Chapter 6

Early Post-Medieval Landscape – Patterns in Space and Time

6.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2 Landlords and Tenants

6.2.1 Changing Landowners

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2.2 Early Seventeenth Century Surveys

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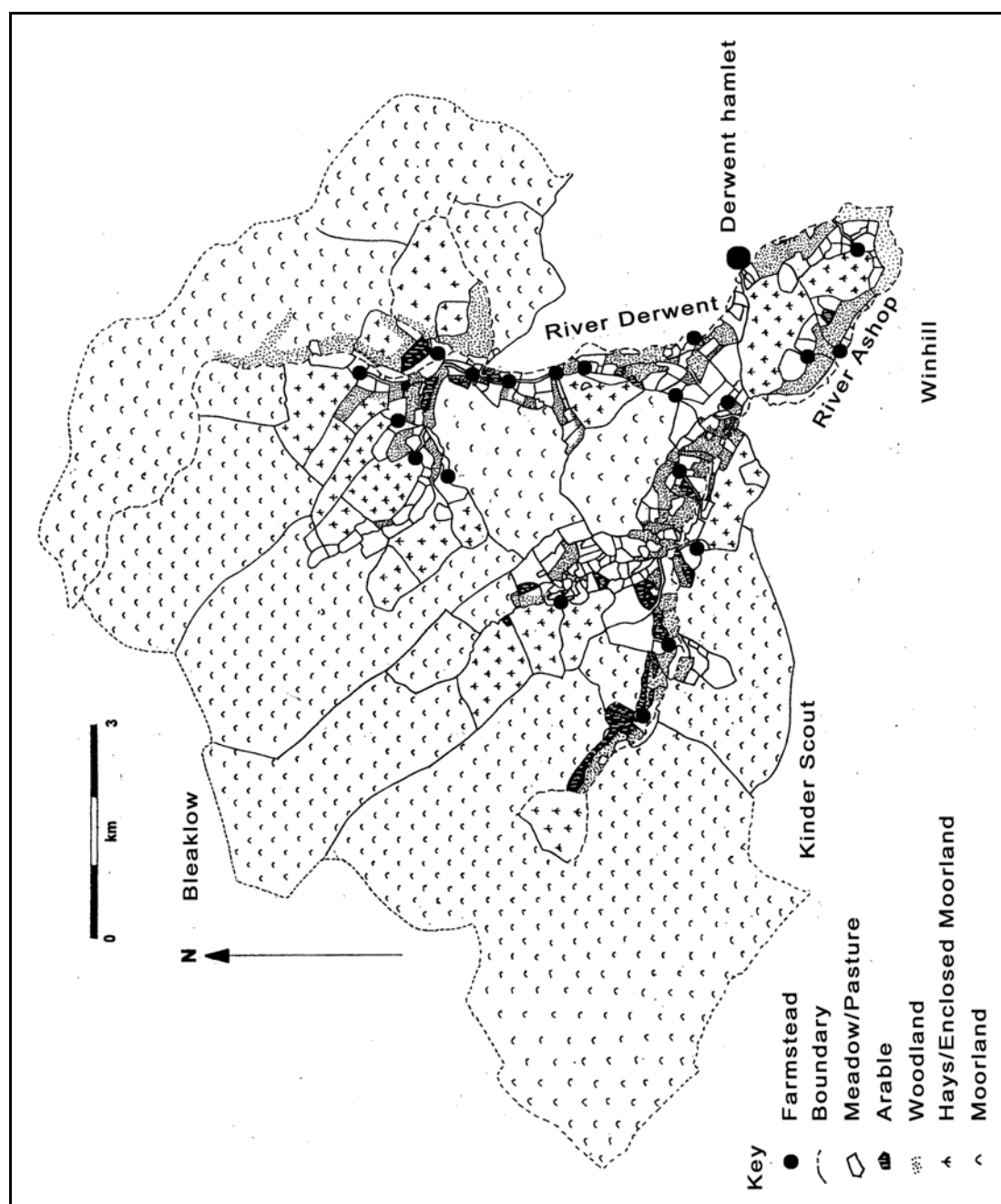
Illustration 6.1. Hope Woodlands township, 1627 and Howden 1637. After Senior 1627 and Scurfield 1999

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

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

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

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

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

6.3 Around the Houses: Settlement

6.3.1 Topographical Relations

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

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

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

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

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

SETTLEMENT NAME	EARLIEST DATING EVIDENCE
Hope Woodlands	
Alport	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981); Two farms (Alport Farm and Alport Castles) are listed in 1627 (Senior)
Ashop Farm	Pottery mid-13th century (Beswick 1996)
Bank Top Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Bellhag Farm	Architecture1860s (Mike Lea pers comm) Mapped 1880 (OS)
Birchinlee Farm	Possibly pottery mid-13th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Birchinlee keeper's House	Built in 1909-1910 (Robinson 1993)
Blackden View	Built between 1850 (anon.) and 1858 (anon.); Probably built 1854 (date stone)
Blacklowe	Building suggestive of Medieval date; no known documents
Bridge End Farm	Built 1673 (anon.)
Cockbridge Farm	Documented 1639 (anon.)
Crookhill Farm	Built by 1251 (Bagshaw 1869-70)
Dryclough Farm	Possibly pottery mid-13th century (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1639 (anon.)
Elmin Pitts Farm	Documented 1770 (anon. 1770)
Fairholmes Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Gillott Hey Farm	Built c.1810 (potter 1808, later annotation)
Gores Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Grimbocar Farm	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Hagg Farm I	Architectural features 17th century (Mike Lea pers comm); Recorded with 'ancient buildings' 1627 (Senior)
Hagg Farm II	Built between 1808 (Potter) and 1850 (anon.); Architecturally mid-19th century (Mike Lea pers comm)
Haglee Farm	Documented 1829 (Cameron 1959)
Hayridge Farm	Built between 1627 (Senior) and 1770 (anon.)
Humphrey Hariby's House	Mapped in 1627 (Senior)
Jack End	Pottery from 16th century (Beswick 1996)
Knowl House	18th-19th century pottery (Beswick 1996); Mapped 1808 (Potter)
Lee End	Also known as Wood End; Built between 1822 (anon.) and 1847 (anon.)
Lockerbrook Farm	Possible doc. 1215 (Cameron 1959) Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Marebottom Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Nether Ashop Farm	Pottery from mid-13th century (Beswick 1996)
Parkinfield	Possibly documented 1461-1483 (Cameron 1959); Documented 1847 (anon.)
Ridge Farm	Documented 1623 (Cameron 1959)
Ronksley House	Pottery from mid-13th century (Beswick 1996); Documented 1366 and 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Rowlee Farm	Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Townrowhag	Built between 1627 and 1719 (Stroud 1996)
Two Thorn Field	Documented 1623 (Cameron 1959); Building fabric inscribed 1630 (Hawkins 1990)
Underbank Farm	Possibly pottery from mid-13th century (Beswick 1996); Documented 1847 (anon.)
Upper Ashop Farm	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Upper House	Mapped 1627 (Senior)
Westend Farm	Possibly documented 1285; Documented 1339-1413 (Byford 1981)
Wood End	Built between 1840 and 1847 (Ordnance Survey; anon.)
Wood Houses	Mapped 1627 when known as Part of Ashop (Senior)

