DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

CASTLETON

Gill Stroud
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1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   The assessment report

This assessment report forms part of the Extensive Urban Survey Programme, an English Heritage funded initiative to assist local planning authorities with the conservation of their urban archaeological resource. Castleton is one of a series of small towns and large villages in Derbyshire selected for such assessment.

The report is a desk-based survey, the scope of which includes both above and below ground archaeological remains of all periods, using information from the County Sites and Monuments Record, local histories, early maps and plan form analysis, with the results presented as a series of maps generated by GIS. It forms the foundation for an archaeological management strategy which can be adopted by the local planning authority as supplementary planning guidance.

1.2   Overview of the town

Castleton lies in the north-west of the county, some 10 miles from Buxton, 16 miles from Sheffield and 28 miles from Manchester. The castle from which the settlement takes its name was a major defensive structure standing on a crag above the valley, and is mentioned in Domesday Book. Castleton itself, although now considered a village, was originally planned as a commercial venture, probably some time in the 12th century. As such it is of considerable archaeological and historical significance. The new town, which was already being referred to as a borough in 1196, was surrounded by a substantial earthwork, outside which a medieval hospital was founded. Within the defences streets were laid out in a grid-like plan, with a large, roughly central market place adjoining the parish church, probably surrounded by burgage plots. Although some new development has taken place, elements of this medieval layout are still visible today. The ruins of the castle stand above the village, while parts of the town defences survive and are scheduled monuments. The market place is no longer the focus of commercial activity, but is clearly identifiable despite encroachment, and a number of attractive stone-built houses survive from the 17th century onwards. As a result, modern Castleton is one of the most popular tourist centres in the Peak District National Park.

2.   GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Castleton lies at the northern extremity of the limestone area known as the White Peak, close to its boundary with the gritstone that forms the Dark Park to the north. There are a number of caves within the limestone, some occurring naturally as the result of water dissolution, others man-made as the result of mining activities. Numerous mineral veins outcrop on the limestone, and there is a long history of mining for both lead ore and Blue John fluorspar, the latter since the mid 18th century and the former probably since Roman times. Small quantities of blende and calamine have also been found, and more recently fluorspar, barites and calcite have been worked (Ford & Rieuwerts 2000).

The castle from which the village takes its name stands on a limestone crag at a little over 250m AOD. The village itself lies on the shale and clay floor of the Hope Valley some 50m below, bounded to the west and north by the stream that issues from Peak Cavern.

3.   ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Castleton originally lay in *Hamenstan* wapentake, a single administrative area that was later divided into High Peak and Wirksworth wapentakes (Roffe 1986), Castleton falling into the area of the former. It now lies in the Borough of High Peak and within the boundaries of the Peak District National Park.

4.   SOURCES

4.1   Primary sources

Primary sources were not generally used in the compilation of this assessment. However, a brief search revealed that the Derbyshire Record Office holds some archive material relating to Castleton. This includes the parish records from 1647, some title deeds of the 17th to 20th centuries, sale catalogues of 19th and 20th century date, 18th and 19th century rentals and accounts of various estates, some business records, mainly of the 19th century, and a number of lead-mining related documents. Some earlier material can be found in Sheffield Archives, including a relatively large number of deeds from at least the 15th century. These are held in various different collections, for example the Oakes Deeds, The Tibbitts Collection, the Bagshaw Collection, the Loan Deposit Collection and the Miscellaneous Documents Collection.

Some primary documentation relating to Castleton is held at the Public Record Office. A quick search on the online catalogue produced 37 hits within the records of the Duchy of Lancaster alone; other collections probably also include relevant material. Blanchard (1967) refers to there being some court rolls of Castleton in the Rutland MSS held at Belvoir Castle – it is possible that other material is held there also.

Kiernan (1989) records 244 wills and probate inventories for Castleton chapelry dating between 1535 and 1700 held at Lichfield Joint Record Office.

4.2   Secondary sources

There are numerous published booklets and pamphlets about Castleton, generally written for tourists and visitors. Some use early postcards and photographs as their basis, some concentrate on walks in and around the town, signposting buildings of interest, while others concentrate particularly on providing information about the castle or about the various caverns that can be visited. The castle already attracted attention in the 19th century, and Kirke (1906) summarises those articles published up to that point, as well as reproducing a sketch of the castle as it appeared in around 1662 which he had discovered in the Bodleian at Oxford. Similarly Peak Cavern was a focus for visitors from as early as the 17th century, and features in many early travellers' descriptions and published guides to the Peak District.

A brief but useful summary of Castleton's history was written (although not published) in the early 1980s by the then County Archivist, Joan Sinar, apparently mainly using published documents, although these are only referenced in a general way. A copy is held in the County Sites and Monuments Record.

The Local Studies Library at Matlock has a number of newsletters produced by the Castleton Historical Society Newsletter around the late 1970s/early 1980s. These record that members at that time were involved in 1) research into the history of the public houses and ale houses of Castleton; 2) producing a plan of the graveyard and a record of graves and burials and 3) mapping and photographing the mill leet.

4.3   Cartographic evidence

The earliest representation of Castleton is dated 1639 and depicts the town schematically as a church, a number of scattered houses and the castle (reproduced in Cox 1907b). A more detailed representation, albeit still schematic, is shown on a map of 1775. However, the earliest surviving map to provide a detailed depiction of the town and its plots is dated 1819, followed by the tithe map of 1841.

4.4   Archaeological evidence

There are 26 entries on the Sites and Monuments Records (SMR) database which fall within the boundaries defined for the Extensive Urban Survey. Archaeological field surveys of the surrounding area have been carried out, two of which fall partly within these boundaries and provide additional information (Barnatt 1992; Ullathorne 2002). An archaeological survey of Losehill Hall Parkland and Gardens forms part of a Restoration Management Plan for the site (Smith *et al* 1994). In addition, several pieces of archaeological intervention, generally watching briefs, have taken place at Castleton (Trent & Peak Archaeological Trust 1993, Wagner 2001, Daryl Garton pers. comm.)

5.   HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1   Prehistoric

Evidence of prehistoric activity comes both from Castleton itself and from the surrounding area, as shown on Figure 1. The distribution of surviving evidence is markedly skewed towards the high limestone plateau on the southern side of the town, with an almost complete absence of evidence at present from the land in the valley to the north, where archaeological sites are more likely to have been destroyed as a result of medieval and later agricultural activity. The single exception is a possible retouched flint tool found at Losehill Hall (Wagner 2001). This has not yet been incorporated into the SMR and is shown as site 'A' on Figure 1. Evidence from Castleton itself is mainly restricted to Peveril Castle, where part of a Neolithic polished axe of fine volcanic rock was found during excavations in 1936 (SMR 3302). Further finds are reported as having come from near the castle, but since the findspots are unknown, they are not shown on Figure 1. They consist of three scrapers of Neolithic or Bronze Age date, two of flint and one of chert, which were found in 'soil in the west field' at Peveril Castle (SMR 3301), while a looped socketed axe from the Bronze Age, in Derby Museum, was supposedly found near the Castle (SMR 3313).

Cave exploration by Rooke-Pennington in the Castleton area during the later part of the 19th century produced material from Neolithic to Bronze Age date. Cave Dale Cave, a small cave just underneath the keep of Peveril Castle extending inwards about eleven feet, was excavated by Pennington who found a bronze axe now in Bolton Museum, a piece of jet, fragments of prehistoric pottery, charcoal, a bone comb and human and animal bones. Below stalagmite he found flint implements and human and animal bones (SMR 3307). Another cave nearby called the "Creep Hole" was explored in 1875. It consisted of a passage running into the rock from Cave Dale, which then passed into a small cavern. At the entrance to the passage, animal bones and one half of a perforated sandstone hammer were found (SMR 3308). In addition, a stone axe was found in the scree from one of the caves, possibly around the same time (SMR 3306).

Further evidence for caves in the White Peak having been used for burial in the Neolithic period comes from Treak Cliff, to the west of Castleton, where the remains of at least three individuals were found by workmen mining for fluorspar in 1921. The site of the discovery had originally been a cave, the roof of which had collapsed. Further examination of the site at that time produced a red deer antler pick and a small polished and re-chipped stone axe of probable Neolithic date (SMR 3303). The stone axe is believed to be in Stockport Museum. Another stone axe reported to have come from Treak Cliff Cave is in Sheffield Museum (SMR 3394).

Evidence for Bronze Age burial in the area comes from a couple of barrows. To the south-east of Castleton lies Dirt Low (SMR 3340). This barrow was excavated by Pennington in 1873 and was found to contain both inhumations and cremations. Other material included a flint axe (SMR 3339), a bronze ring, a jet bead, a quartz pebble and a quartz hammerstone. Some of the cremated bone was animal, mixed with one of the human cremations. To the east is a large, flat-topped circular mound known as 'The Folly', probably a Bronze Age round barrow (SMR 8104). The site is a scheduled ancient monument (SAM 23268). Flints and a stone axe of Neolithic date have been found at the site in the past (SMR 8105).   To the west, the site of a possible round barrow had been identified in the past in an area to the south of

Winnats Head Farm; however, a more recent survey of the area failed to identify a barrow and it may represent a misinterpretation of a natural knoll, of which there are several nearby (SMR 3344).

In addition to the above, a number of stray finds of Neolithic and Bronze Age date have been found. To the north-west, a discoidal polished flint knife of Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date was found on Little Mam Tor some time before 1877 (SMR 3309). To the west, two Neolithic stone axes have been found, one at the bottom of the Winnats and one in the scree from one of the caves there (SMR 3305), while south of the town, in Cave Dale, a Neolithic flint leaf-shaped arrowhead was found in 1974 (SMR 3312) and a Bronze Age discoidal scraper made of a cherty flint was found in or before 1945 (SMR 3354). Still in Cave Dale, but closer to Castleton, a bronze flat axe was found in 1873. It was unusual in having a stop ridge all the way around (SMR 3342). Further finds have been recorded but are not shown on Figure 1, as their findspots are unknown. They include a collared urn fragment, from the Boyd-Dawkins Collection, now in Manchester Museum, with a siting no closer than 'Castleton' (SMR 3314), a stone mace-head, now in Sheffield City Museum, said to have been found 'near Castleton' (SMR 3341) and nineteen arrowheads (nine leaf-shaped, ten barbed and tanged), probably from several different sites around Castleton, found prior to 1888 and now in Bolton Museum (SMR 3310, SMR 3311).

