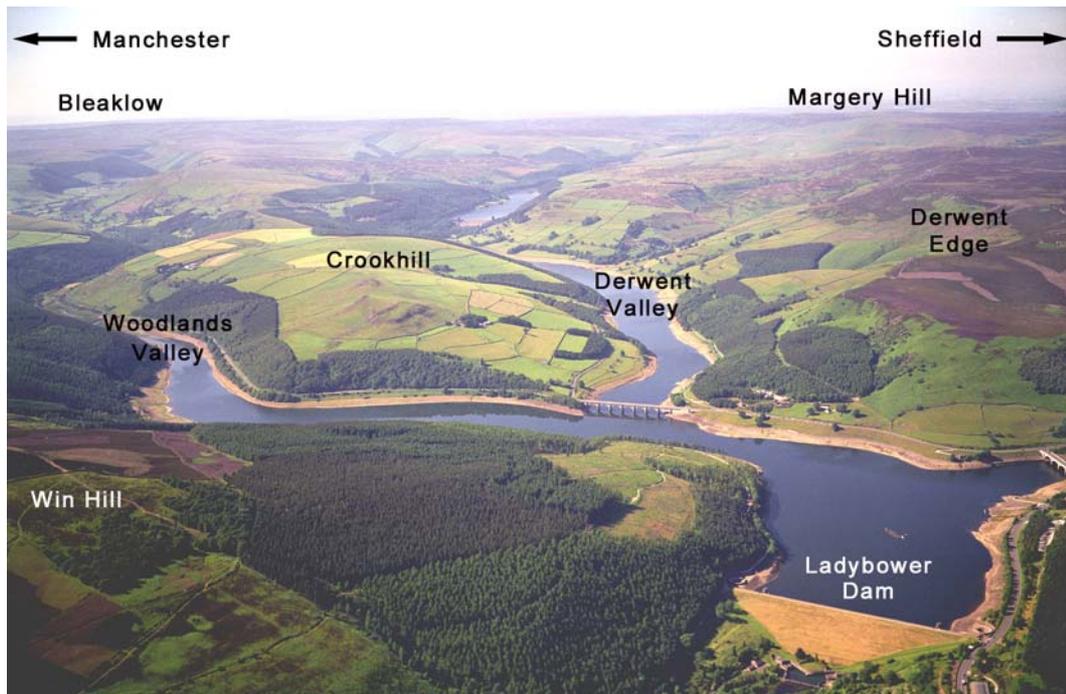


Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene



Photograph 1.1. The Upper Derwent looking north from above Bamford. PDNPA Collection

This thesis is a landscape history of the Upper Derwent, an area of Pennine valleys and high moorlands situated in the north of the Peak District National Park and to the east of Sheffield. My aim is to interpret how the area's landscape has been inhabited, perceived and organised for the 10,000 years since the end of the last glaciation up to the present century. Interpretation is based largely on my own fieldwork undertaken on behalf of the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group – a partnership of local organisations involved in the management of the area. The rationale for this is the recognition that the modern landscape is the product of the past; that the ways people have perceived and used the landscape over time have contributed to its character today. The heather-dominated peat moorland may

be highly valued today as a recreational resource for those living in cities. Yet, its existence is the result of past uses of the landscape, first forming in prehistory after clearance of post-glacial forests and being maintained throughout the historic period as common land used for grazing and peat cutting.

There are two fundamental issues that have to be addressed in attempting such a study, which are related to reconciling different scales of time and geography. One, is how to write long-term landscape history that covers a time-span extending way beyond a person's comprehension of their past world as understood through personal memory, storytelling and folklore or by other forms of archive. Huge changes in the organisation of society, materials available for interpretation and perception of the landscape occur over a time-span of 10,000 years. Choosing the appropriate level of detail is important, and requires a balance that enables a close-grained understanding of the landscape at any one time while comprising enough brevity to maintain the flow of the history. The second is to try to interpret a local geographical area in its wider context. There are two dangers here. Evidence from the study area may be interpreted in a vacuum that gives great descriptive detail but does not interpret the lives of people in the locality in relation to wider or long-term social changes. Alternatively, wider changes may be applied unthinkingly onto the study area, so that actions in the local landscape are seen simply as manifestations of general phenomena. This risks losing the aspect of regional variability and demotes people as passive reactants to forces beyond their control. I shall explore writing the landscape history of the Upper Derwent in a form that attempts to resolve these temporal and spatial issues. This requires moving between different scales of analysis, from the local to the wider world, and from the historically specific to the longer-term.

There have also been a range of more specific themes that have come out of this study. These include long-term environmental change, the changing nature of tenure, the evidence that specific locales were repetitively occupied over time, the participation of the area in regional social identities and how we can approach the variability in archaeological visibility/invisibility which occurs over such a long time-span. I shall come back to review these in the discussion (see Chapter 10), as well as highlighting them in individual chapters.

Underpinning all of this is the character of the archaeological evidence surviving in, or related to, the Upper Derwent. Its nature and survival varies enormously and the available evidence includes specific sites, artefact findspots, boundaries, environmental data, written documents, historical maps and wider areas of land-use. There are some periods, such as the post-medieval, where the amount of data is almost overwhelming but it is possible to reconstruct use of the whole landscape. There are other time-frames, such as the iron age and the early medieval period, when there is little or no evidence. I will attempt to cover all of these periods and to interpret how the long-term history of the landscape is made by successive generations of people who make decisions that alter their surroundings, changing some aspects whilst maintaining others. In applying appropriate forms of analysis to changing types of data, I aim to go from scatters of mesolithic stone tools to the early 20th century model settlement built to house navvies working on the Derwent and Howden dams.

1.2 Lie of the Land: Location, Topography and Geology

1.2.1 Location and Extent of Study Area

The Upper Derwent study area is located within the High Peak of the Peak District. It covers an area of 10,105ha formed by the catchment of two major rivers, the Derwent and the Ashop, centred on SK160920 (Illustration 1.1). The eastern boundary of the study area is approximately 12km to the west of Sheffield and the western boundary is 6km east of Manchester. For this thesis, I have based my study area on the Upper Derwent Management Area, a modern administrative boundary, which was designated by the Peak District National Park Authority (PDNPA).

No landscape exists in isolation and one of the difficulties of local or regional research is knowing where to draw the boundary to define the study area. Sometimes archaeologists choose topographical features, modern administrative units or the distribution of a specific type of archaeological feature/material to provide convenient boundaries and controllable limits to data analysis. The limits of any study have to be explicitly defined because societies do not fit neatly into bounded regions. While local communities may be identified as occupying certain geographic spaces, for example, the post-medieval township, the influences on their lives do not stop at the township boundary. Those occupants of the township would have visited nearby markets to sell produce or used land by agreement with their manorial landlords. To interpret the history of a landscape we need to investigate the interactions between the local communities and the world beyond as represented by wider structures and more enduring institutions. This is a difficult course to steer, for it requires neither describing local detail without relating these to bigger issues or imposing generalising models without reference to regional variability.

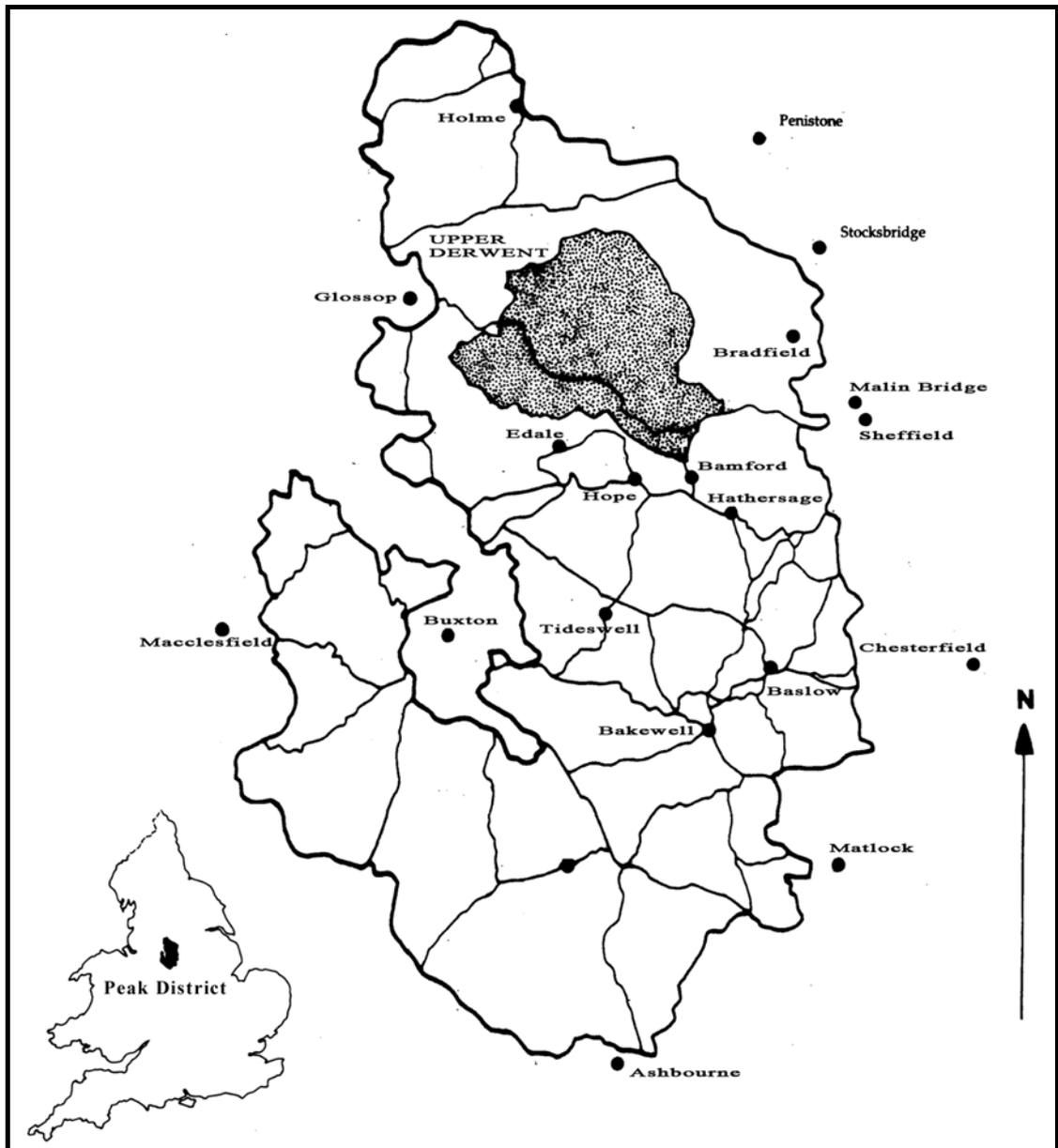


Illustration 1.1. Location of the Upper Derwent

The management area encompasses parts of four townships that formed the main focus for face-to-face community decision-making in the medieval and post-medieval periods. Derwent lies completely within the area, as does most of Hope Woodlands. The part of Hope Woodlands that lies to the west of the River Ashop is mostly outside the management area but I have investigated it as part of a survey for the National Trust of their High Peak estate and it has been included in the study area for this thesis (Bevan 2002). The Upper Derwent also includes a small part of Bradfield township, known as Howden, and the very northern extremity of Bamford township. All but Bradfield township are within Derbyshire, Bradfield being in Yorkshire, and the Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary runs across the north-east of the study area (Photograph 1.2). Management areas aim to facilitate cooperation and communication between major interested parties to improve management, conservation and public interpretation. The management area was created for two reasons. First, the Upper Derwent is an incredibly popular destination for visitors, with approximately 2 million visits recorded annually (PDNPA visitor survey data). Second, the Upper Derwent is recognised as an important landscape for its landscape, wildlife, heritage, recreation and current landownership.