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

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

6.3.2 Settlement Pairing

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

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

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

6.3.3 Dateable New Settlement

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

6.3.4 Occupancy

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

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

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

6.3.5 Farmstead Ceramics

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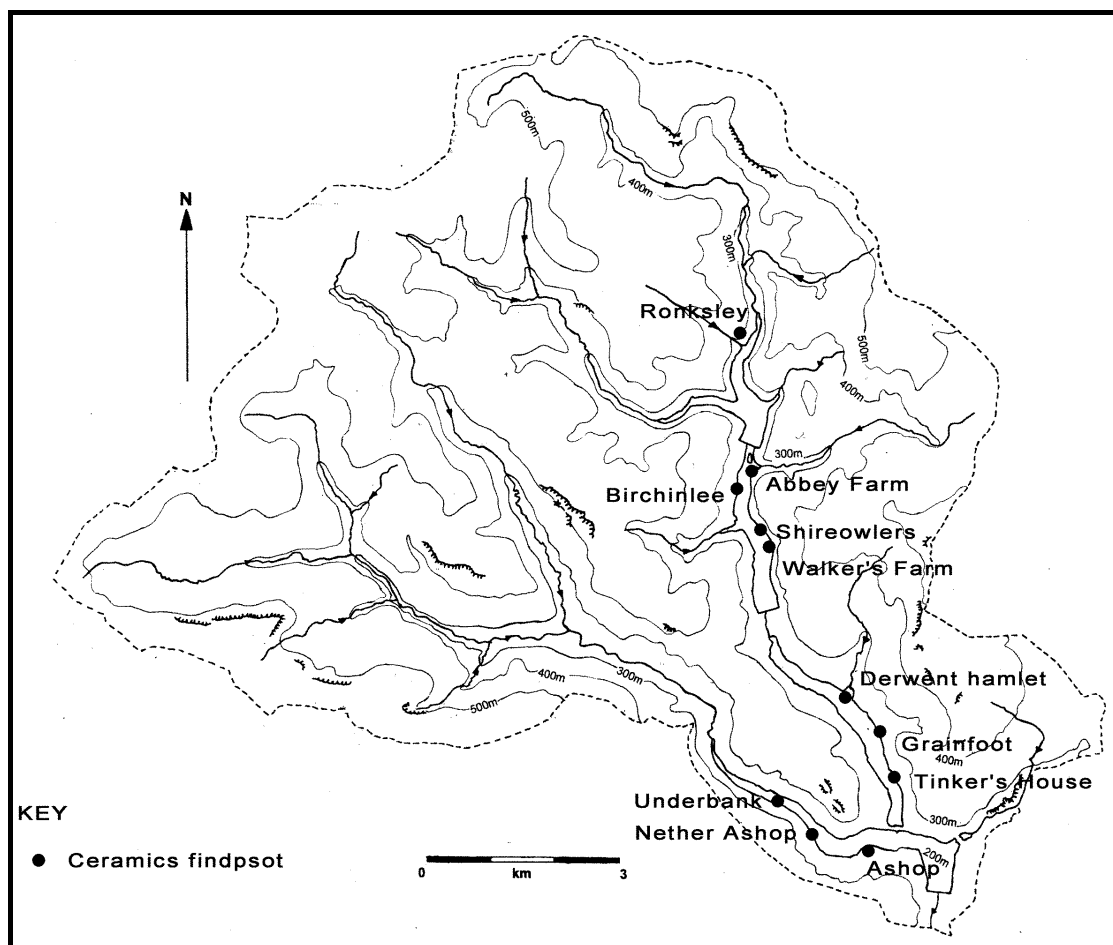
Illustration 6.3. Locations of findspots of mid-16th to mid-18th century ceramics in the Upper Derwent