There is very little conclusive evidence of Iron Age activity in the close vicinity of Castleton, although the major Iron Age hillfort of Mam Tor lies only some 2.5km to the north-west. However in three areas earthwork enclosures have been identified in the past which may be of prehistoric, possibly Iron Age, date. The first of these was said to lie south of the Winnats road, a quarter of a mile west of Castleton (SMR 3323). A second site lay closer to the town, near Goosehill Hall, with three enclosures having been identified from an aerial photograph in *c.* 1972 (SMR 3349). The third site lies to the south-east, where an irregular enclosure has been located at the head of Pindale (SMR 3335). The surviving enclosure wall is built of boulder blocks and building platforms appear to be visible within it (Bevan 2000). The wall is not typical of Romano-British enclosures and the age is therefore not known, although it has been recorded as of possible Iron Age date.

5.2   Roman

Evidence of activity in the Roman period has been found both from Castleton itself and from the surrounding area, as shown on Figure 1. Material recovered at Castleton has all come from in or close to the castle. In around 1820 a number of Roman coins, including a gold coin of Augustus, were found in rubble which had fallen away a little below the keep following heavy rain (SMR 3321) while in the 1950s a bronze coin of Constantine I was found during clearance on the castle site by the Department of the Environment (SMR 3326). A stone head which was found loose in the castle may also be of Roman date, although this is uncertain (SMR 3350). It appears to be an outlier to a distribution of stone heads which clusters around Glossop (Hart 1981).

The Romans are known to have extracted lead from Derbyshire, as indicated by numerous finds of lead pigs which originated there, although no workings of Roman date have been identified with any certainty, probably owing to the extensive activity of later miners. One of the Derbyshire lead pigs is said to have been found near Castleton (SMR 3338), although the exact findspot is unknown and cannot therefore be shown in Figure 1. In fact, some doubt has been cast on this record by Haverfield (1905) who considered that there had been a misunderstanding, and that the lead pig had actually been found on Hints Common in Staffordshire in 1772.

Further material of Roman date has been found at Bradwell, to the south-east of Castleton. In 1929 a denarius of Vespasian was found in a lump of clay while digging the foundations for a building near the cement works (SMR 2208). From the same area there are two records (SMR 2215, SMR 2229) which refer to the finding of coins in Hadfield's Quarry in Pindale in *c.* 1936, although since they appear to relate to the same event, only the former has been shown on Figure 1. Eighteen coins, including one of Constantine the Great, were found, although it seems that only one coin survived, the remainder having been accidentally dissolved in spirits of salts.

5.3   Early medieval (c. 410 AD – 1065)

Domesday Book (see section 5.4.1 below) indicates that prior to 1066 there was already some settlement on the site of what later became Castleton, under divided lordship, although this may have consisted of little more than a couple of farmsteads. It is described as being *in Pechefers*, translated by some as meaning in the Peak Forest, but in fact more likely to be an error in transcription for *Pechesers*, Peak's Arse, referring to Peak Cavern. Nothing is currently known of this original settlement, however, and the only evidence of early medieval date from Castleton comes in the form of a styca of Ethelred II found on the hill adjacent to Peveril Castle in the early 19th century (SMR 3320). Several small lead objects which were found at the same time may well be of a later date.

An important monument of this period lies to the south-east of Castleton. This is the Grey Ditch, a linear earthwork consisting of a bank and ditch which runs intermittently for a distance of some 1.6km, essentially crossing the valley of the Bradwell Brook and laid out to command all approaches from the Hope Valley. One of its prime objectives may have been to bar Batham Gate, a Roman road running out of *Navio* fort, which would pass between the two middle stretches of the earthwork. It has been generally accepted that the ditch may have been built as a frontier work some time in the 5th to 7th centuries, during a period of political instability following the Roman withdrawal. Excavations in 1992 did not challenge this interpretation although they were unable to confirm the dating beyond showing that the bank and ditch were no earlier than the late 2nd century (Guilbert & Taylor 1992). SMR 2221, shown on Figure 1, represents the westernmost end of the Grey Ditch, with an apparently original terminal. It is a scheduled monument (SAM 81)

It has been suggested that a similar linear earthwork lies south-east of Mam Tor, to the north-west of Castleton (SMR 3393). A short piece of bank and ditch was identified and its position, as a barrier to the plateau, led to the suggestion that it was of the character of Grey Ditch and hence of similar date. However, the extensive land slip and surface quarrying in the area means that the earthwork is now difficult to recognise.

5.4   Medieval (1066-15th century)

5.4.1   Domesday Book

Castleton formed part of the estates of William Peverel at the time of the Domesday survey in 1086, although the settlement was not known by that name until later. The Domesday record is as follows:

> '*M. In PEAK'S ARSE Arnbern and Hunding held the land of William Peverel's castle. They had 2 c. of land taxable. Land for 2 ploughs. Now in lordship 4 ploughs; 3 villagers with 1 plough. Meadow, 8 acres. Value before 1066, 40s; now 50s.*
> (Domesday Book, Phillimore edition).

5.4.2   The manor

Castleton was one of a number of Derbyshire manors held by William Peverel. The manor remained with the Peverel family until the reign of Henry II, when their estates were forfeited to the crown following the poisoning of the Earl of Chester. The castle and manor then essentially remained with the crown, although they were sometimes bestowed as gifts for varying lengths of time. The castle was given to Eleanor of Castile as part of her dowry in *c.* 1254 and then granted to Simon de Montfort in 1264, although it reverted to the crown the following year. In 1272 the castle and Honour of the Peak were leased to Queen Eleanor for £100. Edward II gave them to his favourite, Gaveston, then granting them to the Earl of Warren after Gaveston's murder. They were later included with the dowry of Joan Plantaganet on her wedding to David II of Scotland. In 1372 the castle and manor were bestowed by Edward III on John of Gaunt and so became incorporated into the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the accession of Henry IV these estates reverted to the Crown by absorption (Evans 1948).

5.4.3   Communications

The choice of routes of communication in the past would have been severely limited by the nature of the landscape in north Derbyshire and major medieval routes probably followed earlier tracks, possibly prehistoric in origin. The road from Chapel-en-le-Frith down the Winnats Pass to Castleton and then further east, is believed to be one such early route across the Pennines. This route was one of the saltways from Cheshire leading from Macclesfield across the Peak towards Sheffield; Hey (1980) suggests the salters rested overnight at Hope rather than at Castleton, as there was a Salter Barn and a Salter Furlong and fields with salter names attached seem to have provided grazing stops for the horses.

The road leaving Castleton at Townhead in the south-east, passing along the Siggat to Pindale and then south via Litton, has been proposed by Heaf (1999) as a main medieval and later cross-country drovers way from the important towns of Castleton and Hope to Bakewell, Matlock, Derby and Nottingham.

A recent archaeological survey identified the remains of a major early routeway associated with the outer bailey of the castle. This led across the open commons or waste, providing access to the castle from settlements within the estate to the south-west and possibly also providing a gentle-gradient route via Cave Dale from Castleton and the Hope Valley (Barnatt 1992).

5.4.4   The settlement and its environs

While some settlement was already present before the conquest and certainly continued into the 12th century, attracted by the castle, it appears that Castleton in the form in which it has survived was a deliberately planned and fortified borough with a market. The first reference to this is in 1196, when the Pipe Rolls record a payment of four marks '*de cremento burgi de Alto Pech*'. By 1255 there were 43⅜ burgages and 71 stall holders there (Hart 1981). It is referred to as *villata de Pecco* in 1210, but by 1275 had acquired its modern name, as a document of that date records it as *Castilton*, clearly taking its name from the castle which overlooked it. Nevertheless, forms similar to *villata de Pecco* also continued to be used for a time as an alternative to the English name (Cameron 1959).

Castleton was situated in the Royal Forest of the Peak, in good hunting country. Although the Forest was formally created in the Norman period, it probably had earlier origins, a large portion of it having formed part of the royal manor of Hope in the early medieval period. The Royal Forest of the Peak had its own laws and forest officials, with Castleton being one of the places where courts were held and Peveril Castle being used on some occasions as a prison for offenders against forest laws (Barnatt & Smith 1997).

The medieval town had open fields and meadows lying in the valley to the west, north and east, with commons and waste on the higher ground to the south and above the fields. There were at least two open arable fields, Mamsitch Field to the north-west, referred to in 1378, and Spittlefield to the north-east, documented in *c.* 1300 (Cameron 1959). Evidence of these survives in the form of earthwork ridge and furrow and in the fossilisation of strips by later field walls. The town itself was surrounded by a bank and ditch, part of which still survives.

In addition to a church, a hospital and a corn mill (see below), the medieval town probably included a vicarage, instituted at the end of the 13th century, and a hall or manor house, as there is a reference in 1323 to the *Aula* and in 1336 to the *Halle de Castilton* (Cameron 1959). Information about the location of one of the houses comes from *amercements de vert* in 1284 which include references to Henry Undercliff of Castleton and to a certain Batecok by the Brook of Castleton (Yeatman 1895).

5.4.5   Markets and fairs

The grant of a market, to be held on a Wednesday, was made to Simon Peche in 1222/3 (Coates 1965), although the fact that Castleton is referred to as a borough in 1196 indicates that a market was already being held at that time. In 1245, the grant of a Thursday market was made. This has been described as a

second market (Coates 1965); however, it appears that the day was being changed from Wednesday to Thursday, rather than an additional market being created (Letters 2001).

A prescriptive fair or fairs were being held by 1215, as there is a record of that date noting the fact that due to the war, an unspecified number of fairs were not held. A fair was recorded on 15 Jun 1254 (Letters 2001).

It seems likely that markets and fairs were no longer held in the later medieval period, as court rolls from the time of Henry VI to Henry VIII make no mention of them (Blanchard 1967).

5.4.6   Church

There is no mention of a church in Domesday Book; however, it appears that one was built shortly afterwards, probably by William Peverel. In 1269 Prince Edward founded the Abbey of Dernhall in Cheshire, as the result of a vow he had made when in danger on the sea, with Castleton church (*ecclesia de Castro de Pecke*) forming a part of the new abbey's endowments. The Abbey of Dernhall was translated 27 years later to Vale Royal, also in Cheshire, the grants (including Castleton church) being transferred at the same time (Cox 1877).