Photograph 1.2. The Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary where it crosses Little Howden Moor

The Authority recognised that policies and initiatives to manage such numbers required a forum where local landowners and residents could discuss and decide on strategies in relation to land management, conservation and public interpretation. Therefore, the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group (UDOWG), was set up and comprises those individuals and agencies which have a major interest in the management of the area, including the local parish councils, the Peak District National Park Authority, and landowners such as Severn Trent Water, the National Trust and Forestry Commission. UDOWG was approached by the Authority's Archaeology Service (PDNPAAS) with a proposal to carry out an archaeological survey of the whole of the management area after Paul Ardron brought to the Authority's attention the potential for archaeological survival in the area (Ardron 1999). Paul is an ecologist who used to walk extensively in the area making notes of features of ecological or archaeological interest and collecting specimens and artefacts. I directed the survey between 1994 and 2002. As an employee of the PDNPAAS I have been responsible for undertaking or directing the majority of the fieldwork and for interpretation of the survey's results. The survey was undertaken to provide a better understanding of the archaeological remains of the area. This was seen as essential if archaeological considerations were to be effectively incorporated into land management practices and plans, and into interpretation of the area to visitors. While archaeological information is contained within the county Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) for Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, and the National Trust's own SMR, by the very nature of these records they are all very limited in their content. As a result, the amount of positive management input that it has been possible to make for the archaeology of the area has been very restricted. This paucity of information was not the result of a lack of archaeological features in the area, but rather the lack of a comprehensive record.

1.2.2 Geology

At depth, the Peak District is floored by heavily faulted and folded metamorphic rocks, thought to have been laid down in late Precambrian times (Aitkenhead et al 2002). Above this lies a series of sedimentary rocks that were laid down during the Carboniferous period, when the Upper Derwent was part of a progressively shallowing marine basin.

Outcropping rocks are Carboniferous and comprise the Kinderscout Grit group of the Millstone Grit series and the Edale Shales (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971; Woodcock and Strachan 2000). Strata of the group found in the Upper Derwent are: Kinderscout Grits, a coarse-grained, pebbly sandstone; Mam Tor Beds, a coarse-grained feldspathic sandstone; and Shale Grit, a thick-bedded turbiditic sandstone containing shale bands (Anderton et al 1979). Below the grits are the Edale Shales, dominated by turbiditic, calcareous siltstones and mudstones. These were laid down during the Late Namurian, over 300 million years BP, and were deposited as sediments carried by a series of major fluvial valleys that flowed into the Peak District basin from the north-east (ibid). The sediments are highly stratified because of cyclic changes to the sea level with breaks in deposition most likely being caused by low-points in the sea level. The Shale Grit forms the outcropping rock across most of the Upper Derwent. Kinderscout Grit outcrops east of the River Derwent forming impressive features such as Howden Edge, Derwent Edge and Bamford Edge (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). It also forms the craggy summits of Crookhill and Win Hill. Mam Tor Beds have been exposed at the confluences of the River Derwent with the Westend and Ashop rivers, and along much of the Woodlands and Alport valleys (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). Edale Shales outcrop near the confluence of the River Derwent and Millbrook (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971).

During the Carboniferous, plate-tectonic activity several hundred kilometres to the south affected the Pennines by creating a system of faults. One of these faults, known as the

Alport Fault, runs approximately east–west across the study area, beginning in the east between Doncaster and Nottingham and ending in the west at Glossop (Aitkenhead et al 2002). Tectonic movement along the faults created a series of basins and intervening blocks, dropping the land here and raising it there. Much of the Upper Derwent lies above the Alport basin which is a east–south–east-trending feature that extends for approximately 10km from the Alport Valley in the west to Derwent Moors in the east and drops to over 4000m below O.D. (ibid; Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). Between this and the Edale basin to the west, Kinderscout forms a broad syncline, while to the north-east rises the Fagney syncline. This gives a basic structure to the Carboniferous geology of the Upper Derwent comprising lower ground to the south and east with higher ground to the north and west.

During the Pleistocene, at least one glaciation covered the area and deposited medium and fine-textured tills and other deposits largely derived from the underlying gritstone and shales (Kear 1985). The last, Devensian, glaciation did not reach as far south as the Dark Peak, affecting lower ground to the west and east but not extending above 300m O.D. (Johnson 1985; Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). The Upper Derwent was under periglacial conditions at this time, and the gritstone and shales were mixed to create medium-textured soils by solifluction during summer melting of permafrost (Kear 1985). These drift and head deposits are found around Crookhill, on the sloping shelf below Derwent Edge, and on the valley sides of the Derwent Valley, Woodlands Valley and Alport Dale (British Geological Survey 1974, 1977). Alluvium would have been deposited on the valley bottoms but cannot be mapped because of the presence of the reservoirs, except for its furthest extent up the Woodlands Valley, which extends approximately 0.5km beyond the limit of the Ashop arm of Ladybower Reservoir (ibid).

Landslips are found on a number of valley sides throughout the area. The most extensive lie along the eastern side of the Alport Valley and northern side of the Woodlands Valley between Alport Castles and Hagg Farm, and below Cowms Moor. The landslip at Alport Castles is one of the largest in inland Britain (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). More discrete landslips, of 500m or more in extent, occur below Crookstone Hill, along the north side of Ashop Clough, at Ashopton, in Ouzelden Clough and in the Westend Valley (Redda and Hansom 1989). Elsewhere, very small, local landslips are found in many of the clough sides, such as one in Howden Clough which was used as a lead-*melting* hearth in the 13th century (see section 5.11). Landslips occur throughout the southern Pennines where Mam Tor Beds overlie Edale Shales (Johnson and Walthall 1979). These are all visible as irregular hummocky areas caused by the deposition of debris as unsorted rock and earth. In the larger slips, the main body has moved in more of a cohesive block of rock, and these are characterised by more undulating central areas surrounded by hummocks. Soils appear to be thin on many landslips, as indicated by a dominant vegetation of meagre grass sward. Deeper soils and damp conditions are found in the hollows between hillocks. One effect of landslipping in the Woodlands Valley has been to create a northern valley side with more gentle slopes than the southern side, but also with extensive areas of rough ground with thin soils. The potential effect of this on land-use can be clearly seen at Upper House Farm where the improved fields of rich grassland are located above an area of hillocks covered in much poorer grass (Photograph 7.11).

Very few of the southern Pennine landslips have been securely dated and it has been speculated that they occurred between the end of the last glaciation and the beginning of extensive forest cover in the later mesolithic (ibid). A peat lens below secondary slumping at the toe of the Alport Castles landslide has been approximately dated on botanical grounds as forming between 8300 and 7600 BP (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). The main

slip occurred before this time and after the post-glacial formation of Head deposits on the lower slopes (ibid). Coldside landslip in Edale has been radiocarbon dated to beginning at 5860 BP and ending by 5560 BP, so placing it firmly in the mesolithic and indicating that landslide activity had ceased within 300 years of its starting (Redda and Hansom 1989). Slope instability has been interpreted as resulting from either the penetration of forest roots carrying water further into the rock profile or the burning of woodland by mesolithic people (ibid, 211-212). The massive slip on Mam Tor, to the south-west of the study area, is still active, and some movement may post-date forest clearance.

