

Chapter 5

The Medieval Landscape – Forest, Grange and Colonisation

5.1 Introduction

So far in this history there have been no written words to read about how the Upper Derwent landscape was used, no manuscripts to document the names of people and where they lived, no fragments of poetry or prose to conjure images of moors and vales. Nothing. Literally not a jot. As we have seen already even the most comprehensive record of land use in medieval England, Domesday, omitted the Upper Derwent. Then, with an act of contrite generosity from a member of the royal family hoping to ease his entry into heaven, words comes into focus in at the end of the 12th century. John, the Earl of Mortaigne, who would later come to rue the importance of written words when he signed the Magna Carta as King John, granted a block of land to Welbeck Abbey. This, and later grants, not only recorded the landscape but were instrumental elements in how it was inhabited and perceived over a period of approximately 350 years. The relevant texts dating from this period share a number of aspects in common. They were written by people in positions of social power to describe land under their control, and were means of legitimising that control. Names of individual locales and blocks of land were recorded, bringing landholdings into ‘legal’ being. Boundaries were described as experienced by traversing the landscape. Not only could ‘sense of place’ be developed through the physical inhabitation of the landscape, it could be given additional meaning by being encoded in text.

In this chapter I will cover the period from the 11th century to the mid-16th century, approximating with the later medieval period. Many of the structuring elements of later medieval settlement in the Peak District originated in the early medieval period, including the manorial system and nucleated villages with strip fields (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Dispersed settlement in isolated farmsteads and small hamlets was also an important aspect of landscape occupation in some areas, continuing a pattern prevalent in the Roman period (Bevan 2000a). I have discussed the nature of the evidence, which is somewhat sparse, for early medieval occupation in the Upper Derwent, which was one area where dispersed settlement was maintained without the formation of villages with strip fields.

The later medieval period in the Upper Derwent is defined by the nature of the evidence for the landowning structures that were imposed onto the landscape after the Norman Conquest: the manorial system and the Royal Forest of the Peak. During this period, one of the other common elements of landholding, the monastic grange or estate, was also present in the area. The period ends with the Dissolution of the monasteries and removal of Forest Law from the area west of the River Derwent. Crucially for such a landscape history as this, it also equates with a period when ceramic vessels were again common, and the evidence of these may be used at one level to indicate the presence or absence of settlement.

A dominant pattern of land-use appears to have originated in the Upper Derwent during the 13th century that continued to structure occupation of and movement across the landscape until the building of the reservoirs in the 20th century. This comprised:

- individual, dispersed farmsteads
- small, irregular fields enclosed within dry-stone walls
- woodland which was a scene of conflict between farmers wanting fuel and to clear land for agriculture, and the landowners, who reserved it for their own uses
- moorland common
- long-distance routeways, which connected the Upper Derwent with the wider world.

Relationships between wider structures of landowning, as articulated at the local level, and the inhabitation of the landscape created this pattern in the medieval period, and even after the 20th century flooding of the valleys, this pattern is still an important element of the area. The nature of landownership and tenure of course changed over this time. The Crown and Welbeck Abbey, a Premonstratensian monastic house, dominated in the medieval period, while secular lords, initially riding high on the gains of the Dissolution, predominated from the mid-16th to early 20th centuries. Most of the people who occupied the area, mainly tenant farmers, only come into focus by name in the post-medieval period when we find some surnames that endure the generations and others that do not. The wider socio-political circumstances in which inhabitation of the landscape occurred changed over time, so effecting the structures within which people

occupied the Upper Derwent. This and the following two chapters will focus on how this pattern was created, maintained and changed, prior to the creation of the reservoirs.

5.2 Regional Context: Medieval Peak District and Beyond

5.2.1 Settlement, Fields and Commons

The post-Conquest medieval rural settlement of the Upper Derwent is situated within the regional context of rural settlement in the Peak District. Approximately 90% of the population of Britain lived in the countryside and earned their living through agricultural production during the medieval period (Dyer 1988). Rural settlement in the region can be divided into the three geographical zones that originated in the early medieval period (see section 4.8.5): nucleated, dispersed and a mix of the two (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The Staffordshire Moorlands and High Peak comprised dispersed settlement, characterised by small hamlets and isolated farmsteads associated with small, enclosed fields. Nucleated villages and open fields dominated much of the limestone plateau and the valleys to the south. The remainder of the plateau, the Derwent Valley below Bamford, the Hope Valley, the Eastern Moors and the valleys along the south-west of the region, comprised a mix of nucleated villages and dispersed hamlets or individual farmsteads.

The majority of villages comprise a similar pattern of farmsteads spaced along a single street, such as at Chelmorton or Wardlow. There are also a number which developed around a market square or green, for example Hathersage or Monyash, and others which are loose aggregations of buildings (Barnatt and Smith 1997). There are rare examples where villages are known to have been founded after the Norman Conquest, such as Castleton in the Hope Valley, which was a planned market town established by William Peveril in the valley below his castle (Hart 1981). The presence of villages in the medieval period was neither static nor constant. Some villages grew and expanded while others were abandoned. A small number of villages recorded in Domesday were abandoned or shifted location at an early date, while others were abandoned in the late medieval period. Each village had an associated large common field, physically divided into strips by ridge and furrow or lynchets. The presence of these strips suggests that arable cultivation was an important element of agriculture.

Superficially these villages are similar to those seen elsewhere in England. Nucleated settlement occurs throughout the lowland areas but is most concentrated in the English

Midlands, of which the Peak District lies at its northern end. A settlement pattern of village and open field originating in the early medieval period dominated a swathe of land running from Northumberland and Yorkshire in the north, through Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire in the Midlands to Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Gloucestershire in the south (Gray 1959; Rackham 1986; Roberts 1996). Here also ridge and furrow predominated, at its most concentrated on the heavier clay soils of the Midlands, where it may have been an important method of drainage (Williamson 2003). Individual farmers were allotted strips throughout the open fields, often at some distance from their farmsteads. There was little pasture beyond the open fields, those of different villages often abutting each other, and a three-field rotation system was commonly employed to allow summer livestock grazing on one, while the other two were under arable. The organisation of the common fields in the Peak District is thought to differ from this model. The Peaks had much more in common with areas in the south-east and west of England, and parts of Yorkshire. In the Peaks there were usually extensive tracts of unimproved common pasture beyond the fields, on which livestock could be grazed in the summer before returning to the fields in the winter. An individual's land holdings in the field were clustered near to the farmstead and the three-field system was not so important (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Many of these fields were enclosed over a long period of time in piecemeal fashion, that is where enclosures were created by agreement between farmers, rather than according to Act of Parliament or an overall plan imposed from above (*ibid*).

Dispersed settlement dominated the uplands of England: the Pennines, the Scottish and Welsh Marches and the south-west peninsula (Roberts 1996). Dispersal was also common in the lowland areas of the south-east, west and north, where hamlets and isolated farmsteads existed alongside villages (Rackham 1976). Common fields were sometimes associated with dispersed settlement (Williamson 2002), a hamlet or a number of farms sharing an unenclosed field to grow crops in summer and pasture livestock in winter. This pattern is clearly seen in the Lake District where the valley-bottom land was often designated as the common field, enclosed within a boundary known as a ring garth or head dyke, and shared between the valley's farmsteads (Bevan et al 1990; Winchester 1987). Irregular enclosed 'fields', lying next to the farmstead and used for hay and arable in spring and summer and for pasture in winter only became frequent in Cumbria during the post-medieval period. Often known as 'inbye', they were not held in common or

shared, each farming household having sole use over those they created by clearing, improving and enclosing the land. Such enclosed landscapes were often created over long periods of time as families at each farmstead progressively enclosed more 'fields' in a piecemeal fashion. In upland areas, the higher ground beyond the inbye and limited open fields comprised extensive areas of rough, common land, which were used for summer pasture, as well as a large range of resources, such as peat, bracken and stone. A similar pattern of land-use characterised the Upper Derwent during the medieval period, which I will return to discuss in sections 5.5-5.12.

5.2.2 *Vegetation History*

The later medieval period is often omitted from the interpretations of environmental cores which are more often aimed at prehistoric and Roman vegetation histories. We now leave behind two of our main environmental companions, Hicks and Long, from these earlier periods. The other main researcher of pollen, Tallis, has undertaken or instigated work in the region which has looked at medieval vegetation histories (Livett and Tallis 1989; Tallis and Switsur 1973). Cores on the Snake Pass at Featherbed Moss, Hope Woodlands, are the most relevant to the Upper Derwent. Here a sustained phase of woodland clearance associated with *Plantago* and weed pollen began approximately 1023 ± 50 BP (890-1160 Cal. AD). There was a slight increase in levels of tree pollen associated with decreased levels of pollen associated with weeds of cultivation, either side of a radiocarbon date of 717 ± 50 BP (1210-1400 Cal. AD). This has been variously interpreted by Tallis as indicating the post-Norman Royal Forest of the Peak or a decrease in population related to the mid-14th century plague (Tallis and Switsur 1973). If anything, the radiocarbon date suggests that the plague may have effected rural settlement in the area. However, the highest radiocarbon date of the core is 491 ± 50 BP which, when calibrated, covers a similar period of 1300-1500 Cal AD. This is associated with the lower limit of another phase of decreased levels of tree pollen and increased *Plantago* and weed pollen. Broadly, the core can be taken to show that between the 9th and 15th centuries AD, woodland levels were relatively lower than levels of weed pollen suggesting the maintenance of agriculturally based settlement in the area. Another core on Kinder Scout is situated between Edale and Hayfield on the western side of the High Peak and within the medieval bounds of the Royal Forest of the Peak. This indicates a slight increase in tree pollen following the Norman Conquest and the maintenance of similar levels throughout the medieval period approximating to 20-30% of total pollen

(Livett and Tallis 1989). This suggests that little change in woodland cover occurred, but unfortunately the core was not directly dated by radiocarbon dating. Instead the pollen profile was dated by assuming that similar proportions of pollen found at similar depths along the core equated with dated depths of the Featherbed Moss sample. The two cores achieve little more than indicating the presence of settlement.

5.2.3 *Roystone Grange*

There are 50 known granges in the Peak District which belonged to 20 monasteries (Barnatt and Smith 1997). This is of particular interest to the Upper Derwent where one or two Premonstratensian granges were founded in the 13th century (see section 5.5). Half of the Peak District granges lay on the higher land of the southern half of the limestone plateau. Twenty-six were Cistercian and three were Premonstratensian, two on the Eastern Moors belonging to Beauchief Abbey in Sheffield, and one on the south-east limestone being owned by Dale Abbey, near Derby. Most were located on the fringes of existing settlement and were new foundations in locations without existing farmsteads. Surviving grange buildings are rare, with examples recorded at Roystone Grange, Ballidon and Cotes Fields, Hartington Middle Quarter (Hart 1981). Estate earthworks survive at a number of grange sites, the most striking being a group of four estates existing in close proximity to each other north of Hartington (ibid). Each comprises either a sub-rectangular or sub-circular area enclosed within a bank and ditch, sometimes subdivided into smaller enclosures.

Roystone Grange is one of only two of the Peak District granges to be excavated, the other being Blackwell Hall Farm (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1991; Hodges et al 1982). Roystone was situated in a mixed settlement zone to the south-west of the Peak District and comprised an isolated farmstead founded as a grange by the Cistercian Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire, between AD 1154 and 1199 (Hodges 1991a, 1991b). Excavations revealed four phases to the grange buildings at Roystone, which comprised walls constructed from limestone. In the late 12th or early 13th centuries, a rectangular three-bay hall, oriented north to south and measuring approximately 15m by 8m, was erected on a revetted terrace. The southern bay contained a hearth and the northern bay was paved with flagstones and had a narrow open drain. A second building lay close to the north and may have been built at the same time. Another building was added to the south of the first, probably in the early 13th century. Measuring

approximately 13.5m by 6m, it comprised two storeys joined by external and internal staircases. The walling stones were dressed, unlike the first building, and contained finely cut door jambs and quoins. Hodges interprets this as being a manor house comparable to Canute's Palace in Southampton (1991a). This building was only in use for a short period before it was abandoned, possibly due to flooding. At the same time the floor of the first building was raised. Associated with the grange buildings was fine glazed tableware from several East Midlands potteries, and small numbers of glass vessels and gilded bronze objects. A lack of cooking vessels suggests that metal cooking pots were used instead of ceramic. The buildings were abandoned by the end of the 13th century in favour of a new site nearby to the north. Part of the original site was subsequently used for iron smelting.

The extent of the monastic estate has been reconstructed from Martin Wildgoose's classification of wall-building styles at Roystone (Hodges 1991a; Hodges and Wildgoose 1991). It appears to have comprised a sub-rectangular block of land approximately 154ha in size occupying the valley and surrounding hills, which Wildgoose believes was enclosed within a continuous boundary. The only internal subdivisions appear to be a group of irregular enclosures in the valley itself immediately to the north of the grange. Hodges interprets the site as a sheep ranch with the enclosures used for livestock management rather than arable cultivation.

Based on his work at Roystone, Hodges extended his model of economically driven colonisation and abandonment (section 4.2) to the later medieval period. He viewed settlement and agriculture at Roystone Grange as being viable only because some form of nation state developed in the 10th century, followed by a European-wide market system in the 11th century (Hodges 1991b). Monastic houses were plugged into European networks of sheep and wool trade. He returns to the theme that he proposed for the Roman period, that marginal areas such as Roystone were only suitable for the exploitation of cash crops when there was a substantial European-wide demand. It is the existence of distant markets and the mechanism to supply them, either the Roman empire or monastic houses, that Hodges sees as explaining the highly visible nature of Roystone's archaeology during the Roman and late medieval periods – and, conversely, the limited observed archaeological presence between the 5th and 12th centuries AD (ibid). The ways in which occupation may have interacted with the wider institutions are overlooked – the impression being that these institutions simply implanted settlement

into the area to provide resources for export. Overall, Hodges' interpretation of the region during the medieval period is somewhat woolly with little in the way of evidence-based explanation.

5.3 Monasteries and the English Landscape

The presence of the Premonstratensian estate in the Upper Derwent brings the local area into a national pattern of monastic agricultural land management and international trade. I will briefly review the national evidence here and in discussing the Upper Derwent will investigate how the locality articulated with this broader picture. Wool trade with continental Europe is seen as a significant element of many English monastic granges. Landowners had granted land for monasteries and monastic agricultural use since the 7th century, and after the Norman Conquest there was a large expansion in such grants by the new ruling classes (Aston 2000). These patrons were motivated by the desire to have prayers said in ecclesiastic foundations for their souls and their families, which would hopefully ensure their passage to Heaven, and advance their social status through the amount of money granted and the order chosen to receive it (ibid). By the 12th century, the Benedictine and Cluniac orders were well established in England and a rash of new orders were being formed by those who felt that the existing orders had lost their way from the monastic ideal by indulging in too many home comforts (ibid). Many of these new orders were founded in the 12th century: Cistercian, Carthusian and Grandmontine monks; Knights Templar and Hospitaller; and the canonical orders of the Augustinians, Gilbertines and, of direct relevance to the Upper Derwent, Premonstratensians.

5.3.1 *Grange Farming*

Most knowledge of monastic granges is based on Cistercian estates, largely because they kept extensive records (Aston 2000). Traditionally the history of Cistercian estates was thought to comprise acquisition of land, the direct farming of that land by monks and lay brothers, and then the later renting out of land to tenants. While most other orders copied the Cistercian land-management practices they did differ greatly in ideals, lifestyles and economies. The new orders of monks and canons looked to establish their monasteries in remote locations, idealising the concept of the Biblical wilderness within the context of European landscapes. They also received land to set up agricultural estates with which to provide food, resources and a monetary income by selling surpluses at market (Platt 1969). While the long-established Benedictine estates were often integrated

into the agrarian regimes of well-populated lowland areas, the later orders were again often granted remote areas with low populations. The Cistercians developed wilderness foundation myths to construct a moral, or spiritual, landscape rather than to adhere to a strict representation of reality (Menuge 2000). Abbeys and granges actually provided comfortable conditions with access to a range of material culture typical of contemporary settlements, and more high status artefacts. This is evident at Roystone Grange, where occupants lived in a substantial building and used glasswares, as well as more common tablewares – the latter similar to assemblages found at Bradbourne and Aldwark (Chris Cumberpatch pers comm) (see section 5.2.3).