5.4.7   Peveril Castle

As seen above, Domesday Book clearly indicates that there was a castle at Castleton by 1086, although the earliest definite entry in the Pipe Rolls is 1157, being a payment made to a porter and two watchmen. By this time ownership of the castle had reverted to the crown, and it was visited by Henry II in 1157, when he received the submission of Malcolm IV, King of Scotland, with further royal visits in 1158 and 1164. In 1173 the rising of the barons meant that royal castles generally were ordered to be provisioned and garrisoned and this is recorded in the Pipe Rolls for that year, with 20 seams of corn and 20 bacons being provided for the castle. Unspecified strengthening works were also carried out in 1173 and 1174. In 1175 a 'chamber in the castle' was built and the following year the keep, or Tower as it was called at the time, was constructed (Hope 1889). During the reign of Henry II more than £282 was spent on new buildings and repairs, of which £135 was spent on the keep alone. Some £80 was spent during John's reign, while Henry III visited the castle on several occasions, for example in 1235-6 and in 1264. The castle reached its full extent and importance under Edward I, who visited several times, but it probably began to suffer neglect and decay from the 14th century. By that time new forms of castle were being constructed which dispensed with a keep and offered more comfortable accommodation, but which required a larger site than that on which Peveril Castle stood. As a result, its function as a fortress and residence declined, although it was put to use as a prison for a time (Kirke 1906).

5.4.8   Hospital

A medieval hospital, known as 'The Hospital of the Castle of Peak' and dedicated to St Mary the Blessed Virgin, was founded just outside Castleton. It is thought to have been founded in the early 12th century, supposedly by the wife of one of the Peverels, although it is not known which one. This was a period when the founding of hospitals for lepers and other infirm people had become a popular charitable exercise (Turbutt 1999). The hospital appears as a royal foundation in John of Gaunt's register dated 1372-1376 and was one of the lesser hospitals, being valued at £3 and 4 bushels of oatmeal in 1377.

5.4.9   Trade and industry

Lead mining

Indirect evidence suggests that lead mining was taking place at Odin Mine to the north-east of Castleton as early as the mid-13th century while at Dirtlow Rake, to the south of the town, there are 'immense, hand-picked opencuts' at the north-eastern end of the vein which, although they cannot be accurately dated, were probably productive in the medieval period (Rieuwerts 1987).

Other

There is a reference to a corn mill at Castleton in accounts covering the period May 1243 to Michaelmas 1244, when four and a half marks per annum were received from the mill or mills of *castri de pecco* (Bryant 1990).

As noted above, by the mid 13th century Castleton was a thriving market town, with a considerable number of burgesses and market stall holders. This suggests the presence of a variety of tradesmen and craftsmen, although there is currently no specific evidence for any of them.

5.5   Post-medieval (16th - 18th century)

5.5.1   The manor

The manor remained part of the crown estates, being leased out, in particular to the Dukes of Devonshire (Evans 1948). The advowson of the church was separate from the manor, being held by the Abbey of Vale Royal until the dissolution. It was then given to the Bishop of Chester, with whom it remained until the 19th century.

5.5.2   Communications

Heaf (1999, 10) noted various references in post-medieval documents to routes called Castlegate and Castleway from a number of different settlements, for example from Middleton and Foolow. Although other locations had been proposed for the castle at the end destinations of these routes, he considered that none would have generated enough traffic to justify its use in more than a local road name. He therefore concluded that 'There were many different ways, suitable for different types of travellers, that could be called Castlegate or Castleway' and that they all led 'to or near to Castleton'.

An Act for the turnpiking of the Sheffield to Sparrowpit Gate road was passed in 1758, running via Hathersage and Castleton and the Winnats Pass, following the line of the medieval routeway. This was a long and relatively primitive turnpike road which eventually proved unprofitable, but nevertheless it improved one of the major routes across the Peak District (Radley & Penny 1972).

5.5.3   The settlement and its environs

In the 1630s freeholders in the Peak Forest petitioned to improve the wastes

> 'wishing to be freed from the severity of the Forest Laws and the incomodiousness of
> Deers lying and feeding in their Corn and Grass' (Bowles 1902, 40).

Consequently in 1640 an agreement was made which divided the wastes, including those around Castleton and nearby Hope and Bradwell, into the King's and the tenants' parts. The Forest was taken to have been disafforested and the deer were destroyed. However, with the onset of the Civil War nothing further happened and the commons remained unenclosed. Several more attempts were made later in the century, although it was not until the early 18th century that the Castleton freeholders obtained a grant sealing their rights of common (Somerville 1977).

Little appears to be known of the town itself in the early post-medieval period, beyond the fact that there were two licensed alehouses there in 1577 (Hart 1879). However, frequent references occur from the mid-18th century, mainly from the reports of visitors to the Peak Cavern and generally in somewhat disparaging terms. In 1755, for example, it was noted that Castleton 'would be a tolerable looking Place, were it not for the Poverty of the Inhabitants' (Patching 1755, 26). In 1772 the parsonage house was said to be unfit for habitation, being sited on 'low, damp ground' (Austin 1983). Bray, in 1783, described Castleton as 'a

small, poor town, at the foot of a hill', while a visitor in 1796 also thought Castleton 'a poor looking place', noting that there was only one Inn, 'and that a very bad one' (Raistrick 1967).

5.5.4   Population

The diocesan census of 1563 provided a figure of 97 households in the parish of Castleton, which at that time included Edale. Using a multiplier of 4.5-5.0 as an average number of individuals per household, this gives an estimated population of between 437 and 485 individuals for the two parishes (Riden 1978).

The Hearth Tax assessments of 1664 provide a figure that can be used for comparison with the above census figure. At that time there were 106 entries for Castleton (including Losehill), and 48 entries for Edale, giving a total of 154. Using the same multiplier as before, this gives an estimated population of between 693 and 770 individuals, an increase of almost 40%. Similar figures can be derived from the Compton census of 1676, which also included Losehill and Edale into its total figures of 498 conformists and 2 papists. Assuming that the figures represented potential communicants (over 16 years of age) Edwards (1982b) analysed the Compton Census together with the Hearth Tax assessments to provide a total population estimate for the parish, including the chapelry of Edale, of some 700 to 780 individuals.

Minimum figures for Castleton alone, excluding Losehill and Edale, can be derived from the Hearth Tax of 1670, which records 75 chargeable entries, although it does not record exempt households. In 1664 there had been 21 exempt entries recorded for Castleton and Losehill combined, of which one might assume the majority were at Castleton (Edwards 1982a).

Fowkes (1975) analysed the baptism and burial registers for Castleton and suggested a fairly static population in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, followed by a period of considerable natural increase, indicated by a large excess of baptisms over burials, in the second half of the 18th century. The parish registers recorded two particularly serious outbreaks of smallpox in 1753 and 1759, with 23 people dying in three months in the first outbreak.

Pilkington's census of 1789 recorded 182 houses at Castleton, suggesting a population of between 820 and 910. This fits reasonably well with the first 19th century census figure of 843, taken in 1801, while the number of houses appears to have doubled since the Hearth Tax assessments of 1670.

5.5.5   Markets and fairs

There is currently no evidence that Castleton's markets and fairs were held during the post-medieval period.

5.5.6   Hospital

By the 16th century, the hospital may have served little other function than to provide a small income for a non-resident warden, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 the entry for the 'Hospital de Spyttelhowse in Alt' Peke' stated that the average income was only 40s (Cox 1907a, 87). The last warden was in office between 1536-1542, after which the hospital was dissolved.

5.5.7   Education

There appear to have been a couple of endowments towards the schooling of children in 18th century Castleton. Edward Bennett, in his will of 1720, gave part of the rents and profit of a farm at Castleton to bring up and maintain three poor children, with schooling until they were 14. Richard Bagshaw, in his will of 1749, devised a house and garden in Castleton, then in use as a schoolhouse, together with land, to pay a schoolmaster for teaching twelve poor children to read and write (Leach 1907).

5.5.8   Trade and industry

General

The occupations of bridegrooms were recorded in Castleton marriage registers between 1754 and 1811, almost always when these were local men. The greatest number (67) were miners, followed by farmers, husbandmen and yeomen (49). A number were involved in the textile industry (six weavers, two fustian weavers, three flax dressers, a cotton manufacturer, a clothier, a flax spinner, a packthread spinner and four tailors) with a range of additional craftsmen and tradesmen, including three shoemakers, three coopers, three masons, two ropers, two carpenters and a millwright. A petrifactioner was also recorded (Fowkes 1975).

Lead mining

Wills and inventories from Castleton and neighbouring areas contain no references to mining before 1585 and this, together with other evidence, has been taken to indicate that for much of the 16th century there was a degree of stagnation in the High Peak lead mining industry (Kiernan 1989). This situation improved, however. Oden mine, for example, was exploited continuously from the beginning of the 17th century, and was a consistently large producer of lead for at least 150 years. Between five and seven soughs were constructed to serve the mine, the earliest being driven in 1663. In general, the geology was such that most of the lead mines to the south and south-west of Castleton could be worked to some considerable depth before drainage became a problem - impoverishment of the ore or difficulties with haulage and ventilation were likely to become problems before flooding. Artificial drainage was mainly confined to Oden Mine, the north-eastern end of Dirtlow Rake at Pindale Mine and at Peaks Hole Sough. The second half of the 18th century saw significant underground expansion at the mines along Dirtlow Rake. Pindale Mine became waterlogged a little before mid-century and a sough was begun in 1743 from the side of Peaks Hole Water (Rieuwarts 1987)

The varying fortunes of the lead mining industry may be mirrored in the diary of the vicar of Castleton, who was entitled to a third share of the tithes on lead. This records only the Oden mine at work in 1723 but makes it clear that by 1731 mining had commenced in other parts of the parish. From 1733 to 1740 there was apparently no lead mining whatever, or at least he received no tithes from that source. The diary shows rapid fluctuations in this annual income when it recommenced in 1741 (Cox 1880). Similarly there are varying reports as to the number of lead miners. Pilkington (1789, 404) noted that 'The chief support of the inhabitants is derived from the lead mines' while a visitor to the town in 1796 recorded that most inhabitants were miners or 'turners of Derbyshire or Fluor Spar'. On the other hand, Ferber (1776, 481) stated 'The mines of this town are generally poor in ore and employ only about 50 persons …'.