1.2.3 Topography

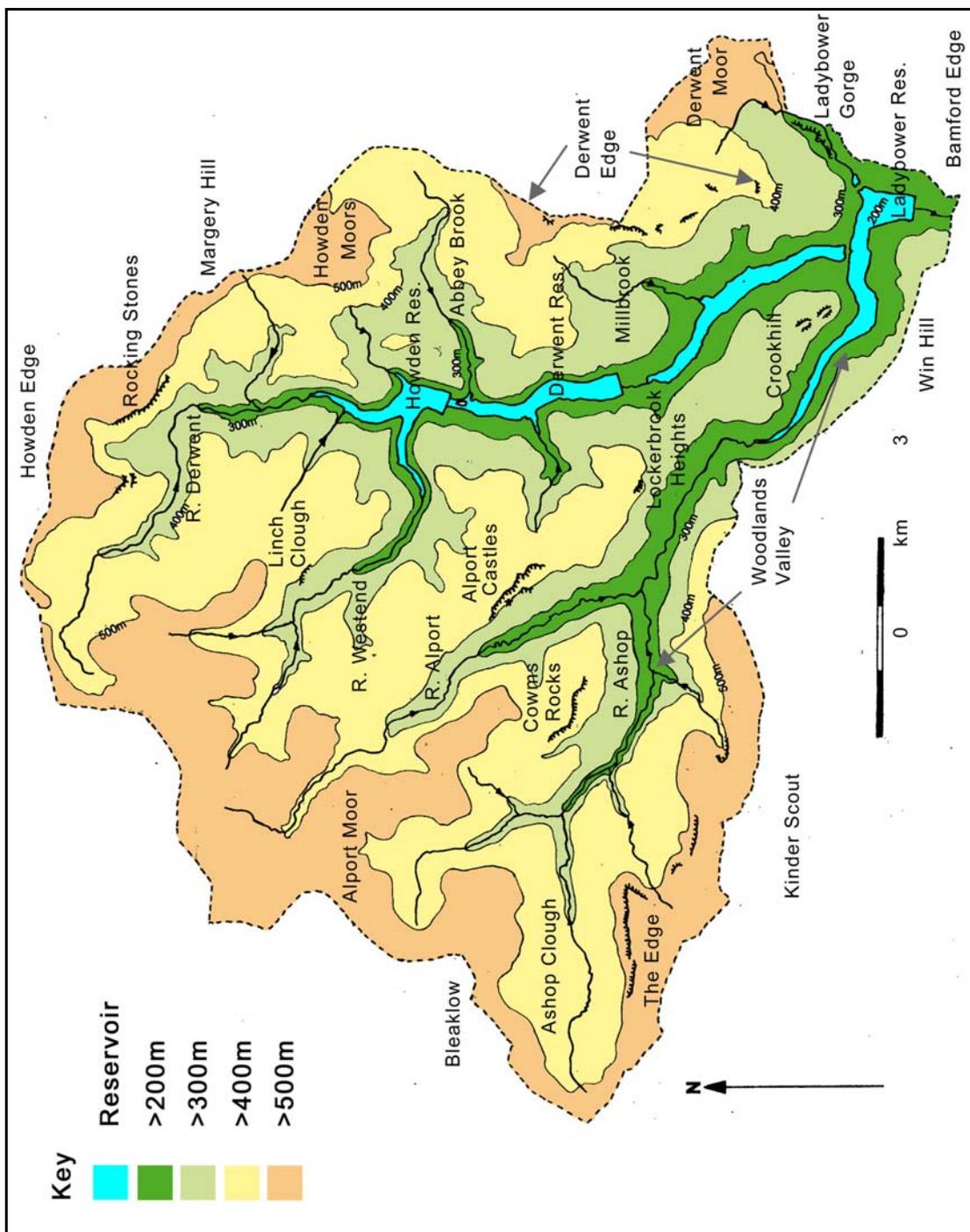


Illustration 1.2 The Upper Derwent: Topography

Rivers and minor watercourses have eroded through the Carboniferous rocks to form steep-sided valleys and tributary cloughs. The two major rivers in the Upper Derwent are the Derwent and the Ashop, both of which originate high up on the moorlands as dendritic systems of cloughs (Illustration 1.2. Photograph 1.1). They become progressively larger as they cut deep into the surrounding gritstone to form steep-sided valleys fed by deeply cleaved tributary cloughs and rivers flowing down the valley sides. Major tributaries of the Derwent are Abbey Brook, River Westend and Millbrook, while the River Alport is the main watercourse feeding the Ashop.

The River Ashop flows through the Woodlands Valley before joining the Derwent approximately 700m north-west of Ladybower Dam. The two valleys have wider bottoms with gentler valley sides adjacent to and upstream of the confluence between the rivers Ashop and Derwent, especially below Derwent Edge and around Crookhill. The Derwent Valley becomes narrower and steeper as it passes between Bamford Edge (390m O.D.) and Win Hill (462m O.D.), before widening again at the confluence of the Derwent and the River Noe. The lowest elevation is 160m O.D., found on the River Derwent at Yorkshire Bridge (SK198849). Most of the valley sides occupy heights lying between 200 and 350m O.D., with these elevations becoming progressively higher towards the heads of the Derwent and Woodlands valleys. Along the east side of the Derwent Valley the moorland forms a series of shelves immediately above the valley side lying at between 350 and 450m O.D. Steep gritstone scarps, notably Derwent and Howden Edges, rise above these shelves to between 480 and 540m O.D. Another discontinuous line of scarps, known as The Edge, Seal Edge and Blackden Edge, separate the Kinder plateau from the western valley sides of the Woodlands Valley. Crookhill is a distinctive topographical feature located between the Woodlands and Derwent valleys north of confluence between their respective rivers. It is a rounded hill, flanked by relatively gentle slopes and topped with two rocky crags rising to

382m O.D. Immediately north of Crookhill, the two valleys are separated by a narrow ridge, 1km long and approximately 350m O.D., which gives way to higher ground situated above 400m O.D. that forms a broad moorland plateau extending to the north west. To the north, east and west of the two valleys the land rises to high, undulating moorland which reaches up to 546m O.D. to the east (Margery Hill), 636m O.D. to the west (Kinder Scout) and 628m O.D. to the north (Bleaklow) (Photograph 1.2). Soils are generally thin on the higher ground and valley sides, and the underlying gritstone outcrops to form tors with major formations at Bleaklow, Rocking Stones, Grinah Stones, Cowms Rocks, Alport Castles and along Derwent Edge. Deeper soils are found in the valley bottoms and the lower, gentler valley sides.

1.2.4 Post-Glacial Vegetation

In a traditional landscape history it would be common to have a section on the vegetation history of the study area here. I have decided not to do so, instead including evidence for post-glacial vegetation history, including peat formation, with the appropriate periods so as to integrate changes to the vegetational environment with other evidence for human land-use. Vegetation is greatly affected by human activities rather than being a phenomenon that goes on in the background of the landscape while people live their lives on top of it. An impression of this distance between human and vegetation histories is emphasised when there is a separate section dedicated to the latter. Radiocarbon dated environmental samples are an important body of data to be used in the interpretation of a landscape's archaeological history. I have decided to include the discussion of vegetation alongside such other forms of evidence as artefacts, structures, and documents. Available environmental work from within the Upper Derwent is restricted to one pollen study of a peat core at Featherbed Moss, Snake Pass (Tallis and Switsur 1973), and the species identification of three charcoal samples from features excavated by myself (Gale 1999, 2002, 2003). The

bulk of the environmental discussion is, therefore, based on samples from throughout the Peak District and is largely framed at the regional level with reference to how the Upper Derwent may have related to this.

Modern vegetation is discussed in section 1.3.

1.2.5 Geology and Topography of the Surrounding Region

The whole of the High Peak is formed out of the same series of Grits as the Upper Derwent. High moorland continues beyond the extent of the survey area for 3 to 5km to the east, 2 to 5km to the west and for a minimum of 4km to the north. Moorland gives way to foothills and narrow valleys which define the eastern and western limits of the Pennines. Immediately to the east and west of the Upper Derwent these foothills and the lowlands beyond are now occupied by the cities of Sheffield and Manchester respectively. Approximately 3km to the north-west of the study area, the Longdendale Valley forms the major topographical feature, beyond which the Pennines continue northwards. The River Derwent continues to the south of the study area and, after 2km, is joined approximately 2km south by the Hope and Edale Valleys.

Here the Grits divide into two ranges, the Eastern Moors and Staffordshire Moorlands, both of which comprise expanses of moorland plateaux and high shelves covered in peat. These form a girdle around the Carboniferous limestone plateau, known as the White Peak, which is central to the Peak District. The limestone formed as two sequences of shallow-water carbonate deposition, known as the Derbyshire and Staffordshire Platforms, during the Dinantian (Aitkenhead et al 2000). This was overlain by Edale Shales and mudstones, and penetrated by basaltic lavas in a small numbers of places. Today, the plateau comprises extensive rolling ridges and upland basins rising to over

450m O.D. Steep-sided dales cut into the limestone and in places form narrow gorges, most of which have been dry valleys since the Late Glacial. Large valleys cut through softer shales between the limestone and the Grits, creating scarp-edges in the gritstone which rise above the valleys. The Derwent separates the Eastern Moors from the Limestone and is dominated by Quaternary deposits (Aitkenhead et al 2002). The aforementioned Edale and Hope Valleys separate the High Peak from the Limestone, and the Dove and Manifold border the south-west of the plateau. The only other major valley is the Wye which runs westwards through the limestone from Buxton.

The limestone, gritstone and shale valleys create three contrasting landscape zones (Anderson and Shimwell 1981; Barnatt and Smith 1997). Green fields, white dry-stone walls, villages and a scarcity of woodland, which is restricted to the dales, characterize the limestone. The gritstone is a darker landscape of grey dry-stone walls and dark-green fields occupying the lower slopes and more favourable locations, giving way to peat-covered heather and rough grassland moorland above. The main valleys are occupied, with villages and dispersed settlement within hedged and dry-stone walled fields. Woodland is found on the valleys' steeper slopes and as small areas of regenerating birch on the gritstone moors. Pasture predominates in the region though there is limited arable cultivation, mostly in the main valleys and the southern and eastern areas of the limestone.

Surrounding the Peak District are the more gentle, lower altitude lands of the Coal Measures to the east, the alluvial gravels of the Trent Valley to the south and further Coal Measures to the west. Beyond these formations and underlying the Trent gravels are Permo-Triassic sandstones.