Cistercians and other orders, such as the Premonstratensians, developed grange farming as a means of organising and exploiting their estates for material wealth and prosperity. Though often remote, granges were far from a reality of wilderness, but were flexible and efficient systems for controlling and manipulating the landscape to their benefit. Early in their history Cistercians worked their estates with the aid of *conversi* or lay brothers, sometimes displacing the existing population to reorganise land-use, though they later began to let their estates out to tenants (Moorhouse 1989). Sheep farming was a major industry of many orders with a large export market for wool on the continent. In the early 13th century, the Pope exempted sheep from tithes, and they were also exempt from various tolls, so making sheep an attractive business for monasteries holding extensive grazing lands (Aston 2000).

Premonstratensians grouped their houses into geographical areas known as *circaries*, within each of which two abbots regularly visited all houses and other estates to ensure that the precepts of the Order were being followed (Gribbin 2001). Welbeck was the head house for a circary which covered middle England and within which Beauchief and Dale abbeys were also located. It appears that there was some level of centralised organisation of granges within a circary, including cooperation between different houses (Colin Merrony pers comm). The Order's founding statutes state that much of the farm work should be undertaken by lay brothers who were described in a 12th century document as "illiterate men...labouring with their hands" (Bond 1993). Lay brothers had to identify themselves by wearing grey robes and growing their beards to a month's growth. After a protest against the wearing of beards the numbers of Premonstratensian

lay brothers began to decline in the 13th century and they disappeared entirely as agricultural workers by the 15th century (ibid).

5.4 Post-Domesday Upper Derwent Landscape

5.4.1 Post-Domesday Structures of Land Ownership

After William the Conqueror reapportioned his newly acquired kingdom, many Anglo-Saxon earls lost their estates to Norman barons who had aided William in 1066 and the years following. The Upper Derwent lay within three large manors, which were also ecclesiastical parishes: land to the west of the River Derwent was in Hope, while land to the east was divided between Bradfield in Yorkshire and Hathersage in Derbyshire (Byford 1981; Cox 1877. Illustration 5.1). While King William gave all three manors to

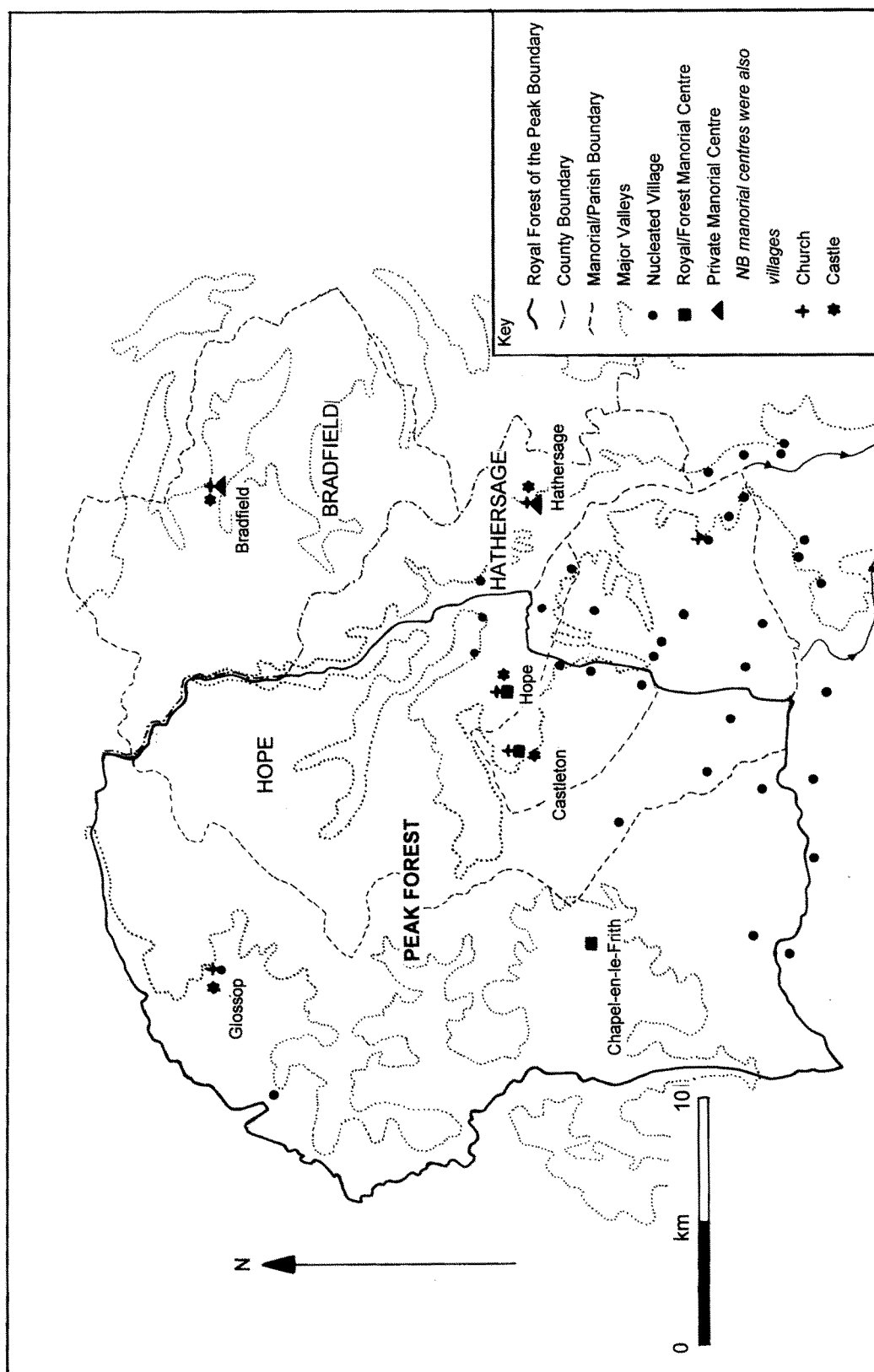


Illustration 5.1. Medieval Forest, County and manorial boundaries crossing the Upper Derwent, with associated power bases and villages. The Upper Derwent was divided between the manors of Hope, Bradfield and Hathersage after the Norman Conquest. The Yorkshire – Derbyshire County border and the boundary of the Royal Forest of the Peak also ran through the area

loyal barons, the Saxon Royal Manor of Hope also lay within the Royal Forest of the Peak (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The Forest covered the western side of High Peak as far north as Longdendale, the Hope and Edale valleys, Chapel-en-le-Frith and the north-east corner of the limestone plateau. This was subject to direct royal control, another layer of landownership and administration laid out across the landscape. These manors and the Forest provided the landowning structures within which settlement and land-use would take place in the Upper Derwent throughout the medieval period.

Throughout this and the following chapters, I shall refer to the townships of Derwent and Hope Woodlands. Townships were local administrative units created as subdivisions of larger territories during the medieval period, each township comprising the area of land associated with a village, group of hamlets or several isolated farmsteads (Aston 1985; Fleming 1998; Jones 1961). The occupants of those settlements would consider themselves to be a cohesive community, identifying themselves as ‘belonging’ to the same place. As Fleming puts it, the township is the ‘land of the face-to-face community...a definable area of land, but it is also a community, the self-organising, workaday, face-to-face theatre of action and experience for generations of people’ (Fleming 1998, 33). The use of agricultural land and common rights were organised at the township level. In lowland England a township, manor and parish often correlate to the same place. In the uplands, medieval manors and parishes usually covered huge districts and contained a number of townships. In the Peak District most of the places listed in Domesday still exist today, and lie within their own civil parish or township (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Areas of moorland in the north and west of the region, including the Upper Derwent, were not listed in Domesday suggesting that townships in these areas were created after 1086. As we shall see, in the late 13th century there are documentary references to the villagers of Derwent and Ashop (Kerry 1893). The term villager, or villein, refers to a peasant who lives within a vill or township (Dyer 1988). Derwent and Ashop refer to two townships based on the two valleys of the same name in the Upper Derwent, and shows that these were two distinct, though probably closely linked, ‘face-to-face’ communities by the beginning of the 14th century. The two areas were specifically called townships in the 16th century, and by this time Ashop had become known as Hope Woodlands (Cox 1877; Saxton 1577). The emergence of the townships, within the manors and parishes of Hope and Hathersage respectively, was the result of the medieval history of land-use and ownership.

5.4.1.1 The Royal Forest of the Peak

A Forest was an area of land reserved for hunting deer and other game, and was usually controlled by the Crown, though some nobles also had their own private Forests (Aston 1985). While William Peveril held the land of the Peak Forest, the deer were the property of the king. The boundaries of the Forest were described in 1286 by the Crown as beginning in:

“the south at the new place of the Goyt, and thence by the river Goyt as far as the river Etherow; and so by the river Etherow to Langley Croft at Longdenhead; *thence by a certain footpath to the head of Derwent; and from the head of Derwent to a place called Mythomstede Bridge*; and from Mythom Bridge to the river Bradwell; and from the river Bradwell as far as a certain place called Hucklow; and from the Hucklow to the great dell of Hazelbache; and from that dell as far as Little Hucklow; and from Hucklow to the brook of Tideswell, and so to the river Wye; and from the Wye ascending up to Buxton, and so on to the new place of Goyt.”

(Kerry 1893; my italics)

No built boundaries, whether earthworks, ditches or walls, are mentioned in this description, and on the whole extent of the Forest was delimited by following watercourses and linking named places. Part of the Forest boundary followed the River Derwent through the Upper Derwent Valley, with what is now Hope Woodlands lying within the Forest but with Derwent and Bradfield outside the Forest (Illustration 5.1).

5.4.1.2 Forest Law and Practice

The term ‘Forest’ does not necessarily imply the existence of woodland, and while the Upper Derwent and Ashop valleys were largely wooded, other large areas of the Forest were not. Forests were formalised as royal hunting reserves by the Norman Kings (Kerry 1893, Cox 1905, Anderson and Shimwell 1981). The term ‘Forest’ and the related laws appear to be Norman imports (Rackham 1986). While the English kings and nobles did hunt, landowners exercised the sporting rights on their own land, with or without regard for tenanted land, rather than setting aside designated areas where deer and other game were allowed to roam freely and given protection from ‘poaching’ (in reality, hunting which was not Crown-regulated). Parts of the Norman Forest had been in royal hands from before 1066, while other areas are recorded in Domesday as waste or incurring a decrease in land value between 1066 and 1086 (Morgan 1978). Waste was unproductive land, some of which had been little settled in the early medieval period and some of which had been

depopulated following the Norman Conquest. The use of the word 'waste' at this time is somewhat ambiguous. It is often associated with the 'harrying of the north' carried out by William shortly after 1066 to subdue northern England, however by the 13th century it means untenanted and uncultivated land, over which the lord of the manor had direct control and over which tenants often had common rights (Dyer 1988). Longdendale, to the north of the Upper Derwent, was recorded in Domesday as 'waste; woodland, unpastured and fit for hunting' (ibid). Whether this refers to Norman depopulation or a pre-existing lack of occupation, waste does appear to have been used as a term to describe land that was not tenanted. So Peak Forest may have been designated and created from an area which had previously been part settled and part waste, and a section of which had been held in royal hands during Anglo-Saxon times, and may have been used for hunting in places.

The amount of bloodsport hunting that was actually carried out in Forests is open to question. Few kings themselves hunted and professionals were employed to kill deer which would be consumed at royal feasts or given as gifts to favoured subjects (Dyer 1988). Private Forests were created as much to express the status of the individual concerned than as a utilised hunting preserve.

Peak Forest was therefore largely a moorland waste, with settlement and agricultural land in valleys and on the limestone plateau, and extensive tree cover existing only in some of the valleys. The Forest courts were held at Bowden (Chapel en le Frith), Tideswell and Castleton/Hope. Peveril Castle was the administrative centre, and the Foresters' Chamber was at Peak Forest. The Forest was managed through courts, at which offences against Forest Law were judged, fines imposed and inquisitions held. These included courts that covered the whole of the Forest, known as eyres, and smaller courts for specific areas, known as swainmotes. Offences included trespass, poaching deer and other game, damaging woods, enclosing land and constructing buildings. Under Forest Law, both the enclosing of land and erection of buildings were illegal without the agreement of the Forest administrators (Cox 1905). The regularity of court meetings varied over time. Only three courts were held during the 13th century, while they were held twice a year during the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547. A number of officers were appointed to manage the Forest, including Verderers who received details of offences, Foresters who were responsible for the venison and who 'arrested' offenders, Woodward who were

responsible for trees, Agisters who collected money for pasture rights, and Rangers who saw that the Law was observed.

Forest management in practice often differed from the Law, and Forests could actually be susceptible to greater landscape change than land outside (Rackham 1986). While grubbing out woodlands, enclosing land or building settlements was forbidden by Law, it was often condoned in practice in return for an annual payment known as a fine. The opportunities for new settlement and enclosure within Forests were greater than outside, because of the lower densities of existing settlement in large areas of Forests, and the use of Forest Law as a convenient mechanism for generating revenue for the Crown. Throughout the whole of the Forest, 22 cases of illegally creating enclosed cultivated land were recorded in 1216, and 131 cases of illegal building were recorded in 1251 (Cox 1905). In both types of case, the enclosures and the buildings were usually allowed to remain, with the people concerned being fined, having to pay annual fees per acre and their heirs double rent for the first year after inheriting the land. While the locations of the buildings and enclosures listed in these cases are unknown, some settlement and enclosure did occur in the Derwent and Woodlands valleys in the medieval period (see sections 5.5, 5.6, 5.9).

5.4.2 Eleventh to Twelfth Century Lacuna

As discussed, the lack of 11th to 12th century pottery discovered during fieldwalking along the draw-down zone of the reservoirs suggests no or only very sparse settlement in the Upper Derwent (see section 4.9.4). This is supported by documentary and artefactual evidence for a colonisation of the area during the 13th century, with settlers coming into an area dominated by woodland and moorland. There were a named pasture at Crookhill and an enclosed meadow called One Man's Field (see section 5.5.1). The presence of the pasture and meadow does open up the possibility for some level of pre-13th century agricultural activity, possibly limited to summer grazing for settlements further down the valley such as Bamford or Hathersage. Taken together, the available evidence suggests that the Upper Derwent was dominated by woodland in the valleys and moorland on high ground with 11th and 12th century settlement either absent, low-level or restricted to those areas where fieldwalking has been impossible, such as the upper Woodlands Valley or Alport Dale. Environmental information on this period is currently lacking for the

area, but radiocarbon dated pollen cores from local peat bogs would hopefully provide information to better understand land-use during this period.