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

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

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

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

6.3.6 Farm Buildings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 Into the Fields: Enclosure and Field Barns

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

6.4.1 Pattern

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

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

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

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

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

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

Photograph 6.2. Wall junction at Hagg Farm, Hope Woodlands

Much of the early enclosure is likely to have been near to each farmer's house, but it was not always a simple case of progressively working further and further outwards. In 1627 Rowlee Farm comprised six adjacent fields surrounding the farmhouse and two isolated enclosures nearby, which were separated from each other by woodland (Senior 1627. Illustration 6.1). By the beginning of the 19th century, all of the woodland was cleared and divided with walls into small fields, the individual patches of agricultural land in the 17th century becoming a cohesive block (Potter 1808. Illustration 6.4). It appears from Senior's descriptions of land quality that the earlier fields occupied the better drained land and the intervening woodlands covered steeper and boggier ground. Enclosure after 1627 may have been undertaken with the development of better drainage techniques in the 17th or 18th centuries (Williamson 2002). More striking is the development at Two Thorn Fields, located to the west of Crookhill (Illustration 6.4). The farmstead is first documented in1623, four years before Senior surveyed Hope Woodlands, when he referred to the farm buildings as 'ancient'. Situated just above the steep side of the Woodlands Valley, the farmstead was located in between two large oval enclosures, with woodland below and
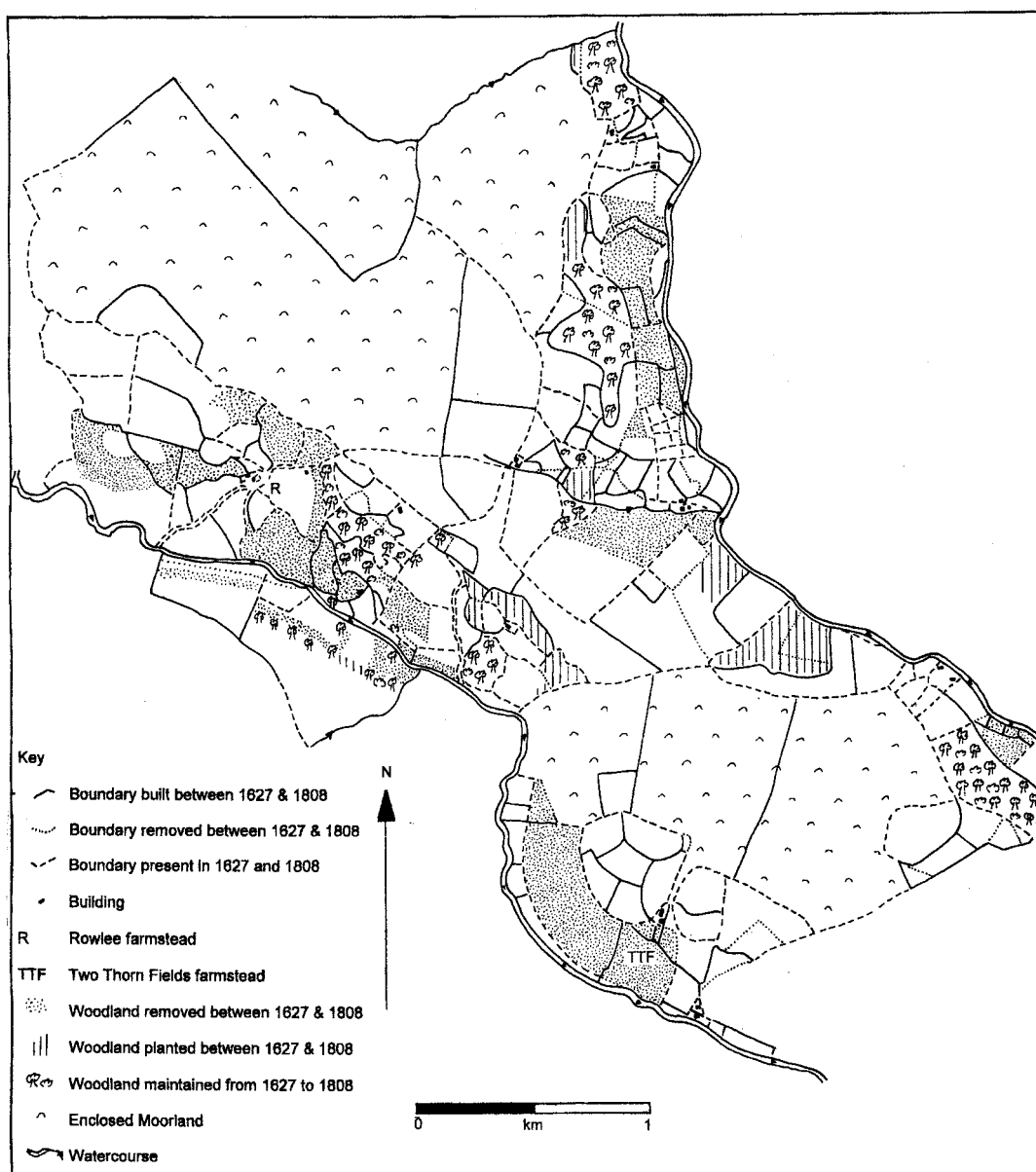
Key

- ⌢ Boundary built between 1627 & 1808
- ⋯⋯ Boundary removed between 1627 & 1808
- ⌣⌢ Boundary present in 1627 and 1808
- ∙ Building
- R Rowlee farmstead
- TTF Two Thorn Fields farmstead
- ⋰ Woodland removed between 1627 & 1808
- ||| Woodland planted between 1627 & 1808
- 🌳 Woodland maintained from 1627 to 1808
- ⌃ Enclosed Moorland
- 〜 Watercourse

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

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

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

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

6.4.2 Agricultural Land-Use

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

6.4.2.1 Pasture/Meadow

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

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

6.4.2.2 Arable

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

6.4.3 Field Barns and Folds

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

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

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

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

6.4.4 Structuring Space

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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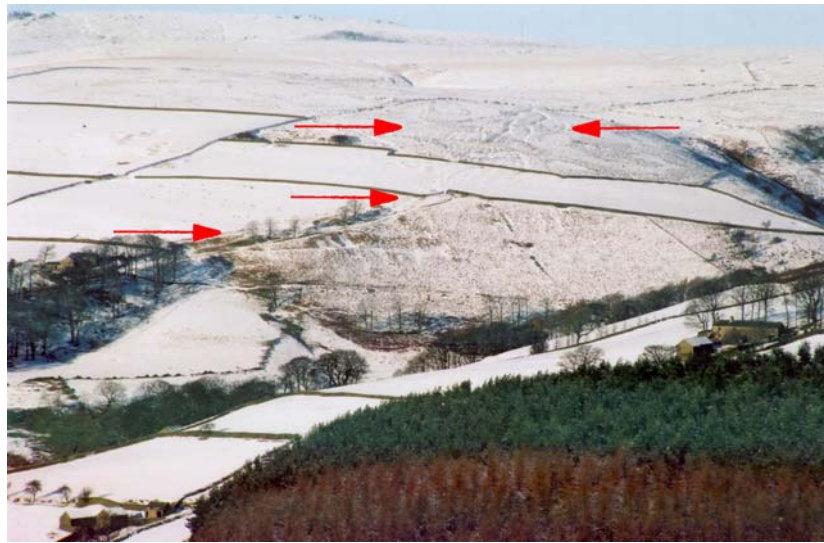
Photograph 6.6. Farmstead trackways leading onto common from enclosed farmland via intakes of rough grassland, Derwent

At the upper boundary of the fields, the farmer would move on to the common, most often via gates in the top wall of their enclosed farmland (Photograph 6.6). Movement between farm and common was an act of physical exertion, an ascent onto higher ground. The farmer would climb out of a heavily managed landscape, where the farmer spent most time associated with agriculture, onto more open and exposed land. Going onto the common was therefore a passage between landscapes, from one that was 'built' and intensively occupied to another that was 'ranged' over, and not so actively worked by the input of labour to manage the land. The moorland common of grass and heather is, of course, a human-made landscape, originating in the mesolithic burning of scrubland to create clearings and the contemporary spread of peat. The available pollen samples suggest that levels of open ground were not constant throughout prehistory and the early medieval period, with woodland receding and regenerating at different times (see vegetation histories in sections 2.2, 3.2, 4.3). From the medieval period onwards, open conditions were maintained by the presence of grazing livestock pastured on the moorland over summer, but, while it is the active land-use patterns of farmers that created open moorlands, the level of management and time a farmer spent on the moor was less than within the farm fields, so the common may have been perceived as a 'wilder' landscape, and the need to climb onto it could accentuate this.