1.3 Character of the Upper Derwent Landscape and its Effect on Archaeological Preservation and Visibility

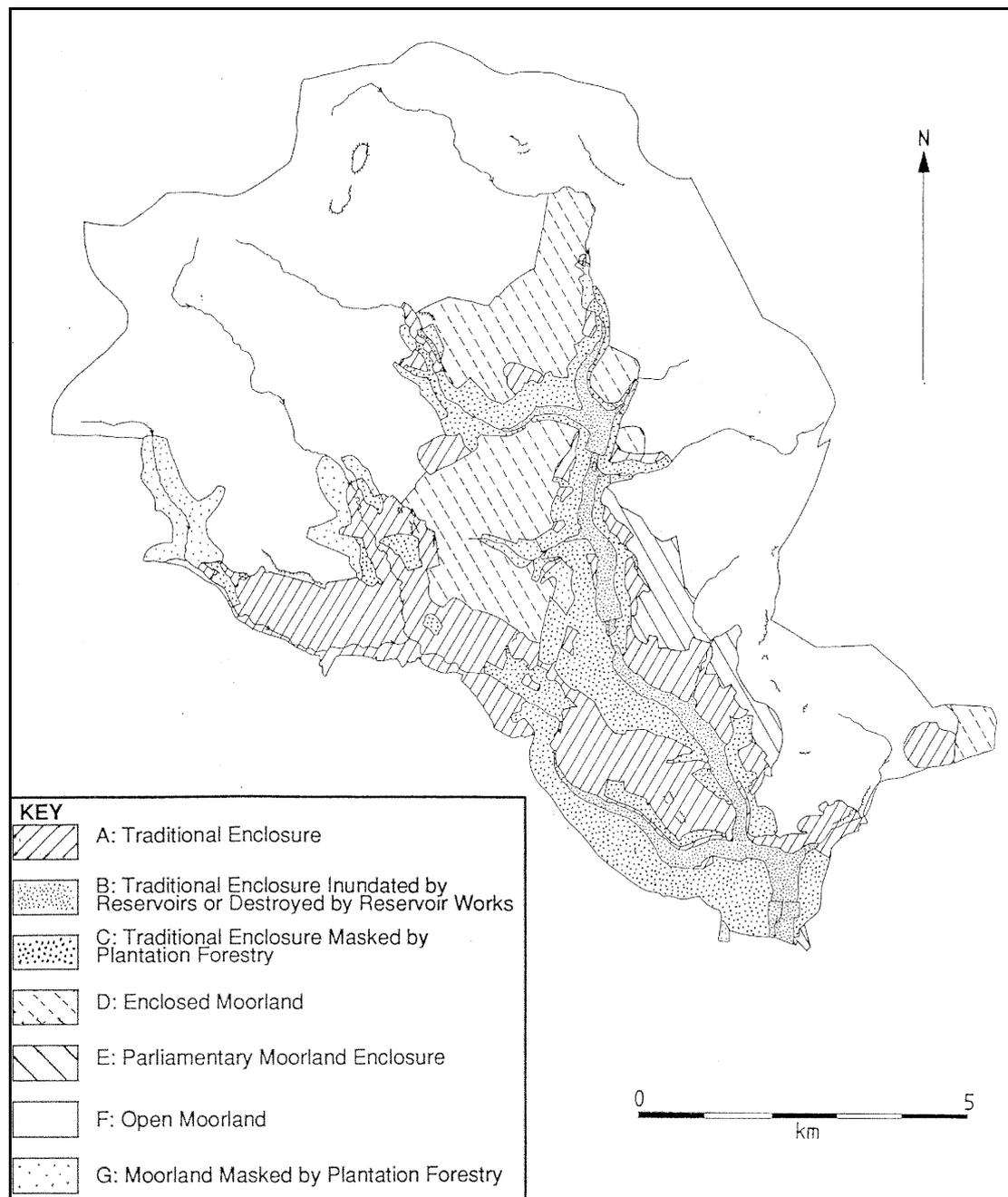


Illustration 1.3. The Upper Derwent Management Area: Landscape Character

In this section I will outline the character of the different elements that go to comprise today's Upper Derwent landscape (Illustration 1.3). As well as setting the scene by describing the types of landscapes present it will also discuss how they affect archaeological

visibility of standing features and artefact scatters. The current management of the landscape encourages some forms of archaeology to be seen and others not. It also influences how we perceive the Upper Derwent, including ideals of the wild, marginal or homely. We have to take care not to assume that these perceptions have always been the same, allowing the possibility that people in the past may have understood the landscape they inhabited in different ways.

Today the area is dominated by three reservoirs – Howden, Derwent and Ladybower (running from north to south) – to such an extent that many visitors refer to the area not as the Upper Derwent but as Ladybower Reservoir (Photograph 1.1). These were constructed in the early 20th century by the Derwent Valley Water Board to supply water to Sheffield, Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. The Upper Derwent was chosen as the site for the reservoirs because of its location near to and uphill from the cities. There was a small population requiring relocation, and its topography created large reservoir volumes that could be fed by high rainfall from a wide catchment.

The presence of the reservoirs greatly affects the perception of the contemporary and historic landscape. Many people from the local region are attracted to the myths that have grown up around the idea of a flooded valley and deluged homes. This is highlighted by the number of popular publications on the subject, such as Vic Hallam's *Silent Valley* and Brian Robinson's *Memories of Tin Town*. Thousands of people explore the otherwise drowned landscape during exceptionally dry summers when the ruins of farms and Derwent village are revealed. It is the main archaeologically related subject discussed by visitors I have met when doing fieldwork. Others, more often from much further afield, see the human landscape as existing only from the water level up, forgetting that the valley bottoms were farmed and home to thriving communities. Another legacy of

the construction of the reservoirs is the extensive conifer plantations, established on the valley slopes around each reservoir to help stabilise the soil and reduce the deposition of silt. This, in combination with the gothic style of the towers on Howden and Derwent dams, in effect creates an Alpine feel to some of the valley which is a further attraction for tourists and day-trippers.

1.3.1 Moorland

Many visitors describe the area as rugged and since the 19th century walkers have been attracted to its open moorlands, its skyline often broken by outcropping edges and tors. They are often perceived as wilderness, untouched by human hand. This is very much a false impression, one largely derived from an urban perspective of those who desire to escape the confines of modern city living. The moorlands are very much a human-effected landscape, created through the prehistoric and later removal of woodlands in tandem with climatic change, and maintained through sheep grazing which prevents regeneration. Those who live and work amongst them perceive the moorlands differently. They were, and still are, integral to the agricultural economy, essential elements of a farmer's land, but very much to be respected for the difficulty of terrain, surprise changes in weather and the difficulties in navigating around such extensive areas of relatively featureless terrain.



Photograph 1.3. Moorland near Snake Pass. PDNPA Collection

The moors are covered by blanket peat bog that consists of cotton grass (*Eriophorum spp*) blanket mire, heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) moorland, rough grassland (dominated by *Molinia caerulea* with rare occurrences of *Nardus strula*), rush marshes (*Juncus spp*) and mixed species communities (Ardron et al 1989). Moorland is under relatively low land-use pressure so there is a high survival of archaeological features from all periods. Many of these are visible above the blanket peat. However, peat will have also covered features pre-dating and contemporary with its formation which remain hidden. Peat began to develop during the mesolithic, becoming almost as widespread as it is today by the end of that period (Tallis 1964a, 1964b, 1991). During the relatively dry climate of the earlier mesolithic, peat formation began in water-collecting basins with large catchments. From about 7,500 years ago peat began to spread outwards from these basins during wetter conditions. Since at least the medieval period the peat moorlands have been primarily livestock pastures, sources for quarried stone and peat fuel for domestic fires. The latter two uses have potentially the greatest impact on earlier archaeological features and artefact assemblages. However, because prehistoric activity took place on the underlying soils, all but the most extensive peat cutting causes relatively little destruction and, more often than not, has revealed sites.

Erosion of peat provides tiny windows into this buried landscape from which artefacts and occasionally structures are found which have contributed greatly to understanding prehistoric land-use on the moors. However, it should be remembered that the distribution of moorland artefacts is significantly influenced by the distribution of erosion patches. Most finds of artefacts have been made by ramblers and interested collectors along footpaths or in specific locations prone to erosion. Interested ramblers have made many finds so the network of footpaths is a major influence on where artefacts are discovered. Erosion away from footpaths may be related to degree of slope, aspect and those localised areas where

sheep regularly concentrate. For example, the identification of a 13th century lead-working site in Howden Clough was only possible because of erosion caused by livestock sheltering against the natural landslip the hearth had been built upon.

1.3.2 Farmland

From the medieval period onwards the valley bottoms, lower valley sides and favourable locations at higher altitudes have been enclosed into small fields and woodlands bounded by dry-stone walls. The surviving farmland comprises improved grassland pasture, known as inbye, on the lower valley sides of Derwent and Woodlands valleys, and in Alport Dale. Extensive areas of this pasture have been lost with the creation of the reservoirs in the early 20th century (see section 1.3.4). Enclosed fields higher up the valley sides, known as intakes, are dominated by a typical moorland vegetation of tussocky grass, dwarf shrub and sedge (Ardron 1999). This patchwork of irregular fields is, today, one of the significant landscape uses and greatly influences our perceptions of the Upper Derwent landscape. Before the medieval period the land-use would have been organised along very different lines at different periods which I will discuss later.

For most of the medieval and post-medieval periods, farming in the area has been predominantly pastoral with limited arable. The field walls that subdivide the farmland are themselves features of the historic landscape, some are still kept up whilst others have falling out of use in relation to changing agricultural demands in the 20th century. The abandoned walls usually survive as lines of wall footings or tumble, though some have also been used as sources of stone to maintain walls still functioning as boundaries.



Photograph 1.4. Enclosed farmland is characterised by small, irregular walled fields such as these below Derwent Edge

Many archaeological features have been preserved under pasture and are visible as a variety of earthworks. Limited destruction or degradation of some features will of course have taken place over time, for example by ploughing for arable or grass reseeding and by the reuse of stone. Working backwards through time levels of destruction increase so that there are more features preserved from the historical period compared to prehistory. From later prehistory onwards people probably re-used many of the same areas most favourable for agriculture and associated settlement. Areas better suited to more recent arable, such as the gentler valley sides and valley bottoms may often be the areas where earlier settlements and field systems were located. Use of the bottoms for arable may have been limited until metal-tipped ploughs capable of dealing with heavier soils were introduced during the iron age. Very few artefacts or cropmarks are identified within such pastoral farmland because at present ploughing is an extremely rare occurrence, currently only undertaken to improve pasture.

1.3.3 *Woodland*



Photograph 1.5. Conifer plantations created in the early 20th century by the Derwent Valley Water Board fringe the reservoirs. PDNPA Collection

Extensive areas of woodland are situated on the valley sides around the reservoirs, in the Westend Valley and in Ashop and Lady cloughs. The majority are coniferous and broad-leaved plantations within which small areas of semi-natural mixed woodland survive. Large plantations were created in the 20th century after the building of the reservoirs (see section 1.3.4). These plantations have had a major impact on the survival and identification of archaeological remains. Ploughing for tree planting will have destroyed many features, while the dense tree cover, especially of immature plantations, masks much of what remains. Those plantations situated on the gentler valley sides will have had potentially more impact on archaeological survival than those situated on the steeper upper valleys. This is because of the higher likelihood that human activities creating structures and depositing artefacts will have occurred on the more moderate slopes.

1.3.4 Reservoirs

Within the reservoirs many of the archaeological remains have been destroyed or hidden by water.

1.3.4.1 High Water Level

Archaeological features that stand close to the high water mark are particularly vulnerable to erosion from wave action, frost and visitor pressure. These areas are characterised by high land erosion with much loose stone and shale. It is here that the damage to archaeological deposits is most severe. Where wall remains survive these are rarely more than footings and most of those built following the contours of the reservoir sides have been destabilised by water erosion, resulting in collapse.