5.5 The Monastic Estate

At least part of the Upper Derwent formed a large estate granted to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck by various landowners during the late 12th to the mid-13th centuries. Welbeck was founded in 1153 in north Nottinghamshire (Canons

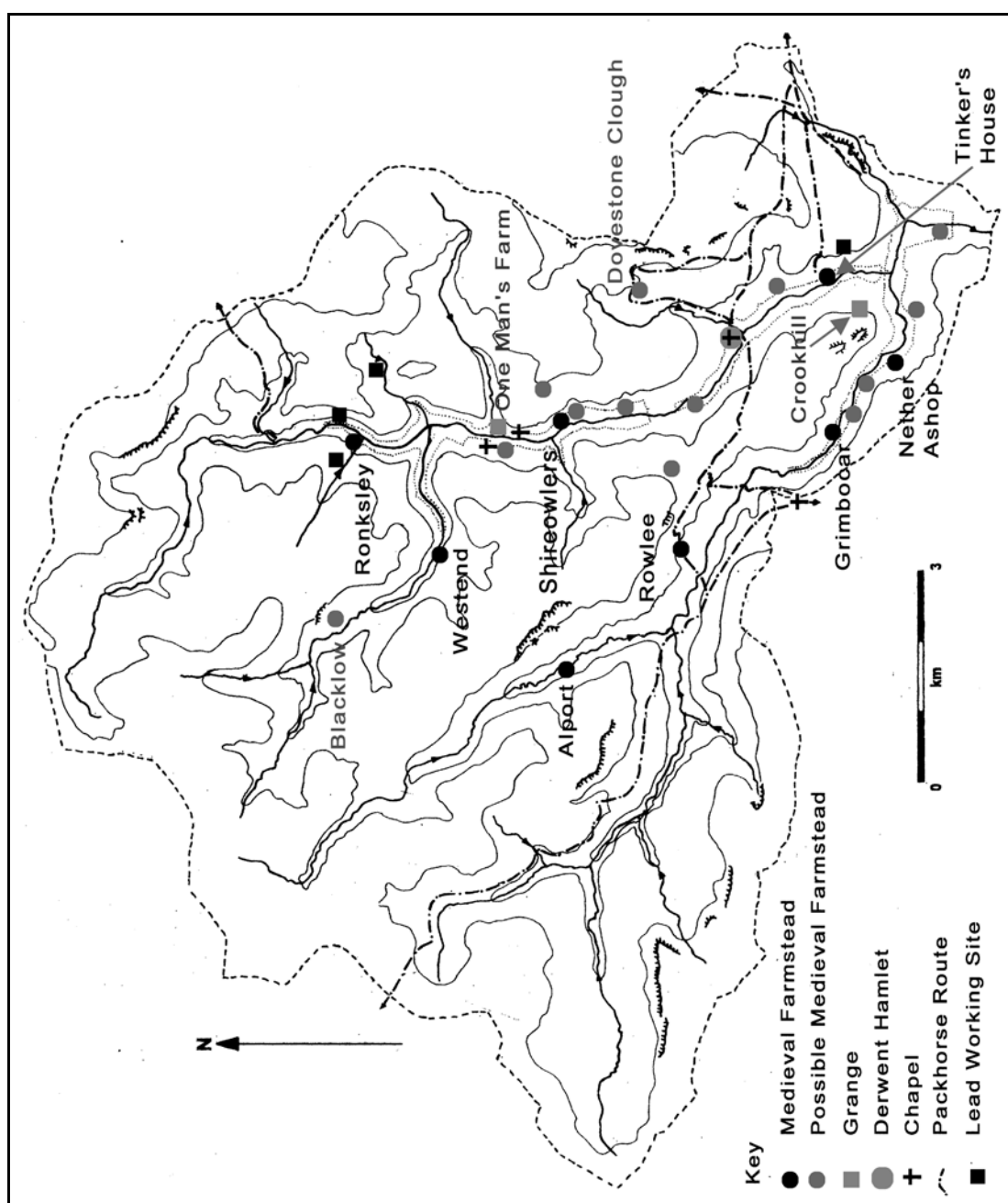


Illustration 5.2. Locations of Medieval features in the Upper Derwent

Regular of Premonstre 2002). It was the mother house of a number of subsequent abbeys including Beauchief, founded in Sheffield by 1176 and became the dominant house of the Order in England by the 16th century (Wheeler 1996). Both Welbeck and Beauchief were located in the same circary.

5.5.1 *Welbeck Abbey in the Upper Derwent*

Welbeck Abbey was first granted land in the Upper Derwent in the late 12th century by John, Earl of Montaigne, later King John of England (Illustration 5.2). The land was described as:

“the pasture of Crookhill, the woods of Ashop up to Lockerbrook and from Lockerbrook up the valley of the Derwent and ascending up to Derwenthead.”

(Kerry 1893)

This endowment was confirmed in 1215 when John was king, but he reserved the wood and venison to himself. Henry III confirmed the grant again in 1251, when the following was also granted:

“50 acres and an assart in the Forest known as Crookhill with buildings.”

(Bagshaw 1869-70)

The grant was confirmed a third time in an undated charter by William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, who had been returned lands previously taken from him and given to John while Earl of Mortaigne. The description of the estate varies slightly from that of the late 12th century by referring to the:

“pastures of Ashop, up to the water of Ashop and ascending up the water of the Ashop and up to Derwenthead.”

(Kirke 1925)

In 1252 Crookhill was recorded as a horse stud (known as an *equivium*) with 20 horses and 20 mares (Ward 1956-57).

During the reign of Edward III, 1327 to 1377, the grange at Crookhill claimed exemption from payment of tithes for newly tilled lands which the monks had planted with

vegetables, gardens and orchards (Kirke 1925). An increase in animals was also mentioned.

So far, the granted land appears all to have lain west of the River Derwent within the manor of Hope and the Royal Forest. The first reference to land east of the River Derwent being given to the Abbey dates to the mid-13th century, when Oliver de Langheford, son of the lord of Hathersage, endowed Welbeck with:

“in return for a common pasture for 80 cattle in the forest of Hathersage, previously granted by the lords of Hathersage, a meadow enclosed in the same forest called One Man’s Field.”

(Kirke 1925)

Lord Furnival of Sheffield Manor is also reputed to have granted grazing land to the Abbey pre-1383, but the exact location, date and documentary reference are not given by the available source (Byford 1981). It is likely that this was an area in the Upper Derwent known as Howden that was part of Bradfield parish, in the manor of Sheffield, which bordered the earlier endowments. This area was mostly upland grazing, which dropped down into a narrow valley bottom via steep valley sides. A separate landholding within the parish occupied this Derwent part of Bradfield in the early 17th century (Harrison 1637).

Over a period of c.100–180 years during the 12th to 14th centuries, Welbeck Abbey built up a considerable landholding through a series of endowments from various landowners, a process of estate consolidation commonly practised by monastic orders (Moorhouse 1989). Land granted by the royal household all lay within the Royal Forest to the west of the River Derwent, and encompassed valley, woodland and moorland along the Ashop and Derwent rivers to the source of the Derwent itself. This seemingly included all or a substantial part of what became Hope Woodlands township by the 16th century (Saxton 1577). Endowments by local lords gave land to the east of the River Derwent in Hathersage and Bradfield parishes. The return to a benefactor of a common pasture for 80 cattle in Hathersage shows that the estate was not static but changed over time, at least during the 13th century. The documented land in Hathersage refers only to a meadow, which can be identified as an area by the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook which later became known as Abbey Farm (see section 5.5.2.2). While

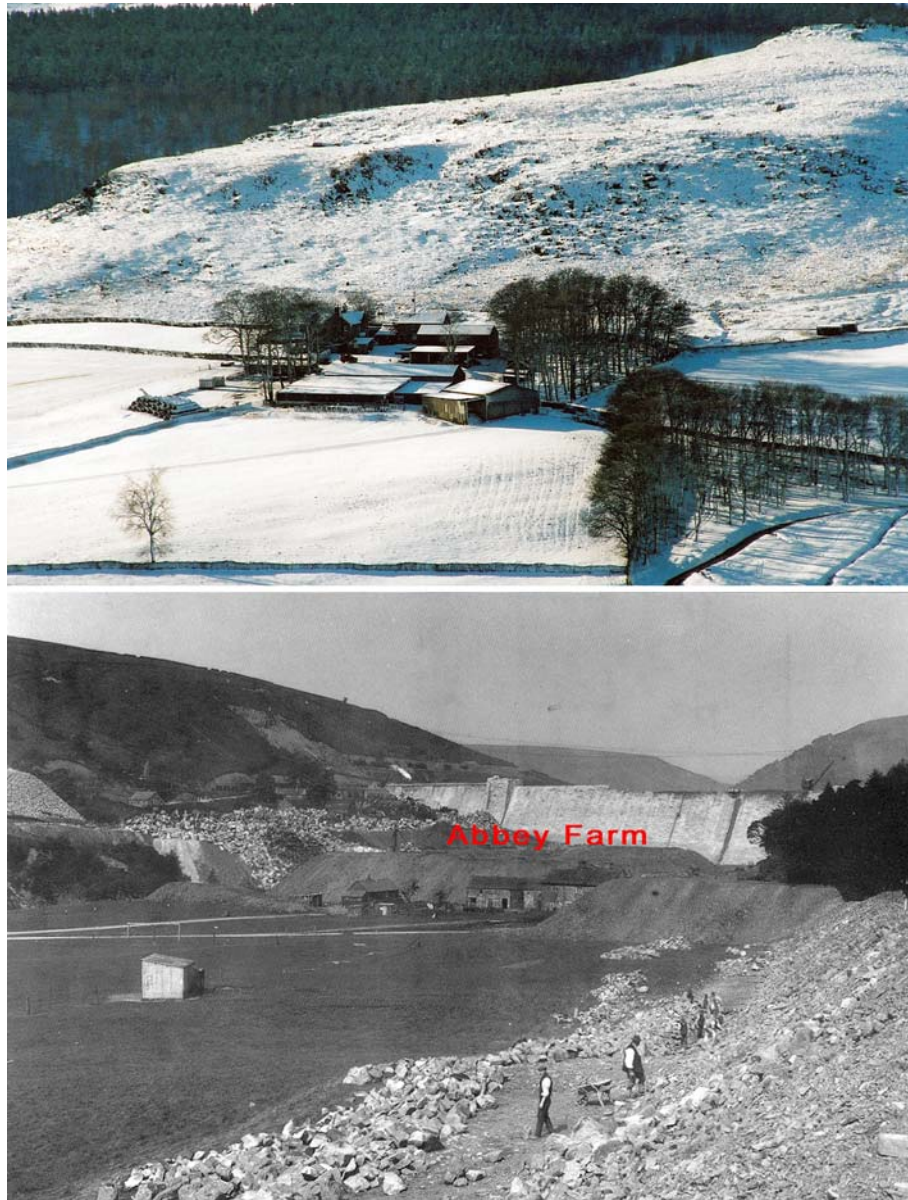
Derwent township's medieval history was strongly related to the Abbey's Upper Derwent landholding, the township's post-medieval landowning structure suggests that it was not part of the estate (see section 6.2). In the early 19th century Derwent was divided between 19 landowners while Hope Woodlands and Howden were each tenanted under a strong manorial system with a single landowner (Fairbank 1810). This difference in the structure of later landholding suggests that the Welbeck estate incorporated the two latter areas, but only One Man's Field within Derwent.

5.5.2 *The Granges*

Specifically named farmstead or grange locations in the grant documents are pastures at Crookhill (with buildings) and One Man's Field (Illustration 5.2. Photograph 5.1). The latter became known as One Man's House then, after the Dissolution of the monasteries, Abbey Farm (anon. 1656; Kerry 1893; Kirke 1925).

5.5.2.1 Crookhill

The history of Crookhill grange from the end of the 12th century to the middle of the 14th century is one of expansion under the direct management of Welbeck Abbey. The initial grant states that Crookhill was a pasture in the later 12th century, no buildings are recorded, therefore the land was presumably a defined area of rough, moorland grazing. This would have been used by occupants of Hope residing elsewhere in the manor, such as Bamford or Thornhill, unless there were any existing farmsteads in the Upper Derwent which have not yet been identified. By 1251, a period of approximately 50 years, the Abbey had erected buildings, was managing 50 acres of pasture or farmland, a horse stud (probably breeding horses for sale as well as for their own use) and had created an assart (Bagshaw 1869-70; Ward 1956-57). An assart was a clearing made in woodland, and enclosed within a boundary which had the advantage of being exempt from paying tithes to the Church (Dyer 1988). Crookhill was still expanding a century later, as livestock levels were increased and the claim for exemption from tithes was made for newly tilled lands planted with vegetables, gardens and orchards (Kirke 1925).



Photograph 5.1. Crookhill farmstead (above) and Abbey Farm partly hidden behind a spoil heap during the construction of Howden Dam, 1901 – 1915 (below – Severn Trent Water Collection)

Within 100 years the whole system had changed. By the early 15th century, Welbeck had rented Crookhill to Thomas Eyre (Byford 1981). As a result, it became another tenanted farmstead like the others on their estates. The reasons for the changes in estate management are complex, and may be related to slowly deteriorating economic conditions, a combination of disastrous events during the 14th century and the reduction in numbers of lay brothers. Monasteries were finding it more difficult to sell wool across Europe (Platt 1969); when the Black Death, widespread cattle pestilence and a worsening in the weather followed in the 14th century, it dramatically effected agricultural productivity. While the Peak District seems to have escaped the worst of the plague, the

period of social and political upheaval it caused did affect the region (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Some landlords took the opportunity to remove the surviving tenants from their land and establish large sheep ranches, such as at Haddon, where the village was abandoned and the strip fields turned over to sheep grazing (ibid). This shows that there were still wool markets to sell to, and large-scale sheep farming was not completely threatened. It is thought that many monasteries reacted by renting out their estates to save costs and because the decreased post-plague population comprised much lower numbers of landless poor so the peasantry could command higher prices for their labour (Platt 1969). The Premonstratensians were already reducing numbers of lay brothers in the 14th century, and presumably renting more of their estates (Bond 1993). The Eyre family remained in occupation of Crookhill until the early 19th century (Potter 1808), outlasting the Abbey by nearly 400 years.

It has been suggested that the medieval farm was at the site of a barn near to the River Derwent, rather than at the present site of Crookhill Farm, though evidence for this is not given by the relevant authors (Bagshaw 1869-70; Ward 1956-57). On Senior's survey of 1627, a farmstead occupied the present farm site, while the putative alternative location was a barn. No medieval pottery has been found from the area of Ladybower Reservoir immediately downslope of the barn site (Paul Ardron pers comm), and the medieval site of Crookhill Farm is therefore more likely to have been approximately where the current farmstead now stands.

5.5.2.2 One Man's House aka Abbey Farm

How the Abbey managed One Man's House is unclear. It may have followed the same approach as taken at Crookhill, or it may have rented out the land to a tenant immediately. The 13th century description of the land as a 'Field' which had become a 'House' by 1557 (Kirke 1925) then 'One Man's House alias Abbey' by 1656 (anon. 1656), indicates that the Abbey founded a new farmstead or grange at this location, as they had done at Crookhill, rather than taking over existing buildings. A large assemblage of medieval pottery found at this site, including fabrics dating from the late 13th century onwards, show that the foundation came soon after the Abbey was granted the land (Beswick 1996). That the Abbey was granted an enclosed meadow does show that the location was already being actively managed and used for agriculture. As at Crookhill, this

was probably by occupants of Hathersage, living elsewhere in the manor, unless evidence for an existing farmstead in the valley is still to be discovered. The location is a wide area of the valley floor, at the confluence of watercourses that had been a focus for activity in prehistory and the Roman period (see sections 2.4.4, 3.4, 4.6.1). Whether earlier forms of land-use had left any distinguishing effect on the area is unknown. The presence of an enclosed meadow here in the 13th century may have been related to long-term differences in vegetation created by previous land tenure, or possibly the same topographical qualities which had attracted settlement over preceding millennia.

Associated with the farmstead was a chapel, from which the advowson, bells and lead were exempted for sale of the farmstead in 1557 (Kirke 1925).