Blue John

Lead ore was not the only material to be extracted from the mines, as the 'Fluor Spar' referred to above was also an important part of the economy. Known more commonly now as Blue John, it is a particularly decorative variety of fluorspar which was worked from the 18th century and used for jewellery and ornaments:

> '… the chief productions of the mines of Castleton are different vitreous spars … The purple spar is the most common … The labourers who work these spars dwell at Derby, Winster, Matlock etc. in other parts of the county. All the pieces of workmanship are transported to Birmingham, where they are mounted in gilt copper and other metals'
> (Ferber 1776, 481).

Cotton and rope/packthread

By at least the mid 18th century, and probably for a time before, the mouth of Peak Cavern was being used by 'packthread-spinners'. Patching (1755, 28) noted

'When we were enter'd ... we saw on each Side divers Huts, and Women busy at their
Spinning-wheels before their Doors; in the Middle a Packthread-Spinner's Ground,
where divers Men and Boys were at Work'.

Similarly, some 30 years later Bray (1783, 200) referred to there being 'a few huts of some packthread
spinners' in the mouth of Peak Cavern.

Also by the second half of the 18th century there appears to have been some involvement in the cotton
industry, presumably on a domestic basis. Pilkington noted that

'Formerly several hands were employed in spinning cotton. But since the invention of
the patent machine by Sir Richard Arkwright this business has greatly declined, and with
it the population of the town' (Pilkington 1789, 404).

However, there seems to have been a mill at Castleton by 1797, as a certain William Newton appears in
fire policy registers as a partner in a small cotton mill there at that time. Whereas the usual type of
Arkwright mill of 1000 spindles would be insured for about £3000, the Castleton mill was only insured for
£950 (Chapman 1969).

Tourism

Peak Cavern had already attracted attention in medieval times and it was listed as one of the seven
Wonders of the Peak in the 17th century. As a result, Castleton began to be visited by parties of visitors;
for example Celia Fiennes visited the cavern in 1697 with a party, at least two of whom had visited it
before. Guiding and entertaining these early tourists provided a source of potential income for local
inhabitants, although not always welcomed by the visitors themselves. In the mid-18th century, for
example, Castleton was described as

'… a Town of Beggars, whose chief Dependence for Subsistence is on every curious
Traveller who comes to visit the Place' (Patching 1755, 26)

while within the cavern itself were 'a Dozen Lads of the Town with Candles in their Hands' singing a carol
from the highest part of the cavern, called the Chancel

'it was their Custom to entertain subterranean Adventurers with those Cantations; for
which they would expect some Gratuity at our Return (p 33)

Others offered to act as guides into the cavern – the same author, clearly not enjoying his visit, refers to the
'old Hags of Guides'.

Other

Bray (1783, 200) refers to two other facets of the economy in the Castleton area, stone quarrying, either for
building purposes or for lime manufacture, and the renting out of pasture:

'The hills on the different sides of the town produce stone of very different quality.
Those on the south, on one of which the castle stands, furnish a stone which is burnt into
lime, and is used for a manure; those on the north yield a grit-stone fit for building. The
hill on the north appears brown and barren when viewed at a distance, but is, in fact, very
good pasture; the *Yorkshire* drovers bring their cattle here in the beginning of *May*, and
keep them all the summer, paying about thirty shillings a head for their feed'.

5.6   19th century

5.6.1   *The manor*

Nineteenth century directories record that the Duke of Devonshire was lessee of the manor under the crown.

5.6.2   Communications

In 1812 the Sparrowpit Gate turnpike road was improved in several ways, one of these being the diversion around the Winnats Pass by constructing a new section of road up the slopes of Mam Tor and then continuing towards Chapel-en-le-Frith via Rushup Edge (Radley & Penny 1972).

The Sheffield and Manchester coaches passed through Castleton daily in 1829 (Glover's Directory); by 1846 an omnibus ran to Sheffield three times a week and by 1857 there were two running every day except Friday. There were also two carriers. These services were damaged by the opening of the railway in the late 1880s, although the nearest station was at Hope, a couple of kilometers away.

5.6.3   Markets and fairs

Although there were no longer any markets being held at Castleton, in 1829 two fairs had recently been established, on April 21 and the first Wednesday in October, for the sale of horses, cattle etc. (Glover's Directory). By 1888 four fairs had been established, namely: the third Wednesday in March, April 21, the first Wednesday in October and the 3rd Wednesday in November (Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, Vol. 1, 1889).

5.6.4   Population

The 10-yearly census, which commenced in 1801, provides the following figures for Castleton:

Year	Population	Houses (unoccupied)
1801	843	198 (13)
1811	931	210 (2)
1821	993	210 (10)
1831	996	200 (22)
1841	941	194 (23)
1851	867	179 (16)
1861	771	167 (22)
1871	678	160 (28)
1881	650	147 (32)
1891	541	136 (27)
1901	547	130 (29)

These figures show the population and housing stock rising over the course of the first three decades of the 19th century. However, both begin to decline steadily, to the extent that by the end of the century the population had almost halved.

5.6.5   Religion

In 1809 the Wesleyan Methodists built a chapel at Castleton, followed in 1833 by the Primitive Methodists. (Bagshaw's Directory 1846). A new Wesleyan chapel was built in 1898, when the Primitive Methodists seem to have moved into the 1809 Wesleyan building (Sinar n.d.).

5.6.6   Education

In 1829 Glover records two Sunday schools, one at the church and one at the Methodist chapel, as well as the endowed day-school that had been established in the 18th century. This was later taught on the

National Plan (White's Directory 1857) and moved into a new school building erected on Back Street in 1862 (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

5.6.7   Trade and industry

The various industries present in the 18th century continued to be important into the 19th century. Glover's Directory of 1829, for example, describes employment deriving from agriculture, the mines, cotton weaving, twine spinning and other trades and handicrafts, as well as from tourism.

Fletcher (1971) studied the census enumerators' books for 1851 for the Hope Valley, of which the parish of Castleton formed a part. Castleton appeared to be primarily an industrial village, with many more lead miners and mill workers than farmers, and was dependent to a high degree on local tradesmen. The village was large enough to support extensive ranges of shops 'and Castleton's seasonal tourist trade not only kept the spar shops in business but provided a welcome boost to the village's numerous inns'. Some 50 or 60 individuals from Castleton walked daily to Edale cotton mill, a considerable journey of several miles over rugged country. Rope making was still being carried out at Castleton to supply a wider market. In 1851 there were eight families wholly engaged in the craft, plus a number of helpers, making a total of 31 persons enumerated as twine spinners or twine spinners' turners. The mining and working of the Blue John occupied at least three people full-time and probably others part-time, and by 1852 there were three museums and manufactories open in the village.

Hall (1978) used the census enumerators' books for 1861 to study economy and society in the Derbyshire Peak District, although only a sample of the data was used, selected systematically, owing to the sheer quantity available. At Castleton, in a 50% household sample, 30 out of 88 households had at least one lead miner and in only 14 of these was there no other occupation in the family. In 26 households, women and girls in the family worked in the cotton mill, in two the wife was a dressmaker, and in one household the head was a farmer of six acres and his three sons lead miners. One dual occupation was listed, a farmer of 34 acres and lead miner. Lead mining, well in decline by 1861, clearly played a different role in different families, and Hall concluded that it was important to have various sources of income within a single family (Hall 1978).

Peak Cavern continued to act as a draw to travellers, with many of the same complaints and comments being made by the visitors. Rhodes, writing of Castleton in 1824, noted 'Here the child, as soon as he can articulate, is taught to beg...', while a visitor in 1881 wrote 'I hate guides ... they render Matlock miserable and make Castleton a cruelty' (quoted in Evans 1948). More positively, a visitor in 1827 described how the parish choir would gratify the 'numerous visitors to the Great Cavern, by singing, if requested, on elevated parts of illuminated rocks, within these subterranean recesses, numerous glees, catches and trios, with quartettes and other fugitive pieces of modern and popular harmony' (quoted in Cox, 1877, 134). At the same time further caves were being opened as tourist attractions. The Blue John Caverns were opened to the public in around 1800 and improved and extended in around 1843, while Speedwell Cavern was already an established attraction by 1829 (Sinar n.d.).

5.7   20th century

After 1901 Castleton's population began to rise from its low point at the end of the 19th century. By 1921 it had risen to 646, and by 1971 it had reached 730, still well below its 19th century peak, before stabilising. The decline seen at many other villages has not affected Castleton. Mining continues to be of some importance, albeit no longer for lead - fluorspar is mined for use in the chemical and steel industries, and barytes for use in the paint and paper industries. Some farming still continues and Hope Cement Works is an important source of local employment. Also of continuing importance is employment in tourism, as Castleton is a major tourist centre of the Peak, attracting day visitors to the Show Caves, the village and the castle, and also acting as a base for outdoor pursuits in the surrounding countryside.

6.   THE DEVELOPMENT OF CASTLETON

The town has been divided into plan elements, or components, based on map evidence and documentary sources. These plan elements have been subdivided below according to the earliest date of their assumed occurrence, although these divisions are tentative only, and need to be confirmed by further work. Subsequent major changes are briefly summarised, together with the degree of survival of early features to the present day.

6.1 Medieval components

Seventeen components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the medieval period, based on documentary sources and plan form analysis of historic maps. They are shown on Figure 2.

Component 1 *Settlement within and near the mouth of Peak Cavern*

Given the known post-medieval occupation within the cave and the Domesday reference to 'Peak's Arse', habitation inside the cave in the medieval and even earlier periods cannot be discounted. It was supposedly described as one of the 'Marvels of England' as early as the 12th century (Woodall 1976). Documentary references make it clear that it was inhabited by at least the 17th century. Hobbes (1678) noted seeing horses inside the cave, with 'haycocks mounted high', while a sketch of the cave in 1700 is accompanied by a description referring to 'that wonderful Arch, commonly call'd, the *Devil's Arse* ... the *Area* where the Persons and the Houses are, where a great many of the poor Inhabitants live, is within the Arch, and reaches to the first Water which runs cross it ...' (quoted in Woodall 1976). Woodall also quotes a 17th century reference to the fact that 'people who attend upon visitors lighting the way with candles and lanthorne actually live in a cave in poor little houses built of stone or clay ... and thatched like little styes'. Eighteenth century engravings show small cottages in the mouth of the cavern and according to Evans (1948), there was even a public house at the entrance in 1794. Its use for habitation continued well into the 19th century. Early photographs show a building on the right of the cave while in 1901 an old inhabitant of Castleton recollected two old women living 'within the opening of the great cave'. Their house was described as being one storey high with 'a bit of lead window in front'. Twine and rope makers began to use the entrance to Peak Cavern in around 1750. A description of 1761 notes the inhabitants of the cave 'with difficulty adding to their poor pittance to maintain their wretched lives by spinning pack thread' (quoted in Castleton Historical Society Newsletter vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1978). Ropewalks were constructed on the cavern floor, each ropewalk being a family business. Early photographs show some of the walks and the rope makers around the end of the 19th century, and there has been some survival of some of the ropemakers' machinery, such as trolleys and drying frames (Castleton Historical Society 1986; SMR 3356).