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

6.5.1 Hays and Peat Cuts

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

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

used as a building material. Industrial peat use appears limited in the Peak District compared to the northern Pennines, where it was important in iron, steel and lead smelting (ibid).
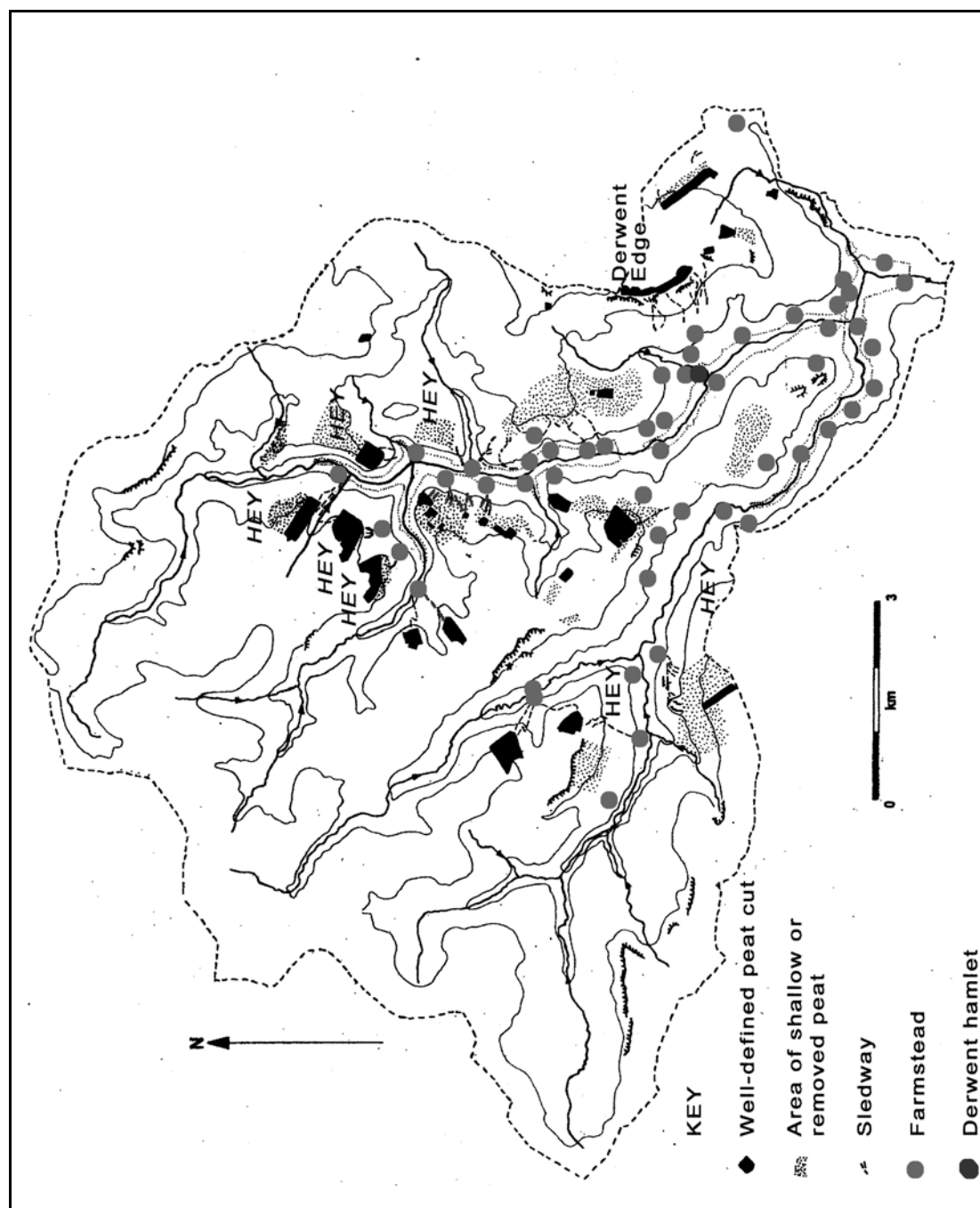

Illustration 6.5. Peat cuts, heys and sledways in the Upper Derwent

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

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

found in other areas where peat was cut from moorlands, including Edale (Barnatt 1993) and further afield in the Lake District (Winchester 1987; Bevan et al 1990) and North Yorkshire (Hartley and Ingilby 1990).

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

The exception to this is a huge peat cut above Derwent Edge (Illustration 6.5). This is very different to all other cuts in size and in being shared by a number of households. It was linked to Derwent hamlet, and perhaps Grainfoot Farm and Tinker's House, by a network of sledways. As the sledways run upslope from the valley side above the hamlet, they branch out to terminate at different locations along the cut. Within this apparently unusual communal organisation of peat extraction in the Upper Derwent, demarcations and divisions are again apparent. It is divided into separate rectilinear areas by baulks of peat left in place during the action of cutting. The separate compartments probably represent individual cutting areas for each household, again suggesting a strong identity of individualism within a framework of shared rights.