5.6 Farmsteads

5.6.1 Evidence

5.6.1.1 Artefactual

The medieval landscape beyond the grange(s) was occupied by a number of farmsteads dispersed along the valleys. Pottery dating from the mid-13th century onwards has been discovered in the reservoirs associated with 11 farmsteads, and at Derwent hamlet in addition to Abbey Farm (Illustration 5.2. Table 5.1). At Abbey Farm, Ronksley, Shireowlers, Tinker's House and Nether Ashop quantities indicate settlement during the medieval period (Table 5.2). Pottery has been found in much lower densities (less than 20 sherds) at Derwent hamlet, Birchinlee, Walker's Farm, Hollin Clough, Grainfoot, Ashop, Dryclough and Underbank.

Name	NGR	Sherd Count and Fabrics
Abbey Farm	SK 1700 9209	60 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW, CW
Ashop	SK 1881 8604	16 CMW, CMP, CW
Birchinlee	SK 1650 9180	12 CMW, CMP
Derwent hamlet	SK 1845 8850	16 CMW, CMP
Dryclough	SK 1820 8600	8 CMP, CMSW
Grainfoot	SK 1904 8797	4 CMP, CW
Hollin Clough	SK 1735 9010	19 CMP, CMW, CMSW
Nether Ashop	SK 1783 8629	80 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW
Ronksley	SK 1677 9410	46 CMW, CMP, White ware (from Vale of York), CW
Shireowlers	SK 1711 9119	73 CMW, CMP, CMSW
Tinker's House	SK 1930 8709	49 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW, CW
Underbank	SK 1745 8675	8 CMW, CMP, SWW
Walker's Farm	SK 1730 9090	7 CMW, CMP

Table 5.1. Medieval ceramic assemblages in the Upper Derwent

Abbreviations: CMW - Coal Measures white, CMP - Coal Measures purple, CMSW - Coal Measures sandyware, SWW - Surrey White ware, CW - Cistercian ware

Sherd quantities provide a rough guide to the presence of a medieval settlement, however, numbers of sherds discovered may be related to the intensity of fieldwalking, the degree of post-reservoir soil erosion or redeposition at any one site, the nature of deposition and the relative amounts of ceramics used compared to organic or metal vessels. For example, less than 20 sherds have been found at Derwent hamlet even though its medieval history is known from documentary sources (see section 5.7). Very few sherds have been found of *any* date near to farmsteads at Birchinlee, Walker's Clough, Hollin Farm, Hancock, Grainfoot and Dryclough, even though their post-medieval habitation is known, and their locations have been fieldwalked. The lack of sherds dating from the medieval period may not be a direct indication of an absence of medieval occupation. It is also clear that pottery found in the reservoirs can only be related to those farmsteads located in or near to those reservoirs. There are many farmsteads located at some distance away from the reservoirs, such as Alport and Rowlee, where fieldwalking has not been possible and artefactual evidence is lacking.

There are 14 fabrics identifiable in the medieval ceramics assemblages, most of which can be grouped into variants of Coal Measures wares (Beswick 1996). They were produced in potteries within a 30km radius of the Upper Derwent on the Coal Measures of South Yorkshire, Derbyshire and north Nottinghamshire. Seven are coarse gritty wares, comprising both Coal Measures white wares (CMW) and purple wares (CMP), most of which resemble products from Firsby and Rawmarsh, South Yorkshire and Brackenfield, Derbyshire used for jugs, cooking pots, lids, pancheons, cisterns and a possible chaffing dish (ibid; Cumberpatch in prep 1, in prep 2; Dolby in press; Hayfield and Buckland 1989; Storey 1978; Webster and Cherry 1973). CMP largely replaced CMW during the 15th century (Cumberpatch 2003; Hayfield and Buckland 1989). At those farmstead sites containing over 20 sherds both CMW and CMP are present, indicating longevity of occupation throughout the later medieval period. Grainfoot comprises only CMP, which could be taken as suggesting a post-14th century foundation date, however, the tiny numbers of sherds found prevents any meaningful chronological interpretation. There is an absence of Humberwares, which are found on sites alongside Coal Measures wares throughout South and West Yorkshire.

Coal Measures wares are found as the dominant fabric at medieval settlements throughout much of South/West Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and more occasionally in the Humber region (Cumberpatch forthcoming; Hayfield and Buckland 1989). Most are plain and unglazed except for the occasional jug with linear decoration. There are some glazed wares, notably purple, brown and olive green in colour, which are associated with late 14th to early 16th century vessels. There are seven finer fabrics used for jugs, cauldrons, cups and a pipkin. Again, most of these are plain but there are a number of jugs with clear, yellow or green glazes. Three of these are sandywares from Coal Measures sources, while non-local whitewares from Surrey and the Vale of York are found in small amounts at Ronksley, Abbey Farm, Tinker's House, Underbank and Nether Ashop (Beswick 1996). Cistercian ware has been included in here because it was manufactured in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire from the mid-15th to late 16th centuries, and bridges the chronological divide between medieval and post-medieval (Cumberpatch 2003). It has been found in small numbers at Abbey, Ashop, Grainfoot, Ronksley and Tinker's House.

The ceramics assemblage for the Upper Derwent is typical of domestic medieval assemblages used throughout Britain for the storage, serving and cooking of food and drink (McCarthy and Brooks 1988). Medieval food and drink was resonant with gendered symbolism, habitual practice and status, which influenced the nature of ceramics used in preparation, serving and consuming (Dyer 1983). For the majority of people vegetable, cereal and pulse-based stews and pottages were their staple diet, supplemented by ale, bread and dairy products with small quantities of meat or fish (Cumberpatch 1997). Larger amounts of meat and, specifically, its cooking by roasting were associated with wealthy families. Unglazed gritty and sandywares were commonly used by women for stewing, boiling, storing and brewing, while colour-glazed and decorated vessels are usually associated with serving food and drink at the table (*ibid*). Many of the decorated or glazed wares in the Upper Derwent are serving jugs and pots to be used at the table, while storage and cooking vessels are mainly plain and undecorated, though some are glazed. Ceramic tablewares are rare and other materials such as wood and leather, which were marginally cheaper, would have been used. Exceptions to this include the presence of Cistercian ware at a number of farms, and seconds in a Coal Measures ware at Nether Ashop – indicating a household keen to use tablewares, even when opportunities or finances enabled only the purchase of imperfect examples. These finds suggest that

changes in drinking habits and, perhaps, social behaviour were occurring in the Upper Derwent contemporary with much of northern England (Cumberpatch 2003). The single pipkin sherd and absence of dripping trays and basting dishes suggests that roasting meat was uncommon.

5.6.1.2 Documentary Records

Documents are another important group of sources for interpreting and dating medieval settlement. The first documented date of a farm should not necessarily be taken as the date of its foundation, but as the earliest-dating document that has fortunately survived. Land-use was recorded for a variety of reasons, usually associated with ownership or transferral of land, but many activities, including the construction of buildings and enclosure, may have been agreed verbally rather than in writing. Apart from Crookhill and Abbey Farm, documentary sources record settlement at five other farmsteads (Table 5.2). Crown rentals in Derwent and Woodlands, dated between 1339-1413, list the following farms and their tenants: Ronksley, Grimbocar, Rowlee, Westend and Alport (Byford 1981. Illustration 5.2). The latter three of these are far removed from the potential fieldwalking zones in the reservoirs. In addition Westend and Lockerbrook are recorded as early as the 1280s (Cameron 1959), though these may be references to the valley and watercourse respectively rather than the farmsteads. A farmstead called Birth is also listed in the Crown rentals. This cannot be related definitely to any known settlement site but could be Birchinlee, or the name for an abandoned longhouse at Blacklowe.

<u>Name</u>	<u>National Grid Reference</u>	<u>Evidence</u>
Abbey Farm	SK 17000 92090	Pottery, documentary
Alport	SK 13540 91100	Documentary
Crookhill	SK 18665 86880	Documentary
Derwent hamlet	SK 18450 88500	Documentary, pottery
Grimbocar	SK 17130 87080	Documentary
Nether Ashop	SK 17830 86295	Pottery
Ronksley	SK 16771 94105	Pottery, documentary
Rowlee	SK 15360 89230	Documentary
Shireowlers	SK 17110 91190	Pottery
Tinker's House	SK 19300 87095	Pottery
Westend.	SK 15249 92897	Documentary

Table 5.2. Definite Medieval settlements

5.6.1.3 Standing Architecture

Architectural layout and features are another set of sources for interpreting settlement (Brunskill 1992); however, no standing buildings in the area inspected by the National Trust vernacular building survey contain any pre-17th century fabric. This is unsurprising considering the needs and desires for rebuilding over time in relation to maintenance and changing ideals about building layout and function. Between the late 16th and early 18th centuries most farmhouses throughout England were gradually rebuilt in more permanent materials (ibid). The majority of post-medieval farmsteads in the Upper Derwent were rebuilt on the same location, and this is likely to be the case for the medieval period too. There is only one example of earthwork evidence for a shift of farmstead location, at Bamford House, which is discussed below (section 5.6.1.4). Only the excavation of a farmstead, or series of farmsteads, can provide further information on specific building layouts and construction materials in the Upper Derwent.

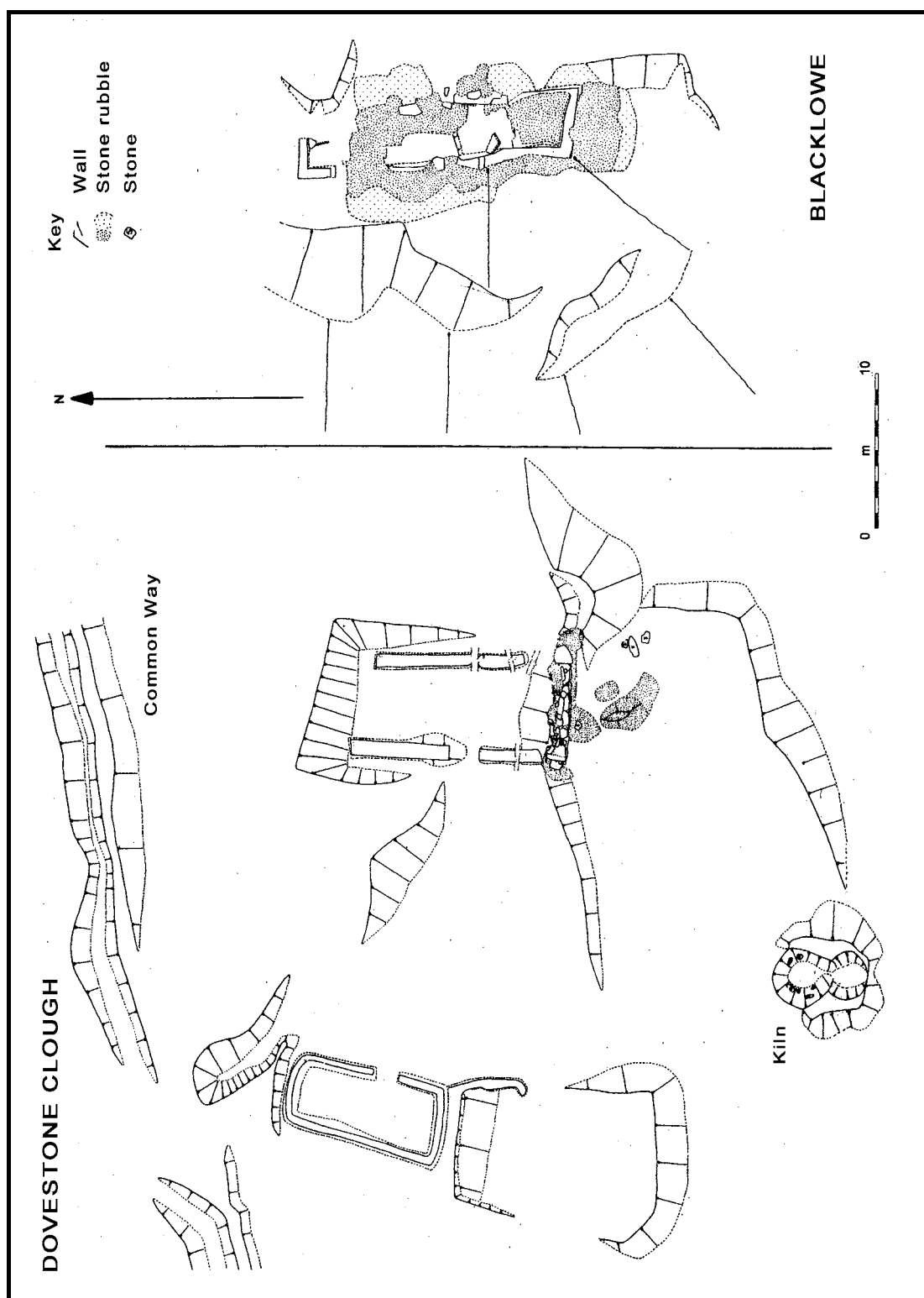


Illustration 5.3. Dovestone Clough and Blacklowe settlements

5.6.1.4 Earthworks

There are also four sites, at Dovestone Clough, Blacklowe, Grainfoot Clough and Bamford House, where I have found the structural remains of settlements which may be medieval in date at locations not depicted on post-medieval maps (Illustration 5.2).

Dovestone Clough

At Dovestone Clough there is a group of three rectangular platforms with low stone walls, stone revetment and earthen banks that appear to have supported longhouses. The platforms are all terraced into the sloping moorland and are associated with a small, stone-lined kiln (Illustration 5.2). The kiln may have been a corn, wood or peat drier, malting oven or lime-burning kiln for lime imported from the limestone plateau, though there is no change in vegetation around the kiln as might occur with high levels of lime on acid moorland. One of the platforms is 20m to the east of the other two, which are conjoined, and the space between them then appears to have been enclosed. The site is located adjacent to a causewayed trackway, which is part of the line of the Sheffield to Derwent packhorse route, recorded in the 14th century (Dodd and Dodd 1980).

The eastern platform (Illustration 5.3) is 14m long and 8.5m wide. Its downslope, southern, edge is a 1.4m-high revetment of large gritstone boulders.



Photograph 5.2. Dovestone Clough settlement platform revetment

On the platform are two parallel dry-stone walls, measuring between 1m to 1.3m wide and 0.3m to 0.45m high, situated between 4.5m and 5m apart and connected to each other by wall foundations. The western wall is 12.7m long, while the eastern wall is 10m long. The lack of adjacent tumble shows that both stand to their original heights. There is a 1.9m-wide entrance in the western wall, facing towards the interior of the settlement and the other buildings.

The north-western platform (Illustration 5.3) is 10.8m long and 6.5m wide. Low dry-stone supporting walls of gritstone boulders define a rectangular building 10.7m long and 5.4m wide. A lack of tumble in the vicinity shows that they are standing to their full heights. There is a 1.6m-wide doorway in the eastern side of the building, which faces towards the interior of the settlement and the eastern building. Building B is situated immediately upslope of building C.

The south-western platform (Illustration 5.3) is 11m long, and widens from north to south from 7.5m to 9.5m wide. A dry-stone wall runs onto the platform from building B above. Access onto the platform could be gained from either west or east, where the platform surface is at ground level. There are no other walls evident on the remainder of the platform, and no indication of foundations surviving below the turf. It appears that the building was constructed entirely from timber or turf.

Blacklowe

At Blacklowe a settlement consists of the remains of a rectangular stone longhouse on a rectangular platform excavated into the sloping valley side above the River Westend. Low dry-stone walls measuring approximately 13.5m long and 4.5m wide define the building (Illustration 5.3. Photograph 5.3).

Where visible, the walling is of high quality using rectangular Millstone Grit blocks, some of which are worked, placed carefully and closely together. Extensive sections of walling survive up to a maximum and original height of 1m at the southern end, which would have supported a steep-pitched roof set directly upon them or had upper walls of turf, cob or wood. There are more ephemeral traces of internal boundaries of a low earth and stone lynchet, and a single massive flat stone set upright which may have divided the building into three bays or rooms. A probable entrance, 0.8m wide and partly infilled with rubble, is visible in the southern wall.