The origins of settlement outside the cavern a little further down the valley may equally be found in the medieval period, or earlier, although there is currently no archaeological evidence to confirm this. Stone cottages stand by the stream in small, irregular plots. The stream receives additional water from Peakshole Sough, also known as Slop Moll sough, which was probably intended originally to unwater 5-6 parallel veins crossing Peak Cavern Gorge (SMR 3377).

Component 2 *Peveril Castle* (SMR 3325, SAM 13268/01 and 13268/02)

This component includes the open area of hillside to the north of the castle, as well as the outer bailey to the west. The hillside would have provided an access route from the town into the castle, while it was still in use, and also shows signs of later lead mining activity. The castle and the outer bailey are scheduled (see Fig. 6). The two areas are divided by a narrow ravine.

The castle was present in some form by 1086, as it is referred to in Domesday Book.   It is thought to have been of masonry from the beginning (O'Neil & White 1985) and is described in the scheduling notification as one of a very small number nationally to be built of stone immediately after the Conquest; alternatively it may originally have been built in timber and later remodelled in stone (Barnatt & Smith 1997). There are various documentary references to works being carried out at the castle, including the construction of the

keep in 1176, possibly indicating the time when the outer bailey went out of use. The 13th century was a period of continued growth and importance. In 1251 documented repairs were undertaken that provide some indication of the buildings in the castle at the time. The order was to

> 'recover with lead the great tower of the King's castle of Pech, and the turret between the two gates of the said castle, and to cause repairs to be done to the wall of the said castle and the bakehouse and the gates and the rooms in the great tower and the new tower and the porch of the King's old hall there, wherever necessary'.

The mention of an 'old hall' indicates the existence of a new hall also. The castle declined in importance from the 14th century, however, although it was used as a prison for a time (O'Neil & White 1985). Some indication of use in the 15th century is evidenced by the fact that masons were employed to repair the castle walls and bridge in 1435-6 (Blanchard 1967). The schematic drawing of Castleton in 1639 depicts a building 'within the bailey which is surmounted by a cross, and is, therefore, clearly a detached chapel'. According to Cox (1907b, 285), unpublished records refer to this chapel as being in use in the 14th and 15th centuries.

It appears that the castle was a ruin by the 17th century. A drawing of that time shows the gateway giving access to the town at the eastern end of the courtyard as having a round arch decorated with chevrons, although little of the gateway remains. Repairs were occasionally carried out by the Duchy of Lancaster, which finally put the castle in the care of the then Office of Works in 1932 (O'Neil & White 1985).

Standing remains consist primarily of the square keep and a curtain wall enclosing a roughly triangular inner bailey. The north wall, although much repaired and altered, still contains 11th century sections. The keep, which was constructed in 1176, stands almost to its original height and was originally entered at the first floor. It was never adapted to domestic use and its main function was to guard the south-west gate into the inner bailey, reached from the outer bailey via a bridge which, during the Middle Ages, spanned the intervening gorge. A masonry abutment for the bridge can be seen in the ditch below the keep. The outer bailey lies to the south-west where a bank and ditch forms the western boundary of a triangular enclosure where cattle, horses and people would have been housed. The bank contains the remains of a defensive wall and a gap approximately midway along it shows where the 'Earl's road' entered the castle from the south-west (EH Scheduling Description). This was a major routeway which crossed the open commons or waste, providing access to the castle from settlements within the estate to the south-west. Earthwork remains of this road are still visible (Barnatt 1992).

Excavation in the courtyard revealed portions of walls and buildings of various dates, including walling of the same construction as the keep, and the possible mid 13th century new hall (close to the north curtain at its western end) as well as low walls of rooms west of the hall and further walls up the hill beside the west curtain. No pottery later than the 14th century was found. Cramped buildings were initially constructed at the top of the sloping courtyard. When the north curtain wall was built, red clay was packed against its inner face to make a long level area, but nothing could be built here until it was consolidated. Once this happened, the original buildings were abandoned. The easternmost of two round towers in the south curtain includes re-used Roman building material, assumed to have come from Brough, 3km to the east of Castleton. An oblong building which appears to be orientated east-west may have been the chapel (O'Neil & White 1985).

In 1993 watching briefs were carried out at three sites in this area, one being on the slope to the north of the castle, when a level platform was being created for the base of a new ticket office/shop, two others within the grounds of the castle itself, when narrow holes were being dug in which to set new information boards. At none of these sites was anything of archaeological interest recorded, although it was noted that there are several indications of lead mining in the field to the north of the castle (Trent & Peak Archaeological Trust 1993).

Component 3   ***'The Town Ditch'*** (SMR 3324, 3392, SAM 29937)

The original course and width of the bank and ditch that form Castleton's defences is uncertain along some parts of its length and this component is therefore an approximation only, particularly on the south-west side. Two areas are designated as scheduled monuments, namely the north-west and south-east corners (see fig. 6). The construction of the defences is assumed to be connected with the foundation of the borough, probably at some time in the 12th century.

The earliest mention of Castleton Town Ditch is Bray's account of 1783. It is clear that even by that time some destruction had taken place:

> '... An intrenchment, which begins at the lower end of the valley, called the Cave,
> inclosed the town, ending at the great cavern, and forming a semicircle; this is now called
> the *Town Ditch*, but the whole of it cannot easily be traced, having been destroyed in
> many parts by buildings and the plough' (Bray 1783, 196).

Further destruction has almost certainly taken place since that time, with levelling, infilling and encroachment by development. However, the two scheduled areas survive well enough to provide information about part of the original line of the defences. The surviving stretch to the south east of the town measures approximately 200m in length and runs east to west for 100m before turning to the north and running in this direction for a further 100m. A modern field boundary follows the line of the earthworks between the bank and ditch. The section to the north-west of the town measures approximately 105m in length and is aligned north to south but curves to the east at its northern end. This section of the monument is more clearly defined with the bank sloping down steeply to the west and north. A mill stream now occupies this section of the town ditch. In both areas, the bank is approximately 12m wide and the ditch is of a similar width (EH scheduling description).

Within the town bank and ditch on the east side is a probable sheep fold which predates 1819 (Ullathorne 2002).

Component 4   *Hospital* (SMR 3336, SAM 29938)

Upstanding earthworks in a part of this area are traditionally said to be the remains of a medieval hospital, known from documentary sources to have been founded at Castleton, probably in the early 12th century. This is supported by field and other place name evidence (for example the field name Great Spittle and the nearby Spital Bridge) and by the relative date of the earthworks compared to neighbouring features, as well as by the fact that such a site would be a likely position for a medieval hospital. The earthworks are scheduled (see Figure 6).

The earthwork remains include three sides of a large sub-rectangular platform defined by a substantial bank, representing the site of a building, measuring approximately 35m by 27m. The north and east sides of the platform are the most clearly defined but oval shaped hollows to the south west of the platform suggest that some post-medieval quarrying has taken place. A low, curved mound inside the platform may also be related to quarrying activity. The size of this building, together with evidence that it was a substantial construction, indicate that this was a major building belonging to the hospital, although its precise function is unknown at present (EH Scheduling Notification).

Running between, and parallel to, Castleton Road and the northern side of the hospital is a sunken track which survives to a width of approximately 5m. This would originally have provided access to the hospital building and may have been the predecessor to the modern Castleton Road. The track links to another sunken track which runs parallel to the eastern side of the hospital and has been infilled close to its northern end. This track, which survives to a width of approximately 8m, cut into the natural slope of the field, runs to the south and continues for about 20m beyond the building platform. It is possible that this track led to a fording point on Peakshole Water, which once passed much closer to the hospital building. To the east of the junction between the two tracks is a small rectangular building platform, the southern side of which has been degraded by vehicle erosion. The platform measures approximately 14m by 5m

and is defined by low banks. The platform may represent an annex to the main hospital building (EH Scheduling Notification).

Prior to pipe-laying in this field, topsoil was stripped under archaeological supervision and the stripped area inspected for the presence of archaeological features. To the south-east of the probable hospital site (the scheduled area) two ditch features were identified, separated by a possible bank. Towards the western end of the field an irregular area of limestone rubble, *c.* 2m across, was seen. A thin scatter of artefacts was recovered in this area, including one possible medieval rim-sherd. A one metre wide section excavated across the rubble spread showed it to fill a cut feature, at least 0.4m deep at this point. A large piece of hand-made brick was retrieved from the fill. This feature was tentatively interpreted as the base and drain of an ice-house (Daryl Garton pers. comm.).

Component 5 *Spital Bridge*

There are documentary references to 'le Spitilbrugge' at Castleton in *c.* 1300 (Hart 1981) which presumably refer to a bridge carrying the Castleton/Hope road across Peakshole Water.   However, it should be noted that the medieval crossing point may well have been at a different site to that of the modern bridge. A sheepwash on the north side of the stream is marked on the OS map of 1898.

Component 6 *Church of St Edmund and churchyard* (SMR 3337)

The church is a Grade II* listed building thought to date from the early 12th century, with a 14th century west tower. It was subject to a number of repairs and restorations during the 19th century, to the extent that little pre-Reformation work remained. Descriptions and sketches of the church in the early 19th century, before restoration and partial rebuilding, suggested that the nave had been mainly Early English, replaced by a nave that Cox (1877, 130) considered to be 'almost as ugly a piece of church architecture as could well be imagined'. The Norman chancel arch was retained, however, as were some of the nave walls. A small piscina on the south side of the nave indicates that there was once a side altar there. The church contains box pews of 17th and early 18th century date (Fletcher 1976).