6.5.2 Outpasture

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

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

6.5.3 Stock Movement

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

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

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

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

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

Photograph 6.10. Typical clough-side sheepwashing fold

There are, however, a number of sheepfolds located at the edge of the enclosed land, at the boundaries between field and moorland common. Many are sheepwashing folds that are all situated adjacent to watercourses (Illustration 6.6. Photograph 6.10). Before the introduction of chemical dips in the 20th century, sheep were washed in rivers to clean the fleece and remove parasites (Farey 1811-13). The remains of multi-compartment folds are found at suitably slow-moving and deep stretches of watercourses, where sheep could be dipped in the water and the clean ones separated from the dirty. There are also sheepfolds situated on the moors or the top wall of valley-side intakes at a distance from water, which would have been used solely for gathering, sorting and marking (Illustration 6.6). There is a large multi-compartment sheepfold in Hope Woodlands located at the confluence of the River Ashop and Fair Brook and at the boundary of moorland and enclosed farmland which may have been used for this purpose. The adjacent moorland was the most distant from farmsteads and was shared as outpasture by a number of farms in the township without access to extensive moorland nearby (Illustration 6.1. Photograph 6.11). This fold was probably both a gathering and a sheepwashing fold. This seemingly contradicts the otherwise segregated use of the commons, but indicates that, within a pattern of landscape inhabitation that is strongly identified with individual farmsteads, there are times and places when communal cooperation between households would be undertaken.
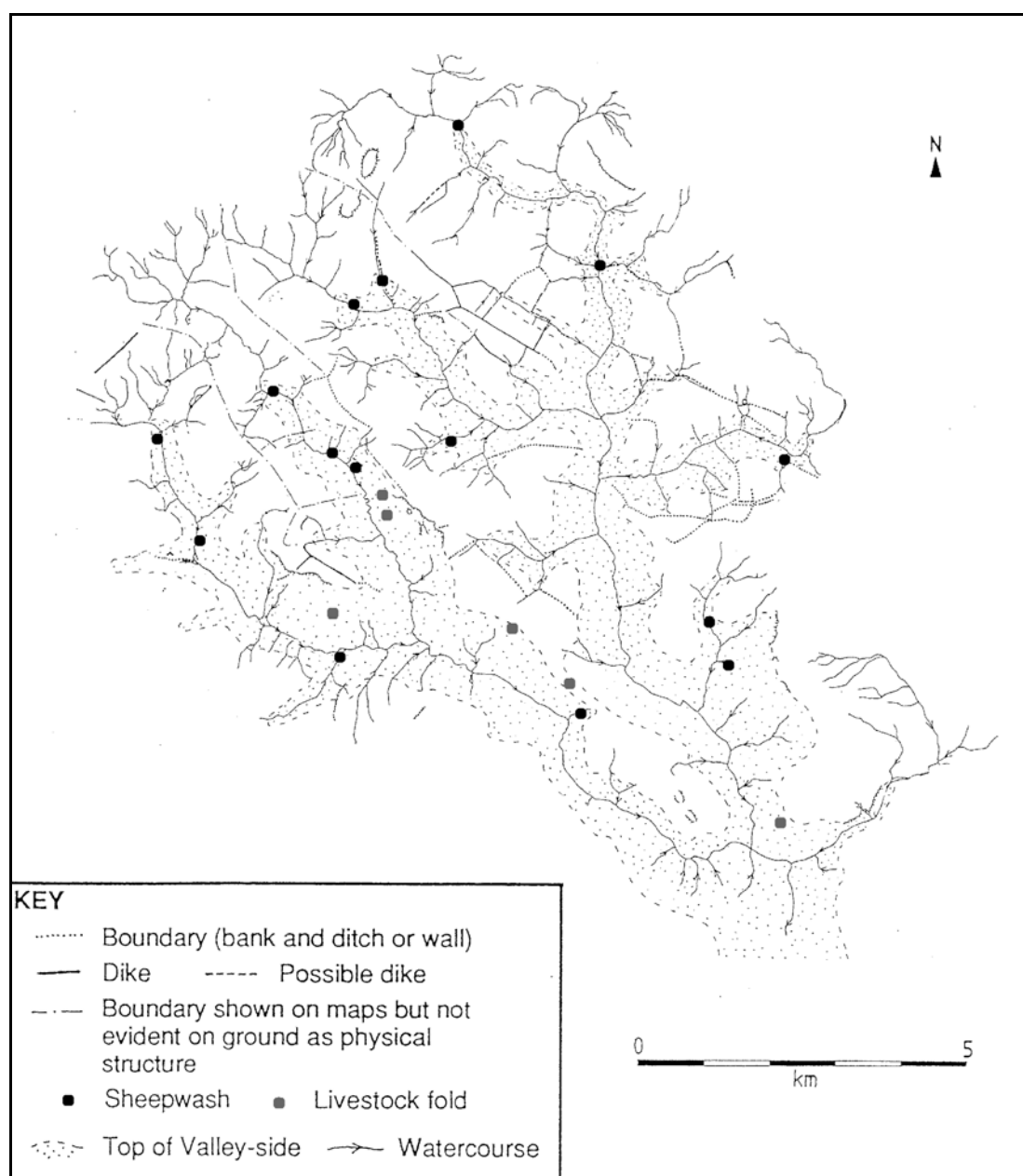
Illustration 6.6. Moorland boundaries, buildings, sheepfolds and sheepwashes in the Upper Derwent

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

6.5.4 Moorland Boundaries

There are numerous boundaries that cross the open moorland commons (Illustration 6.6). These include earthen banks and ditches, dry-stone walls, drains and dikes. In Hope Woodlands, the majority of these boundaries divide the different moorland sheepwalks and outpastures, mostly where they were used by different farms. Those boundaries, lying within individual outpastures, were associated with steep cloughsides, to keep stock away or for drainage. In Derwent township, these boundaries also appear on the common, which was not documented as being so clearly demarcated as it was in Hope Woodlands. In Howden, numerous boundaries also divide up the common that was only used by a single farm, Howden House (Harrison 1637). These all run along the side of watercourses, and may have been used to facilitate shepherding.

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

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

6.5.5 Shepherds' Huts

There are a number of buildings on the commons, which may have been shepherds' huts, providing shelter from the elements while working on the moorland. However, they all may have been multi-purpose common buildings, which could be used in association with other rights such as peat-cutting and stone-quarrying. The dangers to shepherds of being

caught out during sudden worsening of the weather are highlighted by the story of Lost Lad Cairn. A cairn was reputedly erected in the late 17th century as a memorial to a shepherd boy from Derwent, called Abraham, who died in a snowstorm whilst sheltering in the lee of a rock. When he knew he was doomed he is supposed to have scratched 'Lost Lad' on the rock, thus giving the name Lost Lad to the knoll (Daniel 1935). His remains were discovered next to the epitaph the following spring and the cairn was built on the spot. It is not known whether the bones were taken away to be buried in the local churchyard or buried under the cairn. The cairn and Lost Lad place name are shown on a map of 1767 (Harley et al 1975; Cameron 1959). Today, the location is on the boundary between Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, where it is crossed by a tourist path, acting as both boundary and waymarker. Walkers still add to it.