Photograph 1.6. The draw-down zone of the reservoirs following the drought of 1995

1.3.4.2 Draw-Down Zone

This area lies between the high and low water levels, the latter varying in height depending on rainfall and demand for water. Fluctuating water levels leave a band of the reservoir bed periodically exposed, most often in summer after sustained episodes of dry weather. The survival of archaeological features is dependent upon their location within the draw-down zone. Those which are close to high water level are more frequently exposed to erosion through wave action, weathering and visitor pressure. At the other end of the scale are those deposits which are only exposed infrequently and for most of the time remain inundated except in times of severe drought. Because for the most part the latter deposits are submerged, they are less eroded and the survival of organic remains is usually high. The survival of archaeological features on the draw-down zone is also relative to the gradient of the reservoir sides. Where steep gradients occur, walls and other built structures have often been obliterated due to the destabilisation of the land surface. Soil has been eroded away leaving a surface comprising loose stones and shale, which gradually slips towards the reservoir bottom.

Ground disturbance also uncovers artefacts such as stone tools and pottery sherds that have lain buried since their deposition, so permitting their identification, systematic collection and analysis. Such opportunities for artefactual discovery are rare in upland valleys where a lack of extensive ploughing does not allow much scope for fieldwalking. Their exposure within the reservoirs therefore provides a rare opportunity to use artefacts to greatly aid our understanding of land-use in the valley bottoms and on the valley sides from the mesolithic onwards. For much of prehistory such finds and environmental data provide the major sources of information on human activity. During the medieval and post-medieval periods pottery can in some cases be associated with settlements so aiding dating and the interpretation of farming lifestyles through time.

However, the rising and falling water levels also have an impact on the distributions of artefacts. While general scatters are very good indicators for the locations of activities, it is difficult to identify any internal coherence due to the effects of wave action tending to move artefacts around and gather them in the locations of eddies.

1.3.4.3 Areas More Permanently Under Water or Buried Below Silt

Erosion from the reservoir sides has resulted in many relatively level areas of the reservoir bottoms being sealed by deposits of silt produced by erosion. Silt is also deposited on level areas of the reservoir sides, even relatively close to the reservoir edges. Such deposits mask archaeological remains so that many may lay hidden even when these areas are exposed during low water levels. The silts also help to preserve remains and some measure of their survival was shown by the excavation of the 10th century cross-shaft fragment within the silt-covered site of Derwent hamlet in 1991 (Sidebottom 1991, 1993). The deposit of silt had protected the archaeological remains (fireplace, pottery, metalwork and wood) to the extent that although this area of the reservoir is subject to exposure and an extremely heavy visitor pressure during drought conditions, they had remained in situ since the building was demolished in the 1940s.

1.4 Land or Landscape?

The concept of *landscape* itself is a culturally specific Western construct, originating in Renaissance ideals of form and perspective where people are distanced from the land which is objectified and 'viewed'. (Cosgrove and Daniels 1989; Bender 1993; Tilley 1994). This construction of landscape was associated with the rise of property as the basis of economic wealth, social status and political authority in the 17th century (Daniels 1990). As property defined the ruling classes, landscape became an important subject of art, literature, cartography and gardening from the 17th century onwards (Cosgrove and Daniels 1989). Here, a conceptual link was made between land as object, to be viewed in a detached manner, and land as commodity, which was quantified, given a value and detached from people. Various devices, for example the composition of the painting or the planting of trees, were used to frame the landscape as something to be looked upon rather than moved through or inhabited. This act in itself creates the distance between the viewer and the land. All that is seen occupying the land, whether plants, livestock or agricultural labourers, are also reduced to become elements of the *landscape*. Only certain sections of society were doing the viewing, these being the landed and educated classes who sponsored, consumed and gossiped about the artists, landscape gardeners and their works. For the rest of society the concept of gazing upon the landscape rather than living in it would not be a major element of their lives, until the development of mass tourism after the railways opened up the countryside to those living in the new industrial towns. By then, the relationship with what they saw was again different.

An extreme example of the dichotomy in conceptualising the landscape, between the owners (viewers) and inhabitants, is that of the enlargement and redesigning of Chatsworth Park, Derbyshire, between the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Barnatt 1997). Chatsworth House was founded in the 1550s by the First Earl of Devonshire on

what had been the site of a monastic grange and was bordered by the open fields and enclosures of Edensor village in the wide valley bottom of the River Derwent to the west. In the 1750s and 1760s much of the valley land to the west and north were landscaped by Capability Brown. The resulting idealisation of a natural and pastoral landscape was, in part, oriented to be viewed from the house. This entailed the demolition and repositioning of parts of Edensor village to remove it from sight from the house, and the removal of remaining open fields and of enclosures to create grass parkland with trees. Edensor was rebuilt behind a convenient hill in an estate style of highly ornamented buildings so that when it had to be passed by the Duke or visitors it contributed to the view.

Some observers have noted that the objectified landscape of Western society can be contrasted with non-western societies, which may have close-grained or mythologised relationships with the land they inhabit (Bender 1993; Gosden and Lock 1998; Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994). However, this dichotomy oversimplifies our attitudes to landscape within the West, where many people who work on and with the land do have a close and highly textured relationship with it. The dichotomy is partly a contemporary intellectual one between Western-educated middle-class professionals and those who have direct experience of working land – between the lookers and the doers. What is important is to acknowledge that occupation and perception of a landscape varies with personal experiences and from the standpoint of social identity. While the Devonshires were reforming the physical world along ideals of what a landscape should *look* like, their tenants at Edensor were continuing to work on the land amongst the inconveniences of having their whole physical world shifted, removed and repackaged to their landlord's liking. While the Duke's opinions and thoughts about the landscape he had engineered are recorded in estate documents and letters, the reactions of his tenants are not.

A farmer living and working in the Upper Derwent will know intimately every part of his farm and moorland grazing, and for different places will know how well pasture grasses grow, which are most susceptible to waterlogging in wet weather or parching in dry weather, how much sunlight they get, what the best routes are, etc. Different places also have stories attached to them which help to create a mythologized perception of the landscape. In the Upper Derwent, most stories are of encountering strangers in the valleys, or of local residents and travellers caught on the moors in sudden storms. There are local stories of a doomed shepherd boy scratching 'lost lad' on a nearby rock in the 17th century, of the remains of Scots' stragglers discovered in the winter of 1745 and of a sheepdog waiting dutifully by the body of its dead master in the 20th century (Byford 1981; Daniel 1935).

The landscape is understood through knowledge, folklore, and personal and communal memory which come from both the everyday inhabitation of the landscape and practical information based on experience. A forester in the valley will have a somewhat different relationship with the landscape to that of the farmer. It is one where the vertical is emphasised in the closely planted rows of conifers which create very much an enclosed, and darkened, landscape at the expense of any long-distance views or vistas. The trees themselves are financial resources to be managed as efficiently as possible, then harvested. The topography, usually seen from the vantage of timber-felling and removing equipment, may be thought of as either enabling or hindering their removal due to the nature of the terrain – a landscape of specific logistical problems.

1.5 Integrating Paradigms of Landscape Archaeology: Andrew Fleming

Landscape archaeology developed in Britain during the 20th century, partly out of this conceptualisation of land as landscape outlined above. Another major impetus has been the deep-seated place that the countryside has in the national identity of England (Lowenthal 1991). The 20th century importance of the countryside as an ideal in Britain has grown out of the creation of industrial urbanism from the 18th century onwards (Bunce 1994). The majority of people live in towns or cities, and the countryside has become symbolized as the idyllic alternative to these urban environments through the complex interaction between social, intellectual, economic, artistic and scientific values. The dramatic growth of cities in the 18th and 19th centuries, the economic re-evaluating of the surrounding countryside as the provider of resources for the urban population, and the improved transport along rail and road in the 19th century increased the distinction between urban and rural while fundamentally linking the two. The growing middle classes were able to move to suburban and rural areas to distance themselves from the urban pollution and the working classes, while emulating the rural gentry (ibid; Williams 1985). Both the middle and working classes were able to ‘escape’ the claustrophobic population densities and sun-covering factory smoke by going into the countryside to walk (Sissons 2002). More and more the countryside was perceived by city dwellers as a recreational amenity and a place beyond the cobbled streets where natural beauty and heritage survived. In contrast to the large populations, fast pace of life and continually expanding or changing built landscape of the city, rural societies were thought to be smaller in scale and unchanging. As such the countryside landscape became culturally conceived from the urban perspective, symbolised nostalgically as an idyll preserving the values and beauty that have been lost in the city. Landscape archaeology has, therefore, largely been born out of the British conceptualisation of the countryside and, as a result, has been conceived as a rural discipline. The vast majority of landscape

archaeology projects have been undertaken in the 'countryside'. Since the first development of landscape archaeology as a sub-discipline of archaeology, with the work of W.G. Hoskins in the 1950s, which was based on the work of Osbert Crawford and Sir Cyril Fox, landscape studies have gained greater importance as various archaeologists have realised the need for thinking about human inhabitation beyond the site-specific (Aston and Rowley 1974; Aston 1985; Bender 1993; Crawford 1921, 1928, 1953; Fleming 1971, 1973; Fox 1932; Hoskins 1955, 1977; Ingold 1993; Rackham 1986; Renfrew 1975; Tilley 1994; Williamson 1987, 1993). Nearly all of the significant contributions to landscape archaeology in Britain have been written by people working in rural contexts. Exceptions include studies of a painter's experiences of 19th century Paris, housing schemes in 20th century Belfast and the spread of urban housing beyond the city limits in late 19th/early 20th century Sheffield (Edholm 1993; Jarman 1993; Rylatt [n.d.]). But more urban landscape archaeology needs to be undertaken to contribute to the interpretation and understanding of the growth of urbanism.

In 1990, Andrew Fleming proposed an approach that incorporated analysis of different social scales and the production of long-term histories (Fleming 1990). Fleming's contributions to landscape archaeology began with the processual mapping of prehistoric territories (1971), moved on to the detailed recording and interpretation of relict prehistoric upland landscapes on Dartmoor (1984, 1988) and have recently been focused on a more Hoskins or Rackham-style long-term history of Swaledale (1998). He has, therefore, embraced both the systematic analysis of spatial order, and the recording of common features allied to identifying land-use over broad areas to build up a detailed local picture.