A grade II listed 18th century sundial stands in the churchyard. Cox (1877) considered that the shaft, which is octagonal, was probably part of the old churchyard cross. He also recorded three stones in the churchyard 'that proved to be the double-splayed headstone of a very small early light, and two long dressed stones that had served as the jambs'. They had been rescued from a rubbish heap and had originally been in the north wall of the chancel, taken down some 40 years before for the vestry to be enlarged. Zig-zag/chevron tooling led to his conclusion that they were 'later pre-Norman' (Cox 1905)

Component 7 *Market place*

The rectangular market place would have been laid out as an integral part of the new town. It is not known when markets ceased to be held, or whether the buildings that were later constructed in the market place have their origins in the replacement of temporary stalls by permanent structures during the lifetime of the markets or in the encroachment by dwellings once the markets had lapsed.   One of these buildings, Werneth House, may be of mid-17th century date, although the earliest surviving title deed is dated 1779. This relates to the sale of the property by a tallow chandler to a miner, and also indicates that it was three dwelling houses at that time, with a garden on which a small building had been erected (Castleton Historical Society 1979a).

The central tree was planted and a seat erected in 1897 to commemorate Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The War Memorial near the tree was dedicated in 1923 (Castleton Historical Society 1986).

Component 8 *Buildings along the northern and western sides of the churchyard*

The 1819 map shows buildings lining the northern and western sides of the churchyard, many of which have survived, including a pair of 17th century cottages. At first sight, buildings in this area would appear

to have their origins as encroachments onto what were once much wider roads that probably functioned as additional market space. However, a land charter of 1323 refers to half a burgage 'as it lay in length and breadth between the high road and the churchyard of Castilton' – such a description would appear to relate to this area. By the end of the 19th century the buildings along the south-western half of the churchyard had been demolished and that land has remained undeveloped since that time.

Component 9   *Settlement block bounded by How Lane north, the Town Ditch south and east, and Back Street west*

It is possible that properties on Back Street and Market Place in this area originally had plot boundaries running back to the town defences, although there is little evidence of this on historic maps. Settlement along the south side of How Lane appears very distinctive on early maps, in comparison with other frontages in the town, as it consist of a long continuous row of well-aligned buildings standing in very short plots, all having the same continuous back boundary. This raises the question as to whether it represents a later insertion into the town plan (see discussion below). Buildings along How Lane include two hotels, the Cheshire Cheese and the Peak, near to which there was once a Wesleyan chapel, later used as a mineral water works (Evans 1948).

Land to the rear of the Back Street/Market Place frontage appears to have remained undeveloped until the 20th century, when Weaving Avenue and Peveril Road were constructed and lined with housing. There is still one area of undeveloped land within the component, however, namely Burrows Fold in the south-east. Within this field there is a large square platform defined by lynchets on all sides up to 0.4m, with the exception of that to the north which is up to 1.2m high. The area is thought to have been landscaped in the 20th century (Ullathorne 2002). Surviving buildings along the Back Street/Market Place frontage include a school constructed in 1863 and Beanhill Farm, a farmhouse range which includes outbuildings of early 19th century or earlier date. Both are Grade II listed. There is a documentary reference to 'Benehill' in 1457 (Cameron 1959).

Component 10   *Settlement along the south-east side of The Stones, the south side of Market Place and the west side of Bargate*

An area of somewhat irregular settlement along the south side of Market Place and along the west side of Bargate, at the foot of Castle Hill. Present buildings include Postern House, a listed building of 18th century date or possibly earlier, as indicated by its crucks and thick walls. It may be the Peveril Hotel shown in this area on late 19th century maps.

Component 11   *Settlement block bounded by Cross Street north, The Stones south, Castle Street east and the Town Ditch west*

The original main frontage in this area would presumably have been Castle Street and the Market Place, and it is possible that there has been some encroachment in the past onto the Market Place, with the frontage now lying further east than its original line. There are also possible traces of the line of earlier parallel property boundaries running back to the town defences. The boundary between the plots and the town defences in this area is conjectural only and needs to be established. Standing buildings include Castleton Hall, now converted to a Youth Hostel, a building with 17th origins, described by Pevsner (1978, 123) as

> 'a rustic Baroque facade of seven bays divided by pilasters of a sort. All the attempts at classical detail comically ignorant'.

Other relatively early buildings within this component include Castleton Vicarage, which has 17th century mullioned windows in the cellar (SMR 3352).

Component 12   *Settlement block bounded by the mill stream north and west, Cross Street south and Bank Street east*

By the time of the earliest maps, the main frontage appears to have been Cross Street, with plot boundaries running back to the town defences. The lines of some of these early boundaries appear to be fossilised in surviving properties. The original boundary between the plots and the town defences along the northern side of this component is not known with any certainty. Buildings include one said to have been a chapel (Woodall 1995).

Component 13   *Settlement block bounded by component 3 north and east, How Lane south, and Back Street west*

The line of the town defences forming the north and east boundary of this component is very uncertain, and it is possible that plots in this area originally extended further north.

Component 14   *Development along the north end of Back Street and around Trickett Bridge*

It is assumed here that this area would originally have lain outside a main north entrance into the town and that some development would have taken place in the medieval period, although this has yet to be established archaeologically. The boundary between this component and the northern limit of the town ditch is not based on any evidence and also needs to be established archaeologically.

The component includes the site of a former water-powered corn mill (SMR 3331), shown on the map of 1819. James Farey, in 1811, noted that 'At Castleton is the only 'soke mill' or one at which Tenants of the Manor are compelled to grind their corn and pay toll, which remains in Derbyshire'. It continued to be used for milling until about 1920 when the limestone building was then used for a variety of purposes. The wooden waterwheel 10-12ft diameter, survived until the 1950s, and the mill pond can still be seen, but the building has been demolished (Gifford 1999, 34). The origins of this mill are not known, but there is a reference to a corn mill at Castleton in accounts covering the period May 1243 to Michaelmas 1244, when four and a half marks per annum were received from the mill or mills of *castri de pecco* (Bryant 1990) and another in 1508 to the '*molendinum de Castelton*' (Cameron 1959). Watermill sites are often long-lived and this site may also therefore be that of the medieval mill, although it should be noted that Burdett's map of 1767 has a mill symbol to the south-west of Castleton rather than in this area.

The map of 1819 shows a number of buildings in this area in plots of varying size and shape. In the 19th century there was a saw mill to the north of the corn mill. A building to the west of the bridge is said to have been a cotton mill for a time (Woodall 1995). The bridge itself, known as Trickett Bridge, was rebuilt in 1804.

Component 15   *Development at the western end of Cross Street*

It is assumed that this area would originally have lain outside a main west entrance into the town and that some development would have taken place in the medieval period, although this has yet to be established archaeologically. The 1819 map shows a number of buildings of varying size, generally sitting in very small plots, suggesting they may originally have been encroachments onto an open area of ground outside the town defences. It should be noted that the course of the Peakshole Water in the medieval period could well have differed from that of the present stream; similarly the date of creation of the mill leat is not known. Buildings in the 19th century included a smithy, as shown on the 2nd ed. OS map of 1898. Pipe-laying for a replacement sewer recently took place in the approximate area of this smithy. However, a watching brief did not detect any evidence of the building. It is not known whether the remains had been destroyed by previous disturbance, whether the trench was too narrow for their identification or whether the line of the trench missed the east wall of the building (Daryl Garton pers. comm.).

Component 16   *Development along Peakshole Water*

It is assumed here that this area would originally have lain outside an entrance into the town, albeit probably not a major one, and that some development would have taken place in the medieval period, as

perhaps indicated by a reference of 1493 in Sheffield Archives to a burgage 'between the stream called *le Peckeshers* and a hill called *Castilclyffe'*. The exact boundary between the town defences and this area is uncertain – possibly some of the area actually lay within them. Development in this component took place on either side of the Peakshole Water and includes a bridge across the stream, now known as Goosehill Bridge. The river has been canalised, as an engraving of 1804 shows a much wider stream passing below the bridge (Woodall 1995). Goosehill Bridge was rebuilt in 1822. The component also includes Russet Well on the east side of the stream. Burdett's map of 1767 has a mill symbol to the south-west of Castleton, apparently relating to a mill somewhere in this area, although as the corn mill in component 14 is not marked with a similar symbol, it is possible that a mistake was made on the map.

Component 17   *Settlement at Townhead*

It is assumed here that this area would originally have lain outside a main south/south-east entrance into the town and that some development would have taken place in the medieval period, although this has yet to be established archaeologically. The component is bisected by the 'entrance' to Cave Dale, which provided access to the south-west. On Pindale Road, the present 'Primitive Cottage' takes its name from the fact that it was originally a Primitive Methodist chapel before a new chapel was constructed on a different site in 1909 (Castleton Historical Society 1979a)

6.2   Post-medieval components

Six components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the post-medieval period, based on documentary references and analysis of historic maps. In general, buildings shown on the 1819 map of Castleton have been assumed to have post-medieval origins, although this may in fact not always be the case. The components are shown on Figure 3.

Component 18   *Settlement at Townhead*

It is assumed here that at least some settlement in this area has its origins in roadside encroachments established in the post-medieval period, particularly that on the south side of the road, where the 1819 maps shows a number of buildings set in small plots in somewhat haphazard fashion, with a couple of buildings apparently actually in the road. Buildings on the north side are more orderly and appear to form a single terrace; in some cases their back gardens extend across the line of the earlier town defences.

Component 19   *Goosehill Hall and adjacent settlement*

Settlement in this area includes Goosehill Hall, associated with the Bagshawe family who acquired the estate in 1670 and possibly named after the Gousel family who owned land in the area in the 15th century (Castleton Historical Society 1986). Cameron (1959) notes that there are numerous references to a family 'de Gosehill' in the medieval records of the Peak, but nothing to connect them particularly with this area. The old schoolhouse stood in this area also, as did a number of small miners' cottages, possibly originally encroachments at the margins of the village. The schoolhouse is presumably the house and garden left by Richard Bagshaw in 1749 and in use as a schoolhouse at that time. In 1827 it consisted of the master's dwelling-house, a small garden and a building containing the schoolroom and apartments above (Sinar n.d.). The component also includes at its southern end the site of a building shown on the 1819 map and since demolished, although its footings are still visible.