6.5.6 *The Yorkshire–Derbyshire Conflict*

The question of who actually owned commons was not devoid of controversy and argument. The Yorkshire–Derbyshire boundary runs through the Upper Derwent, and across most of the moorland it is demarcated by a ditch and bank or line of small upright marker stones (Photograph 1.2). A legal battle began in 1574 over the boundary between Hallamshire and Hathersage manors, between Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and to which manor the commons at Moscar on Derwent Moors belonged (anon. 1724). The details of the case not only tell us something about the importance of commons, but also how disputes were settled through memory and recourse to local elders. Counsels for both lords met with 'diverse old and ancient men' of the two manors, who were called as witnesses. The men of Derbyshire brought with them a man of 'five score years or thereabouts' who recalled on his conscience that a cottage had been built at Moscar, and when the tenant had fallen into arrears on his rent, he had given a black horse as equity to the Lord of Hallamshire. Another witness, aged 60, remembered his father saying that Hallamshire tenants had torn down walls built on the common by the Lord of Hathersage. In 1656, the bounds of Hathersage were ridden and written down as following a line that clearly placed Moscar in Derbyshire, and a note was made that these bounds had been ridden many time before 'without disturbance or contradiction'. Forty-nine years later, 'men of Bradfield' drew up a petition demanding all right of common on Derwent Moors, from which they were being excluded. Witnesses were again called, men in their 60s and 70s, who stated that they had tended sheep and cattle for farmers in Hathersage from their earliest memories. A decision was finally made in 1724 after further witnesses gave their testimony. In this year,

the oldest was John Trout, who was 85 years old and could remember assisting in driving Bradfield sheep on to Derwent Moors, 70 and 60 years ago. Another newly built cottage at Moscar was referred to. The dispute had dragged on for over 150 years, the memories of older men had been tested, walls had been built and removed, boundaries had been ridden to confirm their lines and the small matter of a Civil War had been fought. In the end the decision went to Hathersage.

6.6 Derwent Hamlet

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

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

The hamlet was also well served with inns, as would be expected in a settlement on a long-distance trade route, with four ale houses recorded in 1577 (Byford 1981). This was the main stopping-off point for anyone making the long journey between Sheffield and Glossop. In the 17th century the medieval wooden packhorse bridge was replaced by a more substantial stone structure (Dodd and Dodd 1980. Photograph 6.12). Bridge-End farmstead was built in 1673 at the southern end of this bridge on land first leased then

bought from the Duke of Devonshire (anon. 1673). Though it was situated over the river in Hope Woodlands township, its proximity to the hamlet would have socially incorporated it into Derwent.

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

In 1672, perhaps the biggest change to the hamlet's built and social landscape was made when the Balguy family bought a plot of land from the Wilson family of Broomhead to the west of the existing settlement (Northend 1943). Three cottages were demolished to make way for Derwent Hall (Byford 1981), which comprised a small manor house with a walled formal garden between it and the hamlet. The Hall was a large gabled H-shaped two-storey house with attic dormers in its very long north and south ranges (Craven and Stanley 1982). It was constructed of ashlar Millstone Grit from local outcrops, with string courses, and mullioned and transomed windows. It was by far the grandest and most imposing building in the hamlet or elsewhere in the surrounding Derwent and Woodlands valleys. It can be imagined that its construction attracted a lot of interest amongst inhabitants of the area and travellers passing on the packhorse route, not least because the Balguys were a locally prominent yeoman family. Balguys lived at Hope and Aston Halls, and the family who built Derwent Hall had been living at Hagg Farm in 1627 with relatives at Rowlee in the latter part of the century. Their elevation from within a local community comprising other yeoman farmers to a high-status house, architecturally designed and with a walled garden, would no doubt have been discussed with some passion by their peers. To reinforce to visitors and, on a more daily basis, to themselves how real their social standing

was, they displayed their recently acquired coat of arms along with the date 1672 above the Hall's main door.

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

6.7 Movement: Within and Without

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

6.7.1 Through Routes

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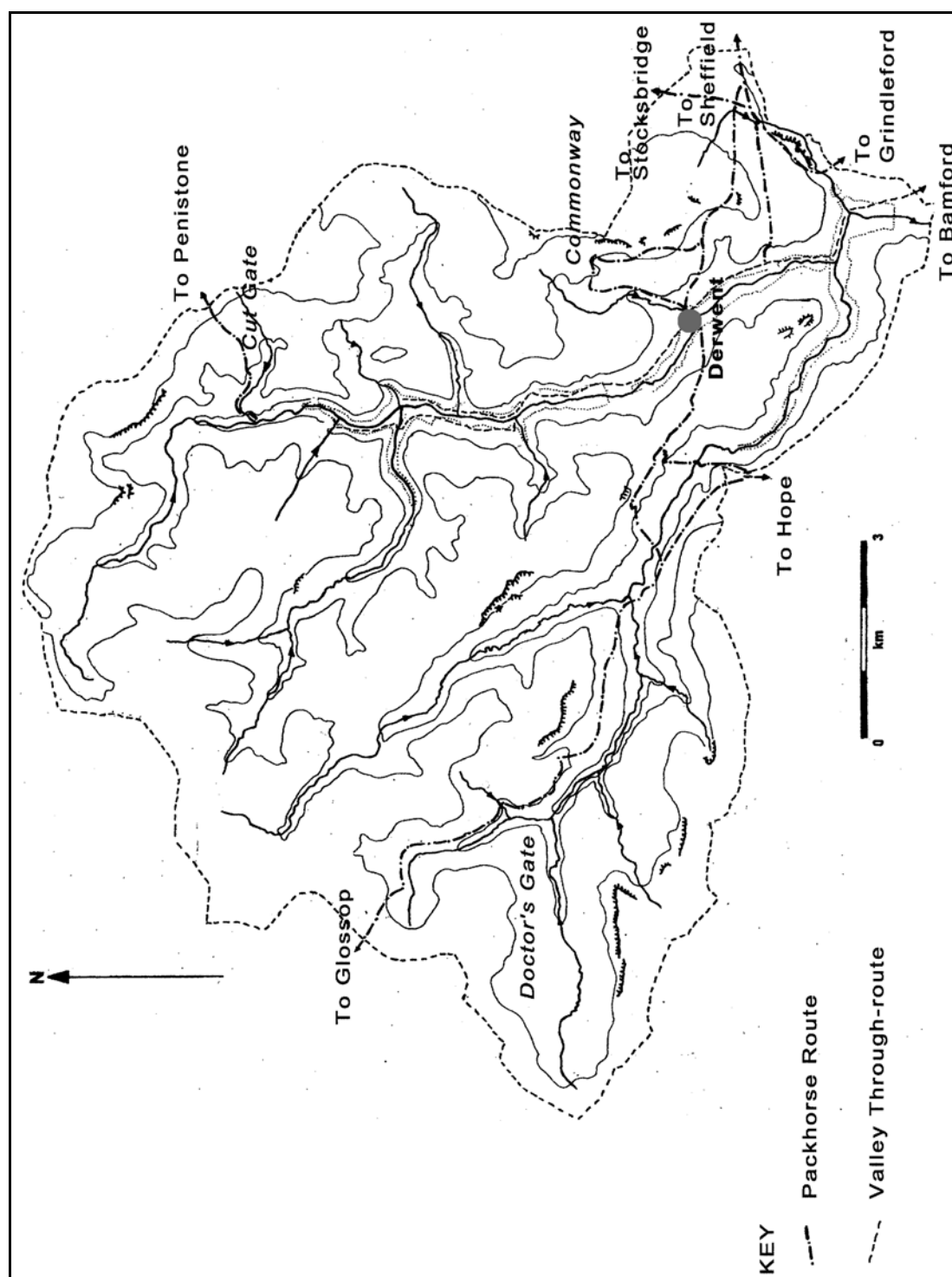
Illustration 6.7. Long-distance packhorse routes and valley through-routes in the Upper Derwent