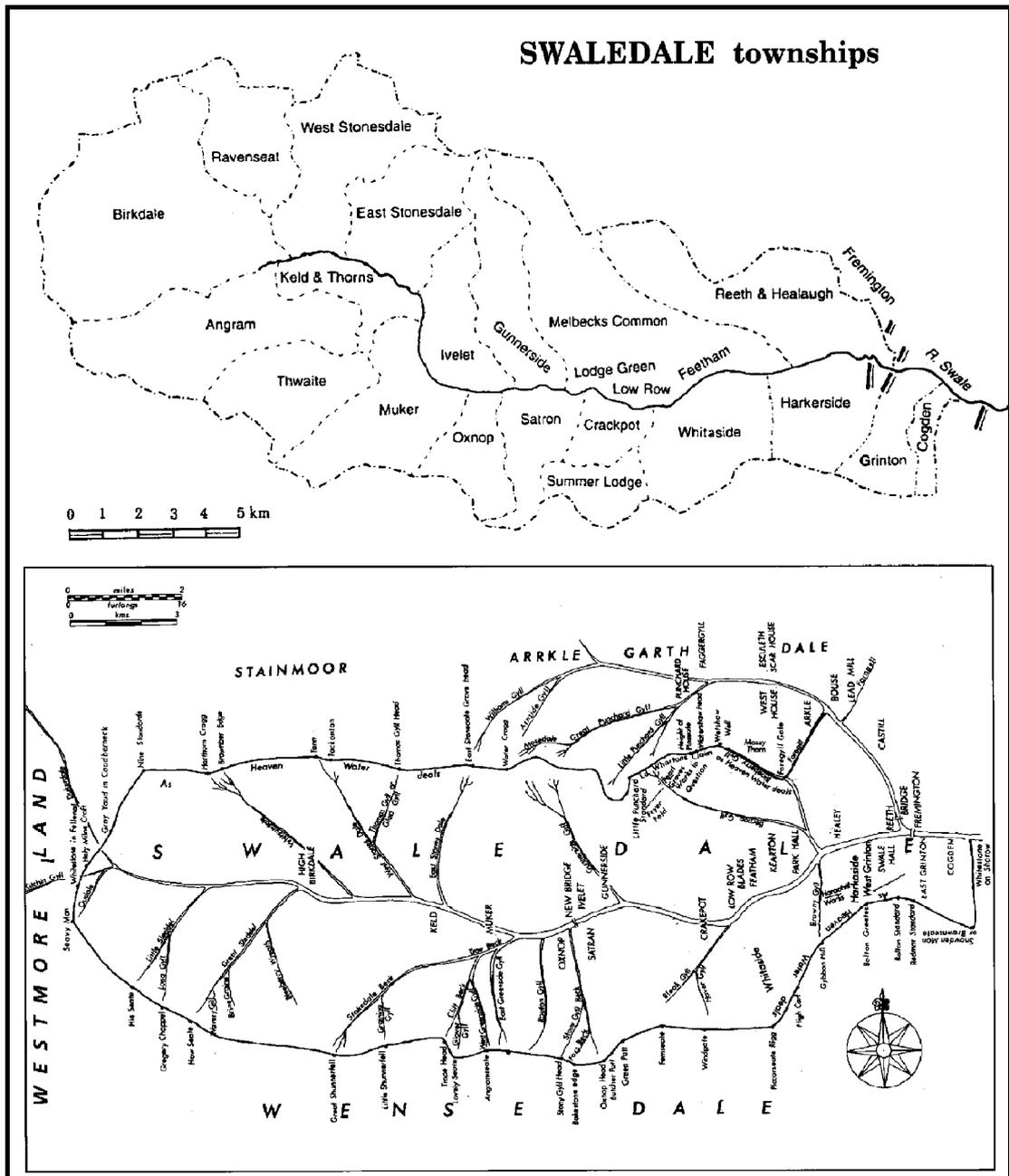


Illustration 1.4. Swaledale, townships (above) and in the early 18th century. From Fleming 1998

In 1990, Fleming suggested that a 'soft processual' approach was required to go beyond "methodological virtuosity and the production of local studies" to discuss general issues and wide-scale trends on a large spatial and temporal scale (1990, 5). In effect, he laid out an agenda that combined elements of the culture-history, processual and post-processual paradigms to investigate the broad questions, such as the origins and development of field systems, while considering the social issues of how people perceived and used the landscape they inhabited (ibid, 8).

In stating that we should interpret 'broader-scale trends in time and space', Fleming also hopes to avoid copying the detailed studies of historians and anthropologists, which he believes are ultimately impossible within prehistory (ibid, 8). However, he does see archaeological remains as being as important a class of evidence as historical texts or anthropological interviews because of how the built environment is something which is perceived, understood and socially manipulated by people. The scale of investigation is crucial to how this may work and the individual site is too small while the regional synthesis too big. Overviews that look at how a regional landscape has developed through time tend to be collections of evidence that either overlook or leave implicit the different scales of social organisation and interaction (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Fleming proposes to overcome this through 'study of the local community, its symbolically important places and its boundaries' (1990, 13).

He sees the small community as a robust institution with a capacity for long-term history that is affected by formal institutions on a regional scale. This is one of Fleming's most important contributions to landscape archaeology because it enables the integration of historically particular human action with the 'grand narratives' of wide-ranging social structures and long-term trends through the context of the landscape. It attempts to

avoid losing too much local detail to abstraction at the big scale while, conversely, not getting bogged down in local description that is divorced from far-reaching trends. Individuals and families interact most with others that live within their local community so that the boundedness of a community is emphasised more than its permeability (ibid, 12). This is also where social identity is most strongly created through the regular, everyday reworking of social relations. Communities are interconnected with their neighbours through sharing resources and by exchange, so participating in wider, regional identities. At a regional level, or for later periods national scale, communities are incorporated into larger formal institutions. For example, *civitates* were created by the Roman authorities as regional administrative units to facilitate the government of people across the Empire. Monastic orders were large institutions extending over numerous regions and kingdoms of medieval Europe, which articulated with local communities through the acquisition of land for agricultural estates. In the post-medieval period, government agencies were responsible for expanding international trade that created new markets for locally produced goods, while making accessible exotic types of material culture. Throughout the historic period in Britain communities were also subject to manorial control that involved the exchange of rent or tribute for rights to occupy and use land. All of these examples involve the imposition onto communities of external power structures. But, these are not identical institutions that create identical conditions throughout Britain, they are negotiated and formed at the local level through the relationship between the two. This encourages us as archaeologists to move between different spatial and temporal scales of social articulation to write long-term histories that maintain the focus on the relationship between people and society.

1.6 Outline of My Approach

In working through my aims outlined at the beginning of this chapter I will build on the work of previous studies. I will specifically refer to another landscape project undertaken in the Peak District, that of Richard Hodges's work at Roystone Grange, because of the models of landscape history from the iron age to the early medieval that he produced for the wider Peak District region (Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1981. Illustration 1.5). I will take the local community, geographically defined by the Upper Derwent, and the long-term history of 10,000 years of human occupation as the main scales or axes of analysis.

The discussion will move between individual sites – perhaps better thought of as locales in the landscape rather than traditional sites, extensive areas of the Upper Derwent landscape and the wider region of the Peak District. I will discuss the interactions between structures of social organisation, including landowning in the historical period, and community inhabitation of the landscape. I think that this relationship is significant in determining how local landscapes are used, perceived and how change over time occurs.

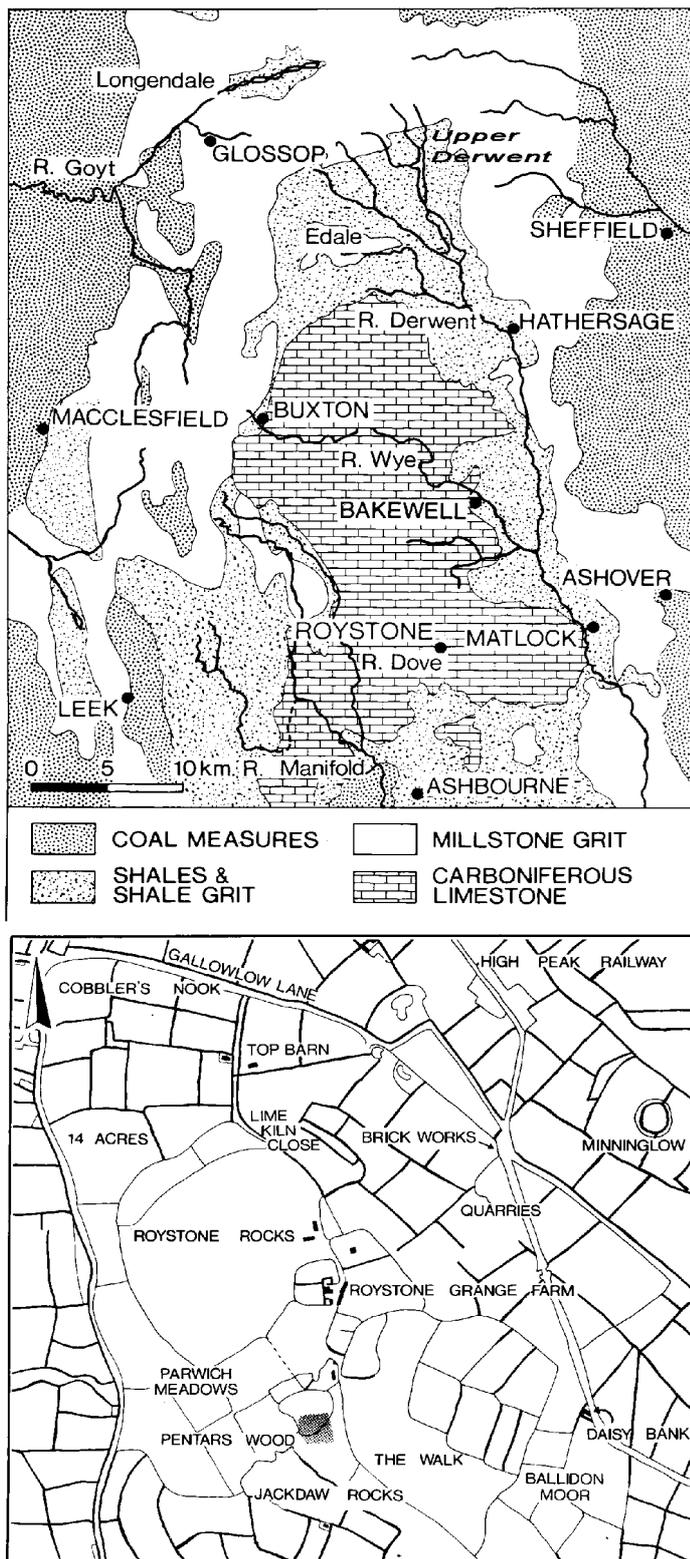


Illustration 1.5. Roystone Grange, location (above) and study area (below). The landscape studied is located on different geology, and much smaller than that of the Upper Derwent. From Hodges 1991a

My work has been made possible by the value we place on the rural landscape in Britain, which has been manifested in the designation of selected areas as National Parks, Areas of Natural Beauty and Environmentally Sensitive Areas. This is a perception of the countryside as an important resource to be conserved for recreational use by urban populations and for its innate special character, which is threatened by industrial urbanism (Bunce 1994). In the case of the Upper Derwent, the historical dimension has been identified as an important character of the landscape because of the influence of the Peak District National Park Authority, and this thesis is itself a product, as well as partly being an interpretation, of 20th century countryside ideals. I will return to this issue in more detail in chapter 9.