Component 20   *Site of buildings*

A couple of buildings are shown in this area on the 1819 map and are assumed to have post-medieval origins. They were still present in 1841, as they are shown on the Tithe Map, but had been demolished by the end of the 19th century. Although it is difficult to judge exactly where they lay, it would appear to have been to the south of the present building.

Component 21   *Site of New Hall, Cross Street*

A house known as Newhall Mansion or New Hall stood on the Buxton Road in this area. The map of 1819 shows a range of buildings, mainly in the western half of the component. It was semi-derelict in *c.* 1870 and was demolished soon afterwards. A photograph of it in a decrepit state shows it to have been 'an Elizabethan style house' (Castleton Historical Society 1986). The 1819 map also shows a small building on the road, possibly an encroachment, at the south-east corner of this area, near the bridge. By the end of the century, Speedwell House had been built on the eastern half of the component, while in the early 20th century a Methodist Church was built on the western half.

Component 22   *Site of Ropewalk*

A ropewalk is shown here on the map of 1819 and is assumed for the purposes of this assessment to have had its origins in the post-medieval period. It continued in use into the 20th century but is no longer present.

Component 23   *Spital Buildings*   (SMR 3359)

A Grade II listed building described as a late 18th century three-storeyed water mill, later used as farm buildings but now partly derelict.

A reference of *c.* 1790 states that 'in the middle of the valley [between Castleton and Hope] is a large, white building, which is a cotton-mill and worked by a water-wheel'. This is thought to refer to this site just outside Castleton to the north-east, later known as Spital Buildings, presumably due to their proximity to Spital Bridge rather than to any link with the medieval hospital. There is said to be a hollow to the north-west of the building, representing the remains of a mill pond, and evidence of a water channel beyond the building, running parallel to the river, representing the tail race. Low down on the river side wall of the building is an arched outlet which could have taken the outflow of water from the mill (Castleton Historical Society 1979b, 1980a, b). This may be the mill recorded in 1797, when a certain William Newton appears in fire policy registers as a partner in a small cotton mill. However, the millwright's work was only valued at £50 and this was taken to indicate that it was probably a horsewheel (Chapman 1969). If correct, presumably a different mill is being referred to, as the Spital mill seems to have been water-powered.

The building has also been described as a former workhouse (Fowkes 1984), although the evidence upon which this interpretation was based is not known. At that time (the early 1980s) the building was roofless and in use as stables, although it still retained some cast iron window frames.

6.3   19th century components

Four components have been identified for the 19th century, based on a comparison of early and late 19th century maps. The components are shown on Figure 4.

Component 24   *Development along Buxton Road*

Buildings scattered along Buxton Road were constructed some time after 1880 and before 1898.

Component 25   *Development along the north-east side of Peakshole Water*

A substantial building is shown here on the 2nd ed. OS map of 1898, apparently standing in grounds with walks and trees. The building has been demolished and the site is now a Council Yard.

Component 26   *Development along How Lane*

With the exception of a small building in the north-west corner, development in this area took place some time after 1880 and before 1898.

Component 27 *Losehill Hall and surrounding parkland/gardens*

The Hall was built in 1882 and its parkland and gardens were established immediately afterwards by taking in and amalgamating a number of fields. The land was originally part of the medieval open fields as indicated by surviving broad ridge and furrow within parts of the parkland. A small stone-built field barn that pre-dates the Hall survives in the north-east corner of the component. Map evidence indicates that it was built between 1848 and 1880.

Access to the Hall initially lay along the western side of the parkland, with the Hall sited at the northern end of the estate in order to best take advantage of the views. It originally had formal gardens to the south and west, with a dell created around the stream to the east. To the rear of the Hall were the coach-house, kitchen gardens and an orchard or paddock.   In 1954 a caravan park was developed in the south-east corner of the park. The estate was acquired by the Peak District National Park Authority in 1961 and subsequently developed into the National Park Study Centre. A bungalow for the Principal was built adjacent to the lodge in 1961 and extended in 1972. More recently, extensions to existing buildings have accompanied the further development of the Study Centre, and a car park has been created on the site of what may have been the orchard (Smith *et al* 1994). Losehill Hall is a grade II listed building, as is the former stable block to the north (now residential).

A watching brief was undertaken at Losehill Hall during the replacement of the foul water drain. All the features recorded were either 19th or 20th century in date and were interpreted as service trenches for sewage and land drains. The finds were predominantly 19th and 20th century pottery with the occasional animal bone. The main exception was a finely worked flint of non-local material (Wagner 2001).

6.4   20th century development

Twentieth century development is represented by a single un-numbered component and is shown on Figure 5.

6.5   Discussion

As detailed in section 5.1, there is widespread evidence of both prehistoric and Roman period activity from the Castleton area and, in particular, there are the several finds from the site of the later castle as well as the possible occupation evidence coming from Cave Dale Cave. However, there is currently no evidence for either prehistoric or Roman settlement on the site that later became the town.

On present knowledge, namely the record in Domesday Book, Castleton's origins would appear to be found in the early medieval period, when Arnbern and Hunding were lords of a manor there. Domesday Book gives no name to any settlement, simply referring to it as 'In Peak's Arse ...' and it is not known at present where such settlement might have been. In 1086 only three villagers are recorded, in addition to the castle, and while this does no more than indicate a minimum number of households, it seems clear that population was limited. Nevertheless, what settlement there was appeared to be successful. At the Conquest it had been worth 40 shillings, yet only 20 years later it was worth 50 shillings, whereas the value of surrounding settlements such as Hope and Edale had decreased sharply. Synar (n.d.) suggested that the population, living so close to the castle, would have had no opportunity to join the northern post-Conquest rising and had therefore been spared any punitive harrying in 1069/70, although this supposes that the castle had been erected so soon after the Conquest. She also suggested that land would have been needed to provision the castle, and that this could explain why the two ploughlands recorded before the Conquest had increased by 1086 to 4 ploughs in demesne and a further plough between the 3 villagers.

At some point, presumably in the early 12th century which is when the hospital is said to have been founded, a town was deliberately planned and laid out at the foot of the castle. Whether the town was created as a totally new foundation on a new site or whether the pre-existing settlement was completely reorganised is not known at present, but the lord would have established it as a commercial venture, hoping

to profit from its tolls and taxes. Streets were set out in what has been described as a 'minor grid system' (Aston and Bond 1976), a grid being one of the most consistent features of planning in new towns, probably due to the ease with which it can be laid out on the ground. Close to the centre of the grid stood the church and churchyard (component 6), with a large market place immediately to the south (component 7), while around the outside was a bank and ditch. This boundary earthwork may well have functioned not only as a defensive structure but also as a means of controlling the collection of taxes and tolls.

As is clear from the earliest maps of Castleton, over time the original large open market place became partly infilled by shops, houses and yards. This could have come about through the development into permanent structures of previously temporary market stalls, or through frontages on the market place attempting to gain space by pushing shop fronts forward. Such encroachment was often well advanced in successful towns by the late medieval period. However, it could also be the result of building onto space that became available once the market had lapsed, and this may be the case with Castleton, where there is is no evidence for markets later than the medieval period.

Few medieval towns confined street trading to the market place alone and there were often subsidiary open spaces where extra market stalls could be erected.   Castle Street and the eastern half of Cross Street could perhaps have functioned in this way, with the buildings around the west and north sides of the church (component 8) representing later encroachment onto previously wider streets. Aston and Bond (1976) suggest that encroachment onto side streets may have been less controlled than encroachment onto the market place, and could therefore have happened earlier. However, the description in a document of 1323 of half a burgage 'as it lay in length and breadth between the high road and the churchyard of Castilton' seems to indicate that development had already taken place next to the church by that time and that it was accorded more status than a simple encroachment.

The most characteristic medieval urban property form was the burgage tenement in which the house or shop stands at the frontage of a long strip laid out at right angles to a street alignment. Burgage tenure brought with it certain tenurial privileges and status. Surviving land charters include references to burgages at Castleton, indicating the possibility that such properties had been laid out. Hart (1981) considered that the size and form of Castleton's burgage tenements were still visible as narrow frontages stretching back from the street. In some cases, extensive areas of yards, gardens and orchards could be found behind medieval urban houses (Aston & Bond 1976), and it is possible that the land to the rear of component 9 on the east side of Castleton was utilised in this way. Some of it may have been common land, used for folding the settlement's flocks at certain times. A land charter of 1481 is worth noting in this context, as it describes a burgage as lying between another burgage on one side and the common pasture on the other. There are alternative interpretations, however. The burgages may have been located outside the town defences. Equally, if the defences no longer functioned as such, it is possible that they were used as common pasture.

By the 12th century, many successful towns were experiencing extra mural growth. Land immediately outside the town was often popular for activities such as tanning, potting, fulling and blacksmithing (Aston & Bond 1976). It is not known whether any of these activities took place at Castleton. The map of 1819 shows clusters of apparently unregulated development outside the line of the town defences in several areas (components 14-17), possibly the result of encroachment in some cases, if not all. A hint that such development at Castleton could have its origins in the medieval period, comes from a land charter of 1307/8 which refers to two burgages 'within and beyond the town of Castilton' (Hall 1946).

Sometimes new streets were created to improve access after a town had developed, with sharp bends in streets entering towns indicating the diversion of a pre-existing route (Aston and Bond 1976). It is worth looking at How Lane in this context. The 'S'-bend made by the road immediately to the west of the hospital, followed by a straight stretch of road and a further bend at the point where the road enters the town defences is very suggestive of the diversion of an earlier route. Of itself, this would not necessarily make How Lane a later addition to the town plan, since the road could have been diverted when Castleton was first laid out and/or straightening could have taken place when it was turnpiked in the 18th century. However, there are two further features of interest. One is the very short plot lengths of all the properties

along the southern side of How Lane in particular. If the road had been an integral part of the original layout, one might perhaps have expected properties to have been associated with longer plots. The second is the absence of any unregulated development outside the entrance into the town, in complete contrast to that seen to the north, west, south-west and south-east (components 14-17). The earliest documented reference to How Lane comes in 1620, while a reference to *le Spetulcornell* (Spital corner) in 1455 (Cameron 1959) could perhaps indicate that the bend by Spital Bridge was already present then. An early reference to the road leading east from Castleton gives it as 'Hopegate', in 1307/8. Hollowford Road is referred to in 1455 as *le Holoforthe* and the early existence of the name Siggate is indicated by *le Sydgatethorn*, again in 1455 (Cameron 1959). A plan of Castleton Hall (now the Youth Hostel) dated 1718 shows 'A Street or Lane call'd Slippery-Stones' (now The Stones) to the south and 'Castleton Town Street' (now Market Place or Castle Street) east.