6.7.2 Farmstead Integration into Wider Lines of Communication

The local through-routes provided access between settlements, long-distance routes and fields, woods and moors at a distance. The local trackway network also facilitated or constrained a variable set of social interactions between farmstead occupants and with strangers. Settlements were either situated on the line of a through-route or connected to a

through-route via a short access road. In the Woodlands Valley most settlements were connected to one of the through routes by a network of farmstead access routes. In Derwent Valley, 15 farmsteads were adjacent to one of the valley through-routes, while the remainder were connected to their nearest valley-long route via short access roads.

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

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

6.7.3 Long-Distance and Packhorse Routes

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

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

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

During the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, work was undertaken on Doctor's Gate and the Derwent to Sheffield route to improve their maintenance and waymarking. I have already discussed the Talbot family's recorded responsibility to maintain the Hope to Glossop route in the early 16th century (see section 513. Dodd and Dodd 1980). Sections of cobbling on the moorlands above the Snake Pass may be the work of the Talbots (Photograph 6.13). This may have been the last time the Talbot family were responsible for maintaining Doctor's Gate. Many landowners had not maintained routeways since the Dissolution of the monasteries, and in England in 1555 responsibility for road maintenance was transferred to parishes by Act of Parliament (Newman 2001). Every householder in a parish – or, in large parishes, a township – had to provide annual labour repairing highways (Hey 1980).
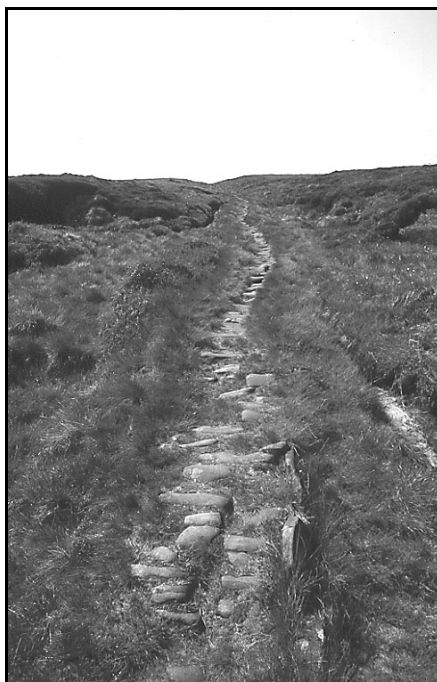
Photograph 6.13. Cobbling on Doctor's Gate where it crosses moorland near Snake Pass

In 1697, an Act of Parliament formalised the erection of guideposts (ibid). The Act called for county justices of the peace (JPs) to erect guideposts, where crossroads were remote from villages. Derbyshire JPs waited until 1709 to enforce the Act. Works on other routes in the Upper Derwent would have been undertaken under the auspices of the parishes and counties. The Derwent to Sheffield route was also paved across a number of boggy places below Derwent Edge, and after reaching Derwent hamlet the route continued across the River Derwent via a stone bridge built in 1682 reputedly to replace a medieval bridge (Dodd and Dodd 1980). Two guidestones survive as markers of the route. Both are situated near to Moscar House. One is a roughly dressed unmarked stone post while the other is dressed and inscribed on three sides (Photograph 6.14). The west face bears 'SHEFEILD ROAD 7M EB', the east face 'T[S?] STO[N or H] ROAD IL 1737' and the north 'OP [R]OAD 9M'. These inscriptions are road signs, containing as the name of the section of road the destination it is heading towards, the distance to that location, the date the post was erected or inspected (1737) and two sets of initials (EB and IL). The destinations are Penistone and Hope (Smith 1993). The initials are likely to be those of the parish or county surveyor or road commissioners. Cart Gate was surveyed in 1741 to record its condition, when it was noted that the path was wide in places because people from the Upper Derwent and Woodlands valleys used it to take carts to the market in Penistone (Ward 1927b). Most of the route is unsuitable for wheeled carts because of the

rugged terrain it traverses, and it is likely that packhorses, sledges or small carts set on runners were used instead.