Photograph 5.3. Blacklowe settlement, looking east along the length of the longhouse

Grainfoot Clough

A building complex at Grainfoot Clough comprises a large sub-rectangular platform, a smaller sub-rectangular platform, a sub-circular platform, a stone-lined sub-circular kiln and a terraced trackway (Illustration 5.4). The site is situated below Derwent Edge, near to the source of Grain Clough, and occupies the break of slope between a gently sloping area of ground and a steeper area lying upslope. The features and the long axis of the site are aligned along the contour. The complex is adjacent to the surviving hollow-ways and paving of the Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route.

The largest platform is approximately 13m long and 6.5m wide. It is terraced into the break of slope by being cut into the upslope above (from which there is some slumping of material onto the platform surface) and built up below. It appears to be constructed of soil and stone. There is a slight break of slope running along the surface, which may be associated with the feature's use or may be post-abandonment activity. This feature is probably a platform for a rectangular timber building. Situated approximately 13m to the north of the large platform is a smaller platform measuring approximately 9m by 4m which may have supported a rectangular timber building or a storage/working area. Approximately 6m diagonally downslope is a 7m by 5m sub-circular platform constructed of soil and stone with a stone revetment to its downslope edge. This feature is similar to charcoal-burning platforms found elsewhere in the valley, though none are so high up. Fragments of charcoal suggest this use. It is likely to be a working area of some sort, rather than the location for a building. A 3.5m diameter and 0.8m deep, sub-

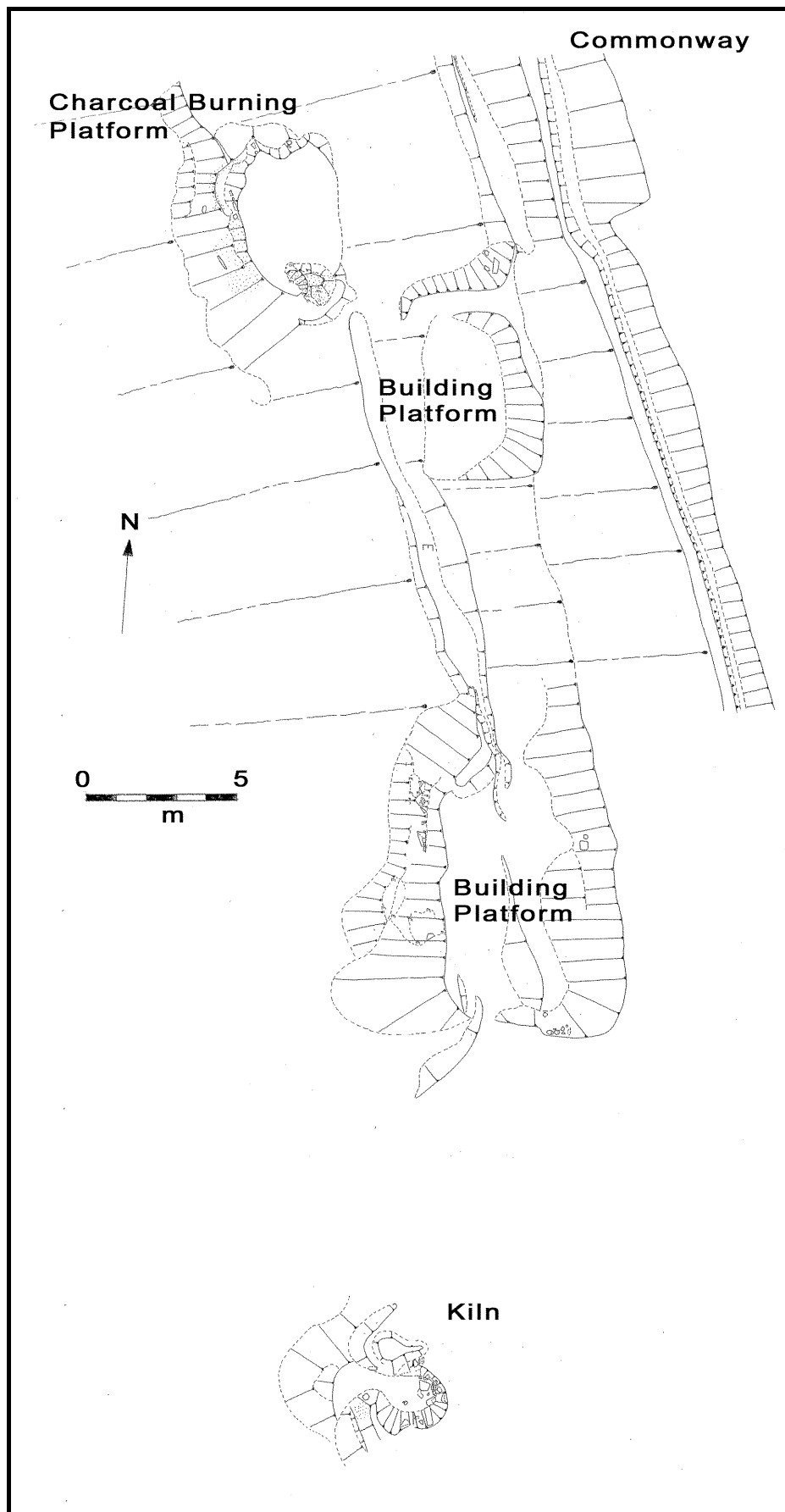


Illustration 5.4. Grainfoot Clough complex

circular stone-lined kiln, is located 18m to the south of these platforms. It has steeply sloping or vertical sides, except to the downslope, where there is an opening approximately 1m wide. Downslope of this, there is a shallow mound which appears to be spoil from the centre of the hole. As at Dovestone Clough, the use of the kiln is unclear, with likely uses again being the drying of peat, wood or corn, malting barley or the production of lime.

Bamford House

At Bamford House, a large natural gently sloping valley-side terrace which has been modified and occupied by two rectangular building platforms connected by a lynchet and associated with a linear levelled area, may represent the line of a routeway or site of other activities (Illustration 5.5). The platforms are located adjacent to the stone ruins of Bamford House, which was occupied in the post-medieval period and abandoned in the 19th century.



Photograph 5.4. Bamford House platforms

At the south-east end of the terrace is a level rectangular building platform, 17.3m long and 6m wide. At either end are low earth and stone banks, which represent the remains of walls and/or building rubble. The south-eastern bank is stony and 1m to 2.6m wide, while the north-western bank is composed of earth and stone, 3.5m to 5.5m wide. There are mounds of stony building rubble overlying the terminal of the north-western bank. The presence of this building rubble shows that at least the lower courses of the building

walls were constructed out of stone. Potential robbing for nearby Bamford House means that it is unknown whether stone was solely used for the lower courses, such as at

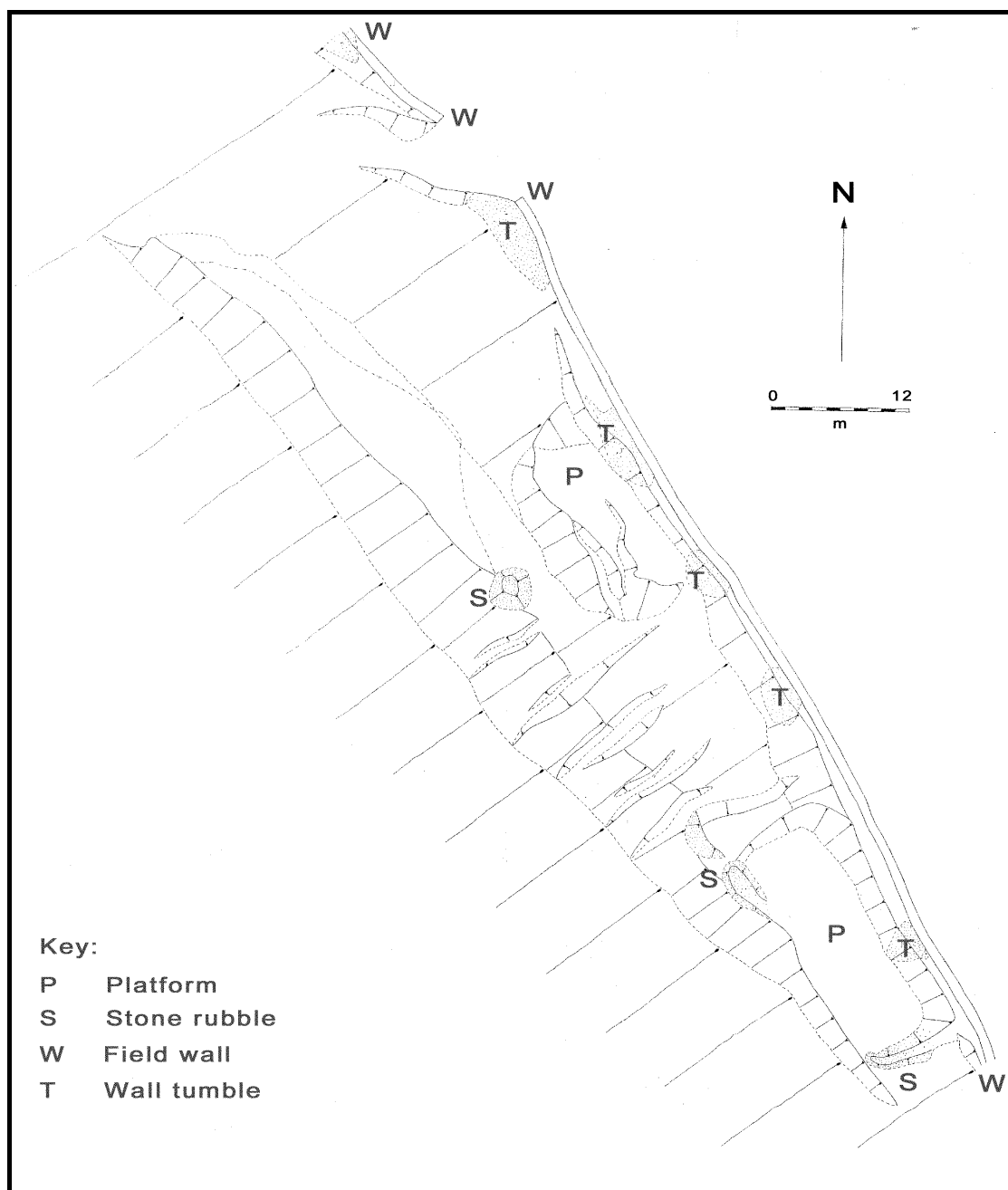


Illustration 5.5. Bamford House building platforms

Dovestone Clough, upon which turf walls or the roof were supported, or whether the walls were completely stone-built. Central to the terrace is a level rectangular building platform, approximately 12.5m long and 5m wide. There is no evidence for stone walls on this platform, suggesting that the building was timber-built unless all visible traces of stonework were removed during or after abandonment.

The building dimensions at the four sites and the presence of low-lying walls at Dovestone and Blacklowe suggest that they were part of the Upper Derwent's medieval settlement pattern. The low-lying building walls may have either supported a steeply-raked roof or timber or turf walls upon which a turf, bracken or thatch roof would have been set. Similar building dimensions and walls have been surveyed at medieval settlements at Lawrence Field and Sheffield Plantation, and excavated at Aldwark and Blackwell, where they supported cruck-frame buildings (John Barnatt, pers comm; Makepeace 2001). Stone was introduced as a common construction material for farmsteads during the 17th century, largely replacing the use of timber or turf in areas such as the Peak District, which had huge supplies of readily available stone (Brunskill 1982). However, other materials such as timber, wattle and earth cob were still used in many areas of England for 'poorer farmsteads' until the 19th century (Lake 1989). Alternatively it is possible, though less likely, that they are post-medieval but their use short-lived and undocumented.

Though the four settlements are located at approximately 350m O.D., their abandonment is likely to be more than a simple response to altitude. Bamford House and other farms, such as Bank Top and Lockerbrook, were located at similar heights and continued in use until the 19th and 20th centuries respectively.

<u>Name</u>	<u>National Grid Reference</u>
Bamford House	SK 17473 91319
Birchinlee	SK 16670 91819
Blacklowe	SK 14282 94287
Dovestone Clough	SK 18947 89883
Dryclough	SK 18445 85920
Gores Farm	SK 16899 90750
Grainfoot Clough	SK 19950 88247
Grainfoot	SK 19047 87969
Hollin Clough	SK 17350 90100
Lockerbrook	SK 16500 89444
Parkinfield	SK 19820 85605
Underbank	SK 17540 86775
Walker's Farm	SK 17315 90900

Table 5.3. Possible Medieval settlements in the Upper Derwent

5.6.2 Thirteenth Century Colonisation

Settlement which can be definitely dated to the medieval period to the west of the River Derwent comprised Ronksley, Nether Ashop, Grimbocar, Rowlee and Alport, as well as Crookhill, and was part of a much wider phase of encroachment into the Royal Forest of

the Peak documented in the 13th century (see section 5.4.1.2). East of the river there was contemporary settlement at least at Abbey Farm, Shireowlers and Tinker's House. Most of the settlements within Derwent and Ashop valleys were within Welbeck Abbey's estate, and would have come under monastic management. The coincidence of the 13th century date for the earliest pottery found in the area, and the acquisition of much of the Upper Derwent Valley by Welbeck Abbey strongly suggests that many of the farmsteads were founded during the Abbey's ownership. Some were created in the same century that Welbeck was first expanding its estate. As has been discussed above (section 5.3.1), the Premonstratensian Order rented many of their estates to tenants, rather than directly managing them with lay brothers.

It is possible that any of the medieval farmsteads originated as shielings that were occupied by farmers from surrounding settlements in Hope, Hathersage and Bradfield. Shielings have been identified in a number of upland areas, both from place name and archaeological evidence, and is a possibility that should be considered for the Upper Derwent (Rackham 1986; Whyte 1985). The documented presence of a pasture at Crookhill and a meadow at Abbey Farm, at the time of granting land to Welbeck Abbey in the 13th century, indicate pre-existing pastoral use of the Upper Derwent. No buildings are referred to and the absence of 11th to 12th century pottery suggests no, or only very limited occupation. This does open up the possibility that there may have been other pastures and meadows within the Upper Derwent, which were used by people permanently settled elsewhere, and it may have been associated with some form of accommodation. It is tempting to interpret the single longhouse at Blacklowe as a shieling associated with such a pasture, though this could be based as much on the marginality of its remote location today. While the evidence is unclear, any existing pattern of grazing could have formed a basis for some of the medieval farmsteads.

Where were these settlers coming from and what was their relationship with the Abbey? They may have been from families that used any grazing rights that existed, laymen already known to the canons, or they may have been opportunists from villages to the south, looking to have a go at improving their lot away from the constraints of more heavily populated townships. They may have been invited by Forest officers and canons looking for people to improve land to generate income from fines and rents; or they may have been chancing their luck with the officers and canons, squatters hoping not to be

evicted. For the settlements to remain in occupation, as the majority did, this recolonisation of the waste within their estate must have been accepted by the canons, who had their own people living in the valley at one or two granges. As seen elsewhere on Premonstratensian estates, may have been used by the Abbey to manage the non-grange farmsteads within its Upper Derwent estate (Bond 1993; Wheeler 1996).

5.6.3 *Settlement Pattern*

As people settled in the two valleys from the 13th century onwards the choices they made, or had available to them, about where they would found their farmsteads set the pattern of settlement, which would characterise the area until the 20th century. The medieval settlement pattern of the Upper Derwent was one of isolated farmsteads dispersed across the landscape with only very limited nucleation into a single, very small hamlet, at Derwent (see section 5.7. Illustration 5.2).

