 narrow blade microliths, 3 microburins, 2 bifacial flaked fragments, 1 notched & retouched blade, 1 scraper, 1 backed bladelet, 4 awls/piercers	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1691 9206	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
29 John Field Howden	Flint: 2 cores, 3 blades, 5 truncated blades, 2 edge-worn blades, 10 flakes, retouched flake, 2 scrapers, 1 narrow blade microlith, chunk	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1899 9019	Shelf, Watercourse	West	400m	Moorland	Erosion
30 Upper Linch Clough	Flint: Trapezoid narrow blade microlith	Later Mesolithic	SK 1582 9441	Clough-side, Watercourse	North East	440m	Moorland	Erosion
31 Derwent Moor 2	Flint: Unknown number of cores, blades, microliths, flakes	Mesolithic	SK 2045 8800	Plateau	South East	445m	Moorland	Footpath
32 High House	Flint. Microlith, ? flakes	Mesolithic	SK 1952 8919	Shelf	West	450m	Moorland	Erosion
33 White Tor	Flint: 3 flakes, microcore rejuvenation flake, truncated blade	Mesolithic	SK 1985 8882	Edge, Tor	South West	485m	Moorland	Footpath

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 4

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
34 Shake Holes	Flint & chert: 3 chunks, 22 flakes, retouched blade, notched flake, core, 2 truncated blades, 2 edge-worn flakes, 2 backed bladelets, 2 scrapers, fabricator	Mesolithic	SK 1818 9100	Shelf	West	430m	Moorland	Erosion
35 Green Sitches	Flint & chert: 3 chunks, 15 flakes, 2 blades, 2 cores, core-rejuvenation flake, bifacial flake, 3 retouched flakes, truncated blade, 6 edge-worn flakes, edge-worn blade, awl, scraper, side scraper, end scraper, microburin	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1800 9060	Shelf, Top of Valley	West	420m	Moorland	Erosion
36 Far Deep Clough	Flint: 4 chunks, 13 flakes, 3 blades, microcore, 3 truncated flakes, 4 truncated blades, edge-worn blade, side scraper	Mesolithic	SK 1851 9029	Shelf, Watercourse	South	390m	Moorland	Erosion
37 Bradfield Gate Head	Flint: 14 pieces inc. blade, scraper	Mesolithic	SK 1978 9070	Edge	West	515m	Moorland	Footpath
38 Grinah Stones	Flint & chert: Unknown number inc. 1 microlith	Mesolithic	SK 1308 9618	Crags	South East	570m	Moorland	Erosion
39 Deep Grain	Flint. Flake	Mesolithic	SK 1292 9531	Plateau, Watercourse	South	505m	Moorland	Erosion
40 Grinah Grain	Flint & chert: 2 scrapers, microlith, ? flakes	Mesolithic	SK 1315 9532	Clough-side	South East	500m	Moorland	Erosion
41 Hoar Clough Head	Flint: ? blades, ? flakes	Mesolithic	SK 1461 9818	Plateau, Watercourse	South	495m	Moorland	Erosion
42 Howden Edge	Flint: 26 pieces inc. platform cores, scraper, knife, flakes	Mesolithic	SK 1660 9814	Watershed, Crags	East	500m	Moorland	Erosion
43 Slippery Stones	Chert: Blade	Mesolithic	SK 1692 9513	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	300m	Woodland	Footpath
44 River Westend	Flint: Microlith	Mesolithic	SK 1449 9393	Clough Bottom, Watercourse	NA	300m	Moorland	Footpath
45 Howden Reservoir	Flint: 2 blades	Mesolithic	SK 1684 9366	Valley Bottom	West	250m	Reservoir	Low Water