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

The packhorse routes took people first to the neighbouring towns of Sheffield, Penistone, Stannington, Hope and Glossop, where there were burgeoning markets for agricultural produce to supply growing urban populations. Some markets were medieval foundations while others were established after the 16th century. The networks that they formed with other routes spread their reach further afield to cities, ports and other countries. Markets were some of the main places for the occupants of the Upper Derwent to interact with this wider world (Newman 2001). Sheep, cattle and other agricultural produce were taken to market for sale, where prices were determined by both local and national demands. News of such major events as the Spanish Armada, Civil War or the Great Plague, could be heard, debated and argued over. Everyday provisions not grown in the valleys and the increasing range of consumer goods could be bought. These included the new tablewares, furniture, clothes and recently discovered plants from the Americas (Glennie 1995; Johnson 1996). Small numbers of clay-pipe fragments have been found by fieldwalking in

the Upper Derwent and one discovered at Hollin Clough Farm is thought to be late 16th/early 17th century in date (Oswald 1975; Peacey 1982).

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

The commercial profits from selling goods helped the towns grow. The larger and better trade-networked towns had the greater range and more fashionable items. Towns also developed into the main centres for manufacturing as industrial production increased, grew in scale and became more specialised (Glennie 1990). Sheffield in the 16th century was an unincorporated town so was administered through the manorial court and a group of town trustees (Postles 1983). It was a part-agrarian, part-industrial town in the 16th century, and the importance of its market can be seen in the central positioning of a triangular market place, approached by two streets and comprising a court chamber, shops, a meat market and butchers in 1571 (ibid). Throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, Sheffield expanded by building on its medieval metalworking base and utilising the plentiful resources of wood and water for fuel and power (Hey 1998). The city population increased from 2,207 in 1616 to 10,121 in 1736 (ibid), a quadrupling of size that established a substantial market for agricultural produce from surrounding regions. By the early 18th century, Sheffield had become a predominantly industrial town, with iron smelting and working replacing agriculture in importance to the economic and social character of Sheffield (Hopkinson 1961). The Sheffield area was highly attractive to industrialists because of the large reserves of ironstone, numerous swift-flowing watercourse for power and extensive woodlands. The early 17th century was a period of rapid forge and furnace construction, and they spread, along with cutlers and other workshops, along its many valleys. By the end of the 17th century, there were five working iron foundries producing

approximately 560t of iron in South Yorkshire (ibid). The increasing significance of metalworking, especially the production of edge-tools, in the 17th century is demonstrated by the founding of the Company of Cutlers in 1624, a guild that regulated the industry and had a considerable influence in the administration of the city. Connections between Sheffield and the Upper Derwent had been established along a packhorse route in the medieval period, so the city was one potential market for local farmers. In 1693 the large Attercliffe Forge bought charcoal from a Widow Aaron of Derwent for 6d (Whittingham 1996). This small purchase was a forerunner of much larger-scale charcoal production to come in the later 18th century (see section 7.10). In the next centuries, the city's rapidly growing forges and labouring population would have a significant influence on the use and perception of the Upper Derwent landscape.

6.8 Discussion

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

The new landowners of the post-Dissolution period had a major influence on how the landscape was used and perceived from the mid-16th to 17th centuries. It may be thought that the experiences of Thomas Eyre at Crookhill in the early 15th century were the same as those of Robert Eyre, a descendant who lived in the farmhouse in 1627 (see section 5.5.2.1). Though they occupied the same farmstead, the social conditions in which they lived had altered during the intervening generations. Thomas Eyre had been a tenant of an Abbey, living within the Royal Forest of the Peak. In many ways, the Abbey's renting out of its grange was part of a wider change in medieval landholding that became established in the early 17th century as a social hierarchy of landlord, small freeholder, tenant farmer and landless agricultural labourer. This created different social experiences of land and, therefore, different perceptions about landscape. The social identity of early post-medieval landowners in Britain was related to the management of their estates, and they saw themselves as part of a national ruling class who were substantially defined by their

property as land became the basis of economic wealth. This was fundamentally connected to national development of an increasingly capital-based market economy and the commodification of goods.

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

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

In many ways the settlement pattern is typical of the uplands of Britain where hamlets and individual farmsteads dominated the valley landscape. Dispersed farmsteads continued to dominate the local settlement pattern, alongside which Derwent hamlet maintained its service role to the wider community. However, the uplands were not one single-character landscape and there was a great deal of variability between and within regions. Variability in the Upper Derwent evidence can be seen at a range of differing scales. When comparing areas in the High Peak, the Upper Derwent's pattern of isolated farmsteads, a single hamlet

and woodlands is different to the clustering of farmsteads into booths in unwooded Edale. This relates to differences in the management of a 13th century expansion of settlement into the High Peak under manorial and Crown involvement (see Chapter 5). At the local scale, differences are apparent in the establishment of 17th century landownership and the organisation of moorland commons between Hope Woodlands and Derwent townships. Hope Woodlands was a single estate held by the same family over a period of centuries, while Derwent was divided amongst a number of landowners and ownership of landholdings changed hands over time. Moving closer in resolution there are differences between Alport Dale and the rest of Hope Woodlands township in terms of the spatial relationships between settlements and division of the landholdings. While the four Alport farmsteads were nucleated within a partial enclosure and had fields irregularly distributed amongst farmed land that contained very little woodland, elsewhere in Hope Woodlands, farmsteads were dispersed individually within a much more wooded landscape and each had a unified block of walled pasture, woodland and moorland. So while there were significant transformation in wider economic and political institutions, how they affected rural landscapes was related to local histories of settlement, land-use and landownership.

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

Routines of agricultural production worked outwards from the farmstead, giving both a spatial and temporal pattern to the inhabitation of the landscape. Some of the most crucial farming activities were undertaken at the farmstead: produce and equipment were stored, while livestock were born and culled. Beyond the farmstead the landscape was dominated

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

Successive generations expanded the enclosed farmland by taking in more land from woodland and moorland, so pushing the boundary of intensively managed land higher and higher up the valley sides. As a new household head took over a farm tenancy, whether by inheritance or application to the landowner, they were coming into an enclosed landscape with its own historical trajectory, which they may have known something about through direct experience in their own lifetimes, or by storytelling, myths and traditions for earlier periods. Any new enclosure they undertook in the following years was within the context of these traditions, that is, of building upon their 'inheritance', linked to prevailing opportunities. Most farmers during these centuries did not see the complete and final form of the farm as we do now on 19th century maps. Instead, they occupied a farm that had reached its current state over preceding generations and provided the prospect of expansion in the future through converting adjacent rough land into worked farmland by draining, clearing and enclosing.

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

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