There are complex and inter-connected factors behind this dispersed pattern:

- a) Good agricultural land would have been of major importance, and nearly all the securely dated early farmsteads are found on relatively large areas of level or gently sloping ground. The only farmstead to be in a more marginal position is Ronksley, which occupies a small clough-side terrace surrounded by steep valley sides and with no access to extensive gentler slopes. What seems to be land of similar quality is not restricted to these settlement locations so seeking out good land, though important, was not the determining factor in the positioning of medieval settlement.
- b) Access to water was also important and, again, all of the early settlements are adjacent to a watercourse or spring. Close access to water was an essential element in the positioning of medieval farmsteads in the Upper Derwent. This was not a constraining factor because there are many more water sources than settlements.
- c) Being above the flood 'plain' may have also been a consideration, and again all but one of the early farmsteads are positioned on the break of slope between the valley bottom and the valley side. Abbey Farm is built right on the valley floor at the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook in a location liable to flooding, as indicated by the alluvial deposits.

d) The reactions towards, including constraints placed on, new settlement by the local landowners and the Forest officers would also have been significant. If the canons directed some settlement across their estate, they may have been able to determine where the new farmsteads were located, so encouraging farmers to open up different areas in the woodlands. Even if Forest officers condoned colonisation within the Royal Forest, they may not have looked favourably on any new settlement being highly prominent. A nucleated village with an open field requires the clearance of a large, single block of woodland for the field. Dispersed, individual farmsteads reduce the impact of settlement in the landscape.

e) A desire for social proximity or distance may also influence where settlers decide to found farmsteads and organise social relationships in the landscape. Most of the settlers sought out locations at some distance from each other, so dispersing the farmsteads 800m or more apart across the landscape. This probably results from a combination of two factors: a desire for some level of spatial isolation, and to give neighbours space, so allowing for potential future expansion of enclosure and land-use without being hampered by or posing a competitive threat to each other's land.

As more farmsteads were founded during the medieval period, the new settlements would have to fit into the existing pattern. This may have involved negotiation, agreement and contention with existing farmers. In most areas later settlement emulated the existing pattern of relative isolation, however, there are a small number of locations where this pattern was broken in favour of closer proximity (Illustration 5.2). On the east side of the Derwent Valley, Shireowlers and Walker's Farm are located within 400m of each other, though this proximity may be related to other factors.

More significant is that the only farmsteads depicted in Alport Dale on Senior's 1627 survey formed a small group situated approximately one-third of the way up the valley and at the location where the valley narrows considerably. The group is located on a high, level area of ground adjacent to the confluences of the River Alport and Swint Clough. The farm buildings are to the west of this level area, the River Alport is to the east and a wall that encloses the level area follows the break of slope above the scarp that drops down towards the river. Each farmstead is named Alport in Senior's survey, a

name which is recorded between the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Byford 1981). The group may have already been in existence at this time, or developed sometime during the intervening centuries.

The motivations behind the formation of this group in an area otherwise characterised by isolated farmsteads appear to be unusual. Partible inheritance, whereby a farmstead is divided between heirs, in relation to specific land-use or family circumstances, may have been the cause. The group creates different social relations to the isolated, individual farmsteads, invoking more common everyday interaction during the working of agricultural routines. Senior also shows that the enclosed fields of the farmsteads were intermingled with each other throughout Alport Dale, rather than being in the distinct blocks of the other farmsteads. This proximity does not simply equate with greater neighbourliness because there may be more likely points of conflict as well as opportunities for cooperation in the landscape, for example in relation to expansion of enclosure close to one farmstead bringing it close to the other(s). Elsewhere in the valley, enclosure by one farmstead could occur within a large area of land before impinging on the area another farmer was currently enclosed or planning to enclose. Alport Dale appears unique in the medieval landscape of the Upper Derwent and the nearest parallels are the Booths of Edale, which were founded in the early 13th century as specialist cattle farms known as vaccaries (Barnatt 1993).

The dispersed settlement pattern appears to be the result of the relationship between functional needs and social issues. Over time, more settlements and more farmsteads appear to have been founded in the valley. Unfortunately, the chronological clarity we have from existing evidence does not allow us to chart settlement progress throughout the medieval period. As further settlers did arrive, whether as incomers or as descendants of the existing population, potential locations for new farms would have been constrained by the existing settlement pattern. There is no evidence for whether landholdings were subsequently subdivided between members of a family on inheritance of tenancies, or were handed down as a whole to one inheritor. The latter was definitely the system used in the post-Dissolution Hope Woodlands township (Senior 1627), so may have originated in the medieval period, though the pairing or grouping of some farmsteads may indicate that there was some partible inheritance at some time. How the two different systems would manifest themselves on the ground is unclear, and a study in

the Alps suggests that they may not produce much difference in observable patterns of land tenure (Cole and Wolf 1974).

Some, if not all, of the settlement and agricultural use of the area involved the deliberate ‘pushing of the boundaries’ of Forest Law by tenants and landowners, as evidenced by the records of Forest transgressions and fines. This ‘battle’ between regulators and practitioners appears to be one characteristic of medieval land-use, and would have become more widespread as farmers tried to get as much land into their holdings as possible through enclosure and woodland clearance. There was more scope for this sort of activity in an area like the Upper Derwent than on the limestone plateau, where land-use was more constrained on a practical as well as a legislative level through the high settlement density and communal nature of the village open field. It is likely that settlers in the Upper Derwent also attempted to get as much from their landlords as they could, to take land into cultivation before their neighbours and to establish rights on the moorland common. This created a dominant pattern of land-use in the Upper Derwent, comprising individual farmsteads, small enclosed fields amongst woodland and moorland common, all of which were connected by trackways. This pattern would continue to structure occupation of, and movement across, the landscape until the building of the reservoirs in the 20th century, and even after that was still an important element of the area. I will continue in this chapter to discuss aspects of this pattern in relation to the medieval period; however, these are recurring themes which continue through the post-medieval period, and will be given different emphasis in this and the following two chapters.

5.7 Derwent Hamlet

Hamlets such as Derwent were common throughout medieval England. In some regions they exist with isolated farmsteads, while in others they are present where there are also villages. Derwent is seemingly unique in the medieval landscape of the Upper Derwent in being the only form of nucleation in a settlement pattern otherwise consisting entirely of dispersed farmsteads. The hamlet came to be a location where a range of services was provided to the surrounding population. This in itself is significant.

As discussed above (see section 4.9.3), the earliest evidence for possible settlement at Derwent is part of a 10th century AD gritstone cross-shaft which was discovered within

the build of a cottage constructed between 1810 and 1896 (Sidebottom 1991, 1993). However, there are problems in provenancing the shaft, which could have been acquired from either within or outside the vicinity of the hamlet. Pottery recovered from the area of the hamlet during low water levels in Ladybower Reservoir indicates occupation from the 13th century onwards, and numbers of sherds are greater than found associated with farmsteads (Beswick 1996; Paul Ardron pers comm).

Reputedly, Derwent hamlet was known as Water-side in the medieval period (Bagshaw 1869-70). While references to Derwent date as early as 1215 (Cameron 1959), they appear to refer to the valley or the river rather than to the hamlet. There is a reference to villagers of Hope, Aston, Thornhill, Derwent and Ashop damaging woods in 1285 (Kerry 1893). Rather than implying the existence of a hamlet at *Derwent* by this date, it shows that there was a community and the beginnings of a township known by this name.

The presence of a settlement larger than a farmstead, a hamlet, is first identified in the 13th century, when a corn mill and a chapel were located here. Welbeck Abbey built a chapel in the 13th century (Hallam 1989). During the late 19th century demolition of the hamlet's 18th century chapel to make way for a church, building components dating to the 14th century were discovered incorporated in the walls (Jourdain 1869-70). The chapel was situated close to the existing pond for the corn mill (Northend 1943). It is unknown whether the mill was also built by Welbeck, or by secular lords of Hathersage. There is a picture developing of a group of various buildings, including a mill and a chapel, being constructed in proximate location to one another, to serve the surrounding community. The mill was the only one in the Upper Derwent, including the Ashop or Woodlands valley. Its presence is significant – a mill would not have been built unless there were sufficient arable farming in the surrounding area to supply it. While landowners could force their own tenants to use their mill they could not really succeed with such a policy beyond their manor. Either it was convenient for local farmsteads outside of Hathersage to mill their corn at the Derwent mill, or the area of Hathersage, which became Derwent township, was part of Welbeck Abbey's estate so the Abbey constructed a mill for use by all their tenants.

One of the most important factors in the hamlet's development was the line of the packhorse route between the valley and Sheffield. The route is first documented in the early 14th century as a 'common way' (Dodd and Dodd 1980; Hey 1980. Illustration 5.2). From Sheffield, it crossed the intervening moors to descend into the Upper Derwent Valley via three separate routes which are all visible as hollow-ways: one via Millbrook to meet the river at the site of the hamlet, another via Grindle Clough and the third via Ladybower Gorge. Welbeck Abbey built a bridge across the river in the 13th century (Dodd and Dodd 1980). We do not know whether the hamlet or the packhorse route came first, and which influenced the location of the other. There is also the question of whether the route pre-dated the foundation of Crookhill or was created as a result. The canons would have required a route from their granges in the Upper Derwent to Welbeck Abbey, and Sheffield would have been an ideal destination because of the presence of Beauchief Abbey. This daughter house of Welbeck would have been an important stopping-off point on the journey to and from north Nottinghamshire.

Surviving hollow-ways on the Ladybower Gorge branch take the route into the valley south-east of Crookhill and, in 1627, Senior depicts the walled approach lane to the grange as running up the valley side from the east. It is feasible that these two could have been connected if the River Derwent was bridged or fordable in between. It appears, by analysing the 19th century Ordnance Survey map, that the River Derwent could have been as easily bridged in this vicinity as further north near Millbrook. The branch via Derwent hamlet crosses the watershed between the Derwent and Woodlands valleys and the River Derwent approximately 1.5km to the north of Crookhill, before joining Doctor's Gate which runs along the Woodlands Valley between Hope and Glossop. With Crookhill being the first, and possibly only, directly managed grange of Welbeck in the area the Abbey could have aligned the routeway on its grange. The place chosen to locate the bridge was as steep-sided and deep as elsewhere in the valley and would not have previously been a fording point. Because the Abbey decided to build a bridge on the branch of the route not oriented on Crookhill, it suggests that the Abbey wanted to gain access to the corn mill as well as to connect with the route to Welbeck Abbey via Beauchief.

Derwent hamlet during the medieval period comprised a small settlement, including a corn mill and a chapel, alongside a packhorse route at its crossing point over the River

Derwent. This was a focus for processing crops, for worship and for communication with southern Yorkshire and the area east of the Pennines. Such a strategic locale in the landscape then formed a centre for further expansion of settlement and the attraction of additional ‘services’ for travellers and the surrounding community, such as inns and blacksmiths which are recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries.

5.8 Chapels

The chapel at Derwent would have probably been built by the canons of Welbeck Abbey. Premonstratensians lived a monastic way of life but went outside of the Abbey’s confines to spend time preaching to lay communities, and combined this pastoral role with a desire for isolation (Aston 2000). However, during its early years, the Order did not condone the building of chapels at its granges because of worries that this would dilute connections with the mother house of those canons commonly living at distant estates (Platt 1969). The Order was also concerned that tithes could be diverted away from the local parish church if the chapels were open to laymen. In 1246, the Order gained a general concession from the Pope to build chapels at granges for communion and confession and to avoid any unnecessary contact with the lay public (*ibid*). This would appear to somewhat contradict the Order’s pastoral role, but it may be more of an indicator of the prescriptions of medieval life, the circumstances in which classes of people in social power believed it appropriate to mix with commoners. Presumably Welbeck considered it acceptable to have religious contact with laymen only when leading them in communion or taking their confession, and therefore in a position of ecclesiastical authority. But it was not proper for peasants to attend service alongside the brothers in anything seeming like equality. Therefore the Abbey built two chapels to serve its social ideals, the one at Derwent hamlet, where the canons conducted services for local laymen, and one at One Man’s House for their own private use (Kirke 1925; Northend 1943). After the Dissolution, fabric from this second chapel was incorporated into later farm buildings, while its advowson, bells and lead were excepted from a sale of the farmstead (Kirke 1925). The inclusion of an advowson, the right of presentation to a church benefice, indicates that the Abbey had fulfilled a parochial role in the area.

Reputedly the Abbey built two further chapels in the region, one near to Birchinlee on the opposite side of the valley from One Man’s House (Kirke 1925) and another on the line of the Hope to Glossop packhorse route where it crossed the ridge between the

Woodlands Valley and Edale (Byford 1981). The former is shown on Saxton's Derbyshire county map of 1577 (Saxton) and Ellis's county map of 1766 as 'New Chappel' (Ellis) and a nearby trackway was formerly known as 'Chapel Lane' (Ordnance Survey 1880). No earthworks have been identified at this location. The latter has not been securely identified, though the foundations of a square, dry-stone building do exist on the watershed near to the packhorse route (Dodd and Dodd 1980). Both chapels, in Derwent hamlet and on the Hope to Glossop packhorse route, if the latter was built by Welbeck Abbey, were apparently just outside the Abbey's estate, so demonstrating that the canons were willing to provide chapels for communities beyond their tenants and workers.

5.9 Enclosure

Dateable evidence for medieval enclosure within the area is scarce. Thirteenth-century documents refer to an assart at Crookhill and an enclosed meadow in the Derwent Valley called 'One Man's Field' (see section 5.5.2.2). These may represent the limit of enclosed land at the time of the land grants to Welbeck Abbey, but are more likely to be those which happened to be recorded and for which the documents survive. The 13th century colonisation of the area would have involved some contemporary enclosure. The extent of this is unknown, but would have included at least paddocks near to the farmsteads for corralling livestock during breeding or over-wintering, growing hay for animals and, as suggested by the presence of the corn mill, for producing arable. Colonisation was the beginning of a process of enclosure creation that was fundamentally linked to woodland clearance.

The baseline for interpreting the nature and extent of medieval enclosure within Ashop Valley and Derwent Valley west of the river is Senior's 1627 map of Hope Woodlands. This shows that most of the township's valley bottoms and sides were enclosed into small, irregular fields associated with each farmstead. This morphology of enclosure is typical of the remainder of the area lying east of the River Derwent. How far back into the medieval period the chronology of enclosure goes is unknown, but by its very nature it is unlikely to have been planned and created as a whole over a short period of time immediately preceding 1627. The small, irregular nature of the enclosed fields and the way that some appear to be 'tacked-on' to others, progressing outwards from the locations of farmsteads, suggests that the 1627 field pattern was the result of a long sequence of piecemeal enclosure. Such enclosure may have been undertaken by

agreement or contention between tenants, the monastic landlords and the officers of the Royal Forest. As the records of the Forest courts demonstrate (see section 5.4.1.2), enclosure was being undertaken in the Royal Forest in the 13th century and the court often responded to this by applying fines and rentals to the enclosed land, rather than demanding the destruction of boundaries. These records rarely mention the specific locality of such enclosures, but their presence in the Upper Derwent can be surmised by wall junction evidence at Hagg Farm showing pre-1627 boundary construction (Roberts 1996). This process of enclosure changed the nature of the Upper Derwent's landscape over time as woodland was cleared, subdivided into smaller blocks and replaced with pasture and arable fields subdivided by dry-stone walls. Part of this process could still be seen in 1627, where some groups of fields were divided from each other by swathes of woodland.