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 5

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
46 Howden Dam	Flint & chert: Blade, 6 flakes	Mesolithic	SK 1694 9282	Valley Bottom	East	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
47 Millbrook	Flint: 2 blades	Mesolithic	SK 1840 8850	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	South West	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
48 Grimbocar	Flint & chert: Unknown number of pieces inc. blade, scrapers	Mesolithic	SK 1678 8720	Valley Bottom	North East	210m	Reservoir	Low Water
49 Abbey Farm 1	Flint & chert: 12 chunks, 98 flakes, 17 blades, 5 cores, 6 blade cores, 2 opposed platform cores, 2 exhausted microlith cores, 2 core rejuvenation flakes, 6 retouched flakes, 3 retouched blades, 5 truncated blades, notched flake, notched blade, 9 edge-worn flakes, 4 awls, 2 scrapers, 2 pygmy scrapers, end scraper, burin, backed blade	Mesolithic	SK 1691 9206	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
50 Barrow Stones	Flint: 2 flakes, truncated blade	Later Mesolithic/ Early Neolithic	SK 1348 9670	Plateau, Crag	East	580m	Moorland	Erosion
51 Linch Clough North	Flint & chert: 2 chunks, awl, microburin, ? scrapers	Mesolithic	SK 1691 9395	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	South East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
52 Linch Clough South	Flint & chert: ? scrapers, ? knives, core	Mesolithic	SK 1686 9386	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
53 Ashop Head 1	Flint: 200 implements and waste flakes	Mesolithic	SK 0635 9020	Ridge, Pass, Watercourse	North East & South West	520m	Moorland	Footpath
54 Ashop Head 2	Flint: 1 blade microlith	Mesolithic	SK 0640 9010	Ridge, Pass, Watercourse	North East & South West	500m	Moorland	Footpath

Table 2.1. Mesolithic – Early Neolithic Findspots. Page 6

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
1 Wheel Stones	Bronze: Flat axe. Moorland Edge, Wheel Stones, footpath, 480m, LBA?	Early Bronze Age	SK 2033 8852	Edge, Tor	West	480m	Moorland	Footpath
2 Derwent Edge Peat Cut	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead	Bronze Age	SK 1966 8915	Edge	South West	470m	Moorland	Footpath
3 Ashes Farm	Flint: Button scraper, 7 flakes	Bronze Age	SK 1885 8847	Lower Valley Side	South West	200m	Enclosed Pasture	Trackway
4 Shake Holes	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead, thumbnail scraper	Bronze Age/Early Bronze Age	SK 1818 9100	Shelf	West	430m	Moorland	Erosion
5 Green Sitches	Flint: Transverse arrowheads	Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	SK 1800 9060	Shelf, Top of Valley	West	420m	Moorland	Erosion
6 Little Howden Moor	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead	Bronze Age	SK 1899 9019	Shelf, Watercourse	West	400m	Moorland	Erosion
7 Far Deep Clough	Shale: Slider	Bronze Age	SK 1851 9029	Shelf, Watercourse	South	390m	Moorland	Erosion
8 Cut Gate	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead	Bronze Age	SK 1814 9562	Plateau	South	460m	Moorland	Footpath
9 Lower Misdén Clough	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead	Bronze Age	SK 1592 9483	Plateau, Watercourse	East	440m	Moorland	Erosion
10 Horse Stone	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead	Bronze Age	SK 1632 9764	Plateau, Crag	South	455m	Moorland	Erosion
11 Abbey Grange	Flint. Hollow-based arrowhead	Neolithic	SK 1700 9194	Valley Bottom	West	235m	Plantation	Erosion
12 Ronsley Farm	Flint: Scraper	Bronze Age	SK 1680 9405	Clough-bottom, Watercourse	South East	265m	Plantation	Trackway
13 Linch Clough North	Flint & chert: Approximately 100 pieces, inc. scraper, awl, knife, plan-convex knife, arrowhead, 1 thumbnail scraper	Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	SK 1691 9395	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	South East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water