I define landscape as being the meaningfully constituted world within which people act out their lives (Bender 1993; Ingold 1993). People negotiate social relations through the landscape – the use of material objects, inhabitation of settlements, routines of daily life, tenure of land, procurement of resources and the creation of myths and folklore occur within the landscape. Identities, whether individual, group or national, are created and reworked through the landscape, through the world that people inhabit (Bender 1993). I include interaction with the geology, topography and soils, built structures, the vegetational environment, material culture and with other people. The numerous structures and finds that survive from different periods did not exist in isolation, but represent the interconnected elements of past landscapes that have survived to the present. Some are redundant and seen as relics of other times, while many more are still incorporated into the fabric of the working and living landscape. The features are mostly the product of common or everyday activities and the interpretation of their inter-relationships helps to give an understanding of the varying uses and perceptions of the landscape, and how this landscape has developed through time.

In discussing people's inhabitation of landscapes, I agree with Fleming that the local community is a useful scale of analysis to work at, and that the relationship between these communities and broader social structures needs to be addressed. This requires the archaeologist to work at different spatial scales of analysis, including the household, local community, and regional or national institutions. Here, I have been greatly influenced by Giddens's structuration theory which outlines that social change occurs in the duality that exists between agent and structure, that an individual is a knowledgeable actor who lives in a world which has a set of social rules and norms (Giddens 1984). We need to keep an eye on how the land of a single farmstead developed and was organised, how this fits into the local pattern of settlement and land-use, and how the locality participated in wider society through power relations and exchange/trade. I shall now outline the nature of some of these different scales and why it is important to address them.

The local scale of analysis is crucial because this is where social identity is most strongly created and where the most immediate decisions associated with dwelling in the landscape are made. There is a certain level of boundedness to the local community because of the differences in frequencies of interaction within and between communities (Fleming 1990). However, these identities and decisions are not made in a social vacuum but are negotiated and reworked in relation to the world beyond the locality. People live within and create their world across varying spatial scales, travelling packhorse routes to neighbouring market towns, tending stock in fields or entering the interior of a house from outside. These relate to the direct experiences an individual may have in their own lifetime. There are also much wider and more enduring structures of, often slowly changing, institutions, the history of which may be far removed from the everyday experiences of an individual. The 16th century farmer would have little say in who

replaced the monastery as their landlord, but that new landlord would have a great influence on the farmer's future. Regular patterns of prehistoric flintworking indicate that people shared in traditions about the right or wrong way to make tools across large areas that they would not have had direct experience of. We need not only know to of these wider institutions, but to interpret how they impinged upon and were perceived by communities, and how the relationships between them created the local landscape.

Time is a central element to my approach. Time is more than Ingold's temporal understanding of the world within an individual's lifetime (Ingold 1993), or the grand chronological framework applied by archaeologists. Human actions and perceptions are structured at varying temporalities; the immediacy of individual events, the daily cycle, passage of seasons, lifespan of an individual, of living amongst different generations, and the organisation of society and the landscape perpetuated at the level of more persistent traditions and institutions (Bourdieu 1977; Gosden 1994). An important idea we can use to understand long-term landscape change is that an individual lives within a community that has a longer history than their own personal lifespan. Communities have a past, present and future, however time is conceived to run, whether as linear or cyclical constructions for example, and which operate on different temporal scales. The individual is born into a world that already exists, a combination of physical realities and ideological concepts comprising traditions, myths, customs and the physical elements of the landscape. Some of these may just be community stories that help to explain the world, such as the tales of people lost on the moors in bad weather. Other customs may be formalised as institutional structures, such as the medieval manor or obligations to participate in ceremonies at a distant henge.

This past might sometimes not be acknowledged explicitly when features and locales are fundamentally tied with the present and routine day-to-day lives of individuals and their close kin. These may include the maintained clearing in the forest, 19th century access to the common that originated in the medieval period, or the work of a grandfather in clearing ground of woodland and enclosing it to create fields. Woodland may be perceived as a barrier to agricultural production in one century and a valuable resource in the next.

There may be other features that are not incorporated into current routines. These are relics of earlier times such as prehistoric barrows or long-abandoned houses. They may be encountered during and perceived in relation to everyday practices, or they might lie in remote locations and rarely be come upon but still known about. Such features may be given an overt past and brought into the present through folklore and myths, though any direct knowledge of past social circumstances in which they were created or used may be lost. Some might be thought of as taboo places to be avoided, others as inferring or legitimising land-use rights, and yet others left forgotten and neglected. As a landscape is inhabited over time some built features or characters of land-use will persist, and their meanings change over time as new generations rework the meaning attached to them. A burial barrow might go through a number of phases of rediscovery after its initial creation and use in a funerary rite.

Anticipating the future is also a central element of human experience, for example in relation to the growth of your children, forthcoming crop harvesting or the completion of an iron-smelting event. Returning to the hypothetical grandfather, a farmer may feel an onus on them to continue the work of their ancestors in increasing the landholding through continuing to maintain land fertility and completing further enclosure.

There are appropriate ways to act in the wider society you live in, which are often conceived as ‘the-way-we-do-things’, and an individual growing up in a community learns about the customary ways of living. These will be based on the interaction between local tradition and the wider institutions discussed above. In relation to that learning experience the individual develops a body of personal knowledge, including attitudes and opinions about the conduct of their lives and the world they know. The individual may concur with or challenge different aspects of social practice. In this way, that means of understanding the world and of doing things are continually renegotiated. Over the long term society may change, though not in the linear evolutionary path of increased complexity. It is remade and reinterpreted by successive generations, which can result both in change and in maintenance of the complexity of different customs.

What I have endeavoured to do with this section on time is to discuss a conceptualisation of time based on the work of the *Annales* school and Anthony Giddens, as influenced by Heidegger, in a way related to the experiential dwelling in the landscape rather than as abstract theorisation (Braudel 1980; Burke 1990; Giddens 1984; Knapp 1992). Based on their works I divide time into four levels, which are not distinct from each other but which are in a constant set of interconnecting relationships. There is the *event*, the carrying out of everyday tasks and immediacy of experience. There is the *dasein* of the individual’s lifetime, of the generation, which involves reflection and anticipation, and importantly the ability to think of social identity as shared between generations. This is fundamental to interpreting how a community inhabits a landscape over successive generations, and how knowledge of the recent past is passed over time. There are the *conjunctions* of institutional time-spans that persist beyond the life of the individual and which cannot be fully appreciated by an individual except by their

experience of them situated within tradition. Then there is the *longue duree* of the very long-term, such as the vast periods of time that slow environmental change takes, which again may only be understood in terms of the individual's experiences of them. A medieval farmer would not have a scientific understanding of the development of soils and podzols, but would know, from intimate knowledge of working with land, the varying nature of soils and what may be successfully undertaken at different locations. The work of the *Annales* is not a model I wish to directly follow, and I do not aim to deconstruct or debate *Annales* in detail here. Inherent in the Braudelian approach are problems of the focus being primarily on environmental and long-term factors as overriding motivators for change (Moreland 1992). Where I think conceptualising these four aspects of time is useful, is that it provides theoretical tools for thinking about the different time-spans of experience and landscape inhabitation, discussing social interaction between structure and agency, and writing long-term histories.

Through the writing of this thesis I hope to bring out the varying spatial and temporal scales to write an historical narrative of the Upper Derwent landscape. This of course presents problems – the large amount of data, the numerous connections between locales and features which may have been made, how those connections may have changed over time, how to avoid giving a series of static snapshots of the past, and tacking between the different scales of analysis. A fundamental concern is how to discuss specifics in sufficient detail while maintaining a suitable temporal scale relative to a 10,000-year history.

I shall explore overcoming snapshots in time by maintaining a historical momentum and steering a course that links the analysis of local detail with broader discussions. Wider trends will be brought in where appropriate and as expressed through their relationship

with the Upper Derwent. I shall present these in chronological order so that we follow the changing nature of landscape occupation over time and to get a sense of the historical trajectories. This is important to interpret how ideas of landholding were reworked and related to previous conditions, and how the built expression of land-use related to what was already in existence. It is also a method which I think encourages interpretation of contemporary features on their own merits rather than as survivors of later land-use. It is still possible to talk of the later destruction of earlier sites or refiguring of previous land-use patterns, but in such a way that we build on earlier periods in the same temporal order as historically constituted through time. To put it more succinctly, we can see what is inherited from the past by successive generations.

1.7 Archaeological Survey and Methodology

The whole of the study area has been surveyed to PDNPA Phase 1 survey guidelines, comprising a comprehensive walk-over search of the farmland, moorland and plantation woodlands. As discussed in section 1.3, the different landscape characters of the Upper Derwent affect potential survival and visibility of archaeological features. The areas covered by woodland, farmland and the reservoirs have been subject to greatest disturbance, yet occupy the parts of the valleys most likely to have attracted settlement and agricultural activity in the past. The same walk-over survey methodology was adopted for all areas. The main impediments to this approach were the lack of long-distance visibility in woodlands, a factor which increases survey time and the chances of missing features. The reservoirs were initially seen as unfortunately being a gap in the survey area because of the obvious barrier to investigation posed by the water. However, large parts of the reservoir beds were exposed during exceptionally dry weather in 1995 and the PDNPA took the opportunity of including them in the survey.

The survey area was divided into units that could be inspected in a day. Within each unit the land was systematically investigated by dividing it into rough transects, related to the local topography, which used prominent landmarks as pointers to align walking on. In this way all of the ground within the survey area was viewed at close quarters and, importantly, whether or not a parcel of land had been satisfactorily investigated was verifiable at the time of the fieldwork. Where prominent locations allowed good views of land on the other side of a valley, the opportunity was taken to get an overview of that piece of land before walking over it.