5.10 Woodlands

The woodlands of the Upper Derwent were not simply the background of difficult vegetation to clear before the land could be enclosed and farmed. Medieval woodlands were managed areas, usually directly owned by the lord of the manor. There were a number of ways to manage woodlands, including natural woodlands, wood-pasture and plantations of a single or restricted range of species (Aston 1985; Rackham 1976). Areas of natural growth (combining a mix of locally indigenous species growing both as timber and underwood) were usually utilised by methods which encouraged regeneration (Stamper 1988). Underwood was the smaller growth, which was either allowed to grow naturally or was coppiced, both of which required the exclusion of livestock from the woodland except at designated times of the year (Stamper 1988). Often underwood could be taken by tenants for fuel, fencing and leaf browse to feed livestock, while the timber was reserved by the owner. Wood-pastures were commons where tenants could graze their livestock amongst the trees. Underwood would not grow under such conditions and the mature trees were usually managed, by such means as pollarding, to enable both timber and pasture to flourish in the same place, by maintaining leaves above the reach of animals and enough open spaces between trees for grass.

Senior's survey shows that woodland cover in Hope Woodlands parish in 1627 was extensive, and comprised small woodlands surrounded by walled fields (see section 6.2.2. Illustration 6.1). Approximately half of the valley land was wooded in the early 17th

century. It is likely that the woodland cover was greater in the 13th century, and had been gradually reduced during the medieval period, as more land was enclosed for agriculture and timber was cut for building and industrial use.

The confirmation of the grant of land to Welbeck Abbey by King John in 1215, which lay within the Royal Forest of the Peak, reserves wood within the monastic estate to the King (Bagshaw 1869-70). Under Forest Law, the woodlands were managed to encourage plentiful supplies of deer and other wild game for royal banquets. Livestock were banned from the Royal Forest to reduce competition with the deer for browsing and grazing. As a result, wood-pasture would be an unlikely practice west of the River Derwent, where the tree browse was as important a grazing resource as grass. The confirmation does not state whether 'wood' refers to the whole of the tree, to timber (trunk and large pieces) or brushwood (branches and twigs). Pleas of the Royal Forest made in 1285 mention damage to the king's woods in Derwent and Ashop by the Abbots of Welbeck, dead and present, and by the occupants of Hope, Aston, Thornhill, Derwent and Ashop (Kerry 1893). The pleas go on to itemise wood of Derwent being wasted (removed) by sale as instructed by Edward I and the destruction of a further 20 oaks.

These documents highlight the difference in land-use between that which was official, the legally stipulated rules and laws of the written document made by the landowner, and that which was carried out in practice by tenants and local occupants. Inhabitants of the Upper Derwent, including the canons, were apparently removing wood from the king's woodlands for their own use, even though Forest Law and the terms of the grant to Welbeck Abbey forbade its removal. Such uses would have included wood for fuel, constructing and repairing buildings, and making hurdle fences. Trees were also being grubbed up to clear land for enclosure and its conversion to agricultural use. The Crown, or at least its local representatives in the form of the Forest officers, would want to reserve the wood for itself for two practical reasons: as browse and shelter for deer and as a source of materials/income. Acts of woodland destruction may also be seen as direct threats to royal authority. The woodlands, therefore, became a point of contention in the landscape between one level of land ownership, the Royal Forest, and various occupants of the valleys, who wanted access to the woods.

5.11 Lead Working

One of the uses of woodland in the Upper Derwent, beyond domestic fuel, fodder and building materials, was for fuelling industrial hearths (Illustration 5.2). At a 13th century lead-*melting* site in Howden Clough, wood had most likely been gathered from the surrounding clough (Appendix 10). Species present comprised predominantly oak, with birch and small amounts of hazel, hawthorn/rowan and wild/bird cherry typical of a semi-natural clough-side woodland. Slow tree-ring growth rates in the samples suggest that naturally occurring trees were used, rather than coppice stools or pollards, and the presence of bark indicates that it was used as raw fuel rather than as charcoal fuel. Oak may be over-represented as a preferred fuel. The hearth was located on a natural platform-like landslip, and was used either to produce useable objects from lead pigs or to recycle broken/unwanted objects (Photographs 5.5, 5.6).



Photograph 5.5. Landslip in Howden Clough used for lead working

The fire was set on the landslip surface within a simple stone hearth, and lead was melted either directly in the fire or within a container such as a crucible.



Photograph 5.6. Howden Clough 13th century lead-working hearth

The unstratified burnt deposit represents a single lead-working event and is the sole hearth identified on the landslip through excavation. Parts of two 13th century pottery vessels, lead waste and burnt gritstones were discovered within deposits consisting of charcoal fragments, ash and sands. One of the vessels is a Coal Measures ware and is typical of pottery found along the reservoir edges, while the other was of a previously unidentified fabric and potentially made within the valley (Beswick 1996).



Photograph 5.7. Location of lead-working hearth in Linch Clough

At a mid-15th century hearth in Linch Clough, again oak dominated with small amounts of hazel and birch (Photograph 5.7). There were a number of large pieces of oak, mainly heartwood, gathered from naturally grown trees, rather than coppice stools or pollards. An absence of bark in the samples suggests that it was most likely used as charcoal fuel. It is likely that the charcoal was produced in Linch Clough itself. There are several charcoal burning platforms on the north-facing side of Linch Clough. Senior's survey of 1627 and later maps show light scrub, then no woodland cover in the clough (Potter 1808; Ordnance Survey 1880). This suggests that charcoaling of woodland occurred before the early 17th century, and was made from clear-felling naturally grown timber rather than managed woodland. The presence of charcoal made from naturally grown wood in the 15th century lead hearth makes it very likely that this clearance was contemporary with and undertaken to supply the lead hearth.

Compared to Howden Clough, the lead-working site at Linch Clough is a much bigger operation (Illustration 5.6). The Linch Clough hearth was a simple sub-rectangular shallow scoop in the sloping clough-side measuring approximately 3.5m by 3.8m (Photograph 5.8). There was evidence for at least two operations and a narrow channel running below. Within the hearth were burnt stones, charcoal deposits, black and dark blue/green glassy slags, yellow-green lead 'glaze' attached to stones, lead and limestone. It was associated with dumps of industrial waste material, a sub-circular pit set on a platform situated downslope and at least one other platform adjacent to the north. Archaeomagnetic dating of in situ stones from the base of the hearth showed that it was last used between AD 1430 and 1470 (Appendix 8).

The hearth cut corresponds with the limits of the scorched ground surface which shows that the smelting operation was contained within this area. No direct evidence for an enclosing wall was identified, either as standing remains or as foundations, though numerous burnt gritstone blocks were found, and the nature of some of the waste products suggest high temperatures were created, which would be difficult to achieve without using forced air and some form of containing structure.

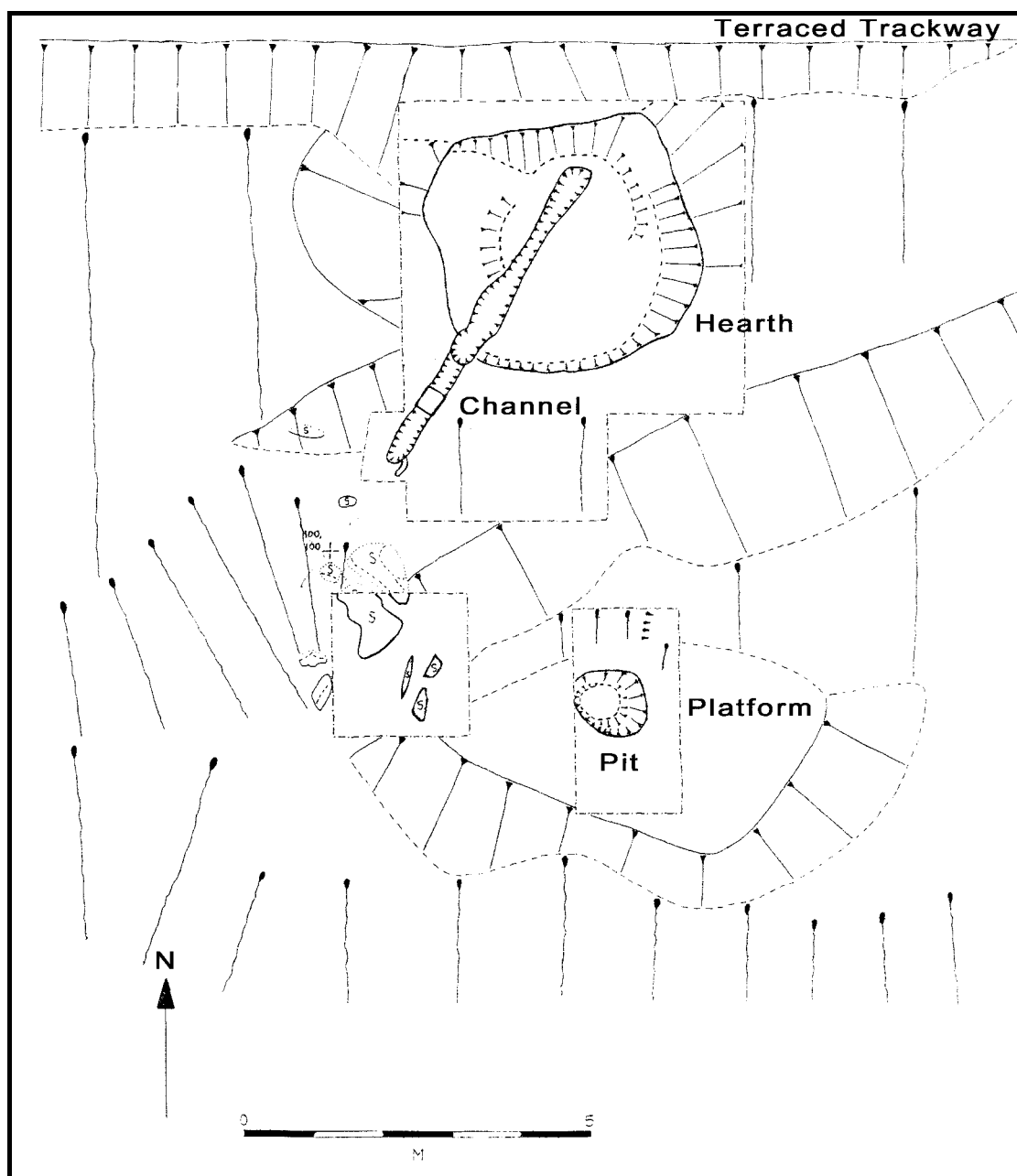


Illustration 5.6. Linch Clough Medieval lead-working hearth (excavated features overlain survey plan)



Photograph 5.8. Linch Clough 15th century lead working hearth

Where the channel ran under the hearth, it was either an open cut when in operation or had a simple stone covering which has since been dispersed. The lack of scorching and industrial debris in the areas of the channel outside of the hearth, its obvious south-western terminal and slight rise in height shows that the channel was not for tapping smelted lead, as seen in lead hearths on Totley Bole Hill (Kiernan and van de Noort 1992). It may have been a flue designed to get air into and underneath the charge. The deliberate continuation of the channel beyond both sides of the hearth would appear unnecessary to achieve this. It does appear as if the north-eastern end was not open to the air, quickly being buried under a significant depth of the rapidly rising northern clough-side. The semi-circular arrangement of stone, covering stone slab and eroded sections of channel immediately to the south-west of the hearth, suggests that this was a specific location for activity associated with the hearth. This may have been where there was a foot bellows. Though the nearby watercourse would imply the use of water-power, the water level only becomes higher than the hearth approximately 200m upstream, and around a bend. The stream would have been a good source of water for washing slags if this was a slag hearth.

Excavation found no evidence for a brick-built structure or anything to suggest that the process was an intentional slagging one. The traditional bole smelting technique utilized in Derbyshire is often criticised as inefficient, however, it seems the persistent use of this technique was not solely down to an inability to innovate. Salzman (1913) refers to a

report of the Wexford mines in 1557, where a discussion of the best smelting technique is made. The report condemns Derbyshire boles as costly and unpredictable; however, concludes that a closed furnace requires that stamping and washing need more attention, labour costs are higher, due to the pain of the extreme heat, and fuel is a greater concern (ibid). Boles and furnaces reflect local working methods and the organisation of labour, rather than representing a simple evolutionary trajectory. Salzman (ibid) suggests that boles were replaced at an early date by forced draught furnaces using bellows, often driven by water mills such as that in Devon in 1295, whilst in Durham the foot pump was used in dry seasons (Page 1907, 349). The Linch Clough site probably represents a bole which used forced blast, rather than natural updraught.

Another one or two lead-working sites may have been in use during the medieval period, or the late 16th century at the latest (Illustration 5.2). A bole hearth is located on Lead Hill, overlooking the confluence of the Derwent and Ashop Rivers. While no earthworks of a furnace survive, slag and furnace material from lead smelting are visible within a discrete area of erosion. The location of the furnace on such an exposed place above a valley side is typical of bole hearths, which exploited the natural updraft to produce temperatures high enough for smelting to occur (Barnatt 1996b). Boles were used from at least the 12th century, and possibly earlier, until the late 16th century, when they were replaced by ore hearths, using water or foot-powered bellows. The bole was also located within the monastic estate. The complex earthworks of a working site situated in the valley survive at Cold Side Oaks, and it is the largest of surviving sites identified to date. It includes three platforms, a lynchet, a leat, a quarry pit, a large area of heavy metal contaminated ground, and two patches of bare ground containing slag and charcoal fragments. The slag is visually identical to that found at Linch Clough. The site is situated at a break of slope on the valley side, with two of the platforms on steeper ground upslope of the remainder of the site. It could be medieval or post-medieval in date. Small concentrations of lead slag are also found within the draw-down zones of the reservoirs which suggest the locations for further lead-working sites. A recent fieldwalking discovery of iron bloomery slag near to the site of Abbey Farm may be yet another monastic industrial hearth (Peet 2002).

The four definite sites share in common locations set apart from settlements. This may have been for pragmatic reasons, related to keeping noxious fumes away from houses,

proximity to fuel sources, and in the case of Lead Hill, to utilise the natural updraught of the south-west facing hill. This would also create a spatial and social distance from settlement for those operating the hearths, which would have been reinforced by the perception of danger involved in lead smelting. Beyond this, they are different in nature. The small hearth in Howden Clough was used only once to melt down existing objects, and may have been an opportunist use of local clough-side scrub while tending livestock. The numerous dumps of waste material at Linch Clough and the extensive structures built to operate hearths, both here and at Cold Side Oaks, indicate larger-scale operations where smelting was conducted a number of times. These three sites are atypical of known medieval lead smelting elsewhere in the region, which is characterised by the use of boles, as at Lead Hill, which were usually returned to every year (Barnatt 1996b).

Both of the excavated hearths date from the period when Welbeck Abbey had its large estate in the valley, and are located within the estate. Monasteries were greatly involved in industrial production due to the demands for resources at the monasteries themselves and on their granges. The locations of the Upper Derwent hearths at a distance from Crookhill grange and the preference of the Premonstratensian Order to let out land, rather than manage it directly, would suggest that lead was produced by tenants under the Abbey's auspices, rather than by its own labour force. The Abbey had large demands for lead, to furnish the roof, cisterns and water pipes at Welbeck itself, and at its chapels in the locality. Its Upper Derwent estates could provide the fuel needed to work lead through the extensive woodlands on its estate, even if this meant taking wood from within the Royal Forest, as at Linch Clough, which was not rightly its to use. The lead ore had to come from elsewhere and Welbeck did not have any estates on the lead ore field of the limestone plateau. Another Premonstratensian Abbey, Dale of Stanley Park in eastern Derbyshire, did have a grange in the south-eastern part of the orefield (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The two abbeys were part of the Order's middle England circary, which was administered from Welbeck, so it is likely that at least some of the ore used in the Linch Clough hearth came from this other Premonstratensian grange. Other sources of ore would have required its purchase from other mine operators who, at this time, were often miner-farmers working small-scale operations (Barnatt 1996b).