Table 3.1. Later Neolithic to Bronze Age Findspots. Page 1

Name	Assemblage	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
14 Linch Clough South	Flint: 5 flake cores, 1 thumbnail scraper	Bronze Age	SK 1686 9386	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
15 Abbey Farm 1	Flint: Plano-convex knife, barbed & tanged arrowhead, transverse arrowhead, ? scrapers, ? awls, ? knives	Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	SK 1691 9206	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
16 Birchinlee	Flint: Oblique arrowhead	Later Neolithic	SK 1675 9155	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
17 Derwent Dam	Flint: Barbed & tanged arrowhead re-used as awl	Bronze Age	SK 1704 9007	Valley Bottom	East	240m	Reservoir	Low Water
18 Abbey Farm 2	Flint: Scraper	Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	SK 17059204	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	West	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
19 Cockbridge Farm	Bronze: Flat axe	Early Bronze Age	SK 1926 8620	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	North	220m	Reservoir	Low Water
20 Millbrook	Flint & chert: Approximately 100 pieces	Later Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age	SK 1840 8850	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	South West	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
21 Grimbocar	Shale: V-perforated button	Bronze Age	SK 1678 8720	Valley Bottom	North East	210m	Reservoir	Low Water

Table 3.1. Later Neolithic to Bronze Age Findspots. Page 2

<u>Name</u>	<u>NGR.</u>	<u>Dimensions in metres (H x W x D)</u>	<u>Evidence for excavation or robbing</u>	<u>Topography</u>	<u>Altitude O.D.</u>	<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Primary Aspect</u>	<u>Visibility</u>
A Pike Low	SK 1806 8975	1.3 x 15 x 17	Robbed in centre	Shelf, Top of Valley	410m	Moorland	South East	
B Bone Low	SK 1794 9078	0.4 x 7 x 7	Robbed and reused as grouse butt	Shelf, Top of Valley	415m	Enclosed Moorland	South West	
C Howard Dean	SK 1914 9228	1 x 11 x 9.5	Robbed in centre	Shelf, Top of Valley	460m	Moorland	North	
D Margery Hill	SK 1892 9566	0.8 x 50 x 50	English Heritage evaluation (Reeves 1994)	Hilltop, Watershed	546m	Moorland	All Points	
E Upper Hey	SK 1778 9423	0.5 x 4 x 6	None	Shelf, Local Hilltop	446m	Moorland	South West	
F Birchintlee Pasture	SK 1626 9232	1.7 x 10.20 x 11.20	Robbed in centre, possibly in 1930s by local family who found, burnt bones (Beamish 1987)	Shelf, Top of Valley	390m	Moorland	East	
G Crook Hill Saddle	SK 1828 8695	0.5 x 6.5 x 6	Disturbed for walling stone	Saddle between crags	345m	Rough Grassland	South West & North East	
H Crook Hill North	SK 1784 8740	0.7 x 14.5 x 12.5	Disturbed for walling stone	Watershed	355m	Enclosed Pasture	South	
I Howden	SK 1685 9398	1.4 x 15.6 x 9.2	Disturbed by water action revealing cist, burnt bone and flints	Lower Valley Side, Terrace	255m	Reservoir	South	
J Abbey Field	SK 1690 9197	0.7 x 24 x 18	Disturbed by water action revealing cist, burnt bone and flints	Valley Bottom, Terrace	235m	Reservoir	South West	
K Forest Knoll	SK 1838 9194	0.3 x 5 x 4	Robbed in centre	Shelf, Top of Valley	410m	Moorland	North	
L Linch Clough	SK 1692 9406	12 x 10 x 0.5	Robbed in centre	Lower Valley Side, Terrace	275m	Plantation	South	

Table 3.3. Barrows in the Upper Derwent. Page 1

<u>Name</u>	<u>NGR.</u>	<u>Dimensions in metres (H x W x W)</u>	<u>Evidence for excavation or robbing</u>	<u>Topography</u>	<u>Altitude O.D.</u>	<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Primary Aspect</u>	<u>Visibility</u>
M Lockerbrook Heights Complex	SK 1615 8938	a. 0.5 x 20.3 x 20.3 b. 0.25 x 3.75 x 2.25 c. 0.3 x 11.5 x 6.5 with attached platform 0.2 x 5.75 x 2.9 d. 0.6 x 27 x 27	a. Extensively robbed for walling stone b. Robbed in centre c. No d. Extensively robbed for walling stone	Watershed, Top of Valley	395m	Enclosed Pasture	South	
N Two Thorn Fields	SK 1741 8770	0.5 x 8 x 6.5	Robbed in centre	Watershed, Top of Valley	365m	Enclosed Pasture	South West	
O Crookhill Stone Circle or Kerb Cairn	SK 1848 8711	0.6 x 6 x 6	Disturbed	Top of Valley	335m	Rough Grassland	East	