Despite the apparent early success of Castleton, as indicated by the very considerable number of burgages and stall holders recorded in 1255 (43⅝ and 71 respectively (Hart 1981)), and the urban nature of its status as a borough, its defences and its hospital, it did not continue to flourish. Blanchard (1967) excluded it from his consideration of market towns in the late middle ages, noting that an examination of the court rolls for the period Henry VI to Henry VIII revealed no other activity than agriculture. It is possible that it was affected by population loss due to the Black Death accompanied by the deterioration in the climate - many Peak District villages appear to have declined at this time (Barnatt 1992). Alternatively other, as yet unknown, factors may have come into play, not least the ending of royal visits and the abandonment of the castle for any other purposes than a prison. As Riden (1977) noted, although active direction on the part of a lord could greatly accelerate natural processes of growth, '… no amount of seignorial will could create a town where the economic potential did not exist'.

Castleton may therefore have seen its maximum medieval population in the second half of the 13th century and early 14th century, in common with many other towns and villages. All the evidence suggests this was followed by a decline, with the lapsing of markets and fairs, neglect and decay of the castle and hospital and presumably shrinkage of settlement. At what point the situation stabilised is not known. However, such evidence as is available for numbers of houses and population in the post-medieval period indicate that these could have doubled between the mid-17th century and the later 18th century, probably thanks at least in part to industrial activities. It seems likely that much of this post-medieval growth could have easily been accommodated within the boundaries of the existing village, although it is clear both from documentary evidence and from standing and demolished buildings that at least some settlement took place along the various roads leading into the earlier defended area.

A further population peak occurred in the early decades of the 19th century, although again there is little evidence for actual expansion of the settled area beyond earlier limits. The 20th century saw a greater degree of expansion, both along the roads to Buxton and Hope, and also on the once open areas to the rear of earlier properties, in the process destroying the visible demarcation between the old medieval town and its fields.

7.   ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1   Research questions

The following is not an exhaustive list of possible research questions relating to Castleton, but includes those that have arisen during the course of this assessment:

1.   Where was settlement in the Castleton area located before the construction of the castle? Was it nucleated or dispersed?

2.   A great number of both general and specific questions relating to Castleton in the medieval period need to be answered. These include the following:

- How long after the construction of the castle was the town laid out? Was it on a new site or was an existing village reorganised?
- What was the relationship between Castleton and Hope – did the former supplant the latter, as suggested by Barnatt and Smith (1997)?
- How successful was Castleton, and for how long? Why did it ultimately fail as a town?
- What was the impact on the surrounding landscape and neighbouring settlements at the time of its foundation and during the period that it functioned as a borough?
- What was the line of the town's bank and ditch in those areas where they can no longer be detected and when did they cease to function as defences?
- When did infilling of the market place begin?
- Where was the medieval corn mill – was it on the same site as the 19th century mill? A land charter of 1472 refers to a burgage 'between the water mill on the south and the straight road [*rectam viam*] on the west and north and it abutted on the mill pond on the east …' (in Hall 1946), a description that is not easy to reconcile with the later mill site.
- Although assumed in this assessment to be medieval, the date of settlement around the 'entrances' through the town defences needs to be established.
- Were Castleton's fields laid out at the same time as the town, or is there evidence for the gradual expansion of arable land as population increased?

3.   What was the extent, location and importance of medieval and post-medieval industry?

4.   When did settlement commence within Peak Cavern?

5.   While the castle seems to have been reasonably well researched, it does not appear as though the same can be said of the medieval and post-medieval town. Published sources seem to indicate the survival of a wide range of early records, such as land charters, court rolls etc. that could shed new light on Castleton's development.

7.2   Archaeological potential

7.2.1   Existing protection

Scheduled Ancient Monuments

Certain nationally important archaeological sites and monuments enjoy special protection as Scheduled Ancient Monuments under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* 1979.   This protection ensures that the case for preservation is fully considered should there be any proposals for development or other work which might damage the monument. Any such proposals are subject to Scheduled Ancient Monument Consent, administered directly by the Secretary of State. They include not only demolition, damage or removal, but also restorative works. There would normally be a presumption in favour of the physical preservation of the monument.

There are three Scheduled Monuments within the area under consideration for this assessment, namely the town defences, Peveril Castle and the site of the medieval hospital. In the case of the two former sites, each scheduling covers two separate constraint areas. For the town defences, one area lies on the south-east side of the town and one on the north-west. For Peveril Castle, one area comprises the standing remains of the castle and the hillside upon which it stands, the other comprises the site of the outer bailey. The scheduled areas are shown on Figure 6.

Conservation areas

The *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act* 1990 required all Local Planning Authorities to determine which parts of their areas were of special architectural or historic interest and to designate them as conservation areas, in order to preserve or enhance the character and appearance of the area. It is

also their duty to review them from time to time, and to determine whether any further parts of their areas should also be designated as conservation areas.

The extent of Castleton Conservation Area is shown on Figure 6. It should be noted that it does not include the outer bailey of the castle nor a considerable stretch of the town ditch on the eastern side of Castleton, although these are protected by scheduling.

Listed buildings

A listed building is one recognised by the government as being of special architectural or historic interest, as specified by the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act* 1990. Listing is made at three levels of importance, Grade II, Grade II* and the most important, Grade I, and listed building consent is required, in addition to normal planning consent, before any alterations, extensions or demolitions can be made to a listed structure which might affect its character.

There are 21 listed buildings in the area of Castleton under consideration in this report, the majority of which are shown on Figure 6. Of these, one is Grade I, namely the remains of Peveril Castle, while the church of St Edmund is Grade II*. The remainder are Grade II, and all can be broken down according to their earliest structural phase as follows:

Earliest structural phase	**C16 or earlier**	**C17**	**C18**	**C19**	**C20**
Number of structures	2	2	10	6	1

Planning Policy Guidance 15 allows the creation and maintenance of a list of buildings of local historic/architectural interest, although this does not confer a statutory obligation. There is currently no local list for Castleton.

7.2.2   *Above ground remains*

The street layout is often the most durable part of a settlement plan and this is probably true of Castleton, where the main elements of the town's grid-like street pattern are still visible. Even more important in terms of early layout is the survival at Castleton of at least a part of the medieval town boundary in the form of earthwork town defences. While some of these had clearly been lost by at least as early as the 18th century, they suffered further damage in the 20th century, when new roads and housing was constructed with little regard for the historic street pattern.

Within the historic core of Castleton the pattern of long narrow burgage plots which might be expected in a medieval planned town has now largely been obliterated by later development. The main commercial emphasis has also changed dramatically. This would originally have been focused on the area around the market place, but now lies along the main road running east-west through the settlement, avoiding the old market place entirely.

In the later 18th century, Bray (1783, 200) noted that

> 'The hills on the different sides of the town produce stone of very different quality.
> Those on the south, on one of which the castle stands, furnish a stone which is burnt into
> lime, and is used for a manure; those on the north yield a grit-stone fit for building.'

In fact, standing buildings make it clear that both types of stone were used as building materials, usually together, with houses of rubble or coursed limestone having gritstone dressings and quoins. This combination of stone is seen in buildings ranging from the castle to outbuildings. Stone slate roof tiles have often given way to Welsh slate, while brick is occasionally used for chimney stacks. Evidence of an earlier tradition survives in a few buildings, however, in the form of the occasional cruck truss, for example

in Toll Bar cottage and in the Castle Hotel, while early photographs indicate that thatch was sometimes used for roofing (Sinar n.d.)

Although no more than a large village, Castleton possesses a range of buildings from different periods and of varying types, the earliest and best known being the castle and the church. Domestic buildings range from miners' cottages through post-medieval farmhouses to the 19th century country house of Losehill Hall, while non-domestic buildings include a Victorian school, 19th century chapels, and buildings once associated with the textile trade. The Caverns are also an important part of Castleton's above ground remains, particularly Peak Cavern with its standing remains of the rope-making industry, as too are the earthwork remains of the medieval hospital.

7.2.3   Below ground remains

With very little archaeological work having been carried out in Castleton, it is difficult to assess the potential of any below ground remains. Although the basic street pattern is believed to have remained relatively unchanged since the medieval period, activities such as road surfacing and the insertion of services are likely to have caused damage to archaeological deposits relating to earlier street frontages. Nevertheless, where roads have been widened it is possible that deposits relating to earlier frontages lie sealed beneath the later road surface, as could the foundations of structures which once stood in the road or in the market place.

The market area would have been one of the more intensively occupied parts of the town, at least for a period, and plots in this area could contain sequences of commercial buildings along the market frontage, with outhouses, workshops and rubbish pits to the rear. The degree to which any deposits may be preserved will depend to some extent on the presence of cellars in later buildings.

An important area of potential is that within and around the church. Below ground structural remains could provide information about possible earlier phases of the church, should such exist, while skeletal remains could shed light on the health of some of Castleton's past population. Also of potential importance is the fact that the buildings along the south-western side of the churchyard were demolished some time in the 19th century and the area has remained undeveloped since then. Below ground remains in this area could perhaps answer questions as to when development began here, and whether or not it was an integral part of the layout from the beginning or represented later encroachment.

Peakshole Water runs along two sides of the assessment area although it has been canalised in part. Nevertheless there may be some potential for the survival of features relating to waterside industries, including those associated with the Spital Buildings, thought to have been a water-powered cotton mill. Other industrial activities associated with medieval towns, such as tanning and dyeing, also often took place by streams beyond the core of the settlement, although there is no evidence currently for such activities ever having taken place at Castleton.

Of highest importance in terms of archaeological potential are the three scheduled monuments.
In the case of the castle, considerable archaeological deposits are likely to survive both in the inner bailey and along the approach from the north and also, in particular, in the outer bailey which has never been excavated. Castleton town defences are particularly well preserved and retain significant archaeological deposits. The bank, the buried land surface beneath the bank and the silt deposits within the ditch will all hold important information about the method of construction and the environment at the time the town defences were built. Finally, the buried remains of Castleton medieval hospital, which appear from the earthwork evidence to be particularly well preserved, are likely to include not only stratified archaeological deposits but also environmental evidence.

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