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.

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

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.

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

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 Ronksley 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 navvy 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.