Table 3.3. Barrows in the Upper Derwent. Page 2

Name	Details	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
1 Linch Clough South	1 sherd Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1686 9386	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	East	260m	Reservoir	Low Water
2 Abbey Farm	8+ sherds Derbyshire ware, quern stone	Romano-British	SK 1691 9206	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	NA	230m	Reservoir	Low Water
3 Tinker's House	10 sherds of Derbyshire ware, 1 spindle whorl	Romano-British	SK 1940 8715	Lower Valley Side	West	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
4 Walker's Clough	11 sherds of Derbyshire ware, 1 spindle whorl	Romano-British	SK 1726 9100	Lower Valley Side, Watercourse	West	285m	Reservoir	Low Water
5 Derwent hamlet	12+ sherds of Derbyshire and Grey wares	Romano-British	SK 1840 8850	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	South West	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
6 Nether Ashop West	4 sherds of Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1795 8635	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	North East	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
7 Nether Ashop East	2 sherds of Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1830 8605	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	North	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
8 Wiseman Hay Clough	2 sherds of Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1880 8625	Valley Bottom	North	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
9 Grimbocar Farm	4 sherds of Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1720 8715	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	South	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
10 Rough Wood	3 sherds of Derbyshire ware, 1 sherd of glass, 1 fibula, 1 sub-circular platform	Romano-British	SK 1875 8645	Valley Bottom	South East	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
11 Elmin Pitts	1 sherd of Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 1750 8680	Valley Bottom, Watercourse	North East	200m	Reservoir	Low Water
12 Ouzelden Clough	? sherds of Derbyshire ware, 2 rotary querns (1 unfinished)	Romano-British	SK 1660 9120	Lower Valley Side	South	240m	Plantation	Erosion
13 Howden Dam	2 beehive quern upper stones, 5 beehive quern fragments	Later Iron Age/ Romano-British	SK 1730 9245	Valley Side	West	270m	Plantation	Road Building
14 Upper Ashop	1 rotary quern	Romano-British	SK 1435 8920	Valley Bottom	North	260m	Pasture	Road Building

Table 4.1. Later Iron Age/Romano-British Findspots and Features in the Upper Derwent. Page 1

Name	Details	Dating	NGR.	Topography	Aspect	Altitude O.D.	Land Use	Context of Find
15 Ladybower Inn	1 beehive quern	Later Iron Age/ Romano-British	SK 2040 8655	Valley Side	South	235m	Wall	Wall Fabric
16 Cold Side	1 beehive quern	Later Iron Age/ Romano-British	SK 1735 9450	Upper Valley Side	West	300m	Rough Grassland	Erosion
17 Derwent Dam	1 stone mould	Iron Age/ Romano-British	SK 1730 8975	Valley Bottom	NA	200m	Pasture	Dam Building
18 Hollin Clough	1 glass sherd	Romano-British	SK 1740 9020	Valley Side	West	225m	Reservoir	Low Water
19 Ladybower North	Settlement Enclosure, ? Derbyshire ware	Romano-British	SK 2090 8675	Moorland Shelf	South	285m	Woodland	Survey
20 Ladybower South	Settlement Enclosure	Romano-British	SK 2092 8665	Moorland Shelf	North	300m	Enclosed Moorland	Survey
21 Bamford Moor	Settlement Enclosure	Romano-British	SK 2070 8615	Moorland Shelf	West	350m	Moorland	Survey

Table 4.1. Later Iron Age/Romano-British Findspots and Features in the Upper Derwent. Page 2