5.12 Commons

Commons were open lands beyond the enclosed and cultivated land, over which tenants had various rights such as pasturing livestock, cutting peat (turbary), quarrying stone and collecting plants such as bracken, cranberries and brushwood. They were a typical component of medieval land-use, and extensive tracts of the upland moors of England were commons (Rackham 1986).

Rights to cut peat and pasture livestock on commons within the Royal Forest date to at least the 13th century (Cox 1905). In Derwent, Welbeck Abbey had been granted rights for common pasture of 80 cattle, but then gave up these rights in the mid-13th century in return for a valley meadow (Kirke 1925). Not all upland pasture was common. Pastures in Ashop were also recorded as part of the confirmation of the grant to Welbeck Abbey of land in Hope Woodlands, and at least one of these was used solely by Crookhill grange (Bagshaw 1869-70). As farmsteads were settled from the 13th century onwards some mechanism for using the upland pastures would have been created, at least when numbers of farms increased to a level where competition developed for the same upland pastures. The differing patterns of common or upland pasture use seen in the post-medieval periods would have originated in the medieval period. West of the River Derwent a specific, delimited, pasture was associated with each farmstead (Senior 1627). East of the river, Howden had access to the Bradfield commons, while the occupants of Derwent shared its pastures as common land, and also had access to Bradfield's commons. A late 16th century dispute between Bradfield and Derwent states that the inhabitants of Derwent paid a yearly sum for entering the commons of Hallamshire (anon. 1574).

5.13 Communication Routes

Trackways were essential to the movement of people, livestock and goods between settlements in the two valleys and to fields, woodlands, commons and the world beyond. Many local routes connect farmsteads with the different parts of their farms, and these will be discussed in chapter 6. Packhorse routes were long-distance highways, which had developed over a long period of time and were used by right, in effect as common land (Hey 1980). Where they passed through enclosed land they were bounded lanes, their lines tightly demarcated on the ground to prevent trespassing onto private land and trampling of crops by livestock. On open commons, the routes often spread out as wide

bands of eroded hollow-ways, created by the repetitive use, over generations, of the same approximate line. They often follow the most suitable topography between places in common communication. Such set routes would aid travellers to navigate across the relatively featureless moors, and avoid potential hazards such as bogs and cliffs. Manorial landowners became responsible for the maintenance of highways after the passing of the Statute of Winchester in 1285 (*ibid*). If a route became impassable, the landowner had to replace it with another beside it, and in return could charge tolls on those from outside their manor wanting to transport goods.

I have already discussed the relationship between the Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route and Derwent hamlet (see section 5.7). It is one of three long-distance packhorse routes crossing the Upper Derwent that have medieval origins (Illustration 5.2). The ‘common way which leads from Sheffield to Derwent’ was later recorded as the ‘hyghewaye leadynge frome Stanyngton to Darwen’ in 1581 (Ward 1922. Photograph 5.9).



Photograph 5.9. The line of the Derwent to Sheffield commonway as it approaches Derwent Edge across Derwent Moor from the east

Most of its route can be traced on the ground as braided hollow-ways or raised causeways, especially on Derwent Moors, and as a ford of stone blocks laid within Highshaw Clough. As well as the hollow-ways that define its three separate branches descending into the Derwent Valley, via Millbrook, Grindle Clough and Ladybower Gorge, parts of its route on moorland are evident as embanked causeways, stone paving and further hollow-ways. The Millbrook route passed through Derwent hamlet to cross the River Derwent via a bridge built, or rebuilt, in the 13th century by Welbeck Abbey (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It then crossed the watershed between the Derwent and Woodlands valleys to join with Doctor's Gate. The Ladybower Gorge route may have crossed the River Derwent via Yorkshire Bridge to continue towards Hope, as well as leading south along the east side of the river towards Bamford.

Doctor's Gate is first recorded in 1627 as 'Docto Talbotes Gate' (Cameron 1959; Hey 1980). Doctor Talbot was an illegitimate son of the Earl of Shrewsbury (who had a castle at Sheffield) and vicar of Glossop between 1491 and 1550; he was responsible for the family landholdings in the Glossop area, acquired after the Dissolution of the monasteries (Byford 1981; Dodd and Dodd 1980). He regularly travelled between Glossop and Sheffield, and presumably his name was attached to the route because he undertook its maintenance as a major communication route connecting family lands. It connected Hope and Glossop via the Woodlands Valley by, reputedly, following the line of a Roman road thought to connect the forts at Brough and Melandra (see section 4.6.3). The route is clearly defined as a series of braided hollow-ways and metalled terraced trackways along the Woodlands Valley and as a paved route on Alport Moor. From the Hope Valley, it crosses over into the valley from the south via Crookstone Hill, and takes a diagonal line across the valley side to cross the River Ashop near to the confluence of the Ashop and the River Alport. It then gradually climbs the other side of the valley to follow an approximate contour between 350 and 380m O.D. before crossing over Alport Moor and into Glossop.

The third route is known as Cut Gate or Cart Gate, and the earliest record of it dates to 1571 (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It connects the Upper Derwent with Penisale, near Penistone, where there was a market that was given a charter in 1290 (Ward 1927b). The name may imply the use of carts along the route but the topography it crosses makes the use of wheeled-vehicles highly unlikely. Sleds with runners may have been used, as well

as packhorses, and 'cart' could actually be a derivation of 'cartage' - to carry. They are recorded as being used in other upland areas such as Cumbria (Bevan et al 1990), and were used locally for bringing peat and probably stone down to farmsteads from the moors (anon. 1679). The trackway ascends the moorland from the north-west via Margery Hill, then descends into Derwent Valley as a zig-zag braided hollow-way via Cranberry Clough, before crossing the River Derwent via a ford at Slippery Stones.

These packhorse routes were the networks along which inhabitants of the Upper Derwent communicated with the wider world. The locations and destinations of the packhorse routes structured the ways these wider connections were made. Access to markets and communication with the manorial centres would have been two of the most important aspects of the use and orientation of the long-distance routes across the landscape. They all ran to nearby towns with market charters dating to the 13th and 14th centuries; Sheffield - 1296, Penisale (near Penistone) - 1290, Wortley (near Stocksbridge) - 1307 and Glossop - 1290. The packhorse route to Hope also gave access to markets in the neighbouring towns of Tideswell - 1251 and Castleton - 1223. The routes enabled movement of agricultural produce for sale and access to other goods sold at the markets, such as pottery vessels. These routes also connected the area with the centres of the three manors that include the Upper Derwent: Hallamshire, Hathersage and Hope. The dead would have been carried to the parish churches at Bradfield, Hathersage and Hope prior to the dedication of a graveyard at Derwent hamlet in the 19th century.

A branch of the Sheffield route was located in relation to Derwent hamlet, where the area's corn mill was located. It would have been used by Welbeck Abbey's canons to travel to and from their Upper Derwent estate, approximately 40km distant, via Beauchief Abbey. Along the routeway came the Abbey's reaves to check on the running of the estate, while produce, rents and possibly lead were taken away. The route to Hope also enabled communication between the other granges of the Premonstratensians, which were located on the limestone plateau, and it is most likely along this route that lead ore was brought for smelting. News would have also been brought into the area by people, many likely to be strangers, coming to the valleys, or passing through from one distant destination to another.

5.14 Medieval Endings

5.14.1 *Disafforestation*

Within the Royal Forest of the Peak, the conflict between the interests of maintaining the deer herd and pasturing livestock reached a head in 1526. In this year a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the matter, including the dangers to deer of the overgrazing of grass by cattle and sheep (Cox 1905). Witnesses reported to the commission that there were five herds of cattle numbering 903 beasts and 4,000 sheep, which were increases on the past. During the following years tenants within the Forest made depositions to the Crown that officers of the Forest were stealing sheep. The same officers were variously accused of damaging the king's woods, murder, releasing prisoners for bribes and stealing furniture from Peveril Castle (ibid).

During the reign of Elizabeth I disputes over the respective rights of deer and livestock intensified. Encroachment throughout the Forest led to its reduction in size to an area of land equivalent to that of the present Peak Forest parish (anon. 1639). A wall was built in 1579 to demarcate and attempt preservation of this last remnant of the Royal Forest with the exclusion of livestock for deer (Anderson and Shimwell 1981). The remainder of the Forest, including Hope Woodlands, was still officially under Forest Law where deer were allowed to compete with livestock. This untenable position was resolved in 1674 when the Forest was finally disafforested (ibid). This meant taking the land out of Forest Law on the orders of the Crown, so officially abolishing the Royal Forest of the Peak and removing protection of the deer and their habitats.

5.14.2 *Dissolution of the Monasteries*

The 16th century was also a time of major change for Welbeck Abbey. Crookhill grange had already been let out to a tenant and the other farmsteads continued in rental. When Henry VIII broke with Rome in 1533 as a result of his argument with the Pope over his divorce of Catherine, he set in train a series of events which would lead to the Reformation, Dissolution of the monasteries and the reorganisation of land ownership in the Upper Derwent. Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, acted quickly to claim monastic wealth and prevent Catholicism from returning by dissolving all the monasteries and abbeys of England between 1536 and 1540. Their land was first controlled by the Crown before being turned over to secular ownership in a complex rush of land claims and intermarriages (Aston 2000).

5.15 Discussion

During the medieval period we see the emergence of a framework for the physical organisation of the landscape until the inundation of the valley by the Derwent Valley Water Board in the early 20th century – the dispersed farmsteads, irregular walled enclosures, valley-side woodlands, open moorlands, communication routes and Derwent hamlet. This landscape developed in relation to the manorial system that characterised later medieval England, as well as in relation to two specific forms of landholding: the Crown-owned Royal Forest and the monastic estate. Both of these latter two landowning structures are commonly found in the uplands and in other areas geographically distant from major population and manorial centres.

Villages and associated common fields were absent from medieval Upper Derwent. These were present in much of the rest of the Peak District and dominated most of the limestone plateau to the near complete exclusion of isolated farmsteads. Instead, the area fits into a broad pattern of dispersed settlement which dominated the north, west and south-east of England in the medieval period; while villages with open fields were prevalent in much of the East, the Midlands and part of the south coast (Rackham 1986). However, open fields were extensive in many parts of the geographical regions dominated by dispersed settlement, even in upland valleys such as those of the Lake District (Bevan et al 1990; Williamson 2003). Williamson has pointed out that there was not a simple division of England into open-field and non-open-field landscapes, and that there was a great deal of variability of settlement and field patterns within the basic dichotomy between dispersed and nucleated. If nucleation with open fields and dispersal with enclosed fields lie at the opposite ends of a settlement pattern spectrum, then the Upper Derwent fully lies at the dispersal end. Finds of 15th-century ceramic tablewares at a number of farmsteads, indicates that some inhabitants of the Upper Derwent were engaging with geographically widespread changes in social aspirations associated with the materiality of dining. Local variability, as identified by the absence or presence of tablewares at farmsteads, suggests that even a small, remote upland landscape such as the Upper Derwent was neither a backwater without engagement with wider social trends, or that there was a simple one-way relationship where the ‘broader’ was passively accepted by the ‘local’.

Agriculture gave a geographic and temporal pattern to the occupation of the landscape. The year was structured by the seasonal demands of birth and sowing in the spring, pasturing and growing over summer, harvesting and culling in autumn and overwintering and dormancy in winter. Other activities were worked around these, such as the provision of winter fodder by collecting hay or browse from trees. Woodlands, reserved for the king in what was one of many Royal Forests in England, dominated the valleys, and were diminished as enclosure encroached upon them. There is no evidence for the development of wood pasture, and it seems that livestock were meant to be excluded from the woodlands of the Royal Forest. The higher ground was peat moorland, designated as commons, over which tenants had rights such as pasturing livestock and cutting peat. These three major elements of the landscape not only provided resources for landowners and tenants but also were important in the formation of social identities through their everyday use and claims to access. This is a point I will return to discuss more fully in the following chapters, where the evidence is more comprehensive.

This landscape was to some extent broadly typical of the High Peak area north of the Hope Valley. The other major High Peak valleys, Edale and Longdendale, also consist of dispersed settlement associated with irregular enclosures and moorland common. Within this dispersed settlement zone there is variety, with different areas having distinct medieval histories. Taking Edale as an example, settlement was in existence by the late 11th century and was listed in Domesday as a berewick or outlying farm of the manor of Hope (Morgan 1978). Between 1199 and 1216, at least five vaccaries, known as Booths, were established by the Crown (Barnatt 1993). Comparable to granges, these were specialist cattle farms. They were located along Edale's south-facing slopes but also held the land on the north-facing slopes, where it is thought the development of individual farmsteads and the enclosure of fields did not occur until the post-medieval period (ibid). The Edale settlement and field pattern is similar to that of the Upper Derwent, comprising dispersed farmsteads situated in the Royal Forest, with new settlements created in the 12th century. However, there are also a number of differences. It was all within the Royal Forest, there was 11th century occupation, and the vaccaries were created directly by the Crown rather than merely allowed to happen. The wider expanse of valley-bottom land in Edale comprised a greater amount of heavy, water-retaining soil suitable for pasture, and was originally enclosed with hedges rather than walls; there

appears not to have been extensive woodland (ibid). Above this were mostly open cow pastures, which were enclosed only in the post-medieval period (ibid).

The inclusion of land west of the River Derwent within the Royal Forest of the Peak from the 11th century, and Welbeck Abbey's ownership of all or most of the area from the 13th century, greatly influenced the land-use of the area, and structured how the landscape developed during the medieval period. These set the official framework for settlement and how land could be used. The interactions between these structures of land ownership and inhabitation through land-tenancing created patterns of land-use that have structured the occupation and perception of the Upper Derwent landscape until the 20th century. Landowners and tenants both wanted something from the landscape. The place of woodlands in the medieval Forest is a good example. The Crown, through the officers of the Royal Forest, wanted to maintain woodland to provide cover and food for deer and other wild game to be served at royal banquets or bestowed as gifts. The Crown also harvested timber for building work. Preserving the Forest was ultimately bound up with the Crown authority and maintenance of its social position. However, the Crown also enabled settlement in the Forest. First the royal family granted land to Welbeck Abbey and then the Forest officers allowed the buildings and enclosures of settlers to remain upon payment of a rent, hidden under the nomenclature of a 'fine'. In such a Forest landscape, dispersed settlement made the least impact, and so was preferred by settlers, and by the Forest officers. Those trying to sustain livelihoods by farming in the Forest then regularly and progressively damaged the Forest woodland by clearing it to make way for fields, allowing livestock to compete with game and taking wood for fuel and buildings. This resulted in a pattern of isolated farmsteads associated with small, enclosed fields, which were intermingled with woodland blocks that can be seen in Senior's 1627 survey of Hope Woodlands township.

Between the 13th and early 17th centuries the landscape had changed dramatically. In the 13th century there appears to be some moorland pasture and an enclosed meadow, both of which were probably used by people from villages elsewhere in the large manors that incorporated parts of the Upper Derwent within their bounds, such as Bamford, Hope and Hathersage. Aside from those, the valleys were dominated by woodland. The granting of land to Welbeck Abbey was coincidental or the spur for wider colonisation of the area. Alongside the Abbey's two granges at Crookhill and One Man's House, at least

nine other farmsteads were settled in the 13th century. This began a sequence of settlement, enclosure, land improvement and woodland clearance, which continued into the post-medieval period. The Abbey began by running its grange at Crookhill directly, but by the early 15th century had let it out to a tenant whose family remained there until the 19th century. Derwent developed as a hamlet during this time, though its origins possibly lie in the 10th century or before. It became an important locale in the Upper Derwent for milling corn, worship and communicating with the wider world. In the 16th century, the new landowners inherited a land which had been closely managed and given its administrative shape over the preceding three centuries. As well as farms, improved land in the valleys, managed woodlands and extensive moorland commons, they acquired a small hamlet, at least two chapels, a bridge across the River Derwent and a mill.