The survey also included archaeological artefacts discovered through systematic fieldwalking or by chance. At the beginning of the project it was envisaged that the only

artefacts to be included in the survey were to be either those already recorded in the county SMRs or kept by private individuals who gave access to their collections. The main collections are those of Arthur Henderson and Paul Ardron, who both fieldwalked the reservoir edges. Collectors have tended to give detailed grid references for finds eroding out of peat; however, for finds made on the draw-down zone of the reservoirs location information is more vague. It is generally accurate enough to tie down a scatter to within a specific collection area. There is usually not the detail to analyse variations in artefact densities within scatters. I was also able to organise some fieldwalking on the draw-down zones of the reservoirs, when low water levels allowed access; that was conducted by members of ARTEAMUS. ARTEAMUS is a local archaeological fieldwork society based in Sheffield and founded by members of the Division of Life-Long Learning, University of Sheffield – its members are drawn from throughout the Peak District and surrounding areas. One of the aims of the PDNPA Archaeology Service is to involve the wider public, including local communities, in an understanding and the conservation of the region's cultural heritage (PDNPA 2000). We work with volunteers where it is practical for the project we are engaged upon, where their work will benefit the Park's policy and where the volunteers will gain an appreciation of the Peak District landscape. Involvement in fieldwalking matched all three criteria because my time on the Upper Derwent survey did not include fieldwalking, while ARTEAMUS have developed a good reputation for conducting fieldwalking along the Peak District Transect in collaboration with Mark Edmonds, University of Sheffield, and John Barnatt, PDNPA.

Each fieldwalking area was divided into transects which were tied into the Ordnance Survey grid by use of an electronic distance measuring device (EDM). The three-dimensional location of the find of every stone tool was recorded using an EDM to match the system used on the Peak District fieldwalking transect (John Barnatt pers comm). This transect

crosses the region from west to east, passing through Bakewell, and taking in the various different geologies of the Park. All other finds were gathered and bagged by 10x10m squares within each transect.

Primary sources available in Chatsworth House, Sheffield Archives, Derbyshire Record Office and Lichfield Record Office were searched. Due to time constraints, the types of documents and collections were limited to those which were most relevant to interpreting land-use. These comprised historical maps (Ordnance Survey, estate, tithe and enclosure plans) with attached terriers where written, estate management records, probate inventories, highway surveys, enclosure awards. Public Record Office documents were referred to where published elsewhere, for example Domesday or Chancery Rolls. Published sources were also heavily referred to. A number of these were based on in-depth primary documentary research of specific themes, for example routes and trackways from the medieval period onwards. The handbook of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, published between 1902 and the 1960s, was an important source of information on the routes and commons of the area. The club promoted access to open spaces and the handbook's editor, GHB Ward, conducted extensive documentary research to investigate the historical rights of way in the region.

In total, 1,681 features were identified, of which only 153 had been previously recorded (Appendices 1-3, 11). These comprised structural features, earthworks, findspots, standing buildings and field boundaries including those dating from the 20th century. The majority of this work was conducted by myself, while some plantations as well as the reservoir bottoms were surveyed by Phil Sidebottom under my direction and some farm areas by John Barnatt. Discoveries were sketch-plotted on Ordnance Survey base maps according to the PDNPAAS Phase 1 archaeological survey standard. Within enclosed land 1:2500 base

maps were used, while on the open moorland maps at 1:10,000 were used. Locations, sizes and shapes of features were estimated and plotted by eye. Within enclosed land the locations of features were ascertained by estimating the proportional distance between two boundaries, that is, whether it lay half-way, one-third, etc from one boundary to the other. PDNPAAS estimates the accuracy of this method in enclosed land to be within 5m while on open moorland greater discrepancies can occur, possibly as much as up to 50m where there are no landmarks nearby included on the Ordnance Survey maps. Field notes were written as annotations to the base maps. Where a more complicated feature was encountered, such as the foundations of a settlement, a larger-scale sketch plan was produced at approximately 1:500 scale. Previously unknown burial barrows were recorded to the system developed by John Barnatt during his survey of barrows throughout the Peak District (Barnatt 1996a). This comprised laying a metric tape across the centre of the barrow to make a baseline from which taped measurements were taken to pictorially record the form and nature of the barrow, including surface features. A standard pro-forma was also completed to record the barrow's relationship with the surrounding landscape, including what land was visible from it, its nature, condition and any evidence for disturbance.

This form of walk-over survey allied to documentary research is very much suited to identifying archaeological features in a large previously uninspected region, such as the Upper Derwent, because they can be identified and recorded relatively quickly. The level of detail and accuracy is appropriate to the landscape approach where features are seen as elements within the wider landscape. The inter-relationships between features can be analysed to produce an interpretation of how the landscape has been used and how use has changed over time. Some of these interconnections can be interpreted from how features respect or slight each other, and often a relative chronology can be proposed. Detailed

descriptions of features as observed on the surface can also be made, including any variations in their form. Through this method the nature and use of the vast majority of features can be interpreted with a good degree of confidence. Documents provide valuable information for the medieval period onwards on the overall landscape and individual features that it should be considered a fundamental element of walk-over survey. Documents can provide key dates on which to hang the historical development of a place upon, the absence or presence of a feature at a certain time, and how specific locales were used and perceived. Most documents record the actions and concerns of the landowning classes so are inherently biased towards the concerns of those classes. This raises a number of key issues because it is within the structure of landownership that the lives and actions of those living in a place are carried out. We can read written texts to interpret changing perceptions held about the landscape, the social conditions of landlord–tenant relationships and aspects of how local and broader scales interacted.

After the Phase 1 survey was complete, I undertook Phase 2, which consisted of detailed, metric survey and excavation of a small number of features, conducted over a four-year period (Appendices 4-10). Features selected for detailed survey were those identified as being significantly important for their archaeology, requiring more detailed records for their adequate management, or suffering from erosion. A representative sample of features was selected, the majority of which were the sites of abandoned medieval or later farmsteads. Other surveyed features comprised two Romano-British settlements, a section of a paved packhorse route, four groups of prehistoric barrows, two lead-working hearths, and the navy settlement known as Tin Town.

All of these features, except for Tin Town, were surveyed by tape using the offset method. A baseline was laid across the feature and tied into the Ordnance Survey grid using an

EDM or theodolite. Measurements of the feature were made to this baseline using fibreglass EEC Class II metric tapes. For extensive features, secondary baselines were set up where required, using EDM, theodolite or optical square to ascertain right-angles. Hachure plans of each feature were plotted at a scale of either 1:100 or 1:50. Due to the size of Tin Town, covering an area of approximately 1km by 200m, it was surveyed using a Topcon GTS-202 EDM and data downloaded on to a Husky data logger. A grid of 14 survey stations was first established. The results were manipulated and plotted using LSS land survey software.

During Phase 2 a number of features were identified as suffering from ongoing erosion caused by livestock or water action along the draw-down zone of the reservoirs. I undertook the direction of rescue excavations of three of these threatened sites: a 13th century lead hearth in Howden Clough (Appendix 10), a group of neolithic pits in Howden Reservoir (Appendix 5) and a 15th century lead hearth in Linch Clough (Appendix 8). These have provided more detailed information on these three sites, as well as preserving by record features which would otherwise have been lost. Excavation was carried out by hand using the PDNPAAS guidelines (PDNPAAS 1995). Each context was excavated separately and recorded on a context record sheet completed by the excavator responsible for removing the context. Single and multi-context plans were produced at 1:20 and sections were drawn at 1:10.

The survey has produced a large number of reports and associated archival information (Appendices 1-11). This 'grey literature' is unpublished but is archived and available for public consultation at the PDNPAAS offices in Bakewell and the relevant county SMRs that cover the Upper Derwent – Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. All reports were written for UDOWG and the area's landowners as tools for estate management and interpretation

to the public. Therefore, they attempt to present the results of fieldwork in a language and format suitable for this use by land managers rather than archaeologists. The reports produced during the Phase 1 survey contain a detailed description of each feature in the form of a catalogue linked to a series of features plans (Appendices 2-3). Interpretation is limited to that which is directly necessary for the better understanding of features and their context in the development of the historic landscape of the Upper Derwent.

The PDNPA archive reports included in Appendices 1- 11 are provided as a series of word and image files on a CD-Rom, specifically to avoid using the paper that would be required to print over 1000 pages of reports and creating an unwieldy thesis. Each report is stored in a folder, of the same name, as a word document which can be opened and read onscreen or printed out. Accompanying drawings are stored in the folder as TIF files that are given the name of the illustration number used in the report text. These can be opened in an image viewing application as required. There is also a text file called Readme First that contains notes on accessing the Appendices, and their contents. The CD requires only windows explorer (or its equivalent), a word processing application and an image viewer to open – all of which are standard on a home computer operating system, such as Microsoft Windows or Apple Mac OS.

1.8 Organisation of Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is divided into nine chapters, eight of which are historical discussions of specific periods interpreting the evidence of the area itself – on its own terms – and trying to understand how occupation was related to wider social trends and *conjectures*. I have broken down each chapter into themes for the sake of clarity. Experiencing the world does not fit neatly into categories, and the ways through which people interact with different scales are not so clear-cut or static. Each chapter finishes with a discussion that moves between different scales of analysis to bring together the interpretation in a less subdivided narrative.

In dividing the long temporal scale into shorter time periods, artificial chronological divisions are utilised to make feasible the discussion of the otherwise continual sequence of time. The periods will be related to developments observed in the archaeological evidence of the Upper Derwent as well as wider social trends rather than allowed to stand as arbitrary boundaries. Periodisation can also tend towards giving somewhat static ‘snapshots in time’ rather than emphasizing the social dynamics of history. Chapter discussions will therefore summarise the changes for each period.

The final chapter is a discussion that brings the interpretation of the Upper Derwent’s landscape history into a single sequence. This discusses the key themes to have come out of the study about how generations of people inhabit this landscape over such a long period of time, and the implications of the results of the approach for archaeology. There are some explorations of how the landscape may develop in the future and recommendations for further research.

A note on radiocarbon dates. I have endeavoured to present radiocarbon dates as the determination BP which I have calibrated to 2 sigma using OxCal calibration software. This has not been possible where authors have not published the original uncalibrated date.